Strategies to combat homelessness

UNITED NATIONS CENTRE FOR HUMAN SETTLEMENTS (Habitat)

Strategies to Combat Homelessness

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Box 1. Forced evictions in Maroko, Lagos

The 300,000 residents of Maroko were squatters on government land, 1.5 metres above sea level. The government claimed that Maroko's environment was dangerous so it was cleared in the public interest and to make life better for those evicted. More likely, however, were pressure from nearby high income areas of Ikoyi and Victoria Island, partly over fear of epidemics and crime and threats to their property values, but especially due to the need for land for high value uses.

Of the estimated 41,776 house-owning households displaced from Maroko, only 2,933 were considered for relocation to small flats in government housing estates but many of them were not ready for occupation; some were even waterlogged. Most of the relocated residents are very dissatisfied with their new accommodation. Many evicted households settled near the beach in newer squatter housing built from materials taken from the ruins of Maroko. [36]

Source: Agbola and Jinadu, 1997.

Box 2. The 'making' of a homeless person in Norway

A hypothetical person is born in a small place somewhere in central Norway. During his/her teens, s/he makes friends among people who drink alcohol, and who from time to time travel to the nearest town to buy drugs. After a while it becomes difficult to remain at home. The person has caught the attention of the police, due to several misdemeanours. Neighbours and others express strong disapproval.

In the late teens, s/he spends more and more time in various temporary places in the neighbouring town, but is still living at home. Contacts with neighbours and others deteriorate. The police stress that the person is becoming more and more of a nuisance. Social services provide only financial assistance. S/he has lost contact with former friends.

The hypothetical person decides to go to one of the larger towns to find a job. After a while s/he is successful and moves. It works out fine for a while, but then s/he gets into trouble with the boss due to several days of unexplained absence from work, and eventually s/he is sacked. With the help of the social services, the person is able to stay in his/her dwelling for a while. After a few months, and following repeated complaints from neighbours over noise, the lease is terminated, and s/he finds him/herself in a shelter for homeless people.

Source: Ulfrstad, 1997: 62-63.

Box 3. Rural homelessness in Bangladesh: squatters and dependent households

Usually the squatters are located on both sides of the flood protection embankments. The dependent homeless mostly live in the homestead of other people either by making a shelter or by living in the owner's veranda. The characteristics of the squatters and dependent homeless are more or less similar, except for their living conditions and relationship with the owner of land.

Generally, the dependent homeless live in better conditions than the squatters. At least they have some kind of legal right to the land and which they are living (i.e., an agreement with the owner). Their living space is usually bigger and more hygienic, and they live in better quality houses, though there are variations (depending on income).

Homeless people tend to be local, having moved 2-3 km. The main reason for their moving from their original locations is river erosion for the squatters and poverty (selling of land) for the dependent homeless, and not due to eviction from their original places. Most previously owned landed property of less than 1.65 acres, i.e., they were previously 'landless', small and marginal farmers. But a few were previously landlords. The dependent homeless people depend on the mercy and will of small landowners.

Most often, the rural homeless people live in family groups consisting of husband, wife and their unmarried children, mostly of 5 to 8 members. The males mostly work in day labouring, share cropping and rickshaw pulling. Only a few of them are in petty business, e.g., selling rice, vegetables, milk, fish, or doing weaving and carpentry work.

Most of homeless women are engaged in post-harvest work for others, or are working as maidservants in the houses of landlords. They do jobs such as husking and winnowing paddy, carrying water, making quilts and some are in wage employment like earth cutting, brickfield work, working in family planning clinics, doing midwifery, selling eggs and vegetables. Some of the women were beggars. They are often paid in kind (i.e., food only) and have wages less than the male homeless — mostly earning within Tk.300-400 per month.

Dependent male homeless heads of household tend to be better off than the squatters. Usually they own a cow, goat or hens on a partnership basis, can grow vegetables, and have assets like *dhenki*, *chowki*, fishnets, etc. On the other hand, the squatter heads of household have only the minimum assets like mud pots, and no livestock or *dhenki*. Female homeless (both squatters and dependants) are the worst off with hardly any assets, except in very few cases where some dependent homeless women had some gold.

Homeless people build themselves 10-15 m² shelters of hay, *khar*, mud and jute sticks. Usually the door is made of *chatai* and the walls and roofs of *khar* and hay, with earth and bamboo pillars. Total construction cost varies between Tk.200 and Tk.5,000, but with most between Tk.400 and Tk.1,200. Artisans are needed in putting in the pillars and fixing the roof but relatives and neighbours also help the family members to build. There are usually no services to the dwellings.

Source: Rahman, 1993.

Box 4. The Grameen Bank: addressing housing finance for people living in poverty

The Grameen Bank in Bangladesh is well known as a houser of homeless people through its mould-breaking lending policy without collateral that targets the poorest people, those who are landless and women. The housing loans are relatively small (up to US$625 by 1994 but averaging less than US$200 up to that time) and repaid with weekly instalments over a maximum period of ten years.

The Grameen Bank's basic housing loan is available to anyone who is in need of a shelter. It was initially set up after the devastating floods of 1987 and 1988. The basic housing loan does not carry the standard conditions which apply to Grameen Bank housing loans, i.e., a previous and perfect loan record with the Grameen Bank, and ownership of land onto which a house will be built (this can be bought with the loan). The basic housing loan was Tk.12,000 (US$300) in 1994.

Beneficiaries must have been members of Grameen Bank for at least a year. The loans are recovered in weekly instalments of a minimum of Tk.20, starting one week after the date of disbursement. The recovery time is related to the amount of loan: Tk.1,000 loan is recovered in one year, Tk.18,000 loan is recovered in 18 years. The repayment procedure is very simple. Five members, who belong to the same locality, class and profession, and trust each other, form a group. The first loan is given to two of them. If they repay the loan in time, then another two members are given loans, and then the last member. The loanees are supposed to report every week to say how their loans are utilised and the others keep an eye on them.

Linked to the loans, the Grameen Bank has developed a basic dwelling design whose development took into account the following requirements:

- economical enough for the rural poor;

- durable and strong, to minimise the need to replace components;

- simple and adjustable technology to ensure that it can be built with local materials all round the country; and

- comfortable enough to enhance well being and self-image.

The dwelling is designed as a detached, pitched roofed structure of 5.7m x 3.5m, 3.5m high at the ridge. The Bank provides materials in the form of four reinforced concrete corner posts and the materials for an Indian style sanitary latrine. Corrugated metal roof sheets are to be bought on the market.

The Grameen Bank runs on the principle that a house is not only a shelter but also, particularly for women and self-employed people, a work place. Traditional skills are transmitted from one generation to another within the house. Thus, a shelter for a poor person is seen as a vital investment in health and well being.

Up to October 1994, 305,600 dwellings had been produced under the Grameen Bank's housing programme, 90 per cent of which were built through loans to women.

Sources: Rahman, 1993; and Hassan, 1994.

Box 5. Chesapeake Area Recovery Communities, Baltimore, United States of America

The Chesapeake Area Recovery Communities (CARC) provide a supportive environment in which victims of substance abuse can recover and develop life and employment skills to achieve independence. There are seven operating houses providing housing for 75 people. The target population is alcoholics and addicts, both male and female, in the early stages of recovery from addictions. Individuals come from shelters, detoxification centres, courts, and the street. Drug and alcohol addiction treatment is provided through a structured home and training in construction skills.

An important part of the programme is the acquisition and rehabilitation of houses, some for sale and others for occupation by CARC clients. The Project Director provides technical expertise in house construction, clients are taught the full range of construction skills. Manual labour helps clients to overcome addiction problems. Residents must demonstrate their willingness to take responsibility for their rehabilitation during the 30-day stay in a structured house. CARC houses have no onsite medical staff but obtain these specialised services from elsewhere in the community. This avoids community care licensing requirements, which typically generates 'Not-in-my-back-yard' opposition. From the structured house, participants move to a group house (phase 2) and then into houses or apartments of their own (phase 3) leading an independent lifestyle. Phase 2 and 3 houses are run and managed by the residents.

Capital is obtained through renovation loans from various private sources and through the sale of low income tax credits to individuals. Some local businesses have made loans or contributions. Individuals in structured houses (stage 1) are paid $120 per week of which $60 is returned as rent and goes toward repaying construction loans and operating costs. As residents take on more responsibility their wages increase and they pay higher rents for more independent units. Low wage costs give the construction company a competitive advantage in rehabilitation work.

Source: Pomeroy and Frojmovic, 1995.

Box 6. Portland Hotel, Vancouver, Canada

Portland Hotel, in Vancouver, Canada, was established in 1991 to ensure that adequate rooming house hotel accommodation remained as permanent housing for 'at risk' residents of Vancouver's Downtown Eastside, particularly for 'hard to house' people. It was a pilot project to assess the feasibility of the non-profit management of existing single room occupancy stock in which private interests were primarily concerned only with maintaining accommodation as a condition of retaining a liquor licence.

As renovated, the Portland hotel provides 70 bed-sitting units. It is now operated by the Downtown Eastside Residents Association (DERA) (a non-profit housing corporation). The ground floor of the six-storey building is occupied by a public bar. DERA negotiated a management agreement with the hotel owners to undertake renovations (using a $150,000 start up grant from the province); lease the rooms at a fixed monthly rate over a 5 year period (with an option to renew for a further 5 years); and manage the residential portion of the property, including provision of support services. The owners continue to own the building and retain control and operation of the bar. The two parts of the property could not be legally separated (e.g., through strata title) since the liquor license was based on its classification as a hotel. Renovations included adding common kitchen facilities on each floor, installation of mini-fridges in each unit, and the construction of a laundry and small office in the lobby.

The hotel houses a high proportion of people with both mental illness and substance addiction. An unstructured, responsive support environment is provided with 24-hour supervision through nine full time staff trained in nursing or psychiatric care. Life skills and social skills are developed with the assistance of a life-skills co-ordinator. Owing to its poor state of repair, the Portland Hotel is to be replaced by a new structure funded by the provincial non-profit housing programme (which includes a Homeless and At Risk component, the only one in Canada). This will provide a new building with 74 units.

Source: Pomeroy and Frojmovic, 1995.

Box 7. Virtually sorted

Terry Rogers, director of housing at the corporation of London, has had the idea of establishing a computer database of hostels that would be up-dated every night to pinpoint the beds that were available. He collaborated with the Salvation Army, Shelter, and Resources Information Services (RIS) after he lost a desperate caller who hung up when Rogers took too long chasing up hostels.

Since 1990, the RIS has been working toward a similar system of linking hostels via computers that proved too expensive before the advent of the Internet. Now, the Internet has allowed them to link six hostels and six advice units in a pilot scheme by the Corporation of London. 'Hostels online' now covers over 40 direct access hostels, 80 advice, outreach and day centres in London and another 80 longer term/specialist hostels. The 85,000 visits the site has received since its launch in March 1998 have been identified as a sign of the scheme's success.

The process of finding beds now takes just two phone-calls: one to the web-site, and another to the hostel found to have vacancies. This also benefits the hostels as they can let anybody — including advice centres and other hostels — know about their spare beds.

Early obstacles stemmed from computer illiteracy and, while the scheme costs £175,000 ($290,000) a year to run, the benefits are being hailed as good value. The number of people that are able to find beds is equivalent to a new 25-bed hostel that would cost far more than this. It not only makes a difficult process much easier, but also provides a guide to future government improvements on this issue. Between June and September 1998, hostels were over 99 per cent full. 'Hostels Online' is now being launched in Nottingham and Birmingham.

Source: Virtually Sorted — Adam Woolf, The Guardian *5.8.99.*

Box 8. Housing the poorest of the poor: 'Viviendas del Hogar de Cristo', Ecuador

'Viviendas del Hogar de Cristo' (the Home of Christ) in Ecuador was originally established by Jesuit priests over 25 years ago. The project has supplied over 30,000 dwellings in Guayaquil. The dwellings are made from wood frames with prefabricated bamboo panels capable of assembly in a single day at a cost only one seventh of the cheapest government-built dwelling. The panels are locally assembled, providing employment for low-income people. The roof sheets and all other components are all available in one pack. The title to the dwelling is awarded to the mother and her children to ensure long-term security.

People eligible for dwellings are the following: marginalized social groups in urban areas living in precarious housing; those living on the streets; abandoned mothers; people evicted from rental accommodation; young couples wishing to start a family.

An overwhelming majority of applicants are women. The dwelling is available for a US$25 down payment, with 24 monthly payments up to the price of US$290 for 10 m² to $900 for 43 m². The monthly payments are under 20 per cent of a minimum wage. It is intended to be the first step in a process of constructing a permanent structure. Indeed, it is unlikely to last more than ten years as bamboo has a limited life. No one is turned away on affordability grounds. If the person is destitute, the dwelling may be given free.

As the dwelling is on stilts, the lower part can be filled in with cement walls when more room is needed. Self-assembly instructions are in cartoon form as many of the applicants are illiterate. Business methods and factory efficiency gear production to about 15 dwellings a day.

Source: BSHF, 1998.

Box 9. 'La Federation des organismes sans but lucratif d'habitation de Montreal' (FOHM), Montreal, Canada

FOHM is a federation of 32 non-profit housing organizations. It has more than 60 buildings (1,167 rooms) as a means of securing permanent accommodation for people who face difficulties in gaining access to decent housing. It provides shelter for low income, socially marginalized and difficult-to-house men and women, generally between the ages of 18 and 65, often with a history of homelessness.

Each of the projects in the FOHM network provides different levels of intervention, reflecting the varying needs of tenants and of the resources available to each project. There are subsidised rental units integrated with services offered by community groups, including food, temporary shelter and crisis centres, and with clinics, hospitals and mental health clinics. In addition, tenants can call on counselling services related to their needs, which help them achieve independence.

It has developed co-ordination with other service and support providers to ensure that residents in its housing projects have ongoing access to support services that permit them to live independently despite their histories of social marginalization, abuse and poverty.

The majority of the target population rely on welfare payments, lack the skills to live independent lives, and suffer from poor physical health, alcoholism, drug addiction, mental illness, social dysfunction, or domestic violence and abuse.

Source: Pomeroy and Frojmovic, 1995.

Box 10. St. Vincent de Paul Village, Inner-city San Diego, California

The St. Vincent de Paul (SVDP) Village in Inner City San Diego, California was established in 1950 by the Catholic Diocese of San Diego but is now an independent agency. Its objective is to provide a comprehensive range of support services for homeless and poor single people and families in San Diego. It provides a 350 Bed Emergency Shelter (male/female), transitional housing for 150 single men, transitional housing for 30 teenagers, and housing for 310 families. It serves 1.6 million meals annually and offers an extensive range of support services.

The Village operates its own network of five thrift stores and an auction centre/ warehouse that provide inexpensive clothing and furniture to low-income people while helping to raise operating funds for its centres. Using funds raised exclusively from the private sector, the Village opened the St. Vincent de Paul-Joan Kroc Centre which provides child care, kitchen, dining room, chapel, conference rooms, free medical/ dental, counselling, job training, job matching, computer training, literacy and transitional housing for 310 people. The St. Vincent de Paul-Bishop Maher Centre provides similar services for 150 single men. There are also the Josue AIDS Centres to provide housing for people with HIV/AIDS. The Toussaint Teen Centre provides transitional housing for 30 homeless teenagers. It is staffed 24 hours a day and offers counselling, case management, medical and dental care. It also includes a high school, as well as help in improving social and job skills to enable the clients to become well-adjusted and productive adults. The Paul Mirabile Centre provides short-term transitional housing for 350 single men and women. The Centre has an extensive medical/dental clinic, a job training and adult education centre.

The St. Vincent de Paul Village programme also provides a Resource Centre for information and referral. Its Homeless Employment Linkage Programme (HELP) provides employment assessment, training, and placement services. Its Housing Programme assists residents in obtaining permanent housing; a Life Skills Programme focusing on employment skills development, literacy and social skills development. It has a Computer Training Programme; a Counselling and Chemical Dependency Programme; San Diego's only free medical clinic, providing services to over 1,000 patients daily. It provides a Dental Programme with over 20 volunteer dentists, spiritual counselling and religious services available to staff and residents in all programmes at the Village, with referral to neighbourhood churches. It has a Children's Services Programme, providing resident children with education, self-worth, social skills, and a sense of security. It also offers daily meal services for 850 residents and 2000 non-residents, and several other ancillary services

The Village sponsors SHARE Southern California that provides participants with a package of basic food staples at a greatly reduced price (see chapter VII.C.1 above).

Source: Pomeroy and Frojmovic, 1995.

Box 11. The Big Issue Foundation, United Kingdom

"*The Big Issue* Foundation is funded from surplus revenues from the magazine and donations from trusts, corporations and the public. Its aim is to give homeless people the chance to make their own choices and learn new skills, to help them move off the streets into a home and into a job or training. The Foundation offers different services across the country:

- Housing and resettlement through which *Big Issue* housing workers help vendors to find safe, affordable accommodation, whether just for a night, a few months or as a permanent home. Tenants are also offered any support they may need in managing the responsibilities of a new home.

- An outreach team, many of them ex-vendors, who support, help and organise vendors on the streets into effective sales teams. They allocate sales pitches and sort out any pitch problems to ensure vendors' safety and security while vending.

- The Training and Education Unit provides individual programmes for vendors who want to learn typing, computer skills, word processing and desktop publishing. It also finds and funds places on training and education courses and offers work experience opportunities both at *The Big Issue* and with other organisations. All *The Big Issues* run a range of creative workshops to help homeless people rebuild their self-confidence, from writing and drama groups to art, photography and video workshops.

- A drug and alcohol worker provides basic counselling to vendors concerned about their drug or alcohol use and there is a referral service to specialist agencies, if needed. Experienced vendor support workers are a constant source of emotional support and practical advice. If they are unable to help solve particular problems, they introduce vendors to other organisations with the necessary knowledge or expertise."

Source: Hanks and Swithinbank, 1997: 152-153.

Box 12. Rupert Hotel Coalition Rooming House Monitoring Project, Toronto, Canada

The Rupert Hotel Coalition Rooming House Monitoring Project was established in Toronto in 1992, as a pilot initiative to improve conditions and care in privately operated boarding houses and help people move to independent living in a rooming house over a two year period. In parallel, the project upgrades substandard buildings. The programme targets vulnerable people living in private rooming houses (single room occupancy hotels), especially those suffering from mental illness (estimated at 27-40 per cent).

The monitoring requires landlords to enter into a contractual operating agreement with the project detailing physical, food and personal care standards that have to be maintained. In return, the landlords receives a per diem of $5 for each occupied bed to assist them in raising and maintaining higher standards. Before the monitoring, the quality and regularity of food service was reported to be poor but, because of the monitoring, conditions improved. Where landlords do not meet the programme's standards, warnings and ultimately withholding of the per diem result. Monitors meet regularly with landlords and tenants to plan menus and develop relations and trust with the tenants. This assisted a range of support services that previously had limited access to tenants. Over the two-year period a number of tenants became more independent, began cooking for themselves, and taking responsibility for their own assistance cheques rather than turning them over to the landlords.

Source: Pomeroy and Frojmovic, 1995.

Box 13. Downtown Clean and Safe Programme in Portland, Oregon

The Downtown Clean and Safe Programme (in Portland, Oregon, the United States of America) provides training and job opportunities to the homeless population and recovering substance abusers in Downtown Portland. In 1988, the City of Portland established a downtown Economic Improvement District (EID), paid for by property owners.

The Association for Portland Progress (APP) operates a sidewalk cleaning and security programme within the EID. Homeless unemployed people are hired in uniformed cleaning crews to clean sidewalks, wash windows, and remove graffiti within the EID. Every year 5 to 10 participants are moved into mainstream jobs in the city's parking garages and janitorial services. The programme requires no public funds; all revenues are from property management service fees from the businesses located within the Economic Improvement District.

Source: Pomeroy and Frojmovic, 1995.

Box 14. 'Association Nivernaise d'Accueil et de Réinsertion', Nevers, France

The *Association Nivernaise d'Accueil et de Réinsertion* in Nevers, France, provides meaningful and appropriate work for people who have been in trouble with the law and to place them in housing. It provides paid work in environmental tasks (e.g., forestry) and a sewing workshop for men and women respectively. Some clients' involvement starts while they are still in prison, kept inside at night and let out during the day to work; their integration back into mainstream society is seen as primarily through the labour market.

It should here be noted that only a quarter of the people staying with the *Association Nivernaise d'Accueil et de Réinsertion* have the opportunity to follow skill-learning programmes. There are some 40,000 beds and 13,500 positions for skill learning opportunities in a total of 1,500 centres. The centres cater for some 500,000 homeless people each year.

Source: Edgar and others, 1999.

Box 15. The Big Issue newspaper, United Kingdom

The first edition of *The Big Issue* hit the streets in September 1991, first as a monthly paper, then fortnightly in August 1992 and weekly in June 1993. Although launched with capital from the Body Shop Foundation, it is now financed through sales and advertising revenues with surplus revenues going to *The Big Issue* Foundation (see box 11). When launched, there were four staff and many volunteers; now there are 90 staff in the London office working in the areas of editing, production, the Foundation, administration, accounts, advertising and distribution. Initially circulation was 30,000 a month; this has grown to almost 300,000 copies per week in 1997 with between 8,000 and 10,000 vendors in any one year. It has been named 'the publishing success venture of the 1990s'. The initial *Big Issue* in London has spawned three separate editions: *The Big Issue Cymru* sold in Wales, *Big Issue in the North* and *The Big Issue in Scotland*.

Source: Hanks and Swithinbank, 1997.

Box 16. Project Recover: 'Okios Village, Glenwood, Oregon

'Project Recover: 'Okios Village' is located at Glenwood, Oregon (between Eugene and Springfield), an unincorporated area that has long been recognised as a camping area for homeless persons. 'Oikos Village provides the urban and logistical hub for other rural or remote temporary, low-impact, integrative communities.

The objective is to develop a self-supporting minimum shelter community or safe haven to serve the increasing population of rural homeless people that tend to live in campgrounds and state/national parks. Many homeless people move to remote areas to escape harassment by urban authorities. There, they are able to subsist on food stamps and small quantities of cash. Clients are trained to undertake stream and river surveys as part of developing a restoration strategy for the Mohawk watershed and other ecosystem restoration projects.

There are also compensated work therapy programmes in conjunction with local Veterans Organisations and Veterans Industries. Residents live in tents, vehicles, or simple structures. Those wishing to build are assisted in the construction of modest homes. There is a strict drug- and alcohol-free policy. The programme will also provide a day access/service centre to anyone in need, an industrial kitchen for the local Food Rescue Express programme, education programmes and child care.

Source: Pomeroy and Frojmovic, 1995.

Box 17. Housing programmes of Bangladesh Red Crescent Society

Rehabilitation and post-disaster shelter is the main purpose of the housing programme run by the Bangladesh Red Crescent Society. It is foreign funded, mostly by the Red Cross Societies of Switzerland, Japan, Germany and the League of Red Cross. Loans to construct single-room new houses with CI sheet roof, bamboo pillars, and bamboo chips walls are available to landless families. There are also loans for income generation — usually Tk.500-1,000 per household, repayable by 11 to 24 monthly instalments of Tk.50, at 12 per cent per annum interest rate — mostly used for sharecropping, handicrafts, rice husking, and for buying materials by hawkers.

The housing is built on unutilised government land such as canal-sides, vacant land, etc. This saves money in avoiding purchasing land, and time on lengthy land acquisition procedures. The land is raised above flood level by the local government. Red Crescent houses are very basic, 4 or 5 metres by 5 or 6 metres, and costing approximately Tk.6,000 in 1984. They are given as a grant without any rent and the occupants have the right to transfer and sell. In some cases, beneficiaries contributed their labour at the time of construction.

The programme is very small compared with the overall size of the problem. It is also doubtful whether it could expand significantly and yet keep its informality, e.g., no rents, no lease, no defined selection and allocation process, and no duties on the part of the occupants.

Source: Rahman, 1993.

Box 18. Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee

The programme of the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC) gives loans of between Tk.2,500 ($60) and Tk.6,000 ($150) to purchase tin sheet roof materials. Its objective was to provide low-cost housing to give a sense of security to 6,000 people within the year 1988 and another 4,000 in 1989. By April 1991, BRAC had provided loans for nearly 13,000 houses worth a total of about $2 billion (Tk.57,000,000). The BRAC housing loans (which are funded by the Dutch charity NOVIB) are only given to group members and then at 8 per cent interest per annum to females and at 10.5 per cent to males. Usually the group members are involved in BRAC's income-generating programmes. The loan is repayable within 3 years by weekly instalments. BRAC's target group is people who are selling their manual labour for livelihood.

Source: Rahman, 1993.

Box 19. Children's right to shelter (South Africa)

In a recent court case in South Africa some squatters in Wallacedene in Kraaifontein, Eastern Cape, took the Government (e.g. the Oostenberg municipality, the Cape Metropolitan Council, The Premier of the Province of the Western Cape, the National housing Board and the National Government) to court following a forced eviction. As the evicted families did not have anywhere else to go, they "*had become truly homeless"*.

The applicants sought an order from the Court that the Government to (a) "*provide them with adequate and sufficient temporary shelter and/or housing*"; and (b) "*to provide adequate and sufficient basic nutrition, shelter, health care services and social services to all of the applicants children.*"

In his ruling the judge found that the first of the two claims could not be given as the right to "*have access to adequate housing*" in the South African constitution "*is not an unqualified obligation on the State to provide free housing on demand,*" as the constitution states that "*The State must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to achieve a progressive realisation of*" the right to have access to adequate housing (Section 26 of the Constitution). Furthermore, there "*is an express recognition by the framers of the Constitution that the right to housing cannot be effected immediately*."

In terms of the second claim, however, the judge found that every child has an unqualified "*right to basic nutrition, shelter, basic health care services and social services*" (section 28(1)(c) of the Constitution). Furthermore, section 28(1)(b) provides that "*every child has the right to family care or parental care*".

The judge thus ruled that —

"*(a)   the applicant children are entitled to be provided with shelter by the appropriate organ or department of the state;*

(b)   the applicants parents are entitled to be accommodated with their children in the aforegoing shelter; and

(c)   the appropriate organ or department of the state is obliged to provide the applicant children, and their accompanying parents, with such shelter until such time as the parents are able to shelter their own children."

Source: High Court of South Africa, 1999.

Box 20. Catholic Action for Street Children, Accra, Ghana

The Catholic Action for Street Children (CAS), in Accra, Ghana runs a day-refuge open to any of the 11,000 street children. It provides a place where street children can play games, rest, wash, receive medical treatment, and keep their money and belongings safe. They can receive advice about their life and future, and follow programmes in literacy and in skills training. The children must follow strict rules — no fighting, stealing, drinking alcohol, smoking, gambling, etc. About 100 children call there per day but contact has been made with over 2,000 street children. There are mini-refuges at various places in the city where outreach work is conducted. CAS works closely with Street Girls Aid, which runs a refuge in Maamobi for pregnant girls. They can stay in the refuge over the period of their confinement and after delivery, receiving medical advice and care, and advice on childcare. At Accra's main Makola Market, CAS provides three crèches for the children of girls working in the market.

Source: CAS, 1999.

Box 21. The Long Term Services For Youth Association, Halifax, Canada

The Long Term Services For Youth Association (LTSFYA), in downtown Halifax, Nova Scotia in Canada, was established in February 1987 following a 1984 study addressing rising concern about young street people. The initial services were supervised residence and follow-up counselling, but independent apartments were added in 1992, and a Drop-in Crisis Centre was initiated in 1994.

LTSFYA has evolved from a residential shelter to a full continuum of services which have adapted in response to an identified need to enable young people at risk and homeless young people (aged 16-24) to establish the skills, confidence and ability to live independently. It delivers four programmes:

- The Phoenix Centre is a drop-in crisis resource centre providing 24-hour counselling. It provides a first exit off the street with a range of services including coffee/juice, shower and laundry, health care and counselling, emergency shelter referrals and assistance in finding long term accommodation.

- Phoenix House is a 10-bed supervised, 24 hours, residence for three-month to two-year stays. It provides long term care to young people aged 16-24 who has no safe place to live.

- A supervised rented apartment programme providing independent living apartments each for three young people plus a live-in counsellor.

- Follow-up counselling and advocacy for former residents to ensure that they have access to support and counselling services.

Source: Pomeroy and Frojmovic, 1995.

Box 22. The Mosoj Yan Centre, Cochabamba, Bolivia

This centre opened in March, 1991, to deal with two very different populations of girls and adolescents. There are education and recreation programmes aimed at stemming the tide which moves girls from being 'on the street' (working children) to becoming 'of the street'. For the girls 'of the street', there is a rehabilitation programme. However, the two populations do not mix well because of dilemmas caused by simultaneous attraction and rejection. The working girls reject the street girls because they are taught to do so by their mentors. This results in insults and fights in Centre. At the same time, they are attracted by the freedom the street girls seem to enjoy and, thus, the contact in the Centre could speed up the process onto the street instead of stemming it.

Mosoj Yan works with a group of young people who have been on the streets for as long as ten years. Most are couples between 15 and 25 who live together with their children. This outreach is in health education, rehabilitation (all sniff glue), literacy work, family planning and introducing opportunities to reflect on change and alternative lifestyles. In 1991, three teenage mothers decided to come off the street and went to a single mothers house run by Infante, where they could stay for up to one year and receive skills training.

Mosoj Yan also has outreach work to groups of younger street girls, between the ages of 12 and 14. These girls do not yet have a stable partner, have not become totally street wise, are just starting to use inhalants and are still open to new ideas and choices. The drop-in centre provides a stable base where they can attend and form friendships that motivate discussion, reflection and change.

The majority of relationships between the men and women on the streets last for 4-8 months and result in the birth of a child who has no father. This causes bitterness and disappointment in the young women, who usually come from one-parent families themselves and have no illusions about ever having a stable, enjoyable relationship with a man. The project staff understand that working with the couple is impossible because relationships are so temporary and involve considerable violence and abuse. Thus they work in a single gender context.

For working girls, the activities include formal and informal education, orientation, recreation, workshops and services. The programme is aimed at stimulation to continue schooling, reflection on the choices open to them in areas of study, work, family, faith, motherhood etc., strengthening family ties and preventing drug abuse, unwanted pregnancies and transformation into street girls. For the hard core population 'of the streets', there is a rehabilitation programme to help them make a conscious choice for a different lifestyle, based on an analysis of past experience.

Source: Anderson, 1993.

Box 23. The Undugu Basic Education programme, Nairobi, Kenya

The Undugu Basic Education programme in Kenya began under the auspices of a voluntary, church-related organisation, the Undugu Society of Kenya. Four community schools serve 700 students in the informal settlements of Nairobi.

The curriculum is technical and vocational, with some emphasis placed upon literacy and practical aspects of science, animal husbandry and business education. Apprenticeship with a local artisan is encouraged after completion of the fourth year. In the past, the government has given graduates an official certificate and some even continued to train under the auspices of the Kenyan Minister of Culture and Social Sciences. The Ministry of Education is reluctant to recognise the programme or the qualifications of its teachers.

The Undugu Society also runs schools for street children who collect scrap, where the focus is upon the acquisition of basic numeracy. It gives scholarships and assistance to some young people for regular school costs.

Sources: Gichuru, 1987; Innocenti Global Seminar, 1993; and Epstein, 1996.

Box 24. 'Escola Tia Ciata', Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

Escola Tia Ciata was set up in Rio de Janeiro to control the trend of school failure. The school addressed the challenge of recovering those adolescents who had been excluded and discriminated against for not letting themselves be taught how to read and write through spelling books whose content and structure helped destroy their own (black) cultural identity. The school was named after a woman who represents resistance, organisation, and black cultural leadership in Rio de Janeiro.

The bureaucracy inherent in Brazilian public service militates against lower-class people getting into schools and hospitals. As experience had shown that applicants did not have formal documents, *Escola Tia Ciata* sought to break with conventional administrative formalism and received any student at any time of the school year even without such documents.

The school tried to reflect the children's life histories. It prepared teachers to teach outside of a grade structure. Teaching the children how to read and write became a continuous, inter-disciplinary process centred on the complex, conflict-ridden culture of the children themselves.

The methods that the children and adolescents had created to allow them to succeed on the street were used in their formal learning. Their geographical sense reflected their spatial mobility, their aptitude for mathematical reasoning grew out of their sales activity or sharing the proceeds from petty thefts. Thus, traditional teaching methods contained in spelling books and textbooks were replaced by research into students' own life stories. Even aggressiveness played an important part, as it is the way that these children face everyday life in their search for survival. There were 500 children involved but, unfortunately, in March 1989, the incoming mayor of the city of Rio de Janeiro refused to support the school because it did not belong to his political party and *Escola Tia Ciata* had to close.

Source: Leite and Esteves, 1991.

Box 25. The 'Foyer' movement in Northern Europe

Foyers originated in France during World War I when *Foyers du soldats* were set up around the battle front to provide eating and sleeping facilities in barns and houses. They continued after the war in response to the movement of people across the country looking for work. It is thought that they prevented the development of a population of homeless young people there. There are now some 45,000 bed spaces in foyers around France catering for specific groups of young people such as young workers, students, women only, etc.

The client group are young people who:

- are in need of a supported housing;

- are not prepared for a job;

- have basic education needs;

- need training in life skills in order to live independently; or

- have multiple needs that require support and guidance.

Foyers provide them with affordable accommodation linked to training for work, with support in terms of life skills training, advice and guidance (e.g., personal healthcare). Assistance is also given in seeking employment and more permanent and appropriate accommodation once the person has shown him/herself able to benefit from it.

In 1998, there were 40 foyers in the United Kingdom where every major city in the United Kingdom has one or more, mostly provided by housing associations or voluntary agencies.

Source: YMCA, 1999; and Shell, 1998.

Box 26. The Rideau Street Youth Enterprises, Ottawa, Canada

The Rideau Street Youth Enterprises (RSYE) in Inner City Ottawa, Canada, was founded in May, 1993, to help young street adults, aged 24 years and under, move away from life on the streets through programs that assist them to enter the work force or pursue their education.

In 1994, approximately 265 young street adults were involved in the Job Bank providing temporary employment with local businesses, and 70 were involved in the arts and crafts programme. The specific needs to be addressed by RSYE were identified by young street adults during a consultation held in May, 1993.

The related Rideau Street Youth Initiative provides shorter term responses to help young street adults address some of their immediate needs, provides opportunities to develop leadership skills and skills in areas which matter to young adults. It gives them a chance to play an active part in the changes occurring in that part of the city. They can participate in the organisation of a number of activities and projects, including the development and publication of a street newsletter and a job bank.

Social services agencies provide a variety of support services, such as counselling, emergency food and shelter, advocacy, life skills training and health services, and assist in the process of re-integration.

Source: Pomeroy and Frojmovic, 1995.

Box 27. NoSort Recycling, Ottawa, Canada

NoSort Recycling in Ottawa, Canada began in May 1994 through Rideau Street Youth Enterprises as a federally supported pilot project employing 13 young street adults on a full time basis for six months. It offers a recycling service tailored to the needs of local businesses.

The programme is oriented to providing longer-term solutions for young street adults by demanding a six-month commitment towards the development of skills and education. Participants do not receive welfare payments during the programme, and commit themselves to six months of full time employment and returning to school. Upon successful completion of the programme, participants are provided with a $2,000 voucher that is used toward either returning to school or starting up a small business.

NoSort Recycling has approximately 200 contracts with local businesses to pick up recyclable garbage. Revenue is made through this collection and the sale of recycled products to a local waste management company.

Source: Pomeroy and Frojmovic, 1995.

Box 28. Streets Ahead, London, United Kingdom

Starting from the premise that most homeless young people are neither workshy nor unqualified, Streets Ahead was set up by the charity Centrepoint in association with Camberwell Foyer. It acts as a recruitment agency providing access to job vacancies for people who have experienced homelessness and are now 'job-ready' and looking for work. Many of the job seekers are well qualified (38 per cent have at least one degree) and 23 per cent have a good working knowledge of another European language. Employers have generally expressed their satisfaction with recruits gained through Streets Ahead.

Source: Centrepoint, 1999.

Box 29. The YouthBuild Programme, New York City

The YouthBuild Programme in East Harlem, New York City, was established in 1979 to provide opportunities for high school drop-outs, aged 17-24, to gain job- and life-skills and to provide affordable housing to young homeless families. Formerly homeless parents and their children, and 45 young adults, many of them 'at risk' of homelessness, have been trained in an 11-month programme each year. Over 600 young adults have been trained since the programme's inception and more than 150 formerly homeless people have been housed.

The 11-month YouthBuild programme is offered to local high school dropouts who commit themselves to 5½ months of on-the-job training and 5½ months of academic work, aimed at completing high school. Job skills are acquired by renovating apartments. Participants receive the minimum wage during the construction phase, and a below minimum wage during the education component. There is also help related to job-hunting, personal and professional development, crisis intervention, and referrals to a number of agencies. A second component of leadership development involves the young adults in the identification and design of community-based interventions in a range of social, economic and political issues affecting the East Harlem community.

The housing component of the programme involves the identification and placement of young homeless families in the renovated apartments. The New York City Authority identifies potential tenants currently living in the City's shelters. The programme has been replicated across the United States of America to combine the development of young adults at risk of homelessness with the provision of shelter for homeless people.

Source: Pomeroy and Frojmovic, 1995.

Figure 1. Types of housing adequacy

	High security	Low security
High quality	1	2
Low quality	3	4

Source: FEANTSA, 1999.

Figure 2. Cosgrove's matrix of street children

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2"></td><td rowspan="2"></td><td colspan="3">Family involvement</td></tr>
<tr><td>Effectively involved</td><td>Inconsistent involvement</td><td>No effective involvement</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">Relatedness to norms</td><td>Essentially conforming</td><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inconsistently conforming</td><td>4</td><td>5</td><td>6</td></tr>
<tr><td>Pervasively nonconforming</td><td>7</td><td>8</td><td>9</td></tr>
</table>

Source: Cosgrove, 1990.

