

HOMELESS(LESS) CITY



AN ATLAS OF SPATIAL PRACTICES AND
LIVED EXPERIENCES FROM RESTRICTIONS TO SUPPORT
IN CAPE TOWN

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00. ARCHITECTURE OF HOMELESS HOMES

Which preconditions determine the different dynamics of the homeless City of Cape Town?

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Prof. Viviana d'Auria
2023 - 2024

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We would like to thank all those who supported and contributed to this project. By providing us with close guidance, numerous inspiring ambitions and various insights, several organizations and individuals helped us throughout our research journey and directed this thesis towards its current form. This research would not have been possible without the cooperation and assistance of those various organizations and individuals in Cape Town.

We are specifically thanking following:

African Center for Cities	Andrew Tulloch
Care Cruisers	Danny Diliberto
Jakupa Architects	Danielle Louw
Ladles of Love	Clifford Martinus
MES	Gill Lanham
Ndifuna Ukwazi	Imraan Begg
New Hope SA	Jani Truter
Oasis	Jonty Cogger
Obs Pasta Kitchen	John Philmon
PEP	John Lanham
Rea Thusana Foundation	Karen Cain
Reclaim The City	Karen Hendricks
Souper Troopers	Kashiefa Achmat
Straatwerk	Khalied Jacobs
Streetscapes	Kirsty Westcott
The Big Issue	Leanne Porter
The Haven Night Shelter	Léonore Foobzy
The Hope Exchange	Malcolm McCarthy
The Housing Assembly	Marli du Toit
The Net	Marie Slundt
The Service Dining Rooms	Nick Budlender
U-turn	Phinius Sebatsane
VRCID	Robyn Park-Ross
Youth Solutions Africa	Ross Jacobs
	Shadrick Valayadum
	Stephen Underwood
	Tonio Gantana
	Tracey-Lee Venter
	Wilma Piek
	Yusrah Bardien

In addition, we want to thank all individuals, experiencing or experienced homelessness, with whom we have communicated closely through multiple shelter visits and extensive outreach work. By their willingness of sharing personal perspectives and lived experiences, the thesis acquired important perspectives, that are often neglected.

We would also like to thank our promoter Viviana d'Auria at the International Centre of Urbanism (ICoU). Motivating and enriching conversations were crucial to elevate this thesis.

LEXICON

ACC: African Center for Cities: an interdisciplinary hub at the University of Cape Town with a mandate to conduct meaningful research on how to understand, recast and address pressing urban crises. (African Center for Cities, S.d.).

Care Cruisers: A mobile soup kitchen, founded in 2016, as an initiative to create a bridge between the Homeless & Cape Townians. (Care Cruisers, S.d.).

Ladles of Love: Provides nutritious and wholesome food available to all, supports farmers grow natural wholesome food in an economical and sustainable way, empowers food entrepreneurs to grow businesses that create jobs and adds to the economy of the country. (Ladles of Love, own translation).

MES: A Christian social development organisation that has been changing the heart of the city since 1986 and has been actively working towards providing sustainable solutions to pervasive poverty in the inner cities of Johannesburg, Cape Town, Gqeberha (Port Elizabeth) and Kempton Park. (MES, S.d.).

Ndifuna Ukwazi: An activist organisation and law centre that challenges the reproduction of spatial apartheid in Cape Town and promotes social, economic and racial justice through increased access to land and dignified homes. (Ndifuna Ukwazi, S.d.).

New Hope SA: Exists to find holistic solutions to homelessness. In 2020 New Hope began operating a transitional home that serves as a vital part of the pathway from homelessness to independent living. (New Hope SA, S.d.).

Oasis: a registered non-profit organisation founded in Cape Town in 2000, using sports as a force for good. They believe in sports as a driver of social change. (Oasis, own translation).

Obs Pasta Kitchen: a weekly feeding scheme in Cape Town that offers support, community and a hot meal once a week. They also share lifeskills and healthy ways of dealing with stress with our guests, who are mostly homeless or unemployed. (Obs Pasta Kitchen, own translation).

PEP: People's Environmental Planning: PEP's vision is rooted in the practical and pragmatic. They champion a project-driven approach to catalyse change in informal settlements. Small upgrading projects gather people, foster innovation, and build community. (PEP, own translation).

Rea Thusana Foundation: A non-profit organisation serving people experiencing homelessness in Muizenberg (Cape Town, South Africa). (Rea Thusana Foundation, S.d.).

RTC: Reclaim the City: A social movement of tenants and workers campaigning for affordable housing in well-located areas. They are ordinary people who are forced to take extraordinary steps to live a decent and dignified life. (Reclaim the City, S.d.).

Souper Troopers: Works with and advocates for the city's most marginalised residents – those living on the streets. They operate The Humanity Hub, at which we provide a comprehensive range of services to help homeless people transform their lives. (Souper Troopers, own translation).

Straatwerk: A registered non-profit organisation with a strong evangelistic focus. (Straatwerk, S.d.).

Streetscapes: A Cape Town-based non-profit organisation dedicated to ending homelessness by growing better lives. They provide job opportunities to those looking for a hand up, not a hand out, and work together with those living on the street to transform and rehabilitate their lives. (Streetscapes, own translation).

The Big Issue: A vibrant and energetic organisation, started in 1997 to support homeless, marginalised and unemployed people in Cape Town to earn a living. They produce a monthly magazine which individuals purchase from our offices to sell at traffic lights. (The Big Issue, own translation).

The Haven Night Shelter: makes temporary shelter, rehabilitation opportunities, social welfare services, family reunification services, physical care and support available to adult people living on the streets who are committed to reintegration. (The Haven Night Shelter, S.d.).

The Hope Exchange: Provides the homeless and their clients, the opportunity to wash, clean their clothes, get a meal, get clinic care and social support. (The Hope Exchange, S.d.).

The Housing Assembly: A social movement of people representing over 20 different communities in the Western Cape, South Africa. (The Housing Assembly, S.d.).

The Net: A second fase shelter in Fish Hoek. They provide opportunities for the homeless. (The Net, own translation).

The Service Dining Rooms: Has been preparing and serving hot meals to those in need since 1935. Their mission is to serve the vulnerable and the homeless communities of Cape Town as much as they can, by providing a nutritious meal every day both to those who come to our door as well as off-site beneficiaries. (The Service Dining Rooms, own translation).

U-turn: A thriving non-profit that exists to give homeless people the skills to overcome homelessness. Founded in 1997, they believe in life after homelessness. (U-turn, S.d.).

YSA: Youth Solutions Africa: A registered Non Profit and Public Benefit Organisation. What started out as a small feeding project for street kids and homeless youth and adults, has since grown into a much needed service provider for the City of Cape Town and the Provincial Department of Social development. (YSA, own translation).

ENDNOTE LEXICON

- S.n. S.d. *About ACC*. African Centre for Cities: urbanism from an African perspective, consulted on 2024 April 4. <https://www.africancentreforcities.net/about/acc-at-uct/>
- S.n. S.d. *Our story*. Care Cruisers: Soup Kitchen, consulted on 2024 April 4. <https://www.carecruisers.co.za/about>
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- S.n. S.d. *Changing the heart of the city*. MES: changing the heart of the city, consulted on 2024 April 4. <https://mes.org.za/about-mes/>
- S.n. S.d. *Who we are*. Ndifuna Ukwazi, consulted on 2024 April 4. <https://nu.org.za/who-we-are/>
- S.n. S.d. *About us*. New Hope SA, consulted on 2024 April 4. <https://www.newhopesa.org/#about>
- S.n. S.d. *Welcome to Oasis Place*. Oasis, consulted on 2024 April 4. <https://oasisplace.co.za/>
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- S.n. S.d. *Homelessness is rife, and more often than not it's misunderstood*. The Hope Exchange, consulted on 2024 April 4. <https://thehopeexchange.org/>
- S.n. S.d. *About us*. The Housing Assembly: decent housing for all, consulted on 2024 April 4. <https://housingassembly.wordpress.com/about/>
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- S.n. S.d. *About us*. Youth Solutions Africa, consulted on 2024 April 4. <https://ysafrica.wordpress.com/about-us/>

ABSTRACT

Urban life is increasingly confronted with social and spatial injustices, as a consequence of turbocapitalism and its distorted frameworks impacting urban governance and bureaucracy. By means of the specific case study of Cape Town, a segregated city still carrying deep wounds from the Apartheid regime, this thesis investigates homelessness as one of the most tangible symptoms of surging inequality and urban crisis.

This study examines the city as a constellation of homeless architecture, either facilitating or hostile in nature, and in constant interference and interaction with one another. This lens is used in an inter-scalar way, straddling territorial and micro-architectural scales. A constant imbalance manifests in this struggle over urban territory, and more particularly for urban land justice. The never-ending storyline of forced removals and evictions, lives on in the urban fabric. The built environment, urban legislation and vacant buildings are related to the homeless and anti-homeless architecture, structuring the dwelling culture of people experiencing homelessness within the city. The thesis' objective, therefore, is to uncover the complexity of the homeless city, including the multi-layered urban tissue, the shelter and service system and the body to territory relations of urban residents experiencing homelessness.

The research, rooted in engaged fieldwork that took place in September - November 2023, together with spatial analysis and mapping, is conducted during the 2023-2024 academic year. A variety of homeless organizations, with different backgrounds, focuses, approaches and target groups, were fundamental stakeholders. They facilitated a closer interaction with and within the homeless network. Volunteering, outreach work and comprehensive interviews allowed us to gain insight into the complexity of the subject.

This study is developed as a graphic atlas, revealing how the hidden layers of homeless infrastructure are encapsulated in the socio-spatial anatomy of Cape Town. The atlas depicts both historical and current layers to provide insight into the contemporary city's complex spatial dynamics and the role of homelessness therein.

SOUTH AFRICA
1/500 000 000



WESTERN CAPE
1/20 000 000



CAPE TOWN
1/7 500 000



1/1 000 000



INTRODUCTION

In the context of mounting social and spatial injustice, this thesis attempts to study the homeless dwelling system in Cape Town in 2023-2024, effected by the aftermath of the COVID-19 pandemic and during the strategic preparations for the national elections of 2024.

Homelessness is a global phenomenon, affecting poorer populations around the globe.¹ In South Africa, an estimated 100 000 to 200 000 people are living on the streets.² The number of people living on the streets in South Africa continues to increase.³ Reasons for the increase in homelessness have been attributed to the increase in rates of unemployment in the country⁴ and immigration to Cape Town due to political unrest or unemployment in neighboring countries, as well as other provinces in South Africa.⁵

Before the COVID-19 pandemic in early 2020, the unemployment rate in South Africa was at 29,1%, its highest value in history. During the pandemic, unemployment rose even higher to 35,3%.⁶ The effects of the lockdown are still being felt as the official unemployment rate in South Africa was 32,1% in the fourth quarter of 2023.⁷ In addition to more people ending up on the streets due to the abovementioned events, urban homelessness became much less invisible than it used to be. The support system had to adapt, as did the people experiencing homelessness themselves.

In addition to the exceptionally high unemployment rate, the average sale price for a home in Cape Town is the highest in South Africa and the prices are only increasing. In 2016, Cape Town had the third highest year-on-year property inflation in the world at 16,1%. The fusion of an extremely high unemployment rate and high market prices entails that a significant amount of people struggle to - or can no longer - afford housing, causing them to become homeless.

Furthermore, high rental and property prices have a devastating effect on the supply of affordable housing for all residents, especially the least economically wealthy. There is an oversupply of exclusive housing for the super wealthy while there is not enough housing stock for households at or below the median, leading to a pressing affordable housing crisis.⁸

The issues, just touched upon, are not recent developments in South Africa. They are historically rooted in a society, scarred by colonial history and subsequent Apartheid era. Cape Town has featured a systemic homeless crisis for a long time, with an increasingly pressing impatience of minorities to restore historical injustice.

This thesis's purpose is to uncover the homeless system in Cape Town. Following the initiative of 'A homeless atlas: the architecture of precarious dwelling in Brussels'⁹ and embedded in a broader research project on homelessness and urbanism, an atlas format was chosen in order to stage the inquiry in a visual and spatial manner and explore the different dynamics taking place in the homeless city.

The atlas defines separate urban and social layers, addressing different subjects. The urban space can be perceived as a constellation of homeless architectures, either hostile or facilitating in nature, making these two first important elements to be examined. What framework does the urban built environment set for the visible and invisible layers of homelessness?

Whereas the subject of hostility of architecture will be advanced through a thorough analysis of the urban fabric, its facilitating side will feature additional research on the supporting network offered by a variety of organizations - and this besides an accompanying urban analysis. From grassroots organizations to institutional actors, numerous soup kitchens, shelter organizations, supporting rehabs centers amongst others are taken into consideration.

Besides a constellation of architectures, the city is a lived experience, where there is no real distinction between the urban settings and the urban life, nor between static and dynamic characteristics of the city. People experiencing homelessness are in a way the urban residents who are best suited to inquire into the interpretation of the city as a continuum of spaces. Relatedly, their experience supports interrogation such as: is public space really public? What makes a home a home? This particular perspective will be illustrated by graphic recordings of interviews with people, who are either still experiencing or have experienced homelessness. The conversations generated critical insights into home-making experiences in the City of Cape Town.

Case studies are used to synthesize findings and perspectives emerging from these different layers. Larger open spaces, including a public urban park, a seafront promenade, and an urban hotspot, were selected amongst others as meaningful homeless hotspots. These sites have been mapped on the basis of systematic observations of the use of the space, both by people who may or may not experience homelessness.

To conclude the thesis, scenarios projecting alternative futures are considered on the basis of triggers rooted in the work of grassroots organizations fighting against homelessness. These scenarios are viewed as modest albeit radical starting points for larger conversations.

All chapters are complementary to each other but at the same time can be read separately.

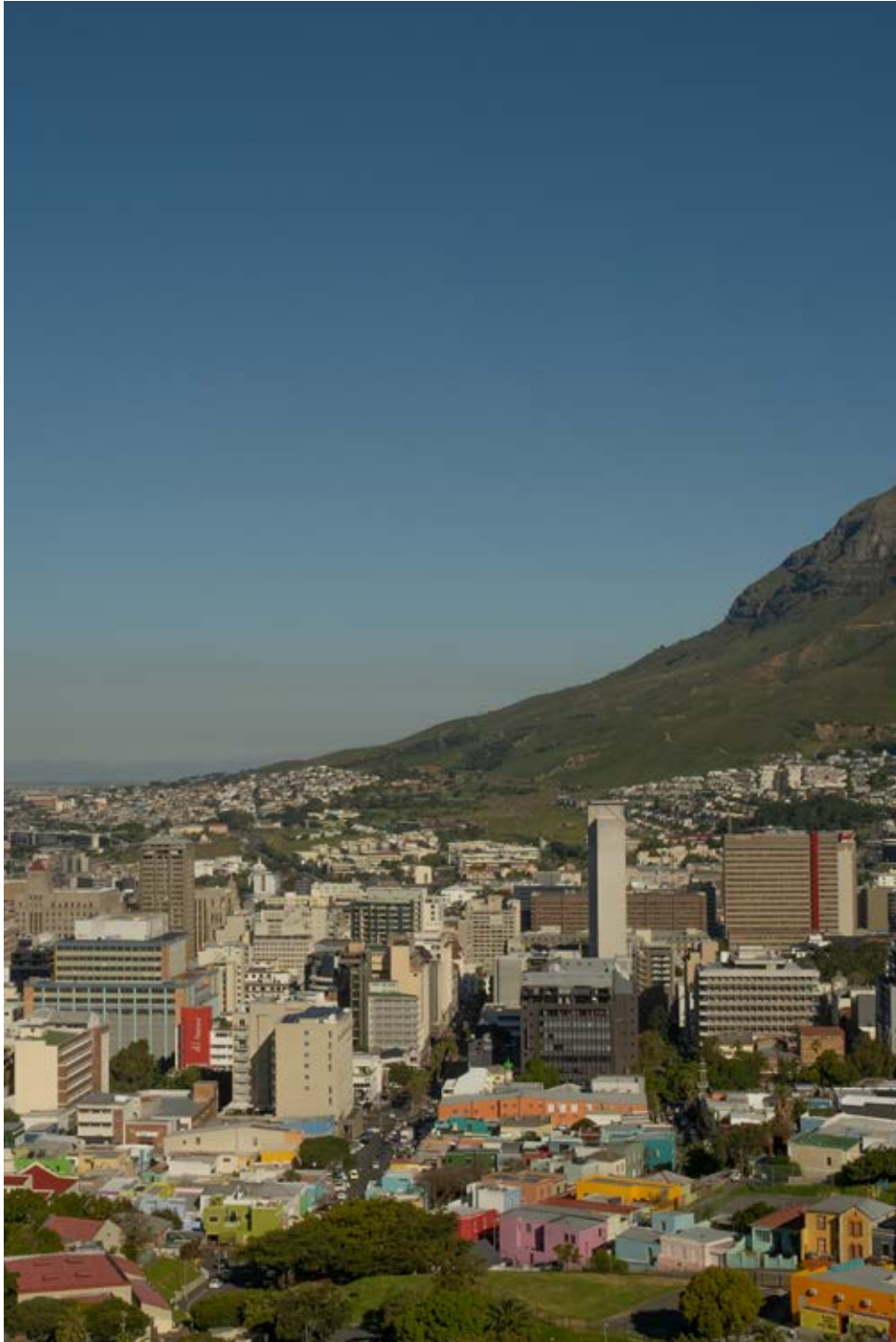


Figure 1 : Overview of the city center of Cape Town

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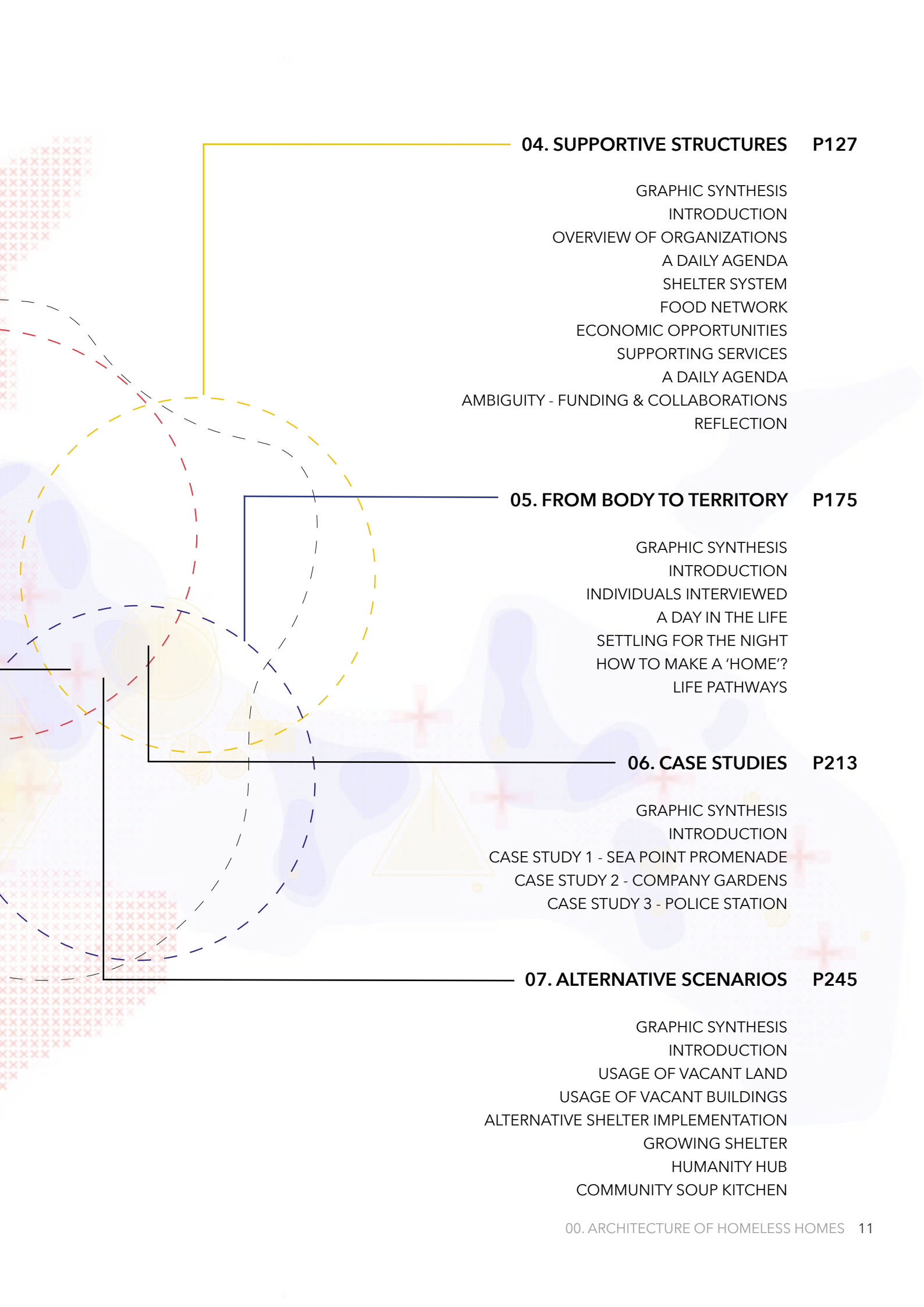
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METHODOLOGY

The research - and the ensuing atlas formulated as part of it - are rooted in an 8 weeklong extensive fieldwork, initiated at the beginning of September 2023. Without experience in the field of homelessness, nor theoretical background on the subject, different homeless organizations of Cape Town were identified as the starting point for this study. At that moment, it seemed the most feasible way to make ourselves more familiar with a subject and an urban environment, we were approaching for the first time. Because of their extensive experience in the field, the grassroot organizations were approached as major experts to gain insight into the urban dimension of homelessness and the related architectural agenda. Initial interviews were set up by email, before we even set foot in Cape Town. Since these first acquaintances often mentioned other organizations, we could benefit from the snowball effect that organically drove our research further. We were also fortunate to have the opportunity to visit a significant proportion of the shelter system including safe spaces, transitional housing, first and second phase shelters. In addition, weekly volunteering at different organizations heralding different approaches and target groups, allowed us to gain insight into the everyday challenges and routines of both the homeless outreach work initiatives and the homeless community itself. Additionally, the research consisted of a systematic analysis of Cape Town's urban fabric.

The interviews, conducted during the field work, range from structured conversations with different actors and CEOs of large NGOs to spontaneous exchanges with people experiencing homelessness, who we encountered on a daily basis. These interviews illustrate the complexity and intricacy of the subject, which urged for an inter-disciplinary approach. The latter seeks to explore homelessness in Cape Town by considering its broader spatial and historical context. By continually breaking down some of the barriers between us and the homeless community, and incrementally learning how to interact with them, the subject could be approached in multiple ways.

While the first weeks of the fieldwork were dominated by formal conversations, our visits to the shelters led to spontaneous interactions with the 'clients', who lived there. Inspired by Phinius Sebatsane, the founder of the Rea Thusana Foundation, who advised to start to become comfortable with the idea of being uncomfortable, the focus of the fieldwork became more engaged and involved increasing interactions with people who were either still experiencing - or had experienced - homelessness. The last few weeks largely consisted of outreach work: speaking with people living on the streets, having lunch with them, etc.¹⁰

The shelter visits consisted of a combination of conversations with the staff (social workers, volunteers, owners of the NGO, etc.), residents and a tour of the accommodation, including photography when allowed. Furthermore, the volunteering work included handing out food and sanitary packages, working at multiple soup kitchens and even helping an activist organization during a multi-day event. A more detailed

explanation of these organizations and their activities will follow.

The analysis of the urban fabric comprised of driving and walking around a selection of different neighborhoods. Through a week-long observation by car, Cape Town's urban fabric and related homeless dynamics could be charted in a complementary way. As this analysis took place fairly early during the fieldwork, concerns about safety motivated the choice to drive rather than to walk.

This research observed different gradients of urban securitization, hostile and facilitating architecture. To move further in the analysis, three distinct locations, scattered around the city, were selected to be further investigated as specific case studies. These cases were analyzed throughout the day to see how the use of urban infrastructure, by different groups of people, changes throughout the day.

The fieldwork in general left an enlightening mark due to the intriguing insights and aspirations from the organizations and the kind and genuine engagement of employees, volunteers, and homeless people. The long-standing impressions left by their stories has deeply impacted the research by embodying a grounded and humane approach to homelessness.

The next page presents an extensive overview of the various fieldwork components.

INTERVIEWS & VISITS

	ACADEMICS/ PROFESSIONALS	NGOs	EVENTS/ EXTRAS	SHELTERS & OCCUPATIONS	SOUP KITCHENS	PERSONAL STORIES	
12/09	KIRSTY WESTCOTT	U-TURN					
13/09	ROSS JACOBS & KHALIED JACOBS						
14/09	DANIELLE LOUW & JONTY COGGER	NDIFUNA UKWAZI		THE HOPE EXCHANGE			
18/09			DISTRICT SIX MUSEUM				
19/09		PEP'S					
20/09			NU	MES: SAFE SPACE, CENTRE OF HOPE		NDIFUNA UKWAZI	U
21/09			NU	YSA		URBAN LAND	
22/09			NU & AFRICAN CENTRE FOR CITIES			JUSTICE	
23/09			NU			GATHERING	
26/09				THE NET SHELTER		RESEARCH BY CAR	R
02/10				OASIS			
04/10			NGI OFFICE				U
05/10	NICK BUDLENDER	NU		THE HOPE EXCHANGE	CARE CRUISERS		
09/10		REA THUSANA FOUNDATION & THE HOUSING ASSEMBLY					
10/10			WORLD HOMELESSNESS DAY			HOPE EXCHANGE (RUN COMPETITION) & MES (TALENT SHOW) & LADLES OF LOVE (DIGNIFYING DINING)	PO
11/10	RESEARCH BY WALKING AROUND		MYTH BUSTING EVENT				
12/10				OASIS		EREC & EREKHA	
13/10					LADLES OF LOVE		
16/10	RESEARCH BY WALKING AROUND						
17/10		STREETSCAPES			SDR	PRIMA & JERROLD	CC PO
18/10		REA THUSANA FOUNDATION		PAINT CITY SAFE SPACE & HAVEN NIGHT: BELVILLE			SDR
19/10						SOLOMYN	
20/10	AMINA KASKAR			THE HOPE EXCHANGE			
23/10				THE HAVEN NIGHT: OLD AGES HOMES & RETREAT	SOUP KITCHEN PJ	PARKER	CC
24/10		VRCID		NEW HOPE SA & THE HAVEN NIGHT: NAPIER STREET & DISTRICT SIX			PO
25/10	RESEARCH BY WALKING AROUND		ALTERNATIVE TRANSITIONAL HOUSING ROSEBANK	SISTERS INCORPORATED STREETSCAPES: KUILSRIVER & PRIDE SHELTER		KEANAN & GERIK	CC PO
26/10	CATHRINE STONE			CISSIE GOOL HOUSE			
27/10	RESEARCH BY WALKING AROUND: OUTREACH + CASE STUDIES					CECYL	
28/10						MONTY	U
30/10							
31/10		STRAATWERK					CC PO
01/11	MALCOLM MCCARTHY						
02/11		BIG ISSUE		CULEMBORG SAFE SPACE 1 & CHESTER HOUSE & OCCUPATION RAINBOW HOUSE			
03/11		SOUPER TROOPERS					
09/11				PRIDE SHELTER			

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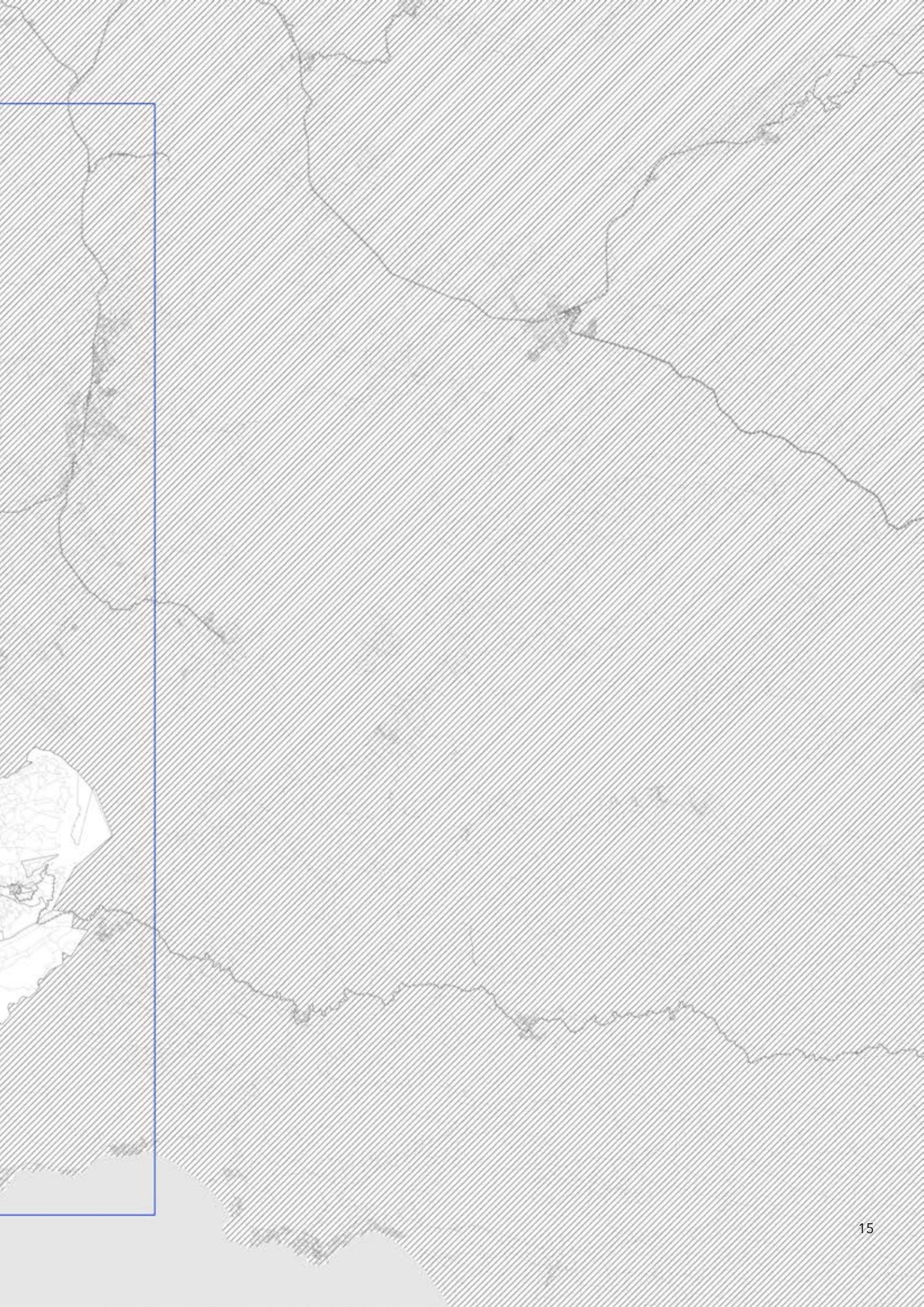


MUNICIPALITY OF CAPE TOWN

1 : 425 000

FOCUS OF FIELDWORK





SCALE

The City of Cape Town covers an immense vast area of 2 446 square kilometers,¹¹ consisting of a mixture of 24 different districts.

To conduct thorough research in 8 week's time, it was obligatory to narrow down the survey area. As the field work progressed, it became clear which boundaries could be indicated, allowing a clear mapping without losing too much important data.

The following pages provide an overview of the principal frames, used as base layers for organizing and displaying the atlas. By staying consistent and referring to identical frames, information on different themes remains relatable. In addition, a graphical strength lies in having the possibility to either highlight specific data or overlay different kinds of information regarding homeless dynamics.

1 : 425 000



FOCUS OF FIELDWORK

1 : 28 250



1 : 28 250 

[1] CASE STUDY 1 - SEA POINT PROMENADE

[2] CASE STUDY 2 - COMPANY GARDENS

[3] CASE STUDY 3 - CAPE TOWN CENTRAL POLICE STATION





DIFFERENTIATING DISTRICTS

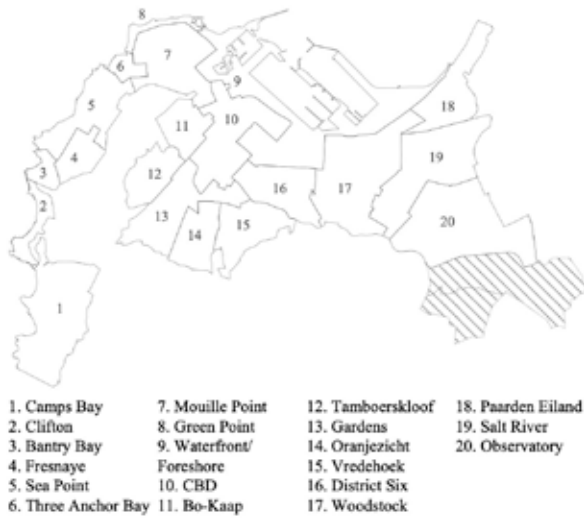
Cape Town is divided into multiple districts, of which 20 are mapped on the next page. Such data concerns population density, average household income and ethnicity. These specific neighborhoods are the same as the ones that will be focused on throughout the thesis. It includes the city center of Cape Town and its surrounding neighborhoods, where not only the economic hub and wealthiest residential areas are located, but also where most of the people experiencing homelessness and homeless support hotspots are found.

The spatial layout of the city exacerbates many of the socio-economic problems that are legacies of Apartheid. The per capita monthly income map, based on the 2011 census¹², shows an uneven distribution of wealth throughout Cape Town. As Oblet describes, while quoting McKenzie and Park, a family's income tends to divide the urban population into different neighborhoods, just as the price of theater tickets divides audiences into different economically and socially different levels. The big city is thus mosaic of small worlds that touch without permeating each other.¹³

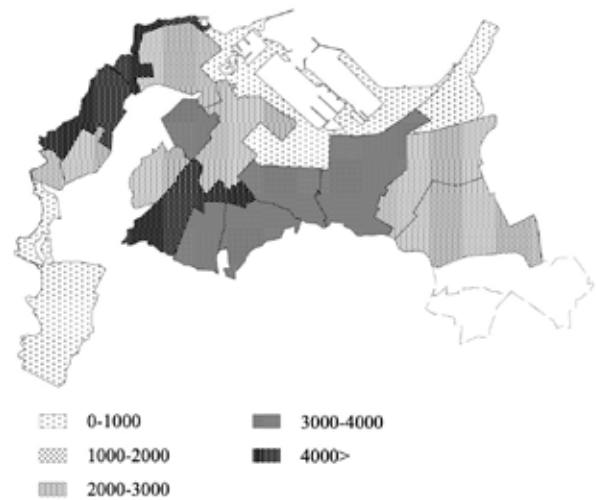
Most of the wealth is contained in the predominantly white, historic spines of the city, consisting of neighborhoods like Sea Point and Camps Bay. The concentration of poverty results in the creation of a set of mutually reinforcing and self-feeding spirals of decline, pushing people out to the periphery of Cape Town.

Typically, the neighborhoods of Cape Town continue to be dominated by one population group.¹⁴ Even if the relationship is less direct than it used to be, social class continues to be intertwined with race. Although the legal basis of racial segregation has been removed by the abolition of Apartheid laws, many tangible effects remain since social stratification is still bound up with race. Deep inequalities are compounded by spatial divides to undermine economic inclusion, social progress, and racial integration.¹⁵

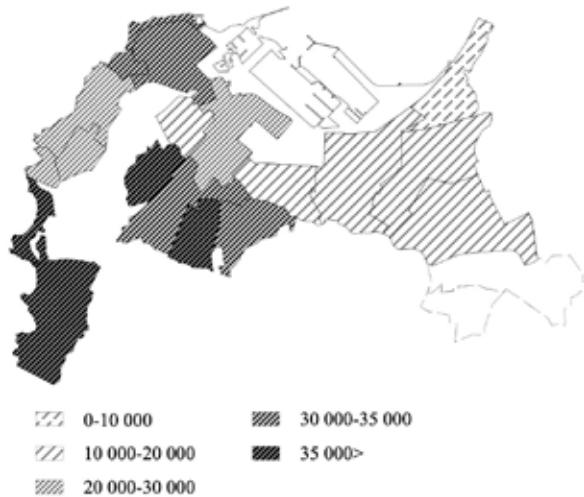
NEIGHBORHOODS [-]



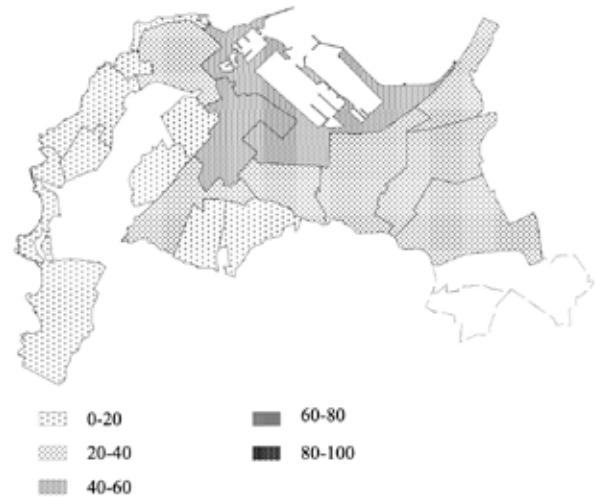
POPULATION DENSITY [#PEOPLE/KM²]



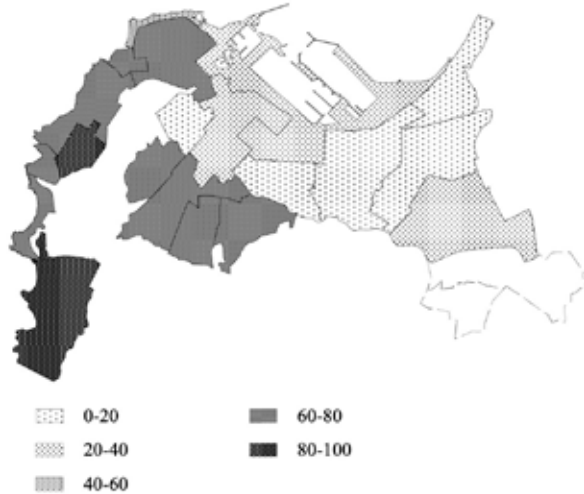
AVERAGE HOUSEHOLD INCOME [ZAR]



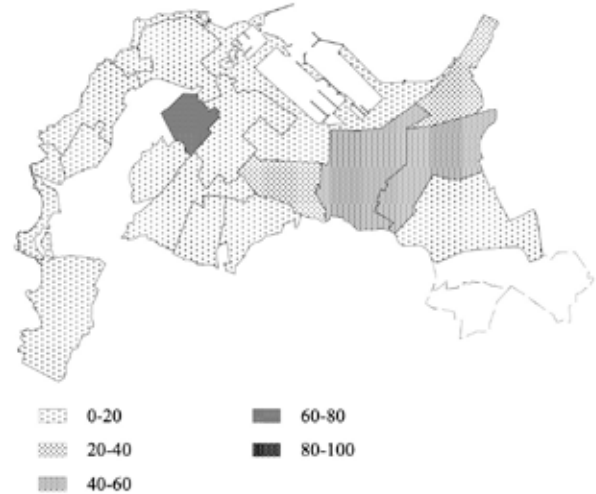
BLACK AFRICAN POPULATION [%]



WHITE POPULATION [%]



COLORED POPULATION [%]



CONTRASTING CITY



Figure 2 : Clifton Beach, the wealthiest neighborhood of Cape Town¹⁶

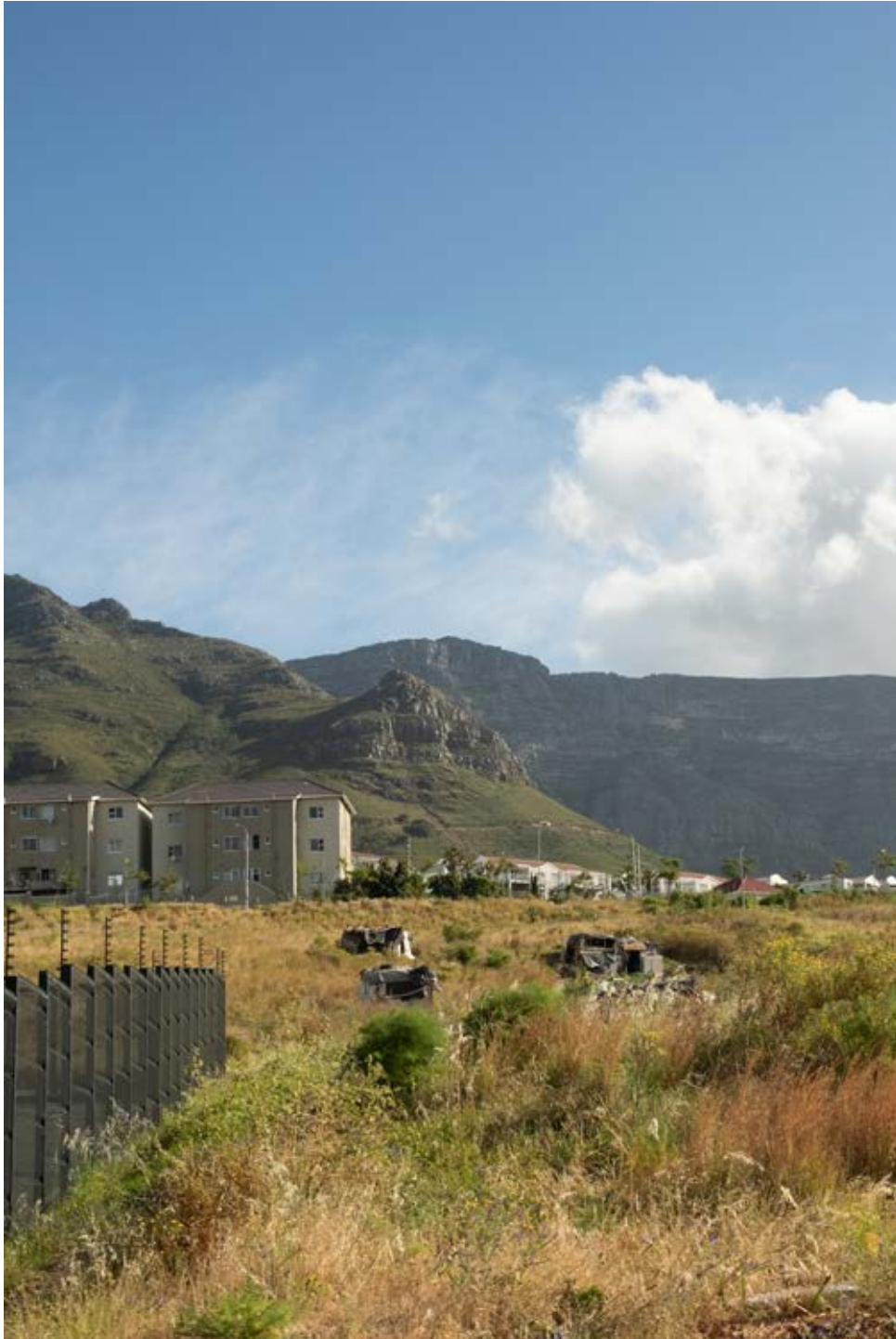


Figure 3 : District Six, vacant fields as scars of the Apartheid era

DEFINING 'THE HOMELESS' AND HOMELESSNESS

"Anyone who really wants to know how many people are homeless has to start by deciding what to count as a home." - Jencks, 1994.¹⁷

It is difficult to discuss homelessness as a worldwide phenomenon since different countries apply different definitions to define home(lessness). Homelessness can take many forms across, even within nations and cultures. It is not always obvious as it may be chronic, episodic, transitional, or hidden in nature.¹⁸ Therefore, the following paragraph will focus on definitions, compiled by. After defining homelessness, the number of homeless people across South Africa and other statistics will be examined to position the City of Cape Town within the global homeless crisis.

In South Africa, information on homelessness is collected as part of the population census. Due to the principles and recommendations for population and housing, established by the UN, two categories of homelessness are outlined. The census distinguishes primary homelessness (or roofless people) and secondary homelessness.¹⁹

The first category includes persons living on the street or without shelter, while secondary homelessness includes:

- persons with no place of usual residence who move frequently between various types of accommodation (including dwellings, shelters or other living quarters)
- persons usually resident in long-term (transitional) shelters or similar arrangements for the homeless

According to the principles and recommendations for population and housing censuses by the United Nations, whether a structure resembling a roof is used or not, the notion is often used by governments and organizations to determine whether a person is homeless or not. In South Africa, as in other parts of the world where informal urban settlements are a growing reality, a distinction is often made between street homelessness or street-based persons, and people living in informal housing, with a roof over their heads.²⁰

These divisions all seem logical and effective when focusing on a specific moment in time. However, it is often challenging to categorize a person consistently over an extended period of time. In 'The Homeless', Jencks makes a distinction between street and shelter homeless, comparable to what the Republic of South Africa respectively defined as primary and secondary homelessness. Jencks implicitly points out the mobile dwelling culture of homeless groups, forced to continuously navigate different opportunities.²¹

The results of the census show that there were 55 719 homeless persons recorded in 2022 in South Africa.²² According to a South African study, conducted in 2010, an estimated 100 000 to 200 000 people are living on the streets.²³ These figures are heavily out of sync, giving immediate reason to talk nuanced about and be cautious with numerical data regarding homelessness. Multiple organizations addressed during the field survey, indicated that they estimated the number of homeless people in Cape Town to be at least 14 000. Furthermore, the census claims the majority of the homeless community is roofless, compared to those in shelter. It also shows that males are predominantly homeless compared to women,²⁴ although this statement should be treated with caution since it has frequently been contradicted in the interviews conducted.

A profiling study, conducted by the City of Cape Town, found that 60.6% of the street homeless are colored and 24.9% were black, whilst 12.9% are white. Whilst these statistics are not far away from the general demographics in Cape Town, they do reflect an overrepresentation of colored individuals.

Chronic homelessness is another frequently used expression. Hopkins describes it as *"people who have experienced homelessness consistently for at least a year - or repeatedly over several years."*²⁵

Cape Town has a very high level of chronic homelessness: 50% compared to 5% - 25% in other countries. The longer someone remains on the streets, the more expensive and difficult it becomes to help them leave the streets permanently.²⁶

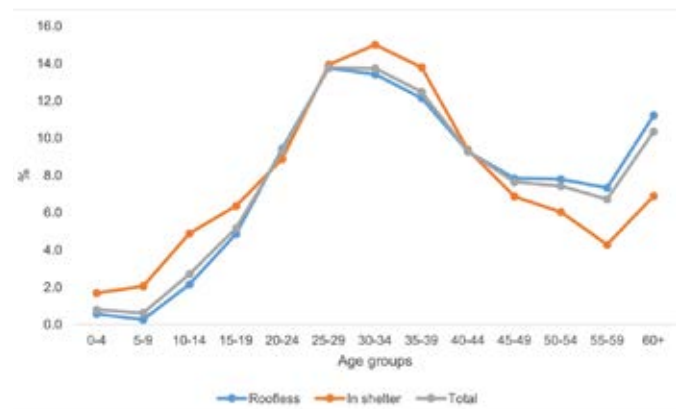


Figure 4 : Statistics on amount of people, experiencing homelessness, being roofless or staying in shelter

DURING THE PANDEMIC

As the research was conducted in 2023, the consequences of the global COVID-19 pandemic were still pervasively felt. Just before the health crisis escalated in early 2020, the unemployment rate in South Africa was at its highest in history at 29,1%. During the pandemic, this percentage increased to 35,3%,²⁷ which led to more people living on the streets. Not only did the increasing unemployment rate resonate with the rising homeless figures, but also as people were forced to stay home, issues such as domestic abuse and addictions often worsened, forcing people into the streets.

Apart from the increasing number of people living on the streets, the pandemic also created conditions that made street homelessness more acutely visible. When others stayed at home and practiced physical distancing, homeless individuals had no choice but to remain on the streets, where their presence was unmistakably visible to all.²⁸

According to de Beer and Vally, the context of the COVID-19 pandemic created contrasting sentiments: some resorted to force and looked for ways to rid the streets and 'their' neighborhoods of anyone who seemed dangerous, while others were moved to kindness and generosity and tried to find ways to offer support to homeless persons. The lockdown restrictions potentially made homeless persons more isolated and disconnected than ever before. Léonore Foobzy, one of the founders of Carecruisers, a mobile Soup kitchen in Cape Town, confirms the way COVID-19 drove attention to homeless people in a positive way. It raised awareness, resulting in an increase in the number of volunteers.²⁹

Despite the fact that there was more interest from local neighbourhoods, the support mechanisms couldn't operate at full capacity because of strict regulations on social distancing.

Although COVID-19 brought many fault lines to the surface in the way society engages street homelessness, it also offered opportunities for new and innovative responses. In some cities, remarkable interventions enabled safe accommodation and comprehensive support to be provided to many homeless persons. In some cities and provinces, new initiatives to craft policies and strategies to address homelessness or to ensure implementation of an existing policy, received much attention.³⁰

In Cape Town, after first devising a collaborative plan between the municipal authorities and the non-profit sector addressing homelessness, the former opted to discontinue this joint initiative. Instead, it pursued the relocation of homeless individuals from various parts of the city to a centralized location in Strandfontein, situated 32 kilometers away from Cape Town. This move aimed to provide temporary shelter for up to 2000 people.³¹

As de Beer and Vally note, this decision generated great opposition, not only from homeless residents in Strandfontein who challenged the social and health conditions and the involuntary nature of their relocation there, but also from non-

profit organisations and human rights activists, questioning the rationale for the city's decision, and the way in which it dealt with homelessness, primarily as a security issue rather than as a social or health concern.³²

The decision to establish encampments for homeless individuals, predominantly comprising black and coloured populations, touched a deep nerve among many South Africans, as Cape Town has a contested history of the establishment of transit camps, forced displacements, and land dispossession.³³

Eventually, the Strandfontein site was shuttered amid a series of legal proceedings, necessitating the identification of alternative arrangements for its former occupants. A noteworthy development ensued as the City of Cape Town instituted a pre-participation process aimed at soliciting recommendations for a comprehensive policy and strategy addressing street homelessness within the municipality.³⁴ *"This strategy became known as the first of a series of caring and daring conversations 'to advance and deepen who we are as a people, as a country and as a democracy', known as the Inkathalo Conversations."*³⁵

After the unsuccessful relocation to Strandfontein, alternative solutions were found in the City of Cape Town. Safe spaces, like the ones in Columbourg, hosted almost double their capacity during the COVID-19 lockdown. While the latter exacerbated the pre-existing spatial inequalities and the housing crisis in Cape Town, it contributed to the growth of informal urban development. Numerous informal settlements sprung up, both in the city center and in the townships.³⁶ Tent City is one of the multiple informal settlements in the inner city, located in Green Point, close to the waterfront. The camp was established amid the COVID-19 lockdown of 2020, when numerous individuals faced unemployment.



Figure 5 : Strandfontein relocation camp

At present, several years after the COVID-19 lockdown, the effects of the pandemic are still being felt. Many organizations have had to shut down during the crisis and have not been restarted, leading to gaps in the support network. Moreover, the large informal settlements of homeless clusters, created during the COVID-19 pandemic, are still prominently visible in the inner city.

TOPOGRAPHY OF TABLE MOUNTAIN

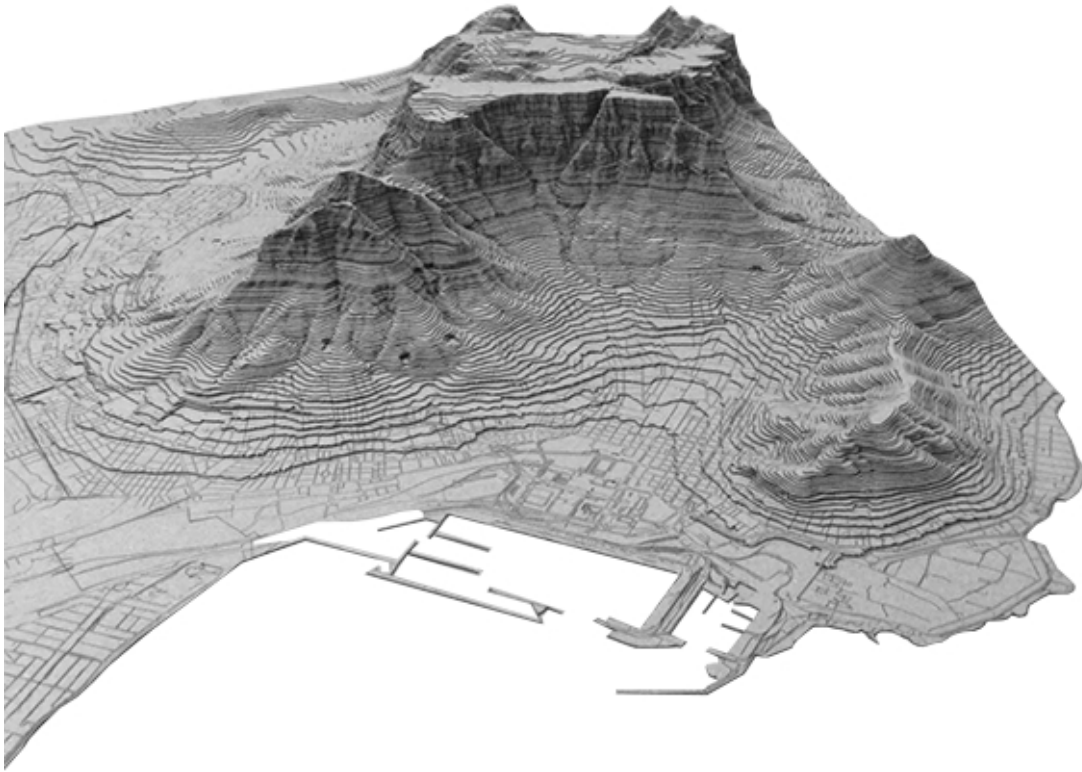


Figure 6 : Topography of Table Mountain, viewed from City Bowl district (CBD)

Cape Town is a famously divided city, with affluent, leafy suburbs offering exceptional amenities and picturesque mountainous and coastal settings, juxtaposed against austere and inhospitable dormitory settlements on the treeless sandplains of the Cape Flats. At the heart of the city is the vibrant City Bowl District (CBD), a natural amphitheatre that concentrates enormous wealth, surrounded by the stunning slopes of Table Mountain.³⁷

Cape Town's unusual topography and status as a biodiversity hotspot have consequences for access to housing and segregation. As Van Ham et al. note, special nature reserves intended to restrict housebuilding to cover more than 40% of the municipal area. The Atlantic Seaboard attracts super-rich international homebuyers and tourists, which inflates housing prices.³⁸

These different actors ensure that the mountain is deployed as a literal demarcation between districts. Gentrification of the Atlantic Seaboard resulted in a huge increase of market value in the housing market, while the less fortunate pushed to the city's outskirts.

Not only does the natural topography of the mountain itself have spatial implications, but it has also been used throughout history as a means of reinforcing divisions between population groups. In 1660, Van Riebeeck, head of VOC, ordered the planting of bitter almond trees, all sorts of growing brambles and thorn bushes as natural boundaries along farms on the east side of Table Mountain.

During Apartheid, active policies to let black and colored people move to the Cape Flats were pursued. Two immense districts on the Cape Flats, Mitchells Plain and Khayelitsha, demonstrate the force of the Apartheid state. Created, respectively in the 1970s and 1980s, as townships for middle- and low-income families, they saw thousands of people forcefully relocated to lesser housing and underdeveloped regions, located 30 to 35 kilometers from the CBD.

High transport costs and arduous journeys due to a deficient transport network of roads and rail roads, which the mountain shapes as well as Apartheid planning, add to the burden people face in accessing jobs elsewhere in the city.³⁹

In contrast with the lower class being pushed out, the flanks of Table Mountain act as a host for people experiencing homelessness. Mountains in general supply essential resources, making them attractive areas for human settlement.⁴⁰ Besides the natural resources like the presence of water and fauna and flora, uncomfortable moments can be avoided by staying at the foot of the mountain. Attention from passersby or, in more extreme cases, law enforcement evicting homeless people, will not occur as frequently in the hidden parts of Table Mountain.

We spoke with several people, experiencing homelessness, living on the flanks of Table Mountain. Their stories will be shared in detail in chapter five 'From Body to Territory'.

FROM HOUSING PROBLEM TO HOUSING CRISIS

Like many other South African cities, Cape Town is experiencing a profound, historically rooted housing crisis. Approximately 630 000 people are on the housing waiting list in the Western Cape,⁴¹ with many more people being forced into unsafe, inadequate homes that are far from schools, hospitals, jobs, and other crucial services. Only 25% of Cape Town households can afford the cheapest home on the market.⁴² Property appears to be increasingly unaffordable, becoming a luxury reserved for a fortunate minority. With the average household income in Cape Town slightly exceeding R13 000 per month, families qualify for a home loan of about R336 000. However, the average home price in the city surpasses R1 million. This implies that to afford a home, a resident must earn three times the average income.⁴³ This has left many households unable to access formal housing opportunities.

In order to deal with the growth of the urban population and to challenge some of the inequalities of the apartheid era, the South African post-Apartheid government had to face an uneven urban structure characterized by unequal access to jobs, recreational facilities, and public services.⁴⁴ Housing, therefore, was one of the government's top priorities enshrining the right to adequate housing in its constitution. This implied that the state should take reasonable legislative and other measures within its available resources to achieve the progressive realization of this right.⁴⁵

The development aims of the new government were consolidated in the national Reconstruction and Development programme (RDP).⁴⁶ In the publication of A New Housing Policy and Strategy, published in 1994, the South African government addressed the economic and housing inequality. This report admitted that the effect of previous racially based policies has left the distribution of income substantially skewed.⁴⁷ Therefore, one of the most prominent parts of the RDP was to implement a housing grant for the lower class. From 1994 to 1999 one million low-cost houses had to be built, of which only one fifth was accomplished by the beginning of 1998.⁴⁸

As Greyling states, *"RDP housing is low-cost housing provided by the government for South Africans with a combined income of R3500 or less. RDP housing consists of simple single storey structures big enough to fit a single family. It is not only the supply of new houses, but it could also involve the reconstruction of existing buildings."*⁴⁹

The government is struggling to keep up with the high demand of low-cost housing. The state does not, to its own avowal, have the capacity to deliver anywhere near the scale needed.⁵⁰ The people, currently on the waiting list for public housing or for subsidized rental, have lost hope. Unfortunately, it is common for them to wait more than two decades without public housing stock ever materializing. When public stock is made available, it is almost invariably not in well-located areas.⁵¹

From thousands of surveys with residents of poor communities in Cape Town, conducted by The Housing Assembly, it appears that citizens have been on the housing list since 1997. Due to mounting calls from citizens for assistance, the social movement has launched a campaign for an alternative and public housing waiting list.⁵²

Moreover, without putting forward any evidence, all three spheres of government claim that there is a shortage of public land to build well-located, affordable housing. To create an evidence base and push back against what is plainly an unsubstantiated narrative, Ndifuna Ukwazi and OpenUp have developed an online interactive map which demonstrates how much vacant and underutilized public land there is in each neighborhood in Cape Town. This extensive research found out that there is more vacant and underutilized public land in Cape Town than the entire area of Barcelona.⁵³ These vacant plots of land, which are located through the entire city, could be used for the implementation of affordable housing.

ENDNOTE

Annex: interviews with private and public security - organizations and people, experiencing homelessness.

All images or maps without references of a source are taken or made by the authors of this research.

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DEFINING 'THE HOMELESS' AND HOMELESSNESS

Image

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DURING THE PANDEMIC

Image

Figure 5 : Harrison, D. 2020. *Emergency Camp : Strandfontein*. [Photograph]. Mail & Guardian, consulted on 2024 April 28. <https://mg.co.za/article/2020-04-16-inside-strandfontein-cape-towns-covid-19-homeless-site/>

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TOPOGRAPHY OF TABLE MOUNTAIN

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01. HISTORY OF SPATIAL INJUSTICE



How do historical spatial dynamics and laws influence the spatial inequality in the contemporary city of Cape Town?

Arthur Caels - Paulien Daenen - Ann-Sofie Wens
Prof. Viviana d'Auria
2023 - 2024

01. HISTORY OF SPATIAL INJUSTICE

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P52 REFLECTION

P54 ENDNOTE

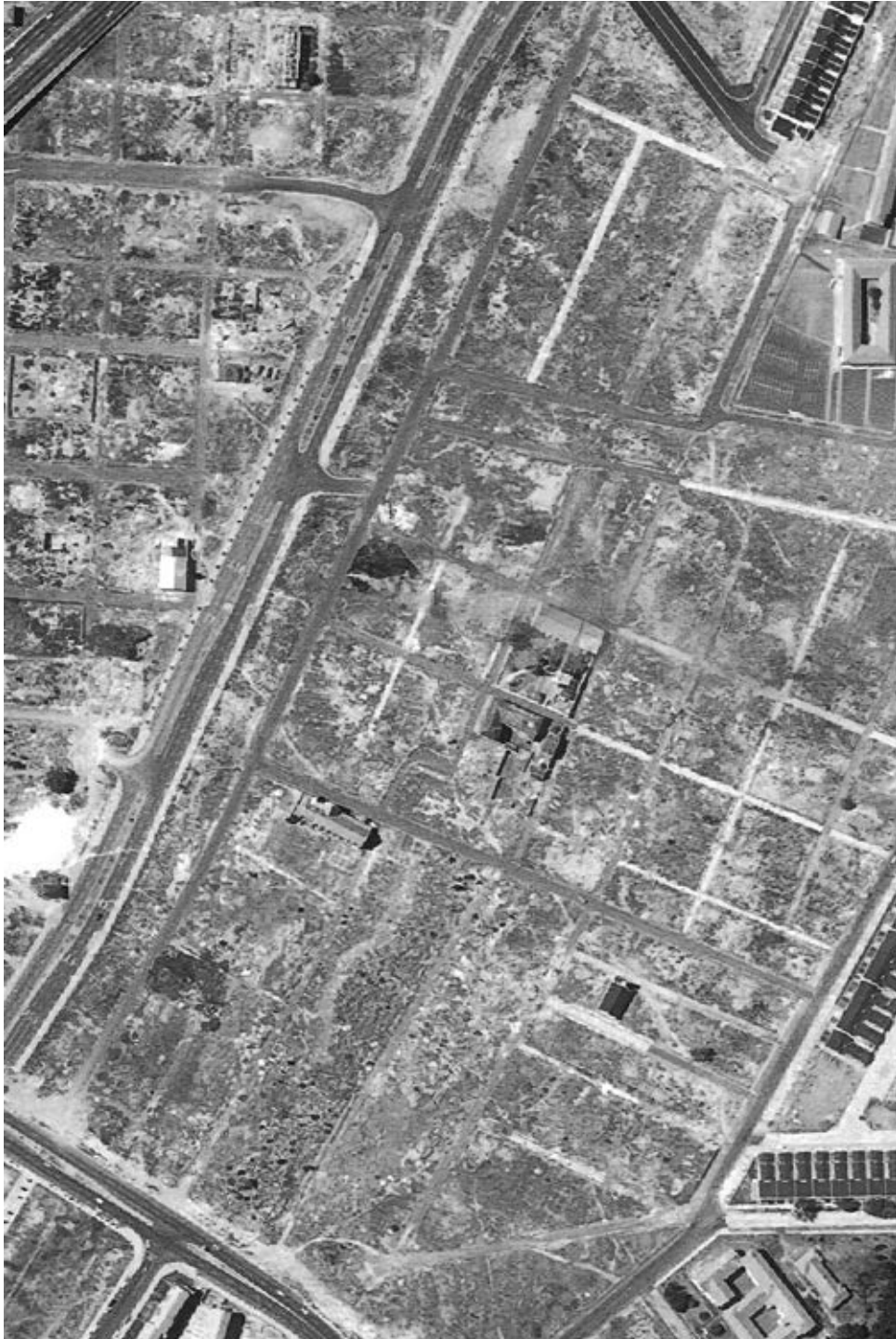


Figure 1 : Historical areal view after the demolition of District Six (1983)

INTRODUCTION

How do historical spatial dynamics and laws influence the spatial inequality in the contemporary city of Cape Town? What is the influence of Apartheid on the urban tissue?

Cape Town is one of the most unequal and racially segregated cities in the world, stemming from its colonial and Apartheid history. It is important to acknowledge and cite this history in order to better understand the city's spatial context for further research.

Throughout history, a number of laws and regulations got implemented in South Africa, that construct the foundations for treating homelessness in various ways. The pre-democratic vagrancy policies and laws were appropriated with the aim of dislodging the indigenous population of the Cape. During Apartheid, the white government discriminated systematically against black African and colored people, restricted their movement, and forcefully relocated them from the inner city and leafy suburbs to underserved townships on the periphery.¹

The current urban form displays very clear signs of these previously mentioned laws and regulations, which shaped the present form of the physical and social landscape.²

According to Marcuse, there are two significant forms of spatial injustice. The first involves the involuntary confinement of any group to a limited space, while the second is about the allocation of resources unequally over space.³ According to this definition, formerly events of past centuries naturally fall under the concept of spatial injustice. It is a definite need to address these fundamental recurring inaccuracies in a grounded manner. The Housing Assembly, Reclaiming The City, Ndifuna Ukwazi and other activist organizations, all of whom were spoken to during the field work, have made several attempts to address this problematic topicality.

How can the recurring issue of spatial inequality be linked to the topic of homelessness? As mentioned by Obioha, literature is silent on specific categories of homelessness that resulted from the implementation of land related Apartheid policies.

However, these policies and practices did not only lead to shortage in adequate accommodation for many. It resulted in transitional, episodic and hidden homelessness in society. People who previously owned homes became in need of homes as they were evicted out of their houses and lost rights to their abodes.⁴

The following historical timeline provides the antecedents of events that co-shaped today's society. It is divided into three storylines that strongly influence each-other: formal events and policies, urban justice, and spatial dynamics. These categories make connections between formal and informal events, with direct or indirect impact on the urban fabric. The timeline can be read separately for each category, or simultaneous.

1652 CAPE COLONY

Traders of the United East India Company (VOC) were the first people to establish a European colony in South Africa.

1590 ENGLISH AND DUTCH TRADERS

The English and the Dutch begin to call regularly at Table Bay on their way to and from Asia. Khoikhoi traded mainly iron, copper and marijuana with the foreigners at this stage.

1655 FRICTION BETWEEN DUTCH AND KHOI

Loss of grazing pastures became a source of friction between Khoikhoi and the Dutch. In 1655, when the Khoikhoi built their shelter and grazed their cattle close to the fort, the Dutch attempted to chase them away. The Khoikhoi refused to move, declaring that the land was theirs.

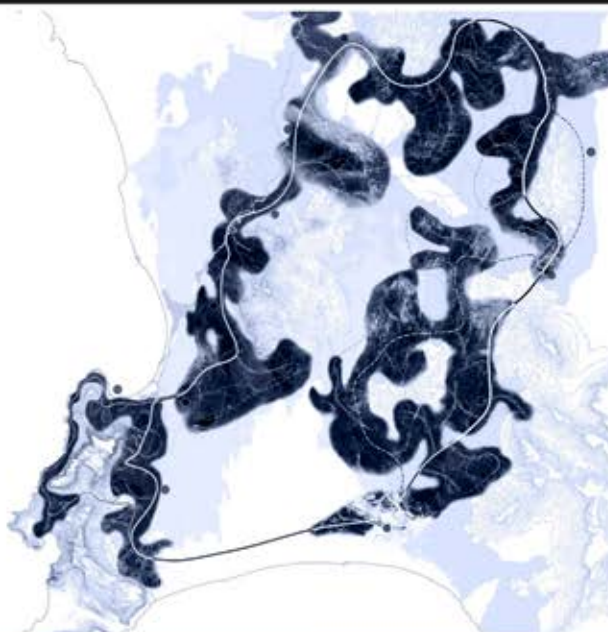


Figure 2 : Khoi transhumance prior to Dutch settlement

1300 - 1500 KHOI

The Khoisan are established as the dominant power in the southern and south-western Cape regions.

1595 FIRST CONTACT WITH THE DUTCH



1713 OUTBREAK OF SMALLPOX

An outbreak of smallpox, introduced by crew and passengers of a passing ship, results in the death of 25% of the white population and virtual decimation of the southern-western Cape Khoi-Khoi who have no resistance against this disease.

1659 FIRST DUTCH - KHOI WAR

The first of a series of armed confrontations over the ownership of the land takes place between the Dutch settlers and a Khoikhoi clan. After the war, the Khoi were barred from walking anywhere other than on footpaths designated by the VOC.



*“In many ways that hedge still exists today. Almost 300 years later. The architects of Apartheid continued Van Riebeeck’s Act of separation by legislating the hedge into existence through the **Group Areas Act of 1950.**” - Essop, 2004.*



Figure 3 : Map of first Dutch farms and boundary hedge at the Cape (1660)

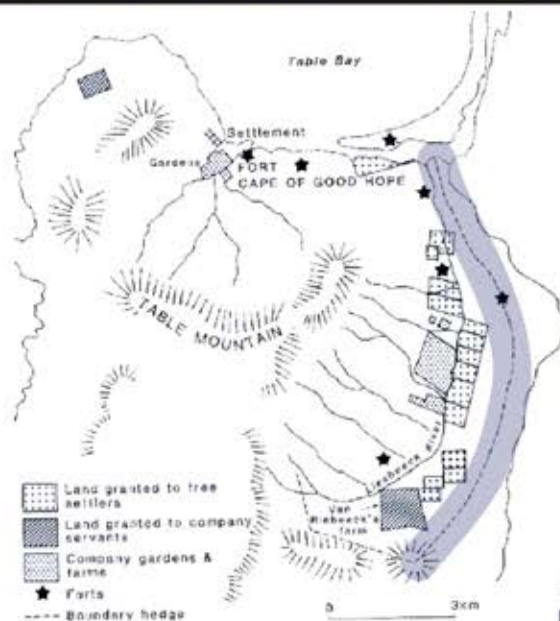


Figure 4 : Van Riebeeck's hedge



1666 - 1674 CONSTRUCTION OF CASTLE OF GOOD HOPE

1660 NATURAL BOUNDARIES

Van Riebeeck, head of VOC, ordered the planting of bitter almond trees, all sorts of growing brambles and thorn bushes as natural boundaries along farms including his own in Wynberg.

Van Riebeeck stated that: ‘the belt will be so densely overgrown that it will be impossible for cattle and sheep to be driven through and it will take the form of a protective fence’. The hedge is currently still visible in Kirstenbosch garden in Cape Town.

1713 APPROPRIATION

The decimation of the Khoikhoi results in an acute labour shortage. Tracts of land become ownerless. Colonial cattle farmers appropriate this land.

1760 INTRODUCTION OF PASS LAWS

Pass laws were a means of enforcing segregation. They had been introduced as early as 1760 by the Dutch colonial government and applied to slaves in the Cape.

1806 CAPE COLONY

Britain takes over the Cape.

1798 DISSOLVING OF VOC

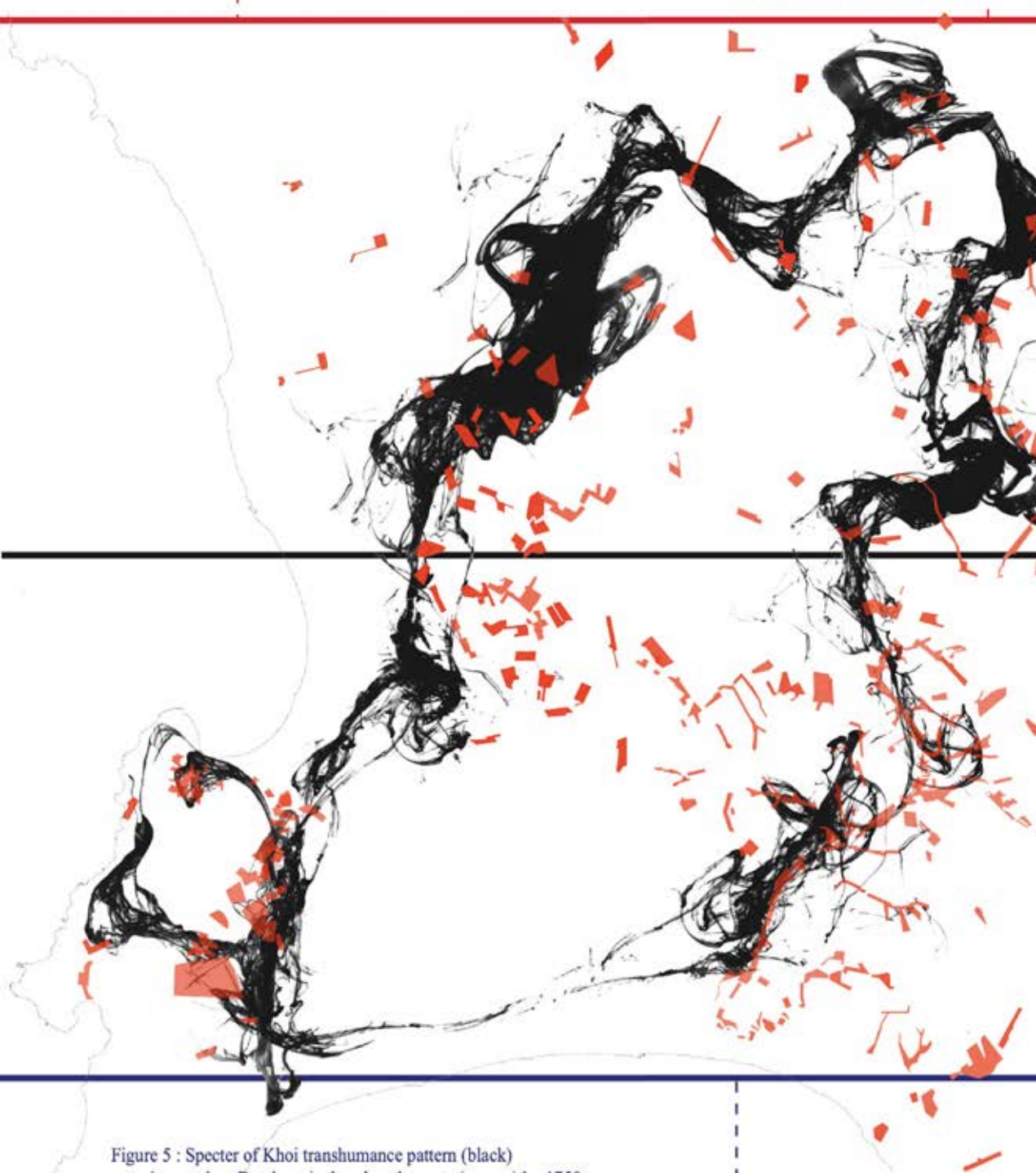


Figure 5 : Specter of Khoi transhumance pattern (black) superimposed on Dutch agricultural settlements (orange) by 1750.

1780 FURTHER INLAND

The Khoi society was devastated by loss of grazing pastures to colonial farmers and smallpox. As a consequence, they were forced to move further inland, away from Dutch control.



1840 FIRST MUNICIPALITY OF CAPE TOWN

The town is divided into 12 districts.

1809 HOTTENTOT PROCLAMATION

The Hotenttot Proclamation, also known as the Caledon Code, was passed. This law compelled all Khoikhoi to carry passes which could only be obtained at the end of their contracts. Settlers saw the Khoikhoi as a source of cheap labour and moved to regulate them.

1828 ORDINANCE 50

The Caledon Code was repealed under Ordinance 50 of 1828: the carrying of passes by the Khoikhoi and other free persons of color was abolished. However, this did not apply to Africans as the law requiring that they carry passes remained in force.