Figure 3. The continuum of care

```
┌──────────────┐
│ Outreach     │
│ Intake       │
│ Assessment   │
└──────┬───────┘
       │
       ▼
┌──────────────┐      ┌──────────────┐      ┌──────────────┐
│ Emergency    │─────▶│ Transitional │─────▶│ Permanent    │
│ Shelter      │      │ Housing      │      │ Housing      │
└──────┬───────┘      └──────────────┘      └──────────────┘
       │                                    ┌──────────────┐
       └───────────────────────────────────▶│ Supportive   │
                                            │ Housing      │
                                            └──────────────┘
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Source: USA, 1994.

Table 1. Demographic growth rates, per cent per year (1990-2020)

Region	Average annual population increase				Average annual increase in number of households		
	1990-2000	2000-2010	2010-2020		1990-2000	2000-2010	2010-2020
High-income industrial countries	0.53	0.32	0.25		1.29	1.10	0.92
Other industrial countries*	0.09	0.04	0.02		0.84	0.61	0.42
Developing countries	1.72	1.48	1.27		2.51	2.38	2.02
Latin America & Caribbean	1.62	1.35	1.11		2.67	2.35	1.98
Sub-Saharan Africa	2.80	2.66	2.44		2.51	2.81	2.89
North Africa and Middle East	2.26	2.05	1.70		2.89	2.75	2.40
Asia & Pacific	1.48	1.20	0.97		2.45	2.30	1.86
India	1.68	1.35	0.99		2.29	2.13	1.77
China	1.00	0.67	0.59		2.49	2.39	1.85
Rest of Asia & Pacific	1.92	1.67	1.36		2.53	2.28	1.97
World total	**1.43**	**1.23**	**1.07**		**2.07**	**1.96**	**1.69**

*: Countries with economies in transitions (e.g. countries of Eastern Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States).

Source: Based on United Nations, 1996c; and UNCHS, 1996b.

Table 2. 'Income' poverty in developing countries (1985-2000)

Region	Number of poor (millions)			Poor as proportion of total population (per cent)		
	World Bank		UNDP	World Bank		UNDP
	1985	1997	1989-94	1985	1997	1989-94
Latin America & Caribbean	87	130	110	22.4	26.3	23.8
Sub-Saharan Africa	184	220	200	47.6	35.8	39
North Africa & Middle East	60	10	10	31.0	3.5	4
Asia & Pacific	714	960	980	27.4	30.9	33
South Asia (incl. India)	532	510	560	51.8	39.6	45
India	..	..	460	..	..	52.5
East Asia & Pacific (incl. China)	182	450	420	13.2	24.7	25.0
China	..	280	350	..	22.2	29.4
Total developing countries	**1,046**	**1,320**	**1,300**	**30.9**	**30.0**	**32.2**

Source: UNCHS, 1999a (based on UNDP, 1998a; UNDP, 1998b; United Nations, 1996; World Bank, 1988; and World Bank, 1999).

Table 3. Cooper's categories of homelessness

Degree of homelessness	Characteristics
Absolute homelessness	People without an acceptable roof over their heads, living on the streets, under bridges and deserted buildings
First degree relative homelessness	People moving between various forms of temporary or medium term shelter such as refuges, boarding houses, hostels or friends
Second degree relative homelessness	People constrained to live permanently in single rooms in private boarding houses
Third degree relative homelessness/ inadequate housing/incipient homelessness	Housed but without conditions of 'home', e.g., security, safety, or inadequate standards

Source: Cooper, 1995.

Table 4. 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

Source: Hertzberg, 1992.

Table 5. Differences between street homeless and squatters in South Africa

Indicators	Street homeless	Squatters
Type of settlement	spontaneous	spontaneous/informal
Access to land	invasion/illegal	invasion (legal/illegal)
Permanence	not permanent/itinerant	permanent/impermanent
Organisation	semi-/not organised	organised
Physical planning	not planned	quasi/informal planning
Location	city centres (more often)	urban periphery
Growth	expands without control	increase/expands in density over a limited area
Type of building materials	scavenged cardboard boxes/blankets	wood, iron sheets, sometimes mud walls are built
Life span of housing	weekly or monthly	under five years
Security of tenure	none	partial or temporary
Safety	unsafe	minimum safety
Employment	unemployed/very erratic	full-time employment in most cases

Source: Based on Olufemi, 1998: 227.

Table 6. The scale of homelessness within the European Economic Area: homeless people per one thousand inhabitants (early 1990s)		
High rates (>4 per 1,000)	**Medium rates (1-2 per 1,000)**	**Low rates (<1 per 1,000)**
France	Austria	Belgium
Germany	Finland	Denmark
United Kingdom	Ireland	Greece
	Italy	Iceland
	Norway	Luxembourg
	Sweden	Netherlands
		Portugal
		Spain

Note: The European Economic Area consists of all European Union member states plus Iceland, Liechtenstein (for which no data are available) and Norway.

Source: FEANTSA, 1999.

Table 7. Street homelessness in Eastern and Central Europe, selected countries (1990s)

Country	Official definition(s)?	Estimated number	Year of data
Czech Republic	Yes, two	75,000	1994
Hungary	Yes, two	25-50,000	1999
Poland	Yes	35-500,000 (officially 40,000)	1999
Slovakia	No	No data	-
Slovenia	-	No data	-
Total Central Europe	**-**	**135-625,000**	**-**
Bulgaria	No	7,000	1994
Croatia	-	383,000	1994
Romania	-	4,500	1994
Total South Eastern Europe *	**-**	**400,000**	
Russian Federation	No**	350,000 (official), 10 million	1997 1999

*: Excluding Albania, Bosnia and Yugoslavia.

**: State bureaucrats use '*bomz'*, which is the abbreviation of 'persons without permanent residence and job.'

Source: Central-East European Regional Housing Indicators Programme, 1996, cited in FEANTSA, 1999.

Table 8. Substandard housing. in Eastern and Central Europe, selected countries (1994)

Country	Substandard housing as percentage of national housing stock	Substandard housing as percentage of housing stock in capital city
Bulgaria**	6.1 / 19	4.2 / 12
Croatia	14.0	7.0
Czech Republic	8.6	5.9
Estonia	1.6	n.a.
Hungary**	22.2 / 3.6	10.3 / 2.4
Latvia	24.0	23.0
Poland	28.5	6.0
Romania	4.7	5.9
Slovakia	14.8	1.3
Slovenia	13.4	5.3

*:   Substandard housing is defined as housing with at least one of the following problems: housing built for temporary use; housing units not fulfilling the minimal regulatory criteria for housing in the building code (e.g., units in basements); housing without basic utilities (no indoor toilet and bathroom); and housing in buildings in exceptionally bad physical condition.

**:   The source does not provide an explanation for the two sets of data.

Source: Central-East European Regional Housing Indicators Programme, 1996, cited in FEANTSA, 1999.

Table 9. Need for social housing in Eastern and Central Europe, capital cities (1990, 1994)

Country	Number			Percentage of total population	
	1990	1994		1990	1994
Bulgaria	109,900	30,200		9.6	2.7
Croatia	n.a.	200,000		n.a.	n.a.
Czech Republic	10,000	12,000		0.8	1.0
Hungary	49,000	75,000		2.4	3.8
Latvia	86,400	22,600		9.5	2.6
Lithuania	n.a.	14,600		n.a.	2.5
Poland	n.a.	10,300		n.a.	1.1
Romania	n.a.	52,000		n.a.	2.5
Slovenia	n.a.	1,900		n.a.	0.7

Note: The need for social housing is defined as the number of the local population on low income with a need for housing. Demand for social housing is defined as the number of low income people with at least one of the following problems: being homeless (street homeless); living in overcrowded conditions (based on the national or local definition of overcrowding); living in (above mentioned) substandard housing; and living under notice to leave within a definite time.

Source: Central-East European Regional Housing Indicators Programme, 1996, cited in FEANTSA, 1999.

Table 10. Services for the poor

Approach	Accommodation	Homeless services	Financial services/ support
Emergency/ crisis	Traditional night shelters	Advice/reception	Income
	Hostel for special groups (ex-offenders, single mothers, etc.)	Emergency facilities	
		Soup kitchens and clothes stores	
		Medical facilities	
Transitional/ support	Transitional housing		Social support
	Sheltered housing		
	Supported housing		
Permanent/ integration		Work insertion/ training	Employment
	Ordinary housing	Work	Housing

Source: Edgar and others, 1999: 56.

Table 11. Homeless street children's intervention priorities, Kumasi, Ghana		
Priority	**Boys (Rank)**	**Girls (Rank)**
Formal education	1	-
Skills training	2	2
Business credit	3	1
Accommodation	4	5
Bath facilities	5	4
Health care	6	6
Security	7	-
Guidance/counselling services	-	3

Source: Korboe, 1996.

Table 12. The four stages of the Bosconia project, Cali, Colombia

	Stage	Activities
1.	An open access walk in centre	Children can wash, play, have a meal, meet other children, and talk to project workers
2.	A residential programme	Classroom work, recreational activities, group discussions, and work activities. Counsellors emphasise detoxification, motivation, and the elimination of street ethics
3.	Full time school education and specific vocational skills	Work skills such as market gardening and making small goods for sale.
4.	A self-governing community	Support, disciplinary problems, and sanctions dealt with by peers.

Source: Lusk, 1989.

List of Acronyms

AIDS	Acquired Immuno-Deficiency Syndrome
BAWO	*Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft Wohnungslosenhilfe* (Austria)
BRAC	Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee
CARC	Chesapeake Area Recovery Communities (Baltimore, United States of America)
CARITAS	Catholic Aid Organisation (*caritas* is Latin for 'care')
CAS	Catholic Action for Street Children (Ghana)
CVCLT	Central Vermont Community Land Trust (United States of America)
DERA	Downtown Eastside Residents Association (Vancouver, Canada)
DFID	Department for International Development (United Kingdom)
EID	Economic Improvement District (United States of America)
FEANTSA	The European Federation of National Organisations working with the Homeless
FOHM	*La Federacion des Organismes sans but lucratif d'habitation de Montreal* (Canada)
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HUDCO	Housing and Urban Development Corporation (India)
LTSFYA	Long Term Services for Youth Association (Canada)
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
OHCHR	Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
RIS	Resource Information Services (London, United Kingdom)
RSI	Rough Sleeper's Initiative (United Kingdom)
RSYE	Rideau Street Youth Enterprises (Ottawa, Canada)
SAD	Association of Shelters (Czech Republic)
SHARE	Self-Help and Resource Exchange (United States of America)
SPARC	Society for the Promotion of Area Resource Centres (India)
SVDP	Saint Vincent de Paul Village (United States of America)
UNCHS	United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat)
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund

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1. This is mainly due to reduced household sizes. In high-income industrial countries for example, the number of households is projected to increase with an average of 3.9 million per year during the 2000-2010 period, while the population is projected to increase with only 2.8 million per year. Similar figures for China are 10.2 and 8.9 million. Figures for developing countries (except China) are 18.7 and 68.1 million, e.g. some 4 persons are added to the populations of these countries for each additional household created.

2. In other words, rented for less than 30 per cent of the highest income of those renters. The programmes of the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) often require 30 per cent of a household's adjusted income.

3. Including 'Reaganomics' and 'Thatcherism', and the World Bank's almost universal imposition of structural adjustment programmes.

4. According to the New Internationalist (1999), 40 per cent of those officially recognised as homeless in the United Kingdom became so because their parents, relatives or friends were no longer willing or able to accommodate them.

5. People living in 'income poverty' are defined as those with an income of less than US$ 1.00 per day, measured in 1985 dollars at purchasing poverty parities, or roughly $1.50 per day in 1997 in the United States of America.

6. An overview of the text of the most relevant articles/paragraphs of international instruments related to homelessness and the right to housing can be found in annex I. A more detailed overview of relevant international instruments on the right to housing can be found in a recent UNCHS (Habitat) report (1999d).

7. Adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1988.

8. The first United Nations Conference on Human Settlements, convened in Vancouver, Canada in 1976.

9. See United Nations, 1991b: 114-120.

10. See also Glasser, 1994.

11. The latter are not included among the homeless in this report.

12. These are unused large sewerage pipes left on the surface.

13. Although some definitions exclude people who might be regarded as obviously homeless, i.e., men who are found on the streets at night, because they are not going to be subject to help of any kind (as in the United Kingdom).

14. Though neither 'permanent' nor 'adequate' are self-explanatory.

15. Although most renters have relatively long tenancies — median was 11 years in 1988 (Malpezzi and others, 1990) — in law they have no security in competition with the landlord's kin (Tipple, 1988).

16. For instance, the GSS 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". See also annex II.

17. These categories are similar to those used in a Canadian study: literally homeless; moving in and out of homelessness; and marginally housed and at risk of homelessness (Peressini and others, 1995).

18. BAWO, 1999; cited in UNCHS 1999c.

19. Such choice is questionable when it was made by a child in response to parental chemical dependency and constant mobility, or one who believed that his/her leaving would provide more food for his siblings (Hertzberg, 1992).

20. The remaining two categories which we exclude from homelessness counts are: low-income renters of private units, and people in overcrowded dwellings.

21. Data from 1995.

22. See annex II for details on the concept of adequate housing.

23. These are both Hindi terms for huts, and the local term for squatter areas.

24. See Hartman, 1985; and Hertzberg, 1992.

25. These numbers do not include people who rotate between friends and relatives, or stay in 'unconventional dwellings' (Avramov, 1995). On the other hand, they are higher than in countries where fewer efforts are made to contact homeless people and, so, reflect the service-statistics-paradox.

26. In the United Kingdom, statistics show that about 60 per cent of the statutorily homeless households were prioritised because they had one or more dependent children in 1995 (Department of the Environment statistics presented in Burrows, 1998). Hence at least half of the homeless households included at least two people (which generates the factor 1.5 used above).

27. The data from North Rhine-Westphalia refers to 30 June each year and shows

the cyclical nature of homelessness. From a level of about 50,000 homeless people in 1985 the figure fell to 36,000 in 1988, increased to 62,000 in 1994 and fell to 36,000 in 1998 (Busch-Geertsma, 1999, cited in FEANTSA, 1999).

28. A once prosperous district of Yokohama that was rebuilt after World War II as a site for cheap hotels housing day-labourers working in construction and at the American navy base.

29. Neither of these figures include data on the victims of war in the Balkans or in the Caucasus. Apart from the data on the Russian Federation, no data are available from any of the former Soviet republics of Eastern Europe and Central Asia.

30. See for example Pye, 1991; and Glasser, 1994.

31. Usable housing stock is defined as '*pucca'* plus '*semi-pucca'* plus serviceable '*kutcha'* housing. See UNCHS, 1996a.

32. Depending on whether we assume that housing lasts 20 or 100 years, at the extremes cited here, before rebuilding or major renovation is required.

33. United Nations Commission on Human Rights, 49[th] session, Resolution no. 1993/ 77.

34. Evictions are also often effected by private land owners.

35. This does not include cases involving effectively administered displacements carried out in settlements being located in high risk sites, such as areas under high voltage cables or in landslide zones.

36. It should be noted that several among the Maroko people had already been evicted twice before. The first instance was the Central Lagos Clearance Scheme in the 1950s (before the visit of Queen Elizabeth), and the second was from the Faromo squatter settlement area in the mid-1960s (UNCHS, 1993).

37. It also claimed the lives of 10,000 people while injuring 50,000. Two-thirds of the damage in monetary terms (estimated at about US $4 billion) was in housing units.

38. The word 'slum' is both ill-defined and perjorative. However, it is so commonly used in India to refer to unauthorised settlements, in which conditions are usually extremely poor, that it is reasonable to continue the cited author's use of the term in this case. In Indian legislation, slums are defined as areas that are "environmentally and structurally deficient" (India, 1988). The 1981 Census of India used the definition of slums as given in the Slum Area Act 1956 as areas where buildings are unfit for human habitation for reasons such as dilapidation, over-crowding, faulty arrangement of streets, and a lack of

ventilation, light or sanitary facilities (Swaminathan, 1995).

39. This corresponds well with data from Norway, which indicate that the average age of homeless men is 37 years and that of women 33. In fact, 47 per cent of the homeless women in Norway were younger than 30 years, compared to 31 per cent among homeless men (Ulfrstad, 1997).

40. Homeless children will be dealt with in greater detail in chapter **Error! Reference source not found.** below.

41. In many societies, unequal property inheritance rights may lead to more women becoming homeless as they lose their homes following the deaths of their husbands (see UNCHS, 1999e).

42. This argument seems likely, but it should be kept in mind that there is not much substantive support for these claims (FEANTSA, 1999: 27).

43. Who may be mothers but whose children are no longer with them.

44. See Avramov, 1995; and Ulfrstad, 1997.

45. This quotation could as readily be applied to homeless people in general.

46. The fact that a majority of street children maintain family links has been confirmed by Scanlon and others (1998), and by research in Brazil (Judge, 1987); Colombia (Aptekar, 1988; Pineda and others, 1978; Felsman, 1981a, 1981b, 1984); Costa Rica (Valverde and Lusk, 1989); Ghana (Korboe, 1996); Kenya (Wainaina, 1981; Kariuki, 1999); Mexico (Lusk and others, 1989); and Paraguay (Carrizona and Poertner, 1992).

47. It is hard to believe that a parent could do such a thing to a child, but Bibars (1998) contains interviews with children who claim to have been maimed by relatives (as close as uncles) so that they can beg more effectively.

48. The Department of International Economic and Social Affairs in the United States of America has estimated that there are anywhere between 30 and 170 million street children worldwide.

49. See Carrizona and Poertner, 1992. Among these, some have estimated the figure at between 25 and 40 million (Tacon, 1981 and 1982; UNICEF, 1985; Fall, 1986; Cosgrove, 1990). The Inter-American Children's Institute in Uruguay placed the figure at 50 million (Lusk and others, 1989; Saraiva, 1984).

50. Silva (1988) estimated a figure of 7 million; Hoge (1983) ten million; Tacon (1982) 13 million; UNICEF estimated 24 million in 1992 (Epstein, 1996); while Carrizosa and Poertner (1992) suggested a total of 30 million.

51. The source of this figure, the UNICEF data quoted by Epstein (1996), seems to err on the high side in the Latin American context, and may be an over-estimate here also.

52. Lusk (1992) presents a very similar typology. He classified the children interviewed in his study in Rio de Janeiro into four groups: family-based street workers, independent street workers, children of the streets and children of street families.

53. According to Lusk (1992) this group, which he calls 'independent street workers' have weaker links to the family than the 'family-based street workers'. They are ther largest group in his sample in Rio de Janeiro (about 50 per cent).

54. The content of this sub-chapter is based on Patel, 1990.

55. The content of this sub-chapter is based on Cosgrove, 1990.

56. See for instance Agnelli, 1986; and Dallape, 1987.

57. See for instance Dallape, 1987; Onyango and Kariuki, 1992; and Aptekar, 1993.

58. Unequal property inheritance rights in many societies (both *de facto* and *de jure*), increase the risk of girls becoming homeless (see Lee-Smith, 1997).

59. See for instance Agnelli, 1986; Kariuki, 1989; Kilbride and Kilbride, 1990; Nowrojee, 1990; and Onyango and Kariuki, 1992.

60. See for instance Williams, 1983; Lusk, 1989; and Valverde and Lusk, 1989.

61. See Human Rights Watch, 1994; Scanlon and others, 1998.

62. The difference is that they do not have to pay the (typically) three years' rent advance that the renter would have to find.

63. See Felsman, 1981a; Lusk, 1989; and Valverde and Lusk, 1989.

64. The allocation of transport money to encourage children to attend school, allowing students to attend school when their shelter is located outside of their former school district jurisdiction, etc.

65. In prinicple, such 'delegation' of responsibilities to the private sector is unproblematic, as long as it also includes transfer of funds to pay for the services. Unfortunately, this is frequently not the case.

66. See Clapham and others, 1990; Evans, 1991; and Neale, 1997.

67. *Nadìje* (meaning hope) is one of the largest charities in the Czech Republic.

68. 'Stable Housing in Place of Shelters.'

69. Mahila Milan (which means 'Women Together') is a collective of women pavement and slum dwellers in Mumbai, India. It was founded by 600 women living on the pavements of Mumbai with assistance from SPARC.

70. *Citywatch: India,* 6, March, 1998.

71. See for example Swift, 1989; and Project meta 2000, 1997.

72. FEANTSA suggests that 100 per cent would be a more appropriate target (FEANTSA, 2000a).

73. See Blunt, 1994; and Epstein, 1996.

74. See Innocenti Global Seminar, 1993; and Epstein, 1996.

75. Because multihabitation is the norm across the poorer neighbourhoods of Kumasi, and given the pseudo-kinship ties that are quickly established between the discrete households sharing these compounds, access to television viewing is remarkably high for the city's poor.

76. In France, however, there has actually been an increase (information from FEANTSA, February 2000).

77. E.g. those in crisis poverty and those suffering from chronic disabilities.

78. A similar analysis of the partnership approach in Sweden is found in the Swedish National Report for FEANTSA in 1997 (Sahlin 1998; cited in FEANTSA, 1999).

79. By the Observtory on Homelessness for instance (FEANTSA, 1999).

80. See Borner Stax and Koch-Nielsen, 1998; Sahlin, 1998; and Busch-Geertsema, 1999.

81. See Sahlin 1998; Busch-Geertsema 1999; and FEANTSA, 1999.

82. The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (United Nations, 1966b)

83. *Citywatch: India*, 6, March, 1998.

84. In this case, undercounting probably takes place as there is no service being offered.

85. This is especially so in developing countries where building standards generate housing that is too costly for most people.

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Strategies to Combat Homelessness

Within the next few years, and for the first time in human history, more people will live in cities and towns than in rural areas. This process of urbanisation is linked to what has been called the 'urbanisation of poverty', the fact that a rapidly increasing proportion of the world's poor are now living in urban areas.

In developing countries, sprawling slums and squatter settlements and a multitude of street children roaming the streets looking for income-earning opportunities or a place to spend the night are the most striking manifestations of this. The inhabitants of even the most affluent countries are reminded that poverty is present even there every time they encounter a homeless person.

The objective of this report is to take stock of global homelessness. It does not attempt to provide comprehensive data on the number of homeless people. Instead, it focuses on the context and conditions that cause homelessness and examines strategies that have been or can be used to combat homelessness. The report acknowledges that, for a variety of reasons, it is not possible to agree on a definition of homelessness that can be universally applied. It calls instead for a more pragmatic approach. Two main categories of definitions are suggested, a narrow one for developing countries and a broader one for industrial countries, which includes the inadequately housed.

The plight of street children is a major concern in many developing countries. The problems facing homeless children living by themselves are quite different from those of other homeless people. Different types of interventions are thus required for street children and other persons who are homeless. Furthermore, only a minority of street children is homeless. Interventions for street children today should be regarded as elements of a preventative strategy to reduce the number of homeless people tomorrow.

Although this report is intended to have a global coverage, the examples cited are largely drawn from industrial countries. This is due to lack of data. Many Governments continue to maintain that homelessness does not exist (often despite compelling evidence to the contrary). Yet, even in countries that do recognise the existence of homelessness, lack of data is a major impediment to the development of coherent policies and strategies on homelessness. In line with the Habitat Agenda, this report calls upon Governments and other stakeholders to monitor and evaluate the extent of homelessness, and *"in consultation with the affected population"* formulate and adopt *"appropriate housing policies and ... effective strategies and plans to address"* this problem (paragraph 61.d). Although the examples cited are specific to local conditions, they may provide useful guidance to developing countries as these countries start addressing the problems of homeless people.

There is little doubt that the best way to combat homelessness is to avoid people becoming homeless in the first place. As unemployment is one of the most important reasons why people become homeless, national policies towards the goal of full employment and on establishing/strengthening safety nets are major components in combating homelessness. Another major task for Governments in this respect is to facilitate an adequate supply of affordable housing to every household. This is a viable strategy in many industrial countries. In many developing countries, however, the sheer scale of housing shortages makes this kind of strategy a rather hypothetical option.

It is thus important that Governments in developing countries address the problems of homeless people with specific focus in their housing policies. This focus should be distinct from the general measures for supporting housing production, which can not effectively address the plight of homeless people. The Global Strategy for Shelter to the Year 2000, chapter 7 of Agenda 21 and the Habitat Agenda all call for the introduction and strengthening of enabling shelter strategies. Enablement *per se* may, and will in most cases have rather limited direct value for people who are homeless. This fact is underscored by the Habitat Agenda, which calls for direct interventions in the promotion of activities favouring people who are homeless and street children *"through specific targeted grants"* (paragraph 204.y).

In order to be successful, strategies to combat homelessness need to be based on a public policy framework that incorporates employment policy and housing policy, as well as social safety nets and housing allowances.

This report is published as a part of the Global Campaign for Secure Tenure, which is one of the main thrusts of the new strategic vision of UNCHS (Habitat) to implement the Habitat Agenda. The Campaign's focus on eliminating forced evictions is a major effort towards reducing the number of homeless people globally.

I wish to express my appreciation and gratitude to all those who have contributed to the preparation of this report.

<div align="center">
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</div>

Strategies to Combat Homelessness

Executive summary
I. Introduction

1. This report gathers together experiences of homelessness from a wide range of countries to shed light on the issues involved in combating it. For clarity, two sets of divisions are used. The regional information is grouped into high-income industrial countries, countries with economies in transition and developing countries. The issues of street children are dealt with separately from those of other homeless persons

2. Even in high-income countries, increasing numbers of households are living on low incomes or in poverty, with young people being worst hit. The risks of homelessness have increased, partly due to the general trend towards reducing social welfare. Increased commercialisation in the housing sector has made low-income groups increasingly dependent on various forms of housing benefits.

3. Adequate housing is recognised by the United Nations as a human right. Rights-based housing strategies have thus been developed, urging governments to combat, reduce and eradicate homelessness.

4. Homelessness can be seen as a condition of detachment from society characterised by the lack of the affiliative bonds that link people into their social structures. Homelessness carries implications of belonging nowhere rather than simply having nowhere to sleep.

5. A theoretical definition of homelessness has widened out from embracing only those sleeping rough to include risk and causality. Broader definitions of homelessness are both more useful for policy and more contentious. More wide-ranging interpretations of homelessness include those in overcrowded, insecure or substandard accommodation, those forced into involuntary sharing of shelter, or those subjected to high levels of noise pollution or infestation.

6. Definitions of homelessness developed in high-income industrial countries can be viewed as points on a continuum rather than as discrete categories. All include those who live in accommodation that does not reach certain standards as well as those with no accommodation at all. Definitions used elsewhere are more conjectural. In Eastern Europe some countries include those in sub-standard housing, others do not. Furthermore, there is still a tendency in this region to classify homeless people as either deserving or undeserving.

7. 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. Many countries have no official concern for homeless people, even to the extent of denying their existence.

8. Homelessness is described in this report as not having an acceptable level of housing provision. It would include all states below what may be regarded as adequate for the reference society. To classify someone as homeless indicates a state in which 'something must be done' for the victim of such circumstances.

9. In developing countries, it is proposed to fix the threshold at what an average person would regard as inadequate or unacceptable. This report wishes to avoid that the unique and urgent needs of the people defined by the most narrow definition of homelessness are lost and neglected. For the special issues raised by homeless people, rather than by the inadequately housed, a relatively narrow definition is more helpful at this time in developing countries.

10. Available national statistics reflect the different national approaches to homelessness. As long as most of the data on homelessness stems from service providers, the countries with the best-developed service systems record the highest levels of homelessness. This is known as the *service-statistics-paradox*. Undercounts, double counts, the problem of mobility, and hidden homelessness also affect estimates of homeless populations.

11. The highest recorded rates of homeless people accepting services and people sleeping rough in Western Europe are found in Germany, France and the United Kingdom, where between 4 and 12 per thousand of the population is estimated to be homeless. All other countries in the region have homelessness rates of less than 2 per thousand.

12. In the United States of America, about 1.5-2.5 people per thousand population are absolutely or temporarily homeless, i.e., users of public shelters. About seven million Americans have experienced homelessness, some for brief periods and some for years. They are highly concentrated in the largest cities and among some groups like Vietnam War veterans.

13. In Canada, about 5 people per thousand population use emergency shelters. Combined with census figures, these give national estimates of 130-260,000 homeless people. There are about 19,500 homeless people in Japan, 70 per cent of whom are in Osaka and Tokyo.

14. In Eastern Europe, following the collapse of the socialist economies, many people have lost their jobs and workers hostels have closed down. At the same time, housing prices and utility fees have started to grow towards market levels. As a result, a large portion of society faces payment difficulties and the threat of eviction.

15. Data for homelessness in developing countries is extremely sparse and scattered. The most comprehensive is probably in India where the 1981 Homeless Census estimated that there were 2,342,000 homeless people. The 1991 Census of India showed a much lower figure of 1.2 million people. Yet, there are some 250,000 pavement dwellers in Mumbai alone.

16. Homelessness may be understood as comprising two broad (sometimes overlapping) categories of people with problems. The first tends to be transient in homelessness but continually at risk. People live through periods of crisis in lives that are marked by poverty. For these people, shelters coupled with help for other problems are appropriate.

17. The second category comprises the minority who are the most visible and tend to dominate the public's image of homelessness. Alcohol and other drug abuse, severe mental illness, chronic health problems or long-standing family difficulties may compound whatever unemployment and housing problems they have. Their situation is more complex than that of those who are homeless because of crisis poverty.

18. An economic analysis suggests that homelessness occurs where the core economic institutions cannot produce and distribute housing resources effectively. Effective interventions, therefore, cannot afford to ignore the nature of economic institution policy.

19. A social analysis suggests that homelessness occurs when core social relations have changed so that traditional households cannot function adequately. Intervention such as family support, child protection, family mediation and the prevention of domestic violence can be important.

20. A political analysis suggests that political institutions are unresponsive to the needs of the most vulnerable people and cannot achieve an equitable distribution of housing. It highlights three important aspects of homelessness. Firstly, homeless people and their advocates should attempt to influence the political process, often in opposition to such powerful groups as homeowners and the housing industry. Secondly, homelessness is a sign of the inequitable distribution of housing costs and benefits in the community. Thirdly, effective intervention in the realm of social policy and programmes cannot be ignored.

21. Eviction is a source of homelessness for many households. Women face particular problems due to unequal property inheritance rights. Forced evictions are often carried out by government or local authorities but are the subject of international condemnation. The United Nations recognises forced evictions as a gross violation of human rights and urges all governments to undertake immediate measures.

22. Natural and human-made disasters cause large numbers of people to be homeless. Rapid urbanisation and poverty have pushed people to live in inadequately

built houses on dangerous and marginal sites. Tragically, in such poor environmental conditions, the occurrence of a natural hazard can lead to many people being homeless in addition to the death and destruction.

23. Homeless people are characterised by poverty but they may not be poorer than the lower echelons of the housed population. Their state renders them insecure and vulnerable to threats and violence. Many homeless people live in households and there are also many children and youth. The number of such 'throw-away' and 'run-away' young people are increasing, often related to family strife, and caused by changes in family structure and unemployment.

24. Many homeless people have dependencies on narcotics, inhalants and alcohol. People with physical and mental illness are over-represented in the homeless population (at least in industrial countries where information is available). These are not necessarily direct causes of homelessness. In some cases, such dependencies may even be the result rather than the cause of homelessness. Ethnic minorities and migrants are over-represented in the homeless population.

25. The rural dimension to homelessness has been almost absent in policy debates. In part, this reflects the geography of relief; rural people are apt to move to urban areas to use the emergency services found there. In part, also, it reflects the distinctive character of rural homelessness in which people tend to try to cope through makeshift arrangements that render homelessness more hidden.

26. Street children are a category of homeless people that present distinct issues from the adult homeless population. Street children can broadly be categorised into three groups. Only the last of these are actually homeless, the other can best be characterised as being at risk of homelessness:

- Children at high risk are those who live in households that do not satisfy their basic human needs. They may spend time in the streets to work or 'hang out' and are exposed to street culture. It is this marginal group that is at most risk of becoming street children.

- Children *in* (or *on*) the streets are youngsters who spend a substantial portion of their time in the streets, usually as child workers but tend to maintain a strong family link.

- Children *of* the streets tends to be few compared with the multitude seen working in the streets. These children have had their family ties severed through running away, abandonment, family disintegration or death of their parent(s). Many are abandoned or orphaned. They are socialised outside of the schools and the family with few conventional contacts with adults.

27. There are anywhere between 30 and 170 million street children world-wide and between 8 and 50 million in Latin America. The large range illustrates how difficult it is to count street children accurately. There are also large numbers of orphans in institutions, generated by major catastrophes, wars and HIV/AIDS. In the United States of America, there are probably more than 600,000 homeless children at any given time, about one-fifth of the homeless population. India is estimated to have 44 million children working on the streets but this may be overestimated. In Africa, there are probably some 32 million street children by 2000.

28. Poverty is the major cause of street children. It leads to some breakdown of families and moral values pushing children into the streets in search of opportunities to support themselves and their families. Land reform, population growth, drought, rural to urban migration, economic recession, unemployment, and violence has also been implicated. Some may also be responding to needs for space, supportive new relationships, or responsibility for their own lives.

29. Street children have to endure poor conditions. Violence plays a seemingly increasing role in their everyday lives. At the extreme, death squads slaughter street children. There is also a growth of violence among street children and between street children and adults. They are often robbed or have to pay 'protection money'. In addition and, perhaps, more damagingly, street children are generally disparaged by the rest of society and consequently suffer from very low self-esteem.

30. Several studies have shown that around 80 per cent of street children use drugs regularly. Glue is cheap and easily bought. It provides temporary oblivion to cold, heat, hunger pangs, fear, loneliness, and despondency. Unfortunately, children are quickly and easily addicted, and tend to spend whatever petty cash they have on glue, rather than on other necessities.

31. Trauma and certain infections tend to be more common among children *of* the street than among those based at home. However, street hildren's nutrition is no worse than other children from similar backgrounds are. They are very prone to sexually transmitted diseases as they are likely to be the victims of rape, or they may barter sex. As their focus is on the present, street children find it difficult to bother about a disease (such as HIV/AIDS) that may not kill them for years to come.

32. In high-income industrial countries, many street children have run away from home to escape physical or sexual abuse. Many have received implicit messages from the family to leave (through physical abuse or neglect) until they finally run away. Many of the young people became homeless when they were evicted from their own house or had to leave state care. Such young people are faced with options that include a private flat or room, staying with friends, sleeping rough (outside), and squatting (living in an unoccupied building). In developing countries, many children sleep in transport terminals, stadia, footpaths, parks, or organised shelters. Others make shelters with scrap materials or hire space in the courtyards of houses or in shop doorways.

33. The by far most important intervention on homelessness is to ensure that people does not become homeless in the first place. Efforts to improve the housing stock available to people living in poverty are an essential part of a homelessness strategy. These efforts should include, *inter alia,* improvements in securing tenure to prevent eviction, provision of services and care and, especially, measures to overcome poverty.

34. Interventions to reduce and prevent homelessness are changing to reflect the change from a welfare approach to a rights-based approach, as spelled out in the internationally agreed instruments. However, it is clear from the varied nature of homeless people, the focus of their problems, and their socio-economic characteristics, that the responses must also be varied. Thus, there is a need for very different types of responses to people in various positions on the home-to-homelessness continuum. Responses in developing countries need to be radically different from those in high-income industrial countries, with the countries of Eastern Europe and some rapidly developing Asian countries somewhere in between.

35. A combination of availability of services and a process of appraisal as to people's needs, abilities, aspirations and problems is an absolute requirement in order to provide an appropriate response to homelessness. Only through appraisal can clients be fitted into the appropriate type of shelter and provided with social and other support services.

36. The initial critical step in reaching out to homeless people is outreach, even with those at first considered to be 'unreachable'. Formerly homeless people can be particularly effective workers in this. The most basic forms of outreach are the soup kitchens, emergency responses in very cold weather, and night shelters.

37. Supportive housing (housing linked with supportive services) is an important part of re-integration strategies. A range of multiple dwellings are needed to handle people with differing needs. Yet, such housing has an impressive record of success even when located in undesirable neighbourhoods. Permanent housing is, of course, the target accommodation. It may need subsidising at least until the formerly homeless person achieves stable economic circumstances. Such a subsidy seems to be both desirable and manageable in all but the poorest economies.

38. Inter-agency co-ordination is required for a strategic response to homelessness. Major efforts are needed to remove barriers to homeless people's receiving benefits and services, and to avoid gaps and duplication, and to make the most of every dollar spent.

39. As work is so important for most people's economic survival, many initiatives for homeless people involve some enterprise development and skills training. Sometimes these are based around the services for homeless people; sometimes they are just useful jobs for which homeless people are conveniently located. As many homeless people in developing countries are involved in low-paid self-employment, micro-finance can be very effective in improving their productivity to the extent that they can become self-supporting in secure accommodation.

40. 'Street cleaning operations' to eliminate the unsightly efforts of homeless people are, perhaps, the worst practice towards homeless people. Countless such operations have been implemented with major disruption to the fragile life chances of the unfortunate people involved.

41. It is important to involve all actors and stakeholders, including homeless people of all types, in service provision. All forms of exclusion should be avoided. Local authorities have a pivotal role in addressing homeless people's welfare as their problems arise at the municipal level. Since the 1980s, a wide range of NGOs have shown themselves capable of developing and delivering effective services and innovative approaches in partnership with each other and with other public and private providers. Indeed, they are currently extremely important in providing front-line services to homeless people.

42. Appropriate interventions for street children should vary depending on the circumstances of the children. Those already on the streets can be assisted through aggressive but sensitive outreach, which allows the street children to become involved in services at their own pace. For those where family involvement is weak and behaviour is often non-conforming, there should be intensive short-term services to reinforce or supplement family support and assist them in matters of personal adjustment. Those who are still firmly within the family — but might see street life as attractive — can be helped through preventive educational programmes.

43. It is important that rehabilitation programmes do not simply 'batch process ' children and rely on children's passivity. Many NGO outreach programmes are now entirely street based, providing food and medical support and, more rarely, educational, psychological, and legal support. The success of such programmes contradicts the views that the family dynamics of street children are beyond repair.

44. Increasing numbers of governments and NGOs are developing policies and programmes that provide care and protection to vulnerable children through open-door centres, and outreach activities for the children and their families. They encourage a more child-friendly attitude among policy makers and officials responsible for institutions. It is important to improve skills and relevant training and change the attitudes of all parties dealing with street children.

45. It is clear that the problem posed by street children is not one that any one agency can hope to solve single-handedly. Collaboration between agencies and partnerships with volunteers from civil society are vital. Such collaboration should result in avoiding duplication (especially at project level), and should improve access to social work expertise.

46. The mothers of street children tend to be too poor to have a chance to protect their children and provide them with a secure future. Interventions that improve women's employment and economic position are important preventative measures. In addition, it is important to try to prevent children from becoming street children by targeting and including the poorer and less educated sections of the population.

47. In high-income industrial countries, there has been a shift in public policy from remedial treatment and control towards a more preventative approach. However, changes in statistical and legal definitions of homelessness discussed above show that such a trend is not unambiguous. Developments within the traditional housing sector and the emergence of a new 'partnership approach' appear to be most important.

48. In high-income industrial countries, there is now a more targeted policy environment and a more detached social housing sector than a decade ago. There has been a change in approach towards interagency collaboration.

49. If homelessness is to be eradicated, the causes of homelessness should be addressed for broad and sometimes overlapping groups of homeless people: those in crisis poverty and those suffering from chronic disabilities. A two-pronged strategy seems to be a general model:

- to take emergency measures to bring those who are currently homeless back into mainstream society; and

- to address the structural needs for housing and social infrastructure for the very poor, to prevent the occurrence of homelessness.

50. Co-operatively formulated policy partnerships have the potential to deliver efficient organisations for innovative, flexible and individualised problem solving. The trend away from categories and towards more individualised services requires the combination of resources across a variety of formal organisations and professions. This network style of management is intended to encourage moves away from large-scale bureaucratic public agencies towards more collaborative organisational structures.

51. The continuum of care is offered as a useful structure for interventions. This would have three distinct components of organisation; emergency shelter assessment to identify an individual's or family's needs; transitional or rehabilitative services for those who need them; and permanent or supportive housing arrangements for every homeless individual and family. Not all homeless individuals and families in a community will need to access all three components but all three should be co-ordinated.

52. In several countries in Western Europe, the idea of the 'staircase of transition' as a means for re-integration is gaining ground in national policies. The idea is that homeless people can improve their housing conditions step by step, in terms of housing standards, rights to privacy, and control over the home in '

dwellings for training'. The service providers gradually reduce support and control until the once homeless person becomes an independent tenant. However, this system may turn out to be a 'staircase of exclusion'. Landlords have no incentives for converting a transitional contract or a 'dwelling for training' into an independent tenancy. Thus, the 'final step' for the client is postponed or even removed. At the same time, social authorities can use referral to lower steps of the 'staircase' as sanctions, resulting in downward mobility and what are called 'revolving-door effects'.

53.   In the countries with economies in transition policies differ on the basis of how far the State recognises homelessness. There appear to be three distinctive stages:

- In the first stage the number of homeless people grows dramatically. There is economic breakdown, closure of workers' hostels, the appearance of a ' real-estate mafia', and surging utility prices. Owing to weak economic performance, a social housing policy is not an affordable solution, so shelters are established.

- In the second stage, the number of homeless people begins to stabilise as, unfortunately, the new additions are offset by high mortality among existing homeless people. At this stage, a system of shelters is being established which, though insufficiently, can provide some sort of help. At this stage, discussions start on how homeless policies should try to re-integrate homeless people into society. However, regulations tend to be confusing and there is likely to be deep distrust so it is very unlikely that homeless people receive all the benefits to which they are entitled.

- The third stage of homelessness comes when the number of homeless people grows dramatically. This tends to be the case when transformation to a market economy is almost complete but rising prices are not compensated through higher wages, and only the most needy are targeted in the social security regulations. So far only very limited steps have been taken to construct a new social policy framework in these states which could prevent this homelessness 'explosion' and they tend to concentrate on improving the currently existing shelters.

54.   Developing countries are still at a stage where changes in policy affecting housing supply are the main ones to affect the incidence of and means of addressing homelessness. In this, perhaps the most important has been the structural adjustment programmes over the last two decades. The Global Strategy for Shelter to the Year 2000 and the Habitat Agenda have set up an enabling environment for housing in which it can be provided through public-private partnerships and through the private sector. In practice, however, this has generally reduced the supply of social housing and there will remain a need for specific provision for homeless people.

55. Credible data on homelessness for many countries is lacking. Even where data exist, comparison over time and between nations is difficult. Yet, there are sufficient data to conclude that homelessness across even the most prosperous countries is persistent. In developing countries, it is likely that homelessness has increased throughout the last decade owing to the breakdown of traditional family support systems, continued urbanisation, the effects of structural adjustment programmes, civil wars, and disasters.

56. It is vital to know the scale and nature of homelessness, and the characteristics and size of various categories of homeless people, so that interventions can be effectively targeted. Routine collection of data on homeless people and for their inclusion in censuses is thus useful. Moreover, there is a need for concerted primary research into homelessness to be carried out on a regular basis and initially on the appropriateness of definitions. It is especially important to gather data on homelessness and its causes in transitional and developing countries. Without this research, solutions are unlikely to be effective.

57. Outreach, education, training and health care services for homeless people and street children must be inclusive and relevant to street life and built around their needs. There is a great need to modify the training of professionals who deal with vulnerable people. Homeless people, particularly street children, should be regarded as unutilised but potential assets rather than burdens to society.

58. Shelters provide a valuable survival function in the short term and a locus for outreach and other services aimed at re-integrating the homeless person back into mainstream society. It may be inevitable that shelters will be the first major response to the issues faced by homeless people but they must not be the main or only response.

59. It is vital that efforts are made to ease the paths of homeless people into a sustainable lifestyle anchored in social relationships and a supportive network of welfare services. Health services are required both for prevention and cure. For street children and young people, there is a need to provide basic information about nutrition and hygiene.

60. There is an undoubted need for bridging the gap between how much a poor household or individual can afford to spend on housing and how much minimum housing costs. This may involve reducing the standard of the minimum dwelling, or reducing its cost, or increasing the ability of poor people to pay, or all of these. It is important, however, that the mechanisms used for this do not reduce the efficiency of the housing supply system and housing allowances may be the most

effective method.

61. There is a need for a holistic approach towards homelessness through cross-sectoral collaboration. There is an increasing role for voluntary or not-for-profit organisations in promoting problem solving through co-operation across professional fields, public, civil and private spheres of society, etc. It is of particular importance that financial and other resources are allocated to these organisations proportionate to their given tasks and responsibilities.

62. Policies towards homeless people should be inclusive and offer services near the areas where they live. In addition, people with stigmatised illnesses or health conditions may need special treatment in the housing market. The deserving/undeserving dichotomy in homelessness policy should be rejected.

63. Without reasonably paid employment or businesses, people cannot enjoy the necessities of even the simplest lifestyle or develop self-esteem. Programmes that provide work through renovating housing for use as supportive shelter seems to address two problems at the same time. Where groups of homeless people have already developed niche occupations, these should be recognised and subject to the assistance available to other small-scale enterprises.

64. It is important that central governments ensure that decisions made at local level do not result in evictions unless suitable re-housing is in place. There should be better publicity of the international protocols on forced eviction so that potential evictees and their representatives can defend their rights effectively.

65. Better understanding of the causes of homelessness is needed, especially as these differ regionally and between households. Only then can the number of people affected be reduced. The focus should be on poverty alleviation and improving the social environment in which families live.

Chapter I. Introduction

This report presents experiences from as wide a range of countries to shed light on the issues involved in combating homelessness. For clarity, the report use two sets of divisions:

- The regional information is grouped into high-income industrial countries, countries with economies in transition and developing countries. As most published data on homelessness refer to high-income industrial countries, these experiences are inevitably more extensively covered than countries with economies in transition and developing countries.

- The issues relating to homeless children (usually known as street children) are dealt with separately from those relating to adults, except where they are part of a homeless family. This is because the issues faced — and the geographical distribution of literature — are very different from those for homeless adults.

The report starts with the international policy context placing homelessness within the current housing rights debate (chapter I). It continues by examines different definitions of homelessness in order to understand the wide range of relevant living conditions (chapter II). It also shows that the establishment of a universal definition may be unhelpful. Different definitions are thus proposed for high-income industrial countries and countries with economies in transition from that of developing countries.

The next chapters describe the nature and scale of homelessness and the characteristics of homeless people (chapters III, IV, and V). Similar information for street children follows in chapter VI.

The last part of the report focuses on what is being done and on what might be done to assist homeless people. Within a theoretical context, the report discusses current interventions that may represent good practice, first regarding adults (chapter VII) and then street children (chapter VIII). These are followed by a discussion of current policy development (chapter IX) and the report ends with some proposals for action on behalf of homeless people (chapter X).

The report does not claim to be exhaustive in its coverage of the issues but hopefully it will provide a starting point for an increased awareness of homelessness issues in the international context. The rubric 'the homeless' is avoided, as this terminology tends to reinforce attitudes towards them as outsiders and to depersonalise them as if they were not really equal members of society. Instead, the report uses the terms 'homeless people' or 'people who are homeless'.

Chapter I. Introduction

A. The setting: general economic and social conditions affecting housing conditions

"Homelessness represents the most obvious and severe manifestation of the unfulfillment of the human right to adequate housing. While estimates on scale of homelessness are invariably difficult to ascertain with precision, it is generally mentioned in the relevant United Nations documents that there are about 100 million homeless persons in the world. Few, if any, countries have entirely eliminated homelessness and in many nations this phenomenon is clearly increasing rather than declining, and further action is clearly required to eradicate homelessness"

(UNCHS, 1999d: paragraph 30).

Structural changes in the world appear to have increased individual risks of homelessness over the past forty years or so. In high-income industrial countries, demographic changes are leading to more people's living singly and living longer. In most countries of the world the number of households grows at a much higher rate than the population (see table 1) and than the housing stock. Of all the regions covered in the table, only Sub-Saharan Africa had a population growth rate that was higher than the rate of increase in the number of households during the 1990-2000 period. For the next two decades, all regions are projected to have lower population growth rates than rates of increase in the number of households. In fact, if absolute growth is considered, the number of additional households each year in the industrial countries and China is currently higher than the annual population increase in these countries. [1] The result is that the demand for housing units, and in particular for small apartments, has escalated more rapidly than the population growth would indicate.

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, Tipple (1994) shows that the growth of households has required and will require the supply of more than ten dwellings per thousand population every year for the last and next few decades. In the past, supply at this scale has eluded the formal sector and, in the future, the likelihood that these can be supplied through conventional formal sector methods is very slim indeed.

Even in high-income industrial countries, increasing numbers of households live in poverty. People without jobs or stable income (or those with low-incomes) — and who are denied access to social housing — are exposed to high risks of homelessness. Fundamental changes of economic and industrial structures and technologies have brought about a considerable reduction in the number of stable full-time jobs. Unemployment climbed to over 10 per cent of the European Union workforce in the mid-1990s, with young people being worst hit. In addition, those who are employed rely increasingly on temporary, insecure, or part-time work (

FEANTSA, 1999).

Millions of unemployed Europeans have to rely on social benefits, which are insufficient to allow them to afford adequate accommodation on the private housing market. 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 (FEANTSA, 1999).

Growing numbers of poor households in the United States of America are competing for shrinking supplies of affordable housing. In 1991, the poorest quarter of renter households numbered nearly eight million but, nationally, fewer than three million dwellings were affordable to this group. [2] *"This 'affordability gap' of five million in 1991 had widened by almost four million since 1970"* (USA, 1994: 28).