1860-1870 INDUSTRIALIZATION AND MINING REVOLUTION

Figure 6 : Aquarel of Cape Town in 1776--1777



1800 BUITENKANT STREET, DISTRICT SIX AS EDGE OF CAPE TOWN

Until the late 18th century what is today called Buitenkant Street was the outer edge of Cape Town. At this time, above and beyond Buitenkant, towards Wynberg, there were only scattered farmsteads.

1882 OUTBREAK OF SMALLPOX

After the outbreak of a smallpox in 1882 a suggestion to move colored people out of city of Cape Town was tabled. What stopped this attempt were the complaints of employers who wanted to keep workers close to their places of work and the ratepayers who were unwilling to bear the cost of relocating the poor.



1867 MUNICIPAL ACT

The municipal Act divided Cape Town into six districts. Kanaldorp becomes officially known as District Six.

1882 PUBLIC HEALTH ACT

1857 KAFFIR PASS ACT

The Act prohibited black African people from entering the Cape Colony except to work. The Act forced them to submit to contracts that had slave-like terms of agreement.

1857 KAFFIR EMPLOYMENT ACT

Once the contract between employer and worker expired, black Africans, the majority of whom were Xhosa people had fourteen days to find other employment or leave the colony. These laws became the foundation for influx control laws.

1901 BUBONIC PLAGUE

Using health legislation, an outbreak of bubonic plague was a pretext for the removal of Africans from the city centre to a location at Uitvlugt. While the location was established primarily to quarantine Africans who were forcibly relocated after the outbreak of the disease, this marked the beginning of forced removals in Cape Town in the 20th century.



Figure 7 : Ndabeni Plague Camp (1901)

1860 SEGREGATION RICH - POOR

Because of the introduction of railways wealthier Capetonians relocate to Green Point, Sea Point and the Gardens. District Six is inhabited largely by the urban poor.

1875 SUBURBS

Increasingly, segregation became an important feature of Cape Town society. Overtime Africans came to live in various parts of Cape Town's suburbs and on the slopes of Table Mountain.



1890 ADEQUATE WATER, DRAINAGE AND SEWERAGE IN CPT

1860 INTRODUCTION OF RAILWAYS AND TRAMWAYS



Figure 8 : Ndabeni Plague Camp



1894 GLEN GREY ACT

The Glen Grey Act established a system of individual, rather than communal, land tenure and created a labor tax to force Xhosa men into employment on commercial farms or in industry. It provided for the allocation of no more than one single plot to black heads of households.



1913 NATIVES' LAND ACT

This Act limited African land ownership to 7 percent and later 13 percent through the 1936 Native Trust and Land Act of South Africa. The Act restricted black people from buying or occupying land except as employees of a white master. It opened the door for white ownership of 87 percent of land, leaving black people to scramble for what was left.

1910 FORMATION OF THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

The Cape Colony becomes the Cape Province. Union expressed a white South African nationalism embracing Boer and British. In celebration of the opening of the Union Parliament, the Pageant of Union depicted a heroic view of settler history.

1902 NATIVE RESERVE LOCATION ACT

This Act authorized the government to establish residential areas for Africans outside towns. The police were empowered to effect the removal Africans and even use force.

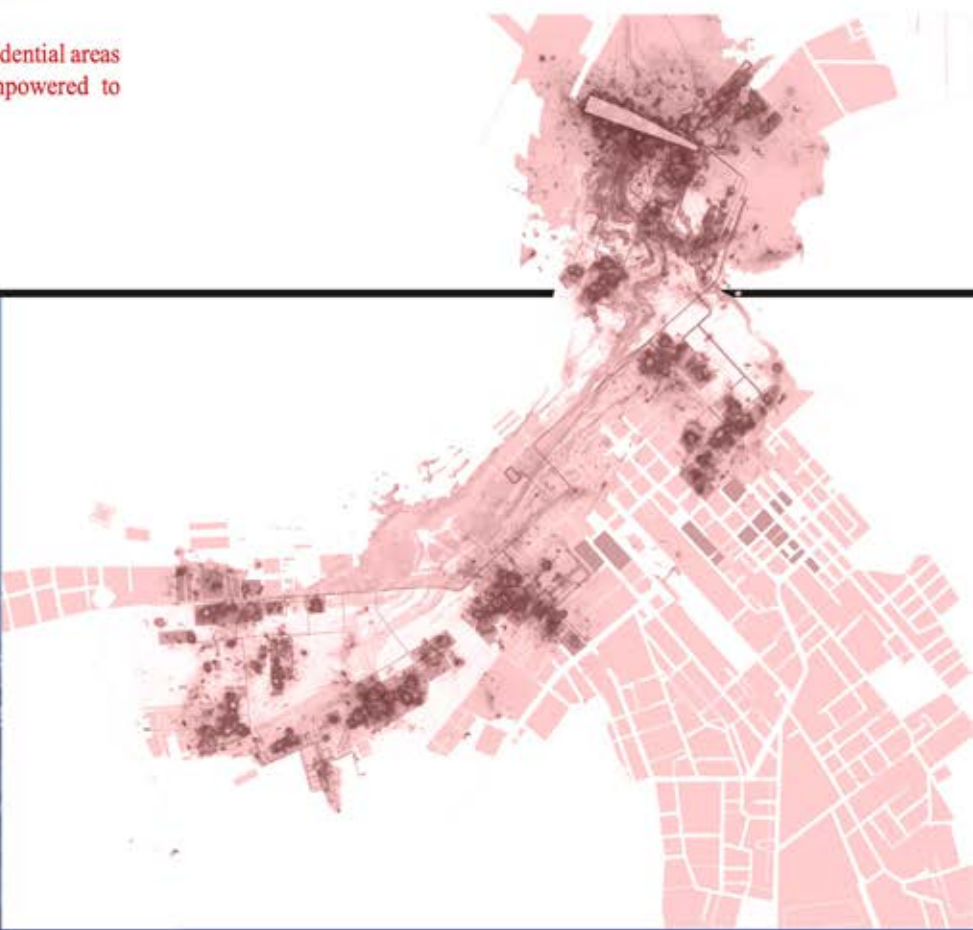


Figure 9 : Plague-infected buildings (1901)

1901 TOWNSHIP OF UITVLUGT AT NDABENI

Black and Colored plague victims are removed from city center and quarantined at the Ndabeni Plague Camp. It is Cape Town's first planned racially segregated township. Ndabeni translates as a place of news.



1919 MUNICIPAL ORDINANCE NO 23

In response to increased slums in the inner city, the Union government passed Municipal Ordinance No 23 and the Housing Act No 35, which empowered local authorities to develop housing schemes for lower income groups.

1920 HOUSING ACT NO 35

This legislation contributed to the establishment of different townships such as Langa and de-proclamation of the Ndabeni location in order to force Africans to move to Langa.



1923 NATIVE URBAN AREAS ACT

This Act enforced the compulsory residence of Africans in locations, controlled their immigration into urban areas and empowered the government to expel black people that considered to be idle and disorderly. Furthermore, the Act forbade the granting of freehold property rights to Africans on the grounds that they were not permanent urban residents.

1929 SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS



Figure 10 : Garden City Model : Ville Radieuse by le Corbusier (1930)

1927 LANGA

The township of Langa, built in terms of the 1923 Native Urban Areas Act, is officially opened. Its layout and design emphasize control and surveillance.

1920 - 1940 GARDEN CITY MODEL

This urban model for urban development is adopted from Britain urban reformers and planners, and adapted in South Africa.

1929 SPRAWLING OF SHACK SETTLEMENTS

The shortage of housing resulted in the sprawling of shack settlements throughout peninsula in the 1920s in places such as Woodstock, Maitland, Windermere and Wynberg.

1936 NATIVE REPRESENTATION ACT

This was one of the segregator laws, removing Africans in the Cape from the common voters roll. A native representative council, a dummy body, is established.

1929 TOWNSHIPS ORDINANCE NO 18

The Ordinance empowered the Divisional Council to prevent unsuitable housing erection.

1934 SLUMS ACT NO 53

With this Act, the state acquired extraordinary powers of expropriation of properties in slum areas. It gave additional legislative powers to deal with evacuation and demolition on a systemic basis. The Act did not make the state responsible for providing housing. It only determined what kinds of housing were unsuitable.

Figure 11 : Service Dining Rooms



1930 RACE WELFARE SOCIETY

The Race Welfare Society, established from 1930, used theories of eugenics to limit the fertility of poor whites, cultivate a healthy and productive white population and avoid white race degeneration.

1935 FIRST SOUP KITCHEN

The First soup kitchen of Cape Town opened: The Service Dining Rooms.

1930 HOUSING CRISIS

By means of design policies, the City Council dealt with the perennial housing shortage in the city and clearance. As a consequence of these policies, Constitution Street tenement block was built in 1930, Stirling Street, Drury Lane and Vincent Street Flats in 1932, Canterbury Square and Bloemhof Flats in 1938.

1930 NDABENI > LANGA

Ndabeni residents were moved to Langa, and Ndabeni was closed. In 1957, another African township was established at Nyanga.

1935 RACE WELFARE SOCIETY

The Leading South African liberals became involved in the Race Welfare Society in 1935 after it changed its focus to all race groups. This was in reaction to rapid growth in the urban African population, the visible problem of black poverty and the need to limit African population growth. It later became the National Council for Maternal and Family Welfare.

1935 EXPANSION OF RAILWAYS

South African railways announced a plan to expand Cape Town harbor. Plans were set in motion for the construction of Duncan Dock and the replanning of the surrounding city, including District Six.

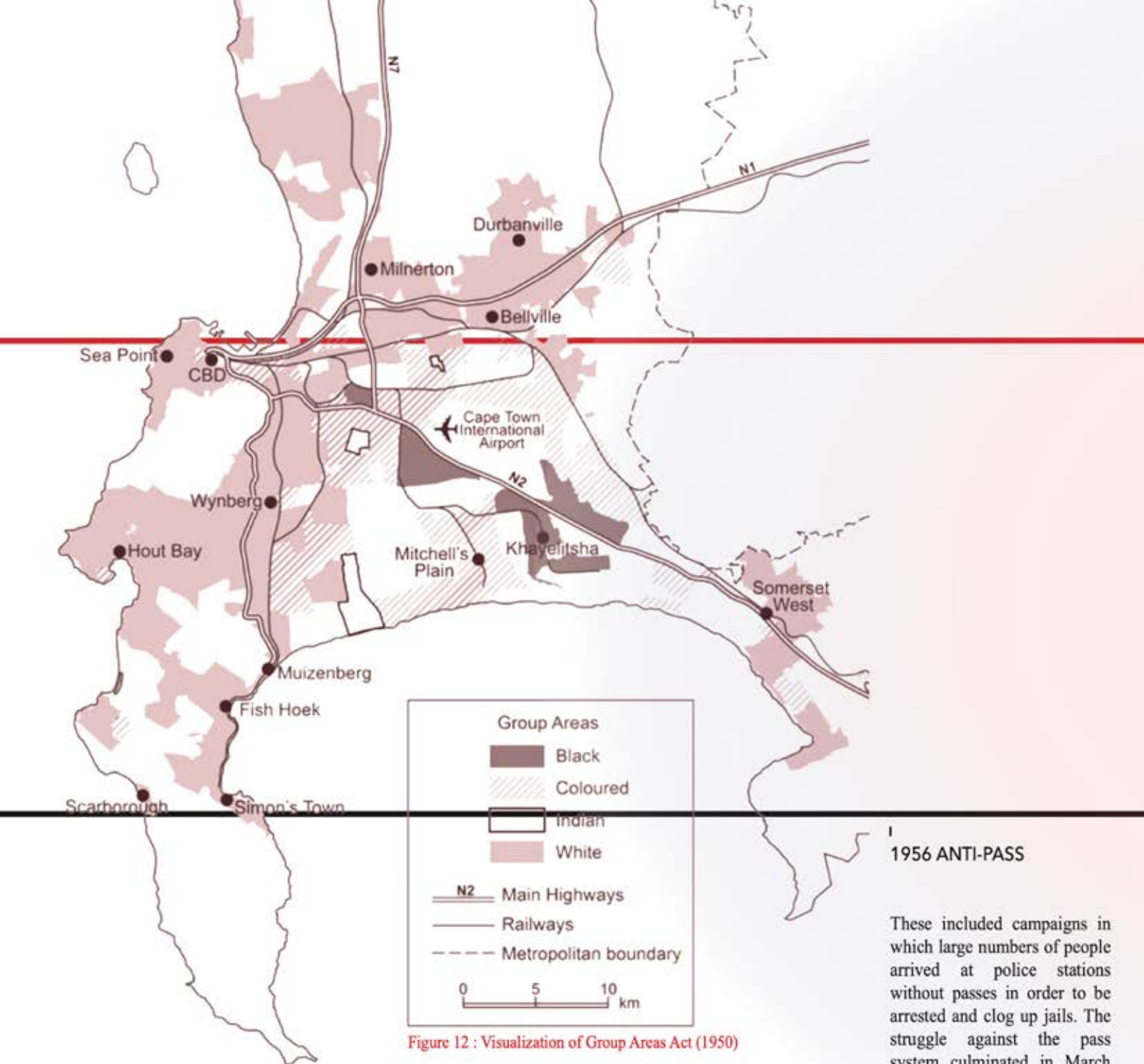


Figure 12 : Visualization of Group Areas Act (1950)

1940 TOWNSHIPS : ALICEDALE - BOKMAKIRIE - BRIDGETOWN - SILVERTOWN AND KEWTOWN

1944 SEGREGATION

By the 1940s, racial segregation was in full swing in Cape Town as legal backing was given for segregated workplaces and suburbs. During this period, black people were slowly removed from the urban centers and residences that comprised white households.

1950 GROUP AREAS ACT

The Group Areas Act gave the government power to demarcate where each racial group could live and own property. Once an area was proclaimed as belonging to a particular racial group, only members of that group could reside and own property in that area.

1953 RESERVATION OF SEPERATE AMENITIES ACT

1953 BANTU EDUCATION ACT

1955 COLORED LABOR PREFERENCE POLICY

1950 POPULATION REGISTRATION ACT

People got classified according to government-defined and allocated racial categories. People were classified as Black, Colored, Malay, Indians and Whites.

1952 URBAN AREAS ACT SECTION 10

Section 10 of the Urban Areas Act, which regulated the rights and movements of Africans, specified who was permitted to live and work in towns.

1952 NATIVE LAW AMENDMENT ACT

By the implementation of the Native Law Amendment Act, Influx control got systemized. It was now also extended to African women. The old passes were replaced at this time by a nationwide reference books, which every African over the age of 16 had to carry.



Figure 13 : Freeway through City of Cape Town

1958 WINDERMERE COMMUNITY

Harsh measures were taken against the various African squatter communities that had sprung up around Cape Town. One of the worst examples of forced removals for African people took place in 1958, with the uprooting of the Windermere community, an old settlement near Maitland.

1954 RAILWAY LINE AS SEGREGATION TOOL

All non residential areas north of the railway line, i.e. Pinelands, Thornton, Epping and Milnerton were zoned as white areas.

1962 ROBBER ISLAND

Political prisoners begin serving sentences on Robben Island. Prisoners include Nelson Mandela, Govan Mbeki, Robert Sobuke, Neville Alexander and Lionel Davis.

1962 DISTRICT SIX : WHITE GROUP AREA

District Six was declared a white group area on 11 February. The authority for this proclamation came from the Group Areas Act passed in 1950.

1960 STATE OF EMERGENCY

ANC and PAC, Pan Africanist Congress, banned.

1970 PETITIONS - PRAYERS - PROTESTS

Petitions, letters to the press, delegations, prayers and protest meetings followed the declaration of District Six and other parts of the city as white group areas. The results of these protests were always the same: some evictions were delayed, but the process went on.

1960 WHITE WELFARE

By 1960 welfare became synonymous with white welfare under Nationalist rule. The provision of welfare services among African people was greatly neglected and Apartheid social welfare was tied to the political and economic objectives of the time, focusing on social control and adaptation to an unjust social system.

1966 ANTI-SOCIAL

Removed from established forms of community, people became vulnerable. Gangsterism and other anti-social activities became a means of survival as people created new maps of meaning and forms of identification.

1970 ZONNEBLOEM : REHABILITATION OF AREA

District Six is renamed Zonnebloem by the Department of Community Development and the rehabilitation of the area for whites is commenced.

1968 DEMOLITION AND RECONSTRUCTION

The first demolitions of District Six and other neighborhoods occur. Central Cape Town reflects the implementation of land reclamation and urban renewal projects based on modernist town planning principles. Major boulevards and freeways have a negative impact on historic areas such as District Six.

1963 NUMEROUS EVICTIONS

People were evicted from the following sites: District Six, Newlands, Claremont, Mowbray, Greenpoint, Landsdowne, Constantia, Simon's Town and just about every suburb around the Peninsula mountain chain.

1966 CAPE FLATS

Over a period of fifteen years, more than 60000 people were given notice to give up their homes and to move to new townships on the Cape Flats, some of which were named, cynically, after streets in District Six.

1986 ABOLITION OF INFLUX CONTROL ACT

This Act repealed the legislation stating that a black could not be in an urban area for more than 72 hours without official permission. Statutory power to forcibly remove black communities and individuals has also been repealed.

1976 PREVENTION OF ILLEGAL SQUATTING ACT

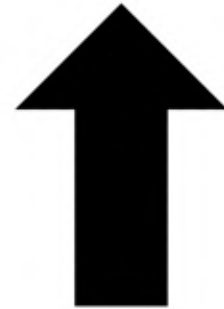
The prevention of Illegal Squatting Act empowers the authorities to demolish, without prior notice, shack housing.

1984 ABOLITION OF COLORED LABOR PREFERENCE POLICY

1978 NATIONAL WELFARE ACT

1978 SOCIAL AND ASSOCIATED WORKERS ACT

1978 FUNDRAISING ACT



1978 THE HAVEN NIGHT SHELTER

Establishment of The Haven Night shelter in Cape Town, South Africa. In the meanwhile they are the largest provider of shelter for people, experiencing homelessness.

1986 OUT

Organizers United Against Traitors (OUT) is established in District Six to protest against plans of the government to erect luxury homes for colored tricameral cabinet ministers in the area.

1980 CIVIC ORGANIZATIONS

Civic organizations emerge in black townships and suburbs signaling an era of community-based political mobilization. Umbrella bodies such as Cape Areas Housing Action Committee, the Western Cape Civic Association and the Federation of Cape Civic Associations are created.

Figure 14 : Demolition of District 6



1984 COMPLETE DEMOLITION

By the beginning of 1984, the destruction of District Six was complete. Aside from a few buildings the landscape was stripped and cleared.

1976 REMOVAL STATISTICS

Over 10000 people at Modderdam are removed, as are 1500 squatters from Werkgenot. By 1976, two thirds of the residents of District Six had been removed.

1985 KHAYELITSHA

A new township, Khayelitsha, translated as our new home, was created. It gave residents access to 99-year leases.

1994 DEMOCRATIC ELECTED GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY

The first democratic elections are held in April 1994. Nelson Mandela is inaugurated as president on 10 May.

1994 LAND RESTITUTION ACT

31 December 1998 was set as the cut-off date for the submission of land claims under the Land Restitution Act.

1991 ABOLITION OF RACIALLY-BASED LAND MEASURES ACT

Under pressure, the apartheid government of De Klerk passes the Abolition of Racially-Based Land Measures Act, which repeals the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts as well as the Group Areas Act.

1998 PREVENTION OF ILLEGAL EVICTION ACT

The Act was made to provide for the prohibition of unlawful eviction, the eviction of unlawful occupiers, and to repeal the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act, 1951.

1990 UNBANNING OF THE ANC, PAC AND SAP

1990 HOMELESS ORGANIZATIONS

During the 90s, a lot of organizations were established to help the poor and homeless with giving out food, shelter, basic needs, etc.

1994 SOCIAL JUSTICE

The 1994 elections were characterized by hope for social justice. The South African Constitution, adopted in 1996, is one of the most progressive in the world, ensuring protection of human rights for all.

1990 CLASS-BASED APARTHEID

The levels of poverty and social injustices among black communities led to mobilization of social movements such as Abahlali Basemjondolo (shack dwellers movement), the Landless Peoples Movement, the Anti-eviction Campaign and the Antiprivatisation Forum. There has been a transition from race-based to class-based Apartheid.

1990 REDEVELOPMENT OF DISTRICT SIX

Much of the vacant land area in District Six remains undeveloped. While a few housing developments had been implemented in the late 1980s, the full redevelopment of the area was prevented due to protest from various organizations.

“Not a stone should be moved from Horstley Street.”

- Nelson Mandela, 1993.

1998 LAND RESTITUTION

Approximately 2500 land claims in respect of District Six had been lodged with the Land Claims Commission. Of these, approximately 900 were submitted by property owners, while the remaining 1600 were submitted by the tenants.



2004 EMERGENCY HOUSING PROGRAMME (EHP)

EHP was adopted in 2004 by national government as one mechanism to address the housing need of those in danger of being rendered homeless in a variety of emergency situations. This could include: residents who have lived on the street or residents facing homelessness upon eviction.



2024 GENERAL ELECTIONS

General elections will be held in South Africa in 2024 to elect a new National Assembly as well as the provincial legislature in each province.

2021 SAFE SPACE MODEL

Under the administration of Mayor Geordin Hill-Lewis, the City is embarking on a three-year, 253 million ZAR project to expand its Safe Space model. This falls under the housing-first theory.

Figure 16 : Strandfontein



2020 EMERGENCY CAMPS

During the COVID-19 lockdown in 2020, homeless people were rounded up and forced into a pandemic-inappropriate camp on a muddy field in Strandfontein, miles away from the city centre. The camp was condemned by human rights organisations before the City aborted the project. It costed the city 52 million ZAR.



2017 TRA'S AND IDA'S

In theory, the City of Cape Town operates two different kinds of camps: Temporary Relocation Areas (TRAs) and Incremental Development Areas (IDAs). In reality, these have become publicly operated informal settlements where residents stay in temporary conditions in perpetuity. None offer opportunities for security of tenure, incremental upgrading or dignified lives.

2017 RELOCATION CAMPS

As of 2017, the City of Cape Town offers little support to residents who will become homeless because of eviction, except a one way ticket to a relocation camp on the periphery of the city.



Figure 15 : Relocation Camp : Wolwerivier



REFLECTION

What is feasible on achieving urban justice in a spatial context with such a painful history? Can the ingrained inequality of society still be (partly) untangled?

According to Dana Cuff, *“justice has a geography in which the equitable distribution of and access to city resources, services, and amenities are basic human rights that spatial strategies of design and planning can uphold. Obviously, architecture cannot alone solve entrenched problems of injustice. But to take the challenge seriously, architects and planners must give up authorial claims to creativity in favor of collective ones, must destabilize conventional projects and ideas about clients or patrons, must view their labor as generative rather than oriented toward completion, and must leverage the art of architecture for the commons.”*⁵

The statement confirms the relationship between laws and regulations on the one hand and the architectural urban fabric of the city on the other hand. Introducing a softer top-down approach with less strict and dismissive regulations could be a start towards a less segregated context.

However, judging by the recently implemented measures, intercalated during the COVID-19 pandemic, it unfortunately becomes clear that there is still a long way to go before this is achieved.

The government’s choice to establish the Strandfontein Camp for homeless individuals in 2020 touched a nerve with many South Africans. Cape Town has a familiarity with establishing transit camps during public health crises. In a country, marked by a long history of forced removals and land dispossession, it is hard not to draw parallels with how the Cape Colony dealt with the bubonic plague outbreak in 1901.⁶



Figure 17 : Areal view of Lake Michelle and Masiphumelele in Cape Town (2016)

ENDNOTE

Annex: interviews with private and public security - organizations and people, experiencing homelessness.

All images or maps without references of a source are taken or made by the authors of this research.

FRONT COVER

Figure 0 : Goldblatt, D. 1982. *The Destruction of District Six under the Group Areas Act, Cape Town*. [Photograph]. <https://www.moma.org/collection/works/55247>

INTRODUCTION

Image

Figure 1 : Zembylas, M et al. 2020. *A Pedagogy of Hauntology: Decolonizing the Curriculum with GIS*. [Photograph]. <https://capaciousjournal.com/article/a-pedagogy-of-hauntology/>

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2 Hayhurst, R. 2001. *Cape Town: a city of contrasts*.

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TIMELINE

Image

Figure 2 : Van Biljon, S. 2013. *Khoi transhumance through the Cape landscape prior to Dutch settlement (1650)*. [Map]. <https://vanbiljon.artstation.com/projects/q9PoPN>

Figure 3 : Christopher, A. J. 1994. *The Atlas of Apartheid*. [Map]. London: Routledge.

Figure 4 : Du Plessis, B. 2014. *Van Riebeeck's Hedge, Kirstenbosch Botanical Garden, Cape Town*. [Photograph]. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Van_Riebeeck%27s_Hedge#/media/File:Van_Riebeeck's_Hedge,_Kirstenbosch_Botanical_Garden,_Cape_Town-003.jpg

Figure 5 : Van Biljon, S. 2013. *Specter of Khoi transhumance pattern (black) superimposed on Dutch agricultural settlements (orange) by 1750*. [Map]. <https://vanbiljon.artstation.com/projects/q9PoPN>

Figure 6 : Schumacher, J. 1777. *Aquarel of Cape Town in 1776-1777, view from Signal Hill*. [Painting]. Collection Swellengrebel, Breda.

Figure 7 : Van Biljon, S. 2013. *Black and Colored plague victims removed from city center and quarantined at the Ndabeni Plague Camp, Cape Town's first planned racially segregated township*. [Map]. <https://vanbiljon.artstation.com/projects/q9PoPN>

Figure 8 : Ravenscroft, T.D. 1901. *Ndabeni or Uitvlugt*. [Photograph]. South Africa : Picturesque South Africa : An Album of Photographic Views.

Figure 9 : Van Biljon, S. 2013. *Plague-infected buildings concentrated in slums of District One and District Six*. [Map]. <https://vanbiljon.artstation.com/projects/q9PoPN>

Figure 10 : Le Corbusier. 1930. *Ville Radieuse*. [Architectural drawing].

Figure 11 : S.n. 2018. *Serving hungry people for over 80 years*. [Photograph]. <https://www.groundup.org.za/article/service-dining-rooms/?fbclid=IwAR10n8xqACYQFhVF0UO-8BIIdX3VexQuELPbtMKd3AN0H4XBEE4wsJ3kv4dEc>

Figure 12 : Graham, N. 2007. *Race and the Post-Fordist Spatial Order in Cape Town*. [Map]. Master thesis : University of Cape Town. file:///Users/ann-sofiewens/Downloads/thesis_sci_2007_graham_n.pdf

Figure 13 : S.n. 1976. Eastern Boulevard. *The railway till the mid sixties once ran down this road*. [Photograph]. CA Collection CA2656, National Archives South Africa, Cape Town.

Figure 14 : Winer, S. 1975. *Demolition in progress, District Six, Cape Town*. [Photograph]. University of Cape Town Libraries. <https://ibali.uct.ac.za/s/uct-photography/item/110978>

Figure 15 : Miller, J. 2019. *Wolwerivier*. [Photograph]. Johny Miller Photography.

Figure 16 : Harrison, D. 2020. *Emergency Camp : Strandfontein*. [Photograph]. <https://mg.co.za/article/2020-04-16-inside-strandfontein-cape-towns-covid-19-homeless-site/>

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Image

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Text

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02. HOMELESS CITY



A constellation of different frameworks which constitutes the homeless city

Arthur Caels - Paulien Daenen - Ann-Sofie Wens
Prof. Viviana d'Auria
2023 - 2024

“Homelessness is a very complex problem and we as human beings often make the mistake of over-simplifying these problems in order to wrap our heads around them.”
- Bolland, 2022.¹

02. HOMELESS CITY

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INTRODUCTION

Defining urban and social layers, the public space can be perceived as a constellation of homeless architecture, either hostile or facilitating. Since homelessness is such a complex concept, different dynamics co-determine the dwelling cultures within a city.

This chapter is an introduction of the following three chapters, representing the three different layers that significantly co-determine the homeless city of Cape Town, identified in this thesis. The following thematics are comprised of anti-homelessness, the facilitating framework and body to territory. All three layers are related to the same framework, the urban tissue. What exactly can be understood by 'the urban tissue'?

The urban tissue refers to the environmental level normally associated with urban design. Tissue comprises both coherent neighborhood morphology like open spaces and buildings as functions, where human activity is an example of.² In other words, the urban tissue contains the concrete framework of organization and design of the city, which may differ according to the neighborhood.

The first layer that will be discussed, focusses on the topic of anti-homeless dynamics. 'Publicness' in public space is not something that can be taken for granted. The struggle of public space in terms of spatial injustice and social exclusion of people experiencing homelessness is a crucial topic to address while talking about the homeless city. It addresses how those, living on the streets, are often confronted with punitive responses and pushed throughout the city.

The subsequent layer, and therefore chapter, emphasizes the supportive network for people, experiencing homelessness. The key actors, consisting of NGOs and their volunteer workers, their operating methodology and possible gaps in the system are discussed. Where do they provide facilitating services within the urban tissue for those residing on the streets and what type of services are these? The chapter provides a comprehensive overview of the shelter system, the food network, and other supportive services. What is the ultimate goal and outcome of the support network? Does it help people long-term or is it seen as temporary support, with no large intention of helping people off the streets?

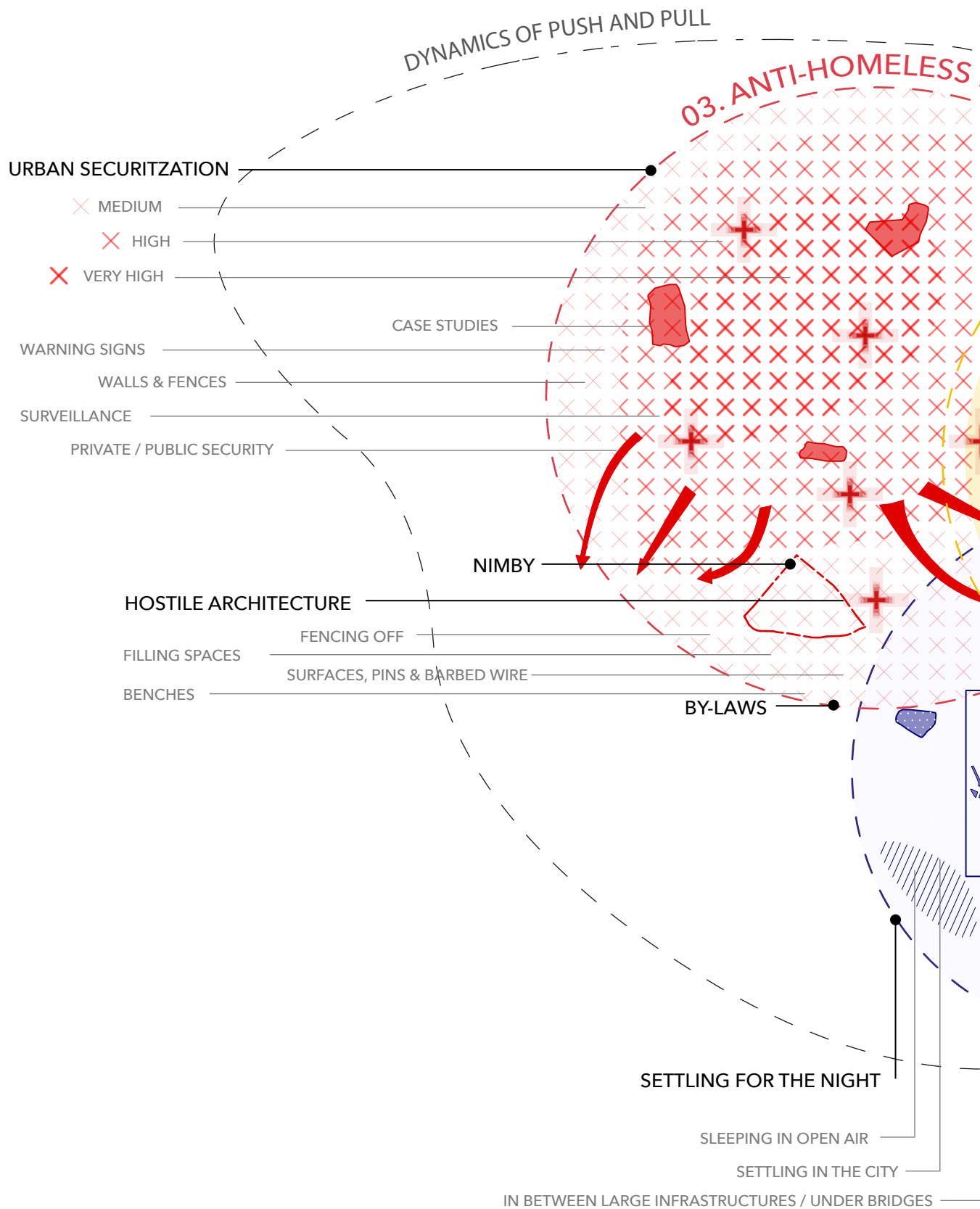
'From body to territory' is the last thematic to be thoroughly debated, giving a more personal perspective to the issue of homelessness. The chapter is constructed out of lived experiences of those, who are or have been dwelling on the streets. How do they perceive and move around in the urban tissue? Inspired by the words of Wagner, the study tries not to approach homeless people as passive victims of society but tries to understand how they develop their own self-consciousness, culture, and alternative community.³

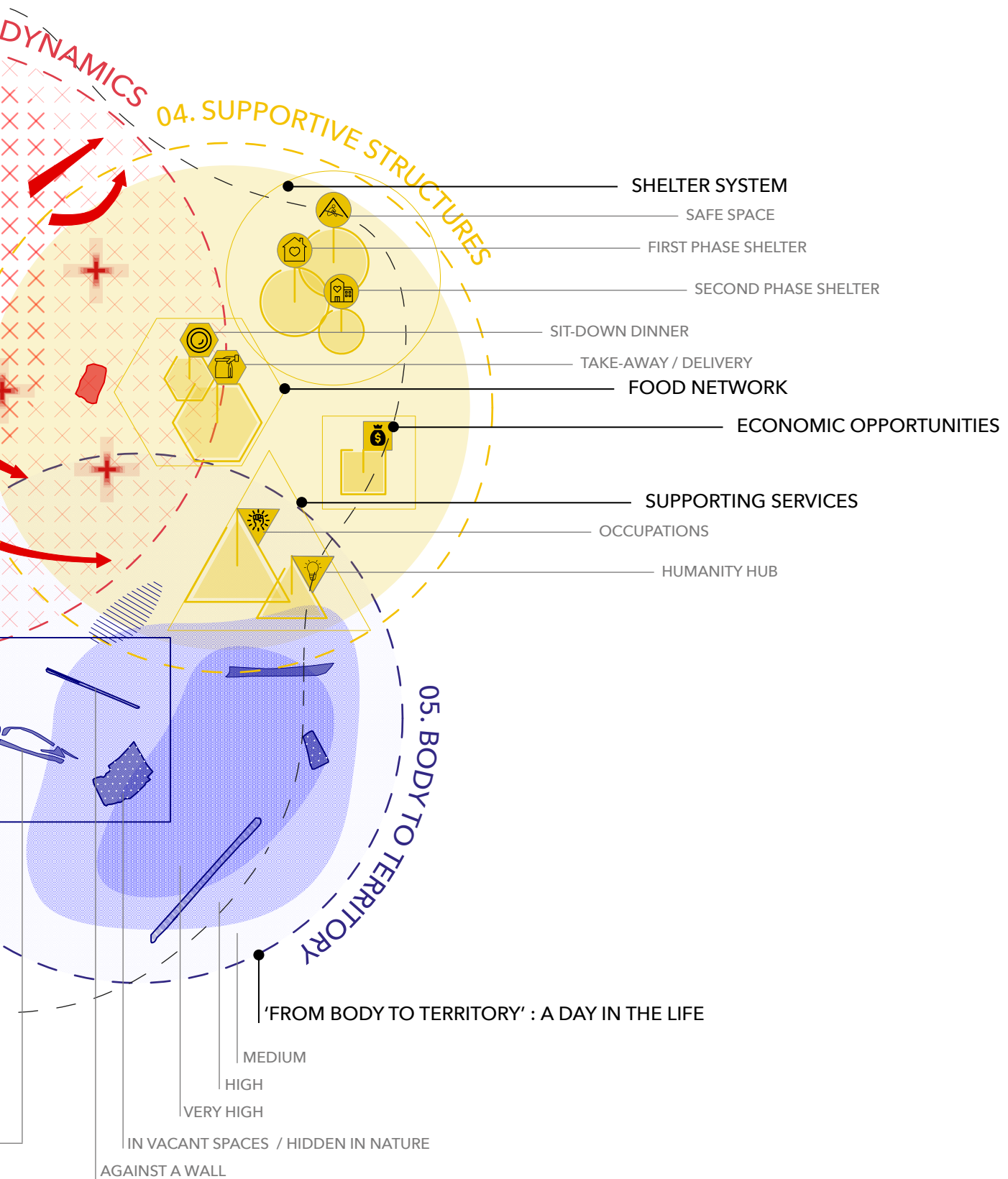
While these chapters address, discuss and critique the stated themes, this introductory chapter presents them simultaneously. By means of graphic synthesis, underlying relationships between different dynamics become clear. How do these different layers complement each other? Which correlations exist between the provision of support mechanisms and the hard-wired urban infrastructure?

In order to define a graphic guide, each overarching dynamic has been assigned its own color. While the anti-homeless is colored red, the supportive framework is assigned yellow, and the clusters of lived experiences are tinted blue. By showing the different layers on top of each other, it becomes easier to grasp the stratification of the city.

The graphic synthesis of the three different layers, shown on A3 format, is incorporated for completion in this chapter. However, it is provided to view this map at A1 size as added to the back of this book. The map can be taken out of the book and fully unfolded to A1 format.

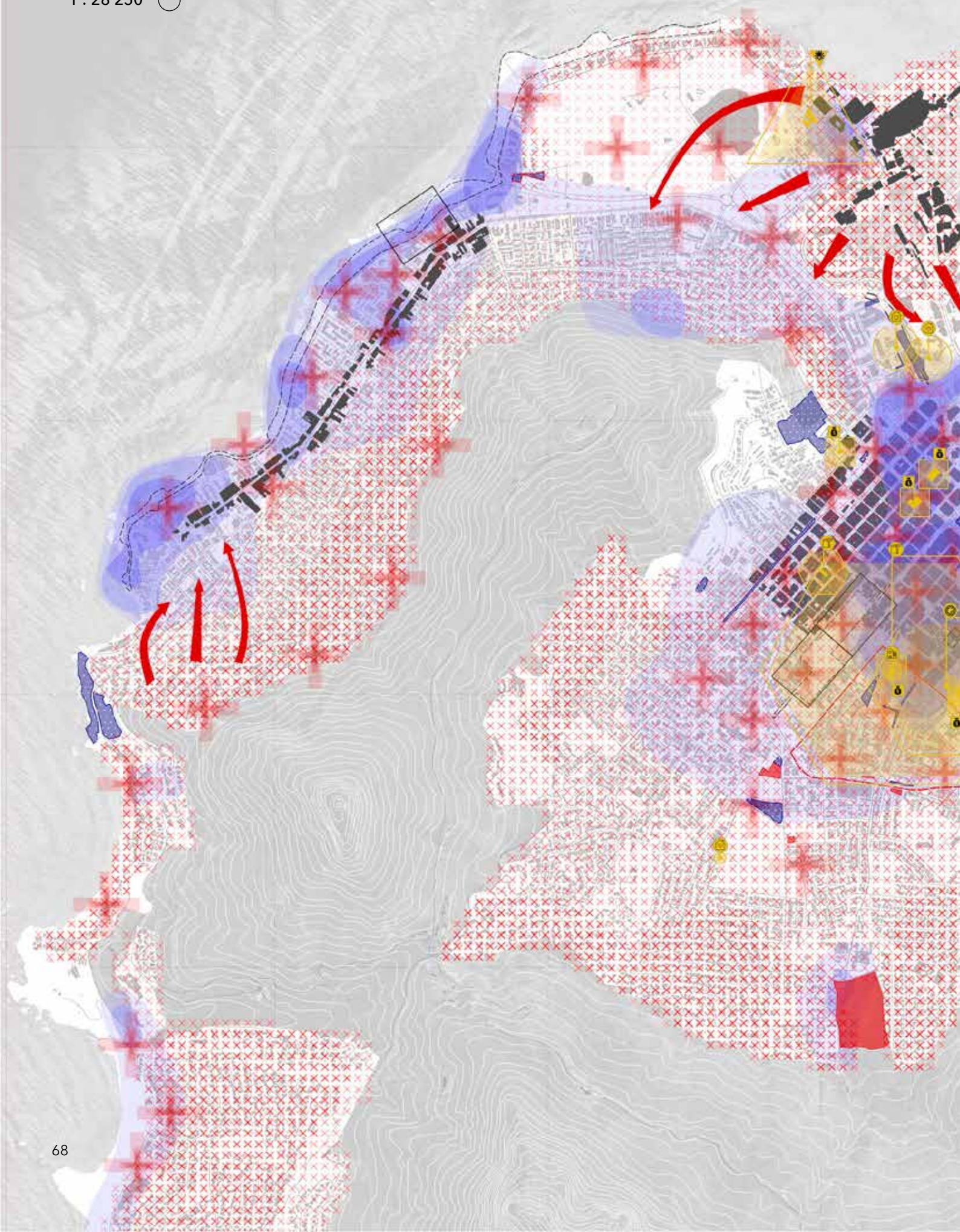
While reading through following chapters, it can be helpful to include this map as an illustrative guide, that reflects and visualizes different layers of the homeless city and how they can influence each other.

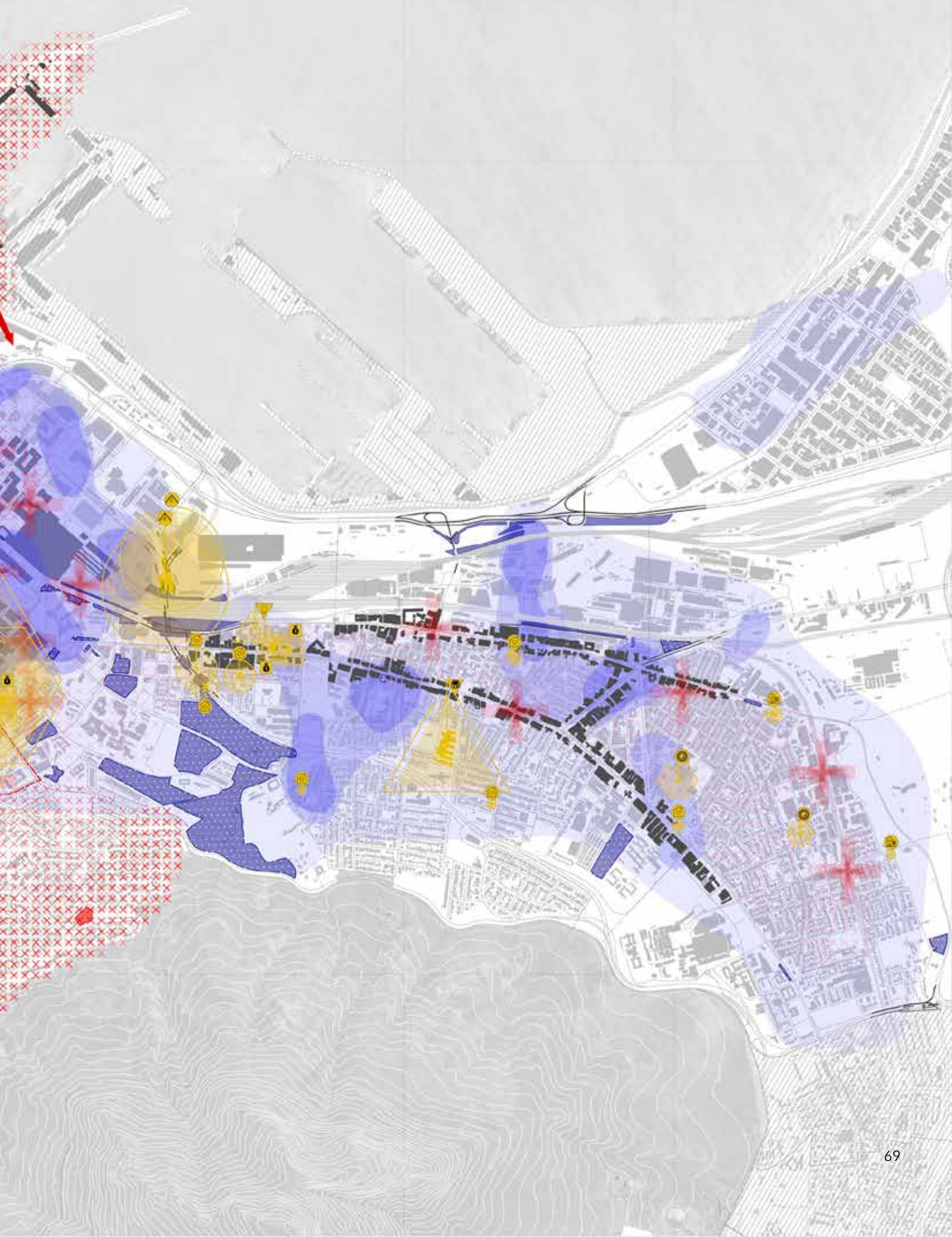




GRAPHIC SYNTHESIS

1 : 28 250





ENDNOTE

Annex: interviews with private and public security - organizations and people, experiencing homelessness.

All images or maps without references of a source are taken or made by the authors of this research.

FRONT COVER

Image

S.n. S.d. *Unlock Earth's Secrets*. ESRI, consulted on 2024 May 15.

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GRAPHIC SYNTHESIS

Data of Map

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BACK COVER

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03. ANTI HOMELESS DYNAMICS



What frameworks, visible or invisible, does the urban environment impose on the different dynamics of homelessness?

How free are people experiencing homelessness to move or be in the public landscape?

03. ANTI HOMELESS DYNAMICS

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[2] PRIVATE SECURITY

[4] FENCING OFF

[5] NOT IN MY BACKYARD

[6] EVICTING THE HOMELESS



DENSITY OF LAYER: URBAN SECURITIZATION

LOW 

MEDIUM 

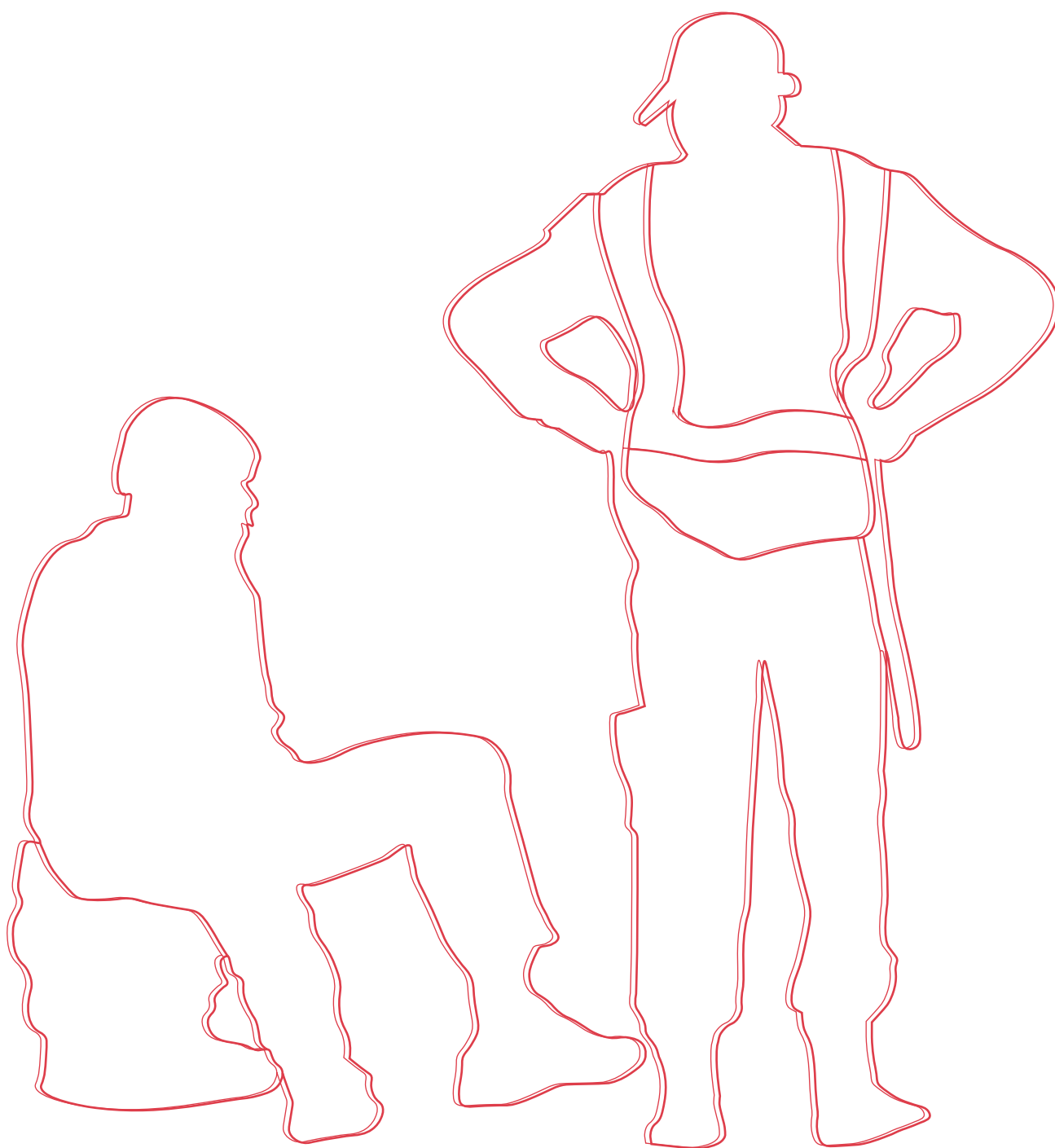
HIGH 

EXTREMELY HIGH 

HOSTILE ARCHITECTURE 

ECONOMIC HUBS 





INTRODUCTION

What frameworks, visible or invisible, does the urban environment impose on homelessness? How free are people experiencing homelessness to move or be in the public landscape?

The city and its public space play a significant role in the lives of people experiencing homelessness. By having no fixed abode, they are required to make use of public spaces to meet their daily functional needs. When private activities need to be carried out in public, public infrastructure, such as parks and streets, temporarily become living rooms, kitchens or merely places in which one can rest. However, throughout history as much as today, a struggle for urban territory emerges relentlessly in their narrative, as the appropriation of public space by homeless people is often highly criminalized and contested.

As Don Mitchell ascertains, people experiencing homelessness are in a double bind. *“For them, socially legitimated private spaces does not exist, and so they are denied access to public space and public activity by the laws of capitalist society that is anchored in private property and privacy.”*¹ Those governing the city have vested interest in promoting a certain commodified aesthetic and social image of the city that tries to attract capital. Luxury buildings and associated lifestyles are part of that projected image, while visible homelessness and poverty are not.² Therefore, *“anything that threatened all this new investment, this new form of fictitious capital, locked up as it was for years and decades in the built environment, had to be eliminated, or at least managed.”*³

A generation of research has shown that ‘publicness’ in public space is not something that can be taken for granted.⁴ Today’s privatization has naturalized exclusion, making those spaces ‘neutral’ and ambiguously public.⁵ Center staged are those groups in society that claim an identity reflecting in a territorial presence or use those ‘public’ spaces in disjunction with the mainstream of urban development. Therefore, the ‘right to the city’ is hardly self-evident and an ongoing struggle for people experiencing homelessness, as they have been relentlessly pushed through the city over the centuries under the guise of order, as their mere presence, mingling with public and private behavior, suggests an uncontrolled society to some.

For many years, cities have spatially continued to limit accessibility for homeless people through different restrictions and measures. Ranging from controlled spatial approaches, such as increased urban securitization and hostile architecture, to managing public space through various policies and by-laws. All affecting public spaces in one way or another, increasingly structured to facilitate certain identities and behaviors, and to discipline or remove others.⁶ These numerous restrictions and policies constitute different dynamics of anti-homelessness that are meant to avoid and push the various aspects of homelessness out of the city.

From an in-depth study of the urban fabric of Cape Town and numerous conversations, several significant dynamics of anti-homelessness were identified. Distributed over the city, many public spaces are designed or redesigned specifically to exclude and demoralize homeless populations. Whether by aggressive security measures, hostile architecture or by-laws that criminalize people for being homeless, they are all instruments not to ‘tackle’ homelessness, but most of all to push them out of the visible urban fabric. As *“The homeless themselves do not disappear but are pushed further out into marginality - spatially, socially, and economically. The right to the city has not yet been defined for the homeless.”*⁷

This chapter tries to expose the struggle of public space in terms of spatial injustice and social exclusion of people experiencing homelessness. In what follows, different dynamics of anti-homelessness are translated into space to visualize its effects in the urban environment as well as how they are distributed over the different neighborhoods.

Five different sections, each of which explores an aspect of the ‘anti-homeless dynamics’, construct a comprehensive introduction of those punitive dynamics in Cape Town. First, the increasing securitization of urban and public space in the contemporary city will be considered. Which elements of securitization influence where homeless people can be and how they can move through public spaces? What dynamics push them relentlessly through the city and out of certain areas?

In addition, different elements of hostile architecture will be covered. How do different structural implementations in architecture and urban space affect the way public space can be used and by whom? What elements of this hostile architecture are predominantly present in Cape Town’s urban fabric?

The third part will address the different policies and by-laws that seek to remove homeless people from public spaces, and which are designed to make survival on the streets as difficult as possible.

Furthermore, social tensions and struggles will be discussed by means of the social dynamics of the ‘Not In My Backyard’ attitude towards homelessness.

Lastly, the fifth part will go into detail of how people who are already homeless are pushed through the city by forced removals and evictions. What do such processes look like and what alternatives are offered after their evictions?

After all, a synthesis of this chapter will reflect on the effects that these anti-homeless dynamics bring to the public landscape and how it significantly impacts the lives of people experiencing homelessness as well as the public urban fabric of a city.

URBAN SECURITIZATION

Which elements of securitization influence where people experiencing homelessness can be? How can they move through public spaces? What dynamics push them through the city and out of certain areas?

While practices of securing public spaces and private properties against threats from individuals who use or ‘misuse’ the public urban fabric are not new or unique, both the technologies and discursive justifications used to achieve these goals have changed in recent decades.⁸ Walls, barriers, and spiked fences have long been used to divide and protect the private from the risk posed by the spontaneity of the public, keeping out undesirable or unwanted individuals and enclosing the poor and homeless within certain sections of the city.⁹

People experiencing homelessness and their lifestyles have long been regarded as ‘otherness’. Those living in such ways have far-reaching histories of exclusion, stigmatization, and punitive treatment.¹⁰ *“The urban rough sleeper is a contested figure in the city, evoking crime, disorder and poverty and thus disrupting the projects of aestheticization and securitization of the revanchist city.”*¹¹ Through the various restrictions and by-laws that criminalize daily activities of homelessness, people who are living on the streets are often labeled as delinquent and therefore treated in that way.

Furthermore, according to Wacquant *“The media stubbornly mix up crime, poverty, and immigration. There is constant confusion between insecurity and ‘the feeling of insecurity.’”*¹² While historical responses to urban fear and insecurity came largely from the state, in recent years fear management has increasingly been driven, but not exclusively, by private forces, including individual citizens.¹³

The city and its citizens seek to alleviate this fear and reduce the incidence of crime by providing a sense of protection through urban form, such as electrified fences and high walls, as well as employing private security companies and implementing different other forms of surveillance.

All these measures are aimed at applying some form of disciplinary control over urban spaces and their different users. Although fear of crime is the common justification for urban forms of a segregating nature, this often disguises possible underlying motives.¹⁴ According to Lemanski, *“These strategies invoke limited profit-driven understandings of public safety, failing (or refusing) to recognize the fine line between safety and exclusion, and legitimizing the latter supposedly in the name of the former.”*¹⁵

Therefore, the following part reflects on these different elements of urban securitization and how it can significantly affect people experiencing homelessness and the urban fabric. By means of a photographic atlas, divided by the indicated neighborhoods in the map below, five typologies of urban securitization in Cape Town are defined. Each typology will be further discussed and illustrated, where possible, through a case study.

The photographic atlas is formed in a way to represent the typical security landscape of the corresponding neighborhood. As the line of photographs is larger, more forms of urban securitization are identified. This allows to compare the different neighborhoods with one another, but also within the area itself to represent which elements are more dominantly present and which are not. In this way, an illustrative representation is formed of the distribution and type of urban securitization within the analyzed area of Cape Town. A synthesis of this layer is represented by an x-pattern on the graphic synthesis map.

- A. CBD
- B. District Six
- C. Vredehoek
- D. Oranjezicht
- E. Gardens
- F. Tamboerskloof
- G. Bo-Kaap
- H. Waterfront
- I. Green Point/ Mouille Point/
Three Anchor Bay
- J. Sea Point
- K. Fresnaye
- L. Bantry Bay
- M. Clifton
- N. Woodstock/ Salt River
- O. Camps Bay
- P. Observatory

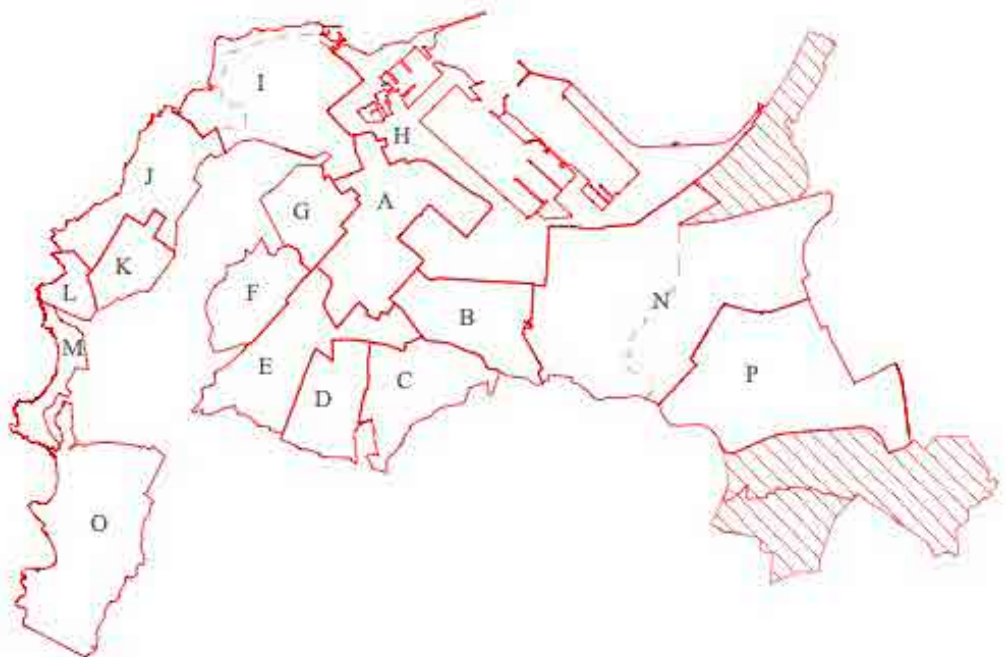




Figure 1 : Urban securitization, Clifton

A - CBD

WALLS & FENCES



PRIVATE SECURITY



WARNING SIGNS

B - DISTRICT SIX

WALLS & FENCES



PUBLIC SECURITY



WARNING SIGNS

C - VREDEHOEK

WALLS & FENCES



WARNING SIGNS

D - ORANJEZICHT

WALLS & FENCES



WARNING SIGNS



PUBLIC SECURITY

SURVEILLANCE



PRIVATE SECURITY

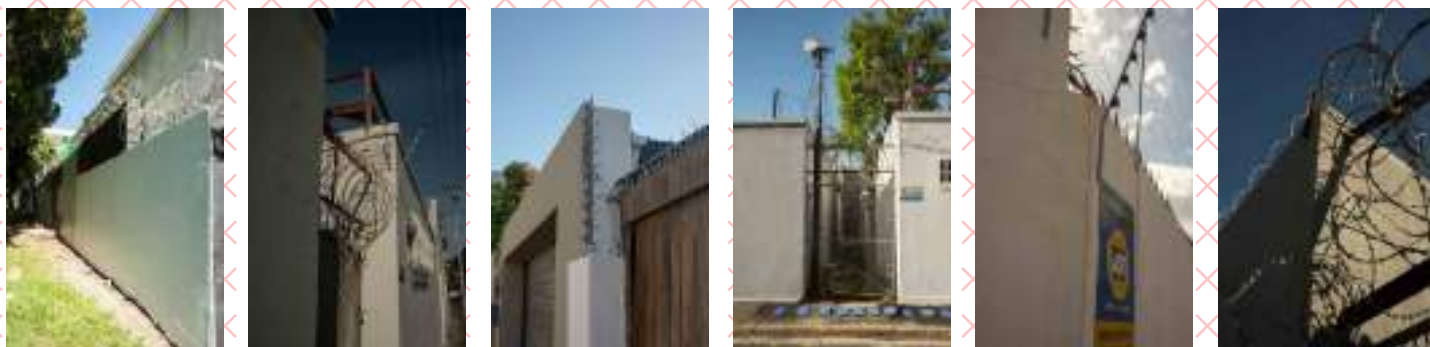
SURVEILLANCE



PRIVATE SECURITY

E - GARDENS

WALLS & FENCES



F - TAMBOERSKLOOF

WALLS & FENCES



WARNING SIGNS

G - BO-KAAP

WALLS & FENCES



WARNING SIGNS

H - WATERFRONT

WARNING SIGNS



SURVEILLANCE



PRIVATE SECURITY





WARNING SIGNS



SURVEILLANCE



PRIVATE SECURITY



SURVEILLANCE



PRIVATE SECURITY



SURVEILLANCE



PUBLIC SECURITY



I - GREEN POINT/ MOUILLE POINT/ THREE ANCHOR BAY

WALLS & FENCES



SURVEILLANCE



WARNING SIGNS

J - SEA POINT

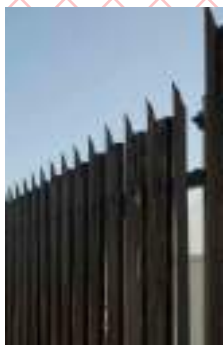
WALLS & FENCES



WARNING SIGNS

K - FRESNAYE

WALLS & FENCES



WARNING SIGNS

SURVEILLANCE

L - BANTRY BAY

WALLS & FENCES



WARNING SIGNS

SURVEILLANCE



PRIVATE SECURITY

SURVEILLANCE



PRIVATE SECURITY

PUBLIC SECURITY



PRIVATE SECURITY



PRIVATE SECURITY

M - CLIFTON

WALLS & FENCES



WARNING SIGNS

N - WOODSTOCK/ SALT RIVER

WALLS & FENCES



O - CAMPS BAY

WALLS & FENCES



WARNING SIGNS

P - OBSERVATORY

WALLS & FENCES



WARNING SIGNS

SURVEILLANCE



PRIVATE SECURITY



PRIVATE SECURITY

WARNING SIGNS



PRIVATE SECURITY



PRIVATE SECURITY

URBAN SECURITIZATION - WALLS & FENCES

Whether made of iron spiked bars or brick walls with barbed wire, fences and walls are ubiquitous to the landscape of the City of Cape Town. For centuries, people have erected fences and walls to define and protect what is valuable to them. Those types of boundaries were erected mostly to keep outsiders out, but occasionally also to keep those inside in.¹⁶ It is a means to regulate and provide accessibility to those access is granted and keep out the unwanted or undesirable individuals. When situated at the boundary between public and private sphere, those fortified borders delimit the public from the private, the homed from the homeless.¹⁷

However, over the years, Cape Town's public and open space has been increasingly enclosed and fenced off. As Cruz and Forman point out, these types of privatizations naturalize exclusion, as it makes those spaces ambiguously public.¹⁸ Accessibility to space changes the way people can use those spaces and the degree to which access is granted to that space determines the character and use of it.

Most of the public parks in Cape Town have become fenced off and have been given curfews. Various signs on their gates indicate that for your own safety they became an access-controlled park. However, these public spaces themselves also vary widely in terms of accessibility, ranging from fixed opening and closing hours to restricted access for 'key holders' only.

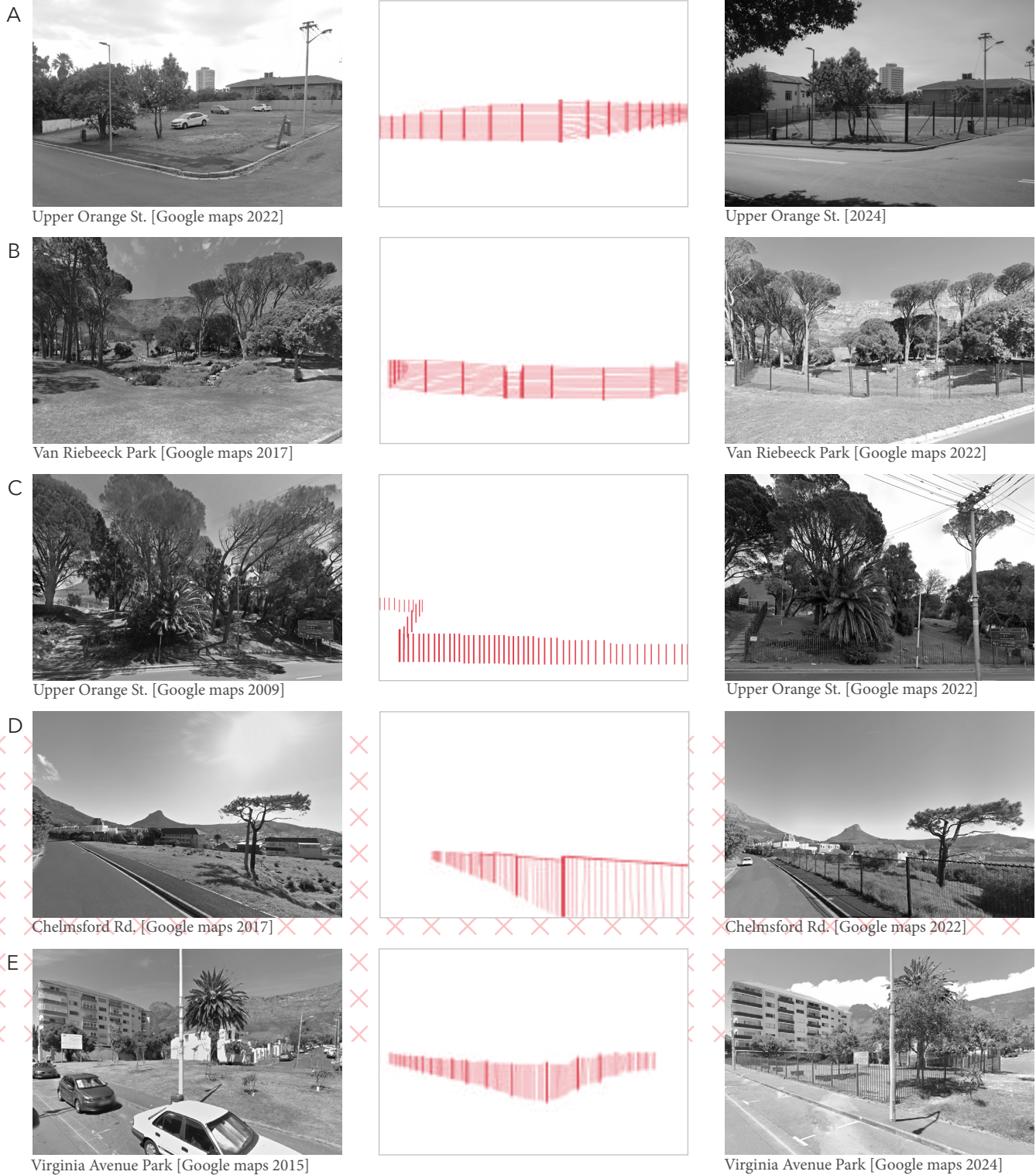
Together with the different by-laws bound to those 'public' spaces, these enclosed spaces contribute significantly to the exclusion of people experiencing homelessness. As well as it contributes to the daily struggle of finding spaces for shelter, storage of belongings, and access to public facilities without being labeled as intruders of public space.



CASE STUDIES

Regarding this element of urban securitization, different open and public spaces are examined for its increasing enclosure.

Photographs, taken at different moments in time, illustrate the trend of fencing off spaces in the city. It shows how in a short period of time the character of open and public space can change and what visual impact it can have on its environment.



URBAN SECURITIZATION - WARNING SIGNS

Security warning signs are omnipresent in Cape Town's security landscape. They are found at boundaries of private property, inside public infrastructures, around shops and restaurants, and even in different public spaces. A warning sign is a type of sign which indicates potential hazards, obstacles, or conditions requiring special intention. Whereas security warning signs are often meant to warn intruders and unwelcoming visitors that there have been security measures in place to help deter them.

Those signs are often made clearly visible to the public passing by, by placing them prominently in plain sight and using eye-catching colors and bold words.

The following collage gives an illustrative introduction of different examples that are predominantly present and visible from and in the public space of the city of Cape Town. Ranging from CCTV signage for warning that the premises are protected, to guard dogs on patrol signage and the different active private security companies.

These warning signs influence the space in whether those spaces and its surroundings give the feeling of being hospitable or inhospitable.



URBAN SECURITIZATION - SURVEILLANCE

Aesthetics have taken an increasingly central role in the construction of urban and public spaces. More specifically, Sandercock notes how recent developments in the conceptualization of public urban space have been based on generating a clean, sanitized, and safe version of urban life, “one that denies the true diversity of the urban environment”.¹⁹ This idealized urban environment is heavily regulated and controlled, where in general those control mechanisms remain largely hidden.²⁰ However, certain security and surveillance apparatuses form an exception, as they are often designed to be visible in order to provide a sense of safety and control.

These various elements of surveillance are omnipresent and clearly visible through cameras, private security, and law enforcement in the cityscape of Cape Town. Here one could criticize that the natural surveillance of Jane Jacobs’ ‘eyes on the street’ has been transformed to the eyes of CCTV cameras and security guards. The simple presence of the camera reminds people that they might be under surveillance at any moment, subtly pressuring them to conform to the city’s idealized standards of how public space should be used.

Through several interviews, including with private and public security, it became clear that ‘the right to the city’ for people who are homeless is hardly self-evident. Even more so, through the various anti-homeless dynamics of surveillance, homeless people are being pushed throughout the city and out of specific areas.

“If they see a homeless person on the cameras, they will communicate it to the rest of us. [...] We move them away, and there are also tactical cars that move them away.” - Private security in Bantry Bay, 2024 April 1.

The surveillance landscape of Cape Town is formed by several elements, from CCTV cameras and surveillance cars patrolling specific areas to static private and public security each monitoring their periphery. In the following two parts, on private and public security, two case studies will illustrate the struggle for urban territory of people experiencing homelessness and how by their status of being homeless they become excluded from public spaces.

It is striking to note that throughout all the interviews, only one security agent spoke about the safety of homeless people themselves: *“I am here to protect them, as well as to protect the residents”* - Public security in Clifton, 2024 April 1. This illustrates that even in the increasingly controlled urban space of the city, people who are homeless often are neglected and excluded.



URBAN SECURITIZATION - PRIVATE SECURITY

It appears to be that in this commodified aesthetic and social image of the cityscape, there is no place for visible homelessness.

This aesthetic is strongly controlled in wealthier neighborhoods in Cape Town where different forms of private security are present in full force in the streetscape. Furthermore, they determine apparently who is or is not welcome in 'their' public space.

These strongly fortified neighborhoods have their own layered security system, where different companies often work hand-in-hand with each other. In Bantry Bay, for example, a specific company monitors all the cameras. They keep two appointed private security teams informed of what or who they see in the neighborhood. While patrolling by car, these two teams keep other private security guards informed, who are working specifically for a building or residence.

CASE STUDY - BANTRY BAY

"So that is why you cannot see these homeless people here, because often with these rich people they just hire security. Otherwise, the police and law enforcement are helping them [private securities]." - Bantry Bay private security 1, 2024 April 1.

"We push them out of the area. They can go to Beach Road in Sea Point." - Bantry Bay private security 3, 2024 April 1.

"No, we don't always call the police because sometimes when they warn them, they beat them. So, I don't like that." - Bantry Bay private security 1, 2024 April 1.

"As a security, I know they [people experiencing homelessness] are not allowed here, you know this area, it is a neat and peaceful, no noise area." - Bantry Bay private security 2, 2024 April 1.

"He [a homeless man] likes to be around here. Like today, he was at that site, so they chased him away." - Bantry Bay private security 1, 2024 April 1.



URBAN SECURITIZATION - PUBLIC SECURITY

In addition to a strong private security presence in the streets, often in wealthier neighborhoods, popular public places have significant surveillance.

Visible poverty and homelessness are often seen as disruptive not only to the spectacle of performance of capital, but also to the spaces designed to facilitate it. According to James Petty, *"It ossifies a concern with surface over substance, clean appearance over informed or effective policy, and aligns the state's concerns with those of investors and propertied consumers. What results is a re-imagining of urban public space from these perspectives, relinquishing other social, cultural and political meanings and uses."*²¹

In V&A Waterfront, this anti-homeless dynamic stands out strongly. Although they introduce themselves as *"an iconic 123-hectare neighbourhood which welcomes millions of people from all over the continent and world. We celebrate heritage & diversity, champion art & design, support entrepreneurship & innovation & drive positive social, economic & environmental change."*²², their neighborhood rules 'in interest of safety and to ensure an enjoyable visiting experience' criminalize basic act and needs often linked to people experiencing homelessness. Even more so, different interviews and conversations indicate that being homeless is reason enough to push and 'chase' them out of this neighborhood.

CASE STUDY - V&A WATERFRONT

"Every day they [people experiencing homelessness] can try to come in, but there are cameras all over the place so when they enter by the gates, they are already seen and so they [public security] will block them." - V&A Waterfront public security 1, 2024 April 1.