The risks of homelessness are even higher in the light of the general trend towards limiting the levels of social welfare and social security in the last two decades, as governments have reduced public investment. Increased commercialisation of housing provision, including in low-cost social housing, has made low-income groups increasingly dependent on various forms of housing or income support, in order to secure adequate housing conditions for themselves and their families (FEANTSA, 1999).

These structural changes have all considerably increased the risks of housing exclusion. In several Western European countries, however, social and political mechanisms appear effectively to protect large numbers of people from becoming homeless. Data indicates that the increase in homelessness that took place in the 1980s has not persisted into the 1990s. However, some commentators believe this is because people are simply not coming forward for help from official agencies as they know that the offers they will get are not what they would want. If these hidden/invisible homeless are added to the official data it is difficult to say whether the real numbers of homeless are increasing or not.

The re-integration into mainstream society of the already homeless people is still not very successful in Europe. The poverty and isolation of homeless people are at odds with the wealth and prosperity of Western Europe and North America. Politically, the continuing levels of homelessness show a discrepancy between democratically legitimated policy decisions and outcomes for the citizens. From a legal perspective, the figures indicate the disrespect of a human right. The noble words of human rights declarations and national catalogues of social rights are not being translated into realities.

Globalisation — or more specifically the reduction in the number of unskilled jobs — is often mentioned as one of the causal circumstances of increasing

homelessness in the last quarter of the 20th Century (Daly, 1996). The increased concentration of capital power in footloose multinational companies and financial institutions — who have no constituency but their shareholders and whose aims are mainly towards maximisation of profit — have meant that once secure employment is no longer reliable, skills become outdated, and major centres of production have been in steep decline. The parallel increased reliance on markets and reduction in the social security role of the state, through policies promoted globally through the 1980s and 1990s, [3] have removed government jobs, released long-term residents of institutions for the vulnerable into society, and reduced the delivery of social housing. While the rich have undoubtedly benefited, the increased prevalence of homelessness in all its manifestations presents a less acceptable side of the coin minted through these years.

Some of the trends evident in the European Union are also valid for in Eastern and Central Europe. Some are less prevalent — the growing number and share of people living singly, increased longevity, and decreasing number of cheap dwellings owing to urban regeneration. Others trends, however, are very prevalent in countries with economies in transition. These include the share of people living below the poverty line, unemployment, and reduction in social housing owing to privatisation. Finally, there are unique factors concerning the sudden political and economic changes, e.g. the transition from a planned economy to a market society. These include great increases in public utility prices, elimination of job security and security of tenure, disappearance of workers' hostels and the reduction of beds in hospitals. These factors appear to have changed the traditional social and cultural values, as many homeless people on the streets have friends and relatives who do not feel that they are responsible for them (FEANTSA, 1999).

Social disruptions also seem to be proliferating and increasing the risk of homelessness. Single mothers with children make up 80 per cent of multi-person homeless households in the United States of America (Lindblom, 1991). These households are so hard up that they are held hostage to the slightest change in fortune. They tend to be inexperienced in managing households of their own and so are at a greater risk of homelessness than double parent households. People with psychiatric disability, substance abuse problems, or who suffer from domestic violence or chronic illness are not only more likely to become homeless, but they will also be difficult to rehouse once on the street (USA, 1994). The deinstitutionalization of mental health care which occurred in many countries during the 1980s and 1990s has undeniably added discharged psychiatric patients to the homeless population (Avramov, 1995).

Today's homeless people include children and teenagers estranged from families, [4] young men lacking education or job history, and middle-aged men who have lost jobs due to the recession, changing technology and mergers, and who are unable to pay the rent or home mortgage. Some are employed in one or more jobs, earning too little to afford recent rent increases. Others are people disabled by chemical dependency, or chronic mental or physical illness; people who have lost

homes through fire, eviction, condemnation or gentrification of former low-cost residential city districts; people from broken relationships; even whole families. There is also a large and growing group of mothers and children (Hertzberg, 1992).

In this context, it has been particularly easy to fall into using categorisations of 'otherness' to isolate emerging groups with problems in order to remove, isolate or disassociate them from mainstream society. Thus, notions of an underclass or undeserving poor have been convenient. By reducing them, thus, to vulnerable and helpless souls with no potential political power, they have been 'deinstitutionalized'. Homeless people are seen as the most extreme consequence of this. Furthermore, such categorisation and isolation of homeless people from 'the rest of us' has implications for social programmes especially in these times when social spending can be seen as a target for reducing government spending (Daly, 1996).

Homelessness has also become an issue encompassing those in inadequate housing in the estimation of concerned professionals and politicians. It is in this context that the International Year of Shelter for the Homeless was launched in 1987. In Africa, Asia and Latin America, it is common for at least 30 per cent of the urban population to occupy makeshift dwellings in illegal settlements with little infrastructure or crowd into cheap and dilapidated tenements and boarding houses. In some areas, such housing is actively damaging to health. The most extreme example of this is probably the cracked earth walls of houses in Latin America where lives the insect vector for Chagas disease. It has been estimated that 18 million people suffer from the disease and that 100 million are at risk (New Internationalist, 1999).

This phenomenon has occurred in the context of the 'urbanisation of poverty'; meaning that the poor are no longer concentrated in the rural areas. Additionally, while 19[th] century urbanisation in Europe occurred at a time of relative wealth, current urban growth is occurring while most citizens are poor. One decade ago, it was projected that the majority of the poor would live in urban areas by the year 2000 (UNDP, 1990). These projections were based on rather optimistic scenarios, assuming that the total population living in poverty would decline. It has, however, been estimated that there are currently some 500-800 million people living in 'income poverty' in urban areas of developing countries (UNCHS, 1999a).

The imposition of structural adjustment programmes, in many developing countries, especially as this inevitably occurs in the context of fiscal austerity, has adversely affected housing investments in favour of seemingly more productive sectors. Housing policy investments have decreased considerably throughout the last decade.

The link between homelessness and poverty is well made in the literature and in later chapters of this report. It is becoming commonly recognised that measures of poverty should take account of more than income and household budget levels. Other human development indicators such as mortality and literacy rates are needed.

This has led to such innovations as UNDP's human development index based on a composite of GDP per capita, health and education indicators, in addition to measures of income distribution (UNDP, 1990). Although it can be argued that housing is a central aspect of urban poverty and well-being, to date it has not been included in the human development index, despite the inclusion of many housing-related characteristics in the Urban Indicators Programme (World Bank, n.d.). UNCHS (1996a) argues that the significant point here is that income poverty and housing poverty are not the same thing. If there are shortages of housing, ineffective land policies, inappropriate building codes, and imbalances in tenure and finance, these are likely to create housing problems through artificially imposed affordability issues, high rent/repayment-to-income ratios, substandard and unfit housing conditions, and poor access to adequate housing. The situation is also likely to be exacerbated by economic conditions such as high levels of inflation, interest rates and unemployment, and rapid changes in the structure of the economy. All these generate conditions of housing poverty and affect the quality of life of pavement dwellers, squatters, and occupants of informal housing, as well as public policy responses to low-income housing problems.

The efficient supply of housing is, therefore, closely associated with policies and delivery systems in land, infrastructure services, finance, the construction industry and building materials supply. The existence of inappropriate regulations and inefficient planning systems can also cause havoc with housing supply for the poor majority. Thus, housing policy for people living in poverty has multi-objective and multi-institutional relevance.

"Income poverty is primarily about the necessities for subsistence and the adequacy of resources for dignified living conditions. Housing poverty is about the price-access to sanitary housing, to affordable rent-income living ratios, and to satisfactory health and environmental conditions in low-income living areas" (UNCHS, 1996a: 21).

According to data on 'income poverty' [5] the incidence of poverty has remained at approximately the same level since 1985, while the number of people living in poverty has increased considerably (see table 2). The highest incidence of poverty is found in South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa where nearly one half of the population live in poverty. The bulk of the world's poor live in Asia. In fact, nearly two-thirds live in India and China alone. The Beijing Platform for Action noted that *"In the past decade the number of women living in poverty has increased disproportionally to the number of men, particularly in developing countries"* (United Nations, 1996a). Because of this ongoing 'feminisation of poverty' some 70 per cent of the people living in poverty world-wide are women (Habitat World, 1998).

During the last half century, the right to housing has been increasingly accepted internationally. The following section provides a brief overview of the main achievements only. [6]

The first United Nations document that explicitly refers to the right to housing is the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which states that —

"Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself [sic] *and of his* [sic] *family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, ..."* (article 25(1)).

Since the adoption of this declaration in 1948, the human right to adequate housing has been repeatedly reaffirmed. The Vancouver Declaration on Human Settlements and Plan of Action (1976) included reference to a range of individual human rights, State-based rights and other legal provisions. The Global Strategy for Shelter to the Year 2000 (GSS) [7] reinforced the right to adequate housing and the obligation of nations to ensure an enabling environment in the shelter sector. In fact, it states that citizens —

"have a right to expect their Governments to be concerned about their shelter needs, and to accept a fundamental obligation to protect and improve houses and neighbourhoods, rather than damage or destroy them" (UNCHS, 1990: paragraph 13).

Chapter 7 of Agenda 21, adopted by the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, restates the human right to adequate housing while recognising that at least one billion people are without access to safe and healthy shelter. In addition, it seeks to protect people against unfair eviction from their homes or land (UNCED, 1992).

The Programme of Action of the World Summit on Social Development identifies homelessness and inadequate housing as one of the main manifestations of poverty. It calls for the reduction of poverty though, *inter alia, "special measures ... to protect the displaced, homeless people* [and] *street children..."* (United Nations, 1995b: paragraph 34).

Finally, the Habitat Agenda, which incorporates settlement issues from the GSS and Agenda 21, addresses the right to adequate housing and broader human rights issues extensively throughout the text.

The legal recognition of housing right has also featured in regional systems of human rights law, under the auspices of the Council of Europe, the Organisation of American States and the Organisation for African Unity. Most notably, the revised

European Social Charter (1996) includes an independent provision promoting access to housing of an adequate standard; preventing and reducing homelessness; and making the price of housing accessible to those without adequate resources. This is an important step forward (UNCHS, 1999d: annex I, paragraph 11).

Currently, and as a follow-up to this process, UNCHS (Habitat) and the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees are developing a joint housing rights programme.

Chapter I. Introduction
B. Homelessness and the right to housing
1. The rights-based strategy

While States tended to work through needs-based housing strategies in general response to Habitat I [8] and the International Year of Shelter for the Homeless (1987), in recent years, rights-based strategies have been developed. It is acknowledged that people need an adequate place to live in peace, dignity and security to extent that, in the most general sense, they can claim or demand the provision of or access to housing when they are —

"homeless, inadequately housed or generally incapable of acquiring the bundle of entitlements implicitly linked with housing rights" (UNCHS, 1999d: annex I, paragraph 22.b).

However, the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Housing Rights has noted that this should not be taken to imply that the State is required to build housing for the entire population. Nor does it imply that housing is to be provided free of charge by the State to all who request it (United Nations, 1996b).

Article 11(1) of the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966a) has been ratified by a large majority of States. It recognises —

"the right of everyone to an adequate standard of living for himself [sic] *and his* [sic] *family, including adequate food, clothing and housing, and to the continuous improvement of living conditions. It requires nations to take appropriate steps to implement this in the context of international co-operation"* (United Nations, 1966a).

This is widely accepted as the most significant international legal source of the right to adequate housing. It has thus far received more attention than any other legal foundation of housing rights under international human rights law. [9] The meaning of adequate housing within international conventions is outlined in annex II. However, this report argues that, although it is right for UNCHS (Habitat) to be engaged with the issues arising from inadequate housing, the concept should not be used to decide who is and who is not homeless. The GSS and the Habitat Agenda both stress that adequacy is relative and that it varies between regions and countries. This report argues the same case for the term homelessness. Thus, while in some countries all (or at least many) inadequately housed persons may be defined as homeless, in other countries the 'inadequately housed' far outnumber the number of 'people who are homeless.' See chapter II for details.

Chapter I. Introduction
B. Homelessness and the right to housing
2. The obligation to fulfil housing rights

The obligation to fulfil the right to adequate housing is the most pro-active and positive in nature among State's duties towards housing. This is elaborated in a recent UNCHS (Habitat) report. It involves issues of public expenditure and housing subsidies, monitoring rent levels and other housing costs, the provision of social housing, basic services and related infrastructure, taxation and subsequent redistributive measures. States must establish forms and levels of expenditure (from the public purse, if necessary) adequately reflecting society's unmet housing needs, and which are consistent with the commitments arising from the Covenant and other legal expressions of housing rights. The duty of fulfilment comprises those active measures by government necessary for guaranteeing that each person under its jurisdiction has access to the entitlements of housing rights, which cannot be obtained through exclusively personal efforts. These obligations include combating, reducing and eradicating homelessness (UNCHS, 1999d: paragraph 70).

Protocols on the prevention of discrimination and protection of minorities stress the importance of ensuring that refugees and displaced persons have the right to restitution of housing and property when they return to their countries of origin. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) are to develop policy guidelines to promote the right of all refugees to return to their homes (UNCHS, 1999d: paragraph 94).

However, it is important to remember that states are not obliged to construct housing for every homeless person who requests it. There are laws in many States indicating that, under certain circumstances, the State *is legally required* to provide particular persons or groups of persons with adequate housing in an expedient manner.

The main issue with respect to homelessness remains the inability of governments to devote significant resources towards the full realisation of the right to adequate housing. UNCHS (Habitat) encourages governments to create enforceable rights of homeless individuals, couples or families to publicly provided, adequate, self-contained affordable land or housing space which is consistent with human rights standards. This should be monitored to ensure priority for chronically ill-housed groups, those with special housing requirements or those with difficulties acquiring adequate housing both in housing laws and in government policy.

UNCHS (Habitat) also requests that states should be diligent over many years in devoting the 'maximum of available resources' to solving homelessness. This will require, among other things, increasing and closely targeted public expenditure on

housing programmes designed to prevent, address and eliminate homelessness from the social fabric of all nations. Subsidies and public expenditure on housing should truly benefit lower-income groups; they should be designed to provide the most efficient and effective coverage for groups in most need. In addition, examples of popular housing finance programmes, low-interest housing credits, subsidies for low-income groups, and the support of popular housing savings schemes, have all been developed with a view to effectively combat homelessness.

Chapter I. Introduction
B. Homelessness and the right to housing
3. Regional implementation of the right to housing: The example of the European Union

The right to housing has not had priority on the political agenda of the European Union. The treaties providing the legal basis for its policies do not refer to the right to adequate housing (Avramov, 1995). However, several recent policy documents touch on the supply of adequate housing. The White Paper on European Social Policy (Commission of the European Community, 1994) acknowledges the essential role of housing as an essential issue in combating social exclusion. In addition, two recent resolutions of the European Parliament — the Habitat Resolution (1996) and the Resolution on the Social Aspects of Housing (1997) — have drawn attention to the relationship between housing and social exclusion. Moreover, the Committee of the Regions have published an opinion on "Housing and the homeless" (FEANTSA, 1999).

Belgium, Finland, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and the Netherlands have enshrined the right to housing in their national constitutions. In Belgium, France, the United Kingdom, Ireland and Sweden, specific laws have been passed as to affirm the right to housing for all or certain groups (see Avramov 1996). In France this has been done in several laws, among them the *Loi contre les exclusions* (1999) and the *Loi Besson* (1990):

"The guarantee of a right to housing constitutes an interpretation of a duty of solidarity for the nation as a whole. Any person or family finding difficulties because of the inability of his resources to meet his needs has the right to collective assistance…" (Article 1, cited in FEANTSA, 1999).

Even in the absence of a constitutional recognition of the right to housing in high-income industrial countries, there is often legislation on social policy, poverty alleviation, security of tenure and conditions for public funding of housing, which contribute to the indirect establishment of the right to housing. It is obvious, though, that while government intentions may be important for setting standards, they are not enough (FEANTSA, 1999).

Chapter II. Defining homelessness

This chapter reviews past and current attempts to define homelessness. It starts with a discussion of the concept of 'home' itself and various narrow definitions, through a discussion of the terms 'homelessness' and 'houselessness'. The following section outlines other wider definitions of the term. The next two sections presents an overview of dwelling circumstances that may be classified as homelessness and various typologies of homelessness. The next two sections outlines the definitions used in various countries with economies in transition and developing countries. The last section provides a discussion of the usefulness of a universal definition of homelessness.

Chapter II. Defining homelessness
A. Narrow definition of homelessness: 'homelessness' versus 'houselessness'

'Home' is a very rich concept. It embodies ideas of comfort, belonging, identity, security, and many others that are beyond the scope of this report. 'Home' may be defined as 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 choose not to relate to others if that choice is made (Cooper, 1995).

'Home' could 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 the person defines their space they give it a sense of their identity and the space becomes associated with that person. The person has made a 'home' (Cooper, 1995).

In the past, commentators defined homelessness as featuring a lack of a right or access to secure and minimally adequate housing, variously described as —

"rooflessness (living rough), houselessness (relying on emergency accommodation or long-term institutions), or inadequate housing (including insecure accommodation, intolerable housing conditions or involuntary sharing)" (Edgar and others, 1999: 2).

Cooper (1995) discusses the ideas of relative and absolute homelessness. Absolute homelessness occurs when there is neither access to shelter nor the elements of home. A person may be in relative homelessness; that is, they may have a shelter but not a home. The notion of a home, however, is determined also by cultural conditions.

Social exclusion is also a major component of the concept of homelessness. The concept implies a lack of social ties and relations revealing social exclusion or marginalization (Edgar and others, 1999). Caplow and others suggests the following definition of homelessness [10] —

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

This social exclusion and the 'detachment definition' apply to much of the traditional research about homeless men, primarily in the United States and the United Kingdom. It may not, however, apply to pavement-dwelling families and is unlikely to apply to the many millions of people living in squatter settlements throughout the world (Glasser, 1994). [11] Homelessness carries implications of belonging nowhere rather than simply having nowhere to sleep. Many homeless

people occupy derelict buildings and shelters; they have shelter in terms of roof and walls. However, these shelters do not provide a home.

The classification of homelessness is controversial, but so is the use of the word itself. As home contains a component concerning having a family and friends, some argue that the notions 'shelterless', 'dwellingless' or 'houseless' should be used instead. In Spanish, as used in Venezuela, for example, the popular term is '*sin techo*' (roofless). The French language offers some interesting distinctions between '*sans logis*', '*sans abri*' and '*sans domicile fixe*' ('*SDF*'). The French word for home '*logis*', carries with it the meaning of '*chez soi*' (being at home to oneself). It signifies something comfortable, luxurious, having one's own identity. On the other hand, '*abri*' is just a roof, a place where one shelters. It is not a place to live and raise a family. The last term, SDF, translates as 'without fixed abode' (e.g. 'homeless'). In Finland, the term 'homeless' ('*koditon*') was replaced by the term 'dwellingless' or 'houseless' ('*asunnoton*') in policy because the former embodied the idea of having "*no established relationships — no-one to take care of them*" (Edgar and others, 1999: 47). In Norway, the term '*hjemløshet*' ('homelessness') has recently been replaced by '*bostedsløshet*' ('dwellinglessness'). Official documents have also used the term 'UFB' ('*uten fast bolig*'), meaning without permanent dwelling.

For statistical purposes, the United Nations (1998: 50) have developed the following definition of homeless households —

"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."

This definition, which suggests visibly dishevelled figures tramping city streets and carrying their possessions to random sleeping places, is universally recognised and simple. Popular in the 1960s, it emphasised the behaviour of this population, especially their lack of primary relationships.

During the 1970s, a definition was adopted that took a subjective view, or self-identification of homelessness. It argued that, if people felt their living arrangements to be unsatisfactory because of poor conditions, over-crowding and lack of security, they could consider themselves homeless. This definition allowed the link between housing stress and homelessness to be considered (Cooper, 1995).

By the 1980s, it was being argued that policy formation could only rest on a quantifiable definition. Homeless people were defined as those who were without conventional shelter and in emergency or short-term accommodation. This pragmatic definition aimed to generate more scientific statistics regarding homeless people and to combine this with specific understanding of the people who were homeless. The above definitions have been considered 'accommodation oriented' in that the criteria of homelessness rested on the individual's lack of conventional shelter; they have restricted the issue of homelessness to not having a house, e.g. 'houselessness'

(Cooper, 1995).

However, Cooper (1995) suggests that these definitions do not do justice to the complexity of homelessness in today's society, nor are they sufficient to describe the different realities of homelessness in every country.

Other countries have widened the definition to include people sleeping in institutions meant for those without any form of shelter. This is the case for definitions used in the United States of America, India and France (UNCHS, 1999c). For example, in the United States of America, the Stewart B. McKinney Homeless Assistance Act of 1987, defined 'homeless' to mean:

"(1) An individual who lacks a fixed, regular, and adequate night-time residence; and

(2) An individual who has a primary night-time residence that is:

- *A supervised publicly or privately operated shelter designed to provide temporary living accommodations (including welfare hotels, congregate shelter, and transitional housing for the mentally ill);*

- *An institution that provides a temporary residence for individuals intended to be institutionalized; or*

- *A public or private place not designed for, or ordinarily used as, regular sleeping accommodations for human beings.*

(3) This term does not include any individual imprisoned or otherwise detained under an Act of Congress or a state law.

People who are at imminent risk of losing their housing, because they are being evicted from private dwelling units or are being discharged from institutions and have nowhere else to go, are usually considered to be homeless for program eligibility purposes" (USA, 1994: 22-23).

The Census of India uses the notion of 'houseless population', defined as the persons who are not living in 'census houses', the latter referring to 'a structure with roof'; hence 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, [12] *under staircases, or in the open, temple*[s]*, mandaps, platforms and the like"* (India, 1991: 64).

This narrow definition of homelessness equates to the two groups in Europe who would be sleeping rough or in a public shelter. Their situation, which

corresponds to a narrow or literal definition of homelessness, also implies the absence of community and family ties, privacy, security, and the lack of shelter against the elements (FEANTSA, 1999).

"Homelessness is the absence of a personal, permanent, adequate dwelling. Homeless people are those who are unable to access a personal, permanent, adequate dwelling or to maintain such a dwelling due to financial constraints and other social barriers…"

(Avramov 1996: 71, cited in FEANTSA, 1999: 10).

A theoretical definition of homelessness could be said to be an essential condition of recognition of and policy towards homelessness with regard to both quantity and quality. However, the meaning of homeless is fluid and elusive, changing over time and between places. It has widened out from the narrow definition of 'rooflessness', embracing only those sleeping rough, to one including risk and causality (Edgar and others, 1999). Wide ranges of official and non-official conceptualisations of homelessness are used around the world, usually related to national legislation and policy legacies. As investigations into the homeless population are often aimed at assessing the needs for services and housing, policy issues affect the classification of homeless people (FEANTSA, 1999).

As Cooper (1995) points out, defining 'homelessness' is a political act rather than a semantic exercise. It is through a definition that certain values, concepts and approaches are synthesised. The definition adopted determines our understanding of the issues and how to respond. It also influences how to assess the effectiveness of the programmes, policies and responses that have been implemented to address homelessness.

Within the definition of such a complex issue as homelessness, categorisation is inevitable to guide our understanding of the problem. For example, individual or life-style explanations of homelessness may lead to policy approaches based on the idea that some homeless people are responsible for their situation. Classifications of homeless people variously as drug abusers, drunkards, mentally ill, single people and family members are stimulating distinctions between 'undeserving' and 'deserving' homeless people (FEANTSA, 1999).

Most people would accept that people sleeping rough are homeless [13] but broader definitions are, both, more useful for policy and more contentious. More wide-ranging interpretations of homelessness include those living in 'intolerable housing conditions' (Watchman and Robson, 1989) which would include overcrowded, insecure or substandard accommodation, those forced into involuntary sharing, or those subjected to high levels of noise pollution or infestation. The Avramov (1996) quotation from a Western European context (above) served to go even further, including those without permanent or adequate dwellings. [14]

Chapter II. Defining homelessness
C. Dwelling circumstances that may be classified as homelessness

The following sections outlines a number of different circumstances which have been classified as homelessness. As will be noted later, the first three (sections II.C.1 to II.C.3) and some categories of the following two (sections II.C.4 and II.C.5) are all regarded as homeless throughout this report. The circumstances of the next five groups (sections II.C.6 to II.C.10) may (in this report) be regarded as homelessness only in parts of the world. For the purposes of this report, the last two categories (e.g. occupants of refugee and other emergency camps and itinerant groups such as nomads and gypsies) are not considered as homeless (sections II.C.11 and II.C.12).

Chapter II. Defining homelessness
C. Dwelling circumstances that may be classified as homelessness
1. Rough sleepers

These, and pavement dwellers (below) are the public face of homelessness, the people who we come across, step over and move aside to avoid, in the city streets. They are people formerly classified as tramps or vagrants, the occupants of 'Skid Row', the 'bag ladies'. They tend to carry what few goods they have around with them and, therefore, rarely have anything of value. In many countries, this may mean that they have no official documents as these are easily stolen.

Epstein (1996) enumerates four important features which make living on the street particularly traumatic.

"First, life on the street implies a public disclosure of personal destitution. One's poverty is made so visible that there is no escape from confronting its existence for the external observer as well as the victim. Second, survival on the streets necessitates the abandonment of a futuristic time orientation. Survival becomes a moment to moment preoccupation and, for those in such a situation, the ability to divide and order time so as to contemplate let alone plan for a future is an unfamiliar luxury. Third, street life demands ceding one's entitlement to private and personal space. Fourth, when one's ability to gain protection is challenged, all sense of permanence with respect to personal and social relations is thrown into question" (Epstein, 1996: 290).

Chapter II. Defining homelessness
C. Dwelling circumstances that may be classified as homelessness
2. Pavement dwellers

Two main categories of pavement dwellers may be identified: those who have chosen the street as their place of abode for economic or other reasons; and those who are reluctant but have nowhere else to live.

Indian cities are well known for their pavement dwellers. Many thousands of individuals and households occupy space in the streets, either with a tarpaulin stretched out between poles and neighbouring structures or simply open to the sky. They may choose to live here rather than more peripheral (affordable) housing because their living is made close to the centre of the cities. They may have no choice to make. They are simply forced by poverty to spend nothing on rent that could be used for food.

Pavement dwellers in India are predominantly employed. They may be petty traders, hawkers, rickshaw pullers, scrap collectors or work in other skilled and semi-skilled trades. The number of wage earners per household is higher than the national average, while the male and female employment levels are about the same (Patel, 1990).

Unlike slum [38] and tenement dwellers, who over the last two decades have been acknowledged as having the right (now backed by legislation) to civic amenities, particularly housing, pavement dwellers in India have no rights. In fact, they are excluded by much present legislation owing to their lack of addresses and ration cards (Patel, 1990).

In Brazil, hyper-inflation and housing shortages forced many people out of stable homes and they have taken to the streets, sometimes as whole households (Lusk, 1992). It became common from then on to see households 'privatising' blocks of space on the sidewalks or in the parks, much as the hillsides and periphery were settled in the past. Some street households consist of workers from the suburbs coming as a filial group to work together. Some mothers will work with their children selling candy or food items; some children work a territory of sidewalk cafes, cinemas, or the markets, while their mother looks on, resupplying their inventory. These households may return home, at least at the weekend, to the distant suburbs (Lusk, 1992).

In Lusk's (1992) work, the average street households were found to earn approximately US$100 per month so elect to sleep on a pavement or in a park, as daily return journeys are unaffordable. Other street households have no home and live on the street full time because a stable residence is beyond their means. Most of these households are female-headed with only 36 per cent include an adult male

(Lusk, 1992).

Olufemi (1998) identifies two groups of street homeless people in South Africa not living in city shelters:

- pavement or street dwellers, e.g., those who live on bare floors, street kerbs, sidewalks, in cardboard boxes, etc; and

- those who live in temporary shelters such as bus and railway stations, open halls, taxi ranks, etc.

In Johannesburg's Park Station, at least 2,300 men, women and children live on open platforms, turning bits of plastic, cardboard and blankets into beds. Some have built cardboard box shacks. Most of those living there are unemployed, although a few work on construction sites, or do piece work. Many have lost any hope of being economically active. The environmental quality is very poor with very inadequate and deteriorating provision for sanitation (Olufemi, 1998).

Many other people live in public places in Johannesburg, usually in open halls or open spaces exposed to harsh weather conditions especially during winter, with or without cardboard shacks and beds, and blankets. The quality of the environment is very poor. Large quantities of rubbish and dirt litter these areas which, in turn, mean many cockroaches, rats and other disease vectors. They usually lack toilet facilities, electricity and water; they are generally overcrowded. Consequently, diseases spread quickly. Among the most serious health risks are influenza, tuberculosis, pneumonia, asthma and other respiratory diseases.

Chapter II. Defining homelessness
C. Dwelling circumstances that may be classified as homelessness
3. Occupants of shelters

This category includes those men and women who report to shelter for homeless persons on a regular basis. Here they will be provided with a roof over their head, a bed of sorts, somewhere to store their few possessions, access to washing and toilet facilities and, sometimes, food. The category also includes facilities that combine accommodation with skill-learning and social support. They are dealt with in more detail in chapter VII below.

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C. Dwelling circumstances that may be classified as homelessness
4. Occupants of institutions

Inmates of prisons and long stay hospitals who are about to be released are often regarded as homeless. In some cases, refugees and asylum seekers are housed in institutions, as they have no local home.

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C. Dwelling circumstances that may be classified as homelessness
5. Street children

There is such an extensive literature on the particular problems of street children that this report deals with them separately (see chapter VI below). Suffice to say here that many children *in* the streets go home at night but a significant minority have no home in which they are welcome and live a life dissociated from adult supervision and care.

Chapter II. Defining homelessness

C. Dwelling circumstances that may be classified as homelessness

6. Occupants of unserviced housing

In many developing countries, large numbers of households occupy unserviced housing. According to UNICEF (1999) data, some 13 per cent of the urban population in developing countries are without access to safe water and some 25 without access to adequate sanitation facilities. According to UNCHS (1999a) this implies that there are currently some 253 million urban residents who do not have access to safe drinking water and 486 million who do not have adequate sanitation.

Chapter II. Defining homelessness
C. Dwelling circumstances that may be classified as homelessness
7. Occupants of poorly constructed and insecure housing (vulnerable sites, precarious tenancy)

In many high-income industrial countries, poor construction of the home is regarded as a reason for declaring the occupants homeless. A declaration such as that the dwelling falls short of the building regulations might suffice in exposing a few percentage of the population as potentially homeless. In developing countries, however, so many households endure poorly constructed dwellings that they are unlikely all to be regarded as homeless. In addition, so few houses tend to fulfil the building regulations that they could not be taken as a definer of what is good construction for the purposes of declaring occupants as homeless. According to UNCHS (1999a), more than a quarter of housing in developing countries (and 40 per cent in Sub-Saharan Africa) is built in non-permanent materials. More than one third of housing in developing countries (and more than half in Sub-Saharan Africa) does not comply with local regulations.

There are many varieties of insecure tenancies. They range from a house or a rented room or bed in an illegal settlement, through a shack built on a rented plot, a squat in an abandoned building or an informal lease, to renting space to sleep in the place of work. However, even relatively secure forms of renting may be less secure than they seem. For example, a renter in Ghana can be evicted if the owner wants to use the room for a family member. [15] It would be unreasonable to class all these tenants as homeless or even at risk of becoming homeless.

While persons living under such circumstances are considered as homeless in high-income industrial countries, it is not reasonable to include them in developing countries.

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C. Dwelling circumstances that may be classified as homelessness
8. Sharers

In European literature, this includes people who would be described as ' doubling-up'; they are sleeping on a friend's floor or are staying with parents when they really want to 'leave the nest.' Such people tend to be very vulnerable; needing to leave at short notice as domestic trouble may be very easily sparked off. They are likely to lack privacy and independence. In general, they are people staying against their will.

In some societies (in urban West Africa for example), many households share housing with relatives without regarding themselves as especially unfortunate. Indeed, 23 per cent of the households of Kumasi, Ghana, live rent free in part of a family house (Tipple and Willis, 1991). They share toilets, bathrooms, and water supply; they cook, wash and relax in the shared courtyard; they may even have other relatives in their room. Many choose to live in this way as it is inexpensive and they have the right to do so. However, Tipple and Willis (1991) found that theirs was not an ideal position and many regarded it as unacceptable. They have poorer housing conditions than renters do, those who can afford it tend to move to their own house or at least to one which is not a 'family house' (Amole and others, 1993). Those who are left in the family house tend to be those with the lowest income, the very young and the old. Nevertheless, if it were suggested to them that they were homeless, they would no doubt argue vehemently that, in fact, they were the most 'at home' of all households. As they are living with members of the family, or indeed in the ancestral family house, they are very much at home.

In Latin America, Gilbert (1993) found in Mexico City that, contrary to expectations, many sharers were generally happy with their tenure; they did not regard it as a last resort. Some 54 per cent of his sample did not recognise any disadvantages, indeed they tended to live in better accommodation than renters. They averaged three years in their current home, and most were sharing with family members, not friends. In Santiago, Chile, he found that there were two types of sharers, those who shared space but ate separately (were a separate household) and those who ate at the same table as their host (they are known as *allegados*). Few of either regarded sharing as less desirable than renting their own rooms but it is recognised that *allegados* are most likely to be in difficult circumstances and, therefore, forced into sharing. In both cities, sharers enjoyed the advantages of cheap accommodation of relatively high standards but had to tolerate the lack of independence. In neither city did sharers appear to be in any more danger of becoming homeless than renters.

Chapter II. Defining homelessness
C. Dwelling circumstances that may be classified as homelessness
9. Occupants of housing of unsuitable cost

When the major earner in a household loses his/her job, what was a manageable housing cost may become unpayable. Thus, households are vulnerable to losing their home, or may actually lose it through eviction from non-payment. Due to recent retrenchments of government employees, following structural adjustment programmes, many previously secure housing arrangements have been curtailed and households have found themselves homeless. A similar occurrence may follow the death of the main earner or a divorce. Recent increases in mortality due to HIV/ AIDS, in particular in Sub-Saharan Africa, will no doubt have serious consequences for many households' ability to pay.

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C. Dwelling circumstances that may be classified as homelessness
10. Occupants of mobile homes

In some high-income industrial countries, especially the United States of America, many households live more or less permanently in mobile homes. They may provide an attractive low-cost alternative to cheap apartments, especially when high car ownership renders their peripheral sites acceptable. In many other countries, however, long term occupation of mobile homes, caravans, barges, and motor vehicles is regarded as inadequate. If the mobile home were used by choice — rather than by lack of other options — it would not be appropriate to consider its inhabitants as homeless. A person choosing to live in a caravan for example would only be considered homeless if s/he was not allowed to stop where s/he wished, or was not allowed to travel from place to place (FEANTSA, 2000b). The rarity of mobile homes in developing countries is probably sufficient to reduce the numbers there in this category to virtually zero.

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C. Dwelling circumstances that may be classified as homelessness
11. Occupants of refugee and other emergency camps

Wherever there are conflicts, there seem to be refugees. Media images of Goma in Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of Congo) during the Rwandan civil war represent the classical image of the inhumanity of accommodation and services available in places and times of severe crisis and with poor connections with the outside world. However, other refugee camps are so long established that they are virtually indistinguishable from neighbouring urban areas (e.g., those in the Gaza Strip). Although few would disagree that many refugees are homeless (at least temporarily), the issues around refugee housing are too complex and unlike those of other homeless people. They are thus not part of the concern of this report.

Chapter II. Defining homelessness
C. Dwelling circumstances that may be classified as homelessness
12. Itinerant groups (nomads, gypsies)

There are groups of people who traditionally eschew fixed places of abode. In Europe, the Romanies or Gypsies live a nomadic lifestyle from within caravans, previously horse-drawn but now, more commonly, behind a large van. They have more recently been joined by members of the majority population who, for philosophical reasons, choose to take to the road as 'travellers'. They, like the traditional nomads, tend to be ostracised by occupants of the areas in which they choose temporarily to settle.

In developing countries, there are many nomadic cultures, many of which are under great pressure to settle, often for political reasons as their freedom threatens the concept of the all-controlling nation state. Some nomads carry with them tents, *yurts*, or other easily assembled shelters, others make small temporary shelters from local materials, others simply stop at a convenient point with their stock and live in the open.

People like these have no houses but may probably not want them, and cannot be regarded as homeless for our purposes. Indeed, attempts to settle them in dwellings may be counter to their rights to maintain their cultures. They will not form part of our discussions in this report.

Chapter II. Defining homelessness
D. Typologies of homelessness

The following sections outline various typologies of homelessness that has been developed during the last decades. They range from 'the homeless continuum' to classifications based on quality, risk or potential, time and responsibilities for taking alleviating action.

Chapter II. Defining homelessness
D. Typologies of homelessness
1. The homelessness continuum

There is a body of literature that argues for a continuum approach — either a homelessness continuum or a home-to-homelessness continuum (Watson with Austerberry, 1986). At one end of the latter, more all encompassing, continuum lie satisfactory and secure forms of housing and at the other lies sleeping rough. Neale (1997) sees homelessness as a highly ambiguous and intangible phenomenon, which lies at one end of housing need/experience. She argues that, as it is integral to the housing system and inseparable from other aspects of housing need, theories of homelessness and policies to tackle it cannot be separated from other aspects of ' housing'.

Chapter II. Defining homelessness
D. Typologies of homelessness
2. Typologies based on quality

In its study of homelessness in Europe, FEANTSA posits a quality-oriented definition of homelessness beginning with a four-fold sub-division of housing adequacy. 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. [16] Broad definitions of homelessness (including FEANTSA's) would include all squares except this one.

Low quality (squares 3 and 4) 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, there is a dilemma to this categorisation as one must be careful not to include almost any form of housing deficiency in homelessness or 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*" (FEANTSA, 1999: 10).

An earlier FEANTSA categorisation, cited in the Global Report on Human Settlements 1996 (UNCHS 1996b), is very similar to that used by the American Homeless Society (UNCHS, 1999c):

- Inferior or substandard housing;

- Insecure accommodation;

- Houselessness (i.e. living in institutions or short-term 'guest' accommodation); and

- Rooflessness (i.e. sleeping rough) (Daly 1994a).

A problem of this definition is that the first two classes overlap because accommodation might be both insecure and substandard (UNCHS, 1999c).

Cooper (1995) offers four categories of homelessness as summarised in table 3 .

In countries like Germany and Finland where the political focus has been on the housing market, homelessness is defined as 'houselessness' (FEANTSA, 1999). In Finland, the official and common term of 'houselessness' (Kärkkäinen and others, 1997) shows that homelessness is regarded as the result of lack of housing options

so the solution is direct provision of housing and ordinary social benefits. In Sweden, homelessness was regarded as a housing issue until the beginning of the 1990s. More recently, however, it has been addressed through social policy (FEANTSA, 1999).

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3. Typologies based on risk or potential

In Austria, the definition of homelessness distinguishes among different groups of homeless people through focusing on risk. The situation of being 'houseless' (the term used there) can be acute, imminent or potential. The '*Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft Wohnungslosenhilfe*' (BAWO) defines these as follows: [17]

- '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). [18]

Daly (1996), based on work in the United Kingdom, the United States of America and Canada, have suggested a different five point classification, based on the potential of the people who are, or are potentially, homeless:

- 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.

- 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.

- People who can become quasi-independent but need help with life skills so that they can manage on their own.

- 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.

- People who need permanent institutional care or who may graduate on to some supportive or sheltered housing.

Where categories of potentially or actually homeless people are neither counted nor considered, they are sometimes called the hidden homeless. They may include those "*living in insecure accommodation and who are regarded as either a concealed or a potential household*" (Pleace and others 1998). Hidden refugees and asylum-seekers, are generally also excluded from national counts (FEANTSA, 1999).

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D. Typologies of homelessness
4. Typologies based on time

Kuhn and Culhane (1998) examine visitors to shelters and group them into transitionally homeless, episodically homeless, and chronically homeless. The transitionally homeless (80 per cent of the users of shelters in Philadelphia and New York) are younger and less likely to have mental health, substance abuse, or medical problems. The other categories suffer progressively from more of the problems and are progressively less likely to be white and young. As the ten per cent who are chronically homeless consume half the shelter days, they argue that tackling their problems with supported housing and long-term care would have a significant effect on homelessness. The transitionally homeless should be targeted with preventive and resettlement assistance and the episodically homeless can be helped with transitional housing and residential treatment.

There is evidence that long term homelessness generates its own lifestyle. This condition of "homelessness as a lifestyle" (Grunberg, 1998) combines impulsiveness, clusters of unsolved problems, and a lack of social and other supports, interacting and perpetuating the lifestyle.

Hertzberg's (1992) typology of those already homeless places them on a continuum, based on the length of the homeless episode and their reaction to their state. It has three illustrative categories (see table 4). The 'resistors', are people who have been in stable employment and have spent the least time homeless. She begins with the reasoning that, when a person experiences the traumatic event of becoming homeless through illness, loss of a job, housing and/or a broken relationship, s/he assumes that it will be short-lived and that it should actively be resisted.

Resistors are determined to get off the streets, and they firmly believe that they will be successful in doing so. They hold realistic hopes for the future, with expectations of upward mobility. Many are recovering alcoholics. Their literacy is above the national average and family dysfunction is low.

When the resistor's effort to extricate him/herself through job hunting is unsuccessful and affordable housing not found they become discouraged, their self-esteem declines, and shame and guilt grow. Shame keeps them from calling on state support systems. Alienation, anger and frustration over such circumstances often turn inward, manifested in depression or, a side route, joining the long-term homeless whose accepting subculture seems welcoming while the larger society rejects. Drinking or substance abuse kill the pain of rejection and become a daily routine (Hertzberg, 1992: 155-6).

The second group is 'teeterers'. They have been homeless longer and tend to

have significant personal barriers to stability, mental illness, alcoholism, and severe family dysfunction. Any 'push' could tip them in one direction or the other. They regard their homeless circumstances less negatively than do the resistors. Although they hope to stabilise their lives, such hope is edged with despair. They have twice as much family dysfunction as the resistors (Hertzberg, 1992).

The 'accommodators' are the smallest group on this continuum, yet they are sometimes identified as representative of homeless people by the general public and the popular press. They are the traditional 'bums and hobos' of the United States of America. They 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, not upwardly mobile, and generally do not wish for a home of their own. Family dysfunction is common; most have very negative recollections of childhood. None have realistic hopes for the future. Homelessness has been accepted and they tend to be content with their lives, some claiming to have 'chosen' this lifestyle. [19] Most have lost their jobs and believe that there is no place for them in society. They profess no wish to have a part in society, preferring instead their 'freedom'. They have accommodated themselves to being homeless (Hertzberg, 1992).

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D. Typologies of homelessness
5. Typologies based on responsibility for alleviating action

In the United Kingdom, the definition of homelessness is one that legally obligates a local authority to help. Thus, it is a rationing device, delimited to exclude many people who do not have a home (for example, single men living rough) because the state is not willing to house them at taxpayers' expense (Neale, 1997). The statutory definition of homelessness in the United Kingdom states that a person or household is homeless if they have no accommodation in England, Wales or Scotland, or have no accommodation that they are legally entitled to occupy. The accommodation must be reasonable and it must be reasonable for the household to reside in it. However, if a local authority can show that a household has become homeless 'intentionally', or that the household or person has no local connection, or that they fall outside any of the priority-need groups, it no longer has any obligation to accept that household as homeless. Groups defined as being in 'priority need' are:

- households containing dependent children or a pregnant woman;

- people who are vulnerable in some way (due to age or physical or mental disability, etc.); or

- people made homeless by an emergency such as a fire or flood (Neale, 1997: 47).

While it is often suggested that there has been a shift from individual to socio-structural perceptions of homelessness in many Western European countries (Edgar and others, 1999), the tendency is not that clear-cut. Changes in approaches in Scandinavian countries, for instance, are contrasting in their directions, although the countries are generally regarded as very similar (FEANTSA, 1999).

Chapter II. Defining homelessness
E. Selected definitions from countries with economies in transition

Defining homelessness in Eastern and Central Europe is even more conjectural than in the high-income industrial countries. Some countries have definitions developed after the communist era during which anyone not living in a dwelling would be regarded as a criminal (FEANTSA, 1999). At that time, the former regimes in Eastern and Central Europe strove to provide suitable housing for everyone. While this was not a complete success, what problems there were have been substantially exacerbated by the transition to a market system. The development of market mechanisms and the transformation of the social housing provision system has led to many households losing their homes (mainly due to eviction following default) or being in danger of losing them (FEANTSA, 1999). Different definitions of homelessness and street homelessness in Eastern and Central European countries are discussed below.

Chapter II. Defining homelessness
E. Selected definitions from countries with economies in transition
1. Hungary

In Hungary, there are two separate definitions of homelessness. In the law surrounding municipalities' responsibilities to provide for homeless people, a person is homeless when s/he does not have a registered place of residence or his/her registered place of residence is a shelter for homeless people. However, when defining the scope of people dependent on various providers, everyone counts as homeless who spends the nights either on public grounds, or in shelters that cannot qualify as dwellings. It does not seem to include people with temporary accommodation (state orphans, squatters, sub-tenants at the end of their tenancy); potentially homeless people (those under threat of eviction); or people living in substandard or overcrowded apartments (FEANTSA, 1999).

Chapter II. Defining homelessness
E. Selected definitions from countries with economies in transition
2. Bulgaria

Bulgaria has no official definition of homelessness so officially it is neither acknowledged nor monitored. However, the mass media has started to publish data on homelessness comprising the people with no fixed address, and no security in their dwelling as a result of high mobility and fear of violence (FEANTSA, 1999). In the absence of an official definition of homelessness, it may be presumed that it is appropriate to identify the homeless population in Bulgaria as the first three of five priority groups identified for public rental units. They are as follows:

- renters in condemned dwellings;

- people living in spaces that do not qualify as dwellings (barracks, cellars, boats, etc.); and

- people living in dwellings which endanger the health and the safety of their occupants (FEANTSA, 1999). [20]

In the Czech Republic, it is generally accepted that a homeless person is someone without a permanent residence who sleeps in public areas (parks, railway stations, etc.), in abandoned buildings, basements, etc., and occasionally also in shelters. Laws that set out the principles for providing social assistance define homeless people as citizens who need special help or citizens who are socially unadaptable. They are said to be characterised by loneliness, absence of emotional relationships, defective families, inability to assume responsibility for themselves, untidiness and ignoring personal hygiene, problematic attitude toward work, frequent addiction to alcohol or drugs, and lack of desire to change the lifestyle. They are divided into two types: very similar in their judgmental mood to 'undeserving' and 'deserving' (FEANTSA, 1999).

The voluntary homeless who are said to be unadaptable individuals who reject re-socialising programmes, use shelters only in cases of utmost emergency, often have problems with alcohol or another type of addiction, and do not try to rejoin the mainstream society. They amount to a very small proportion of the total number of homeless and may be said to be 'undeserving' (FEANTSA, 1999).