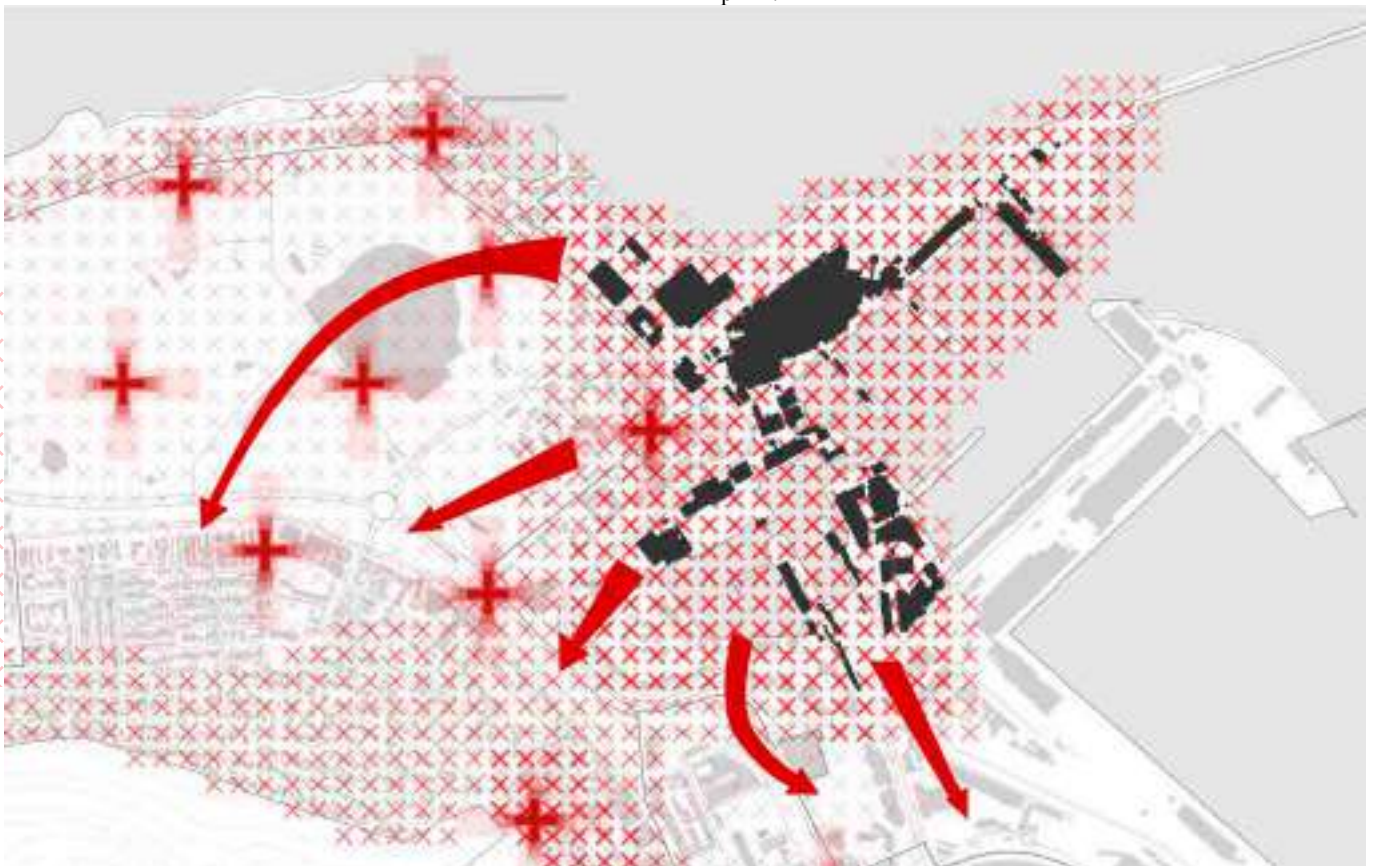
"It is in the policy of Waterfront: no homeless people in Waterfront." - V&A Waterfront public security 1, 2024 April 1.

"At Sea Point there are so many places where maybe they [people experiencing homelessness] can hide, you see, but here, no, there is no place to hide." - V&A Waterfront public security 2, 2024 April 1.

"We don't use force on them, but we insist them to leave. We make them understand." - V&A Waterfront public security 3, 2024 April 1.

"We must take care of them so that they can't be out in public because of tourism. The waterfront doesn't want them to disturb the tourist." - V&A Waterfront public security 3, 2024 April 1.

"When they think the person is homeless or begging, they ask us to chase the person away. It is on a daily basis that we have to chase them away." - V&A Waterfront public security 2, 2024 April 1.



HOSTILE ARCHITECTURE

How do different structural implementations in architecture and urban space affect the way public space can be used and by whom? What elements of this hostile architecture are predominantly present in Cape Town's urban fabric?

Hostile architecture, often associated or depicted as 'defensive' or 'disciplinary' architecture, can be described as various structures that are attached to or installed in public spaces in order to render them unusable in certain ways or by certain groups.²³ By using the definitions of Karl de Fine Licht, associate professor in ethics and technology at Chalmers University, this exclusive type of architecture will be discussed in more detail.

He defines defensive design as something that aims to hinder specific behaviors through direct engagement or affecting the user's motivation. This overarching form of architecture also includes hostile architecture, which, however, can be distinguished and characterized by its predetermined intentions. Therefore, hostile architecture can be understood as design that is specifically used to change or disturb the behavior of certain groups or individuals, but where its intention is specially characterized by ill will or causing harm towards these people.²⁴

These types of hostile design target especially different vulnerable groups, such as homeless people, due to their higher dependence on public space. Various elements of this hostile architecture can be found in Cape Town's urban landscape but differ greatly in their visibility and subtlety.

Metal pins and barbed wire are a particular visible and confronting method of environmental coercion. In being so visible, *"these spikes revealed to the public the extent to which cities are constructed for the benefit of those who are able to adhere to dominant socio-cultural norms and politico-legal*

*codes, often to the detriment of those who cannot."*²⁵ While other control features that are common in public space, like "bum-proof" benches or automatic water sprinklers, are less visual and explicit in their intent. More so, the absence of an expected public amenity or removing it can also be considered as an example of hostile design.²⁶

It is therefore important to address the issues of visibility. Elements of hostile architecture are particularly designed to remain unnoticeable to the non-targeted, allowing them to use the space undisturbed. In this way it often does not announce their hostile characteristic to others, only to them it is designed for. Those different elements of anti-homelessness are forceful in the sense that one can clearly no longer use the infrastructure in the same way as before.

Therefore, the following part will reflect on these different elements of hostile architecture and how it significantly affects people experiencing homelessness and the urban fabric. By means of a photographic atlas, divided by the indicated neighborhoods in the map below, different typologies of hostile architecture in Cape Town were defined. Each typology will be further discussed and illustrated, were possible, through a case study.

The photographic atlas is formed to represent the typical landscape of hostile architecture of the corresponding neighborhood. As the line of photographs is larger, more forms of hostile architecture are identified. This allows to compare the different neighborhoods with one another, but also within the area itself to represent which elements are more dominantly present and which are not. In this way, an illustrative representation is formed of the distribution and types of hostile architecture within the analyzed area of Cape Town. A synthesis of this layer is represented by cross symbols on the graphic synthesis map.

- A. CBD
- B. District Six
- C. Vredehoek
- D. Oranjezicht
- E. Gardens
- F. Tamboerskloof
- G. Bo-Kaap
- H. Waterfront
- I. Green Point/ Mouille Point/
Three Anchor Bay
- J. Sea Point
- K. Fresnaye
- L. Bantry Bay
- M. Clifton
- N. Woodstock/ Salt River
- O. Camps Bay
- P. Observatory

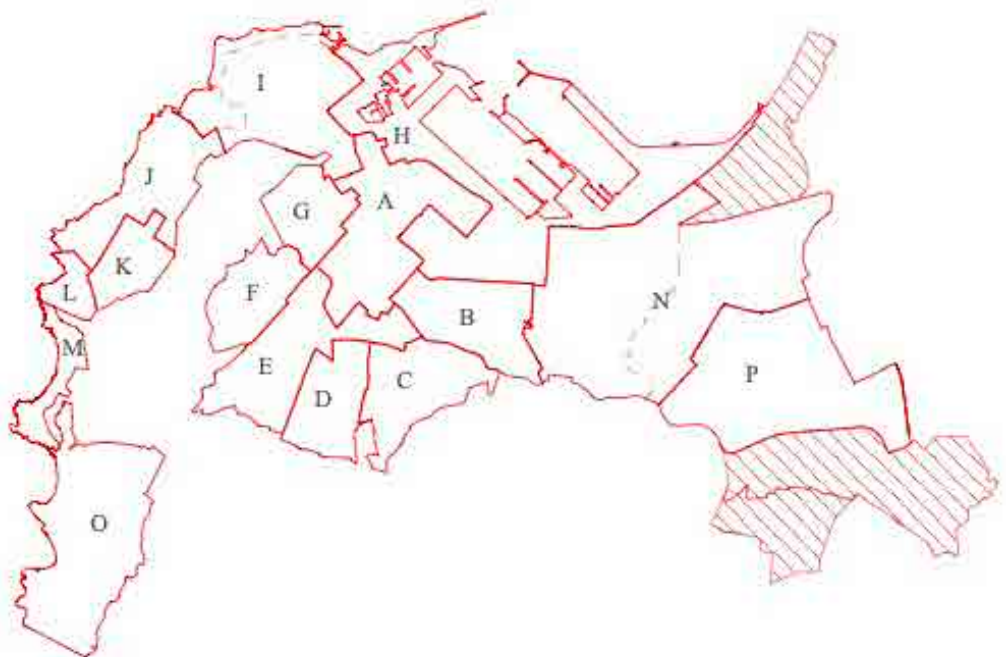




Figure 2 : Metal pins preventing one to sit on the windowsill, CBD

A - CBD

FENCING OFF



SURFACES, PINS & BARBED WIRE

B - DISTRICT SIX

FENCING OFF



C - VREDEHOEK

SURFACES, PINS & BARBED WIRE



FILLING SPACES

D - ORANJEZICHT

SURFACES, PINS & BARBED WIRE





FILLING SPACES



BENCHES



E - GARDENS

FENCING OFF



SURFACES, PINS & BARBED WIRE

F - TAMBOERSKLOOF

FENCING OFF



SURFACES, PINS & BARBED WIRE

G - BO-KAAP

SURFACES, PINS & BARBED WIRE



H - WATERFRONT

SURFACES, PINS & BARBED WIRE



BENCHES



FILLING SPACES

FILLING SPACES — — — — —



I - GREENPOINT/ MOUILLE POINT/ THREE ANCHOR BAY

FENCING OFF



FILLING SPACES

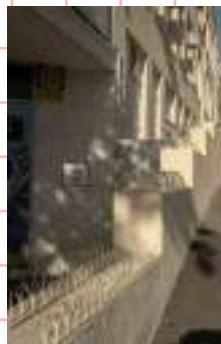


SURFACES, PINS & BARBED WIRE

BENCHES

J - SEAPOINT

FENCING OFF



FILLING SPACES

SURFACES, PINS & BARBED WIRE

K - FRESNAYE

SURFACES, PINS & BARBED WIRE



L - BANTRY BAY

SURFACES, PINS & BARBED WIRE





BENCHES

M - CLIFTON

SURFACES, PINS & BARBED WIRE



FILLING SPACES

N - WOODSTOCK/ SALT RIVER

SURFACES, PINS & BARBED WIRE



O - CAMPS BAY

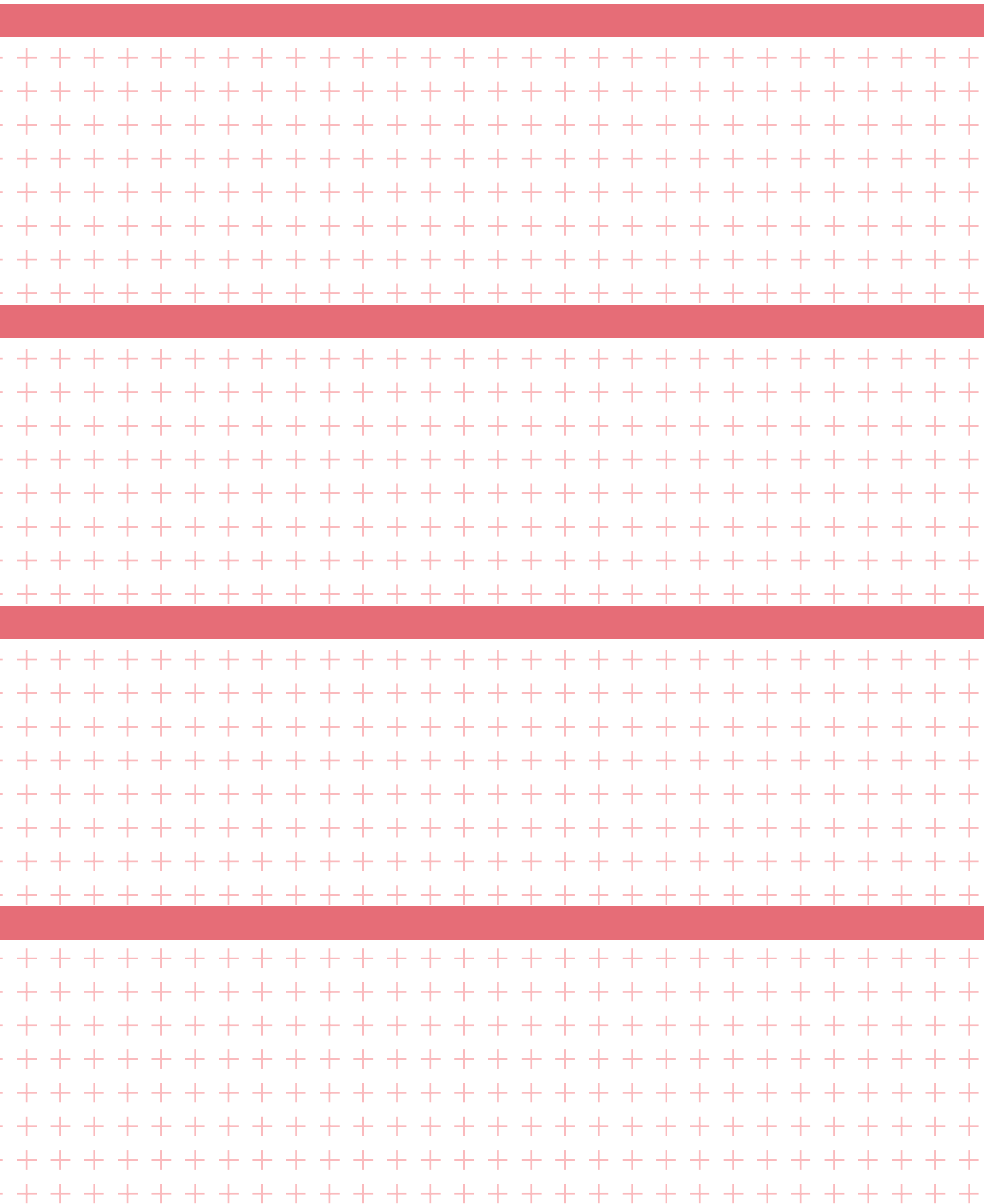
SURFACES, PINS & BARBED WIRE



P - OBSERVATORY

SURFACES, PINS & BARBED WIRE





HOSTILE ARCHITECTURE - FENCING OFF

As shown before, people experiencing homelessness have often been pushed throughout the urban landscape. 'The right to the city' turns out to be hardly self-evident or even not valid for them. When access to public space is denied by various restrictions or laws, homeless people are forced to perform their daily functional needs out of sight. Left-over spaces can become re-appropriated to provide a space to perform those needs.

However, as a counter reaction, these existing infrastructures are often modified so that it becomes impossible to use those spaces in the same way as before.

This form of hostile architecture, characterized by gates, fences or barbed wire, makes it impossible to use that space in the same manner, as it has been fenced off from the public. Access to those parts of public space is being denied in response to a use that does not seem to fit the aesthetic image of the city.

The following two case studies illustrate this hostile dynamic of anti-homelessness and how in a brief period of time the urban landscape can change. This type of hostile architecture seems to be used a lot when people experiencing homelessness are evicted from a specific place in the city and where those who govern the city intend by doing so that no one will use that space again in the same way.

CASE STUDIES

A



Castle of Good Hope [October 2023]

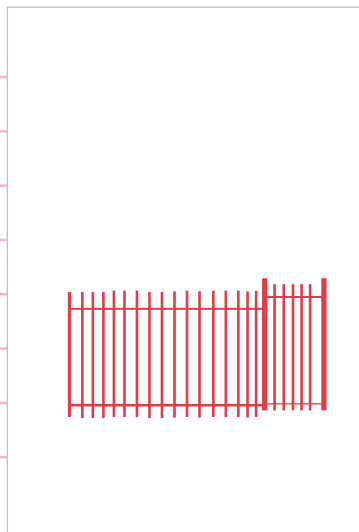


Castle of Good Hope [April 2024]

B



Mill Street Bridge, Left



Mill Street Bridge, Right

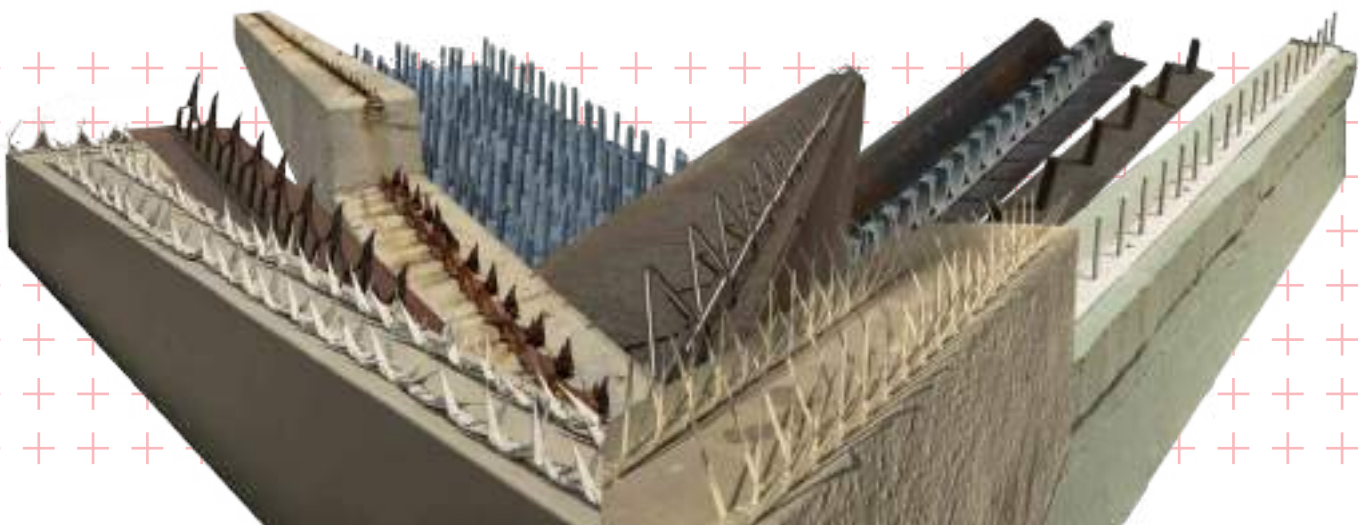
HOSTILE ARCHITECTURE - SURFACES, PINS & BARBED WIRE

Placing pins, spikes or barbed wire on a ledge deters people from sitting or resting on that place. The same goes for steep round ledges, short ledges, or even deliberately leaving them out of the design. Creating hostile surfaces in different spaces in the city so they cannot be used in a certain way or by some people, is often regarded as one of the key examples of hostile architecture as they are so visible in space for everyone.

These types of hostile architecture can be found in various places, ranging from coming out of the ground to being placed against walls, on windowsills and handrails. As a conspicuous intervention, these spikes and surfaces arguably disrupt the intended meaning and possibilities of those spaces and cause discomfort to those who look at them.

The use of those surfaces, pins and barbed wire are not only trying to prevent people from sleeping or resting out in that particular space, as Karl de Fine Licht notes they also clearly *"send the hurtful messages that they are not wanted here."*²⁷

However, those various kinds of hostile architecture should be understood in terms of ownership. Designers and those who govern the city have one set of responsibilities, while individual residents or shop owners have another. All participate in determining how hostile or hospitable they shape space and, in this way, also the city itself.



HOSTILE ARCHITECTURE - FILLING SPACES

A less noticeable way of hostile architecture to restrict various uses in public space is to fill that space with objects in such a way that specific actions or behaviors can no longer take place. This form of appropriation of public space by residents or city planners limits the appropriation of other users who are less 'privileged' to do so.

Bollards, rocks or large planters are commonly placed along the street and in the public spaces of Cape Town to prevent the possibility that others might use it in a way that does not conform to the ideal image of the city. For example, by putting up a structure to dwell in (see chapter 5: From body to territory). Therefore, those hostile elements of anti-homelessness can often be found in places that provide a sense of shelter.



HOSTILE ARCHITECTURE - BENCHES

As previously mentioned, many types of hostile architecture are made specifically to remain inconspicuous to the non-target so they can still use the space undisturbed. A good example of this are “bum-proof benches” and other hostile furniture, which are typically designed to avoid certain ways to use it or make it extremely difficult to get substantial rest on it.

The armrest on the public bench remains a clear illustration of how behavior in public space can be controlled without much ado. *“The armrest is all the more insidious for how subtle it tries to be, masking its exclusionary intent as a utilitarian or decorative element of the bench’s design.”*²⁸

Those armrest or seat dividers are designed so that they are impossible, or at least extremely uncomfortable, to use as a space to lie down or sleep on. A hostile design modification that again targets the unhoused.

Different variations of this hostile furniture can be found in Cape Town. Public furniture might have slopy seats as well as slippery or rough materials to make it even harder to sleep on. They can be designed with small surfaces or as standing seats with uncomfortable heights, which physically limits a person from lying down. Furthermore, shortening the backrest, implementing gaps, or using unique shapes and sizes avoid long-term use by someone as it may be uncomfortable.





Figure 3 : Urban surveillance by presence of security cameras, Clifton



Figure 4 : Metal pins preventing one to settle, CBD

BY-LAWS

Worldwide, homeless individuals are targeted, arrested, and even jailed under laws that criminalize homelessness by making basic life-sustaining activities illegal. These policies and by-laws, designed to make survival on the streets as difficult as possible for people experiencing homelessness, are often mainly implemented to move visible homelessness out of commercial and tourist districts, or even entire cities. Furthermore, as Wacquant critically remarks, those policies are never aimed at showing any understanding of individual distress or at reversing a social trend.²⁹ Disguised or justified as necessary measures for public health and safety, they try to hide their hostile nature from the wider public.

James Petty notes, that those regulations and by-laws “that seek to remove certain people from public spaces constitute attempts to foreclose upon the participation of those people in these processes.”³⁰ In many countries those restrictions to access public space could be interpreted as an interference with a citizen’s right to ‘freedom of movement’, as for South Africa is defined by the Bill of Rights.³¹

Within the city of Cape Town, an increasing amount of measures have been taken over the last couple of years to evacuate people experiencing homelessness out of the public realm through the implementation of those different by-laws. From the criminalization of sleeping in public space or your own car, to the ban on loitering and even scratching in the bins, the city’s effort to criminalize homelessness is growing significantly.

On the 29th of September 2021, the City of Cape Town approved two by-laws: the new ‘Unlawful Occupation’ by-law and the already amended ‘Street, Public Places and Prevention of Noise Nuisances’ by-law. The latter provides for the issuing of citations to people sleeping in public space and states that if a person refuses an alternative shelter, they will be found guilty of an offence and therefore will be issued with a monetary fine.³² As a reaction, many human right’s activist groups, such as Ndifuna Ukwazi, Reclaim the City, and the Housing Assembly, have denounced those by-laws as it will further criminalize those people in need of housing.³³

According to Don Mitchell, “Such citations often carry stiff fines that homeless people cannot afford, and when they do not pay them the citations are converted to arrest warrants.”³⁴ Those elements of anti-homelessness dynamics within the city contribute significantly to the social and political exclusion of people who are homeless in the urban space and affect how society views and reacts to homeless people. It directly undermines their own right to be or move through the city.

From public parks to entire neighborhoods, all those spaces are bound by specific regulations that push homelessness further into marginalization. Several interviews and conversations revealed that in practice these disguised rules, justified by public health and safety, are directed specifically toward people who are homeless, as law-enforcement and private security always referred with ‘them’ to people experiencing homelessness.

“So, what they do is scrabbing in the bins. That is not allowed in waterfront.” - V&A Waterfront public security 2, 2024 April 1.

“He is not allowed to lie on the ground.” - Clifton public security, 2024 April 1.

“That’s why we always make sure when we see them, we make sure that they are out of the view.” - V&A Waterfront public security 3, 2024 April 1.



“We don’t want them here. That is the rule of waterfront.” - V&A Waterfront public security 2, 2024 April 1.

“The same goes for drinking, if we see them with alcohol, we are going to say to stop it and take it in a bag. It has to be in your own space.” - Clifton public security, 2024 April 1.

“We don’t want people that are loitering.” - Clifton public security, 2024 April 1.



Figure 5 : By-laws of Van Riebeeck Park, Vredehoek

NOT IN MY BACKYARD

NIMBY, short for Not In My Backyard, refers to the attitude where residents of a neighborhood oppose new developments being established in their area. Homelessness is one of such topics which often causes commotion and resistant residents. In this thesis a distinction is made between resisting new shelter spaces in one's neighborhood and resisting homeless individuals just being in the streets near someone's property.

RESISTING SHELTERS

Typically, developments such as shelters, affordable housing, or group homes are opposed by a neighborhood community. This resistance stems from assumptions about the people who will live in these new housing projects. Common concerns and prejudices, including potential increases in crime, litter, theft, and violence, raise fear that property values will decline. Those are often the main drivers for resisting the new residents. When community consultations and meetings are held, critics will push their opinion doing everything in their power to prevent such changes in their neighborhood.³⁵

Cape Town is not immune to NIMBYism movements. With the increase in people becoming homeless, so is resistance. Establishing new shelter spaces seems to be a difficult narrative, especially in the more central and wealthier areas. An example is the old Robbie Nurock Day Hospital at Buitenkant Street in Cape Town's CBD area.

In 2022, the City of Cape Town appointed the building, which had been vacant for almost 5 years, to become a new shelter space for those experiencing homelessness. Activists and organizations working with the homeless were hopeful and praised this decision. It would be a step forward in the fight to address the homelessness crisis.³⁶ Unfortunately, during preliminary investigations of the contractors, extensive presence of asbestos was found in the building.

This immediately put an end to the transformation of the old Day Hospital into new shelter accommodation. Instead, a new site for the project was appointed: the old Tafelberg crèche in District Six, a neighborhood which already holds several shelter spaces.³⁷ Going against the idea of spreading shelter systems throughout different communities, critics and activists question this decision of the city authorities:

Founder of Streetscapes, Jesse Laitine, mentions in an interview with GroundUp: *"I would not throw the baby out with the bathwater. [...] The province could show leadership here by showing they are serious about re-purposing such buildings. Such re-purposing can have social, financial, and strategic benefits to the community as well as the city/province."*³⁸

Peter de Villiers, member of the GOOD Party of the Western Cape Provincial Parliament, being even more critical by making a link with a NIMBY community and questioning the asbestos argument: *"Is asbestos really the reason for the change of location or is this a case of the DA-led Provincial Government pandering to its white voters in the affluent Gardens/Vredehoek suburbs shouting 'not in our backyard'."*³⁹

To this day, still no new shelter is created at either of the sites. Instead, the old Robbie Nurock Hospital is still vacant and fenced off with metal fences and barbed wire. Security guards are sitting at the gate preventing the building from being occupied.

RESISTING HOMELESSNESS

Someone experiencing homelessness can be recognized as an informal dweller of the streets. By the NIMBYism movements they are labelled as unwanted and undesirable. This hostility comes from the same assumptions and prejudices mentioned earlier. Fear of an increase in crime and a decrease in the neighborhood's value and quality is a catalyst for the rise of these movements.

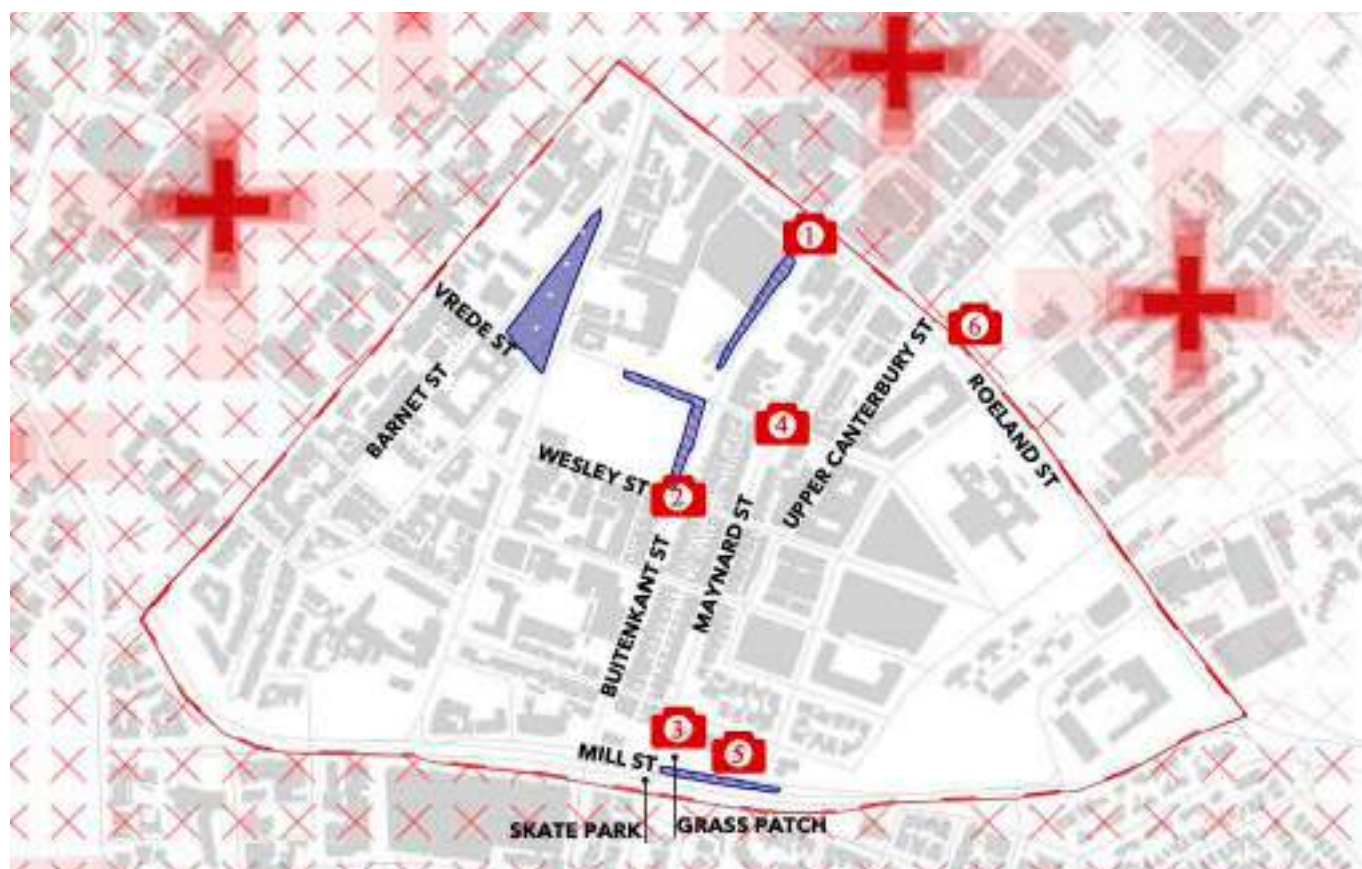
With the mindset 'out of sight, out of mind', community organizations are important actors in evicting homeless settlements in the city. Furthermore, in preventing them by immediate response and calling city services to chase them away.

In the following, Gardens Watch is given as a case study to illustrate aspects of anti-homeless dynamics which may occur in a neighborhood watch. The City of Cape Town has many neighborhood watches, each keeping a close eye on what is happening in their specific area.

CASE STUDY - GARDENSWATCH CHAT

Gardens Watch is an organization established by residents of the Lower Gardens area. Its objective is to organize community efforts to monitor the area they live in. One of their main means of communication is a WhatsApp group chat named 'GardensWatch Chat'. Members report activities happening in the neighborhood which concerns them. They encourage one another to report these by calling the South African Police Services (SAPS) or the City of Cape Town Law Enforcement & Metro Police.⁴⁰ For them it is a way of keeping their neighborhood safe and 'clean'.

The presence and actions of homeless individuals seem to be a strongly recurring topic. The Garden Watch Chat seems to have a significant role in preventing homeless individuals from settling within the neighborhood or in facilitating their removal if they are already present. Although the group does not express absolute opposition to homeless individuals, it strongly advocates for their exclusion from the Lower Gardens neighborhood.





A tent going up along skate park. Please report. 17:20

There's a guy been lying on the sidewalk the whole day, corner Stede and Bannet Street. 18:41

-WatchCam
copy. 19:41

"Tents going up again here at the bottom of the Buitenkant Street. Lets just call it in. I'm not able to do so now, I'm just walking past."



Perhaps we can ask to fence. The area is giving issues because of noise, constant garbage, rudity, defecation, and the occupants go up and down via Scott Street to the other ramps in Buitenkant. 18:23

Yes it should get fenced up, as the bridge should get fenced too... I see the other part of the bridge has been fenced with metal structures (the part more in front of the garden centre side) 18:50

Look how nice Biebeek Park is now that it has been fenced up, you can go for nice walks there 18:55

The City must keep the pressure up to deter them 17:58

The City must keep the pressure up to deter them 17:57

We need to keep on reporting. They also take drugs openly. It is too much. 17:59

There are a whole bunch of guys just hanging around the patch of grass next to a small make shift structure opposite the skateboard park. 17:56

We reported them almost everyday, but nothing happens 17:56

Vagrants 17:55

And our ward councillor ... ??? Wonder what she does... last time I wrote to Francine... she said homelessness is not a crime... but they sell drugs... probably break into cars and homes... it's ridiculous... probably all from Ruismoor!! 17:54



Possibly structure going up corner Wesley and Buitenkant - pls report 18:00

Yes green tent 18:00

Please phone 18:00

I phoned last night, a wooden structure was going up around 10:00 next to where this tent is going up, seems LE did something about that. 18:00



GardensWATCH

e. The "dormies" are back outside number 7 Maynard. I called CIBAR... and they unfortunately... to make it comfortable for them to be there.

Another note, The "dormies" are back outside number 7 Maynard. I called CIBAR... mixed meaning them unfortunately...

E immediately. As soon as you three, you must call. Keep us informed.

We will let us know when LE come please!

LE came quickly and they were moved on @ within 20 min...

LE came quickly and they were moved on @ within 20 min...

Ok good. Let's continue calling if they come back.



I am not ok with this...

He is hiding his head, because I am taking a photo... They are there, watching me... Or watching my immediate surroundings...

Please advise... Bottom of Maynard Street

Get a couple of the neighbours together (e.g. [redacted] from the boxing gym, [redacted] etc) and go and speak to him. Say he is not allowed to sleep on the pavement outside the houses and must go to a safe space if he is homeless. Be insistent but polite. Keep on going back with the same crew until it is more convenient for him to go elsewhere

Hi yes it has become more and more now cause there are 4 to 5 sleeping there at night! I have called law in Enforcement to have them removed but they did nothing at all!

We have asked and told them before but they came back

You have to be more persistent than them. You can't give up

Thank you [redacted] They have been there all day. And I'm very uncomfortable with it. It's great.

More works well. Spray the ground which leads to a good deterrent.



About 4 police vans at Skids park

More a show of force than anything else. Left soon after

The same thing happened on Wesley Street a few days ago. Don't know why, but it was good to see.

About 4 police vans at Skids park

This is great. If we can have more of this then we can riot out the criminals because they don't like to be disturbed

Less hope

I noticed about 4 tents had been removed from Wesley St last night on my way home from work...

We up to the ward councilors and municipality in general to find these solutions. It's quite literally their job

I will plan to attend. I hope you will too, [redacted] and others on this chat. We need to move the needle in our area.



New structure going up close to food lovers. Car upper-canterbury and roland. I am reporting now.

Will report as well. We must discourage 5 a group of this will continue mushrooming in our area

EVICTING THE HOMELESS

As settlements and structures of homeless individuals keep rising within the city center of Cape Town, the ones dwelling in them are continuously under more pressure to be pushed away. Especially in the wealthier areas. A link can be made with NIMBY movements previously discussed. As a result of such mindset, settlements of street people can be brutally evicted by the city's police and law enforcement. Individuals are displaced to the outskirts of the city and provided with poor housing alternatives far away from any economic opportunity or forced to go into the shelter system. These actions are defined as legal evictions. However, it seems that illegal evictions, conducted by private security companies, occasionally happen. *"They put the people experiencing homelessness in a van and drop them off at the border of Cape Town, leave them there with nothing."* - Nick Budlender, NU, 2023 October 5.

An eviction is defined as *'the act of forcing someone to leave somewhere, especially their home'*.⁴¹ In this thesis, forced removals of those dwelling on the street, are understood as evicting the homeless. It is recognized that the streets and public spaces are their home, out of which they are evicted.

Although evictions of homelessness are happening more often since the pandemic, displacing street people is not a new matter. Similar actions have already taken place several years ago. For example, when Cape Town hosted the FIFA World Cup of 2010, the city desired to look clean and well-functioning for the rest of the world. In order to achieve this image, the city center was 'cleaned' from homelessness. Back then, people who were residing on the streets in the central neighborhoods, were forcefully removed to the outskirts of the city, in places called TRA (Temporary Residential Area's). Wolversrivier and Blikiesdorp are examples of such areas. (See timeline of chapter 1: History of Spatial Injustice).⁴²

PIE ACT

The PIE Act, applied in South Africa, is a law that stands for the Prevention of Illegal Evictions from Unlawful Occupation of Land, introduced since 1998. The PIE Act makes it harder to evict unlawful occupations, including settlements of street people.

The act announces that an eviction in South Africa can only be possible after a legal court process and when alternative housing options are provided by the evictor.⁴³ Because of this law, pressure is put on the government and protection is offered for those residing on the street. Due to the act's complexity, multiple cases of those evictions are fought out in court.

Unfortunately, the alternative housing solutions, given by the authorities to be able to evict, seem to be in poor condition. An example is the 'Emergency Housing kit', where people are given materials to build a house somewhere else. The question of where to build this house can be raised. There is often no land provided along with this housing kit. If it is provided it is often a piece of land on the outskirts of the city. How can this be considered as a housing solution if one does not even have a decent piece of land to build on? Another example is the rejection of an offered safe space or shelter facility. It can be questionable but it is somehow acceptable to consider shelter facilities as an alternative when the one being evicted agrees with it. The fact that refusal of such an offer is still considered as an alternative is more difficult to accept. Especially when the reasons for the evicted refusing a shelter or safe space accommodation are not that hard to understand.⁴⁴

"I've been to all the shelters and I refuse. You stay in the shelter for six months. When the six months is finished, you are supposed to go out because they need the space. Where must the person go, back on the street?" - Soraya Peterson.⁴⁵

NU

Some NGOs, active within the City of Cape Town, try to defend the defenseless. Ndifuna Ukwazi for example strives for a more just city. Resisting evictions and displacements is an important branch within this objective. Hereby, they focus on homeless communities occupying empty spaces in the city. They believe everybody has a right to the city and public space should not only be for those who can afford it. They thus try and force the private sector and government to follow the law.⁴⁶

CASE STUDY - 'TENT CITY'

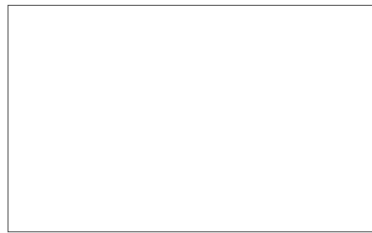
Tent City is a clear case of evicting the homeless. The informal settlement is located on a grass patch at the borders of Three Anchor Bay, Mouille Point and Green Point, specifically situated next to the Three Anchor Bay Tennis Club. Remarkably, it seems to be one of the only informal settlements in the wealthier neighborhoods along the Atlantic Seaboard.

The camp was created in 2020 due to the COVID-19 pandemic and the attendant economic crisis. On the 14th of February 2024, Tent City got evicted by city's police and law enforcement.⁵¹ The evolution of the site's development is illustrated below.



EVOLUTION OF THE SITE

2017 - It's just an open green grass patch next to a tennis club.



[Google maps 2017]

2020 - A number of people start to settle down during the pandemic.⁴⁷



[Google maps 2022]

2022 - The grass patch is fenced off by the owning conglomerate, Empex. It is supported by the City of Cape Town.

"The fence is there for our companys' decision to be able to secure the lease area, but we are not using the fence as a means to get rid of the people. This is in anticipation of us solving this problem properly. When they are moved to suitable places to live then the fence is there."

- A. Loubser, managing director of Empex.⁵⁰



[Google maps 2024]

2024, January - The number of people, settling in Tent City, continues to grow.



[Ashraf Hendricks, 2024]

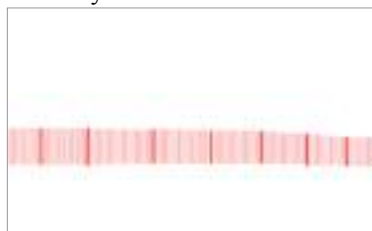
2024, February - The entire informal settlement is evicted by law enforcement.

Although it is not administered as a formal option, going back to living on the streets is a reality for many.

People are given the possibility of going to Delft, a township on the outskirts of the city, with a housing kit.⁴⁹

The evicted people can go to one of the safe spaces, provided by the city.⁴⁸

2024, April - A fenced off empty grass patch is left. The fence prevents new occupations of happening in the future.



REFLECTION

As people experiencing homelessness often lack a place to stay, they have to rely highly on public space in the urban fabric to fulfill their daily functional needs. In fact, urban space is not only their source of accessible essential services, support, and opportunities, but also often their precarious habitat to exist. However, as illustrated in this chapter the urban environment of Cape Town consists of various dynamics of anti-homelessness that seek to push homeless people out of sight and only exacerbate their struggle for a place in the city. The commodified aesthetic and ideal social image of the city that tries to attract capital does not include visible homelessness and poverty.

Those different dynamics of anti-homelessness, including urban securitization, hostile architecture, by-laws, social movements such as NIMBY, different processes of evictions, or even other aspects that might not be introduced in this analysis, all work together, or even reinforce each other, to make the urban landscape of the city inhospitable and hostile towards people who are dwelling in the streets. It can be critically noted that these dynamics recur significantly in wealthier affluent neighborhoods as well as in commercial or tourist districts than in other places in Cape Town.

According to de Fine Licht, *“The public, governments and built environment professions have over the years contributed to the ‘privatization’ of spaces that should in fact be public spaces.”*⁵² Control of urban space creates social and spatial exclusion as well as restrictions on the right to the city. Different case studies showed how many public spaces around the city have been shaped or reshaped to exclude and even eliminate people who are homeless. On the contrary, de Fine Licht further noticed that this entails other consequences as well, as *“There is no way of locking others out that doesn’t also lock us in. [...] The narrower the arrow-slit, the larger outside dangers appear. Making our urban environment hostile breeds hardness and isolation. It makes life a little uglier for all of us.”*⁵³

Implementing hostile architecture takes certain qualities and possibilities away from the urban landscape, which in turn adversely affects the things we value. It is important to note that besides having a significant effect on homeless people, these dynamics have major implications for other users and the city in general as well. As James Petty notes, *“The explicit and overt fortification of urban and public spaces would likely undermine this aesthetic vision just as much as prevalent images of poverty and disorder. As a conspicuous fortification, the spikes arguably disrupted the intended meanings of the space, causing discomfort to those who viewed them.”*⁵⁴

In this discussion, those different elements of anti-homelessness should also be understood in terms of ownership. Designers and those who govern the city have one set of responsibilities, while individual residents or shop owners have another. All participate in determining how hostile or inhospitable they shape space and, in this way, also the city itself. In fact, here residents have a privileged perspective on those anti-homeless dynamics, in terms of what they think of them and how implementation affects their experience of the space. They speak from a standpoint where their opinions are presumed informed and legitimate, with undeniable rights to the public spaces of their neighborhood. In contrast, the perspectives and voices of the homeless are largely excluded from the conversation, resulting in their marginalization of the concept of who rightfully inhabits the city and its (aesthetic) spaces.⁵⁵

As Antonio Tosi concludes, *“By de-socialising the problem and reducing it to a principle of ‘order’, it attempts to eliminate homelessness literally by directing effort towards making homeless people invisible, rather than meeting their needs.”*⁵⁶ After all, those dynamics of anti-homelessness not only represent a failure to approach homelessness, it also exacerbates the problem by making it less visible. As those punitive dynamics merely hide the problem without attempting to address fundamental needs and causes, such as unemployment, poverty, or inadequate affordable housing. This results in a city that diminishes the moral space needed to address homelessness, as seen in the spatial exclusion and segregation of homeless individuals from the different neighborhoods, leading to the impoverishment of the city’s public character.⁵⁷ Therefore, this exclusion resulting from these dynamics should be carefully considered, as it directly influences the city’s development and its inclusivity for everyone.

ENDNOTE

Annex: interviews with private and public security organizations and people, experiencing homelessness.

All pictures or images without a reference of a source are taken or made by the authors of this research.

GRAPHIC SYNTHESIS

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EVICTING THE HOMELESS

Image

Figure : Hendricks, A. 2024. *A woman is dragged from the site after refusing to leave.*[Photograph]. Daily Maverick, consulted on 2024 May 20. <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2024-02-22-fiery-end-to-green-points-tent-city-as-homeless-evicted/>

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04. SUPPORTIVE STRUCTURES



Arthur Caels - Paulien Daenen - Ann-Sofie Wens
Prof. Viviana d'Auria
2023 - 2024

*How does the support network impact homelessness?
What are the different approaches of (collaborative) support?*

“A seed on the carpet won’t grow into a good plant, a seed in good earth will. People living on the streets are living on the carpet. Getting out of that situation themselves is nearly impossible.” - Stephen Underwood, staff member at U-turn, 2023 September 12.

04. SUPPORTIVE STRUCTURES

P130 GRAPHIC SYNTHESIS

P135 INTRODUCTION

P136 OVERVIEW OF ORGANIZATIONS

P138 SHELTER SYSTEM

P156 FOOD NETWORK

P160 ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES

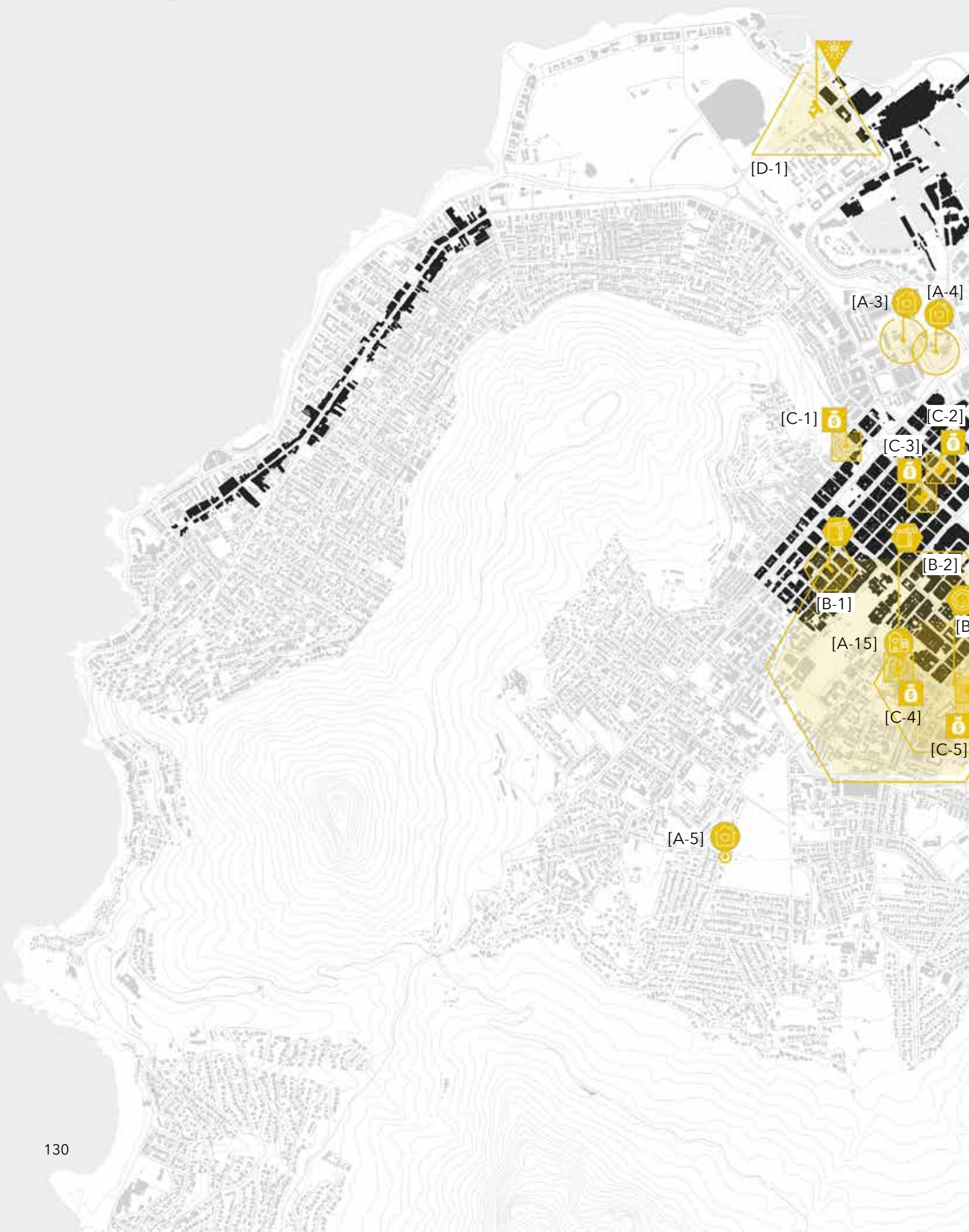
P162 SUPPORTING SERVICES

P164 A DAILY AGENDA

P166 AMBIGUITY - FUNDING & COLLABORATIONS

P170 REFLECTION

P172 ENDNOTE



The larger the graphic designation, the larger the capacity.

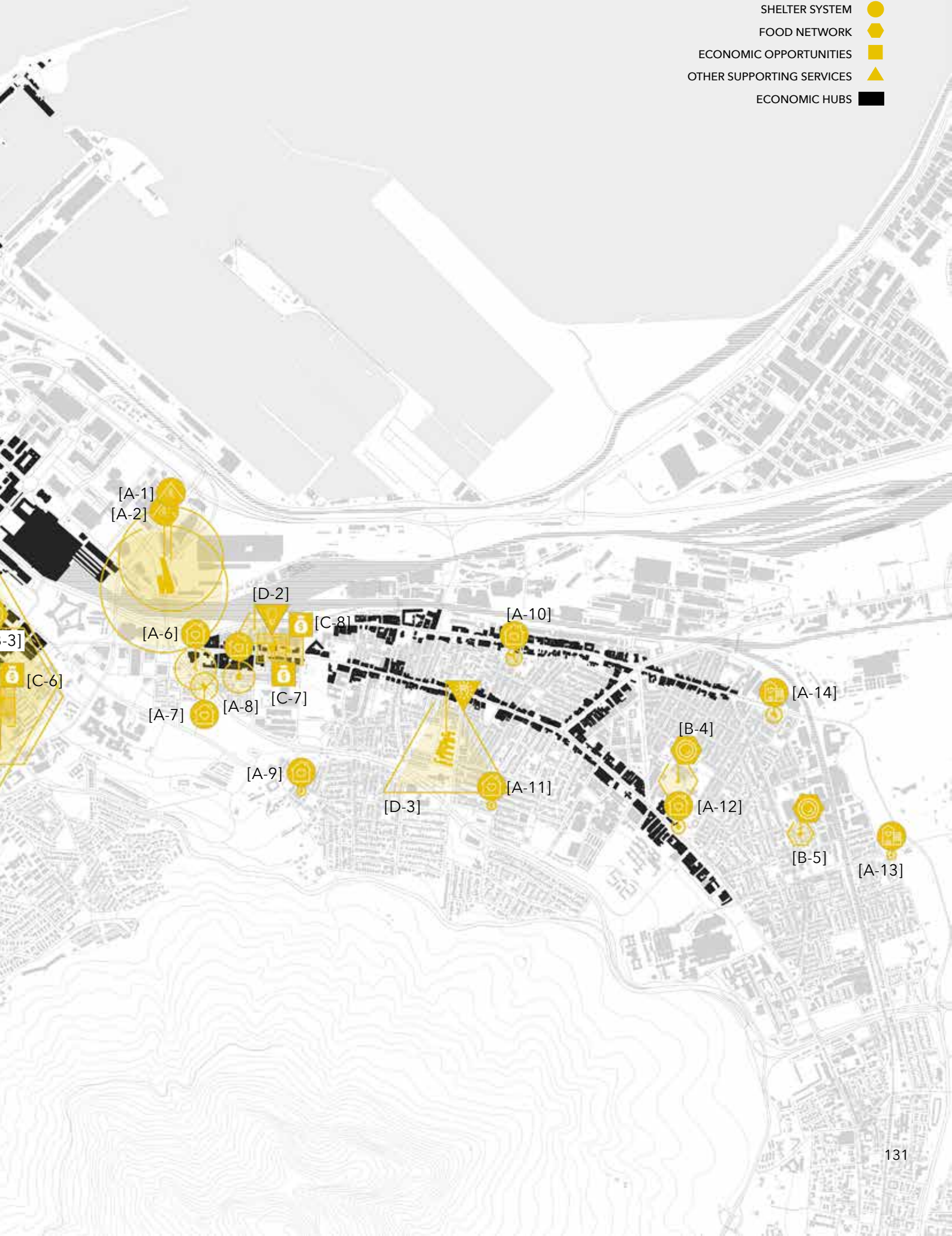
SHELTER SYSTEM ●

FOOD NETWORK ◆

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES ■

OTHER SUPPORTING SERVICES ▲

ECONOMIC HUBS ■



GRAPHIC SYNTHESIS - LEGEND

A - SHELTER SYSTEM

SAFE SPACES

1. CBD SAFE SPACE I
2. CBD SAFE SPACE II

FIRST PHASE SHELTERS

3. THE HAVEN NIGHT SHELTER: NAPIER STREET
4. THE SALVATION ARMY: BETH ROGELIM
5. PRIDE SHELTER
6. THE HAVEN NIGHT SHELTER: DISTRICT SIX
7. YOUTH SOLUTIONS AFRICA (YSA)
8. THE HAVEN NIGHT SHELTER: MOIRA HENDERSON HOUSE
9. STREETSCAPES: CHESTER HOUSE
10. THE HAVEN NIGHT SHELTER: OLD AGE HOMES
11. ST. ANNE'S HOMES
12. BETH URIEL 'HOUSE OF LIGHT'

SECOND PHASE SHELTERS

13. U-TURN: BARRINGTON HOUSE
14. LOAVES AND FISHES
15. THE HOPE EXCHANGE

B - FOOD NETWORK



TAKE-AWAY / SERVED

1. CARE CRUISERS
2. LADLES OF LOVE



SIT-DOWN

3. THE SERVICE DINING ROOMS
4. PJ SOUP KITCHEN
5. OBS PASTA KITCHEN



C - ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES

1. STRAATWERK : OFFICE
2. U-TURN: CHARITY SHOP
3. U-TURN: CHARITY SHOP
4. THE HOPE EXCHANGE: CARWASH
5. THE SECRET LOVE PROJECT: DISTRIBUTION POINT
6. STREETSCAPES: URBAN FARMING
7. U-TURN: CHARITY SHOP
8. THE BIG ISSUE: OFFICE



D - OTHER SUPPORTING SERVICES

SUPPORTED OCCUPATIONS

1. AHMED KATHRADA HOUSE (AKH): OCCUPATION BY RTC
2. CISSIE GOOL HOUSE: OCCUPATION BY RTC

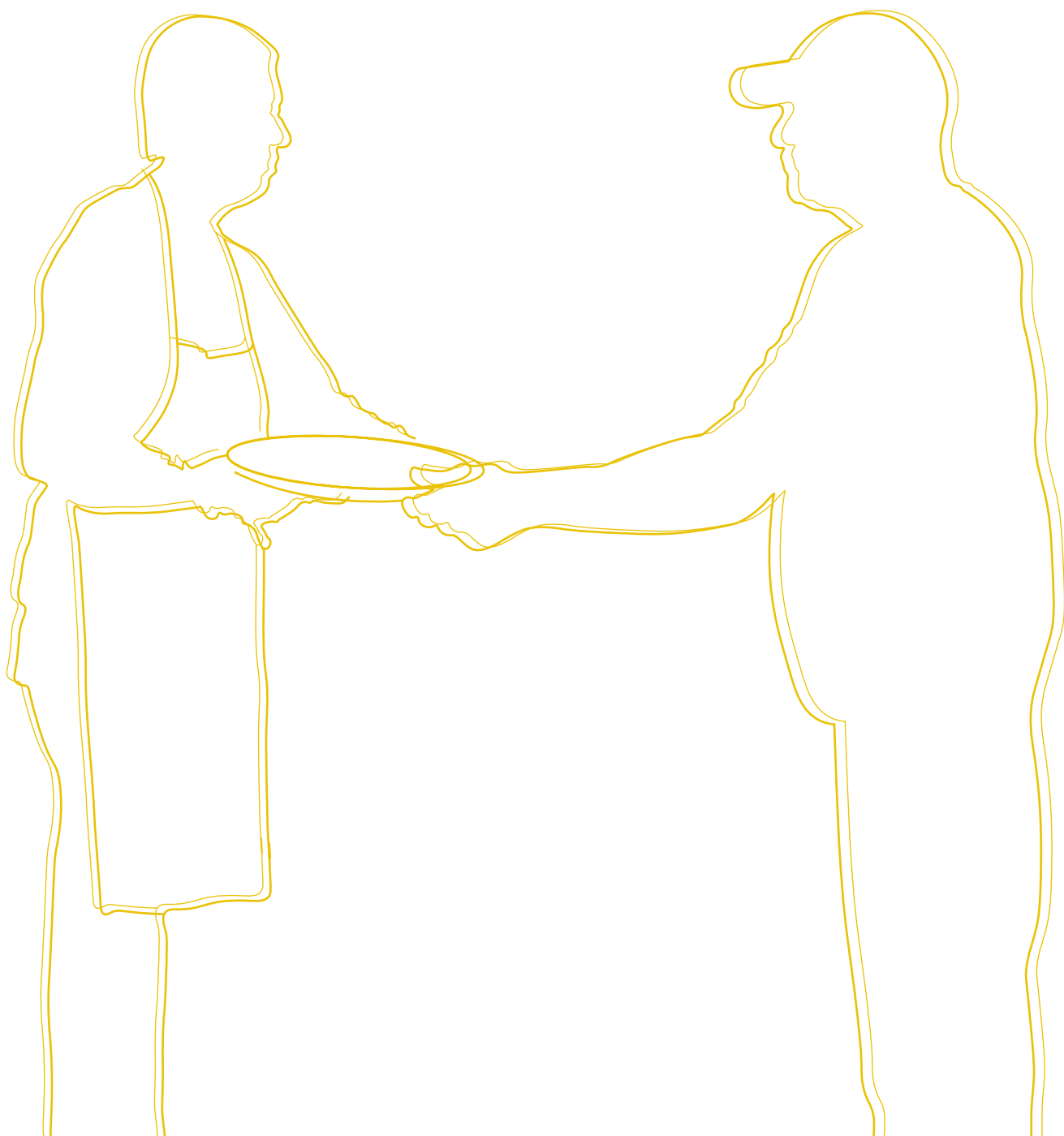


HUMANITY HUBS

3. SOUPER TROOPERS: HUMANITY HUB



Figure 1 : Folders, hand-outs and vouchers of different organizations, collected during the fieldwork



INTRODUCTION

How is the support network, regarding homelessness, structured? Who are the key actors? What is their underlying operating methodology? Where are the holes in the mesh of the network?

Responses to homelessness are largely provided by NGOs and similar entities that use a variety of approaches and methodologies to address homelessness. The most prominent forms of support availed to people experiencing homelessness are shelters and soup kitchens, which are typically run by non-profit organizations.

The existence of different approaches regarding a pathway out of homelessness raise the prominent question of what the first step should be. Should priority be given to housing or should the individuals in question primarily receive social support first? The Housing First theory was developed in the United States in 1988. People, suffering from chronic homelessness, are targeted with this approach to participate in projects where the first step is to house them. Priority is given to permanent housing, before attending anything less critical such as dealing with substance abuse, getting a job or reunifying with family.¹

The opposite framework would need the person, experiencing homelessness, to stay away from drugs or find a job before they would be considered as a participant in a housing project. How are these theories implemented in practice? Are either of them complied at all?

The following chapter is constructed in different sections, which complement each other to discuss the identified facilitating framework. First, an overarching overview of what is considered to be the support network is illustrated on the next page. In the subsequent sections, the different services and accompanying approaches will be run through.

A distinction is made between shelter systems, food network, economic opportunities and other supporting services like rehab facilities, medical care, activist organizations, etc.

The shelter system is the first to be discussed. In addition to a general explanation of the different phases approach (safe space - first phase and second phase shelters), different methodologies and embeddings in the urban context will be considered. A graphical analysis of the shelter system enables the possibility to identify plausible gaps. What is missing? Which people fall between the cracks of the system? Specific shelter typologies are identified and discussed through case studies. The distinguished typologies are the following: emergency camp, retrofitted industrial building, pet architecture, family house, little village and thé shelter. Thereafter, home-making in shelters is discussed using a photographic atlas, a methodology that recurs in several chapters.

In a similar way, various typologies of soup kitchens are identified and discussed. The following three working methods are distinguished in this research: to-go, sit-down dinner and delivery.

Afterwards, both formal and informal economic opportunities, offered to people experiencing homelessness, are briefly discussed. The same applies to the category of additional support mechanisms.

By discussing these different facilitating structures, a better understanding of the available support network is given. In addition, the collaboration flow between different NGOs, with or without common services, are explored in greater depth. These ambiguous collaborations are subjected to critical scrutiny to finally reach a commentative conclusion on the facilitative framework, interpreted in this chapter.

POSSIBILITY: FIRST CONTACT WITH A SHELTER

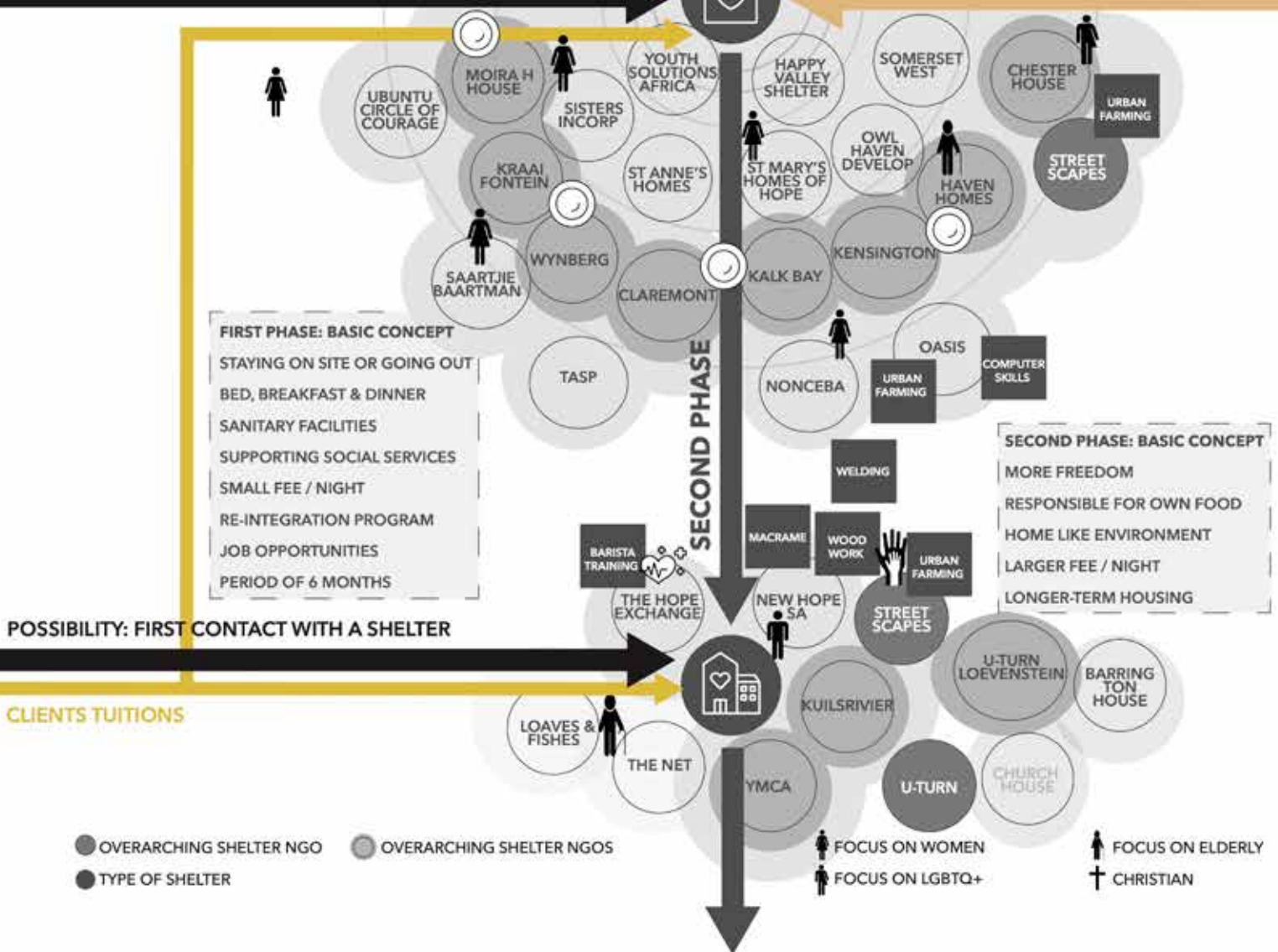
SHELTER SYSTEM

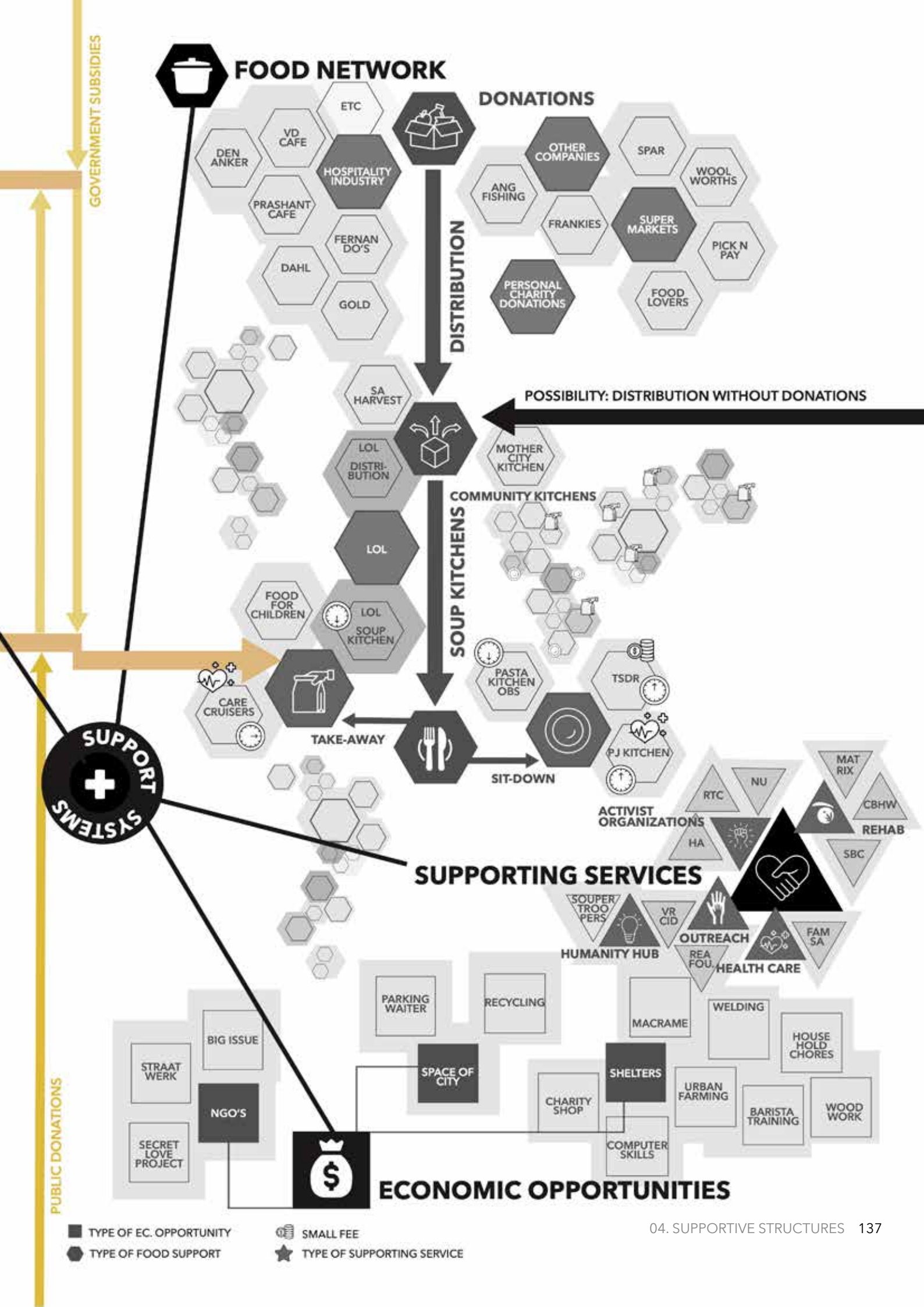


SAFE SPACES: BASIC CONCEPT

8:30 - 17:00 : AWAY FROM SITE
BED, BREAKFAST & DINNER
SANITARY FACILITIES
SUPPORTING SOCIAL SERVICES
0 ZAR / NIGHT
RE-INTEGRATION PROGRAM
SA NATIONALITY
PERIOD OF 6 MONTHS

POSSIBILITY: FIRST CONTACT WITH A SHELTER







The City of Cape Town has an entire network of shelters, composed of different typologies. It is presented as a step-by-step plan for successively escaping homelessness: from safe spaces to first phase shelters and eventually second phase shelters is provided, or transitional housing. What is the mission of the shelter system? Can they offer a way out from the street?²

First of all, what is a shelter? *“In its initial sense, a shelter is a place where one goes to avoid danger, an inconvenience or a place where people who have no place else to go or want to go can gather. The shelter can not only be defined by the number of beds (from a few to several hundred) or by the nature of the services which are offered. In fact in most cases, the services offered by the organisms are not limited to temporary housing and food. Rather we can find numerous practices aimed at intervening on other aspects of the problematic.”*³

Visions of the role of shelters differ. Is it emergency housing intended to be used only in the short term, or support and protection offered in the long term?⁴

OVERARCHING NORMS AND PRINCIPLES

Compared to the heterotopic institutions of the past, creating adequate housing for the homeless is less a typological matter than a question of service offer and spatial combinations.⁵ In none of the to-be addressed shelter categories, it is purely about facilitating a bed for the night. In safe spaces, this may be but does not have to be. There are social workers present at each site, who can and will guide the homeless to support with getting a job, enrolling in a rehab program, and re-unifying with their family, amongst other things. Social support is guaranteed, although occurring in varied degrees.

In addition, general rules can be applied to all different categories. The Department of Social Development (DSD) of the Western Cape Government, responsible for distributing funding to different shelters, has specified a maximum stay of six months, after which people would theoretically have to leave the shelter. However, some NGOs do not apply this rule.

“We deal with the framework of the DSD in a transparent way. We communicate open that the person(s) are not ready to move out yet. We get away with it. You can be truthful.” - Leanne, managing director at New Hope SA, 2023 October 24.

SAFE SPACES

Safe spaces are a step down from a shelter. They are defined as a basic facility, where street people can sleep safely, sheltered from criminal elements and the weather, and can access ablution facilities and social relief.⁶

The safe spaces are scattered over the territory of Cape Town. In the upcoming months, the city plans to expand their safe space program with extra facilities in the city center.

All safe spaces operate in a parallel manner. Anyone seeking entry to a safe space must get a referral letter by a city official of the reintegration program. People can either go to the Department of Social Development or come directly to the safe space, where an integration officer comes to.

There are a few rules, including it being mandatory for residents to be enrolled in a rehab program such as Matrix. The facility is completely free for people to stay at, but staying on the premises for a full day is not permitted. The clients are required to be off site between 8:30 AM - 17 PM.

“If you kick people out during the day, they will relapse easier. However, the government sees it as an economic opportunity to go out during the day and look for a job. This is not realistically of course.” - A staff member at Paint City, 2023 October 19.

FIRST PHASE SHELTERS

The majority of shelters in Cape Town fall into this category. A first phase, similar to a safe space, can be seen as a starting point. It accommodates people, who come directly from the streets. Compared to safe spaces, clients are more socially supervised. Where more support and comfort is gained, freedom is compromised.

In some shelters, clients are given the choice whether or not to stay on site during the day. In other, a specific time frame in which they may go outside, and no longer, is set-up. A small fee per night, varying in price, must be paid. For example, this fee contains 15 ZAR (0,75 €) in the shelters of The Haven Night. In addition to this, the clients are generally required to be enrolled in a social support program.

Although other terminologies or theoretical frameworks are referred to - depending on the NGO - the social support structure can often be generalized as a step-by-step approach.

SECOND PHASE SHELTERS

Second phase shelters are usually for people who are progressing from a first phase shelter. Most of the second phase shelters only accept people who have some type of employment or are part of a long-term program.⁷ They need to be able to pay a low house rent.

In order to prepare clients for reunification and reintegration, both the social and physical framework of the facility should be more intimate. The size of the facility is often much smaller with fewer rules in contrast to large dormitories and stricter rules of the most first phase shelters. In addition, these sites are frequently located in residential neighborhoods. This creates the opportunity for clients to slowly be incorporated back into a community, with support of the shelter.



Figure 2 : Interior of Paint City Safe Space, Bellville

SHELTER SYSTEM

Besides the provision of shelters in the city center of Cape Town, the shelter system works on a much larger scale. In order to provide a complete overview, all identified shelters in the municipality of Cape Town are visualized on the following page. The larger the graphic designation, the larger the capacity.

This is followed by a graphic synthesis of all shelters provided in the municipality of Cape Town. The shelters are arranged according to which type of phase (safe space, first and second phase) they define themselves as. A further distinction is made for the first phase shelters, ranging from focus groups, holistic approach facilities and more general ones.

From this graphic analysis, specific shelter typologies are identified, based on their implementation in urban space and architectural form. The following are discussed respectively through an illustrative example: emergency camp, retrofitted industrial building, pet architecture, family house, little village and the shelter.

GAPS IN THE SYSTEM

As various organizations noted, people tend to fall through the cracks of the supportive shelter system. A first main obstacle is materialized in the construction of the different phases of the system. Fixed periods of stay and several restrictions create a rigid system that allows little flexibility. A second boundary, created by norms and policies, specific people such as women, LGBTQ+, elderly, and families tend to be more excluded. These different dynamics are illustrated in a critical graphic scheme, added on page 154.