The involuntary homeless are people forced into homelessness through unfavourable social situations. They try to overcome their difficulties and use social programmes offered by shelters. They often do this repeatedly and with a low success rate. This group would include people who have been released from prisons and psychiatric hospitals, young people who have been released from children's homes and youth custody establishments, people who have divorced, people returning from drug addiction treatment, and those whose family relationships have failed. They may be taken to be deserving of help (FEANTSA, 1999).

In the Russian Federation, the right to housing is declared as a basic right in the Constitution but no official definition of homelessness exists and no administrative body has assumed responsibility for counting homeless people. [21] Homelessness in the Russian Federation is largely associated with street dwellers, who are regarded generally as society's outcasts, largely alcoholics and vagrants, and as violent people prone to crime. Many probably became homeless as a result of forced migration or were evicted from the former workmen's hostels (before 1990), or are victims of real estate criminals (FEANTSA, 1999).

The problem of homeless people in the Russian Federation is assigned to the Police Department that now comes under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Social Defence, and the magnitude of this problem is slowly being recognised (FEANTSA, 1999).

Much of the literature on housing in developing countries includes all those who live in squatter settlements in the 'homeless' category. Indeed, most of the concerns of the International Year of Shelter for the Homeless (1987) centred on those living in inadequate housing units. [22] Organisations that advocate better housing for the poorly housed often use the word homeless in their title. A good example of this is the South African Homeless People's Federation. It is a national, autonomous, social housing movement for the urban poor operating as a closely knit network of community-based organisations from all over South Africa, united by a common development approach: "*All member organisations are rooted in shack settlements, backyard shacks or hostels*" (Bolnick, 1996).

Many countries have no definition of homelessness at all, as they would contend that there were no homeless people there. One such case is Malaysia, which officially does not recognise the existence of homeless people though there are known to be some who gather round the docks at Kelang.

Chapter II. Defining homelessness
F. Selected definitions from developing countries
1. Ghana

In Ghana, a country with a very strong family system that ensures everyone has a place to stay; there is an emerging homelessness problem. In academic circles, the growing number of people who rent space in the courtyards of centrally-located compound houses in cities like Accra and Kumasi are regarded as homeless.

In India, although the census uses a different (narrower) classification (see section II.A), planners charged with providing housing land to deserving cases classify a person as eligible for their housing land allocation programmes if they do not have a roof or land. Thus, residents of '*Juggi and Jomphri*' [23] clusters are entitled to a plot in a regularised area if their housing is cleared. However, if a household has a plot in a regularised area but only a shack on it, it is not regarded as homeless because of the land holding. By a quirk of policy, pavement dwellers are usually not entitled to any plot because they are rarely on the voters' list and probably do not possess ration cards.

In South Africa, people living in shacks, both in informal settlements and in the backyards of township houses (but not as a first stage of building on a formal plot), would be regarded as homeless. This definition gives a count of 1.5 million homeless people.

In a recent High Court judgement, however, the judge seems to support an even more narrow definition. He differentiates between those living in a house (e.g. adequate housing), those living in a shelter and those that are homeless. In terms of defining a shelter the judge suggests that "*tents, portable latrines and a regular supply of water (albeit transported) would constitute the bare minimum*" (High Court of South Africa, 1999). See also box 19 .

Some in South Africa even include occupants of traditional houses as homeless. Olufemi (1998) assists us to differentiate between two groups: those who are sleeping rough and those occupying poor quality housing in squatter settlements (table 5).

Chapter II. Defining homelessness
F. Selected definitions from developing countries
4. Uganda

According to the Uganda Housing Policy (Uganda, 1992), homelessness is categorised as follows:

- No secure tenure of house plot. Applies to situations where land tenure is illegal and uncertain, lacking any planned services, where dwellings are built on illegally occupied or subdivided land, etc. This is very common where people squat on public land.

- Substandard housing. Housing that is overcrowded and in poor repair, where communal facilities are lacking or very inadequate and poorly maintained (e.g., shared rooms in cheap tenements or illegal settlements) and occupation of improvised units, garages, stores. This is common and reflects poverty and lack of resources.

- Temporary homelessness. Applies to people in emergency accommodation, e.g., night shelters provided by charitable organisations, or disaster accommodation following some temporary instability. This has become more common with rebel activity, especially in the north involving Sudanese incursions, in which people flee to institutions like schools and clinics where they think they will be safer than at home.

- No shelter. This includes those sleeping along verandas, in abandoned, condemned or partly demolished structures, in parks, etc. This is not common, owing to the extended family care system but the few that exist are seen as *"beggars, juveniles and the insane"* (p.9). The solution to their predicament is seen in strengthening institutions of care rather than housing provision.

Chapter II. Defining homelessness
G. Towards a universal definition?

The word homelessness, its definition and its classifications are not homogeneously used, but reflect the different realities of people without shelter in different regions of the world. There appear to be as many classifications and definitions of homelessness as there are different points of view. There are certainly differences between countries with different levels of social provision.

A definition of homelessness might have reference to a special housing situation, to a minimum quality or standard, to the duration and the frequency of a stay without shelter. It might refer to lifestyle questions, to the use of the welfare system, to being part of a certain group of the population, to the risk of becoming shelterless, and to the possibility to move or not if desired.

Homelessness, as regarded in this report, may be described as not having an acceptable level of housing provision. It would include all states below what may be regarded as adequate for the reference society. To classify someone as homeless indicates a state in which 'something must be done' for the victim of such circumstances. It tends to create a moral imperative, therefore, whether or not it generates palliative or curative activity.

The threshold question is all-important to the definition of inadequacy. For high-income industrial countries, this report agrees with definitions of homelessness that include occupants of housing which is not legalised or not fully serviced (square 4 in figure 1). The same definition is used in countries with economies in transition, as it might serve to concentrate resources on improving servicing to the small proportion of the existing housing stock that lacks them. However, in developing countries, it would be patently unhelpful to classify households in not fully serviced housing as homeless as it would include at least a large minority of all urban housing.

This report proposes to solve the threshold issue by fixing it at what an average person (perhaps in a notional median household) would regard as inadequate or unacceptable; e.g. that into which they would fear to sink and would regard as pitiable and requiring external assistance. Thus, if the median household has little or no security of tenure and/or access to only rudimentary services, what would be their definition of homelessness? Would it include, for example, all conditions of ' rooflessness' or 'shelterlessness'? Would those under the tarpaulin pitched across the Mumbai pavement be homeless? Moreover, what about those under the stars on the pavements of Central Calcutta? They may, after all, be safe in their tenure (through long use, political circumstances, and local favours), they may have their close family and their few possessions arranged in a camp around them, living among friends. They may even be capable of renting a room if they so chose. Would it, for example, be grossly insulting to such a household to tell them that they

are homeless?

If the concept of homelessness is expanded to include marginally and precariously housed people in developing countries, it would impinge upon UNCHS (Habitat)'s core activity in a way that is inappropriate for this study (Glasser, 1994). This report therefore agrees with FEANTSA (1999) in wishing to avoid the "*danger that the unique distress and urgent needs of those people who are identified by a narrow definition are lost and neglected.*"

Thus, this report only includes those in poor quality and insecure housing when defining homelessness in high-income industrial countries where servicing and secure tenure are the norm. For developing countries, the enabling approach adopted by so many nations has the potential of improving the housing circumstances of most people who already have a shelter that is not literally on the street. Although there are special difficulties in reaching the poorest deciles in the population, these have been dealt with by UNCHS (Habitat) earlier (UNCHS, 1996a). Thus, for the special issues raised by homeless people, rather than the inadequately housed, a more narrow definition in the context of developing countries is more helpful at this time.

The collection and publication of statistics on homelessness is not socially or politically neutral. Available national statistics reflect the different national approaches to homelessness, and valid interpretation should therefore be context-specific. From FEANTSA's European statistics, for example, it would appear that homelessness is most widespread in Germany, the United Kingdom and France. However, as long as most of the data on homelessness stems from service providers, it should come as no surprise that countries with the best developed service systems record the highest levels of homelessness. FEANTSA (1999) calls this the *service-statistics-paradox*.

The counting of homeless people is usually undertaken for one of two reasons: Either to give information on needs of shelter and services or as a by-product of the provision of these facilities. Data on homelessness are rarely based on reports prepared by homeless people themselves. Consequently, changes in legislation or its interpretation, and the supply of services for homeless people, are reflected in official figures, even if the actual number of homeless people is constant. For instance, the decline in the numbers of administratively defined homeless households in England from 143,000 in 1992 to 105,000 in 1998 is probably partly explained by such changes (FEANTSA, 1999).

Undercounts, double counts, the problem of mobility, and hidden homelessness also affect estimates of homeless populations. A general problem with information based on secondary sources is that homeless individuals typically are ' missing cases' in censuses, housing surveys and national statistics (FEANTSA, 1999).

Together, these factors indicate that data from service providers and primary sources can be expected to underestimate the scope of homelessness. Furthermore, the extent of homelessness differs if people affected by a homelessness episode in a particular year are counted rather than the number at any one time. In comparison within or between countries and over time, an additional serious problem is that some investigations concern homelessness on a given day, while others measure it during a week, a month, or a year. Thus, homelessness figures are bound to be uncertain and should be treated with caution (FEANTSA, 1999).

Chapter III. The scale of homelessness (in selected countries)
A. Homelessness in high-income industrial countries

Homelessness in high-income industrial countries -

"...is seemingly at odds with the prosperity and wealth of these countries, yet the path into homelessness can typically be traced to poverty. Only very small percentages of the homeless population are employed, ranging within the European Union from 5 per cent in Germany to 15 per cent in Belgium" (FEANTSA, 1999).

In recent decades, unemployment has been increased by mergers, international competition and changing technologies. In New York City, one quarter of the applicants to men's shelters in the 1980s were there because of job loss; the city of Phoenix reported the same (Stoner, 1984). In the United States of America, the minimum wage in 1991 represented only two-thirds of the poverty level for a family of four (Joint Task Force, 1991), and the least skilled are the last to be hired.

Reduction of low-income housing is another critical factor. Each year in the United States of America, 2.5 million people are displaced from their homes (Hartman, 1985). Available housing is expensive, and there are few subsidies. Nearly 3 million low-income renter households devote a median of 72 per cent of their income to housing costs. [24]

Chapter III. The scale of homelessness (in selected countries)
A. Homelessness in high-income industrial countries
1. High-income industrial countries of Europe

In most of Western European, the homeless population grew during the past two decades but there are some indications that the number of homeless people is decreasing in a few countries, even though it may be argued that the population at risk of homelessness has been growing (FEANTSA, 1999). Based on research on the European Union, some tentative figures on the situation in the early 1990s can be presented:

- *"Low quality homes: About 15 million people lived in severely substandard and overcrowded dwellings ...; 2.5 million people were living in 'unconventional dwellings' not built for human habitation...*

- *Housing insecurity: About 1.5 million people were subjected to eviction procedures each year and therefore were at risk of homelessness; 400,000 were evicted each year...*

- *Short term lodging: some 3 million people were rotating between friends and relatives, furnished rooms rented on a short-term basis and services for homeless people...*

- *Literally homeless in a narrow sense: About 2 million people were depending on services for homeless people..."* (FEANTSA, 1999: 15).

Undoubtedly the highest recorded rates of homeless people accepting services and people sleeping rough in the EU are found in Germany, France and the United Kingdom, where between four and 12 per thousand of the population is estimated to be homeless (see table 6). [25] All other countries in Western Europe have a homelessness rate of less than two per thousand.

In the United Kingdom, where single homeless people and couples not regarded as 'vulnerable' are excluded, statistics of the number of households for whom local authorities have accepted responsibility to secure accommodation have decreased since 1992. The total number of acceptances in the twelve months ending in March 1998 was 105,230. If their average household size is about 1.5, the number of homeless people accepted for housing by local authorities is 158,000 or about 2.7 per thousand population [26] (FEANTSA, 1999).

Those who sleep rough in the streets are not included in statistics in the United

Kingdom but the government claimed that around 400 people sleep rough in London on any given night, and around 2,400 people are supposed to sleep rough at some point during the year (FEANTSA, 1999).

In the Scandinavian welfare states, where there are ambitious social and housing policy systems, the overall level of homelessness is probably low. Those people who find themselves homeless there will probably have some sort of individual problems. In Denmark, homelessness has been defined largely as a social/mental problem and approached from within the social policy context (Järvinen and Tigerstadt, 1992). A survey in Norway in December 1996 estimated the total number of homeless at 6,145, i.e. 1.4 per thousand of the population. Among these, less than 4 per cent (or less than 250 persons) were sleeping rough (Ulfrstad, 1997).

In Germany, Avramov (1995) and FEANTSA (1999) estimated that about 500,000 people were dependent on services for homeless people on an average day in the early 1990s. Recently, the number of homeless people registered in organised temporary accommodation is decreasing. For example, in North Rhine-Westphalia, the most densely populated Bundesland of Germany, the number of people provided with temporary accommodation for homeless people reached its peak in 1994 with over 62,000 (on one particular day). By 1998, this figure had declined to 36,000. [27]

There are probably several reasons for recent reductions in the number of homeless people in Western Europe. The supply of regular permanent housing to homeless people has improved in recent years. There have been increased efforts by municipalities to prevent cases of home-loss and to improve the provision of social dwellings for homeless people. In addition, the supply of rented accommodation in the general housing market has improved. In contrast, homelessness in eastern Germany shows a strong increase since unification. Though numbers are still below the levels of west German cities, the differences are diminishing (FEANTSA, 1999).

In France, it is generally believed that homelessness has been increasing since the early 1990s when the census registered 98,000 people having no fixed abode and 59,000 in emergency shelters (Avramov, 1995). Another 45,000 people were registered as living in cellars, shacks, or abandoned buildings. This gives a total of about 200,000 homeless people in France. However, data from the voluntary sector would suggest about 250,000 (FEANTSA, 1999).

Chapter III. The scale of homelessness (in selected countries)
A. Homelessness in high-income industrial countries
2. Canada and the United States of America

It is estimated that five people per thousand population use emergency shelters in Canada. Combined with census figures, these give national estimates of 130-260,000 homeless people (Daly, 1996). In the United States of America, estimates give a very varied picture. About 1.5-2.5 people per thousand population are judged to be absolutely or temporarily homeless, i.e., users of public shelters. That means that some 500,000-600,000 people were homeless by a narrow definition in the mid-1990s.

According to USA (1994), about seven million Americans have experienced homelessness, some for brief periods and some for years, and as many as 600,000 people are homeless on any given night. If those having a homelessness spell during the last five years or doubling up are included, the figure rises to 6-8 per thousand population. They are highly concentrated in the largest cities and among some groups like Vietnam War veterans (Daly, 1996).

An absolute count is very difficult because homeless people live in abandoned buildings, cars, caves, on the banks of rivers, under bridges, on steam grates, and some in shelters. Families often stay in cars or with friends or relatives. Epstein (1995) states that there were 2.5 million people homeless in the United States of America in 1991. There is also an estimate of four million by those who work with homeless people (Wright, 1989) and one of 3 million in literature on street children (Hope and Young, 1984).

The number of homeless in the United States of America, increased during the 1980s. In some localities, the number of families in shelters doubled between 1985 and 1991 (Joint Task Force, 1991).

Chapter III. The scale of homelessness (in selected countries)
A. Homelessness in high-income industrial countries
3. Japan

According to Tamaki (1999), there are about 19,500 homeless people in Japan. Some 70 per cent of these are in Osaka and Tokyo. In Tokyo, Yokohama, and Osaka, there are many men camping out in tunnels, many of whom appear to suffer from alcoholism and mental illness. They are allowed to stay on the streets unless they disturb someone. They appear to include a sizeable proportion of Koreans (an ethnic minority in Japan) and *Burakumin*, an 'untouchable' lower caste. For the most part, these homeless men are workers who reside in flophouses (when not literally homeless) in places such as Kotobukicho. [28] The peak times of Japanese homelessness occur during the New Year's period when construction shuts down (Glasser, 1994: 20). There have always been homeless people but they have tended to be day labourers reliant on finding work every day in the *yoseba* (labour hunting area). However, since 1998, even non-day labourers and younger people are becoming homeless.

Chapter III. The scale of homelessness (in selected countries)
B. Homelessness in countries with economies in transition

In the countries of Eastern and Central Europe, following the collapse of the socialist economies, many people have lost their jobs and workers hostels have closed down. At the same time, with the withdrawal of state subsidies, housing prices and utility fees started to grow towards market levels. As a result, a large portion of society suddenly faced payment difficulties and fell into arrears. In the first half of the 1990s there was some political unwillingness to evict such people and any foreclosure procedures tended to be inefficient (FEANTSA, 1999). Housing was considered as a kind of 'shock absorber' in a changing society, i.e., at least people losing their livelihoods had the security of a home (Struyk, 1996).

From the second half of the 1990s, responsibility for housing was transferred to local governments, without giving them appropriate financial means from the central budgets to enable them to maintain the social safety net. FEANTSA (1999) estimates the scale of street homelessness in central and southeastern Europe to be at least 800,000 people (see table 7). In the Russian Federation, a very rough estimate suggests that at least 350,000 people lived on the streets in 1997. Other estimates suggest a total of about 10 million homeless for the entire Russian Federation (FEANTSA, 1999). [29]

In order to describe the broader sense of homelessness, FEANTSA (1999) uses two comparable indicators. These are 'substandard housing', as a percentage of the total housing stock (see table 8), and 'need for social housing' in the capital cities (see table 9).

The data on need for social housing indicate that only some 1-4 per cent of the population is homeless in a broader sense. Yet,

"Due to higher risk of becoming homeless ... because of mass migration of poor households towards big cities, deterioration of the lower segments of the housing stock, increasing criminality ..., the rate of social need for housing in some countries is most likely to increase. The East Europe countries have not yet given effective answers on such social needs" (FEANTSA, 1999: 446).

Chapter III. The scale of homelessness (in selected countries)
B. Homelessness in countries with economies in transition
1. Hungary

The problem of homelessness has been recognised, and given priority in Hungary since 1989. There are, however, only rough estimates on the scale of homelessness in the country. A total of some 30,000 to 50,000 people are without shelter nationally. Half of these live in Budapest and the remainder predominantly in other major cities. Street homeless people are cared for by both central Government organisations and NGOs. The latter provide a relatively large share of services and maintain about 40 per cent of all homeless shelters nationally (FEANTSA, 1999).

In Hungary, hard-pressed local governments and privatised utility companies can no longer protect households in arrears and must collect their rents and fees more efficiently. This inevitably leads to foreclosure and eviction procedures against households in arrears followed by great increases in the homeless population (FEANTSA, 1999).

Out of the approximately 4 million households in Hungary, 140,000 are more than six months in arrears with National Savings Bank housing loans and face the threat of foreclosure procedure that would end with eviction. In half of these cases, the legal procedure has already started and many thousand households face imminent foreclosure. There are also some 100,000 households which are in serious arrears with utility companies (FEANTSA, 1999).

Also in Hungary, many potentially homeless people used to be housed in shared rooms in state-owned workers' hostels until the end of the 1980s. As these hostels were shut down, the number of hostel places in Budapest decreased from 60 thousand to only 6 thousand in the 1990s. There was also a drastic reduction in the number of beds in hospitals which also used to play a role in housing homeless people (FEANTSA, 1999).

These evicted people may be only temporarily homeless and may require little more than effective market information in order to find accommodation to their liking. On the other hand, the eviction event may begin the downward spiral into destitution and longer-term homelessness.

Chapter III. The scale of homelessness (in selected countries)
B. Homelessness in countries with economies in transition
2. The Russian Federation

In the Russian Federation, the problem of homelessness is only recently being recognised. Few figures are thus available. During the early 1990s, homelessness was considered as a simple administrative problem and was assigned to the Police Departments. According to an estimate by the Ministry of Internal Affairs in 1992, there were a total of some 100,000 homeless people in the Russian Federation. The estimate is, however, based on a very narrow definition and reflects only the number of non-registered people and vagrants (FEANTSA, 1999).

New aspects of homelessness have since been accepted and according to the Ministry of the Interior the figure doubled from 1996 to 1997, when it reached 350,000 people. These estimates were based on the number of persons using some kind of homeless facilities.

Other estimates have used wider definitions of homelessness and cite much higher numbers. A recent sociological survey, for instance, estimated the number of homeless persons to be around 10 million. Some 5-6 million of these were adults and the rest children. Some 30 per cent of the adults are women (FEANTSA, 1999).

Chapter III. The scale of homelessness (in selected countries)

C. Homelessness in developing countries

Statistics for developing countries are patchy in the extreme but it is possible to begin filling in a picture from some localised studies.

Chapter III. The scale of homelessness (in selected countries)
C. Homelessness in developing countries
1. Bangladesh

According to a survey of Dhaka in 1996, there were 75,000 people in institutional buildings and 80,000 living in shopping areas, construction sites, bazaars, and in vehicles (ADB and others, 1996). Rural homelessness in Bangladesh is estimated by Rahman (1993) to vary between 7 and 15 per cent. In the river-eroded areas, it may reach 20 per cent.

Chapter III. The scale of homelessness (in selected countries)
C. Homelessness in developing countries
2. China

In China, the '*mong liu*' ('blindly migrating people') are closest to our concept of homeless people. Another term, '*nong min gong*', refers specifically to peasants who come to the city to work. Both terms refer to a rural-to-urban migration without government approval. Initially, the migrants have nowhere to live and, therefore, some spend their nights sleeping in railway stations, harbours, and empty buildings. Because they come to the city without registering, they are not counted in the national census (Ye Qimao, 1992).

In the late 1980s, large numbers of '*mong liu*' moved from the countryside owing to the closing of rural industries, the suspension of large-scale construction projects, and a reduced demand for field workers. There may have been 100 million who formed a floating population, unattached and, in theory, illegal. Despite less education and fewer skills than their city-born contemporaries, they tend to have become the self-employed peddlers, cobblers, repairmen, and tailors of the cities. [30]

Chapter III. The scale of homelessness (in selected countries)
C. Homelessness in developing countries
3. India

Estimates of homelessness in India illustrate how different methods can generate completely different results. One method of calculating homelessness is to equate it with the difference between the total number of households and the 'usable housing stock'. [31] Such a calculation imply that there were some 18.5 million homeless people in India in 1991, and that some 4.8 million of these were living in urban areas (see UNCHS, 1996a).

As Raj and Baross (1990) indicate, however, there is also a need to consider the amount of housing that declines through age and lack of maintenance across the acceptability threshold and that which is lost to the stock. This might be anything from 1 to 5 per cent per annum. [32] It is also necessary to take account of changing needs and expectation within households that can generate unforeseen housing needs. Thus, the above figure should be regarded as a conservative estimate only.

If housing shortage is taken as a measure of homelessness on the grounds that, if a household must share someone else's living accommodation, or its dwelling is due for demolition, it is homeless, India would probably have some 20 million homeless households (probably 110 million homeless people) on this measure alone! If those who are not sharing a dwelling but have poor servicing, and those whose tenure is very uncertain are added, the numbers become very large indeed.

Moreover, the number of homeless households can also be calculated through the number of households not living in a shelter classified as a 'census house.' These would thus be considered 'houseless'. This gives much lower figures.

The 1981 Homeless Census, indicated that there were 630,000 homeless households, or some 2,342,000 homeless people (Glasser, 1994). The 1991 Census of India showed a much lower figure of 217,000 (0.5 per cent) 'houseless' households (e.g. not living in census houses). If these were assumed to have a similar mean size to the housed households, there would have been 1.2 million houseless people in 1991. This is twice the 600,000 estimate for pavement dwellers used by the Housing and Urban Development Corporation (HUDCO) for its homeless shelter plans. The last looks rather low, especially in the light of the UNCHS (1996b) assertion that there are 250,000 pavement dwellers in Mumbai alone. However, a reasonably similar figure would result if the same rates of homelessness as the highest rates in Western Europe (e.g. more than four per thousand population) is applied. This rate would suggest more than one million homeless people in urban areas of India.

If an even wider definition of homelessness is used, e.g. by including those

occupying 'slums' [23] (*Juggi and Jomphri* clusters) [23] and sharers, very large numbers would come within our remit. There are about 45.7 million people (21 per cent of the 215 million urban total) in *Juggi and Jomphri* clusters and a further 90,000 sharers.

Chapter III. The scale of homelessness (in selected countries)
C. Homelessness in developing countries
4. Korea

Until recently, homelessness was not a noticeable problem in Korea's urban areas. Homeless people were few in number and did not commit acts of violence or occupy central city areas. Now, however, the homeless people are noticeable in Korean society, queuing up for a free evening meal and sleeping in subway stations. Since the foreign exchange crisis, the number of unemployed people has grown rapidly with economic stagnation and industrial restructuring. The unemployed population has reached about 2 million, or 7 per cent of the labour population, and the speeding up of structural adjustment programmes in the second half of 1999 is expected to bring even larger numbers.

Homeless people in Korea are estimated at about 3,000 nation-wide, with about 70 per cent new homeless people since the implementation of the bailout conditions of the International Monetary Fund. Most were daily wage labourers with a monthly income of less than 500,000 won ($380) mainly employed in construction which has suffered a sharp decline in the economic crisis (Nobuo, 1999).

In Korea, there is no social welfare system, the unemployment insurance system is just a few years old, and many unemployed workers are not eligible for benefits. The potential for homelessness existed even before the foreign exchange crisis. However, the downturn in the economy has hit construction workers particularly hard. Housing costs are very high compared to income and, for most construction workers, the construction site serves as both workplace and residence, so loss of job meant loss of living space as well. In addition, rapid urban redevelopment, which takes old housing out of the market so there is less space left for low-income households (Nobuo, 1999).

Strategies to Combat Homelessness

Chapter III. The scale of homelessness (in selected countries)
C. Homelessness in developing countries
5. Nigeria

In Ibadan, during the 1989 rainy season, a sample count showed some 15,700 people homeless (Labeodan, 1989).

"The homeless found in these areas sleep on road kerbs, pavements, inside old train coaches/vehicles (danfo — buses) and in front of closed market stalls. It was found that night guards harbour some of these homeless persons under the pretext that they too are guards. They [homeless people] play cards till about 2 a.m. and then sleep on benches or tables. In the morning they go begging for alms or work as load carriers" (Labeodan 1989: 79).

Chapter III. The scale of homelessness (in selected countries)
C. Homelessness in developing countries
6. South Africa

In South Africa, Olufemi (1998) reports that the number of street homeless people in inner city Johannesburg is about 7,500 of whom half are men, 36 per cent are women and 15 per cent are children. They are predominantly from ethnic groups previously exploited under apartheid. About 1,300 report to organised homes and shelters. In total, there may be in excess of 1.5 million homeless people in South Africa (see section II.F.3 above).

Chapter IV. Why are people homeless?
A. Systemic issues

"The crisis of homelessness is the culmination of policies that have either ignored or misdiagnosed the adverse impact of economic shifts, the lack of affordable housing, increased drug abuse, and other physical health and mental health problems of those who are the most vulnerable in American society. Adding to the impact of these causes were changing family structures and a breakdown in social institutions"

(USA, 1994: 2).

Classifications of individual aspects and attributes of homeless people should not be confused with explanations of homelessness. Just because a significant percentage of homeless individuals may be drug abusers does not explain why they are homeless. They may very well have become drug abusers after losing their homes (FEANTSA, 1999).

The genesis of homelessness runs the gamut of loss of jobs, business closings, broken relationships, low skills, drug or alcohol addiction, family violence, mental illness, fire in or condemnation of apartments, lack of affordable housing, and long-term poverty. Responses reflect the complexity of the issues. Poverty is *the* common denominator of homelessness. Many have been poor for a long time and are tipped over the edge by loss of job and/or abode. Others have been middle class, pulled by circumstances and/or bad choices into poverty (Hertzberg, 1992: 152).

Homelessness may be understood as comprising two broad, sometimes overlapping categories of problems. People living through what might be quite short periods of crisis poverty experience the first. Their homelessness tends to be transient, a disruptive episode in lives that are marked by routine hardship. For these people, shelters or other makeshift accommodations provide a way of bridging a temporary gap in resources. Their housing troubles may be coupled with other problems as well —unemployment through low or obsolete job skills, poor parenting or household management skills, and/or domestic violence. All these problems should be addressed if rehousing efforts are to be successful but "*their persistent poverty is the decisive factor that turns unforeseen crises, or even minor setbacks, into bouts of homelessness*" (USA, 1994: 18).

The second category comprises homeless men and women for whom homelessness can appear to be a persistent way of life. Although they constitute a minority of those who become homeless, they are the most visible and tend to dominate the public's image of homelessness. Alcohol and other drug abuse, severe mental illness, chronic health problems or long-standing family difficulties may compound whatever employment and housing problems they have. When their financial resources and family support are exhausted, they resort to the street. Their

situation is more complex than that of those who are homeless because of crisis poverty. Many have chronic disabilities, compounded by the effects of street living (USA, 1994).

When discussions on the issues of homelessness fail to separate the issue of homelessness from the identity of homeless people, the result is a focus that approximates the discussion of a disease. The extreme example is where homeless people, their lives, habits and behaviours become the major locus for grappling with the issues of homelessness. It is with, and within, these people that homelessness is looked for, 'diagnosed' and acted upon. The successful strategies are seen to be those that result in changes in their lives, personalities and behaviour. That is what Cooper (1995) calls the "pathology of homelessness" and it is often the dominant discourse of homelessness. This occurs for the following reasons.

- **Emotive reasons.** Advocates of the alleviation of homelessness often need to communicate the issue in a simplistic and readily identifiable manner. In this case, stories of personal hardship and trauma are more effective than abstract discussions of the causes of homelessness.

- **Pragmatic reasons.** The extremely complex causes and impacts of homelessness often lead to a feeling that it is too difficult to make structural links. Furthermore, officially recognised evidence is often lacking. Thus, the feeling arises that research and policy should only be concerned with issues to which they can provide immediate, practical solutions.

- **A variety of personal, intellectual and political reasons.** Many people believe that homelessness arises from individual choices; people choose not to abide by society's rules or make mistaken choices due to a limited understanding of the full consequences of their actions. Cooper (1995) claims that despite its often noble intentions, a pathological view of homelessness disempowers homeless people and limits the parameters of the debate by stripping people of their unique identity and replacing it with a negative stigma. Alcoholism, for example, is so closely tied to homelessness that, in Finnish, the modern popular words used for homeless people typically have their root in words for a single male alcoholic living under the bridges of the city. One of the words for homeless, '*puliukko*' (old alcoholic), is derived from the words *'ukko'* (old man) and *'puli,'* which comes from the noun *' pulituuri,'* meaning varnish/lacquer. In the 1980s Finland tried to 'de-label' homeless people in order to detach them from the alcoholic image. The result is a coded language in which homeless people are referred to as those having *"certain individual needs and inclinations"* (Glasser, 1994: 29).

In its inability creatively to examine the context of homelessness, and the interplay of structural factors such as the unequal access to affordable housing, the pathological view blames homeless people for their situation. It focuses on deviant behaviours, e.g., truancy in youth and drug and alcohol consumption in adults, as

the sole and primary causes of homelessness. Finally in its depiction of homelessness as a natural personal disaster, a pathological view suggests that it is inevitable and the only realistic response is to alleviate the worst aspects of the condition (Cooper, 1995).

Cooper (1995) argues against adopting a conceptual framework which views homelessness as the state in which some individuals and families cannot maintain and/or acquire a home through the normal channels of ownership or rental in the private housing market. Instead, he suggests a variety of dimensions of homelessness in order to highlight some of its neglected aspects.

- An **economic dimension** suggests that homelessness occurs where the core economic institutions of the housing market, the labour market and the financial markets cannot produce and distribute housing resources in an effective, efficient and equitable manner. Most people experience homelessness as part of a state of material deprivation (poverty) often prolonged due to such factors as unemployment. The economic dimension points out that these core institutions are all markets, known to create and reinforce inequality especially to those who have limited assets. Effective interventions, therefore, cannot afford to ignore the nature of economic institutions and consistent economic policy.

- A **social dimension** suggests that homelessness occurs when core social relations have undergone radical change or ruptures that make it impossible for traditional households to function adequately. This highlights the fact that rapid changes and disruptions in social relations can contribute to the stress of housing insecurity. It highlights the importance of supportive family life and the effect of ineffective parenting. It also suggests that effective intervention such as family support, child protection, family mediation and the prevention of domestic violence can be important in addressing homelessness.

- **A political dimension** suggests that homelessness is a state in which political institutions are unresponsive to the needs of the most vulnerable in the community and cannot intervene effectively to achieve an equitable distribution of housing costs and benefits. This can be seen as a cynical way of saying that homelessness arises from the government's inability to achieve or maintain its social justice policy. However, it highlights three important aspects of homelessness. Firstly, homeless people and their advocates should attempt to influence the political process, often in opposition to such powerful groups as homeowners and the housing industry. Secondly, homelessness is a sign of the inequitable distribution of housing costs and benefits in the community. Thirdly, effective intervention in the realm of social policy and programmes cannot be ignored.

Chapter IV. Why are people homeless?
B. Victims of evictions

There may be periods when those who are normally housed become homeless. When tenants are evicted, they have to find new dwellings to rent, or they may find refuge lodging with friends, sleeping on floors, in cheap bed and breakfast accommodation, etc. People most vulnerable to this are probably tenants and members of families whose accommodation is dependent on their relationship with the house owner. The former may be common in societies where tenant rights are weak. The latter would include women and children, especially. Wives in matrilineal societies are likely to find themselves dispossessed on the death of their husband; children may be expected to leave at a certain age, or when their mother finds a new partner, or if they fall foul of family norms, e.g., through becoming pregnant outside marriage. Inheritance rights (both *de fact* and *de jure*) in many countries are a major reason why women become homeless. This issue is of particular concern in post-conflict situations (UNCHS, 1999e).

Forced evictions are a particularly disturbing phenomenon for those in precarious housing. They are officially sanctioned acts with many harmful consequences for the affected people or group. Forced evictions are usually violent and discriminatory in nature; indeed, they are a type of urban violence (Agbola and Jinadu, 1997). Forced eviction and relocation are so potentially damaging that Scudder and Colson (1981) reckon that forced resettlement is about the worst thing you can do to people next to killing them. Freid (1963) speaks of people grieving for a lost home, so bitter are the experiences that follow in the wake of evictions.

UNCHS (1999b: 11) suggested a number of general characteristics for forced evictions around the world:

- Evictions tend to be most prevalent in countries or parts of cities with the worst housing conditions;

- It is always the poor that are evicted — wealthier classes virtually never face forced eviction, and never mass eviction;

- Forced evictions are often violent, and include a variety of human rights abuses beyond the violation of the right to adequate housing;

- Evictees tend to end up worse off than before the eviction;

- Evictions invariably compound the problem they were ostensibly aimed at ' solving'; and

- Forced evictions impact most negatively on women and children.

In 1993, the United Nations Commission on Human Rights adopted a

resolution [33] which recognises forced evictions as a —

"gross violation of human rights, in particular the right to adequate housing ... [and] urges all governments to undertake immediate measures, at all levels, aimed at eliminating the practice of forced evictions."

One month later, the United Nations Commission on Human Settlements adopted a resolution on the human right to adequate housing that expressed a firm commitment towards the promotion of housing as a fundamental human right. It urged —

"all States to cease any practices which could or do result in infringements of the human right to adequate housing, in particular the practice of forced mass evictions and any form of racial or other discrimination in the housing sphere" (United Nations, 1994: Resolution 14/6).

Through the adoption of the Habitat Agenda in 1996, Governments committed themselves to —

"protecting all people from and providing legal protection and redress for forced evictions that are contrary to the law..." (UNCHS, 1997: paragraph 40.n).

It is quite common for governments and local authorities to use their powers to evict people, who have neither the money nor the power to defend themselves, to allow commercial development of the spaces that informal settlements illegally occupy. [34] This involves transfer of residential tenure from the poor and vulnerable to middle- or upper-income people and the development of functions that particularly benefit wealthier groups. Such cases can be found in the high-income industrial countries as well as in developing countries: in Calcutta, in Colonia Pensil in Mexico, in Nairobi, in Dakar, in Paris, and in Malaysia. In one Malaysian case, the evictions were to make room for a golf course especially for international tourism. In this and many other cases, people were sent to the outskirts of the city to release city centre space for urban development apparently undertaken for the 'public good' that is, in reality, highly profitable private investment. The municipality of Santiago de Chile evicted 11,325 inhabitants in 1981 and 1990 to recover land previously occupied by low-income settlements (Audefroy, 1994).

Major international events are also an excuse to expel poor inhabitants from central areas of cities and send them to the periphery. In the colonial period, an area of Lagos, Nigeria was cleared to improve the city's appearance for Queen Elizabeth's visit (Agbola and Jinadu, 1997). Recent examples include preparations for the Olympic Games (720,000 evictions for the 1988 Games in Seoul), meetings of the Board of the World Bank (Bangkok in 1991) and the '500 Years' Commemorations in Santo Domingo in 1992. Such acts are justified on the grounds of safety for participants or city 'beautification' but, after the event, private development not directed to the poor often takes place on the cleared land (Audefroy, 1994).

In Nigeria, the notorious evictions from Maroko, Lagos (see box 1) were being planned at the same time as the government representatives were taking part in the

International Year of Shelter for the Homeless!

In recent years, the inhumanity of 'ethnic cleansing', particularly in former Yugoslavia, has come to international notice but evictions because of ethnic group or religious affiliation are not new. In Sudan, at least half a million squatters have been expelled from Khartoum largely because they belong to a different ethnic group from the dominant Muslim Arabs. The reason given for this eviction was that no squatters were permitted in their area (Audefroy, 1994).

The Habitat International Coalition has identified and documented more than 40 cases of forced evictions, which took place in over 30 countries between 1980 and 1993. [35] Most were in urban areas in countries that have ratified treaties and international conventions on the right to housing (Audefroy, 1994). According to the Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE), some 14 million people were threatened by planned forced evictions in 1998 (COHRE, 1998).

Municipal authorities were responsible for more than half (22) of the 40 cases documented by the Habitat International Coalition, national governments for one in four. Reasons given by such authorities (that should represent the people) include the following:

- Unsuitability for residential use owing to site conditions (danger from flooding, being close to hazardous activities such as sewage treatment plants or industrial areas), or because the site imposes unacceptable costs on other people (e.g., blocking the storm drainage system or obstructing power transmission lines);

- Illegal land developers who sold land they did not own;

- Squatters commit crimes and threaten the security of other citizens;

- The danger from communicable diseases;

- Shortage of full-time employment leading to idleness and low incomes (Audefroy, 1994).

When an eviction programme was launched in Manila in mid-1982, Mrs. Marcos (then Mayor of Metro Manila) talked of 'professional squatters' who were "*plain landgrabbers taking advantage of the compassionate society*." The authorities in Lhasa, Tibet, tried to portray victims of an eviction as beggars and unemployed people. While health problems have been used as an excuse for clearing poor housing, eviction and slum or squatter clearance will usually increase rather than decrease health problems. Even if they are rehoused and escape the problems caused by moving to worse housing and doubling-up, the health problems of those evicted may increase because of the very poor quality and location of the land on which they are forcibly resettled (*Environment and Urbanization*, 1994).

In the redevelopment of areas where the housing is legal, the compensation that

house owners usually receive is rarely enough to allow them to purchase another house comparable to the one they lose. Tenants or squatters hardly ever receive any compensation, just a notice to quit and, at best a small token payment. The implication is that governments view tenants as second class citizens with fewer rights than those rich enough to afford the purchase of their own house or flat. The same is true in other large-scale evictions (e.g., in Santo Domingo in 1988) where homeowners received very inadequate compensation but tenants received nothing (*Environment and Urbanization*, 1994).

The issue is not that redevelopment which displaces people should not take place within cities. Inevitably, in any growing city, there will be a need to redevelop certain areas and for public agencies to acquire land for public uses and for infrastructure. The important issues are the way in which they are currently implemented with little or no dialogue with those who will be displaced, the lack of respect for the needs of those evicted, and the lack of any attempt to develop solutions which minimise the scale of the evictions and the disruption caused to those who have to move. Poor people need their rights defined in law, to give them a basis for negotiation. Guidelines are needed to deal with the four great failings: "*no warning, no consultation, no compensation and no provision for resettlement*" (*Environment and Urbanization*, 1994: 6).

It should always be kept in mind that it is easy for Governments at all levels to use the argument of evictions as a —

"necessary evil to effect a greater social good. However, this is mostly at the expense of the urban poor and, in those societies where there are insufficient checks and balances on the power of officials, the need to even present and defend a case for development can often be circumvented through the involvement of corrupt public officials.

Forced evictions, except in the most exceptional circumstances, should be seen as an expression of policy failure — the failure of a society that is either unwilling or unable to meet the basic housing needs of the poorest and most vulnerable. It further reflects that society's failure to adequately plan for the development of urban centers for the benefit of all citizens" (UNCHS 1999b:12).

The issues of evictions and security of tenure are closely linked. The very nature of the sprawling squatter settlements of developing countries or of squatting in disused buildings in industrial countries, e.g. the lack of formal title to the plots and/or dwellings, places these people in constant danger of eviction.

In the housing market (as in any other market), choice is a positive function of income. The consequence is that the very poor often have no choice in housing at all (UNCHS, 1994). Poor housing neighbourhoods thus tend to occupy sites avoided by the better off: on flood plains, steep slopes, and near garbage dumps and industrial zones that often contain large quantities of toxic waste material. Tragically, in such poor environmental conditions, the occurrence of a natural hazard can lead to many people being homeless in addition to the death and destruction.

In addition, high demand for housing and poor quality of workmanship and quality control have endangered people at all levels of society as structurally unsafe buildings fail in earthquakes such as those in Turkey, Greece, Taiwan and Venezuela in 1999.

Even where their locations do not increase the risk of disasters, e.g., in established inner-city tenements, the lack of maintenance arising from low housing costs and the crowded conditions forced on them by the accommodation shortage, increase their vulnerability to disasters if they strike. Thus a high proportion of those killed and rendered homeless in the Mexico earthquake of 1985 were from low income, densely populated, multi-family rental housing. The earthquake and its aftershocks were estimated to made 250,000 homeless. [37]

In Caracas, Venezuela, an estimated 574,000 people live in squatter settlements on steep slopes that are continuously affected by landslides especially after heavy rain. Between 1980 and 1989, there were 266 landslides there, causing severe loss, damage and homelessness. Urban poverty also has an increasing environmental dimension as poor people themselves can become a cause of ecological deterioration as they may over-exploit natural resources and neglect environmental quality in the face of more urgent needs, such as the food and basic shelter needed for another day's survival. This, in turn, can perpetuate natural disasters and intensify their impact and increase the resulting homelessness (Tipple, 1994).

This report does not attempt to address the very particular problem posed by refugees. Their problems and needs are very different from those of people made homeless by the interplay of their routine lives and the local economic circumstances and, thus, merit separate consideration. They will not be included in the further discussion.

Chapter V. Characteristics of homeless people

"A number of analysts ... have suggested that the situation of households at risk of homelessness may be likened to a game of musical chairs. Too many people are competing for too few affordable housing units. In such a game, those troubled by severe mental illness, addiction, or potentially lethal infections, as well as those simply inexperienced in the delicate balancing act that running a household in hard times requires, are at a serious disadvantage"

(USA, 1994: 34).

Poverty is one of the most pervasive characteristics of homeless people in all countries. In the United States of America, for example, single homeless people receive only 12 per cent of the median monthly income of all American households, only about half the federal poverty level (HUD, 1999).

Throughout this report, poverty is the context within which the other characteristics and contexts occur. However, the poverty levels of homeless people, especially in developing countries, may not differ from their housed peers as much as hearsay might suggest. When discussing homeless people and 'slum' [38] dwellers of Mumbai, Swaminathan (1995) states that the conditions of life under which they live are characterised by terrible poverty, squalor and deprivation which are not captured adequately by measures of income poverty. The fact that homeless and ' slum' households are deprived of good housing, access to clean water, hygienic systems of sanitation and waste disposal, and that they live in polluted and degraded environments not suited to human habitation, is a form of poverty in itself.

In his empirical work, Swaminathan (1995) compared pavement dwellers with those in a 'slum' called Dheravi who lived in low quality tenements. Although one in four households in the Mumbai Metropolitan Region probably has a household income of less than the poverty level, among homeless households living on the pavements of Dimtimkar Road in 1995, 69 per cent had incomes below the official income poverty line. More homeless women were in the workforce than women from the 'slums' (49 per cent and 17 per cent respectively) although the former sample was Muslim and the latter Hindu. There was a slight improvement in incomes among homeless people of Swaminathan's sample between 1985 and 1992 but *"the overall picture was one of low and uncertain incomes"* (Swaminathan, 1995: 141).

Chapter V. Characteristics of homeless people
B. Insecurity and vulnerability

Homeless people are generally insecure in their circumstances. They are insecure in the basics of life, often not knowing where their next meal will come from. In the United States of America, for example, 20 per cent of homeless people are reported to eat only one meal per day or less (HUD, 1999). In addition, their goods and persons lack the protection provided by a locked door and even rudimentarily built dwelling. They are prone to robbery, mugging, and sexual violence. HUD (1999) reports that 38 per cent of homeless people in the United States of America had something stolen directly off them and 41 per cent had been the victim of a theft in their absence. Some 22 per cent had been physically assaulted and 7 per cent had been sexually assaulted. Unfortunately, as can be seen elsewhere in this report, they may be exploited and even attacked by the very people to whom they should be able to turn for protection — the police.

Also, as will be seen later, people living without shelter are vulnerable to diseases and not only those that routinely attack the housed population. Tuberculosis, for example, flourishes among people who are routinely cold and wet. They are also more vulnerable than the housed population to be addicted to drugs or solvents.

Homeless people often have nowhere to relax, although they may appear to spend much of their time dozing. They tend to lack privacy. In Calcutta, for example, the only privacy available for pavement dwellers comes from facing the wall of the building next to their patch of pavement.

In almost all circumstances, homeless people are not stakeholders in society. Their lack of identity and status means that they get little chance to determine aspects of their living conditions. They lack power to such an extent that many are virtually non-persons without papers, rights, or the vote. They are as close as one gets to be invisible in society.

Among people who sleep rough in Johannesburg, crime is an ever-present threat and women are particularly vulnerable. They may be mugged, robbed, raped and often harassed and exploited by so-called 'committee members'. These (self-elected) committee members extort money from inmates of the ad hoc shelters and pose as caretakers in charge of seeing to their smooth running (Olufemi, 1998).

Public income support systems become crucial in supporting homeless people but, even in welfare states like Sweden, only about 40 per cent of homeless people were recipients of social allowances or disability pensions. In the Netherlands and Belgium, about 80 per cent of the homeless people in shelters receive social assistance but, in Luxembourg, only 23 per cent of homeless people receive income

support (FEANTSA, 1999). Ulfrstad (1997) notes that it is the responsibility of people themselves to demand their rights and to document their needs regarding social assistance from the Government. A study in Belgium revealed that the number of homeless people receiving social assistance was doubled after they had received assistance in demanding their rights.

"This point in the direction of the conclusion that homeless people encounter administrative obstacles when claiming their right to minimum subsistence means and that they may therefore need assistance to do so" (Avramov, 1995).

Chapter V. Characteristics of homeless people
C. Household characteristics, age and gender

While the classic picture of the homeless person shuffling through the streets is one of single men and women, many homeless people live in households. In a study of sixteen cities across the United States of America (Wright, 1989), 28 per cent of homeless people were living in families. Women headed more than half of these. As some 27 per cent of all homeless people are women, this implies that a majority of homeless women lived in families, as compared to less than a fifth of all men. Lindblom (1991) noted that single mothers with children made up 80 per cent of all multi-person homeless households in the United States of America (see chapter I.A above). HUD (1999) reports that 15 per cent of the homeless people were living in a household (with an average of 2.2 minor children). Furthermore, 34 per cent of users of homeless services are living in households (23 per cent are the children and 11 per cent their parents).

Swaminathan's (1995) sample of street dwellers in Mumbai lived in households of a similar nature to the housed population. Average household size was 4.8 in 1992 and children under the age of 14 made up 44 per cent of the group. Most men were living with a marriage partner, 28 per cent of the women were widowed, divorced or separated. Six girls and one boy under the age of 14 were married.