SAFE SPACES

- 16. MES SAFE SPACE, BELVILLE
- 17. PAINT CITY SAFE SPACE, BELVILLE

FIRST PHASE SHELTER

- 18. HAPPY VALLEY SHELTER, SIMON'S TOWN
- 19. THE HAVEN NIGHT SHELTER: RETREAT, RETREAT
- 20. THE HAVEN NIGHT SHELTER: KALK BAY, KALK BAY
- 21. OASIS, PHILIPPI
- 22. THE HAVEN NIGHT SHELTER: WYNBERG, WYNBERG
- 23. SISTERS INCORPORATED, KENILWORTH
- 24. U-TURN, CLAREMONT
- 25. THE HAVEN NIGHT SHELTER: CLAREMONT, CLAREMONT
- 26. O.W.L HAVEN DEVELOPMENT SHELTER, LANSDOWNE
- 27. THE SALVATION ARMY: CAREHAVEN, GATESVILLE
- 28. THE SAARTJIE BAARTMAN CENTRE, MANENBERG
- 29. THE HAVEN NIGHT SHELTER: KENSINGTON, KENSINGTON
- 30. ELIM NIGHT SHELTER, ELSIES RIVER
- 31. MES PAROW CENTRE OF HOPE, PAROW
- 32. ST. MARY'S HOME OF HOPE, CHURCHILL ESTATE
- 33. THE HAVEN NIGHT SHELTER: BELVILLE, BELVILLE
- 34. TYGER ASSOCIATION FOR STREET PEOPLE (TASP), BELVILLE
- 35. THE ARK CITY OF REFUGE, FAURE
- 36. THE HAVEN NIGHT SHELTER: KRAAIFONTEIN, KRAAIFONTEIN
- 37. UBUNTU CIRCLE OF COURAGE, GAYLEE
- 38. NONCEBA, KHAYELITSHA
- 39. SOMERSET WEST NIGHT SHELTER, SOMERSET WEST

SECOND PHASE SHELTERS

- 40. THE NET, FISH HOEK
- 41. NEW HOPE SA, MUIZENBERG
- 42. U-TURN: CHURCH HOUSE, KENILWORTH
- 43. U-TURN: LOEVENSTEIN HOUSE, LOEVENSTEIN
- 44. STREETSCAPES: KUILSRIVER, KUILSRIVER

1 : 425 000

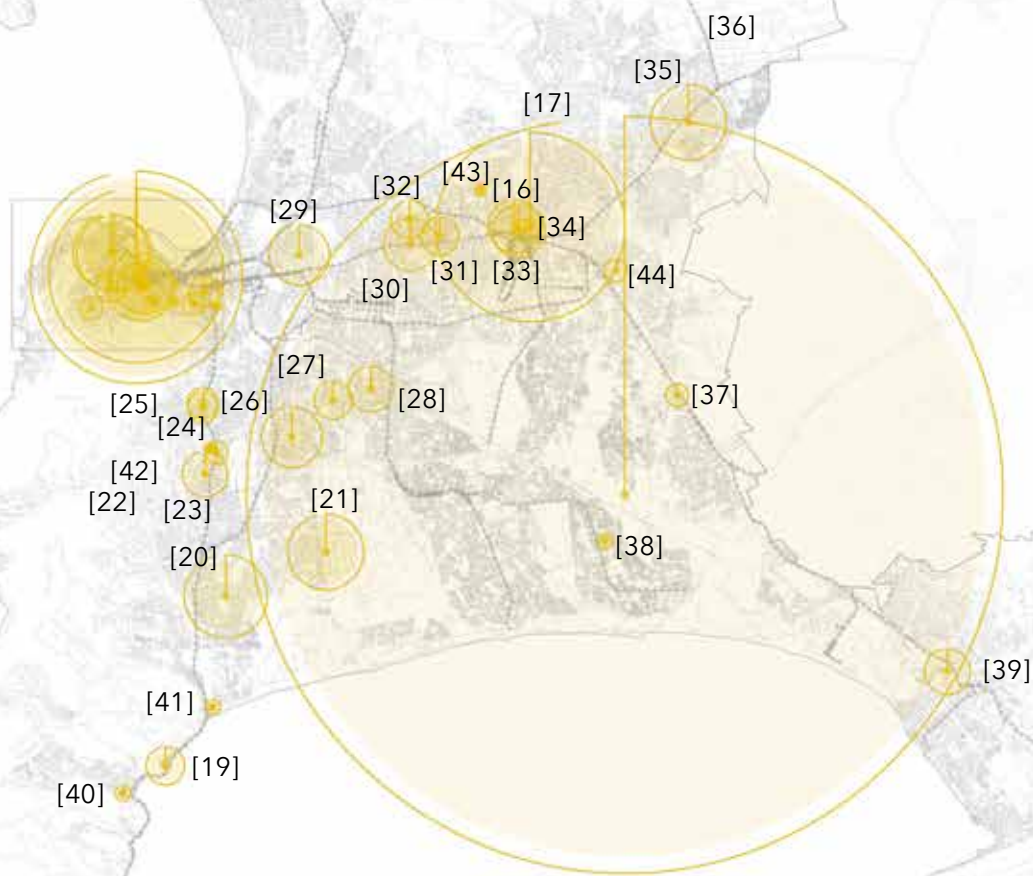




Figure 3 : Culemborg Safe Space 1, Foreshore

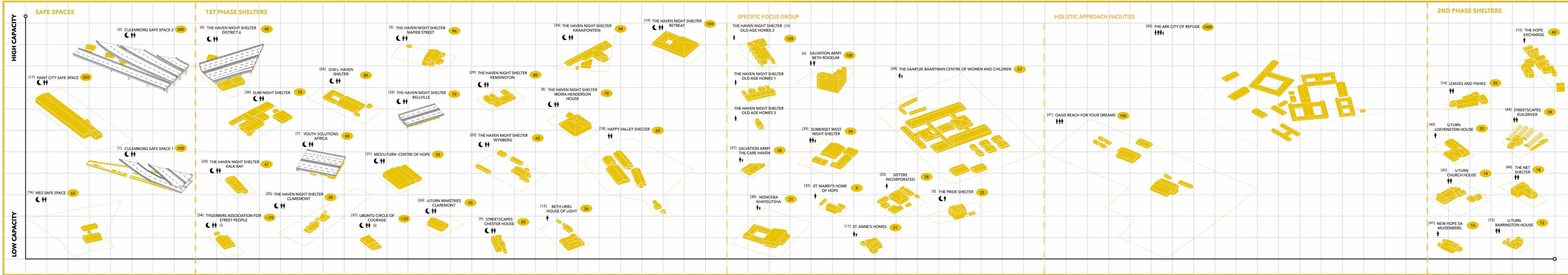
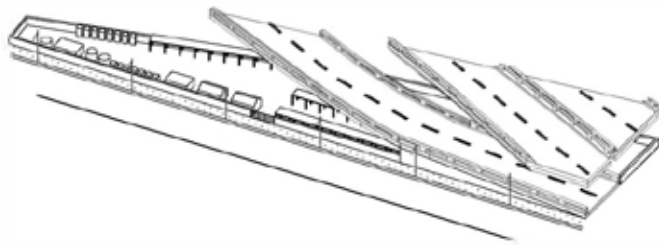




Figure 4 : Courtyard of The Hope Exchange, a second phase shelter in CBD

SHELTER SYSTEM - TYPOLOGY: EMERGENCY CAMP



1 : 1650

Taking the contested history of Cape Town into account, the typology of emergency camps can be extremely controversial. Primitive sites, where all basic amenities but no comfort is provided, are distinctive of this typology. The sites are often implemented as safe spaces, which are a step down from a shelter in terms of social guidance offered by the facility. According to the principle of ‘what goes around, comes around’, less responsibility of those staying in the facility goes hand in hand with less provided comfort.

Culemborg Safe Space 1, located underneath a bridge in the city center of Cape Town, is a great example. People that come in are facilitated in a so-called OA section, which stands for ‘Open Air’ and is less protected against natural elements. However, when there is bed space available within the sheltered section under the bridge, they can transfer their bed space.

There are no real bed frames. Self-made alternatives serve on which thin mattresses are placed. To further illustrate the lacking services, running water, which is no luxury on a site that facilitates 230 people, was not available in the beginning.

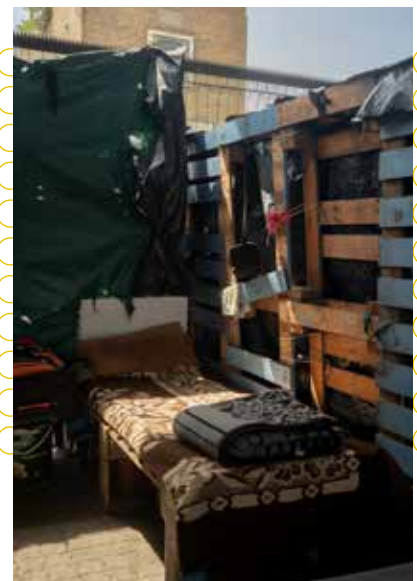
CASE STUDY - CULEMBORG SAFE SPACE 1

OPERATING HOURS: 17 PM - 8:30 AM

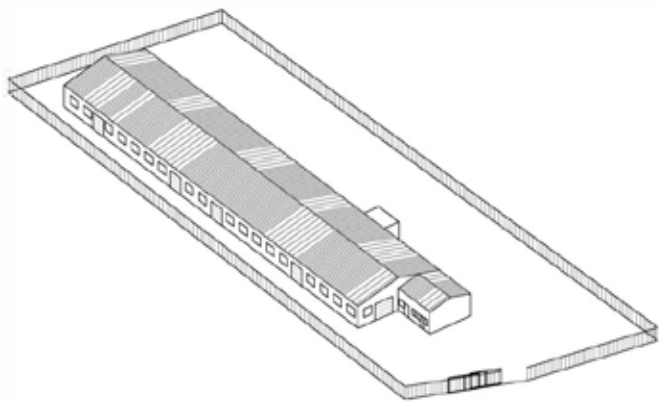
CAPACITY:                     230

“The Culemborg Safe Space is cold and windy. Luckily, the rain stopped just before my bed.” - Keagan, currently staying at Streetscapes Kuilsrivier, 2023 October 26.

“There is this reality of people don’t wanting to leave and taking advantage of the fact that it is a free facility. People are transforming the basic infrastructure and claim space.” - Meghan, social worker at Culemborg Safe Space 1, 2023 November 2.



SHELTER SYSTEM - RETROFITTED INDUSTRIAL BUILDING



1 : 1650

Retrofitting existing buildings is a frequently used way to make use of existing property stock. Thereby, it can provide shelter for those in need, faster.⁸ Industrial buildings are often larger in nature and therefore rather operate as a safe space or first phase shelter, which are generally more impersonal and ‘house’ more people.

Reforming a building’s function comes with its own challenges. Because the spaces were intended for other use, adapting them to serve as a shelter space is often difficult. Paint City Safe Space, implemented in a former industrial shed, has dormitories of enormous size. Plain partitions create demarcations, to attempt to provide smaller, more intimate rooms. Not only the dormitories but also the dining area feels industrial, impersonal, and cold due to its previous purpose.

Besides the challenge of giving different infills to one and the same spaces, these buildings often have a dilapidated character, due to the lack of resources provided by the city. During a site visit to Paint City, it became clear that there is a whole list of repairs to be checked of.

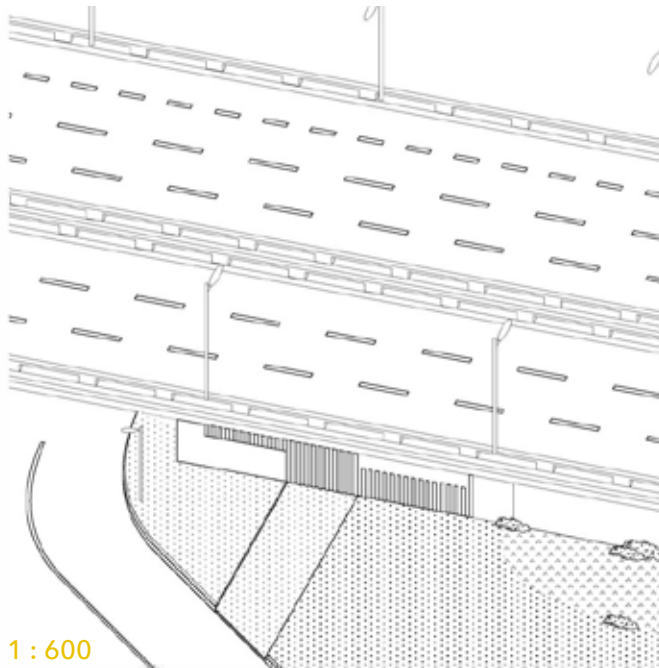
CASE STUDY - PAINT CITY

OPERATING HOURS: 17 PM - 8:30 AM
CAPACITY:                        250

“We have a daily list of repair: windows, showers, ventilation, etc. The roof was repaired last year. It was leaking before hand.” - Clife, staff member at Paint City, 2023 October 19.



SHELTER SYSTEM - PET ARCHITECTURE



“If decent buildings standing in decent spaces were to be considered “human beings,” small buildings standing with all their might in odd spaces would seem to be like pets in urban spaces due to the sense of distance from human beings and the sense of presence in scenery.” - Tsukamoto, founder of Atelier Bow-Wow, 2002.⁹

‘Pet Architecture’ is a term for buildings that have been squeezed into left over urban spaces. Given the little enthusiasm of neighborhoods and equally little budget of starting NGOs, almost hidden spaces are implemented as shelter accommodation. They are tucked away in the urban tissue, with the statement ‘out of sight out of mind.’

Subject to specific constraints, space must be filled in creatively. As seen on the illustrative example of Youth Solutions Africa, semi-solid elements such as corrugated sheets are utilized to differentiate between spaces. Different spaces are created within one larger space under the bridge.

CASE STUDY - YOUTH SOLUTIONS AFRICA

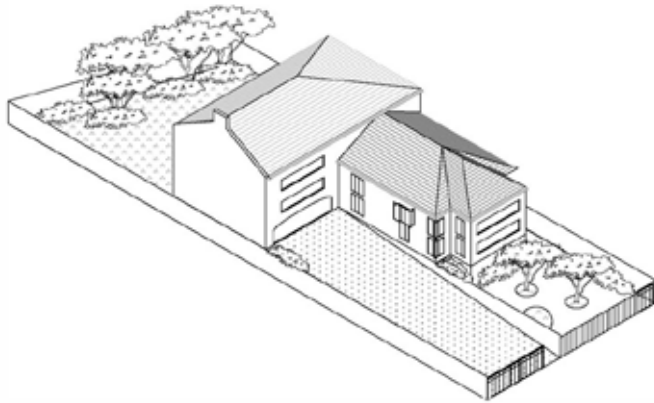
OPERATING HOURS: ALL DAY / ALLOWED TO GO OUT: 14 PM - 22 PM

CAPACITY: 100

“While I was looking for a space to start my own shelter, it seemed the city didn’t have any space available. Eventually, I found this place under the bridge.” - John, founder of YSA, 2023 September 21.



SHELTER SYSTEM - FAMILY HOUSE



1 : 770

Among this enumeration of typologies, the family house seems the most obvious and pleasant. The space was built with the intention to accommodate people. Therefore, it makes sense to feel more comfortable. It closely matches a conventional way of co-housing.

Rooms are smaller and more intimate. There are more nooks to unwind in. However, this is a duplicitous position. Whereas the ultimate objective is to give homeless people a comfortable place to stay, various organizations mentioned that a shelter is a temporary residence and should not feel like permanent housing. Following this line of reasoning, this typology is primarily used as second phase shelters. People are more independent and have greater awareness of their lived reality. Small adjustments as sleeping in a sold bed after primitive mattresses or iron bunk beds, can add up. By staying in a house, these adjustments can be made at a steady pace, before finding a place on their own. It is common for the family home to be located in a residential area or even share the same perimeter with homeowners. They are no longer separated from society but are a part of it.

CASE STUDY - THE NET

OPERATING HOURS: ALL DAY / ALLOWED TO GO OUT

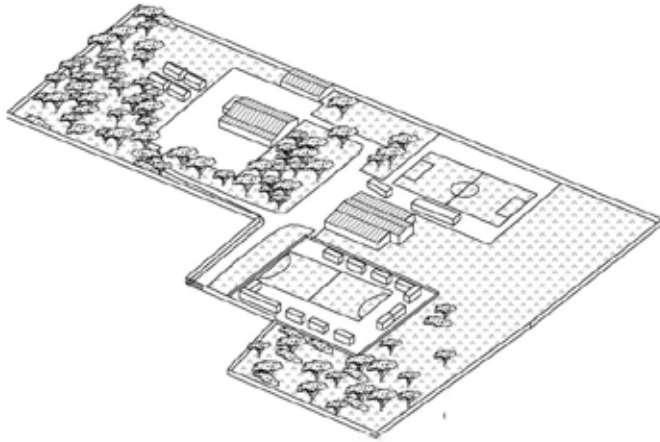
CAPACITY:  20

"The house consists of five flats. Two are second phase shelters. Two are rented on the private market and I live in the last one." - Debby, house mother of The Net, 2023 September 26.

"A shelter should be like an eagle's nest. In an eagle's nest the mother feeds her children. At a certain moment, they little ones are able to fly but they like the comfort of being fed. As a reaction, the mother puts thorns in the nest so the younger eagles don't feel the comfort anymore. They will spread their wings and take care of themselves." - John, founder of YSA, 2023 September 21.



SHELTER SYSTEM - LITTLE VILLAGE



First and second phase shelters are not merely sleeping places. Guidance, regarding the pathway out of homelessness, can be found. However, support is often distributed to other NGOs through collaborations and partnerships.

By contrast, one particular NGO can try to appropriate these various functions and thus make itself work independently. Services as rehab, skill development, amongst others are internalized on one specific site.

Since this concept requires a certain amount of space, which is often not available in the center of a major city, these sites are generally located on the outskirts of town. In the case of Oasis, the shelter is located in the middle of a business park in Phillipi, 25 kilometers from the city center.

Among the internalized functions are urban gardening, computer skill development, concrete tile making, amongst other things. The residents are not allowed to leave the domain of Oasis unless they have requested this sufficiently in advance.

CASE STUDY - OASIS

OPERATING HOURS: ALL DAY / NOT ALLOWED TO GO OUT

CAPACITY:          100

“The ultimate goal for Oasis would be to build our own transitional housing on site. This would be a pilot project. Containers could be transformed into non-permanent housing on site.” - Clifford, founder of Oasis, 2023 October 2.



SHELTER SYSTEM - THE SHELTER

It does not happen on a regular basis that a shelter typology is built as a new construction. As previous case studies have pointed out, shelters often face the challenge of puzzling out their functions in an existing space.

This makes it all the more interesting to look at how a shelter is constructed, if the case of 'carte blanche'. If everything remains to be decided, what will be decided on? How domestic or how institutional do the spaces feel? How many are in a room? What is considered the ideal use of space?

The Haven Night Shelter in Retreat can be used as case study to further illustrate the idea of 'thé shelter'. In the case of Retreat, four to eight people share a bedroom, including an ensuite bathroom. Each bed has a private locker next to it for their personal belongings.

Although the spaces feel proportionally more logical, the infill remains very impersonal and distant. The spaces of the shelter strike a balance between being comfortable but not feeling at home.

CASE STUDY - THE HAVEN NIGHT SHELTER: RETREAT

OPERATING HOURS: ALL DAY / ALLOWED TO GO OUT: 8:30 AM - 20 PM

CAPACITY:  100

"Less large dormitories cause less complaints and fights than in other shelters." - Debby, house mother of The Net, 2023 September 26.

"A lot of different things happen in the dining room, besides from eating. Workshops are given to the clients in here." - Ben, manager of The Haven Night Shelter: Retreat, 2023 October 23.



The fifth chapter of this thesis explores the theme of body to territory. The theme of home-making, using soft elements against a hard grid of public space, is discussed. However, this does not only arise in the public space where people, experiencing homelessness, claim their own space by making it personal.

It is very remarkably present in shelter systems. Residents look for ways to personalize a spot, assigned to them by the organization, often as a blank page. This is reflected at different scales inside the shelter. Following categories have been distinguished: plants and herbs, implemented furniture, fabrics and textures, and subtle elements.

Being connected to nature as therapeutic healing often comes up as concept. Clients often do this together as a social activity. *"The clients sorted a little garden. They are proud of the work they have done."* - Meghan, social worker of Culemborg Safe Space 1, 2023 November 2.

In addition, smaller elements fill in the spaces. These can be homemade, found or received elements. They include individuality to an otherwise very monotonous frame.

PLANTS AND HERBS



IMPLEMENTED FURNITURE



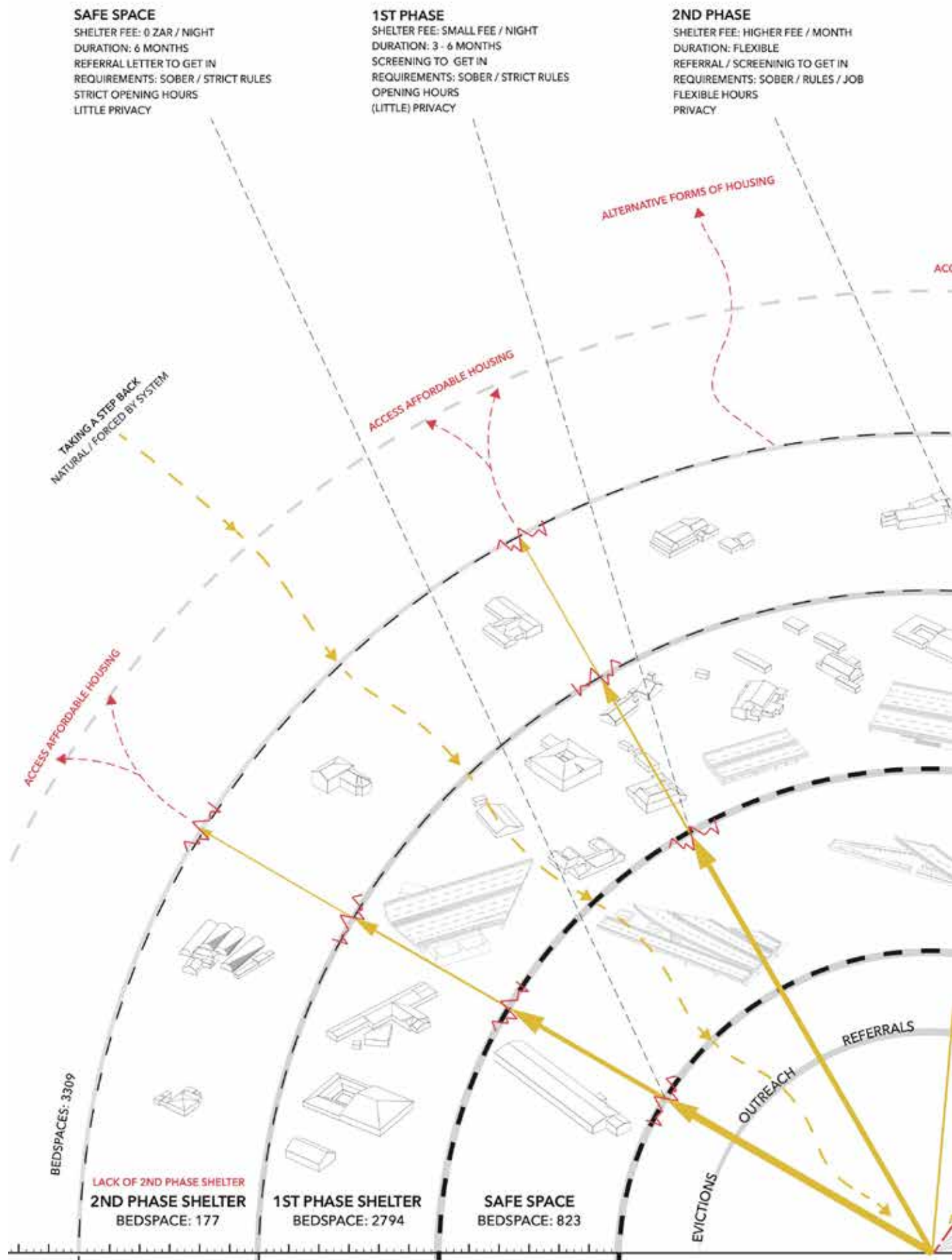
FABRICS AND TEXTURES



SUBTLE ELEMENTS



SHELTER SYSTEM - GAPS IN THE SYSTEM



RENTAL HOUSING RELIEF: INCOME 7500 ZAR / MONTH OR LESS + OTHER CRITERIA
SOCIAL HOUSING: INCOME 1850 - 22 000 ZAR / MONTH + OTHER CRITERIA

SOCIAL HOUSING: INCOME 1850 - 22 000 ZAR / MONTH + OTHER CRITERIA

“SINCE 2017, ONLY 19 UNITS OF SOCIAL HOUSING HAVE BEEN COMPLETED IN THE INNER CITY.”





"It is always a chase for food. After that, you take a walk." - Parker, ex-homeless and founder of PJ soup kitchen, 2023 October 23.

The food network, supporting the homeless community, is constructed out of a sequence of donations, possible distribution centers, and a web of soup kitchens. The latter are naturally considered the most important by the common since they directly ensure that people, living on the streets, are provided with a meal. Volunteering experiences at, conversations with several staff members of soup kitchens, lay at the basis of following considerations.

Both on a personal and institutional scale, donations are made. Local support can vary from adjacent restaurants, sharing their to-be-expired food supply in order to reduce food waste, to neighbors, donating their homemade surplus of the evening. In addition, supermarkets and other food-related businesses make donations on a regular basis.

Furthermore, institutionalized distribution centers collect food to further disperse to either soup or community kitchens. In addition to the structured system of recognized soup kitchens, there is a large number of other initiatives by for example community churches. To keep an overview, this section focuses on the system and various typologies of soup kitchens. Three different ways of approach are distinguished: to-go, sit-down dinner and delivery.

They differ in operating hours, capacity, and working methods. At some you can go for lunch, where others provide dinner. The daily schedule of someone, eating at soup kitchens, is set according to the serving times of these places. It creates structure within their daily dwellings.

SOCIAL FRAMEWORK

"The purpose of the soup kitchen is to keep you alive until you have a change of heart." - Parker, ex-homeless and founder of PJ soup kitchen, 2023 October 23.

As Skinner notes, shelter systems seek to focus on provision of longer-term assistance. Allied with this, there has been an evolution towards providing assistance on a conditional basis, requiring active engagement of participants. Theoretically, soup kitchens do not fit well into contemporary welfare paradigms, as they provide immediate, short-term and unconditional assistance. Consequently, such services therefore appear to be the essence of what could be considered old-fashioned charity.¹⁰

However, moving away from an initial focus on feeding people, soup kitchens have evolved into multi-faceted services. They are often the first, low threshold, point of contact with the supportive system. Used as leverage, these meeting places address more complex concerns around community and social care. Conversations with staff of soup kitchens could confirm this.

Where there is medical supervision provided at The Service Dining Rooms, PJs soup kitchen supplies hot showers.

LIVED EXPERIENCES

How are these places perceived by people, experiencing homelessness? It is noted that the stigma surrounding soup kitchens and public assistance acceptance is prevalent in the homeless community. As a result, often without prospect of better alternative, soup kitchens are not used after all.

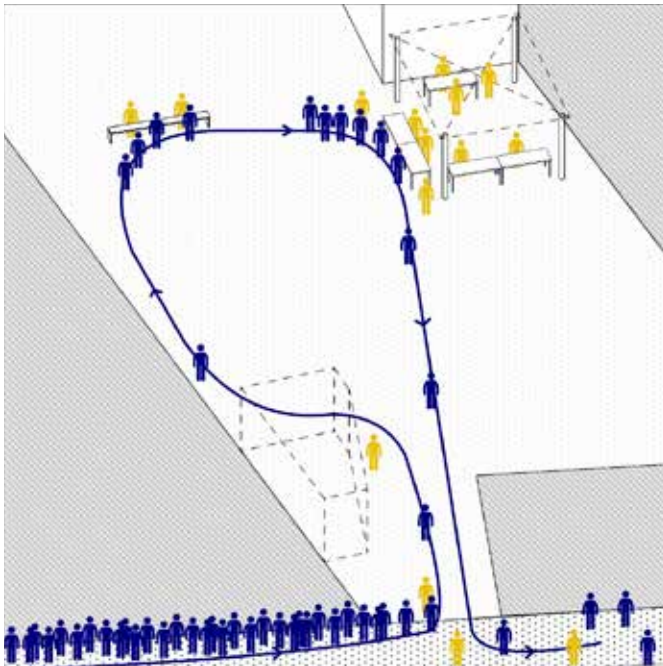
"A lot of guys on the streets never go to soup kitchens. It has a lot to do with pride. The shame of standing and queuing for food was more present than the shame for digging for food in the trash." - Monty, ex-homeless and owner of The Heaven Coffee shop, 2023 October 30.

"I knew nothing about the existence of those [soup kitchens]. I never thought of that. My mind didn't and didn't want to go there." - Gerik, currently experiencing homelessness and staying at the Pride shelter, after living out of his car for months, 2023 November 9.

In addition to not using them, the reality of doing so is often less optimal than suggested by the NGOs themselves. As mentioned multiple times in informal conversations with homeless people, it can be extremely hectic. This can be confirmed from personal volunteer experiences. A restless atmosphere, where people want to pass each other in the fear that there is not enough food for everyone, where there is fighting, can occur.

Although nuance is important, it should not be forgotten that soup kitchens play a hugely important role in supporting the homeless and provide many with a daily meal.

FOOD NETWORK - TO-GO



Ladles of Love, the largest soup kitchen and food distribution network in Cape Town, operates in an extremely structured manner. Located in the center of Cape Town, the site is used for multiple support services regarding homelessness. The particular perimeter is utilized by The Hope Exchange and contains a second phase shelter, a car wash and secondhand shop.

In the evenings, the large parking space in the middle of the site is used as a to-go soup kitchen. A sturdy fence separates the parking lot from the public space. Strictly at 5:30 PM, the homeless must line up. There is a certain order, in which target groups are helped: disabled people > women and children > 65 + > the remaining people in line. People are led, in limited groups, around the site. A first stop is the hand-washing station, after which they get their meal at a second stop. The operation works like a well-oiled machine.

The meal consists of a filling main dish, bread, and a dessert. Seconds are optional, but it is required that they have maintained their own cup.

CASE STUDY - LADLES OF LOVE

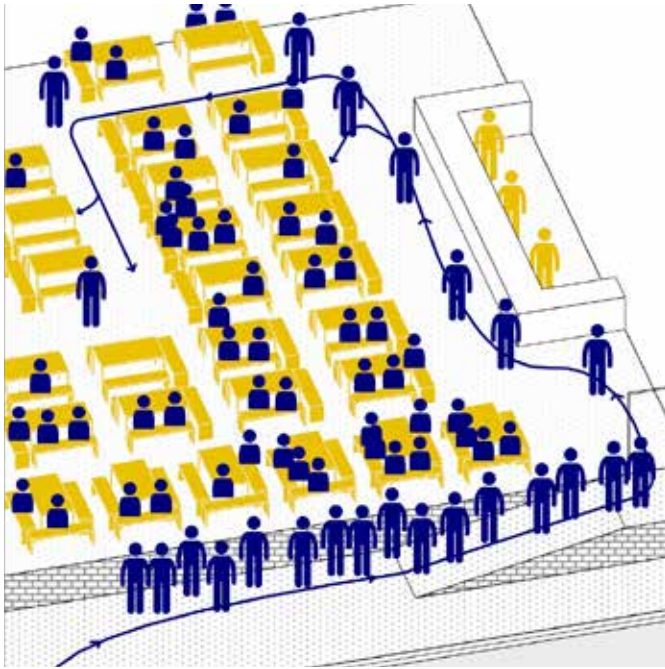
OPERATING HOURS: MONDAY TO FRIDAY - DINNER

CAPACITY:  500 

"People say to me that my soup kitchens are enabling the guys to stay on the streets. However, if I stop feeding them, they are not going to leave the streets. They are going to stay on the street, with one difference. They are going to become desperate." - Danny, founder of Ladles of Love, 2023 October 13.



FOOD NETWORK - SIT-DOWN DINNER



The Service Dining Rooms, known as the oldest soup kitchen in Cape Town, is similar in scope as Ladles of Love. With a walking distance of 5 minutes between each other, they attract the same public who often combine them in their daily routine. While Ladles of Love provides an evening meal, TSDR takes charge of lunch.

The working methods have great similarities to each other. In similarity, there is a slightly different order in which people must line up: LGBTQ + > women and children > 65 + > the remaining people in line. In addition, the idea of waltzing people through an infrastructure, corresponds. By means of iron bars, a path is created in space. The meal consists of a filling main dish and bread.

The main differences are that it does not take place outdoors but indoors. People may eat their food inside, while sitting down, on plates with cutlery. For eating at The Service Dining Rooms, someone has to pay 2 ZAR, which corresponds with 0,10 €.

CASE STUDY - THE SERVICE DINING ROOMS - PJ KITCHEN - OBS PASTA KITCHEN

THE SERVICE DINING ROOMS

OPERATING HOURS: MONDAY TO FRIDAY - LUNCH

CAPACITY: ██████████ 300 🍴

PJ KITCHEN

OPERATING HOURS: MONDAY TO FRIDAY - BREAKFAST & LUNCH, SOMETIMES DINNER

CAPACITY: ████████ 75 🍴

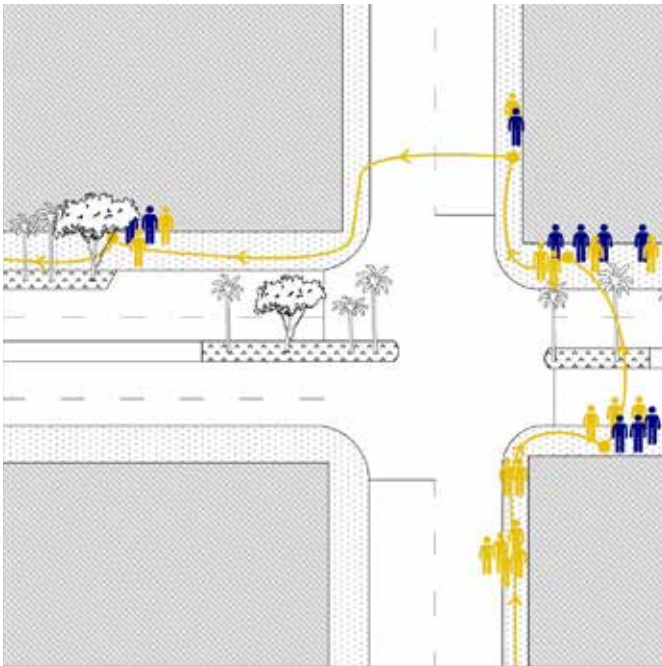
OBS PASTA KITCHEN

OPERATING HOURS: WEDNESDAY - DINNER

CAPACITY: █████ 50 🍴



FOOD NETWORK - DELIVERY



Besides the more classic idea of a soup kitchen, initiatives distribute aid packages, including a meal. This way people, experiencing homelessness, do not have to go out of their way to go somewhere in order for support. They don't have to seek support, support finds them. This is one less barrier.

Every Tuesday night, about 100 packages are prepared and distributed. These may vary slightly week to week but generally include a vegan or meat sandwich, a bar of soap, two condoms, some fruit and a little extra.

Care cruisers has identified three different locations around the CBD where they hand out the packages, where one of includes a large informal settlement.

CASE STUDY - CARE CRUISERS

OPERATING HOURS: TUESDAY - DINNER

CAPACITY:  100

"I felt there was something missing in the original soup kitchens. There was a lack of real relationship between the volunteers serving food and the homeless people themselves. By seeing food as a means to connect and break the distance, the fear of connecting goes away from both sides." - Léonore, one of the founders of Care Cruisers, 2023 October 5.



ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES



Some economic opportunities arise to people, experiencing homelessness, in the daily. A distinction can be made between formal and informal opportunities. Where formal activities are captured by structured organizations, there are no obligations attached to earning money in an informal way.

By observing the urban tissue during the day, it is noted that homeless people often sell objects, whether homemade or not, work as a parking attendant or wash cars for a small wage. Ereksa, currently a client of Oasis shelter, mentioned she worked as a car guard for 23 years at the beach of Muizenberg. She was able to earn 500 - 1000 ZAR a day. Converted, this amounts to 25 - 50 €.

The activities just mentioned are the most common in the street scene. However, it is not meant that these are the only informally economic opportunities.

“A lot of people sell clothes. They get clothes and blankets, only to sell it.” - Cecyl, experiencing homelessness and currently staying at De Waal park, 2023 October 28. As touched upon in previous quote, barter of different objects is strongly present amongst the homeless community.

In addition to informal opportunities, job activities, established by organizations through which people experiencing homelessness can earn some money, exist. The organizations, dominating the homeless support network in terms of economic opportunities which were identified in the fieldwork, are the following: The Big Issue, Straatwerk and The Secret Love project.

Both The Big Issue and The Secret Love project operate on the principle that homeless people sell magazines or respectively stickers for profit. In the urban space, this is typified by homeless people, standing at traffic lights, waiting to approach stationary cars.

Alongside, shelter systems guide their clients with skill development, whether this is in the form of barista training, woodworking, etc. Partnerships and collaborations with local shops and operators materialize, allowing clients to be naturally reintegrated into society. This can also be internalized, causing shelter organizations to set up their own charity shops or coffee bars, run by their own clients.

In addition, NGOs can help with entering into an EPWP contract. The Expanded Public Works Program (EPWP), founded by the Western Cape Government, focuses on skills development and providing work opportunities. The program attempts to reduce the levels of poverty and unemployment in the province.¹¹ The jobs, offered within the EPWP framework, often involve cleaning the streets, urban gardening, etc. Streetscapes and Straatwerk are the leading NGOs in participating in this way of creating opportunity for people, experiencing homelessness.





Figure 5 : Vendor of The Big Issue, Sea Point

SUPPORTING SERVICES



In addition to the three support network groups already identified, which are above all the largest actors, numerous support functions exist. A short overview is given below.

OUTREACH

Outreach is an important aspect of connecting with people, experiencing homelessness. Volunteers and staff-members of NGOs approach people, experiencing homelessness, instead of them needing to approach the NGO. By knowing their background, studying their habitat, knowledge and understanding can be gained. While some NGOs include outreach as a secondary function, Rea Thusana Foundation views this as their main task. It builds relationships between and with people, living on the streets, and the correct organizations they need.

Whereas Rea Thusana Foundation implements an intuitive approach, VRCID operates on a more strict and organized basis. The Voortrekker Corridor Improvement District (VRCID) focuses mainly on nightly outreach.

HEALTH CARE

Ablution facilities and health care is of large importance for homeless people. However, these are not numerous. The place most mentioned in conducted interviews was The Hope Exchange in the city center. They try to help all round. Besides being a second phase shelter and base of operations for the soup kitchen Ladles of Love, street people get the opportunity to shower daily. Once in the week, clothes can be washed and once a month, they collaborate with a clinic FAMSA.

REHAB

Rehabs are an important support structure. Many shelters make it a commitment to be drug free for their clients. In the center of the city, the support structure is formalized in facilitating meetings during the week. Conventional rehab facilities, where people can stay, are often located further out of the city. This makes them harder to reach and creates a larger threshold.

ACTIVIST ORGANIZATIONS

Activist organizations such as Ndifuna Ukwazi, The Housing Assembly and Reclaiming The City are concerned with the inequality, very much present in the urban fabric of Cape Town. Through a variety of studies, these organizations keep the government accountable. Through protests and events, knowledge is spread to different communities, which are not supported enough by the government.