In the Unites States of America, the fastest growing segment of the homeless population in the late 1990s was children under 16 (they numbered some 20-30 per cent of the total). Nearly 5 per cent of homeless people who are alone are children under nineteen (Wright, 1989). In 1987, it was reported that the homeless population is becoming younger than previously, with an average age of 34 (Piliavin and Sosin, 1987). Homeless women are younger still, 42 per cent under 30 (Wright, 1989). The general profile of homeless people in the United States of America is that of people in their mid-thirties, low-income workers and mid-20s mothers (Hertzberg, 1992: 151). [39]

Over 70 per cent of Western Europe's homeless people are under 40 years of age (Daly 1994b) and the average age of homeless people appears to be falling. According to recent observation, youth homelessness has risen dramatically in recent years as the transition into adulthood and independent living has become much more difficult for many young people (FEANTSA, 1999).

The number of 'throw-away' and 'run-away' young people are increasing, often related to family strife, and caused by changes in family structure and unemployment. "*Many are high school drop-outs, facing long-term unemployment in a skills-oriented society*" (Hertzberg, 1992: 152-3). Following a dramatic increase in youth homelessness in the 1985-1995 period, Avramov (1998: 347) concludes that she "*could not find any evidence that youth homelessness is increasing in the*

European Union in the second half of the 1990s." On the other hand, the situation for groups at risk varies markedly between European Union member states. Again, poor data cause problems for reliability and comparability (FEANTSA, 1999). [40]

In all European Union countries the numbers of women seeking assistance due to lack of a home appear to be rising from two or three out of ten single people in shelters in four out of ten people in 1993. In Denmark, the proportion of women among the sheltered population increased from 6 per cent in 1976 to 20 per cent in 1989. Data from English hostels show that, on average, one in four residents are women; among homeless individuals below the age of 18, about 55 per cent were women. Similar patterns are found in the Netherlands. Some 13 per cent of users of Czech hostels are women (FEANTSA, 1999). As was mentioned above, some 27 per cent of all homeless people in the United States of America are women (Wright, 1989).

Caution is recommended in interpreting these figures as service-related data may simply reflect what groups are provided for, i.e., the service-statistics-paradox. Daly (1994b) and FEANTSA (1999) argue that male and female homelessness are different phenomena: *"The male route to homelessness is typically more public than that of women. Men are usually made homeless by material difficulties, such as lack of money, no access to housing or lack of employment".* Men are also more likely to use homeless shelters than women. Women falling below the poverty line are much more likely to become homeless due to eviction and domestic violence than men. The proportion of women who lose their homes probably does not differ much from that of men [41] but women have different coping strategies and solutions available. They are said to be more likely to make private arrangements by obtaining temporary accommodation from a friend or a family member. Thus, the number of homeless women is probably underestimated. [42]

In their large-scale study of homeless people in the United States of America, Burt and Cohen (1989) found that homeless women with children differ more from single homeless women [43] than homeless men and women differ from each other. They estimated that 194,000 homeless adults used soup kitchens and shelters in the large cities of the United States of America in March 1987. Of these, 73 per cent were single men, 9 per cent were single women, and another 9 per cent were women accompanied by at least one child. Fifty-nine per cent of single homeless women with children were non-white (in contrast to 83 per cent of the women with children and 52 per cent of the single men), and they were the best educated of the three groups (Glasser, 1994).

"Individual single women had been homeless for an average of 34 months (closer to the 43 months of the single men than the 15 months of the women with children). They had the least number of months of recent joblessness (41 months, in contrast to the 46 months of the women with children and 50 months for the homeless men). Interestingly, Burt and Cohen (1989) observed that time spent without a job was longer on average than time spent without shelter, suggesting that joblessness preceded homelessness and contributed to it" (Glasser, 1994: 46).

Chapter V. Characteristics of homeless people
D. People suffering from substance abuse

Particularly in high-income industrial countries, it is very common for homeless people to have addictions to drugs, alcohol and inhalants. About half of the single homeless adults in the United States of America suffer from substance abuse problems (Baumohl and Huebner, 1990). Habitual heavy drinking and substance abuse eat away material resources (such as money otherwise available for rent) and can destroy family and friendly relations that allow people to ride out hard times without becoming homeless.

"The evidence is strong, in short, that substance abuse is an important factor in the 'selection' of homeless people from among others who are also poor. At the same time, the experience of homelessness itself may trigger heavy drinking and drug use by people who have not had such problems in the past and may prompt renewed substance abuse by people whose earlier problems had been under control" (USA, 1994: 33).

Substance abuse and chemical dependency are both a cause and a condition of homelessness for some people. There is a large and growing literature on drug taking, alcoholism, and glue sniffing among homeless adults and children, especially in Western Europe and North America. It is true that many people manage to abuse substances like alcohol, glues and solvents, and drugs, without falling out of mainstream society or losing their homes. However, there are many for whom the expense and social circumstances contingent on their dependency forces them out of secure accommodation and family life. In addition, many homeless people, who had no such habits before their current situation overtook, try to escape from the reality of their situation by finding solace from bottles, needles or aerosol cans.

Glasser (1994) expresses concern as to whether researchers in the field of homelessness tend to ignore or underestimate the alcoholism of the people they study. She argues that this may be because of discomfort with the topic (because they drink themselves?) or because they are not well trained in alcoholism research. It may also be that, in the interests of advocacy work, discussions of alcoholism, drug use or mental illness might deflect attention from society's responsibility for housing.

A similar point is raised in Ulfrstad (1997), who points out that the definition of a substance abuser ('rusmiddelmisbruker') is unclear. Since the definitions varies (or do not exist at all), data varies considerably from one survey to another. As an example, a survey in Oslo in 1972 estimated that 85 per cent of homeless people were substance abusers; a survey in Bergen (using a narrow definition) estimated the figure of 11-25 per cent; while another survey in Oslo in 1995 estimated the figure at 44 per cent. Ulfrstad's own survey (conducted in December 1996) revealed a figure of 61 per cent.

Chapter V. Characteristics of homeless people
E. People with physical and mental illness

A recent study in the United States of America admitted that the failure to address the treatment and rehabilitation needs of people with disabilities, and chronic physical and mental health problems has contributed to a large increase in the number of people who are especially vulnerable to displacement and homelessness. Both physical and mental problems appear to be over-represented in homeless people; they have poorer health than the housed population and their health is worsened by any chemical dependencies they may have. Chronic health problems, such as diabetes and HIV/AIDS, are more common among homeless people than the housed population (USA, 1994).

However, even in Europe, knowledge is limited and based on fragmentary research. In Italy and Spain, field studies from the early 1990s show that about one-third of the homeless people studied had serious health problems (FEANTSA, 1999), while data from Norway indicate that 11 per cent of homeless people were suffering from physical illness that require treatment (Ulfrstad, 1997). Pomeroy and Frojmovic (1995) state that two-thirds to three-quarters of homeless people in Canada have either physical or mental disability or abuse intoxicants.

Mental illness helps to explain why particular individuals are homeless. If they were effectively treated and supported, they would probably be able to live in conventional housing. Therefore, in the absence of appropriate support and therapy, mental illness increases the risk of becoming and remaining homeless. However, it should be stressed that mental illness cannot explain historical trends in homelessness levels. It is important to keep categorisation and background explanation apart (FEANTSA, 1999).

It is a common perception that mental illness is over-represented among homeless people in Europe, owing to the closure of mental hospitals, but available knowledge on this topic is limited. Studies indicate that between 30 and 50 per cent of those sleeping rough in the United Kingdom have a background of mental illness (FEANTSA, 1999). Data from the Netherlands show that the main problems of sheltered people, after material ones (54 per cent), were mental problems (16 per cent) and addictions problems (16 per cent) (de Feijter, 1997). In Sweden in 1993, 17 per cent of homeless people were regarded as suffering from severe psychiatric disorders. There is, however, a risk of overestimation since research is often focused on rough sleepers and hostel dwellers rather than the broader homeless population (FEANTSA, 1999). In a Nordic study, the number of homeless people with mental problems varied between eight and 22 per cent in 14 different studies (Järvinen and Tigerstedt, 1992). A later study in Norway indicated that 24 per cent of homeless people were suffering from mental illness in need of treatment. The study also revealed that only 37 per cent of these were living in institutions (such as

prisons, psychiatric institutions, institutions for substance abusers, etc.). The majority of the mentally ill did not stay in a place were they were offered treatment for their condition (Ulfrstad, 1997).

The over-representation of mental illnesses among homeless people is attributable in part to policy in the 1960s of moving mentally ill people to community-based facilities. By this, the population in large institutions was reduced by 70 per cent between 1963 and 1981, but the expected development of community-based facilities did not occur (*Congressional Quarterly*, 1985). Still, releases from psychiatric hospitals to 'unknown' living arrangements continued (Hope and Young, 1984). Chronically mentally ill people who are released unsupervised into the community commonly stop taking their crucial psychotropic medication and return to active mental illness, often becoming homeless in the process (Hertzberg, 1992).

The research on the relationship between mental illness and homelessness is complex, and scarce in a global context. It asks whether mental illness (subject to a variety of definitions) is a cause or a result of homelessness. Wright and Weber (1987) point out that rummaging through the garbage for food or urinating in public may seem 'crazy' but are actually adaptations to life on the street. Similarly, symptoms of anxiety and depression may also be reactions to a life with much stress and little hope. Even becoming hospitalised may be part of a conscious attempt to get off the streets for a while (Glasser, 1994). In the United States, estimates of the incidence of mental illness among homeless people have ranged widely from 15 to 90 per cent (Wright and Weber 1987).

The existence of vagrant psychotic people in the developing world is evident to any observer. It is attributed to a combination of a lack of community treatment and the shortage of housing for single people. Throughout Africa there are 'contact services' such as night shelters or 'soup runs' that offer on-the-spot services to homeless people (Glasser, 1994).

Chapter V. Characteristics of homeless people
F. Ethnicity and nationality

There appears to be an issue of ethnic exclusion in the homelessness equation. Ethnic minorities and migrants are over-represented in the ranks of homeless people. For example, in the United States of America, only 41 per cent of homeless people are white non-Hispanic while 40 per cent are black non-Hispanic, 10 per cent are Hispanic, 8 per cent are Native American, and 1 per cent are other races. This imbalance to excluded or formerly excluded racial groups increased since 1987 (HUD, 1999).

In Western Europe, it seems that immigrants only make up a small proportion of the homeless population, between 10 and 20 per cent of homeless people. [44] However, the proportion varies considerably between different countries. In Greece and Italy, immigrants seem to be a particularly significant proportion of homeless people and illegal immigrants face the greatest risks of becoming homeless (Daly 1994b). Research from Italy indicates that homeless immigrants were better educated, were more likely to be employed, and enjoyed better health and stronger social networks than the Italian homeless but such conclusions were based on relatively poor data (FEANTSA, 1999). Yet, despite the low number of immigrants among the homeless population in some countries the relative number might still be high. In Norway, for example where 4 per cent of the population were immigrants, the figure for the homeless population was more than four timers as high, i.e. 18 per cent. For the immigrant population that was born outside Europe and north America the difference was even more striking, i.e. 2 per cent (of the total population) and 13 per cent (of the homeless population) (Ulfrstad, 1997).

In South Africa, some migrant street dwellers are trapped in their abject circumstances through having no identity papers. The case of Oom Johnny, reported in *Homeless Talk* (1999) might be fairly typical. He worked in the gold mines until ' retrenchment' (redundancy) left him homeless and jobless. Over time, he has been robbed of most of his possession, including the vital ID card, the proof of nationality required to access the pension that would allow him to live a more normal life in a dwelling.

In Swaminathan's (1995) survey of homeless people in Dimtimkar Road, Mumbai, all heads of households were born outside the city and the majority (23 out of 26) was immigrants from Bihar. They were, however, long-term residents of the city, mostly having migrated to the city between 1969 and 1978. All households but one were Muslim in a predominantly Hindu city.

Chapter V. Characteristics of homeless people
G. The urban-rural dimension

Rural homelessness was all but absent in policy debates of the 1980s. In part, this reflects the geography of relief; rural people are apt to move to urban areas to use the emergency services found there. In part, also, it reflects the distinctive character of rural homelessness in which people tend to try to cope through doubling-up, moving frequently, occupying substandard housing or illegally siting mobile homes. In effect, these makeshift arrangements render homelessness more hidden in rural areas (USA, 1994).

Ulfrstad (1997) argues that the low incidence of homelessness in rural municipalities may be due to a desire to avoid social stigmatisation. Homeless people may choose to stay with friends rather than in institutions (which may not even exist). His survey from December 1996 reveals a significantly larger incidence of staying temporarily with friends in rural (53 per cent of all homeless people) than in urban areas (35 per cent).

Based on data from Norway, it is tempting to argue that many among the rural homeless are living in town. A survey in 1971 revealed that 81 per cent of homeless people in Oslo had moved to Oslo from other parts of Norway (Ulfrstad, 1997). He argues that the issue is not only where homeless live, but also why an individual has become homeless. Based on data collected in Oslo he presents a hypothetical case that describes the movement from rural to urban areas (see box 2).

There is little reference material on homelessness in rural areas in developing countries. One notable exception is a report by Rahman (1993) for Bangladesh, which indicates that rural households in Bangladesh fall into two categories, squatters and dependent households (see box 3).

Chapter VI. Street children

"The term 'street children' was first used by Henry Mayhew in 1851 when writing London Labour and the London Poor. *However, it only came into general use after the United Nations Year of the Child in 1979.... Before this street children were referred to as homeless, abandoned, or runaways"*

(Scanlon and others, 1998: 1597).

Chapter VI. Street children

A. Definition

"The task of identifying, with any real precision, all the factors which define who is and who is not a street child is difficult, given the relative lack of systematic study of the phenomenon. If the complexities of the cultural variations are considered, the task is probably beyond the limits of current technology as well. What is possible is to select key indicators for each of the dimensions"

(Cosgrove, 1990: 187). [45]

Street children are a category of homeless people for which there is a substantial literature from many parts of the world. They also present distinct issues from the adult homeless population. Definitions of a street child include issues of age and location, and some writers add supervision, behaviour, family contact and means of support. A street child is, of course, a minor, below the age of majority in the society in question. The age of majority invariably brings rights, responsibilities and expectations different from those of a child. In addition, the institutions and agencies of social assistance and control with which one comes into contact also tend to change (Cosgrove, 1990). As Carrizona and Poertner (1992) point out, street children are children chronologically but they function in society as adults although they do not have adult levels of protection.

A street child spends at least a part of his/her days in the streets. S/he uses them as a place of congregation (Bibars, 1998) rather than simply as a channel for moving from one place to another. Street children *"reside on the streets full or part time"* (Lusk and others, 1989: 289) and tend to generate their income there.

The Inter-NGO Programme on Street Children's definition of a street child widens the definition of street in this context. Thus, a street child is:

"...any girl or boy... for whom the street (in the widest sense of the word, including unoccupied dwellings, wasteland, etc.) has become his or her habitual abode and/or source of livelihood; and who is inadequately protected, supervised, or directed by responsible adults" (Glasser, 1994: 54).

This definition, adopted by UNICEF, was developed with Latin America in mind, where studies suggest that 80 per cent to 90 per cent of street children have some contact with their family (see section VI.D below) (Scanlon and others, 1998).

Some definitions would include the behaviour of a street child as being predominantly at variance with community norms. Cosgrove (1990) points out that, at the worst extreme, such a child would show consistent disregard for commonly accepted standards for personal deportment and for the rights of others. Consistent congruence of behaviour would indicate the opposite extreme. In both cases there might be relatively isolated instances of contrary behaviour. Children in less extreme circumstances might, for example, demonstrate serious difficulties with parents or

authorities or lesser difficulties across a broader range of behaviour. Some social scientists (e.g., Aptekar, 1988) have constructed typologies that consider other dimensions of street life such as street territories, social organisation, economic activities, and integration with street culture (Scanlon and others, 1998).

Street children in Kenya gave the following definitions of a street child:

"a child who eats from a dustbin; a child who feeds on waste food that is spoiled and rotten; one who comes from a poor family; one who sleep out anywhere because he has no parents; a child with a glue-sniffing addiction; one who begs on streets but goes home; a child who does not wash and dresses badly" (Kariuki, 1999: 11).

"The family is the one social institution whose role in the care and protection of children is basic and universal. The extent to which there is family involvement then is, indeed, a good indicator of the quality of a child's social environment"

(Cosgrove, 1990: 187).

Every child has basic needs — for food, clothing, shelter, nurture, security, socialisation — for which the family or a foster family is the most appropriate provider. Street children, at the extreme, must rely on themselves, other children (often in a gang), or transient relationships with adults to meet their needs (Cosgrove, 1990).

Only a small minority of street children, however, are unattached or uninvolved with a family of their own (Lusk, 1992). Lusk (1989) found that, throughout Brazil, about 90 per cent of street children either lived at home or maintained regular or at least occasional contact with their family. [46] Tacon (1982) of UNICEF contends that throughout Latin America only 10 per cent are completely cut off from their family.

In a study in Juarez, Mexico, 44 per cent of the children were found to live with two-parent families, 20 per cent lived with their mother, and the remaining 39 per cent lived with relatives, other children or on the streets. Only 5 per cent of the children lived on the streets on a full-time basis and had severed contact with their family. Of those who retained family links, 15 per cent spent the majority of their nights sleeping on the streets (Lusk and others, 1989). In Kumasi, Ghana, Korboe (1996) found that almost half of the street children live alone. A further 30 per cent live in a foster home where they are looked after by relatives or friends of the family under Ghana's traditional fostering arrangements.

The family of origin of street children tends to be atypical. Brown (1987), for example, has found that in Kingston, Jamaica, over 90 per cent of street children came from female-headed households. In San Jose, Costa Rica, 78 per cent of a sample of street children came from families with a single parent or no parent (Valverde and Lusk, 1989). In Kumasi, Ghana, 60 per cent came from a single-parent or foster household (Korboe, 1996). Kariuki (1999) reckons that, in Nairobi, female-headed households fare particularly badly because of women's inferior access to property rights and appear to generate many of the street children in the city.

For many children, families are instruments of exploitation rather than protection. They so overburden their children with work that they grow up knowing little else. Perhaps it is so common that it is accepted as normal practice by many families to exploit their children and expose them to danger. In the worst cases, families intentionally injure their own children, for example maiming them as this

improves the opportunities from begging (Bibars, 1998). [47]

Chapter VI. Street children
C. Numbers

UNICEF has estimated that there were some 100 million street children world-wide in 1992 (Epstein, 1996). [48] Ennew and Milne (1990) reckons that some 71 million of these worked on the streets, about 23 million mostly work and live on the streets, and some 7 million were abandoned children. Glasser (1994) reports that there are significant numbers of abandoned children who live in institutions. In Brazil, for example, there are over 500,000 minors in government-related institutions. The large numbers of orphans in institutions around the world has been highlighted through media attention. Major catastrophes tend to generate orphan populations. Glasser (1994) recalls the devastating famines in the Soviet Union after World War I when as many as 5 million children were begging on city streets or were in institutions.

Most estimates for the number of street children in Latin America vary between eight and 50 million. [49] The large range illustrates how difficult it is to count street children accurately (Scanlon and others, 1998). This is further exemplified at the national level. In Brazil for example, estimates have ranged from 7 to 30 million. [50]

Rizzini and Sanders (1987) and Lusk (1989) have observed that much of the variation in numbers is due to the lack of a standard definition of street children. Some have inflated their estimates by including all of those poor or 'marginalized' children who at times are found unsupervised around the streets. Others have also confused the issue by referring to street children as 'abandoned'. This leads to the erroneous impression that Latin American cities are filled with millions of children who have no family support (Lusk, 1992).

Boyden (1986 and 1991) has estimated that there are 500,000 street children in Sao Paulo and 200,000 children who work regularly on the streets of Lima, Peru. Probably only 6,000 (3 per cent) of the latter actually live in the streets (Lusk and others, 1989). At least 1.5 million street children live and work in Mexico. In Mexico City, for example, there are estimated to be about 200,000 children who work on the streets (UNICEF, 1985). Bogota, Colombia, is said to have 130,000 street children; Quito, Equador, may have 6,000 (UNICEF, 1985), and Asuncion, Paraguay, may have 15,000 (Carrizona and Poertner, 1992).

The problem is not confined to Latin America. The National Coalition for the Homeless in the United States of America estimates that there are about 600,000 homeless children there at any given time, about one-fifth of the homeless population (Hope and Young, 1984). Epstein (1996) estimates the figure at between 750,000 and 1 million.

India is estimated to have 44 million children working on the streets. [51] In

Africa, Ochola and others (1999) estimate that there will be about 32 million street children by 2000. By 1996, there were 50,000 in Nairobi alone. Worryingly, a rising proportion is abandoned, with no family ties at all, through the depredations of civil wars and HIV/AIDS. Even in quite small cities where there is a strong sense of communal care, there may be street children. In Kumasi, Ghana, for example, Korboe (1996) found between 1,000 and 1,500.

Chapter VI. Street children
D. Classifications

There have been many efforts to classify street children into some sort of typology, especially in order to identify the best ways to provide assistance to each portion of the whole. The following sections outline two different sets of such classifications. The first of these looks at the characteristics or behaviour patterns of the street children themselves, while the second looks at how behaviour corresponds to accepted community norms and family involvement.

Chapter VI. Street children
D. Classifications
1. Classifications based on characteristics or behaviour patterns
a. UNICEF typology: 'children at high risk', 'children *in* (or *on*) the streets' and 'children *of* the streets'

UNICEF has developed a useful typology separating street children who live at home from those who do not. The experience of working children who live at home is evidently considerably different from the abandoned child who must rely on other children for protection, sustenance and nurture. It also takes account of the process whereby unsupervised children and child-workers can become fully-fledged street children (Lusk and others, 1989). The typology differentiates between three categories, namely children at high risk, children *in* (or *on*) the streets and children *of* the streets. [52]

The *children at high risk* are boys and girls who live in absolute poverty in households that do not satisfy their basic human needs. They may spend time in the streets to work or 'hang out'. Through this, they are exposed to street culture, adult street workers, gangs, vagrants, prostitutes and homeless families. In Latin America, these children can be found in poor neighbourhoods, living at well below the minimum wage. In Brazil, for example, more than half the children live below the United Nations poverty level. It is this marginal group that is at most risk of becoming street children.

According to Lusk (1992), about 50 per cent of all street children in Rio de Janeiro belonged to this group (which he calls 'family-based street workers'). They live at home full time and work on the streets full or part time. This group is less likely than other street children to be 'marginalized' or delinquent. They are predominantly from stable two-parent households and are the most likely of all street children to be attending school (73 per cent). These children are unlikely to be involved in crimes such as theft, assault or other illegal means of support. They are not likely to be members of a gang or to be involved with the police and child welfare institutions. They tend to help to buy food or clothing, pay for school supplies or otherwise contribute to the household. They mostly work part-time in such jobs as shoeshine boys, candy vendors, beggars or car 'watchmen' (Lusk, 1992).

However, these children are exposed to the dangers of 'street society', an environment of gangs, drug dealers, police, beggars, criminals and other adults who would exploit them. There, where there is little privacy, comfort or safety, even the most occasional street worker is exposed to the drugs, violence and worker exploitation that characterise street culture. Or as Lusk concludes, "*the streets are a very effective 'school' of the wrong kind*" (Lusk, 1992: 297).

The second category in UNICEF's typology are *children in (or on) the streets.*

These are youngsters who spend a substantial portion of their time in the streets, usually as child workers, often with parental encouragement (Kariuki, 1999). They tend to maintain a strong family link, but may sleep out occasionally, [53] often owing to the distance from their household to the workplace, or to enable them to work at night when there may be less competition and better business (Glauser, 1990). Others may find it impossible to travel home or to work by bus late or early enough for their work. Some of these children work all night whilst others get a few hours sleep wherever they can. Some may return home in the morning to get some sleep; others only go home every two or three days, spending the other nights together with children who do not go home on any regular basis at all.

"Some stay in the street during the week and go back home for the weekend; others do it the other way around; and still others stay on the streets for the warm nights of the summers, but tend to go home again when the nights get cooler" (Glauser, 1990: 140).

Few among these children attend school regularly, but de Oliveira and others (1992) were impressed by the number in their study who were enrolled in school (37 per cent). Many will give some or all of their income to their family; some may not be permitted access to their home until some income quota has been met (Larmer, 1988). Children *in* the streets are immersed in street culture and are exposed to its dangers — violence, police harassment and illegal drugs (Lusk and others, 1989).

According to Lusk (1992) some of these children (the 'independent street workers') suffer from a pattern of child abuse or lack of food and support, and tend to stay on the streets on a twenty-four hour basis at least periodically. They begin to adopt the street culture and may eventually become children *of* the streets. These children tend to come from somewhat larger families than the 'family-based street workers', many of which have migrated to the city. In Lusk's sample, only 31 per cent of these children attend school. They are four times as likely to admit to involvement in illegal work, supplementing their earnings with shoplifting and petty theft. Well over half use illegal drugs and over a third belong to a gang. The most commonly used drugs are industrial glue, marijuana and cocaine. About two-thirds have been committed to a juvenile institution.

The third category in UNICEF's and Lusk's typology is c*hildren of the streets*. These are those for whom the street has become a home, their primary environment for daily life. This group tends to be small compared with the multitude seen in many cities working as street vendors, performers, couriers, guides, beggars and prostitutes. In Rio de Janeiro, some 15 per cent of Lusk's sample fell into this category (Lusk, 1992). Called *gamines* in Colombia, *huelepegas* in El Salvador, *tigueres* in Brazil, these children *of* the streets have had their family ties severed through running away, abandonment, family disintegration or death of their parent(s) (Lusk and others, 1989). Many are abandoned or orphaned (Kariuki, 1999).

The children *of* the streets tend to be older than the working children and tend to have run away and broken off contact with the family. Compared with

home-based street children, children *of* the street are less likely to come from a home headed by their father and less likely to have had access to running water or toilet facilities in their former home. Their parents are more likely to be unemployed, illiterate, uncooperative, less mutually caring and have higher levels of violence (Scanlon and others, 1998). Some of these children have no idea where their family is and others among them have been abandoned or orphaned (Lusk, 1992). Over two-thirds have been physically or sexually abused — twice the norm for street children in general. Only a small fraction attend school and these do so only infrequently. The children *of* the streets in Rio *"fulfil the popular* pixote *image of the hard core urchin"* (Lusk, 1992: 300).

Children *of* the street are socialised outside of the schools and the family with few conventional contacts with adults. Kariuki (1999) avers from experience Kenya that their parents could not afford to keep them in school. Despite this, Felsman (1981a) and Lusk (1989) have described them as being positively adapted and entrepreneurial. On the other hand, their relationship to the larger society is predatory and exploitative; many supplement their income with illegal activity and in turn suffer harassment and violence. In Lusk's (1992) Rio de Janeiro study, fully 60 per cent of this group admit to making their living illegally and 80 per cent are open about their regular use of illegal drugs. They are at the very fringes of conventional social organisation (Lusk and others, 1989).

"Social workers and street educators who work with this population state that these figures underestimate the nature of their behaviour in terms of crime and drug use" (Lusk, 1992: 300).

Several writers (e.g., Kariuki, 1999) assert that that the distinction between children *in* and *of* the streets can be very arbitrary as the children move between the streets and their homes depending on the weather, family dynamics, police harassment, or economic conditions at home and in the street.

Some of these children are so dislocated from mainstream society as to be identified by a street child advocacy agency as a fourth category:

"the truly abandoned or orphaned child whose life revolves entirely around the street and whose only reference group is made up of other street children. CHILDHOPE estimates that 75 percent of the world's street children are those 'on ' the street, 20 percent are those 'of' the street, and 5 percent are truly abandoned street children with no family ties" (Glasser, 1994: 55).

Lusk (1992) adds another group to the typology, namely the children of street families. They are a small group but likely to grow if the trend continues. Lusk found that these children had profiles similar to 'independent street workers' with respect to drug use, gang membership and illegal work. Few attend school but they are far less likely than most street children to have been to a juvenile institution.

Chapter VI. Street children
D. Classifications
1. Classifications based on characteristics or behaviour patterns
b. Patel's Indian typology

In the Indian context, Patel [54] identifies four groups of homeless or vulnerable children: children who live by themselves on the street (street children), children who work in hotels and restaurants (hotel boys), children of pavement dwellers, and children of construction workers. She also recognises that there are other groups of vulnerable children not included.

In the city of Mumbai, the Missing Persons Bureau suggests that on average 200,000 people leave home annually (December, 1979 data). Of the 50,000 who are listed, 45 per cent are below the age of 16. Street children are distinctly different from pavement dwellers in that they have chosen to leave their families. The children refer to themselves as '*Sadak Chap*' (carrying 'the stamp of the street'). They are, by their own admission, roofless and rootless. While street children share occupations and some characteristics with these other children of the poor, they are unique in that they have broken all contact with their homes. They are children *of* the street.

Without even rudimentary dwellings, these children live under bridges, on platforms of railway stations, working during the day, eating out of the wage they earn, and owning no more than what they wear on their backs. Their lack of permanent address, their wandering lifestyles, and their changing workplaces, make them a difficult group to locate. However, Patel feels that the collection of information about this group, and the provision of state services for them, is an urgent need.

Many inexpensive eating places, both registered and unregistered, illegally employ children known as 'hotel boys'; often from outside the city, as they are less likely to know their legal rights and are amenable to taking orders. It is estimated that some 50,000 are employed in 11,750 hotels, restaurants, canteens and teashops in Mumbai.

Many children are pavement dwellers, living with their parents on the streets. A study in Mumbai by the Society for the Promotion of Area Resource Centres (SPARC) in 1985 located around 6,000 households (27,000 people) living in one municipal ward, along three arterial roads.

The children of construction workers are discussed separately. Most construction workers are unskilled, landless agricultural labourers who have left their village to earn a better living in the city. They are often recruited by subcontractors who come from the same area. Often these are persons to whom they are indebted, or who bring them to cities with the promise of a job. Workers live in makeshift

homes on the site and, despite being in the city, are isolated from the mainstream of urban life. Working conditions are hard, and their living environment even harsher. Their homes are usually bricks stacked without mortar, with tin or thatched roofs, and mud wall and flooring. The availability of water differs from site to site, and sanitation and drainage are practically non-existent. Schools, ration shops, health centres and other amenities are absent or the people are not eligible, or it is impossible for them to use the services because of the conditions attached, for example, opening hours.

Many children live with their parents on construction sites in dwellings that are usually just bricks stacked without mortar, with tin or thatched roofs, and mud wall and flooring. Living on the construction site, amidst rubble, cement, stones and scaffolding, involves many dangers compounded by the lack of day care, education, health facilities and other social services. Some of the children are also expected to work.

Chapter VI. Street children
D. Classifications
1. Classifications based on characteristics or behaviour patterns
c. Other typologies based on characteristics or behaviour patterns

Some authors make distinctions among street children as *"runaways (those who leave home without their parent's consent); throwaways (those forced to leave); system kids (those leaving social service system placements, such as foster care or group homes); and street youths (those who sleep on the street)"* (Rotheram-Borus, 1991).

In a study in Wales, for example, young people under 16 years are classed as runaways, since legally they cannot leave home without parental consent, but those 16 and over are called homeless (Liddiard and Hutson 1991). However, distinctions tend to blur and categories overlap (Glasser, 1994).

Other authors have differentiated categories of street children according to how long they have been on the streets and their age (Jones, 1988). However, it is usually secondary in importance to lack of family involvement and deviance.

Chapter VI. Street children
D. Classifications
2. Cosgrove's matrix of street children

Cosgrove suggests an approach that looks at how behaviour corresponds to accepted community norms and family involvement rather than at selected characteristics or behaviour patterns. Both the relationship of overall behaviour to accepted norms and family involvement are seen as continuums. However, he begins with a description of the extremes (the most negative and most positive) and a middle point. [55]

These are represented in figure 2 in which the continuum of family involvement ranges from essentially strong family ties, through inconsistent ties, to essentially ineffective or absent ties. The continuum of relatedness of behaviour ranges from essentially normative, through inconsistent, to pervasively non-normative behaviour. Each of the nine numbered cells in the matrix represents a category of children who are, who could become, or who resemble street children. Obviously, there will be some overlap among the categories.

Cells 6, 8 and 9 make up the group generally considered to be street children. These are the children whose situations are fairly intractable to traditionally structured social services which have had little success engaging these youngsters, keeping them involved and producing positive outcomes. Those in the two less severe categories (6 and 8) are usually more amenable to change than those in 9, because their ability to adapt to social norms and/or to relate to other people are strengths upon which new lives can be built.

Those children who fall into cell 5 (in which family involvement is not strong and behavioural conformity vacillates) are prime candidates to join the ranks of street children.

The children in cells 1, 2 and 4 are youngsters who may at first appear to be street children. Yet, they do only peripherally or accidentally associate with that lifestyle. The groups include children who live, attend school, work, or are located, close to street children. Also included are adventurers or thrill seekers expressing their rebelliousness, testing their daring or seeking vicarious stimulation on the fringes of the 'street scene' (Jones, 1988). These youngsters are the least likely to become street children although proximity to the environment in which street children exist places them in danger. They are potential victims of kidnapping, confinement and being forced into prostitution.

Chapter VI. Street children
E. Causes

"The idea of working, abandoned, delinquent or victimised youth, depending upon one's point of view, seems to go to the heart of a modern social crisis"

(Lusk, 1992: 296).

"Most of the [street] children ... have been caught in a vicious circle: he/she starts by being born into a poor or abusive family, drops out of school, goes onto the streets and finally ends up in a corrective institution. Instead of rehabilitation, the child, due to neglect that is underpinned by society's and policy makers' negative attitude towards him/her, is pushed towards one sort of delinquency or another"

(Bibars, 1998: 202).

Several related economic, social, and political factors have been linked with the appearance of street children. *"Land reform, population growth, drought, rural to urban migration, economic recession, unemployment, poverty, and violence have all been implicated"* (Scanlon and others, 1998: 1597).

Kariuki (1999) discusses several hypotheses for the origins of street children in Kenya. These are based on poverty, dysfunctional families and modernisation.

- The first hypothesis points out that poverty seems to cause some breakdown of families and moral values [56] pushing children in this situation into the streets in search of opportunities to earn some money to support themselves and their families. They may, however, also be responding to needs of their own, for open space where they can have some peace, supportive new relationships, or full responsibility for their own lives.

- The second hypothesis claims that street children are caused by dysfunctional families who abandon, abuse or neglect their children. [57] This may result in teenage pregnancies, many arising from rape. Young women and girl victims become single parents and many set off for the urban centres in search of a livelihood. There, they and/or their children may end up on the streets. [58]

- The third hypothesis blames modernisation, which leads to the breakdown of extended family values. [59] The traditional ethos of the African family provided social security for victims of dysfunctional branches, absorbing children who needed care and preventing the phenomenon of street children. The presence of street children can be seen as an indicator that such traditions are being eroded by the modern culture of individualism. This trend has particularly affected the urban areas where the breakdown of these traditional support systems for poorer family members has led to greater disparities between the rich and the poor. Children living in the least favoured households suffer severe deprivation and tend to drift into the streets (Kariuki, 1999).

In high-income industrial countries like the United States of America, most street children have run away from home to escape physical or sexual abuse (Reppond, 1983). Many homeless young people have received implicit messages from the family to leave (through physical abuse or neglect) until they finally run away (Glasser, 1994). The main cause of children's being on the streets in developing countries, however, is poverty (Carrizona and Poertner, 1992). While street children in the United States of America come from all social classes and are overwhelmingly from neglectful or abusive homes, their Latin American, African and Asian counterparts should be seen primarily as workers. [60]

Physical and sexual abuse are also major causative factors. In Rio, almost half of the street children interviewed by Lusk (1992) reported a history of physical abuse. A large number of the children fled from their homes because their real or stepparents had beaten or even burnt them severely. Although there are laws that protect children from the physical abuse of parents, they are not respected by any of the parties concerned.

Work in Egypt also showed that, though poverty led families to break up, it was often associated with domestic violence. This domestic violence, and especially physical and sexual abuse of children, were among the main reasons why children ran away from their homes and took to the streets (Bibars, 1998). According to a study of girl street children in Nairobi, about 90 per cent come from households where physical and verbal abuse, alcoholism, and the like are problems (Dzikus and Ochola 1996).

However, as more people are pushed to the economic periphery, children take to the streets to work and earn money because there is not enough at home either to keep them or to pay school fees. In Korboe's (1996) study in Ghana, many of the northern girls had migrated to Kumasi to raise money for cloth, storage bins, cooking pots and other paraphernalia to increase their chances of marriage.

In many lower income households the rational economic response has been to set children to work (Lusk, 1992). Valladares (1988) found that 13 per cent of Brazilian children between 10 and 14 years of age are working full or part time. Among children aged 15-17, 40 per cent are employed. The optimal strategy for poor households seems to favour high fertility and limited education. This in turn provides an incentive for child street labour, which can lead to children-at-risk becoming street workers and, in some cases, 'children *of* the streets' (see section VI.D.1.a above).

Scanlon and others (1998) found that most street based children do not gradually move from home to street but establish themselves on the street early on. Most do intermittent, casual work such as hawking, cleaning and guarding cars, market work, begging, stealing, and prostitution. Some form quite structured gangs loosely based on the family but mostly they form less stable groups, adapted to the problems of street life, with diffusely defined roles and territories.

Few street children in Latin America can be said to be on the streets in search of a 'Tom Sawyer-like' adventure or in pursuit of freedom from responsibility. They are 'pushed' into the environment by family poverty, neglect and violence, are 'pulled' into the street by the availability of work and income (Lusk, 1989). In a study of Bogota *gamines*, Pineda and others (1978) found that only one in ten claimed to have left home for 'adventure'. One in three of the children had left home owing to extreme poverty, one in four because of family disintegration, and one in five owing to physical abuse. A study of a broader group that included working children who lived at home found that children consistently referred to economic incentives as their reason for being in the street (Lusk, 1989).

In Ghana, Korboe (1996) found that, although poverty is the root cause for being on the street, it is not always the only one. The decision to venture into the urban street was prompted in part by children's frustration at their parents' seeming indifference to their emotional, financial and other needs. Parental neglect, multiple marriages, divorce or death are quite common reasons for leaving home but domestic violence is very rarely causal in Ghana. Families that produce street children are not necessarily deviant, however. Such children may be taught by their impoverished mothers to survive by becoming independent at an earlier age than their society deems appropriate (Aptekar, 1993; 1994). Such children,

"especially boys, become much more resilient than their home-based counterparts since they have to cope with the vagaries of poverty and a myriad of other problems on the streets. To be able to cope, the children need a high degree of cognitive and entrepreneurial skills" (Kariuki, 1999: 3).

Chapter VI. Street children
F. Conditions

"... in spite of its diverse elements and characteristics, homelessness and street life share a number of important features. First, life on the street implies a public disclosure of personal destitution. One's poverty is made so visible that there is no escape from confronting its existence for the external observer as well as the victim. Second, survival on the streets necessitates the abandonment of a futuristic time orientation. Survival becomes a moment to moment preoccupation and, for those in such a situation, the ability to divide and order time so as to contemplate let alone plan for a future is an unfamiliar luxury. Third, street life demands ceding one's entitlement to private and personal space. Fourth, when one's ability to gain protection is challenged, all sense of permanence with respect to personal and social relations is thrown into question"

(Epstein, 1996: 290).

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F. Conditions
1. Violence

Violence plays a seemingly increasing role in street children's everyday lives. At the extreme, street children are slaughtered by death squads. In Latin America many people in the judiciary, the police, the media, business, and society in general believe that street children represent a moral threat to a civilised society that must be exorcised (Gigenback, 1994). The most frightening manifestation of this is the emergence of 'death squads' of self-proclaimed vigilantes, many of whom are involved with security firms and the police. [61]

An average of three street children are reportedly killed every day in the state of Rio de Janeiro —

"On 23 July 1993 a vigilante group openly fired on a group of 50 street children sleeping in the Candelaria district of Rio de Janeiro. Seven children and one adult were killed and many others injured" (Scanlon and others, 1998: 1598).

Children living and working on the streets of Cairo are regularly rounded up by the police, often beaten, and then held in crowded detention centres where their heads are shaved. Some are transferred to corrective centres or other institutions where conditions are very poor. Such custodial institutions do not discriminate between criminals and those who have lost their way or those who have run away from their families (Bibars, 1998).

There is also a growth of violence among street children and between street children and adults (Lusk, 1992). The 7 per cent who belonged to gangs in Lusk and others' (1989) study of Juarez, Mexico, stated that their primary reason for being involved in a gang was for protection.

Street children easily fall prey to temptations offered by their peers or adults. They are often robbed or have to pay 'protection money'. In addition and, perhaps more damaging for their personal development, street children are generally disparaged by the rest of society and consequently suffer from very low self-esteem despite their often considerable achievements in surviving (Bibars, 1998).

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2. Crime

All the children Bibars (1998) spoke to in Egypt were street children before they committed any kind of crime. However, the prevailing public and official view of homeless people and delinquent children in many countries is that of *"trouble-makers and/or criminals by nature"* — rather than victims of circumstances. The cycle for many street children begins with an abusive home which pushes them onto the streets. This leads to an arrest and finally to a corrective institution. From interviews carried out with institutionalised children, it became clear that they learn many more criminal skills during their stay in these institutions and they graduate as professional crooks.

Leite and Esteves use the term 'creative' for the various ways that street children defy death, break institutional rules, transgress the laws of private property and local moral codes. Many of these involve violence. Basic rights have been denied them, so their survival depends on artful, quick-witted actions. They know how to take advantage of a given situation to achieve results that may bring them an immediate advantage. Demonstrations of pity are not accepted unless these might prove useful. They are clearly aware that to receive requires a passive, submissive attitude and act whereas to take is something active, participative. This may be the reason why they steal in the streets — *"it is so much more fun than begging"* (Leite and Esteves, 1991: 134).

According to Wright and others (1993a), about one half of the street children in Honduras have been arrested, while some 40 per cent have been imprisoned. São Paulo court figures show that the number of arrests of street children is increasing. However, there are few concrete data on crimes committed by street children to support the popular assumption that they are all thieves (Scanlon and others, 1998).

According to Leite and Esteves (1991), the aggressive attitudes of street children stem from the impotence they feel in the presence of rules they cannot follow and are unlikely to succeed in. Their explosive bursts of anger, sometimes violent and aggressive, fighting and swearing, cannot be summarised simply as being quarrelsome or the products of bad education and vicious surroundings. Instead, it represents a different culture. The street children are trapped between their life circumstances and the dominant, ever-present values of the wider society around them that tell them how they should act.

Drug abuse is part of the reality of street life. A highly prevalent behaviour among street children in developing countries is glue sniffing. Several studies have shown that around 80 per cent of street children use drugs regularly (e.g., Pinto and others, 1994). Glue is cheap and easily (and, often, legally) bought. It provides temporary but sure oblivion to cold, heat, hunger pangs fear, loneliness, and despondency (Scanlon and others, 1993, 1998). Unfortunately, children are quickly and easily addicted, and tend to spend whatever petty cash they have on glue, rather than on other necessities (Bond, 1992).

Epstein (1996) reports significant drug involvement among street youths in the United States of America through injecting, smoking and inhaling substances from glue to heroin. She avers that this is part of behaviour traits expressing low self-esteem, withdrawal and listlessness, hostility and aggressiveness, and emotional neediness.

Little information exists on the general physical health of street children. Trauma and certain infections are more common among children *of* the street than among those based at home. However, street children's nutrition is no worse than other children from similar backgrounds. Indeed their begging and stealing activity might actually enhance the nutrition of street children as it allows access to relative expensive foodstuffs like meat (Scanlon and others, 1998).

A study of Toronto street children showed that, though street children were basically healthy, many suffered from malnutrition and 50 per cent had the sexually transmitted disease chlamydia (tranchoma) (Goodman, 1988). This study also confirmed the widespread denial of risk among homeless youth. They rarely seek medical advice but, when they are forced to do so, they are reluctant to be candid about their lifestyle (Bond, 1992).

The high level of intravenous drug use and involvement in prostitution, and the greater likelihood of gay or bisexual lifestyle, mean that street children are in the highest risk categories for contracting and transmitting HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases (Yates and others, 1988). Street children are also more likely to be victims of rape. As their focus is on the present, street children find it difficult to bother about a disease that may not kill them for years to come (Bond, 1992). Effective HIV/AIDS education is vitally important but most pamphlets and books about HIV/AIDS are aimed at middle-class people with at least a high school education. Most of it is not culturally relevant to street children who are often functionally illiterate. Such material provokes anxiety and children do not feel comfortable struggling through it (Bond, 1992).

In Patel's (1990) study in Mumbai, street children were asked about their strategy for coping with illness. Of those who she describes as street children—

"just under 30 per cent were looked after by friends, nearly 15 per cent simply fended for themselves. Over 40 per cent said they had gone to municipal or government hospital and clinics for treatment, indicating a wide knowledge of these services. Only 7 per cent had sought private medical care" (Patel, 1990, 19).

In her interviews with hotel boys (see section VI.D.1.b above), only a few had received help from their employers, the hotel owners. It is in the owners' interests to ensure that the boys are treated soon so that they may continue to work and do not infect other workers. Understandably, the boys do not see this as 'help'. Most rely on friends in their own networks. One-third of boys had no help when they were ill and a quarter was not taken for treatment. More than 70 per cent of the hotel boys sought treatment from private clinics; perhaps a comment on the failure of the public

health system or that hotel owners who help them want quick solutions. Another factor is that a hotel boy is probably less willing than a street child to wait for long periods in a municipal dispensary due to the demands of his occupation (Patel, 1990).

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5. Shelter

The situation in high-income industrial countries is probably well demonstrated by the study in Wales by Liddiard and Hutson (1991) in which the majority of the young people became homeless when they were evicted from their own house or had to leave state care. There was a dearth of affordable rented dwellings, owing to the significant reduction in public-sector housing, and a long-term decline in private rentals (Glasser, 1994). Such young people are faced with a variety of living options that include a private flat or bedsit (room), staying with friends, sleeping rough (outside), and squatting (living in an unoccupied building). Liddiard and Hutson found what they termed 'homeless careers,' a pattern of accommodation dependent on the length of time a youth had been homeless. Staying with friends constituted a popular choice at the beginning of homelessness, but became less viable as the months and years went by when there is little alternative to sleeping rough. Most of the young people had tried to return home, although the attempt was usually short lived (Glasser, 1994).

Many children undoubtedly pass the nights with no shelter apart from that provided by the environment. In Dhaka, for example, while a majority of the girl street children (74 per cent) sleep with their family in their homes (usually made of bamboo), the remainder make do with the railway station, stadium, bus station or launch terminal. Others sleep on footpaths, in the park, or in organised shelters (World Vision of Bangladesh, 1993).

Others make shelters or hire space. In Nairobi, street girls use cartons, sacks, and paper for furniture and bedding within shacks of bamboo and plastic sheeting in what is known as 'Choum City'. Street boys often take responsibility for the girls' security, acting as 'husbands'. They see that they have sufficient food and medicine in return for emotional and sexual favours (Dzikus and Ochola, 1996). In Korboe's (1996) sample in Kumasi, many of the children rent overnight space in the courtyards of compound houses or in shop doorways. At best, this gives them a relatively secure environment, often sheltered from the rain, and somewhere to leave their few possessions, but they cannot use it during the day. For this shelter, they pay about the same amount as a renter of a room in a poor quality compound house. [62]

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6. Self-esteem

"Children who have been sexually abused are likely to suffer from disordered and fragmented identities, resulting in low self-esteem, self-hatred, affective instability, and poor control of aggressive impulses. They are consequently more prone to indulge in chemical substance abuse and prostitution than children who have not been abused"

(USA, 1994: 154-155).

Many street children have negative feelings about being identified thus. De Oliveira and others (1992) found that many value street life as a learning process, and see themselves as resilient survivors in an environment that is hostile and potentially morally destructive. They recognise their own abilities in overcoming adversity and regret their derogatory label. They value themselves for what they are and many plan to become integrated into society in the future while keeping part of their street-acquired identity and values.

De Oliveira and others (1992) found that the low self-esteem in which street children are said to hold themselves is less straightforward than it seems. Their research questions the validity of such statements and warned about the likely negative impacts of holding to them. For example, labels such as criminals or thieves undermine their self-esteem and become believed by the children about themselves. Rejecting the labels (e.g., by claiming that they do not have to and do not want to be street children forever) may be an important defence mechanism for them. Objective testing of self-esteem is difficult, however. When street children make derogatory remarks about themselves, they may be doing so to satisfy researchers (Scanlon and others, 1998) or to improve their chance of gaining some money from the sympathetic researcher.

Kariuki (1999) argues that, through their harsh experiences, street children obtain valuable practical skills and survival instincts. They are condemned to a life of meaningless existence by the general public, with negative stereotypes such as '*chokora pipas*' (eaters from garbage bins). However, they see themselves differently. They have developed a 'subculture' with a clear social structure, leadership, recreation and work patterns, revolving around their day to day experiences. They use nicknames to reinforce a sense of belonging, identity and self-worth. Kariuki believes that the perceptual problem is not the children but the grown-ups —

"The vast majority of Kenyans are still turning their heads the other ways when they meet one of their own children in the streets. Evidently, 'their' poverty has not become 'our' poverty until a change in attitude has taken root" (Kariuki, 1999: 14-15).

Chapter VI. Street children
F. Conditions
7. Gender

For reasons that are not entirely clear, street children tend to be boys. [63] More than one factor may account for this. It may be attributable to differential adult attitudes toward girl or boy labour, the perception of the need for different levels of protection and safety, and the greater risk of girls being physically abused and thereby 'pushed' into the streets. Street girls in Juarez, Mexico, tended to work with a family member such as a parent or brother, while boys were more likely to work alone or with other unrelated boys (Lusk and others, 1989). A traditional view in many African cultures that boys are not supposed to live under the same roof as their mothers after they have reached puberty, may also help to explain the prevalence of boys (Lee-Smith, 1980).

Dennis (1999) found a group of girls under the age of ten in Tamale, Ghana, who appeared to be on the streets but who lived with grandmothers for whom they earned a meagre living, often through picking up grains left by lorries unloading. They were unsupervised in places where it is culturally inappropriate and, obviously, in danger of adopting street culture, especially if their grandmother dies. The boys on the streets there tend to have migrated from following family breakdown or death from villages in the nearby rural areas. They live on the street, sleep in abandoned buildings with other boys, and earn money by carrying loads and pushing carts around the market. Like those in Korboe's (1996) work, they are feared as potential criminals, distrusted and subjected to abuse and random violence as children who are perceived to be in the 'wrong' place. Despite this, the boys usually maintain some kind of link with their family although it may be tenuous and remote. (Dennis, 1999).

Chapter VI. Street children
F. Conditions
8. Coping strategies and employment

In response to the poverty they find themselves in, street children have developed coping strategies. The 'watoto wa barabarani' in Westlands shopping centre exploit the availability of food, paper, and metal waste and other garbage to make a living. The street boys occupy themselves collecting waste paper, tin products, and scrap metal, which they later sell to dealers in the locality. Some of the older and more energetic boys also assist in carrying, packing and preparing the products for transportation to recycling plants and, for this, they are paid small amounts by the middlemen. The boys prefer to collect and sell waste products to begging. As they say:

"we are old and strong enough to do some useful work and earn an honest living" (Kariuki, 1999: 7).

In Kumasi, Ghana, Korboe (1996) found that just over one in four street children works as a porter, head-loading goods often in very heavy loads. About 18 per cent are shoe-shiners, and one in eight are iced-water sellers, petty goods hawkers, or cart pushers. Of the remainder, only 3 per cent admitted to being beggars or sex workers. Their earnings depended greatly on the job. A boy cleaning windscreens at traffic lights could earn more than a full-time secretary in the formal sector of the economy. A girl selling sexual favours can earn twice as much again (albeit probably for only a short career). The children worked for an average of 66 hours per week. They tend to save about one third of their earnings, often keeping their savings on their person. Data from focus groups showed that most children see their street life as only a temporary economic measure.

World Vision of Bangladesh (1993) found that, regardless of specific occupation, 63 per cent of the street girl children in their sample could eat three times a day. For the remaining 37 per cent, most had meals twice a day. However, the meals are likely to lack sufficient nutrition, as the girls tend to be small and underweight.

Chapter VII. Interventions for and with homeless people
A. The case for interventions

"It profits us nothing as a nation to wall off homelessness as a novel social problem made up of a distinctly 'different' population. Nor is it something that requires separate and distinctive mechanisms of redress, isolated from mainstream programmes. In fact, the more we understand about the root causes of homelessness, the greater our sense of having been here before"

(USA, 1994: 17).

In the United States of America, Epstein (1996) argues that long-term solutions to homelessness, that might include building affordable housing, addressing unemployment, raising the minimum wage, etc., are not only costly economically but they are also politically difficult for they would have negative ramifications for those who currently benefit from the market. He further argues that housing costs would need to be readjusted across the board if a long-term policy of affordable housing for homeless people was implemented. Certainly, taxation would need to be increased in order to pay for such programmes.

The politically acceptable palliative has been short-term solutions, such as those codified in the United States of America's McKinney Act of 1987 and its amendments of 1990. [64] The tactic is rationalised ideologically as encouraging self-reliance, implying that homeless people already have sufficient resources available to them to resolve their dilemmas, and that they must be responsible for alleviating their poor living situations. By ignoring the needs of homeless people, the conditions of the working poor living just beyond the threat of homelessness are maintained and demands for their improvement are suppressed (Epstein, 1996).

Consequently, Epstein argues, the capitalist system restricts the degree of social service provision allocated to the destitute. The direct work with homeless people is delegated to volunteer and non-profit making charitable efforts. [65] Consequently, 99 per cent of all shelters in the United States of America are operated by voluntary agencies, although most of their referrals come from public agencies (Weinreb and Rossi, 1995).

However, even within volunteer shelters, the ideology of self-reliance is reaffirmed through the limited duration of stay, ostensibly so that there is no incentive to take advantage of the system. The atmosphere of these shelters tends to be harsh and authoritarian, beginning with selection procedures that can be extremely restrictive against, for example, adolescent males and large families. Most require clients to sign a contract specifying rules and regulations for residents, to receive counselling, and many require their residents to participate in parenting education groups. Although such services may indeed be useful, the coerciveness involved is questionable and prejudicial in the way that it associates homelessness with the need for improving one's parenting and other societal skills. Other homeless people are

labelled with addiction and mental illness. The relief of their dependency thus becomes beyond the scope of state intervention and consequently, official responsibility for change is minimised. This attitude is translated into shelter policy as well. Weinreb and Rossi's study (1995) in the United States of America found that 39 per cent of those assessed as suffering from mental illness and 48 per cent of those judged to be drug abusers were not even allowed to enter shelters.

The basic case for why policy-makers should intervene on behalf of homeless people is changing to reflect the change from the welfare approach to housing to the rights-based approach, spelled out in the internationally-agreed instruments cited in chapter 1 and annex I. However, it is clear from the varied nature of homeless people, the focus of their problems, and their socio-economic characteristics, that the responses must also be varied.

A recent theoretical discussion by Neale (1997), particularly addressing the context of industrial countries, is useful here. She divides recent responses into those generated by structural and agency explanations of homelessness:

- The structural explanation emphasises wider social and economic factors rather than the individual as the reasons for homelessness. This draws on classical liberal theory that social problems can be understood rationally and affected by action at the level of society, e.g. the problems can be solved once a theory to encompass the issues is developed. The structural model requires intervention on a broad societal scale. This may be, for example, through subsidies to the housing market, housing allowances as social welfare payments, or the direct provision of temporary or permanent accommodation in shelters and cheap single room accommodation.

- Agency explanations divide into two distinct strands: a victim-blaming approach and an inadequacy approach:

  ○ In the victim-blaming approach, individuals are considered responsible for their homelessness and, hence, guilty and blameworthy. The stereotypes of deviants, 'dossers', alcoholics, vagrants, and tramps, popular until the 1960s, have been central to this thinking. The response usually recommended is minimalist and involves only the provision of basic accommodation.

  ○ The inadequacy approach maintains that people become homeless because of personal failure or inadequacy for which they are not entirely responsible. They are seen to be in need of humanitarian assistance, usually caseworker psychiatric treatment, in order for them to function. A shelter-based response is usually assumed insufficient here.

Two other commonly occurring themes in homelessness theory have been the concepts of deserving and undeserving as discussed above in the Eastern and Central European context. Structural/agency and deserving/undeserving dichotomies

are not, however, unrelated. Where homelessness has been interpreted structurally, beyond individual control, homeless people have tended to be seen as deserving of assistance. Where they have been deemed somehow responsible for their homelessness, however, they have frequently been considered undeserving of help (Neale, 1997).

Over the years explanations of homelessness focusing on the individual seem to have predominated; homelessness has been seen as a function of personal problems with a measure of personal responsibility. Accordingly, responses have often been minimal and have often excluded all but the most 'deserving' and desperate of people. [66]

In practical terms, the recurrent implication of this has been that statutory responsibility for homelessness has been vested in the welfare department rather than the housing department. Thus, homelessness has been confirmed as a welfare problem, rather than a housing problem. The traditional pathological social work approach to homelessness, with its emphasis on individual counselling and casework, used to be dominant in high-income industrial countries (Neale, 1997). In the United Kingdom, the Housing (Homeless Persons) Act (1977) reflected a change in perspective by shifting responsibility for the housing of homeless people away from the welfare services and on to housing departments for the first time.

"Homelessness was, at last, officially recognised as a housing problem and the rights of homeless people simultaneously increased. In spite of this, notions of deservingness and less eligibility were, and still are, enshrined in the legislation" (Neale, 1997: 50).

Recent theoretical developments emphasise diversity and fragmentation arguing that, as there is no single force oppressing people, so there can be no single solution to a social problem. It argues that binary and simple dualisms (deserving and non-deserving, housed and homeless) are not satisfactory. Many forces will push people towards homelessness and some will succumb. As these powers try to sustain the *status quo*, the effect on homeless people will be to direct them towards ' normal' life. As they are local rather than universal, the individual can do something to make a difference. The solution does not start with eradicating homelessness but rather with improving the situation through smaller, more local and achievable goals that can make real differences to people.

In line with these theoretical advances, the Habitat Agenda acknowledges the limitations of enabling shelter strategies when it comes to addressing homelessness. It calls for additional resources to be allocated in the field of shelter and human settlements development for street children and homeless people "*through specific targeted grants*" (paragraph 204.y).

In steering away from the binary and functional, we arrive at the following understandings:

"(1)   Absolutes and universal truths relating to homelessness and homeless people

do not exist.

(2)   The differences between homeless individuals are multiple and are not adequately explained by grand theory or by structural forces such as capitalism and patriarchy.

(3)   Shared experiences of, and beliefs about, homelessness are, nevertheless, common.

(4)   Because personal circumstances are not predetermined, and because power structures operate at different levels, there will be various ways of confronting homelessness and of effecting changes to human lives.

(5)   The deconstruction of language and concepts is fundamental to the process of understanding homelessness, but can be taken too far.

(6)   Experiences of homelessness must be located within their broader social, historical, and cultural context, if they are to be understood as fully as possible.

(7)   'Structuralism' … is a useful analytical tool for overcoming simplistic structure versus agency explanations of homelessness.

(8)   More open debate and increased communication are crucial to the process of developing a better understanding of the reasons for homelessness" (Neale, 1997: 59).

"As the problem for homeless people is much broader than a lack of affordable and accessible housing, most innovation has been found in the areas of support and prevention, rather than in the provision of permanent housing. In part, this may be a function of the high cost and complexity of producing housing and the fact that, in many countries, the provision of permanent shelter involves significant government funding"

(Pomeroy and Frojmovic, 1995).

It is plain that there is a need for very different types of responses to people at different positions of the home-to-homelessness continuum. Responses in developing countries need to be radically different from those in high-income industrial countries. In developing countries, there tend to be low tax bases, undeveloped welfare services, and rapid increases in urban populations. This is in sharp contrast to high-income industrial countries whose tax bases are considerably larger, welfare services relatively well developed, and urban populations growing very slowly, stagnating, or declining.

The literature shows that the nature of homelessness and the general characteristics of homeless people tend to differ between developing and high-income industrial countries, with the former communist states and some rapidly developing Asian states somewhere in between. For example, the latter two share with developing countries urban housing costs that are beyond the reach of many working people. On the other hand, they share with high-income industrial countries relatively developed welfare systems, lower levels of housing shortage, and (in the former communist countries) slow growth in urban populations.

In developing countries, for those living in insecure tenural arrangements, a reform of land and property rights is probably the most effective method for preventing their slipping into homelessness. For those who live in poorly serviced areas, the provision of servicing is no doubt called for. It is, however, important to realise that the lack of secure tenure and/or servicing may be a symptom of the depth of poverty suffered by hundreds of millions of households. The relatively expensive sites and services schemes that have formed the core of many governments' efforts to house people living in poverty are not for them. Unless housing solutions offered to target groups are congruent with the willingness to pay of the majority of low-income households; they are not their housing solutions. As Tipple (1994) argues, most households in Africa can afford one or two rooms with shared utilities in a multi-occupied house. On the other hand, few can afford (or would choose if they could afford) the self-contained single household villa on its own plot that the formal sector offers and governments' policies aim at. As UNCHS (1994: 112) notes,

"experience has shown that affordable shelter for the poor is close to impossible.

Credit programmes through special banks with NGO financial support have proved to be successful in some cases. The lessons learned through the growth of, for instance, the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh must be made widely available in other developing countries".

In high-income industrial countries, there is a well-developed literature on the variety of responses needed to cope with differing sets of need among homeless people. Hertzberg (1992) recommends that her three-part typology suggests a triage approach to interventions. For her 'resistors' (not long homeless and keen to get back into the mainstream), early intervention is essential to capture their residual hope and enthusiasm, lest the downward spiral of depression and 'painkilling' takes hold. In the United States of America and other high-income industrial countries, finding stable work is difficult without an abode, both as a legitimising address and for the facilities it provides. Thus, resistors' need stable housing quickly so that they can attend to employment, education and training to exploit their potential in career opportunities.

For Hertzberg's (1992) 'teeterers' (with more personal barriers to stability and with little hope), supervised, therapeutic living with appropriate social services catered to their specific personal needs is indicated. Long-term employment cannot be considered until their lives are stabilised.

Her 'accommodators' generally claim that they neither want nor need help. Many are willing to use emergency shelters and drop-in centres where outreach and medical care must be available when and if homeless people need or want them. Although they may have given up on society, society must not give up on them. The longer they have been homeless, the more difficult it is for homeless individuals (and, especially, families) to escape and the more resources are needed to ensure a return to the mainstream. Thus, early intervention can save money and human resources (Hertzberg, 1992).

Edgar and others (1999) present another three-fold typology of services (table 10). It is clear that there are different accommodation, services and financial support requirements for homeless people at different stages of need. To an extent, these are also mirrored by the development of policy towards homelessness as countries get to grips with the problem. Those in Eastern and Central Europe are becoming involved in the emergency/crisis stage while those with a longer tradition of addressing homelessness can tackle all stages. In accommodation terms, there is a progression from shelters through transitional, sheltered and supported housing, to ordinary housing as homeless people progress through the support system.

The essential condition of appropriate responses to the needs of homeless people is a combination of the availability of the services and a process of appraisal. If homeless people are to be assisted to move on towards reintegration, it is essential that they be appraised as to their needs, abilities, aspirations and problems. Only through appraisal can clients be fitted into the appropriate type of shelter and provided with social and other support services.

Many inherited institutions that deal with homeless people take forms that attempt to control, contain, discipline and punish their clients (Edgar and others, 1999). In the modern context of inclusion, user involvement, and participation, a cultural change is required for such services to deal effectively with the needs of homeless people.

Race issues cannot be ignored in efforts to end homelessness. In the United States of America, it has been acknowledged that links must be made between efforts to end homelessness and measures designed to overcome the effects of racism. Since the 1960s, it is known that minorities have been over-represented among poor homeless people but policy-makers have preferred to ignore the fact. Residential and school segregation remains and is especially severe in the United States of America's largest cities (Massey and Denton, 1993). In response, effective policies addressing homelessness should work with measures to combat exclusion and inequality in housing, education, and employment (USA, 1994).

Just as homelessness is susceptible to several classifications, policy strategies to combat homelessness may be classified according to aims, perceptions, measures or intervention resources. For instance, FEANTSA (1999) makes the distinctions between prevention, emergency, and reintegration services. In Edgar and others (1999), a threefold typology is suggested comprising the police model, the medical model and the social model. While public policy in the police model is aiming at control, the medical approach aims at treatment and palliation. The social model, finally, is supportive with a preventive purpose. At least theoretically, a fourth model could be one that emphasises the right to housing (FEANTSA, 1999).

USA (1994) and Pomeroy and Frojmovic (1995) both provide eight-point overviews of approaches and responses covering the full spectrum of homeless individuals and families in the North American and the United Kingdom contexts that were successful or are thought to be necessary. The following sections are based on these overviews, presenting different modes of approaches and responses to homelessness.

Chapter VII. Interventions for and with homeless people
B. Modes of response to homelessness
1. Outreach, emergency shelters and survival strategies

Outreach is the initial critical step in reaching out to homeless people, appraising their need and connecting or reconnecting them to the health, mental health, social welfare and housing services that they need (Pomeroy and Frojmovic, 1995). The initial outreach to reconnect with homeless people can be effective even with those at first considered 'unreachable'. It works but is not easy. It can take a long time (a few hours to as long as two years) and tends to be arduous but, given sufficient patience and perseverance, and the existence of safe havens, almost anyone on the street can eventually be brought inside by skilled outreach workers. Formerly homeless people can be particularly effective as outreach workers in this (USA, 1994).

The most basic forms of outreach are the well-known response the world over to those who need food, clothing and overnight accommodation. They include food distribution through 'soup kitchens' and mobile initiatives, emergency responses in very cold weather, and night shelters. Such accommodation tends to be provided on a day to day basis and discourages inmates from settling in the shelters. There are often requirements for entry such as sobriety, willingness to take part in re-education, etc. (Pomeroy and Frojmovic, 1995). They are dealt with in more detail below.

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Chapter VII. Interventions for and with homeless people
B. Modes of response to homelessness
2. Supportive housing

Several models of supportive housing (housing linked with supportive services) are necessary for success. A range of multiple dwellings are needed to handle even those who are traditionally difficult (such as those suffering from both mental illness and substance abuse, paroled prisoners or people with learning difficulties), and they have an impressive record of success even when located in undesirable neighbourhoods. Duration of stay in the accommodation may range from one week to about one year. There are numerous successful models in high-income industrial countries mostly developed and operated by non-profit organisations. One Federal programme in the United States of America places homeless veterans with mental illness or substance abuse problems into permanent housing through the use of rental assistance vouchers, and then provides on-going support. Two innovations are notable here. Visits are made by appropriate clinical personnel at an intensity appropriate to individual cases; and housing is 'mixed' between those in need and ' normal' market tenants (USA, 1994).

Chapter VII. Interventions for and with homeless people
B. Modes of response to homelessness
3. Permanent housing

This involves moving homeless people into mainstream housing with some form of on going tenancy or occupancy agreement (Pomeroy and Frojmovic, 1995). It may need subsidising at least until the formerly homeless person achieves stable economic circumstances. Subsidised housing for the majority of low income households is neither possible nor desirable as it is rarely redistributive in the right direction, leads to (usually unfair) rationing, and has adverse consequences on the housing supply based on the market. However, a subsidy aimed at re-establishing homeless people in the housing stock seems to be both desirable and manageable in all but the poorest economies. Of course, improvements in the permanent housing stock to make its scale and nature congruent with the needs of the population is necessary as part of any nation's policy, as emphasised by the GSS and the Habitat Agenda.

Strategies to Combat Homelessness

Chapter VII. Interventions for and with homeless people
B. Modes of response to homelessness
4. Integrated services and better co-ordination

It has been found that creating a service system for homeless people separate from the mainstream programmes is inefficient and ineffective. Early homeless relief efforts were improvised as they arose out of the absence of long-term comprehensive planning for affordable housing and other necessary measures. While some emergency shelter will always be necessary, government must have more than stopgap measures, however varied and efficiently delivered they may be.

There is a need for a strategic response. The long-term structural issues demand mainstream programmes that are adapted to meeting the special set of demands created by homelessness. Major efforts are needed to remove barriers to homeless people's receiving benefits and services from mainstream programmes (USA, 1994). However, efforts to reduce homelessness and address its repercussions are commonly being hampered by institutional fragmentation and sector-specific funding.

As FEANTSA (1999) indicates, in most European countries homelessness is considered to be a multiple issues problem arising from interactions among policy decisions by a large number of governmental and professional actors. These are dominated by housing, unemployment, social services and health policies and services. Thus, its solution requires the application of a large number of sectoral specialities — including medical care, housing finance, urban planning, social protection and security, etc.

When operational policies are formed by specialised agencies, they often tend to pay attention primarily to the problems and policy options that are most relevant for their own specific area or jurisdiction. Problems falling in between or crossing such jurisdictions seem to be less well attended to. Consequently, a crucial factor for understanding differences in levels of homelessness is the organisation of policy making and implementation. Thus, the way interdependent governmental authorities, programmes, and policy strategies interact and are co-ordinated plays an important role in effective action towards homeless people (FEANTSA, 1999).

Inter-agency co-ordination is required especially to avoid gaps and duplication, and to make the most of every dollar spent. There are, however, many successful models of comprehensive services linked with housing at the community level. These need to be developed on a much larger scale and strengthened so that a comprehensive continuum of services and housing can be developed (USA, 1994).

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Chapter VII. Interventions for and with homeless people
B. Modes of response to homelessness
5. Employment, enterprise and community development

Work is the basis on which most people's economic survival rests. Without a job or business, poverty and dependency are inevitable. It is, therefore, appropriate that many initiatives for homeless people involve some enterprise development and skills training. Sometimes these are based around the services for homeless people (such as hostel caretaker duties or building work on future accommodation), sometimes they are just useful jobs for which homeless people are conveniently located. The latter include ecological surveys in rural areas and downtown street cleaning (see below).

As many homeless people in developing countries are involved in low-paid self-employment as rag pickers, petty traders, etc., micro-finance can be very effective in improving their productivity. In fact, their productivity can improve to the extent that they may become self-supporting in secure accommodation, especially when the latter provides a place for their business. The Grameen Bank (see box 4) has addressed the problems involved in lending to the very poor and has been successful not only in the effects its loans have had but also in recovering the money lent out.

Chapter VII. Interventions for and with homeless people
B. Modes of response to homelessness
6. Prevention; reducing demand for emergency relief

Prevention measures are important to break the cycle of homelessness; if people can be prevented from becoming homeless in the first place, remedial action is unnecessary. As long as there are always new people becoming homeless, the size and cost of the problem cannot be significantly reduced. Yet, each homelessness incident avoided implies that resources are saved and can be redirected to overcome the problem. It is important in each location to understand how effective such prevention measures are, whom they serve, and under what circumstances they operate best and, thus, to ensure that currently homeless children do not become the next generation of homeless adults (USA, 1994).

Of course, efforts to improve the housing stock available to people living in poverty are an essential part of a homelessness strategy. These efforts should include, *inter alia,* improvements in tenure to prevent eviction, provision of services and care, and, especially, measures to overcome poverty. All are worthwhile in the battle against homelessness.

Chapter VII. Interventions for and with homeless people
B. Modes of response to homelessness
7. Rural responses

The issue of homelessness in rural areas is little documented as it is seen as predominantly an urban problem. Innovative responses are required to tackle rural homelessness. Some have been developed in the United States of America involving shelter solutions such as tents, vehicles and some built shelters and employment in local economic development projects of a rural and wilderness nature.

Chapter VII. Interventions for and with homeless people
B. Modes of response to homelessness
8. Street cleaning operations

This is, perhaps, the context in which worst practice can be seen. Many developing countries have, over the years, sought to eliminate the unsightly efforts at residential accommodation of people who could not afford conventional dwellings in the city. Countless operations to clear squatters from city centre sites, street sleepers, and other 'vagrants' have been implemented with only temporary success for the beauty of the streets and major disruption to the fragile life chances of the unfortunate people involved. In high-income industrial countries as well, it is not unusual that homelessness is addressed by attempts to sweep the problem under the proverbial carpet.

The following section catalogues some initiatives that show how the approaches and responses outlined above translate into action. As the majority of the literature focuses on North American and European experience, these are over-represented in the section. The following are categorised under sub-headings but it is easy to see that they overlap and have very fuzzy edges. For instance, examples of supportive shelter and comprehensive approaches overlap very markedly.

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Chapter VII. Interventions for and with homeless people
C. Examples of interventions addressing homelessness
1. Outreach, emergency shelters and survival strategies

Outreach is the first step to approaching homeless people to help them. The Victoria Street Community Association (in Victoria, British Columbia, Canada) is a downtown storefront community centre, developed and operated largely by the street community, serving the street population. It provides a wide range of services including companionship, referral and advocacy programmes, community economic development for homeless/street people, peer outreach, needle exchange, use of phone, computer and photocopy machines and various workshops including life skills and enterprise skills (Pomeroy and Frojmovic, 1995).

The Court Outreach Programme in Ottawa, Canada provides community support services for homeless and people at risk of homelessness (many with serious mental health problems) who have problems with the law. They have mostly been rejected by local shelters, and have exhausted their shelter alternatives. The programme seeks to provide shelter alternatives to prisons and to sensitise the criminal justice system to their needs. It is based in the courthouse and includes counselling and referrals to appropriate social and health services, including drug and alcohol rehabilitation, and hospital where appropriate. The police and lawyers refer to the programme homeless people who have been charged and convicted. They are released prior to sentencing on the condition that they participate in the programme for three to six months (Pomeroy and Frojmovic, 1995).

Some street outreach deals with basic issues of survival. When homelessness in a cold climate is mixed with alcoholism, freezing to death becomes an ever-present risk. In the city of Anchorage, Alaska, there are several aggressive and apparently successful programmes to prevent homeless alcoholics from freezing to death in a city where the average winter low is minus 12°C. The Community service patrol tours the city with a van, picking up people who have fallen asleep (apparently from drink) in the open and are in danger of freezing. These people are then taken to a hospital (if they need to go), to the city's Brother Francis Shelter (which shelters up to 320 per night), or to an emergency 'sleep-off' centre, which can house thirty people who are too drunk to go to the shelter (Glasser, 1994).

The Out of the Cold Programme, Toronto, Canada, established in 1987, provides warm food and shelter on winter nights. Twenty-two churches in the City of Toronto provided, for example, over 30,000 person/nights of assistance over the 1994/95 winter for street homeless people and others in poverty. The programme runs through the winter months (October-March) when overnight temperatures in Toronto are usually below freezing and can often be below minus 15°C. It is an unfunded informal network. Food is donated or purchased by individual churches.1,500 volunteers cook and serve the meals (Pomeroy and Frojmovic,

1995).

SHARE (Self-Help And Resource Exchange) was established in 1983 in San Diego but is now in many locations. It provides food to homeless and poor households. SHARE was initiated by the St. Vincent de Paul Village. It works closely with over 300 churches, social agencies, civic groups, schools, and elderly people's centres, to assist with food distribution to over 20,000 people. In exchange for payment of $14 and two hours of volunteer service to improve their neighbourhoods, participants receive a package of wholesome, nutritious food at half price. There are 27 SHARE affiliates throughout the United States of America distributing a quarter of a million food packages, some 5,400 tons of food, every month. In addition, SHARE has branches in Mexico and Guatemala (Pomeroy and Frojmovic, 1995).

Countless NGOs, charities and churches in developing countries are involved in survival strategies for homeless people and the very poor. For example, the Salvation Army Centre in Sudder Street, Calcutta, distributes food to the poorest residents of the city centre on a Sunday morning (personal observation).

The provision of shelters serves both in the short term as an emergency survival strategy and in the long term, potentially, as the first rung on the ladder of accommodation. Shelters tend to fit in different places on this continuum between survival and support for re-integration.

There is a long history of shelters in high-income industrial countries and they tend to provide anything from emergency accommodation for single nights to longer-term provision. The most basic provide little more than a bed, somewhere to store a few possessions, and facilities for hygiene, sanitation and first aid treatment. In the United States of America, there is a large turnover of people using this type of shelter. A study of shelter systems in New York City and Philadelphia found that, in New York, a single shelter bed accommodated four different people each year. The turnover in the Philadelphia shelters was even more dramatic, with each bed accommodating six people per year (Culhane and others, 1994).

In New York City, the number of homeless people using public shelters over periods of three and five years amounted to 2.2 and 3.3 per cent of the city's population, respectively. For Philadelphia, three per cent of that city's population used shelters over a three-year period (USA, 1994: 20).

Some countries in Western Europe use shelters simply for keeping homeless people under cover at night, others for providing some rehabilitation. Some shelters only open in crises, particularly in very cold weather and over Christmas.

Transitional countries are beginning to respond to the problems of homeless people by introducing shelters. In Hungary, there are 8,000 beds in quite an array of shelters. Some of these receive homeless people for eight hours during the day only to give them warmth (these shelters are open during the winter only), others are only

open during the night. There are also temporary shelters (allowing stays for up to a year), crisis shelters (reserved for emergencies of one or two weeks at a time) and rehabilitation institutions. Street services are provided at shelters by social workers and there are associated 'street kitchens' using food donations from NGOs (FEANTSA, 1999).

In the Czech Republic, a civic association called *Nadìje'* [67] provided shelter accommodation for about 35,000 homeless people during 1991-1995. Between January and June 1998, the *Nadìje* Prague shelter was visited by a total of 1,056 men and 172 women (FEANTSA, 1999).

The Czech organisation, SAD (Association of Shelters), co-ordinates activities in 54 government-, municipal- and non-government shelters in the Czech Republic. It has several types of shelters, some of which could be classed as supportive shelter (see below):

- Emergency beds provide short-term emergency accommodation.

- Dormitories provide accommodation for one night only for a nominal amount or free of charge. No activity is expected from users who leave the facility in the morning. These are places of first contact.

- Daytime drop-in centres provide washing facilities, simple meals, and social help. These are also places of first contact.

- Shelters provide longer but temporary accommodation. Clients must pay for services, they have to work (the operation of a shelter is ensured by inhabitants), be registered with the employment office as a job seeker or take part in a social programme.

- Temporary and longer-term shelters provide safety for women with small children or pregnant women. In addition to accommodation, these facilities provide social and/or educational services (FEANTSA, 1999).

- Halfway houses and safe apartments are currently being planned and established. They are viewed as the last link of shelter care as they prepare individuals to rejoin the society.

SAD also provides training of shelter workers, and has taken part in drafting a new law on state social aid. There are also shelters operated by other organisations to bring the total provision in Czech Republic to 2.5 beds per 10,000 inhabitants. The average district (population about 130,000) should have 50 beds in a shelter, 50 beds in a dormitory, and approximately 50 beds for women with children (FEANTSA, 1999).

The initial steps to create a system of shelters have been taken in the Russian Federation. The first shelters were set up by in the early 1990s in Moscow by the international NGO '*Médecins sans Frontières'*. They have also started to operate an

information centre to try to prevent homelessness. Now Moscow has five homeless shelters with 30 to 50 beds each, but another 25 are planned each with a capacity of 20 to 80 beds. This is a very small initiative compared to the estimated number of homeless people and there are many obstacles that will have to be overcome. The problems encountered in the appropriate handling of homelessness are not just the lack of legislation and information on the number of people already on the street or living under the threat of losing their apartments, but also the obvious official unwillingness to face up to it and fund action. This is, of course, compounded by the ignorance and hostile attitude of the public regarding homeless people, and the lack of skilled professionals trained to care for them (FEANTSA, 1999).

Shelters are becoming more common in developing countries also. In India, the Footpath Dwellers Rehabilitation Scheme has provided shelters since 1988. The shelters are provided by local authorities, and are co-financed by a government grant and a HUDCO loan. The shelters are seen as a temporary measure until the people secure affordable housing through state government agencies. The shelters have pay-as-you-use toilets and washing facilities. There are drinking water supplies, lockers and dormitories. Shelters with a total of almost 19,000 beds had been constructed in 11 states by April 1, 1999 (Garg, 1999).

There are also shelters operated by other organisation and financed differently. In Delhi, where the HUDCO-financed scheme has not been used, there are shelters with places for about 5,000 people (calculated at 1.5 m² each). Some are built with permanent materials but there are many in temporary materials that leak. They are not used by many street homeless people, however, as they regard them as less desirable than the streets. Garg's (1999) respondents claimed that they are expensive, crowded (people sleep very close together) and attract undesirable people who could be dangerous or have communicable diseases. Furthermore, households cannot stay together. There is little outreach work from shelters in India. Occupants are provided with jute mattresses and blankets, and they can watch television. They pay Rs.5 ($0.13) per night.

For many years, Mother Theresa's Nirmal Hriday in Calcutta and its offshoots have provided shelters for destitute people. The Sisters of Charity focus on helping the poorest of the poor, especially providing somewhere for the homeless people who are dying to rest out their last days in relative comfort and security.

The Christian Services Foundation of South Africa manages the Usindiso's men and women shelters providing overnight beds and bedding, meals, showers, television and laundry services. There is a social worker on duty (Olufemi, 1998).

Strategies to Combat Homelessness

Chapter VII. Interventions for and with homeless people
C. Examples of interventions addressing homelessness
2. Supportive housing

In their review of agency support for homelessness, Pomeroy and Frojmovic (1995) found that agencies originally developed as service/support organisations sought to address various health, employment and other developmental issues through the provision of shelter; either transitional (i.e., between one month and one year) or permanent. By contrast, many traditional housing providers have been less liable to broaden their focus and services into the health and social services area. This implies that there may be opportunities for these housing-based organisations to play a role in the development of more comprehensive and integrated strategies. Such examples are only available from high-income industrial countries. In Montreal, a housing provider, *'La Federation des organismes sans but lucratif d'habitation de Montreal'* (FOHM), has begun to respond to this (see box 9).

Neville House in London provides a good example of a shelter with services such as detoxification, physical and psychiatric health care, creative outlets in printing, information technology, music, etc., and referral on to resettlement and aftercare. Part of the St. Mungo's charity work, the centre is funded through the Rough Sleepers Initiative and provides 69 bedspaces in shared two or four person rooms. There are areas where drink is allowed and in those where it is not; there is no pressure to take the detoxification programme and those who try and fail are not evicted (Edgar and others, 1999).

Innovative ways of providing single room occupancy hotels and renovating rooming housing stock have been effective in providing improved quality, very low cost accommodation in many North American cities (e.g., Vancouver, Toronto and Montreal). One method used has been to provide a forgivable loan on condition that landlords meet certain building adequacy standards, and enter into an agreement to limit rent levels and ensure access for individuals below certain income thresholds for a period of time following the renovation and relating to the economic life of the repairs (5-15 years) (Pomeroy and Frojmovic, 1995).

In Germany, *Wohnung statt Heimplatz* [68] provides housing and home-based support services for people who have been homeless for a long time (13 years on average). It builds and manages housing in partnership with a housing company, and with grants from local authorities. There is a mix of former homeless people and other tenants in the housing units, a mix that encourages integration. Some accommodation is now being purpose-built from a former shelter (Edgar and others, 1999).

The Chesapeake Area Recovery Communities (CARC) and Portland Hotel both offer interesting models of supportive housing (see box 5 and box 6).

Chapter VII. Interventions for and with homeless people
C. Examples of interventions addressing homelessness
2. Supportive housing
a. The use of information technology

A very recently emerging area of innovation featured by Pomeroy and Frojmovic (1995) is the linking of shelters and homeless residents into the information network. This includes information on vacancies in shelters so that clients can be directed to somewhere where there is a bed available quickly and simply. A number of drop-in centres and shelters give homeless people access to computers to find information on employment opportunities, and to prepare letters of application for employment, etc. Recent efforts have, however, moved toward gaining access to the Internet as a means to include and empower homeless people in the changing economy. It also aims to provide an outlet for homeless individuals to write about their experiences and share these with others. The Internet is nonetheless emerging as a useful source of information on the subject of homelessness and a number of homepages have been established on the Internet (Pomeroy and Frojmovic, 1995). (See also box 7).

Strategies to Combat Homelessness

Chapter VII. Interventions for and with homeless people
C. Examples of interventions addressing homelessness
3. Permanent housing

The ultimate goal of homelessness policy must be to return as many homeless people to permanent housing as possible as long as they wish to be so housed. There are many examples from high-income industrial countries.

The Y-Foundation in Finland provides permanent housing for people who have a history of problems living independently. In all, it provides 3,700 apartments in 46 municipalities, providing good quality accommodation from the existing stock of ordinary housing companies. About 100 clients are supported in gaining the skills needed in everyday life (Edgar and others, 1999).

The Carruthers and Queen Mary Alumni Apartments in Downtown Ottawa, Canada were founded in 1993 and 1994 to provide safe, affordable housing to young adults in difficulty (including single parents) in order to allow them to realise personal and professional goals. There are 19 units in Carruthers and 24 units in Queen Mary run by the Youth Services Bureau of Ottawa and Carleton Non Profit Housing Corporation.

Participants, who were struggling with the effects of poverty, family and personal dysfunctions, have demonstrated that, with some support from the Bureau and their peers, they can successfully adjust to independent living and experience a sense of community.

Young people were consulted extensively on building features that had created difficulty for them in other living situations. These recommendations, particularly in the area of safety features, have been incorporated into the building design of the two apartment projects. Although classified as long-term housing, residents are encouraged to view their accommodation as a stepping-stone towards total independence and pursuit of their personal, educational and vocational goal. A team of four staff members is dedicated to the provision of support to the tenants in the form of counselling, drop-in support, life skills training and advocacy. Through projects, leisure, recreational and social activities, including strong tenants associations, residents are provided with the opportunity to build a sense of community with their peers and reduce isolation (Pomeroy and Frojmovic, 1995).

There are no examples available of permanent housing successes for homeless people in countries with economies in transition. In developing countries, housing delivery systems hardly reach homeless people, regardless of how they may be defined. However, a very few projects directly aim at the poorest of the poor and the homeless (see box 8).

Another example that involves multi-storey construction is Milan Nagar in

Mumbai, India. Here, pavement dwellers provide all the labour to construct four storey apartments from prefabricated components they manufacture. Mahila Milan [69] is responsible for this programme. Participants have to have saved Rs.6,000 ($160), and can raise a HUDCO loan of Rs.25,000 ($670). [70] The Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC) is a good example that demonstrates many of the characteristics of rural housing for the very poor (see box 18).

Strategies to Combat Homelessness

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C. Examples of interventions addressing homelessness
4. Integrated strategies and better co-ordination

It has been argued for a long time that the largest problem faced by many organisations in industrial countries is the fragmented nature of funding and service delivery. In addition to costly overlaps, this fragmentation creates cracks through which 'at risk' individuals and families can readily slide. It creates frustration among providers who have to write funding proposals, taking time away from other responsibilities. In the United States of America, 'Priority Home!' has given further stimulus to integrated strategies, as practised in San Francisco and Baltimore, to prevent this (USA, 1994). Under 'Priority Home!' a number of funding sources are consolidated into block grants and localities are required to develop long range strategic plans in order to qualify for these funds.

Grass-roots coalitions have also developed to provide good examples of comprehensive approaches. A good example of this is FOHM (see box 9). This broad coalition approach pools the resources of many organisations and delivers comprehensive services aimed at supportive permanent accommodation.

Sometimes, a single organisation develops a comprehensive range of services. A notable example of this is the St. Vincent de Paul Village in San Diego, California (see box 10).

An example of a comprehensive approach to the problem of homelessness adopted by a city authority can be found in Baltimore, Maryland. The City of Baltimore has established a comprehensive strategy focusing on both homeless and at risk individuals and households. The strategy is based on the 'continuum of care' approach (see section IX.A.8 below). It uses centralised funding to overcome the previous absence of any co-ordination and prioritisation and reduce the excessive effort used in grant applications. It also uses a central intake and support system to try to prevent periods of homelessness through eviction prevention by encouraging tenant-landlord negotiation, and having emergency grant assistance and early intervention services. A thorough assessment of needs at intake will assist applicants in developing a programme that will ultimately re-establish them in permanent housing. Those not formally entering the system will be served by a Homeless Outreach Team who will actively identify homeless individuals and link them with entitlements, benefits and services. Appropriate mechanisms and resources for referrals from the central intake system will be ensured through an improved range of health services, temporary shelters, special needs housing and permanent affordable housing. There is a training and employment strategy, with active private sector involvement; and a prevention strategy. An Urban Housing Corps has been set up, in partnership with community groups, to undertake rehabilitation of vacant houses to provide accommodation for homeless people. The final element of the continuum is

a prevention strategy. This includes a pre-emptive assistance programme called '
People on the Brink' to stabilise existing precarious housing arrangements; a review
of income support programmes and existing minimum wage legislation; and a public
education programme to increase the awareness of the public and the business
community to issues of homelessness. The programme has been developed through
a participatory and collaborative approach and raises support from a range of
Federal, State and City programmes (Pomeroy and Frojmovic, 1995).

In Linz, in Austria, co-ordination has been achieved between agencies handling
housing and social services for homeless people through *Wohnplattform Linz ('
Housing Platform Linz.')*. It involves agencies as varied as women's shelters,
counselling services, labour integration projects and AIDS services (Edgar and
others, 1999).

A notable example of a comprehensive initiative by a NGO is the industrial
countries is the Big Issue Foundation (see box 11). In developing countries, some
NGOs have taken comprehensive approaches. One such is Mahila Milan (see
footnote) has been involved in enumerating and registering pavement dwellers and in
liasing with municipal authorities on their behalf. It offers training in skills and
leadership, credit for business and house building, advice on economical
construction, and assistance with land purchase. It has developed and legalised a
specially designed flat that provides accommodation on two floors through a loft,
but is still only 4.6 metre high (Homeless International, 1998).

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C. Examples of interventions addressing homelessness
5. Prevention: reducing demand for emergency relief

It is important to have innovative activity in preventing homelessness occurring in the first place. This is the emphasis of the Housing Education Project in the United Kingdom, which targets young people still in school. There are also effective prevention resources that intervene during the cycle of homelessness to mediate the immediate problem that may have pushed the individual/family into homelessness. The Homeless Diversion Programme in New York is an example of this. It involves a multi-disciplinary team of social workers and counsellors meeting with families who are at risk or have just become homeless. The programme tries to divert them back into permanent housing in their own neighbourhood where family or community support networks can also assist them. Programmes are needed to prevent the trauma caused for families and children as a result of displacement from their home. Two notable responses to this issue are the Kidstarts Programme, funded by the Better Homes Foundation, and the Yesler Early Childhood Centre in Seattle. The Kidstart Programme creates developmentally appropriate education programmes for children of homeless people while assisting the parents with services in the community (Pomeroy and Frojmovic, 1995).

There is also a need to address conditions in the accommodation that people at risk from homelessness occupy to ensure that it does not assist a decline but rather improves the life chances of the residents. One such initiative is the Rupert Hotel Coalition Rooming House Monitoring Project (see box 12).

The Homeless Diversion Project, New York City, established in 1991, intervenes with families at risk, or those that have just lost their housing, and attempts to place them into permanent housing. Rather than using the emergency shelter system for transitional shelter, and as a way of gaining access to social assistance, the Diversion programme aims to provide the same type of supports from within the community. Approximately 2,000 families are assisted each month (Pomeroy and Frojmovic, 1995).

A team of caseworkers meets with families at the income maintenance office in the neighbourhood in which they live. The diversion team explores all possible housing options, including living with friends or relatives and ensures that the family is receiving or applying for all benefits for which they may be eligible. The diversion teams have access to special grants to prevent homelessness. They will contact a landlord to mediate any outstanding problems, and, where necessary, can provide special allowances to assist with arrears that may have led to eviction or to provide security deposits, funds to acquire furnishings, and emergency food allowance.

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C. Examples of interventions addressing homelessness
6. Employment, enterprise and community development

Chronic poverty is a common problem of homeless people and many initiatives seek to create opportunities for employment and to enable homeless people to regain self esteem and confidence in their own capabilities. A number of such organisations are ultimately able to develop their enterprises to the point of self-sufficiency. Notable examples are the Delancy Street enterprise in San Francisco, the Downtown Clean and Safe Programme in Portland (see box 13), the International Downtown Association in Washington, D.C., and the *Association Nivernaise d'Accueil et de Réinsertion* in Nevers, France (see box 14). Similarly, the Rideau Street Youth Initiative in Ottawa involves the improvement of a downtown area, in this case, involving street youth in a recycling programme and a graphic design shop. A training and education component provides a $2,000 education voucher as an incentive for participation (Pomeroy and Frojmovic, 1995).

Housing initiatives can specifically embrace the concept of self-help through directly employing homeless people to renovate abandoned houses. They can be occupied or sold to liquidate post-renovation equity. Such initiatives have been implemented in the United States of America, the United Kingdom, and elsewhere, including the Chesapeake Area Recovery Communities (CARC) (see box 5), the Youth Build programme in New York, and the Downtown Women's project in Victoria, British Columbia (Pomeroy and Frojmovic, 1995).

The Victoria Street Community Association (in British Columbia, Canada) has shown how an outreach organisation can assist in providing employment. Its volunteer programme (Streetworks) provides individuals with work in the centre, which qualifies them for a special supplement of $50-100 per month from the Ministry of Social Services. This work can include caretaking, helping on phones and in production of a monthly street newsletter (the 'Red Zone'). A peer outreach programme, staffed by a recovered former addict, provides counselling and helps with addiction problems. Most of the counsellors are former homeless/addicts. Space is provided in the centre for various groups to use. A workshop provides tools and materials to build items for sale. A successful drum building enterprise has developed from this space (Pomeroy and Frojmovic, 1995).

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Chapter VII. Interventions for and with homeless people
C. Examples of interventions addressing homelessness
6. Employment, enterprise and community development
a. Self-help initiatives

There have been several successful self-help initiatives that draw their resources from the activities of homeless people themselves. Groundswell, in the United Kingdom for instance, has successfully held DIY (do-it-yourself) Forums to encourage homeless people to get involved in the decisions that affect them. It works on the principles that information should be free, development of projects is a long term effort and may need to cope with changes as they progress, risk taking is necessary, a variety of activities is to be carried on at once, and the organisation must be willing to give up control (H Dialogue, 1998).

'The Squatters Estate Agency' has been set up in Nottingham to provide information to potential squatters on the location and condition of the 750,000 British houses that are unoccupied. With an initial target of filling 30 houses a month, the group say houses should not stand empty while there are people with nowhere to live, despite objections that squatters merely add to the degeneration of areas. Such moves are backed by the Empty Housing Association, in collaboration with Friends of the Earth and the Churches National Housing Coalition, as 250,000 properties are known to have been uninhabited for over a year. There will be mock estate agent windows established in institutions including the Big Issue office in Manchester. The problem appears greatest in the north west of England where one in 25 buildings are empty. While not endorsing squatting, homeless assistance groups emphasise the need to house people who are often denied accommodation for financial or prejudicial reasons (Quinn, 1999).

Many agencies working with homeless people recognise and support the ability of homeless and formerly homeless people to help their peers. Much counselling, skills training and other assistance with integration are provided by people with first hand experience of the problems.

The developing world has several examples of self-help initiatives, especially those emanating from pavement dwellers in India (Mahila Milan, and others). Indeed, in cities where local and central government provide few services for homeless people, their only alternative may be to take matters into their own hands. Their activities are described elsewhere in this report.

Strategies to Combat Homelessness

Chapter VII. Interventions for and with homeless people
C. Examples of interventions addressing homelessness
6. Employment, enterprise and community development
b. Street papers

Street papers sold on the streets by homeless people, such as the United Kingdom's *The Big Issue,* offer an alternative to charitable assistance. The motto of *The Big Issue* is "A hand up, not a hand-out". By earning money in this way, homeless people can win back some of the self-esteem they have lost (Hanks and Swithinbank, 1997). *The Big Issue* is sold for £1.00 ($1.70), having been bought for less than half price by the vendors (see box 15).

By 1997, there were over 60 street papers sold on the streets of European cities and towns in a dozen different countries. The first paper in Eastern and Central Europe was launched in St. Petersburg in 1994. Street papers have also been developed in other regions and, in 1996, *The Big Issue* was launched in Melbourne, Australia, and in Cape Town, South Africa, joining the three-year old *Homeless Talk* in Johannesburg (Hanks and Swithinbank, 1997).

"Street papers throughout the world are now playing a major part in fighting the double tragedy of economic marginalization and its counterpart, social exclusion. They are, to date, a phenomenon of the North, where the informal sector is not as pronounced as in the cities of the South. Begging, however, is widespread in the North and is an activity to which street papers provide an economic alternative" (Hanks and Swithinbank, 1997: 153).

St. Petersburg's street paper *The Depths* was launched in 1994 in a city which has over 50,000 homeless people. The founder of the city's night shelter, Nochleyezhka, was inspired by a copy of *The Big Issue. The Depths* has been a tireless campaigner on behalf of homeless people in the Russian Federation, where homelessness was formerly illegal.

As there is no welfare safety net in the Russian Federation, those who sell the street paper are suffering from the most extreme poverty. Many vendors are unable to buy their copies in advance and the organisation has had to subsidise the paper. A partnership between *The Depths* and *The Big Issue Scotland* has been sponsored by the Department for International Development (DFID). It ensured financial and technical support flows between Edinburgh and St Petersburg over a two-year period enabling the paper to become economically viable (Hanks and Swithinbank, 1997).

Strategies to Combat Homelessness

Chapter VII. Interventions for and with homeless people
C. Examples of interventions addressing homelessness
7. Rural responses

A particularly innovative response has been developed in Oregon involving the setting up of 'a minimum shelter community', essentially tents, vehicles and ultimately some form of built shelters. In addition, the project will provide an industrial kitchen, education and work therapy (for recovering substance abusers). It is engaged in local economic development, particularly through ecosystem restoration contracts with the Department of Fish and Wildlife. See box 16 .

The Central Vermont Community Land Trust (CVCLT) in the Barre-Montpelier Region, Vermont, the United States of America, aims to retain the affordable housing stock in the region through several programmes comprising 21 low income housing units in Montpelier and 60 individual projects in Barre. CVCLT targets assistance to special populations, including rural elderly people. In Montpelier, eight of the units are reserved for people with mental illness problems. In co-operation with Barre Neighbourhood Housing Services, which supply acquisition financing, CVCLT sells some low-cost properties, but retains a 99-year ground rent and controls much of the resale of such properties. The Shared Housing for Rural Elders Programme helps low income elderly people retain and live in their properties, sharing housing with others and preventing future development of the land. Title passes to CVCLT upon death (Pomeroy and Frojmovic, 1995).

In Bangladesh, the predominantly rural population has required the development of rural-based strategies to relieve homelessness, defined there as landlessness (usually because their land has disappeared through river erosion). There are programmes to provide permanent housing, such as that run by Bangladesh Red Crescent Society (see box 17) and BRAC (box 18).

CARITAS Bangladesh also provides a low-cost rural housing unit, given as a grant. As the beneficiary must own a piece of land on which the house is to be built, it is not only aimed at homeless (landless) people. However, as it also helps to persuade the union council chairman or richer people of the village to give land to the poor people, it can be said to deal directly with homeless people. The CARITAS twin-roofed house is 5x3 metres, with 14 CI sheets on a timber frame, four wooden corner posts, 10 bamboo posts, and a plaited bamboo fence. Each house cost Tk.9,020 ($315) at 1987 prices (Rahman, 1993).

Friend in Village Development of Bangladesh (FIVDB) has a housing programme in Sylhet district. It gives housing loans to group members to build houses on government *khas* land or on their own land. FIVDB's target group is landless people, but priority is also given to absolutely destitute women even if they are not group members.

The objectives of the housing programme are to prevent homelessness, to assist homeless people to help make them self-reliant, and to provide group members with house improvement loans when required. The housing loans are Tk.8,000-10,000 ($200-270) per household of which Tk.5,000 ($130) is for building the house and Tk.3,000 ($80) for income generation activities. They are given at 5 per cent (simple) interest per annum to be repaid in weekly instalments over 3 years. By 1990 they had built 10,000 units at around Tk.4,000-5,000 ($100-130) each (Rahman, 1993).

Rahman (1993) points out that there are limitations to the NGOs' programmes. Often they are not reaching landless people but those who already have homes. Only a few works with non-group members, and coverage across the country is very patchy. He argues that the main priority is not building houses, or giving credit for houses. Instead, rural homeless people need land and occupancy rights so that they are secure to build their own houses. Helping them to build their houses should come after this.

After rural homeless people have achieved security through land occupancy rights, the third priority is employment and income generation so that they can afford to build their own homes. Only then can housing and housing loans be helpful. The government's current 'cluster village' programme is on the right lines, distributing *khas* land, building houses and providing ancillary facilities with financial credit support. Nevertheless, this programme needs to be simpler and cheaper. The present average house has 33 m² of floor space and credit support of Tk.25,000 ($650), which is far more than most rural homeless families would dream of. The Bangladesh Red Crescent Society house is more realistic, and a model for the government to adopt (Rahman, 1993).

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8. 'Street cleaning' operations

One example of such an undesirable and unsuccessful programme is the United Kingdom's Rough Sleepers Initiative (RSI) set up in 1990 as a means by which the Conservative government of the day hoped to clear the streets of homeless people rather than solving the homelessness problem.

The RSI was criticised for the short-term nature of its funding and its output-related targets, which are seen as the reasons why the hard core of street homeless people has been missed out in the initiative. The goals of the RSI encourage social workers to select 'easy cases', that score well in statistics, rather than the difficult cases. The performance targets are not always appropriate for homeless people with multiple problems. However, it had the positive effect of developing networking between agencies. The RSI programme has since been revised to include rehabilitation and prevention measures. Yet, there is still only short-term funding (of two years) which may not allow sufficient time for implementation and evaluation (FEANTSA, 1999).

The RSI was recently integrated into the new government's Homelessness Action Programme. It has the task of linking the work of different government departments, agencies, local authorities, the voluntary sector, and business enterprises etc., to address problems of homeless people. Its programme aims at tackling different issues confronting homeless people including housing, health care and education. In July 1998, a Ministerial Committee was launched to ensure effective co-ordination of government policy on homelessness issues (FEANTSA, 1999).

In December 1999, the Government of the United Kingdom launched a new initiative with significant extra resources and support from many of the homeless charities. It aims to significantly increase the number of hostel beds to allow large numbers of people to move off the streets.

"The violence and murder that street children experience from 'civilised' society are only the most extreme manifestations of society's attitude to them. Society's attitude to street children is evident first in the contempt in which it holds their way of life, their strategies for survival and the broader street culture of which they are part. It is also seen in the refusal to provide the children with appropriate schools, medical assistance, provision for washing and sanitation, training and jobs; in effect, society does not recognise that these children have rights as citizens. The most extreme expression of society's attitude are ... the unofficial armed groups who kill the street children for money to 'clean up' the city and rid it of supposedly delinquent youngsters"

(Leite and Esteves, 1991: 132).

"Programmes for street children have begun to emerge world-wide in an effort to cope with this enormous challenge.... It is difficult to imagine that a piecemeal programmatic response to this structural social problem will be successful to any significant degree"

(Lusk and others, 1989: 299).

Appropriate programmatic responses to street children can be discussed using Cosgrove's nine categories (see section VI.D.2). Youngsters in categories 6, 8 and 9 (e.g., those already on the streets) can be assisted through aggressive but sensitive outreach, which allows the street children to become involved in services at their own pace. A programme should first establish a non-threatening presence among the children in order to learn more about the values and relationships which have replaced those other children (Cosgrove, 1990).

For those in category 5 (e.g., where family involvement is weak and behaviour is often non-conforming), there should be intensive short-term services to reinforce or supplement family support and assist them in matters of personal adjustment. Such intervention will reduce the immediate risk and prepare them to make use of ongoing support. This could include the creative use of informal community resources, for example, a respected member of the community or another family could provide a relationship, concrete help and/or direction (Cosgrove, 1990).

Cosgrove's categories 1, 2 and 4 (e.g., those who are still firmly within the family but might see street life as attractive) can be helped through preventive educational programmes. The dangers of premature and unsupported independence, the 'excitement' of the streets and so on, are well worth discussing with these children. Such programmes would be of value to these less vulnerable youngsters and to some in the other categories, in addition to being useful in primary prevention activities with still other children who show no current evidence of being at risk. They would show them the dangers of being caught up in street culture and the harm that can come to a child on its own, particularly through personal violence and

sexual exploitation.

When street children themselves (in Nairobi) were asked what should be done about the problem of street children they said that:

"they should be provided with food, clothing and shelter; they should receive schooling and training; they should be helped with self-employment; they should be listened to and loved; they should be reunited with their families; adult supervision should be provided where parents are unable to do it; identity cards should be issued to the children so they can obtain employment" (Kariuki, 1999: 12).

Although homeless adults soon become overwhelmed by the issue of daily survival, so that their horizons and aspirations concentrate on very short-term goals, street children seem to have at least some long-term hopes.

In a survey of street children in Kumasi, Ghana, Korboe (1996) asked about their aspirations. In the short term, the children's attention clearly centres mainly on fending for themselves and maximising their savings and they seemed content with how these admittedly quite narrow and short-term aspirations were being met. Some boys were hoping to get back into school but were deterred by the thought of losing their income. Longer-term concerns relate primarily to finding stable jobs: shoeshine boys were particularly concerned about getting other skills as they regard their job as unsuitable for a man. Most of the children were saving to finance apprenticeship training or to open a shop. However, some child apprentices return to the street because they cannot survive with full-time unpaid apprenticeships (often of two or three years' duration). Girls mentioned typical women's occupations in Ghana (dressmaking, hairdressing and trading) as preferences for investment, but most were mainly concerned with making themselves more marriageable (Korboe, 1996).

When asked about their future aspirations, the responses of most street children in Rio de Janeiro in Lusk's (1992) study were conventional — stating that they wanted to be drivers, electricians, soldiers and such. Children *of* the streets, however, were not optimistic. They stated their aspirations in more immediate terms such as to have a home, have a family, or that they had no aspirations at all (Lusk, 1992).

When asked how outside agencies could help them most, Korboe's (1996) sample expressed the opinions contained in table 11 .

Not surprisingly, micro-credits to support self-employment objectives scored highly with both boys and girls. The homeless children of Kumasi did not rank accommodation particularly highly on their lists of priorities (4[th] and 5[th]). Though security, healthcare and bathing facilities were mentioned as problems, none ranked

highly on the children's scores (Korboe, 1996).

The priority put on education by the boys is in contrast to current enrolment behaviour (see chapter VI above). Unless ways can be found of encouraging enrolment and retention, even the best efforts at reversing the growing incidence of the street child phenomenon are likely to have no more than a muted impact (Korboe, 1996).

Chapter VIII. Interventions for and with street children
B. Addressing the rights issue

It is important for the children, their families and the public at large to know what rights they have and who defends them as these issues are not clear either to the children themselves and their families or, in many instances, to the police officers who deal with them. The latter often do not know if there are regulations that should be followed when arresting children. There should be a better system than mixing children with adults. From experience in Egypt, Bibars (1998) suggests that, when lawyers are assigned to children, it would probably be better if they were not government employees. They are likely to share the same opinion as the rest of society that these children should be detained and isolated and not rehabilitated. Instead, there is a need for specialised NGOs who can hire dedicated lawyers to look into such matters.

Public awareness of children's rights can be increased through many modes of publicity. In Mwanza, Tanzania, murals on prominent roads, painted vehicles, T-shirts and publications have been used. In addition, they have held a "Day of the African child" and community forums (Ochola and others, 1999).

The judgement in a recent High Court ruling in South Africa provides an interesting example of action towards children's rights to shelter. The judge concludes that children in South Africa have "*an unqualified right to shelter*" and that it is the responsibility of the "*appropriate organ or department of the state*" to provide this (see box 19).

In discussing modes of intervention, and examples thereof, among street children, the structure used in the discussion on homeless adults is only partly followed. This is because the problems facing street children cannot be solved through housing *per se*. They can be sheltered in many of the interventions discussed below, but appropriate activities for their reintegration into the mainstream to take mainly educational and economic forms.

Chapter VIII. Interventions for and with street children
C. Modes of intervention
1. Outreach

It is important that rehabilitation programmes do not simply 'batch process' children, treat them with paternalism, and rely on children's passivity (Lusk, 1989). In the past, many programmes failed to engage more established street children. Therefore, many NGOs in the 1980s set up outreach programmes that were sometimes entirely street based. They provided food and medical support and, more rarely, educational, psychological, and legal support (Scanlon and others, 1993). Others represent the first stage of a more individualised rehabilitation programme which aims to integrate the child back into the family. [71] This process can be very successful but requires ongoing support for many years, and the cost of returning a child home is estimated at $740 (Scanlon and others, 1998). This may seem very little, but it represents a considerable challenge to fund-raisers. The success of such programmes contradicts the views that the family dynamics of street children are beyond repair and that street children fare better than their siblings who remain at home (Aptekar, 1988).

In a context where rounding up and detaining is the norm in dealing with street children, Bibars (1998: 214-215) recommends a different approach:

- The street, the children's main habitat, should be the programme's main setting.

- Activities should be built around the child and his/her needs, and not the negative and traditional perspectives of an adult. Street facilitators should build rapport and mutual trust with the children within their own environment. They must respect the needs expressed by each child so that they can influence the programme's actions.

- Care provision should not alienate the child from his/her environment, i.e., services should be offered to children near the areas where they live.

- NGOs dealing with this category of children should be assisted to upgrade their capabilities to ensure that they can provide street children with:

  ○ medical services (regular medical check-ups and follow-up);

  ○ meals that meet at least 60 per cent of their daily nutritional requirements; [72]

  ○ educational services; literacy classes and/or tutoring, and the purchase of school supplies for children who are enrolled in schools;

  ○ vocational training to be able to find more stable work..

There are countless examples of outreach interventions by NGOs on behalf of street children. One example is Catholic Action for Street Children (CAS) in Accra (see box 20).

In Maharashtra State in India, The Juvenile Justice Act offers a framework of institutional care for neglected children. However, all that is available is institutional support. It is not of help to children living by themselves. About 250 children are brought into custody each month by the Children's Aid Society, a large majority of whom are boys (Patel, 1990). In 1985, the Directorate of Approved Schools, the Judiciary, and the police in Mumbai proposed that night shelters be established for street children on an experimental basis. The responsibility for this was given to voluntary agencies. However, officials and social welfare agencies felt that the scheme encouraged *"irresponsible parents to shed their responsibility"* and hence it was shelved (Patel, 1990: 11).

Other non-governmental initiatives aim to prevent children going on to the street in the first place. They may involve building housing, sewerage systems, community centres, and nurseries and introducing work skills into schools' curriculums (Scanlon and others, 1998).

Chapter VIII. Interventions for and with street children
C. Modes of intervention
1. Outreach
a. Protective outreach

In high-income industrial countries, much of the effort devoted to young homeless people is not only about helping them today but also preventing them from becoming homeless adults tomorrow. The Long Term Services For Youth Association (LTSFYA) in Canada provides an example (see box 21).

In developing countries, the thrust of NGO involvement tends to be in providing help to children *in* the street to try to prevent their 'graduation' to children *of* the street. This often involves help round issues like abuse in the home and balancing education and work. This is the case in Cochabamba, Bolivia, where there are drop-in centres for girl children of the street and, in response to the girls' demands, a closed door centre or refuge for them as a 'half-way house' when they decide to leave the street.

This is the stage when many working girls begin the process of becoming street girls. On the one hand, they are attracted by the freedom of the street, the 'easy' money made from pick pocketing and the anti-culture of glue-sniffers. On the other hand, they are pushed by problems of violence, abuse and alcohol problems in the home. Often the break is made gradually, staying away from home for one night, then a few days, and finally joining one of the groups on the street and leaving home. Box 22 on Mosoj Yan Centre provides an example.

In Korboe's (1996) sample in Ghana, some of the girls specifically requested guidance services (see table 11). So-called 'open' or 'drop-in' centres can provide the congenial environment essential for delivering such child guidance/counselling services. They facilitated the building of bridges with civil society, developing a higher sense of discipline and social responsibility, learning about children's needs and working through solutions with them. However, they would require investment in (re-)training social workers in modern social work techniques and in forging links with concerned members of civil society (Korboe, 1996).

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Chapter VIII. Interventions for and with street children
C. Modes of intervention
1. Outreach
b. Street-friendly education

The extremely low level of school enrolment among street children is a characteristic that has major policy implications. If ways can be found of encouraging school enrolment and retention, it should be possible to keep a larger proportion of children away from the streets. The informal schools set up in Nairobi seem to point one way forward. They do not require school uniforms, fees can be paid in easy instalments. Unlike formal schools that do not admit children over seven, they have no maximum age of enrolment in to first grade. This overcomes the problem of those whose lives were disrupted at the time they should have entered school and who are, consequently, denied education forever. In addition, documents such as birth certificates, which could be lost, are not required (Ochola and others, 1999).

Those already on the streets need assistance in acquiring occupational skills to improve their prospects for adult life. There tends to be a lack of flexibility in traditional skills training arrangements (in the sense that they do not allow trainees to earn their subsistence while acquiring the desired skills). Korboe (1996) suggests that private voluntary organisations and other partner agencies could help negotiating more flexible training packages with selected local artisans. Alternatively, grants could be made to successful trainees.

In school, street children may be found to have delayed development or be school phobic. Their organisational skills and their ability to conceptualise and finish tasks are poor. Homeless children feel ashamed of where they live; peers often tease them and they feel misunderstood by parents. They often have nowhere to do their homework and no one to assist them with it. When they suffer from developmental delay, their feelings of failure are enhanced (Epstein, 1996).

Homeless students have a difficult time trusting authority figures. For teachers, the transience of homeless children presents particular difficulties with respect to record keeping, locating previous school records and the necessity for completing quick yet accurate assessment. Homeless children often stay in the same school for a brief period and move among schools that emphasise different curricular offerings, teaching methods and teacher expectations. In formal education institutions, homelessness tends to be treated as a temporary abnormality. Rather than directly acknowledging the power of the culture of the street and the skills that one must learn in order to survive within that culture, the formal educational response encourages homeless children to blend into the existing school system without adapting the system to their specific needs (Epstein, 1996).

Tower and White (1984), however, recommended that teachers should attempt to provide a stable, structured educational environment for homeless children. The children should be granted personal space and should be allowed to bring personal possessions to school and use them within a classroom.

"Teachers should assign work of short duration, to allow for measured student success, they should expect regression and monitor it unobtrusively and they should allow students to express their frustrations in alternative ways and should make professional help available to them as soon as it is necessary. Students should be allowed to talk about their experiences as enlightening and positive. Finally, it should never be assumed that homeless children intuitively know how to play and it may be necessary to teach them how to do so" (Epstein, 1996).

Most of the well-known educational programmes involving street children in the developing world were originally associated with NGOs or religion-based volunteer organisations. In some cases, they are now jointly operated by state ministries and departments and NGOs and, in a few instances, the government has taken control (Blunt, 1994). They tend to have a strong emphasis upon vocational, commercial and practical subject matter, they encourage students to exercise personal responsibility and self-governance, and they recognise the power and importance of street life upon their behaviour.

In the Bosconia/La Florida programme in Cali, Colombia, youths can return to the street at any time. Their formal curriculum includes learning to read through the use of comic books, studying carpentry and food processing, and learning mathematics through practical application. In the Joint Project on the Street Children in the Philippines, the school structures are portable, set up directly in the streets. [73] ' Proyecto Alternatives' in Tegucigalpa, Honduras, uses a similar approach in that few permanent buildings are used; instead street educators operate out of open and rented spaces, working with counsellors and social workers to advise and help up to 60 children. [74]

The Bosconia/La Florida programme operates under church auspices. It consists of a live-in centre for short-term accommodation in the centre of Cali and two long-term centres, La Industria, which has a technical orientation, and La Florida, which has a more formal academic focus.

"Street educators make contact with children, offer them hot meals and showers with few strings attached and gradually win their trust. The children themselves make the commitment of entering Bosconia permanently and then graduate to La Florida or La Industria. In La Florida, adolescents select their own leaders and representatives and directly participate in self-governance. Those who violate institutional rules are immediately expelled" (Epstein, 1996: 297).

For many years, NGOs argued that street children could be rehabilitated if sufficient support was given. In this, the Bosconia project — which aims at creating a new person through work and the teaching of values — is the approach that has probably been most copied. Volunteer counsellors, educators, and medical and

nursing assistants are involved at four stages (Scanlon and others, 1998). See table 12 for details.

In Ecuador there is a vocational education programme for street children operated by Silesian priests, and an alternative secondary school operated by the Fundacion Esquel of Quito, whose curriculum is structured around the production and sale of products from small-scale enterprises (Innocenti Global Seminar, 1993). The Undugu Basic Education programme in Kenya (see box 23) and *Escola Tia Ciata* in Brazil (see box 24) provide other examples on street-friendly education.

Epstein (1996) notes that the causes and characteristics of homelessness in developing countries appear to be more systemic, of longer duration and more permanent than those in industrial countries. The responses of voluntary organisations and NGOs differ as well. In the developing world, there is often a strong church presence, even when successful programmes become linked with government initiatives. Street educators from voluntary and church-based programmes like to be aware of, and in tune with, street culture. They respect the environment of the street, place their institution there, and reflect it in curricular design and teaching. Their informal mandate and a lack of overt governmental interference allow flexibility. This is in contrast to those in the developed world where voluntary agencies are more likely to be like bureaucracies: officially certified social workers working with formal schools, shelters, and government agencies offering aid and assistance. Out-of-school curricular initiatives for street children there tend to supplement rather than substitute regular formal instruction.

Chapter VIII. Interventions for and with street children
C. Modes of intervention
1. Outreach
c. Education for HIV/AIDS awareness

In high-income industrial countries, there is a great deal of effort being devoted to the prevention of AIDS. Some of this effort is being directed towards street children. USA (1994) advises that, as street children may not have easy access to correct and/or comprehensible information on HIV/AIDS, it is important to make direct contact with them on their own territory and to provide them with information in language they easily understand.

"Education then helps these children to develop a more rational attitude toward the AIDS epidemic, and understanding, rather than fear, toward those afflicted....Street-based AIDS education and health care, combined with referrals to appropriate social agencies, provide the kind of comprehensive health and social care that street youth require" (USA, 1994: 152).

Non-formal street education programmes should be used to confront issues of health care including drug and alcohol abuse and HIV infection. As street children have difficulty understanding abstract and conceptual explanations, written materials are often not appropriate. Even when children are functionally literate, they do not have the discipline to read and understand the educational message. They may become very fearful which prevents them from finding out how to prevent the transmission of HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases. Sharing personal life experiences and participating in the educational games are more effective in getting the message across (USA, 1994).

In addition, instructional videos for street children, such as those produced in Brazil, can be shown at regular intervals in streets frequented by children. The message must be repeated and reinforced by peer behaviour through structured and semi-structured participative educational games, which are socially acceptable to this group. Flexibility must be maintained with constant adaptation to the subculture of each street group (USA, 1994).

Strategies to Combat Homelessness

Chapter VIII. Interventions for and with street children
C. Modes of intervention
2. Supportive housing

Street children deserve better than being sent to corrective schools that have the reputation for being little prisons. Methods for addressing the problems of street children in many countries remain conventional and rigid, based on the notion that they are juvenile delinquents. This stigmatising attitude ignores the children's specific needs, replacing the family environment with an artificial and, in most cases, unfriendly institution (Bibars, 1998).

Imprisonment and institutionalisation have been shown neither to cure anti-social behaviour nor to prevent future problems. In fact, they usually reinforced negative behaviour because they expose children to models of delinquency. In addition, the stigmatisation of having been institutionalised affects the children's positions in their families and in society, and it has a very negative impact on their self-esteem (Bibars, 1998).

Increasing numbers of governments and NGOs, however, are developing policies and programmes that provide care and protection to vulnerable children through open-door centres, and outreach activities for the children and their families. Various innovative approaches have been tried in Egypt to humanise existing services or to offer multi-sectoral services as alternatives to institutionalisation. Some centres offer training programmes to government and NGO staff who work with juvenile offenders and in established programmes. These encourage a more child-friendly attitude among policy makers and officials responsible for institutions. Other agencies and centres run residential communities to provide safe havens for young offenders, away from the street gangs and the temptations of their urban neighbourhoods. These are often democratic and treat children like members of a family who are expected to contribute to the running of the household. Staff members help the children to re-establish contacts with their families (Bibars, 1998).

It is important to improve skills and relevant training and affect the attitudes of those who deal directly with disadvantaged children and who are supposed to help them. This includes the police, social workers and supervisors at detention and custodial institutions. All parties dealing with street children should be trained to help these children and not push them away from society (Bibars, 1998).

As presented above (box 10), the St Vincent de Paul Centre's Toussaint Teen Centre provides transitional housing for 30 homeless teenagers. It is staffed 24 hours a day and offers counselling, case management, medical and dental care, and a high school, as well as helping to improve social and job skills that will enable homeless young people to become well adjusted, productive adults.

The 'Foyer' movement in Northern Europe is based on the need to break the ' no home, no job, no job, no home' cycle by providing a range of services beginning with a safe and secure environment for young people between 16 and 25 years of age (see box 25 for details). The concept should be transferable to other parts of the world. Yet, FEANTSA maintains that the system should not be regarded as the answer to youth homelessness, because *inter alia*:

- *"Young people are given little preparation for independent life outside the centre.*

- *... training is combined with accommodation for homeless people only, [which] is ... not ideal. This implies a second class service.*

- *Choice of training is limited. A separation of accommodation and training would be better, which should involve integration with other members of society"* (FEANTSA, 2000b).

Strategies to Combat Homelessness

Chapter VIII. Interventions for and with street children
C. Modes of intervention
3. Integrated strategies and better co-ordination

Korboe (1996) calls for a crosscutting approach as the only effective resolution of an issue as complex as the street child problem. Such an approach would recognise the intricate linkages between the urban phenomenon of street children and the key causal factors such as rural underdevelopment, poverty among women, large households, household disintegration, parent illiteracy and constraints in access to basic social services. The approach should not limit itself to remedial measures, but should also include components designed to prevent, or at least abate, the incidence of the street child problem. The question then is not whether but how to address these concerns (Korboe, 1996).

It is clear that the problem posed by street children is not one that any one agency can hope to solve single-handedly. Collaboration between agencies and partnerships with volunteers from civil society will be vital. Such collaboration should result in avoiding duplication (especially at project level), and should improve access to social work expertise.

Chapter VIII. Interventions for and with street children
C. Modes of intervention
4. Employment

As noted above, Korboe's street children ranked employment-related assistance very highly (see table 11). Some examples of successful interventions to help young street adults in developed countries are the Rideau Street Youth Enterprises (RSYE) (box 26) and NoSort Recycling (box 27), both in Ottawa, Canada, Streets Ahead in London (box 28) and the YouthBuild Programme in New York City (box 29).

Chapter VIII. Interventions for and with street children
C. Modes of intervention
5. Prevention

The growing interest in the concerns of street children must be strengthened. It is even more important, however, to try to prevent children from becoming street children in the first place. This can be achieved by targeting and including the poorer and less educated sections of the population — the households that are the main potential sources of street children.

One example of a preventative programme in a high-income industrial country has been established in the United Kingdom. The Housing Education Project, piloted in Yorkshire and now expanded to all of England, was established in 1991 and formalised in 1992. Its objective is to prevent youth homelessness by raising general awareness of all issues concerning young people's leaving home. It helps young people to make informed realistic decisions about the housing options available to them when they leave home (for whatever reason) and raises awareness among teaching staff about preparations for leaving home and challenges attitudes and prejudices about homelessness.

Over 2,000 students were reached in the first 6 months of the project and over 10,000 information packages were distributed. The programme reaches into youth clubs and to students with learning difficulties and those excluded from mainstream schools. It develops information packages, resource materials, school presentations, and computer software for students and teachers, and provides in-service training for teachers and youth workers. Information includes details on rights and entitlements, on housing, money and health, cultural awareness and knowledge of parents' expectations; communications and information finding skills, decision making and problem solving skills, self awareness and assertiveness (Pomeroy and Frojmovic, 1995).

In developing countries, it is easy to condemn the mothers of those who are at risk of becoming or are already street children but their poverty tends to reduce their chance to protect their children and provide them with a secure future. To this end, the African Housing Fund, with other donor organisations, has been funding several projects aimed at increasing the financial ability of mothers of street children. One of these involves a joint self-build and construction materials manufacturing project in Nairobi. The women, who were formerly destitute and in the streets begging with their children, manufacture fibre-reinforced cement tiles and other building components for sale and for use on their own self-built houses close to the factory site. They have been effective enough to win contracts for supplying large and prestigious projects such as the Koma Rock medium income housing project in Nairobi. They have been able to earn enough money to support their children, send them back to school and build their own homes (Kariuki, 1999).

Korboe (1996) recommends television as a potentially powerful medium of communicating preventive messages to poor urban households. [75] Children can be reached through newspapers and FM radio stations to publicise the plight and needs of street children. The content should be structured to stimulate discussion as well as presenting information. Indigenous voluntary organisations can be important in this.

There is potential to reduce the generation of street children through publicising the impoverishing impact of high fertility, divorce, multiple marriages and parental neglect. A major threat to efforts at reducing the incidence of the street child problem is the rise in the number of HIV infections:

"An effective HIV-control intervention would be a helpful response to the potential rise in orphanhood and its likely impact on the street child phenomenon" (Korboe, 1996).

There would be positive spin-offs towards reducing the number of street children problem from poverty alleviation programmes such as support to women's income generating projects. As clearly articulated by the children in Korboe's survey, mothers are proving to be more genuinely concerned with child welfare issues than are men. Multi-agency partnerships (including public and private organisations, community-level activists, peer educator groups and civil society networks) may be able to provide a combination of micro-credits and technical support to women's groups in the principal areas from which street children come (Korboe, 1996).

Edgar and others (1999) claim that there has been a shift in public policy from remedial treatment and control towards a more preventative approach. However, changes in statistical and legal definitions of homelessness discussed above show that such a trend is ambiguous. Developments within the traditional housing sector and the emergence of a new partnership approach appear to be most important.

In Western Europe, insufficient supply and/or distribution of affordable housing may be central in explaining homelessness. Within this, at least three factors play an important role:

- the level of social housing supply;

- policies of distribution and allocation of social housing; and

- systems of rent subsidies and rent control in both private and social housing (FEANTSA, 1999).

Over the last decade or so, there have been a number of similar shifts in social housing policy across Western Europe involving investment in the housing sector and general housing policy direction (FEANTSA, 1999).

Chapter IX. Recent policy developments
A. Policy changes in high-income industrial countries
1. More targeted policy

The housing policies in Western Europe can be divided into two groups. One group, including France, Netherlands, Germany, Sweden, Finland and Denmark, is categorised as close to a general welfare-motivated housing policy. Typically, general subsidies and different kinds of tax relief are important. In all Western European countries there are also *targeted* subsidies (individual or household related and condition-based subsidies) for housing but their relative importance is much greater in the second group comprising the United Kingdom, Ireland, Norway, Iceland, Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece (FEANTSA, 1999).

In most cases, there has been a general decline in public investment. [76] This has been followed by a re-orientation from public regulation to relying on the market and an increasing emphasis on the cost-effectiveness of policy measures. In the past decade or so, regulation has been decentralised and such subsidies as still exist have become much more targeted at specific groups with weak market positions. The dominant ideas within European housing policies in the 1990s is that they should not cost much and they should target specific groups rather than the general public and/or housing market (FEANTSA, 1999).

The arguments behind these reforms have been political and ideological as well as economic. The ideological argument claims that the public sector should not compete with private ownership and supply and that housing costs should not burden the public purse as housing has increasingly been seen as a *private good* that does not need special heavy public intervention. The political argument supports individual responsibility rather than a more collective welfare approach. The economic argument claims that the market mechanism is a more efficient and equitable provider of housing than is regulation and government steering as these inevitably lead to rationing. In this light, government housing finance systems and interest rate subsidies have generally been phased out, and rent regulation dismantled (FEANTSA, 1999).

Because of these two trends, the housing sector has received less attention and resources, and households have to pay larger proportions of their income to cover housing costs.

"At the same time, housing policy in its traditional sense has split apart, leaving behind a sometimes quite fragmented pattern of policy issues, including social exclusion and economic restructuring, on the one hand, and privatisation and home ownership issues, on the other.... A particular interesting example, in this regard, are the developments of owning and financing of social housing" (FEANTSA, 1999: 39).

Chapter IX. Recent policy developments
A. Policy changes in high-income industrial countries
2. A more detached social housing sector

Although housing policy investments vary considerably between Western European countries, many countries have experienced a serious decline in investment in the housing sector as a proportion of GDP (FEANTSA, 1999). In many countries, one product of these changes appears to be a more detached social housing sector; in part because of general fiscal austerity and in part because of the ideology of individualism that requires people to take more responsibility for their own welfare (Edgar and others, 1999).

Ties of regulation and financing between government or municipalities and the implementing organisations have loosened. Nevertheless, even within these general trends, there are great differences among the Western European countries. The extent and nature of social housing tenure differ, as do the legal and social administrative framework. There are a variety of landlords supplying social housing, including municipalities, housing associations, non-profit organisations and private commercial enterprises (FEANTSA, 1999).

Chapter IX. Recent policy developments
A. Policy changes in high-income industrial countries
3. From categories to collaborations

Following from the feminisation of policy debates, there is a move away from categorical solutions to individualised packages of measures. It is recognised that, although categories can be useful in describing the issues involved in working with homeless people, each individual has a unique blend of problems, priorities and potentials. Supplying these calls for a greater measure of collaboration between agencies than former, more categorical, approaches.

Chapter IX. Recent policy developments
A. Policy changes in high-income industrial countries
4. Interagency collaboration

The goal of the comprehensive homelessness service system is to ensure that homeless individuals and families move from homelessness to self-sufficiency, housing, and independent living (USA, 1994). In this, it must be recognised that traditional strategies and solutions have failed and that there is now an urgent need to develop alternative approaches and policies. Given the number of factors contributing to homelessness and the complex nature of the problem, effective policy must be prosecuted through a broad range of actions that transcend conventional policy sectors. It is recognised that it is at policy level, on housing, and social and financial support, that homelessness will be eliminated or at least minimised. Other emergency actions, though necessary for compassion's sake, are fire fighting at best and expensive tokenism at worst.

It has been recognised that sectorally planned and implemented policies and activities tend to be ineffective. In their place there is a need for inter-organisational and cross-professional co-operation in problem definition, resource mobilisation and funding, service delivery, monitoring, and learning about policy to combat homelessness (FEANTSA, 1999).

The change that is coming over homelessness policy can well be illustrated with reference to recent changes in the United States of America. The McKinney grant programmes, introduced in 1987 — and in operation when President Clinton came to power — were mostly sectorally specific. They required providers of housing and services to apply to and interact with numerous agencies, and to take account of diverse guidelines, criteria, and reporting requirements to secure funding for a single project. This wasted time that could be more profitably spent on moving people to permanent housing. The homeless service system had not been planned, but rather it had evolved as the result of the uncoordinated efforts of different levels of government and NGOs. The outcome was disjointed, providing for some needs while ignoring others (USA, 1994).

A better understanding of the causes and dynamics of homelessness, crisis poverty and acute/chronic disabilities demonstrated that community-based efforts are needed to reduce existing homelessness and prevent future homelessness. As ' Priority: Home!' pointed out, significant restructuring of the existing apparatus of assistance was called for (USA, 1994).

This trend has been mirrored in Western Europe where many central governments have invested in programmes to facilitate inter-organisational co-operation and partnerships. These are addressing issues of support, income and employment as well as housing and accommodation at the local level. Typical actors

involved are agencies within housing policy, social policy, and service providers from the public sector; private housing companies; and religious communities and voluntary organisations, from civil society. They are being exhorted to concerted efforts so that they can act together effectively (FEANTSA, 1999).

In setting its new policy formulation exercise, the Clinton administration consulted with providers of homelessness assistance, local officials and homeless people themselves (USA, 1994). Nearly 4,000 respondents were asked to prioritise issues for action against homelessness. Seven priorities emerged (the percentage of respondents scoring them first or second priority are shown in parenthesis):

- Affordable housing (72 per cent);

- Addressing the needs of the working poor (70 per cent);

- Homelessness prevention (60 per cent);

- Mental health treatment services (50 per cent);

- Substance abuse treatment services (54 per cent);

- Child care (49 per cent);

- Services specifically for families experiencing homelessness (48 per cent).

The new strategy adopted in the United States of America recognises that, if homelessness is to be eradicated, the causes of homelessness for broad and sometimes overlapping groups of homeless people [77] must be addressed (USA, 1994). The plan proposes a two-pronged strategy which, in general seems to be a model for any situation:

- Take emergency measures to bring those who are currently homeless back into mainstream society;

- Address the structural needs to provide the necessary housing and social infrastructure for the very poor, to prevent the occurrence of homelessness (USA, 1994: 67).

Though the above sounds eminently sensible, the implementation is likely to absorb resources on a scale untenable in developing countries as well as in countries with economies in transition where social security systems and support for homeless people are relatively undeveloped.

Strategies to Combat Homelessness

Chapter IX. Recent policy developments
A. Policy changes in high-income industrial countries
5. National programmes for partnership promotion: examples from Western Europe

In the Netherlands, the government is funding a four-year project of innovative policies concerning housing, work and welfare. The local providers of the services are organised in project groups involving civil servants from different municipality sectors.

In Germany, a major government project 'Experiments in urban development' (EXPOSIT) has been launched to support pilot schemes aimed at the re-integration of homeless people through the provision of standard and affordable housing. However, problems have arisen due to a mixing of roles between social- and business-oriented partners. It is necessary to separate tenancy arrangements from support services to avoid obscuring the roles, goals, and methods of social workers and landlords (Busch-Geertsema 1999). [78]

In Finland, the nation-wide Y-Foundation has been operating since 1985 providing housing for homeless people and refugees. The organisation was founded by several major actors in Finnish homelessness policy, including the Association of Finnish Local Authorities, five of the largest cities, the Red Cross, and the Finnish Association for Mental Health. The Y-Foundation co-operates closely with other NGOs and different parts of the public sector and demonstrates that inter-organisational arrangements may encourage the emergence of larger and more formal agencies and platforms (FEANTSA, 1999).

Strategies to Combat Homelessness

Chapter IX. Recent policy developments
A. Policy changes in high-income industrial countries
6. Promises and premises of partnerships

Co-operatively formulated policy partnerships have the potential to deliver efficient organisations for innovative, flexible and individualised problem solving. The trend towards less categorical and more individualised services requires the combination of resources across a variety of formal organisations and professions. Trust, mutual respect, common knowledge and smooth contacts among partners are thus crucial. This network style of management is intended to encourage moves away from large-scale bureaucratic public agencies towards more collaborative organisational structures (FEANTSA, 1999).

However, recent research has recently suggested that the idea that 'the more integration the better' is not always correct. [79] It is, indeed, essential that the network of problem solvers and service providers should be effective. However, this is not simply a matter of degree of collaboration and consensus within partnerships. The most effective partnerships will probably have to choose different modes of interaction at different stages, or in different functions. Thus, problem definition and planning may need a different degree of collaboration and different leading partners from resource mobilisation and funding, or service delivery and programme execution or, finally, monitoring and evaluation (FEANTSA, 1999).

The heterogeneity of the homeless population generates its own complications for effective interventions. It is not self-evident that successful co-operation and consensus building solve the problems of homeless people. Rather, when central governmental agencies promote negotiations and integrated strategies at the local level, they risk promoting a unified approach to special categories of homeless people, instead of diversified services and professional perspectives related to individual problems. Social service agencies, housing companies and other local partners should have different roles, professional profiles, perspectives and capabilities. Thus, there may be no advantage for individuals or groups from shared problem definition exercises and agreed upon courses of action (FEANTSA, 1999).

From the perspective of homeless people, 'partnerships' of local agencies might even at times be understood as a bureaucratic control machine, rather than as an arrangement providing empowerment and re-integration opportunities suitable for the individual (FEANTSA, 1999).

Chapter IX. Recent policy developments
A. Policy changes in high-income industrial countries
7. Shelter and services for empowerment of homeless people

There seems to be a shift in all Western European and North American countries from large-scale institutional accommodation and services to small-scale and individualised assistance, regardless of differences in traditional policy regimes. This may be connected with a recent orientation towards re-integration programmes and a commitment to long term solutions from a social exclusion perspective. Another observed trend, according to FEANTSA (1999), is the change from *"an institutional commitment to control and containment, by discipline and punishment"* towards *"participatory welfare"* (Edgar and others, 1999: 26-8).

This new mode of service provision is rooted on the ideology of individual responsibility. It emphasises user involvement in decisions about and operation of services, so that this "participatory welfare" model allows homeless people to object to conforming to a model of behaviour dictated by "the ordinary world" (Edgar and others, 1999: 26-28). This may explain the increased variety of services available (FEANTSA, 1999).

However, others criticise the current trend in homelessness services as 'the supermarket approach' in that it would rather focus on provision of services for certain groups of homeless, without examining whether these are actually determined by individual client's needs (Sapounakis 1997).

Strategies to Combat Homelessness

Chapter IX. Recent policy developments
A. Policy changes in high-income industrial countries
8. The continuum of care

In the United States of America, it was decided that all systems must be based on the same premise even though the resources, services, and needs vary from state to state. They should have three distinct components of organisation.

- An emergency shelter assessment effort that provides an immediate alternative to the street and can identify an individual's or family's needs.

- Transitional or rehabilitative services for those who need them, such as substance abuse treatment, short-term mental health services, and independent living skills. Access is also needed to appropriate case management to ensure that people receive necessary services, for example, that children attend school regularly.

- A permanent housing or supportive housing arrangements for every homeless individual and family (USA, 1994: 71).

Not all homeless individuals and families in a community will need to access all three components but all three should be co-ordinated, otherwise none will be successful in combating homelessness. The plan refers to this approach as a 'continuum of care.' A strong homelessness prevention strategy is also essential to the success of the continuum of care (USA, 1994).

The system in the United States of America is obviously at the upper end of sophistication but the principle of services being part of a continuum rather than dealing with isolated symptoms is one that should be replicable. Figure 3 illustrates how the continuum of care begins with a point of entry in which the needs of a homeless individual or family are assessed. This is likely to be in an emergency shelter or through a separate assessment centre. To reach and engage homeless persons living on the street, the homeless service system should include a strong outreach component (USA, 1994).

Once a needs assessment is completed, the person/household may be referred to permanent housing, if it is available, or to transitional housing where supportive services are provided to prepare them for independent living. A homeless person with a substance abuse problem may need to be referred to a rehabilitation programme and transitional housing before being assisted with permanent housing. Some people with chronic disabilities may need continuing supportive services after they move into permanent housing (USA, 1994).

In the United States of America, it was recognised that those former programmes could be reorganised to deal with the current crisis of homelessness,

but they would still be emergency measures. Eventually, mainstream programmes that deal with long-term community development should replace the emergency measures. The strategy is, therefore, gradually to phase-out all the McKinney programmes and replace them by mainstream social service, human, and community development programmes; in other words, the development of continuum-of-care strategies that deal with the underlying issues of economic opportunity and affordable housing (USA, 1994).

In the European context, Edgar and others (1999) suggest a series of reintegration or emergency homelessness services to target different aspects of life, such as:

- *financial* support, including income support and direct housing;

- *social* support, including individually-oriented services related to personal needs; and service centres targeted at certain groups of homeless people or groups at risk of becoming homeless;

- *medical* support oriented towards people with long-term disabilities or short-term crises;

- *employment* and training services; and

- *accommodation* services, ranging from more traditional emergency night shelters and hostels for special groups, over transitional and supported housing to permanent housing contracts (Edgar and others, 1999: 57-59).

Strategies to Combat Homelessness

Chapter IX. Recent policy developments
A. Policy changes in high-income industrial countries
9. The 'staircase of transition' model for re-integration

In several countries, including Germany, Sweden, and Denmark, the idea of the 'staircase of transition' as a means for re-integration is gaining ground in national policies. [80] The idea is that homeless people can improve their housing conditions step by step, in terms of housing standards, rights to privacy, and control over the home in 'dwellings for training'. The service providers gradually reduce support and control until the once homeless person becomes an independent tenant (FEANTSA, 1999).

The "ideal typical model" (Edgar, 1999: 104) would have three steps:

- *Category houses:* small flats providing group housing;

- *Training flats:* furnished flats for independent living with some professional monitoring;

- *Transitional flats:* within ordinary residential areas with residents' own furniture.

From both Sweden and Germany, however, it is reported that this system may instead turn out to be a 'staircase of exclusion'. *"The staircase of transition seems to confuse the needs of testing and training"* (Sahlin 1998:40). The landlords have no incentives for converting a transitional contract or a 'dwelling for training' into an independent tenancy. Thus, the 'final step' for the client is postponed or even removed. At the same time, social authorities can use referral to lower steps of the 'staircase' as sanctions, resulting in downward mobility and what are called 'revolving-door effects'. [81]

While the service provision for homeless people in Western Europe is often described as turning from remedial- and emergency-oriented approaches towards prevention and reintegration services, the above demonstrate that good intentions do not preclude disappointing outcomes. It seems that there is a need to know more about how to make the 'staircase system' a successful strategy to combat homelessness (FEANTSA, 1999).

There are, however, concerns about the efficacy of both the continuum of care and the staircase of transition. Firstly, many people's problems may not respond to the continuum approach involving, as it does, progressively decreasing support until they can be independent. Secondly, people's needs are very diverse so the steps on the ladder may be difficult to design. Thirdly, there is a need for close collaboration between agencies and sound assessment and referral procedures. Fourthly, the failure to progress or, worse, downward mobility can have a serious effect on client'

s morale and motivation to succeed. Edgar and others suggest that —

"the approach to flexible services involves taking advantage of the increasing diversity in service provision rather than actual flexibility by tailoring services, in a bespoke manner, to meet individual needs" (1999: 105).

Chapter IX. Recent policy developments
B. Policy changes in countries with economies in transition
1. Prevention and reintegration

In attempts to prevent homelessness, countries in Eastern and Central Europe have done just the opposite to those in Western Europe. The former communist countries have moved from a situation in which state provision of housing and employment was so complete that homelessness and unemployment were illegal, to one in which many people are losing their homes. With the collapse of the socialist economy, many people lost their jobs, workers hostels were closed down, state subsidies were withdrawn and housing prices and utility fees started to grow towards the market level. Many households began to face payment difficulties and got into arrears. These and other factors led to a huge increase in homeless people (FEANTSA, 1999).

Strategies to Combat Homelessness

Chapter IX. Recent policy developments
B. Policy changes in countries with economies in transition
2. The stages of change in Eastern and Central Europe

Just as the problem of homelessness is not equally recognised in all countries of Eastern and Central Europe (indeed, Bulgaria and Albania do not officially recognise homelessness) so policies differ on the basis of the level of recognition. Homelessness has appeared gradually, corresponding to the pace and nature of changes taking place in the countries. FEANTSA (1999) argues that there are three distinctive stages.

In the **first** stage, the number of homeless people grows dramatically, and homelessness becomes visible. The official pressure to have a registered address ceases and no street dwellers are taken to prison. Parallel to the official changes, there is economic breakdown, closure of workers' hostels, the appearance of a 'real estate mafia', and surging utility prices. Furthermore, economic migration adds to the population of the cities but many migrants are without permanent residence and at the risk of finding themselves on the street. This is the time of recognising the need for homelessness policies.

The Russian Federation, Slovakia and Bulgaria seem to be in the middle of this stage, but Hungary and the Czech Republic have already passed through it. The Russian Federation is just beginning to tackle this problem, trying to establish a system of shelters. Owing to the weak economic performance of these countries, there is hardly any talk of large-scale state involvement or social subsidies. Because of the lack of finance, a social housing policy is not an affordable solution; it is cheaper to establish shelters.

In the **second** stage, the number of homeless people begins to stabilise as, unfortunately, the new additions are offset by high mortality among existing homeless people. At this stage, a system of shelters is being established which, though insufficiently, can provide some sort of help. At this stage, discussions start on how policies should try to re-integrate homeless people into society.

There are many in the street homeless population for whom re-integration will be particularly difficult because their mental illnesses, alcohol and drug addictions, etc., are likely to impede their return to mainstream life. Furthermore, it costs a great deal for a homeless person to start a new life and find an apartment.

At this stage, regulations tend to be confusing and there is likely to be deep distrust so it is very unlikely that homeless people receive all the benefits to which they are entitled.

The **third** stage of homelessness comes when whole households are either

threatened by eviction or find themselves on the street so that the number of homeless people grows dramatically. This tends to be the case when a former communist country's economy has almost been transformed to a market economy but rising prices are not compensated through higher wages, and only the most needy are targeted in the social security regulations. Hungary is nearing this phase; it is just a question of time until the largest private bank (OTP) begins to evict all its housing defaulters. So far, only very limited steps have been taken to construct a new social policy framework which could prevent this homelessness 'explosion'. Only in Budapest are there plans for new legislation concerning the shelter system under which no other 'inhumane', substandard dwellings and shelters for homeless people will be constructed. Instead, the Budapest Municipality will try to concentrate on improving the currently existing shelters.

FEANTSA (1999) claim that:

- A homelessness 'explosion' caused by evictions would cost the state much more than a social safety net policy trying to keep as many of these households as possible in the mainstream housing market.

- All countries of Eastern and Central Europe will, eventually, reach this third stage. They must then face the same problems and dilemmas that Hungary is facing now, for it is merely a question of how deeply the economy of a country has been transformed, and how quickly it is changing to a housing market.

Chapter IX. Recent policy developments
C. Policy changes in developing countries

Developing countries are still at a stage where changes in policy affecting housing supply are the main ones to affect the incidence of and means of addressing homelessness.

Strategies to Combat Homelessness

Chapter IX. Recent policy developments
C. Policy changes in developing countries
1. The effects of structural adjustment programmes

Structural adjustment programmes have been influential in many developing countries over the last two decades, usually reducing public expenditure. In so doing, they have achieved some measure of state disengagement from housing and utilities provision and from health services. Where housing was very much a state or local authority provision a decade or two ago, now few dwellings are built and market forces are ruling in many developing countries. As the International Association of Technicians, Experts and Researchers argue,

"States are not uninterested in the housing question: they simply consider that their housing policy and urban policy represent only one component of their social — and social control — policy. The right to housing receded as more and more exclusions are brought in. The States feel that this matter is becoming less and less their responsibility" (AITEC, 1994).

The GSS and the Habitat Agenda have set up an alternative paradigm in which states should provide an enabling environment in which housing can be provided through public-private partnerships and through the private sector. As this is congruent with the philosophy behind structural adjustment programmes, there ought to be no reduction in housing supply, just a redirecting of the supply effort. In practice, however, the disengagement of the state has generally reduced the supply of social housing. It can be argued that it was so badly targeted when it was provided, that poor people miss out only very little when social housing ceases to be supplied. However, the poorest in society, who include homeless people, are likely to continue to need state interventions for their housing and mechanisms for supplying effectively targeted social housing are still required.

Strategies to Combat Homelessness

Chapter IX. Recent policy developments
C. Policy changes in developing countries
2. A more targeted approach to housing interventions

Following the fiscal austerity of the 1980s, rapid urban growth has inspired the enabling approach outlined in the GSS and Habitat Agenda. Many governments have rightly disengaged from direct supply strategies but have not re-engaged with the new enablement agenda in effective ways. Housing supply is much more a market concern than one for the public authorities and, inevitably, those in the poorest market positions suffer most. When enabling policies work as planned, and when governments grasp the nettle of scaling-up supply to appropriate levels to serve everyone through involving all actors in the process, there should be fewer households who cannot find suitable accommodation. This should result in reduced levels of homelessness. However, experience in Europe has shown that, even where there is enough housing for all households, inefficient distribution and other aberrations lead to some individuals and households still being homeless. There will remain a need for specific provision for homeless people.

Misplaced or poorly targeted subsidies are a common form of inefficiency in housing markets and supply systems. The upper-low and middle income groups have been especially favoured by these subsidies through government- and employer-provided housing, sale of land to the 'poor' at subsidised rates, and tax concessions on home purchase repayments. The failure of subsidies to reach the poor can be particularly poignant with respect to homeless people as they are probably paid for from general taxation. Thus, the small amount of taxes even the poorest person pays through purchases makes them a net contributor to the subsidy that, generally, favours people who are much better off.

Chapter IX. Recent policy developments
C. Policy changes in developing countries
3. Introducing a rights based approach

A recent High Court judgement in South Africa is an interesting example of the introduction of a rights-based approach to housing (High Court of South Africa, 1999). As mentioned earlier (see box 19) the judge ruled that there was *"no unqualified obligation on the State to provide free housing on demand."* Yet, the ruling indicated that the state was obligated to take "*reasonable legislative and other measures within its available resources to achieve the progressive realisation of the right to have access to adequate housing housing.*" As the constitutional rights had only been in place for less than three years, the judge found that the —

"repondents produced clear evidence that a rational housing programme has been initiated at all levels of government and that such programme has been designed to solve a pressing problem in the context of scarce financial resources."

The crucial issue thus becomes how long a government can claim to be progressively moving towards the implementation of this right. The judgement includes reference to the Limburg principles, which states that —

"Under no circumstances shall this be interpreted as implying for all States the right to defer indefinitely efforts to ensure full realisation. On the contrary all State parties have the obligation to begin immediately to take steps to fulfil their obligations under the Covenant." [82]

Chapter X. Conclusions and proposals for combating homelessness
A. Conclusions

It is evident that the circumstances that lead individuals and households into homelessness are increasingly prevalent world-wide and there is no easing in the task of re-integrating homeless people into mainstream society. In high-income industrial countries, the poverty and isolation of homeless people are at odds with the wealth and prosperity of society as a whole. In developing countries, rapid urbanisation, the urbanisation of poverty, structural adjustment programmes, some disintegration of traditional family links, poor life chances in rural areas, and many other stresses, are compounding to introduce homelessness for the first time, particularly among young people.

The rights-based approach to housing highlights the need to tackle homelessness. Not to do so would be a direct denial of basic human rights and contrary to many obligations accepted by states through their ratification of many international legal instruments as well as the GSS, Agenda 21, and the Habitat Agenda.

Unfortunately, the definition of homelessness is by no means straightforward and it can be categorised by many different aspects such as the problems homeless people are experiencing, the attitude of the people involved, and their potential. Furthermore, it is helpful to visualise a continuum as well as discrete categories.

This report argues that, when dealing with high-income industrial countries, it is inappropriate to include only those included in a narrow definition of homelessness. Those who are potentially, imminently, latently, or incipiently homeless through poor tenure security, unsupportive family circumstances, or poor physical conditions and lack of servicing, should also be included. Thus, a broader definition of homelessness is required in these countries.

In developing countries, however, the inclusion of poor tenure or housing conditions in the definition would be inappropriate. Such very large proportions of the population routinely endure them that they do not generate that detachment from society nor represent the 'unique distress and urgent need' (FEANTSA, 1999) facing those with much-below-average housing security and/or quality of shelter for their society. Where the threshold comes must probably be decided in the context of each country or region. Most would probably include people living on streets (even with rudimentary shelter and a home life constructed there), those under bridges, on railway lines, in discarded pipes, etc. Whether they would include those in the poorer types of squatter shelters, or those living on land liable to flooding, land-slip, and other hazards (and at what level of hazard) should be dealt with nationally or regionally.

This removal of generally poor housing from the definition of homelessness is reasonable in this report, as it is the focus of most of the routine work of UNCHS (Habitat). The separation of acute lack of housing from that which may be routine seems sensible. This reduces the constituency addressed in this report from about half of humankind to somewhere above 100 million people.

Data on numbers and characteristics of homeless people varies greatly between and within regions, often depending on whether there are services to cater for them in any way. This gives rise to the service-statistics-paradox in which the countries that try hardest to provide services seem to have the highest levels of homelessness. Homeless people are universally characterised by poverty. Some live within household groups others live alone; women are a minority (at least in industrial countries) — although the number of homeless women may be underestimated due to the prevalence of concealed homelessness among women — and an increasing proportion are young. Many homeless people have chemical dependencies and problems with alcohol. They are more likely to have mental illness and some physical ailments, such as sexually transmitted diseases, than the population at large. The reduction in hospitalisation of people with these problems is thought to have exacerbated the homelessness problem. Ethnic minorities and migrants seem to be over-represented in the homeless population.

Some of the above characteristics are felt to be causal factors in people becoming homeless. However, many systemic issues have almost certainly boosted the homeless population. These include a declining housing provision, cuts in social welfare systems, the breakdown of families, increasingly uncertain employment markets and increases in extreme poverty. There are also events that lead directly to homelessness, especially evictions from rental property or foreclosure of owned, forced eviction of whole neighbourhoods, and natural or human-made disasters. It is argued that it is more helpful to tackle the systemic issues rather than focusing on the individuals' shortcomings as this latter tends to lead to unhelpful (and almost certainly inaccurate) dichotomies such as deserving versus undeserving.

There is a large number of children and young people, in many countries, who are classified together as street children but seem to be very varied in their characteristics and behaviour. To the major distinction between children in the street and children of the street, can be added children of street families and those who are completely abandoned by the adult world. The first and third tend to have contact with adult relatives and may sleep with their families. On the other hand, children of the street and those who have been abandoned make their life and relationships entirely in the public realm. While the causes may be social in high-income industrial countries, especially with respect to violence and abuse in the home, poverty tends to be the driving force in developing countries. Many street children regard their state as temporary and look forward to fitting back into mainstream society and getting a job.

Current initiatives in dealing with homelessness are moving away from the

dichotomous deserving/undeserving, housed/homeless, structural/agency, approaches to responses that recognise the differing needs of people in different places on the home to homeless continuum. There is a need to recognise that conventional housing strategies may not touch the problem of homelessness. This may be especially relevant in developing countries where the low-income housing policies tend to be based on sites and services and other self-help approaches to building single household dwellings.

Interventions for and with homeless people range from ensuring their day-to-day survival through shelters, through the provision of social services to tackle their personal needs, to providing supportive housing. The last has provided many opportunities for employment for homeless people along the way. Initiatives such as street papers, and the use of information technology to increase efficiency in finding shelter places, demonstrate the breadth of interventions underway. Emergency and longer-term shelters have an on-going role in establishing a point of contact with most homeless people and a place from where other interventions can operate. They will probably continue to be the point of entry into the realm of helping homeless people as such interventions start up in developing countries.

Interventions aimed at street children vary from clandestine murder to appropriate skills training. It is very important to prevent children's coming on to the street in the first place by improving the lifechances of poor households, especially women. In addition, realistic portrayals of life on the streets in the media are likely to reduce its attractiveness *viz a viz* the home. As with work among homeless adults, it is important that agencies collaborate and ensure that they are not taking with one hand while giving with the other through incompatible policies. It is important that outreach and other interventions are street-friendly, especially in education aimed at gathering skills and preventing HIV/AIDS infection.

The end of the twentieth century was a time when Governments withdrew from large-scale provision of subsidised public housing and from public services in general. As housing is increasingly seen as a private good, public intervention is becoming limited to specially targeted cases. The context of enablement propounded in the GSS and Habitat Agenda has set policy contexts within which countries should operate but many have so far failed to replace their narrow subsidised public housing efforts with effective wide-ranging enablement strategies. Following the general failure of traditional policies to move people from homelessness into permanent housing, self-sufficiency and independent living, new approaches are needed. One of the most important of these has been strengthening inter-agency partnerships. It is recognised that homeless people need emergency assistance to bring them back into mainstream society and an appropriate housing and social infrastructure to prevent their falling into the state of homelessness. This can be conceived as a two-pronged attack or, perhaps more helpfully, a 'continuum of care'. Stages on the continuum typically involve emergency palliative treatment, transitional rehabilitation, and permanent housing with support services.

At the same time, there seems to be a shift in service delivery towards a more individual oriented approach aiming at reintegration and active participation of homeless individuals. There appears, however, to be a potential conflict between the ideas of partnership and consensus among professional service providers, on the one hand, and the idea of individually targeted and tailored services, on the other. In the 'staircase system', developed in some Western European countries, it is demonstrated that shared problem definitions and integrated courses of action (housing and support) may be, but are not always, profitable from the perspective of homeless individuals. Neither do operational responses work effectively yet in accordance with the empowerment and reintegration philosophy embraced in national and international policy declarations (FEANTSA, 1999).

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B. Proposals for action

"The necessary long-term response to homelessness and poverty is both apparent and complex. We need to provide more decent opportunities for work, job training that leads somewhere, necessary social services, better education, and affordable housing — and do all of this as components of comprehensive community planning and economic development. Admittedly, achieving this will not be easy, nor will it be done painlessly or in short order. While we may lack all the resources to solve the problem right away, we know to build upon what has been learned"

(USA, 1994: 84).

This report has addressed homelessness and strategies to combat homelessness in as global a sense as has been possible. It has described general trends in homelessness levels and policy approaches by referring to national developments and experiences. Inevitably, Europe and North America have been extensively referred to, largely because of the comparatively plentiful information flowing from them. In contrast, developing countries are represented more sparingly as there is little literature. Many simply do not recognise homelessness and, therefore, have no policy on homelessness!

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1. Better data

If the homelessness problem is to be addressed, it is vital to know its scale and nature. It is also necessary to know the characteristics and size of various categories of homeless people so that interventions can be effectively targeted. Gender- and age-disaggregated data are of particular importance (United Nations, 1995b). Data problems have been a recurrent issue in this report, owing to differing definitions and undeveloped reporting mechanisms. Credible data for many countries is lacking and even where data do exist, comparison over time and between nations is difficult.

So important is enumeration, and the recognition of individuals brought about through their registration, that Mahila Milan in Mumbai has recently completed a second enumeration of pavement dwellers. Through the enumeration process, the municipality in Mumbai has recognised pavement dwellers as eligible for rehabilitation along with slum dwellers. Before, they were completely invisible in policy. [83] Routine collection of data on homeless people and their inclusion in censuses are thus required.

In developing countries, data are poor and they suffer from undercounting effects of the service-statistics-paradox. [84] However, it is likely that homelessness has increased through the last decade owing to the breakdown of traditional family support systems, continued urbanisation, the effects of structural adjustment programmes, civil wars, and disasters.

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2. Prevention

A better understanding of the factors that lead to homelessness is needed, especially as these differ regionally and between households undergoing different sets of pressures. Only then can the number of people affected be reduced. This is likely to become more serious as the number of countries being affected by, and acknowledging the presence of homelessness grows.

It is vital that international and national action focuses on the reducing the incidence of circumstance that lead to homelessness, especially to children's leaving home. These must focus on poverty alleviation and improving the social environment in which families live. One element in this is to alert the vulnerable parts of the community to the problems and abuses that homeless people and street children face so that they avoid the circumstances that would lead to their youngsters leaving home. The issue of unequal property inheritance rights in many countries also requires urgent attention, to ensure a reduction in the number of women and girls loosing their homes upon the death of their husbands or fathers. Unless these issues are addressed quickly, it is likely that countries without a homeless population will develop one over the next decade.

When governments become more decentralised, it is important that central governments ensure that decisions made at the local level do not result in evictions unless suitable re-housing is in place. There should be better publicity of the international instruments on forced eviction so that potential evictees and their representatives can defend their rights effectively. The documentation efforts of international NGOs — such as the Habitat International Coalition — should continue to put pressure on culpable agencies. Appropriate (and as long as possible) notice should be given in cases where evictions have to be carried out.

In the countries of Eastern and Central Europe, it is important to solve the problem of the efficiency of the foreclosure process. On the one hand it is clear that without the threat of foreclosure and eviction the payment expectation of the population will remain low. On the other hand, however, without the introduction of carefully designed social safety net systems, the application of very hard eviction procedures will probably lead to unacceptably high levels of evictions. The evictees would then be thrown on state assistance for homeless shelters for the parents, state orphanage for the children and the indirect costs arising from poor educational achievement, etc. These are likely to amount to much higher sums than keeping the households in their homes. Eastern and Central European countries need help from Western Europe to establish efficiently functioning housing markets. They also need assistance in establishing reliable and integrated systems of prevention, services for homeless people and real chances for reintegration (FEANTSA, 1999).

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3. Outreach

Outreach to homeless people and street children should be grounded in the culture of the streets. Education and training that start from the client's situation and experience are vital to enhance life chances (Leite and Esteves, 1991). In the same way, health care services, especially those of a preventative nature, must be inclusive and relevant to street life (Bond, 1992). This is often not the case and homeless people are denied basic care because it is ill adapted to their circumstances. It is essential to recognise the short time horizons that follow from street life and to gear the message away from long-term welfare towards day to day survival.

Activities for homeless people and street children should be built around their needs rather than the negative and traditional perspective of mainstream people. Street facilitators should build rapport and mutual trust, and maintain a respectful attitude toward the needs expressed by the homeless adult or street child so that each can participate in defining the programme's actions.

There is a great need to modify the training of professionals dealing with vulnerable people, especially those already homeless. As de Oliveira and others (1992: 175) argue, *"prevailing stereotypes, negative labelling and blaming the victim are part of the problem"*. Homeless people, particularly street children, should be seen as unutilised but potential assets rather than burdens to society. It is important for professionals to assist them to fulfil their aspirations rather than simply dealing with them as if their future, like their present, is on the street. As Gray and Bernstein (1994) point out, involvement of trainee social workers with street people stimulates their thinking, especially on how to empower homeless people without getting in their way. Social workers should direct their efforts to improving the autonomy and self-direction of homeless people rather than regarding their work as a social safety net within an unacceptable *status quo*. Autonomy can be increased by reducing the burden of bureaucracy over their livelihoods (e.g., trading licences), changing public opinion away from the 'blot on the landscape' mindset, and improving access to non-market housing.

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4. Emergency shelters and survival strategies

Shelters are the most basic form of accommodation and assistance provided for homeless people. They are the knee-jerk reaction to the situation of people lacking shelter. They provide a valuable survival function in the short term and a locus for outreach and other services aimed at reintegrating the homeless person back into mainstream society. High-income industrial countries have had them for many years, countries with economies in transition are now providing them, and a few developing countries also have them, notably India. It may be inevitable that shelters will be the first major response to the issues faced by homeless people but they must not be the main or only response. It is vital that efforts are made to ease the paths of homeless people into a sustainable lifestyle anchored in social relationships and a supportive network of welfare services whether provided by the family structure or formal agencies.

Health services are required both in preventive services (immunisations, iodisation of salt, family planning and safe sex) and in curative services (especially against tuberculosis and HIV/AIDS) (Ochola and others, 1999). For street children and young people, there is a need to provide basic information about nutrition and hygiene that are routinely passed on in family life.

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5. Permanent housing: Improved affordability

There is an undoubted need for bridging the gap between how much a poor household or individual can afford to spend on housing and how much minimum housing costs. In many high-income industrial countries, unmet priority needs for assistance are frequent and often involve single people and families with children. A stream of people living in poverty who are precariously housed feeds the cohort of homeless persons on the streets and in the shelters. Long-term efforts to reduce and prevent homelessness must include measures that effectively reduce the probability of becoming homeless in the first place (USA, 1994).

This may involve reducing the standard of the minimum dwelling, or reducing its cost, [85] or increasing the ability of poor people to pay, or all of these. It is important, however, that the mechanisms used for this do not reduce the efficiency of the housing supply system. In the past, rent control was tried in many countries and it has almost universally proved damaging to housing supply (Malpezzi and Ball, 1991). Subsidies have also been applied with a broad brush and have proved to be too expensive for general application over a long period, except in a few fortunate places such as Singapore and some of the Nordic countries (at least for a couple of decades). They have led to rationing through inadequate supply, non-progressive income redistribution through poor targeting, and distortions in housing markets through reducing the value of housing goods below the supply price. However well targeted subsidies are, they tend to be applied to the dwelling rather than to the household or person in poverty.

Thus, improving the ability of poor people to afford housing is probably both more effective and less risky than applying subsidies. Housing allowances that reduce as incomes rise, and disappear altogether at fairly low but manageable incomes, may be the most effective method of ensuring that more of the very poorest people in society are housed. These may be issued as handouts, through social security systems, or as negative income tax. However, their distribution to people employed in the informal sector, or in self-employment, may be extremely difficult. It may be possible to work through groups such as rag pickers' organisations or rickshaw pullers' unions. Alternatively, NGOs and non-profit-making organisations such as churches may be useful agents.

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6. Integrated services and better co-ordination

There is a need for a holistic approach towards homelessness. At one level, it is important to feed and care for people who have nowhere to call home. They need to be kept alive in cold climates, provided with food, clothing, medication and care. At the same time, needle exchange, condoms and counselling may be able to reduce the death rate from hepatitis, HIV/AIDS, alcohol and drug abuse. This 'fire-fighting' function is important, saves lives, and can lead to reintegration if well done.

However, it is not an answer to the systemic causes of homelessness and is unlikely to lead homeless people back into mainstream society. For that, homelessness strategies are needed that are part of a comprehensive palette of policies dealing with reducing unemployment and social exclusion, alleviating poverty, ensuring adequate wages, housing the poor, health and disease awareness, and the reduction of substance abuse. While remembering the lessons from recent scholarship (chapter VII above) that chipping away at the problem may be more effective than a broad master plan approach, co-ordination and cross-sectoral collaboration are important.

As Epstein (1996) points out, it is quite possible for one arm of the state to be promoting children's rights while another (probably the education ministry) ignores the needs of the poorest echelons by making schools inaccessible and/or irrelevant to the street children. Similarly, one ministry might be trying to place homeless people in supportive housing while another is making it impossible for private landlords to provide low cost tenancies (e.g., through rent control). Thus, a cross-sectoral approach is essential if the structural elements in the causes of homelessness are to be removed.

There is an increasing role for voluntary or non-profit organisations in promoting problem solving through co-operation across professional fields, public, civil and private spheres of society. Under the new modes of public policy, it is of particular importance that financial and other resources are allocated to these organisations proportionate to their given tasks and responsibilities (FEANTSA, 1999).

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7. Inclusiveness

Fighting discrimination is a necessary part of preventing homelessness in many countries. In the United States of America, the 'Federal Fair Housing Act' prohibits discrimination in access to housing on the basis of race, colour, religion, sex, familial status, national origin and handicap. The 'Americans with Disabilities Act' and the 'Rehabilitation Act' of 1973 prohibit discrimination based on real or perceived disabilities (which include mental impairment, such as mental illness and mental retardation, as disabilities). People who have a history of alcohol and drug abuse from discrimination as long as they do not currently use illegal substances are also protected from discrimination in housing (USA, 1994). However, discrimination still occurs, especially in 'not-in-my-back-yard' reactions to group housing for people who are mentally ill, mentally retarded, or former substance abusers. The Federal Government in the United States of America is committed to challenging cities that refuse to permit group homes, or that selectively enforce zoning restrictions to collude with residents in excluding such homes (USA, 1994).

The message of inclusiveness is reinforced by Bibars (1998), in the context of developing countries. He asserts that the street — the children's main habitat — should be the main setting for assistance to street children. It is important not to institutionalise or alienate the homeless child or adult from his/her environment. That implies that services should be offered near the areas where they live. In addition, people with stigmatised illnesses or health conditions may need special treatment in the housing market.

"Housing is critical for people infected with tuberculosis (TB), HIV/AIDS, or both. ... In addition, some persons infected with HIV may face an increased and unnecessary risk of TB infection as a result of unsafe living conditions. ... High priority must be given to the prevention and control of TB among homeless people by detection, evaluation, and follow-up services to those homeless people with current symptoms of active TB" (USA, 1994:81).

Ensuring that they are adequately housed is, thus, a fundamental component in the continuum of care for this population. Governments that can afford to would do well to emulate the United States of America with the use of short-term rental payments when people with HIV/AIDS and/or tuberculoses are threatened with homelessness. This also reduces their risk of exposure to diseases implied in using emergency communal facilities. This is also a group for whom subsidised rent programmes are suitable (thorough tenant-based vouchers), and for whom supportive services that focus on preventing homelessness should be instituted (USA, 1994).

The deserving/undeserving dichotomy in homelessness policies should be

rejected. It should be recognised that all homelessness is a breach of human rights and should be addressed with equal vigour. There is also a need to recognise the problems migrants face in many societies, as they are over-represented among homeless people and street children. Thus, inclusive housing strategies with migrants in mind could radically affect the scale of the homeless population.

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8. Employment, enterprise and community development

For an increasing number of people in the world, obtaining and maintaining work is the major issue in establishing and sustaining life. Without reasonably paid employment or businesses, they cannot enjoy the necessities of food, shelter, services and all other components of even the simplest lifestyle.

In efforts to generate work, it is important that tasks are seen to be useful and not just part of make-work schemes. The ecological surveys conducted in rural Oregon and street cleaning in downtown areas in United States of America and Canada are cases in point. There also seems to be a great deal to gain in working to improve their own and other homeless people's lot. Thus, programmes that provide work through renovating housing for use as supportive shelter seems to address two problems at the same time. As self-esteem can be a problem for homeless people, it is essential that they do not feel patronised by the agencies that are trying to help them.

Where groups of homeless people have already developed niche occupations, it would be helpful to recognise their contribution and subject them to the assistance available to other small-scale enterprises. Typical occupations are garbage collection and recycling, car cleaning and car parking security.

Self-help can also be effective in providing a service at an economical price and building a sense of belonging. Examples where housing is restored or provided as part of work training and experience serve to demonstrate the value of this approach. Many shelters and short-stay accommodations use homeless people in caretaker roles.

Evidence has shown that formerly homeless people can play a role with assistance for current homeless people. There are many examples where counselling and help to kick drug and drinking habits have been effectively provided by the formerly addicted. This can be extended to skills training, both as economic skills for earning a living and also life-skills for dealing with agencies and bureaucracy, coping with the work environment, and remaking relationships in a stable home environment.

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C. Directions for further research

The lack of relevant and reliable data on homelessness indicates low political priority and hampers systematic learning from the experiences of different approaches to combat homelessness. In order to obtain a comprehensive and up-to-date overview on homelessness, there is a need for concerted primary research to be carried out on a regular basis. Research networks such as the European Observatory on Homelessness, set up by FEANTSA in 1991, may play a crucial role in this endeavour. The compilation of comprehensive data at national and regional levels would require that agreement be reached on a common definition or a bundle of related definitions for homelessness (FEANTSA, 1999). To this end, it is proposed that UNCHS (Habitat) should consult widely on the appropriateness of definitions of homelessness used in this report to the different regions and countries of the world. The initiation of the United Nations Housing Rights Programme — to be implemented jointly by UNCHS (Habitat) and the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights — can contribute to an increased focus on homelessness and may strengthen the search for improved policies and measures.

It is especially important to gather data on homelessness in transitional and developing countries. FEANTSA are beginning to co-ordinate the former within Eastern and Central Europe. However, little is known about the causes, nature and extent of homelessness, especially among adults, in developing countries. Without this research, solutions are unlikely to be forthcoming or, where they are, are unlikely to be effective.

In high-income industrial countries, where there tends to be a well-developed system of social security in place, resources devoted to addressing homelessness may be better spent if more understanding can be gained. Because of the complexity involved, responses to individuals' bundles of needs may not necessarily form effective methods of intervention. Research could well be applied to the effectiveness of tailoring multi-sectoral interventions to individuals rather than to categories of homeless people.

In high-income industrial countries, research on street children's families and on what keeps children at home in difficult circumstances would be very useful. In addition, there is a great need to understand the problems faced by the growing cohorts of orphans following genocides, in places like Rwanda, and because of HIV /AIDS. This is particularly urgent where there is a high incidence of HIV among them as it adds the 'not-in-my-back-yard' dimension to possible solutions.

Annex 1. A selection of important international instruments on homelessness and the right to housing

The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966)

The Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights 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 [sic] *and his* [sic] *family, including adequate food, clothing and housing, and to the continuous improvement of living conditions. The States Parties will take appropriate steps to ensure the realization of this right, recognizing to this effect the essential importance of international co-operation based on free consent"* (United Nations, 1966a: article 11(1)).

The Vancouver Declaration on Human Settlements (1976)

The Vancouver Declaration on Human Settlements states that:

"The highest priority should be placed on the rehabilitation of expelled and homeless people who have been displaced by natural or man-made catastrophes, and especially by the act of foreign aggression. In the latter case, all countries have the duty to fully co-operate in order to guarantee that the parties involved allow the return of displaced persons to their homes and to give them the right to possess and enjoy their properties and belongings without interference" (chapter II (General Principles), paragraph 15).

The Global Strategy for Shelter to the Year 2000 (1988)

The GSS asserts that:

"the right to adequate housing is universally recognized by the community of nations...All nations without exception, have some form of obligation in the shelter sector, as exemplified by their creation of ministries or housing agencies, by their allocation of funds to the housing sector, and by their policies, programmes and projects....All citizens of all States, poor as they may be, have a right to expect their Governments to be concerned about their shelter needs, and to accept a fundamental obligation to protect and improve houses and neighbourhoods, rather than damage or destroy them" (UNCHS, 1990).

Annex 1. A selection of important international instruments on homelessness and the right to housing

World Declaration on the Survival, Protection and Development of Children (1990)

The Children's Summit convened in New York in 1990 noted that:

"Each day, millions of children suffer from the scourges of poverty and economic crisis - from hunger and homelessness, from epidemics and illiteracy, from degradation of the environment. They suffer from the grave effects of the problems of external indebtedness and also from the lack of sustained and sustainable growth in many developing countries, particularly the least developed ones" (paragraph 5).

In Chapter 7 of Agenda 21, adopted by the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, there are clauses referring to aspects of the human right to adequate housing and homelessness (UNCED, 1992: chapter 7). These include that —

"Access to safe and healthy shelter is essential to a person's physical, psychological, social and economic well-being and should be a fundamental part of national and international action. The right to adequate housing as a basic human right is enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. Despite this, it is estimated that at the present time, at least 1 billion people do not have access to safe and healthy shelter and that if appropriate action is not taken, this number will increase dramatically by the end of the century and beyond" (paragraph 6).

In addition, it stresses that —

"As a first step towards the goal of providing adequate shelter for all, all countries should take immediate measures to provide shelter to their homeless poor" (paragraph 9.a).

Moreover, it states that —

"....People should be protected by law against unfair eviction from their homes or land" (paragraph 9.b).

It also calls upon governments to accelerating efforts to reduce urban poverty through *inter alia* —

(ii) Providing specific assistance to the poorest of the urban poor through, inter alia, the creation of social infrastructure in order to reduce hunger and homelessness, and the provision of adequate community services" (paragraph 16.b.ii).

The Programme of Action of the World Summit on Social Development identifies homelessness as one of the manifestations of poverty (United Nations, 1995b: paragraph 19).

Thus, paragraph 29 states —

There is a need to periodically monitor, assess and share information on the performance of poverty eradication plans, evaluate policies to combat poverty, and promote an understanding and awareness of poverty and its causes and consequences. This could be done, by Governments, inter alia, through:

(a) Developing, updating and disseminating specific and agreed gender-disaggregated indicators of poverty and vulnerability, including income, wealth, nutrition, physical and mental health, education, literacy, family conditions, unemployment, social exclusion and isolation, homelessness, landlessness and other factors, as well as indicators of the national and international causes underlying poverty; for this purpose, gathering comprehensive and comparable data, disaggregated by ethnicity, gender, disability, family status, language groupings, regions and economic and social sectors; ...

Paragraph 34.h goes on to stress that urban poverty should be addressed by —

"Ensuring that special measures are taken to protect the displaced, the homeless, street children, unaccompanied minors and children in special and difficult circumstances, orphans, adolescents and single mothers, people with disabilities, and older persons, and to ensure that they are integrated into their communities."

The Habitat Agenda addresses homelessness, the right to adequate housing and broader human rights issues extensively throughout the text.

Paragraph 11 states —

"More people than ever are living in absolute poverty and without adequate shelter. Inadequate shelter and homelessness are growing plights in many countries, threatening standards of health, security and even life itself. Everyone has the right to an adequate standard of living for themselves and their families, including adequate food, clothing, housing, water, sanitation, and to the continuous improvement of living conditions."

Paragraph 26 proclaims, *inter alia*:

"We reaffirm that all human rights — civil, cultural, economic, political and social — are universal, indivisible, interdependent and interrelated. We subscribe to the principles and goals set out below to guide us in our actions."

Paragraph 38 stress that —

"In implementing these commitments, special attention should be given to the circumstances and needs of people living in poverty, people who are homeless, women, older people, indigenous people, refugees, displaced persons, persons with disabilities and those belonging to vulnerable and disadvantaged groups. Special consideration should also be given to the needs of migrants. Furthermore, special attention should be given to the specific needs and circumstances of children, particularly street children."

Paragraph 39 asserts —

"We reaffirm our commitment to the full and progressive realization of the right to adequate housing, as provided for in international instruments. In this context, we recognize an obligation by Governments to enable people to obtain shelter and to protect and improve dwellings and neighbourhoods. We commit ourselves to the goal of improving living and working conditions on an equitable and sustainable basis, so that everyone will have adequate shelter that is healthy, safe, secure, accessible and affordable and that includes basic services, facilities and amenities, and will enjoy freedom from discrimination in housing and legal security of tenure. We shall implement and promote this objective in a manner fully consistent with human rights standards."

Paragraph 40 asserts, *inter alia*: a commitment to —

"promoting the upgrading of existing housing stock through rehabilitation and maintenance and the adequate supply of basic services, facilities and amenities".

This is joined by a commitment to:

"Promoting shelter and supporting basic services and facilities for education and health for homeless people, displaced persons, indigenous people, women and children who are survivors of family violence, persons with disabilities, older persons, victims of natural and man-made disasters and people belonging to vulnerable and disadvantaged groups, including temporary shelter and basic services for refugees."

In paragraph 60, it is asserted that —

"Adequate shelter means more than a roof over one's head. It also means adequate privacy; adequate space; physical accessibility; adequate security; security of tenure; structural stability and durability; adequate lighting, heating and ventilation; adequate basic infrastructure, such as water supply, sanitation and waste management facilities; suitable environmental quality and health-related factors; and adequate and accessible location with regard to work and basic facilities: all of which should available at an affordable cost. Adequacy should be determined together with the people concerned, bearing in mind the prospect for gradual development. Adequacy often varies from country to country, since it depends on specific cultural, social, environmental and economic factors. Gender specific and age-specific factors, such as the exposure of children and women to toxic substances, should be considered in this context."

Paragraph 61.c reiterates that governments should take appropriate action to promote, protect and ensure the full and progressive realisation of the right to adequate housing through adopting policies aimed at making housing habitable, affordable and accessible, including for those who are unable to secure adequate housing through their own means, by, *inter alia*: *"promoting supporting services for homeless people and other vulnerable groups"*.

Paragraph 204 notes that—

"The full and effective implementation of the Habitat Agenda ... will require the mobilization of additional financial resources from various sources at the national and international levels and more effective development cooperation in order to promote assistance for shelter and human settlements activities. This will require, inter alia: ...

(y) Promoting assistance for activities in the field of shelter and human settlements development in favour of people living in poverty, particularly women, and vulnerable groups, such as refugees, internally displaced persons, people with disabilities, street children, migrants and the homeless, through specific targeted grants; ..."

Annex 1. A selection of important international instruments on homelessness and the right to housing
Regional instruments

The legal recognition of housing right features in regional systems of human rights law, under the auspices of the Council of Europe, the Organisation of American States and the Organisation for African Unity. Most notably, the revised European Social Charter (1996) includes an independent provision recognising housing rights in its Article 31:

"With a view to ensuring the effective exercise of the right to housing, the parties undertake to take measures designed: (1) to promote access to housing of an adequate standard; (2) to prevent and reduce homelessness with a view to its gradual elimination; (3) to make the price of housing accessible to those without adequate resources".

States that have ratified the new Charter have added further legal responsibilities towards their citizens by explicitly guaranteeing the *effective exercise* of the right to affordable housing of an adequate standard. These states officially recognise that the prevention, reduction and elimination of homelessness are official considerations of paramount importance. As part of the *effective exercise* clause in Article 31, a ' collective complaints procedure' now enables NGOs and other recognised groups to present formal legal complaints to the European Committee of Experts over violations of, or non-compliance with, the norms of the Charter. This is an important step forward (UNCHS, 1999d: paragraph 11).

The United Nations Special Rapporteur on Housing Rights has noted that

"... the fundamental necessity of an adequate place to live in peace, dignity and security is such that a recognition of housing rights must be seen and interpreted, in the most general sense, to imply that a claim or demand can be made upon society for the provision of or access to housing resources should a person be homeless, inadequately housed or generally incapable of acquiring the bundle of entitlements implicitly linked with housing rights" (UNCHS, 1995c).

UNCHS (Habitat) have earlier listed the following possible actions in order to combat, reduce and eradicate homelessness:

A. "Encourage the creation of rights availing homeless individuals, and families to an enforceable right to the provision by public authorities of adequate, self-contained affordable land or housing space, of a public, private or cooperative nature, and which is consistent with human rights standards."

B. "Encourage the creation of administrative capacities to monitor, assist and ensure that the housing rights of chronically ill-housed groups, those with special housing requirements or those with difficulties acquiring adequate housing shall be accorded a measure of priority, in both the housing laws and policies" (UNCHS, 1999d: paragraph 71.b).

Annex 2. What does adequate housing mean?

The Habitat Agenda defines adequate shelter in the following manner:

"Adequate shelter means more than a roof over one's head. It also means adequate privacy; adequate space; physical accessibility; adequate security; security of tenure; structural stability and durability; adequate lighting, heating and ventilation; adequate basic infrastructure, such as water-supply, sanitation and waste-management facilities; suitable environmental quality and health-related factors; and adequate and accessible location with regard to work and basic facilities: all of which should be available at an affordable cost. Adequacy should be determined together with the people concerned, bearing in mind the prospect for gradual development. Adequacy often varies from country to country, since it depends on specific cultural, social, environmental and economic factors. Gender-specific and age-specific factors, such as the exposure of children and women to toxic substances, should be considered in this context" (UNCHS, 1997: paragraph 60).

The United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights have drawn up the following seven principles to elaborate on housing adequacy:

"(a) Legal security of tenure
Tenure takes a variety of forms, including rental (public and private) accommodation, cooperative housing, lease, owner-occupation, emergency housing and informal settlements, including occupation of land or property. Notwithstanding the type of tenure, all persons should possess a degree of security of tenure which guarantees legal protection against forced eviction, harassment and other threats. States parties should consequently take immediate measures aimed at conferring legal security of tenure upon those persons and households currently lacking such protection, in genuine consultation with affected persons and groups;

(b) Availability of services, materials, facilities and infrastructure
An adequate house must contain certain facilities essential for health, security, comfort and nutrition. All beneficiaries of the right to adequate housing should have sustainable access to natural and common resources, potable drinking water, energy for cooking, heating and lighting, sanitation and washing facilities, food storage, refuse disposal, site drainage and emergency services;

(c) Affordable
Personal or household financial costs associated with housing should be at such a level that the attainment and satisfaction of other basic needs are not threatened or compromised, Steps should be taken by States parties to ensure that the percentage of housing-related costs is, in general, commensurate with income levels. States parties should establish housing subsidies for those unable to obtain

affordable housing, as well as forms and levels of housing finance which adequately reflect housing needs. In accordance with the principle of affordability tenants should be protected form unreasonable rent levels or rent increases by appropriate means, In societies where natural materials constitute the chief sources of building materials for housing, steps should be taken by States parties to ensure the availability of such materials;

(d) Habitable
Adequate housing must be habitable, in terms of providing the inhabitants with adequate space and protecting them from cold, damp, heat, rain, wind or other threats to health, structural hazards, and disease vectors, The physical safety of occupants must be guaranteed as well. The Committee encourages States parties to comprehensively apply the "Health Principles of Housing" prepared by the World Health Organization (WHO) which view housing as the environmental factor most frequently associated with disease conditions in epidemiological analyses; i.e. inadequate and deficient housing and living conditions are invariably associated with higher mortality and morbidity rates;

(e) Accessibility
Adequate housing must be accessible to those entitled to it. Disadvantaged groups must be accorded full and sustainable access to adequate housing resources, Thus, such disadvantaged groups as the elderly, children, the physically disabled, the terminally ill, HIV-positive individuals, persons with persistent medical problems, the mentally ill, victims of natural disasters, people living in disaster-prone areas and other groups should be ensured some degree of priority consideration in the housing sphere. Both housing law and policy should take fully into account the special housing needs of these groups. Within many States parties increasing access to land by landless or impoverished segments of the society should constitute a central policy goal, Discernable governmental obligations need to be developed aiming to substantiate the right of all to a secure place to live in peace and dignity, including access to land as an entitlement;

(f) Location
Adequate housing must be in a location which allows access to employment options, health care services, schools, child care centers and other social facilities. This is both true in large cities and in rural areas where the temporal and financial costs of getting to and from places of work can place excessive demands upon the budgets of poor households, Similarly, housing should not be built on polluted sites nor in immediate proximity to pollution sources that threaten the right to health of the inhabitants;

(g) Culturally Adequate
The way housing is constructed, the building materials used and the policies supporting these must appropriately enable the expression of cultural identity and diversity of housing. Activities geared towards development or modernization in the housing sphere should ensure that the cultural dimensions of housing are not

sacrificed and that they should ensure, inter alia, modern technological facilities, as appropriate" (United Nations, 1991b: paragraph 8).