Critical concerns are materialized in the urban fabric through occupations. Most of these occupations are supported by Reclaiming The City. These spaces house homeless people or people who are at high risk of becoming homeless.

HUMANITY HUBS

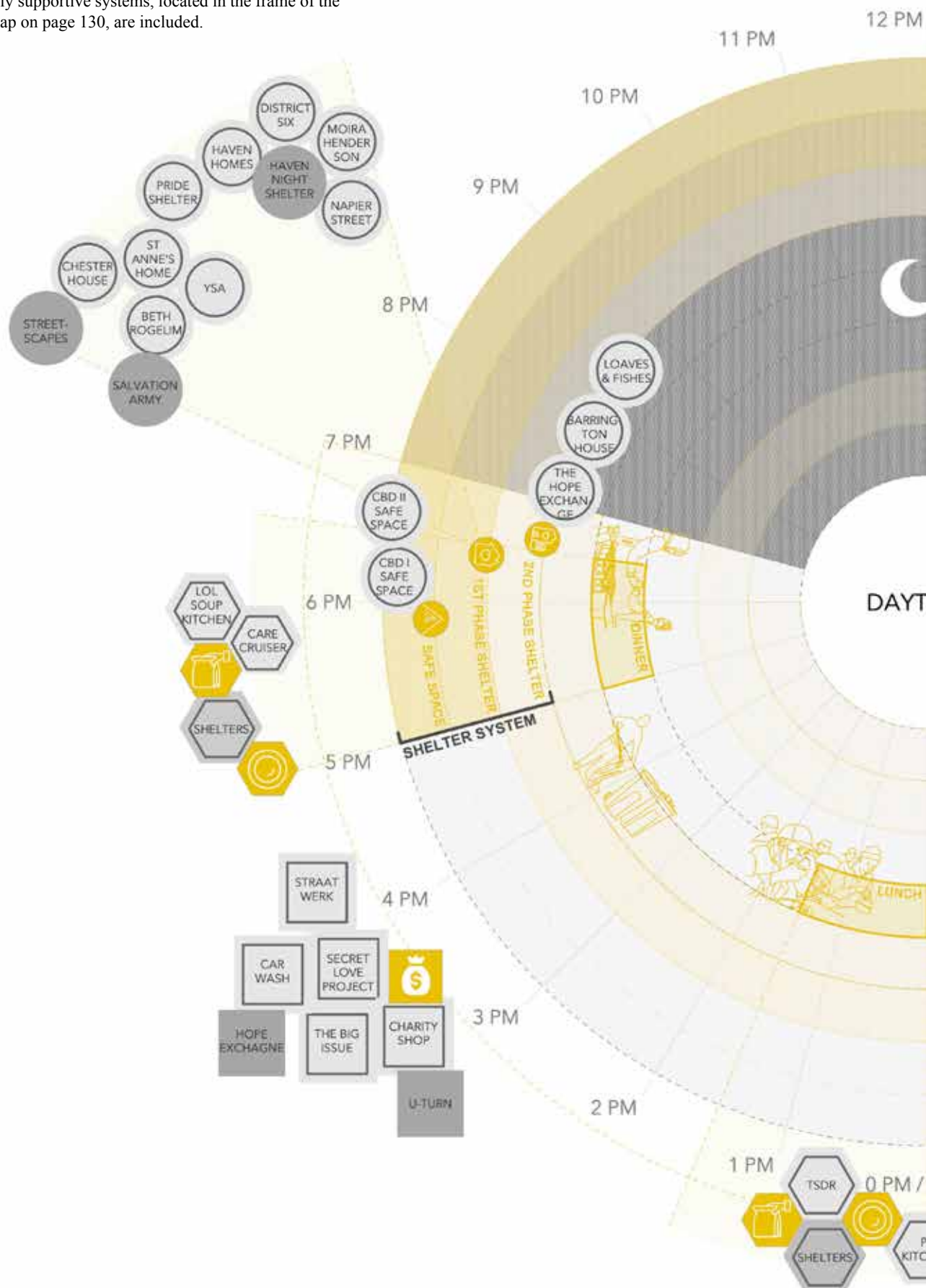
The concept of creating a humanity hub is an alternative approach to supporting the homeless. Instead of focussing on support during the night, it offers a variety of support functions throughout the day. Souper Troopers can be seen as the pioneer in Cape Town.

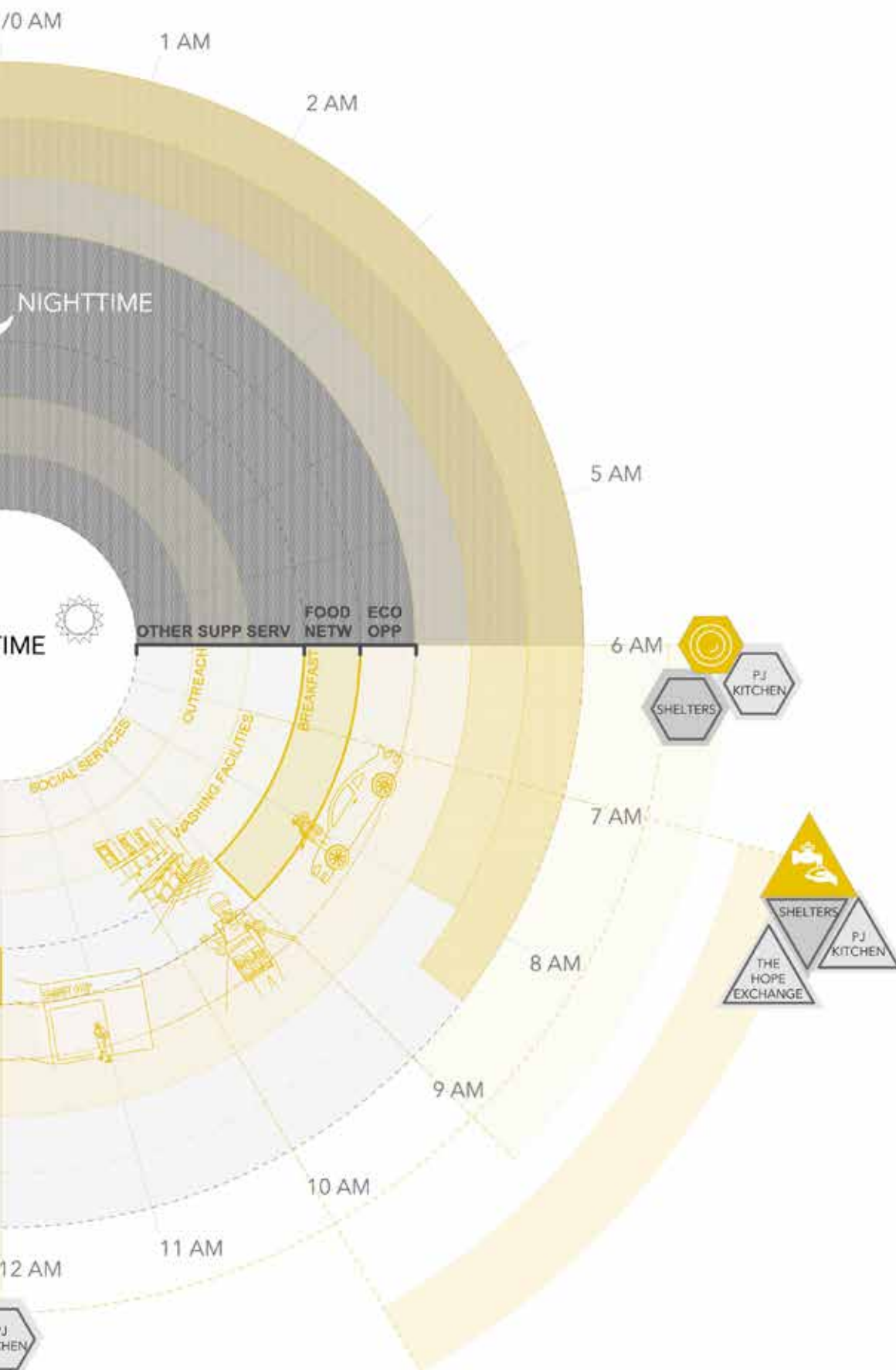


Figure 6 : Ablution facility at The Hope Exchange, CBD

A DAILY AGENDA

The graphic scheme, illustrated as a 24 hour clock, represents a synthesis of the different identified supportive facilities and their operating hours. Only supportive systems, located in the frame of the graphic synthesis map on page 130, are included.





AMBIGUITY - FUNDING

Support systems are often funded by the Department of Social Development. Different funding systems apply whether an NGO operates as soup kitchen, shelter, etc. A further division, regarding funding, is made whether a shelter space defines as safe space, first or second phase.

ECONOMIC INCENTIVE

Funding is determined primarily by capacity. The more nourished mouths or shelter beds, the more support the NGO can expect. As a result an economic incentive is given to the NGOs, leading to a tendency of wanting to expand.

“Shelter systems are becoming a business. The funding of the government depends on how many people can stay in the shelter. This is often the reasoning behind shelters, taking a lot of people (too much people). It is becoming a business where clients are resources of money.” - Phinius, founder of Rea Thusana Foundation, 2023 October 9.

In addition, the amount of funding depends on the various support functions of the NGO. The more internalized support, the more funding. *“The funding of the government is why NGOs are fighting. The funding is often for specific things so it becomes about ticking boxes for funding. Every organization wants to become the shining star.”* - Phinius, founder of Rea Thusana Foundation, 2023 October 9.

INDEPENDENCY

Some NGOs consciously decide not to accept funding from the government, which causes them to lose the possibility of a great help. For most, government support is the largest source of income. Not wanting to sacrifice on independency is the largest reason for not accepting this kind of funding.

“We don't get government funding. If you get government funding you also have to apply by the rules of the government, got to do what they tell you to do. SDR is quite autonomic. It's only private funding, international investors and trusts.” - Karen, manager of The Service Dining Rooms, 2023 October 17.

ALTERNATIVES

Government funding, while often consisting the largest share, does not have to be the only means of income. Private funding, donations - both monetary, tangible and intangible - are other ways to meet. It is important to be grateful, even for the smallest donations. This can cause people to donate again.

Gradually, in order to become cost-effective, the NGO is encouraged to become a business where donors can be seen as customers. The sympathetic NGO, with which concept it often starts, grows into a large-scale support network. However, for some this is not seen as a bad thing. Greater financial resources can ensure the quality of their support network.

“If you want to have a huge impact, you should act like a business and not like a charity. Savings can help in bad times.” - Danny, founder of Ladles of Love, 2023 October 13.

Besides optimizing connections, with both local communities and wealthier European countries, self-generated revenue can also be a source of income. An example is the elaborated way of working of U-turn. Scattered around the city of Cape Town, several second-hand stores of U-turn are implemented. Clients of U-turn, who find themselves towards the end of their pathway out of homelessness - have the opportunity to work in these second-hand stores. While generating revenue for the NGO, it creates a controlled job-opportunity, slowly reintroducing the client into society.

“We also work with self generated revenue. In this way, we are not entirely depending on others.” - Stephen, staff member at U-turn, 2023 September 12.

AMBIGUITY - COLLABORATIONS

The collaboration network between different NGOs, which either have the same focus or different emphases, must be viewed critically.

It must be realized that only a certain budget is made available for funding of a specific social support activity. NGOs, that share the same focus and are categorized the same by the Department of Social Development, are forced to compete instead of collaborate. Cooperation between comparable NGOs often takes place out of necessity, such as inadequate capacity. In general, collaborations are more quickly established between organizations, which do not have the same focus.

As mentioned before, the amount of provided funding depends on the number of functions the NGO implements. As an organization becomes more introspective, it will receive more funding from the government. This causes NGOs to overlap more and more. Not only because of funding, but also because of a genuine motivation and believe to improve the support network themselves, NGOs expand their area of operation.

Phinius, founder of Rea Thusana Foundation, himself is hugely critical of the shelter system. However, the foundation is opening a very own women's shelter in the near future. *"ReaThusana Foundation only got private funding until now. We are going to have access to governmental funding soon in order to get our own place."* - Phinius, founder of Rea Thusana Foundation, 2023 October 9.

Although these general trends were observed during field research, it remains powerful to let the people, which may or may not engage in collaborations, speak. Numerous quotes further illustrate the dual position regarding collaborations in the sector.

"Collaborations are easier in the last years. There's a growing understanding for teamwork. Before, everyone wanted to be the best." - Leanne, managing director at New Hope SA, 2023 October 24.

"NGO's should focus on things they are good at and not take up too much at a time. It is about addressing every aspect but it can't take only one organization." - Phinius, founder of Rea Thusana Foundation, 2023 October 9.

"You need to focus on what you do and do it good. Don't try to do a 1000 things less good. Collaboration is important, but it can work or not work, how you collaborate is important." - Danny, founder of Ladles of Love, 2023 October 13.

"The only negative side to all the collaborations is the practical side. It makes everything more complex. The clients enrolled in U-turn have a different schedule for example, this can be difficult." - Leanne, managing director at New Hope SA, 2023 October 24.

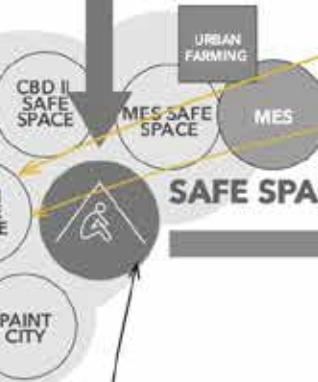
"Everybody wants to be the shining star. The major problem of working together is that everyone has their own believes and own programs. The different approaches can be a boundary between organizations." - Clifford, founder of Oasis, 2023 October 12.

POSSIBILITY: FIRST CONTACT WITH A SHELTER

SHELTER SYSTEM



SAFE SPACES



CITY GRANT-IN-AID FUNDING

POSSIBILITY: FIRST CONTACT WITH A SHELTER

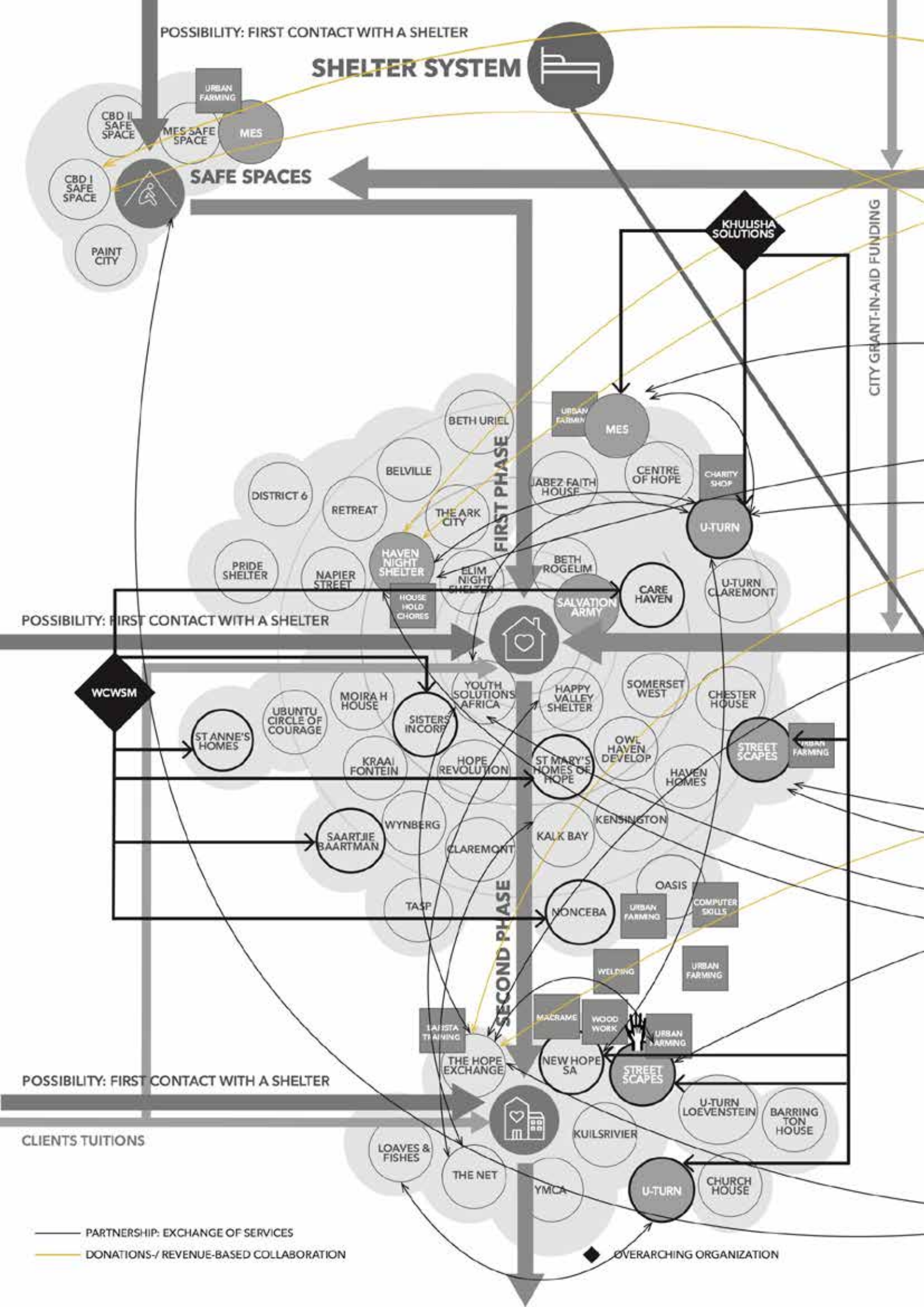
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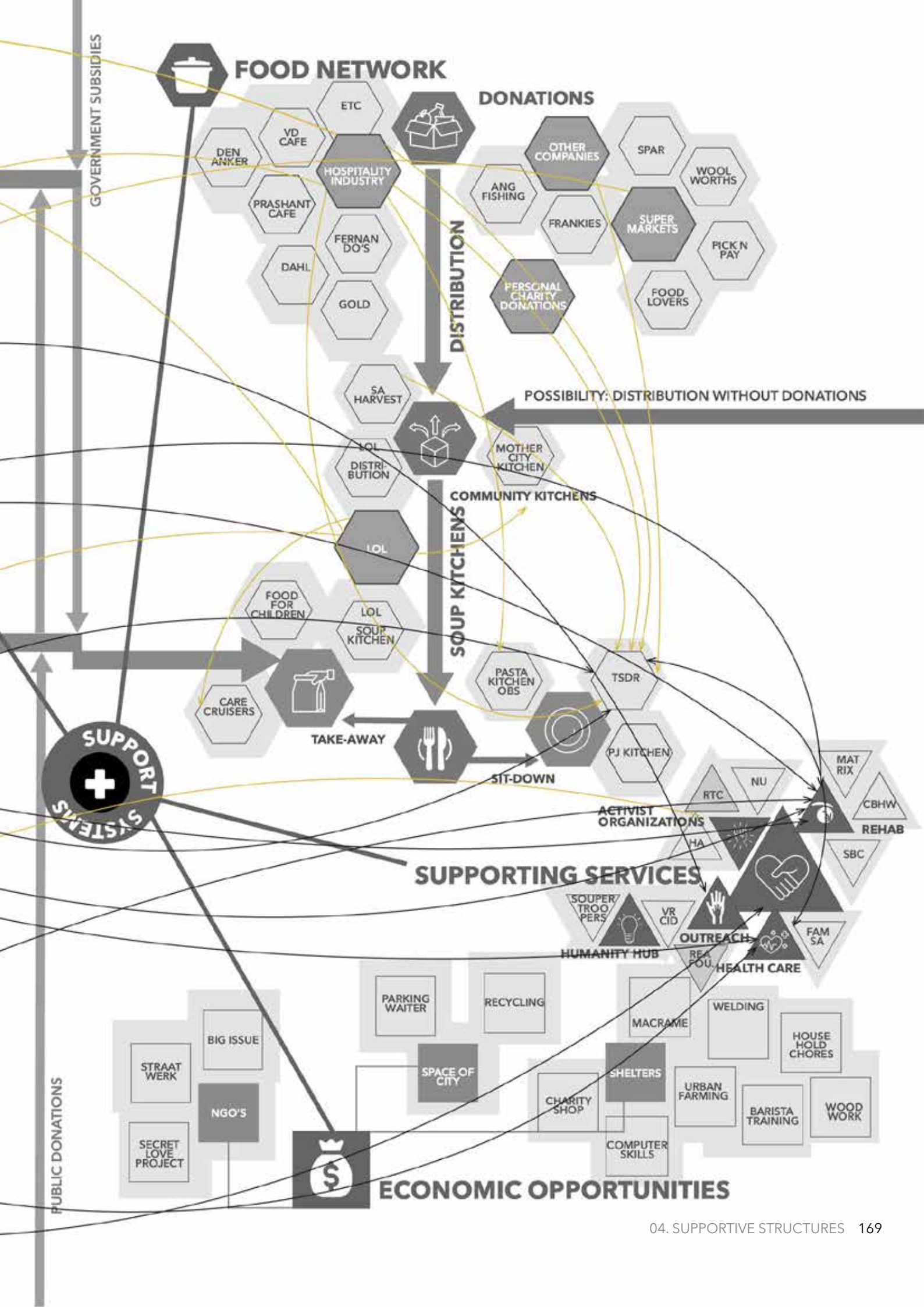
POSSIBILITY: FIRST CONTACT WITH A SHELTER

CLIENTS TUITIONS

- PARTNERSHIP: EXCHANGE OF SERVICES
- DONATIONS-/ REVENUE-BASED COLLABORATION

OVERARCHING ORGANIZATION





REFLECTION

With the rise of neoliberalism, the not-for-profit or third sector has taken over traditional government welfare to a certain extent. As a consequence, the third sector has been forced to become more professional in an effort to secure governmental contracts. Third sector organizations have shifted their focus towards the provision of long-term assistance.¹²

The various support systems, cited in past chapter, show the comprehensiveness of broad care in the city. However, falling back on the substantiated reality of the estimated 14 357¹³ people living on the streets of Cape Town, there is room for improvement. What are potential opportunities that are not yet exploited? What can be improved? What is missing from the support network?

The most dominant discussed topic is the one of shelter facilities. Should there be more shelter spaces facilitated or is it the underlying working method of a shelter, that needs to be optimized? The tendency of many is to provide shelter for the homeless as a first step. As a result, people experiencing homelessness, are physically distanced from the problematic context of living on the streets.¹⁴

In contrast with safe spaces, access to shelters is not without conditions. It tends to depend on a compliance with work-plans, sobriety requirements and similar preconditions.¹⁵ First and second phase shelters charge shelter fees and have a comprehensive list of rules. While these are necessary to run an effective shelter, they can create barriers for people going into a shelter.

Once in a shelter, the support system tries to guide them through the pathway out of homelessness. Shadrack Valayadum, current CEO of The Haven Night Shelter, pleads for a longer stay of clients in shelters. *“At the moment, The Haven isn’t looking at the root causes. They put plasters on gunshot wounds. There should be medication between homeless people and their family. The new policy of the new CEO is going to focus on letting them stay for longer and change the model of The Haven.”* - Shadrack, CEO of The Haven Night Shelter, 2023 October 11.

From several conducted interviews, it may be concluded that the 6-month rule has occasionally not been complied with. Therefore, the intention is received skeptically as it is not certain it will actually make a difference in the future. Nor should clients of shelter systems see the shelter as a permanent place to live. According to numerous NGOs, it is a temporary solution and while a shelter should be comfortable and supportive, it should not feel like a place to stay for a longer period of time.

Shelters and safe spaces play a significant role in providing an environment in which rough sleepers can shift their focus, from basic survival mode, towards expanding energy on trying to leave the street and reintegrating into society. However, in practice, are they implemented in places that lend themselves to this?

Safe spaces and first phases tend to gear themselves towards having many people sleeping in dormitories, which often leads to interpersonal conflicts, sleeping difficulties and spreading of illness. Lockers, where people can keep their belongings, is usually broken into.¹⁶

“I don’t like shelters. People steal each other stuff. You also need to stay with a lot of people in one room, which I don’t like.” - Cecyl, experiencing homelessness and currently staying at De Waal park, 2023 October 28.

Not only at the scale of dormitories, but at the larger scale of the entire infrastructure, this can be problematic. The concentration of large groups of people in shelter facilities, although understandable for practical and economic reasoning, can count on criticism. More spaces to accommodate homeless people in other parts of the city, not just in the city center, should be advocated for according to U-turn. People living on the streets have their own support network in any given community and that’s where they want and should be able to reside.¹⁷

In addition to shelter facilities, many other support systems such as soup kitchens, economic opportunities, and other supportive services, play an important role in the daily lives of people experiencing homelessness. Spread across the City of Cape Town, they are part of the daily routine of many, demonstrating their value. Many different approaches and working methods complement each other to form a broad diversity of support. In the supply of diversity, opportunity can be found.

What happens to all these criticisms and concerns? In 2024, the city of Cape Town has established a new strategy called ‘The City of Cape Town Strategy to reduce Rough Sleeping’. Since only a draft version has been issued and the objectives remain descriptive, it is to be seen how the support network in Cape Town continues to develop and be supported.¹⁸

ENDNOTE

Annex: interviews with private and public security - organizations and people, experiencing homelessness.

All images or maps without references of a source are taken or made by the authors of this research.

GRAPHIC SYNTHESIS

Data of Map

S.n. S.d. *Open Data Portal*. City of Cape Town, consulted 2024 May 12.

<https://www.capetown.gov.za/City-Connect/All-City-online-services/open-data-portal/>

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SHELTER SYSTEM

Data of Map

S.n. S.d. *Open Data Portal*. City of Cape Town, consulted 2024 May 12.

<https://www.capetown.gov.za/City-Connect/All-City-online-services/open-data-portal/>

Text

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13 Hopkins, J et al. 2020. *The cost of homelessness in Cape Town*. pp. 4.

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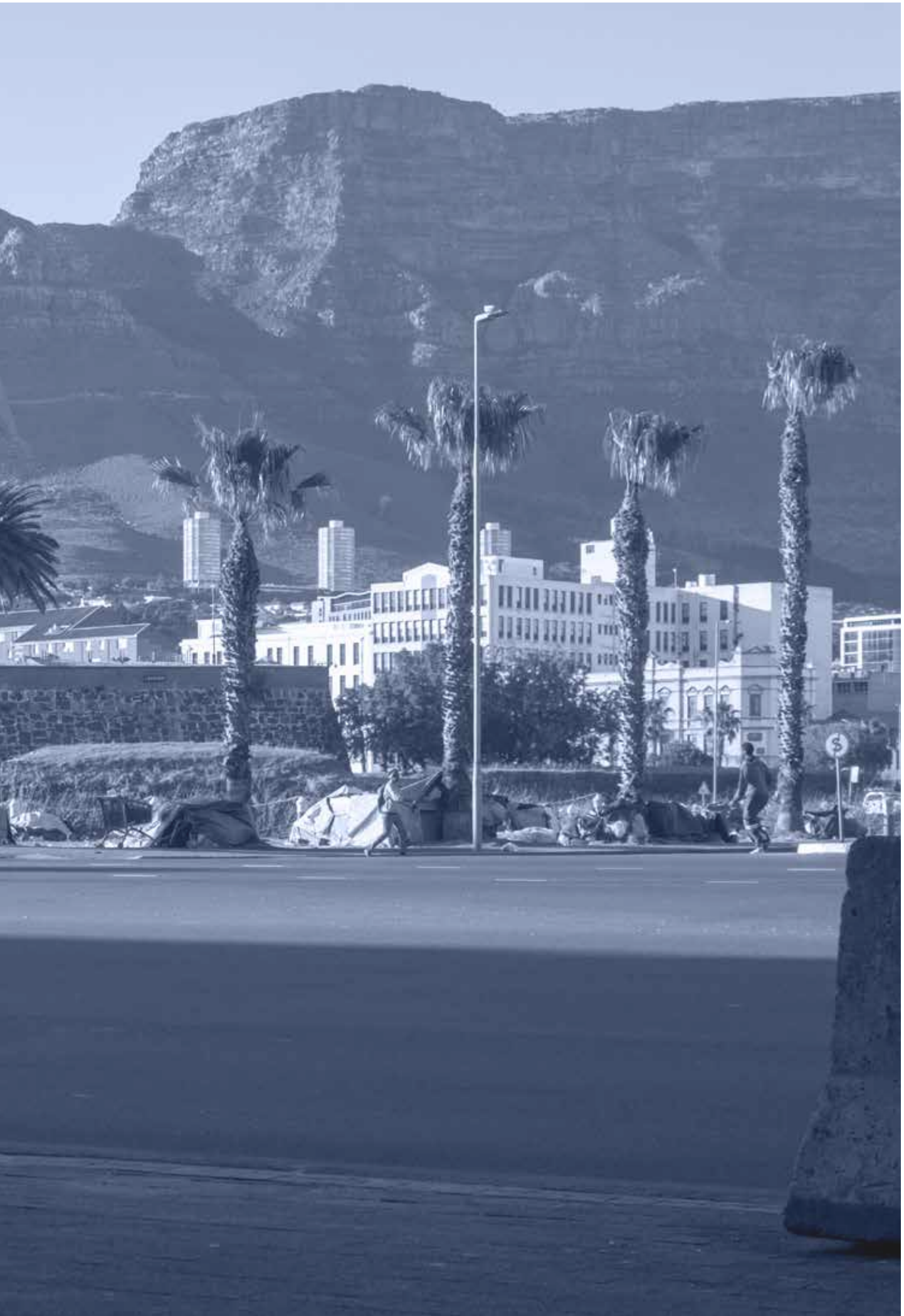
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05. FROM BODY TO TERRITORY



*How do people, experiencing homeless, live in the city and its public space?
Is public space really public?*

Arthur Caels - Paulien Daenen - Ann-Sofie Wens
Prof. Viviana d'Auria
2023 - 2024

05. FROM BODY TO TERRITORY

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P188 SETTLING FOR THE NIGHT
SETTLING IN THE CITY
SLEEPING IN OPEN AIR

P200 HOW TO MAKE A 'HOME'?

P204 REFLECTION - LIFE PATHWAYS

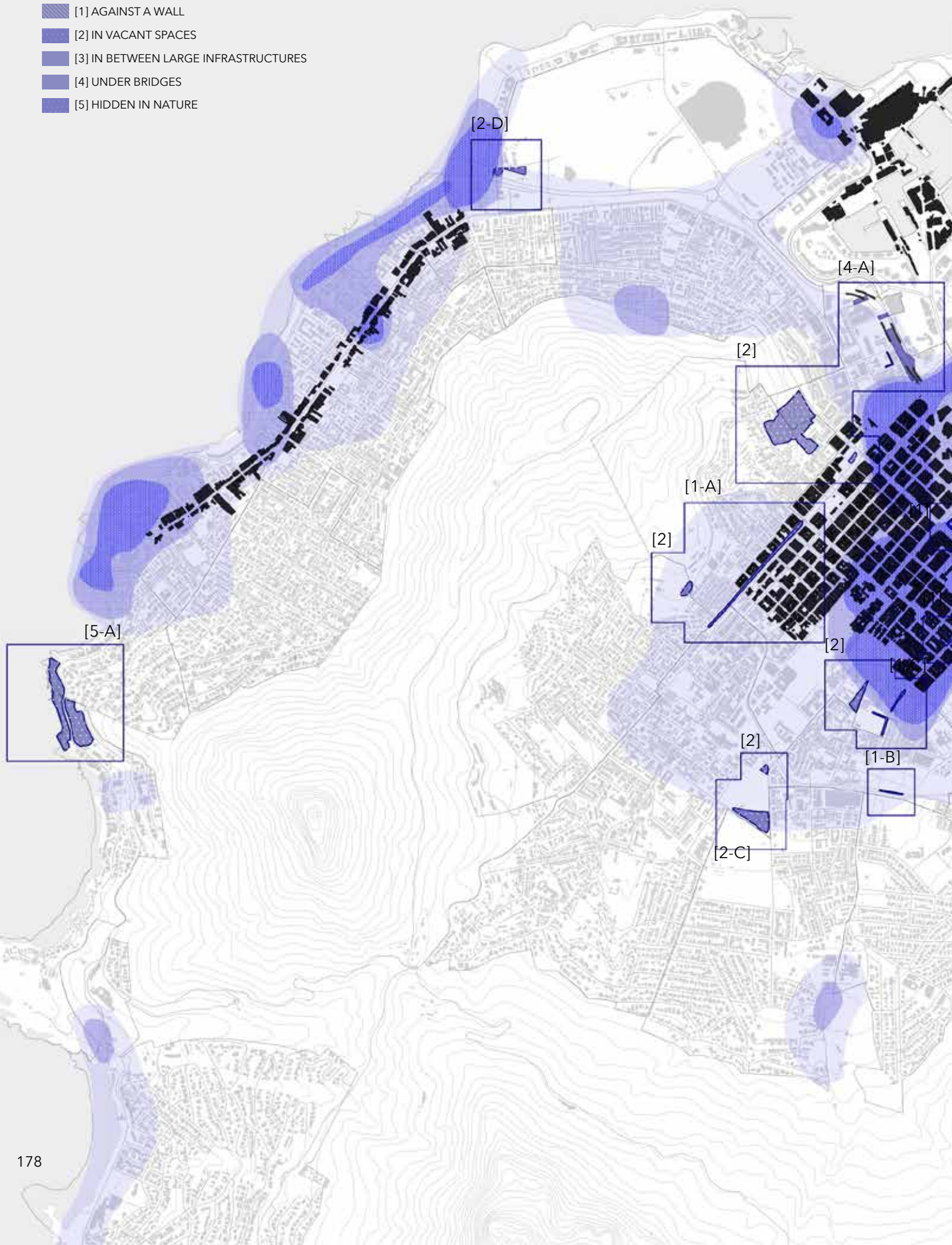
P210 ENDNOTE

GRAPHIC SYNTHESIS

1 : 28 250



- [1] AGAINST A WALL
- [2] IN VACANT SPACES
- [3] IN BETWEEN LARGE INFRASTRUCTURES
- [4] UNDER BRIDGES
- [5] HIDDEN IN NATURE



DENSITY OF LAYER: FROM BODY TO TERRITORY

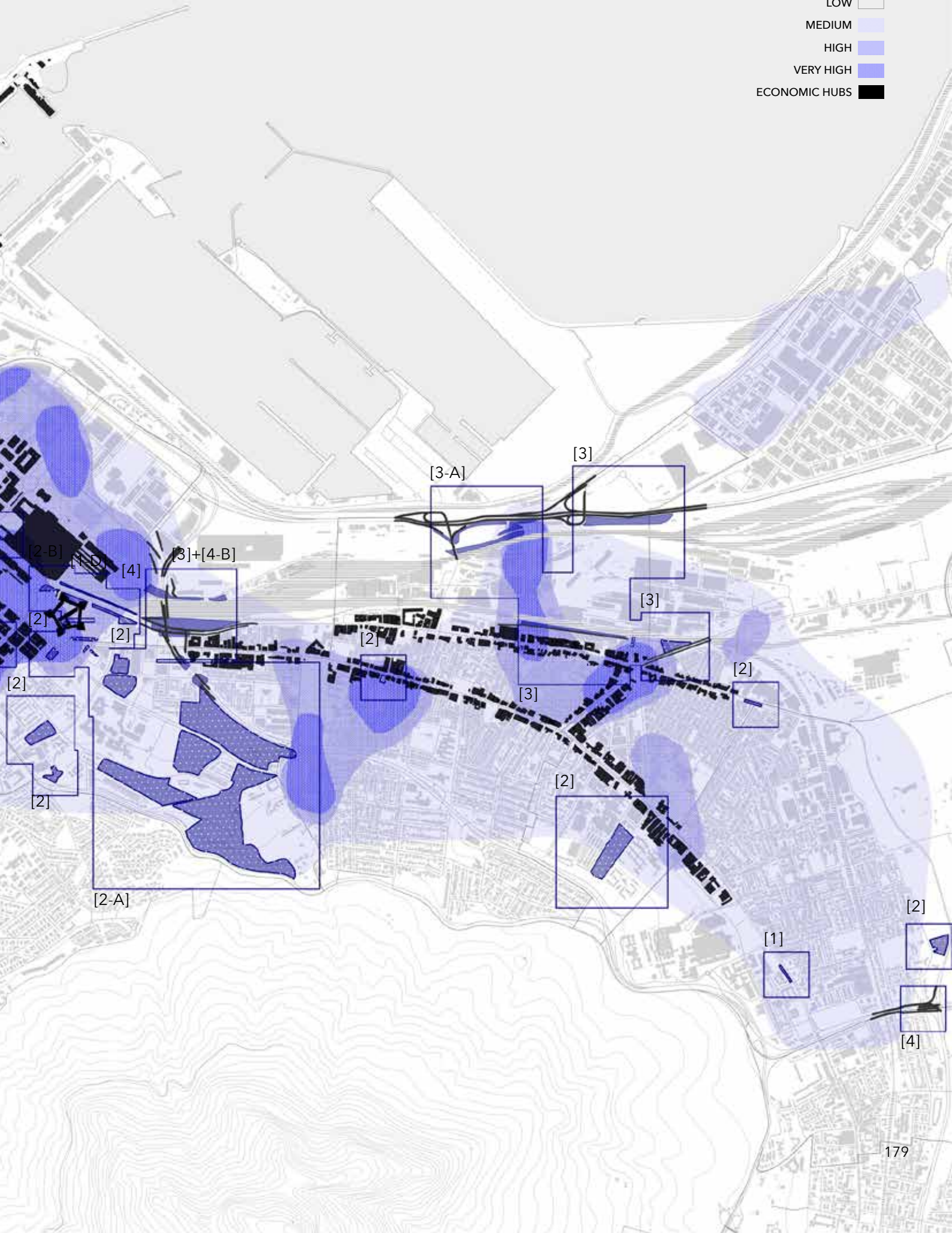
LOW

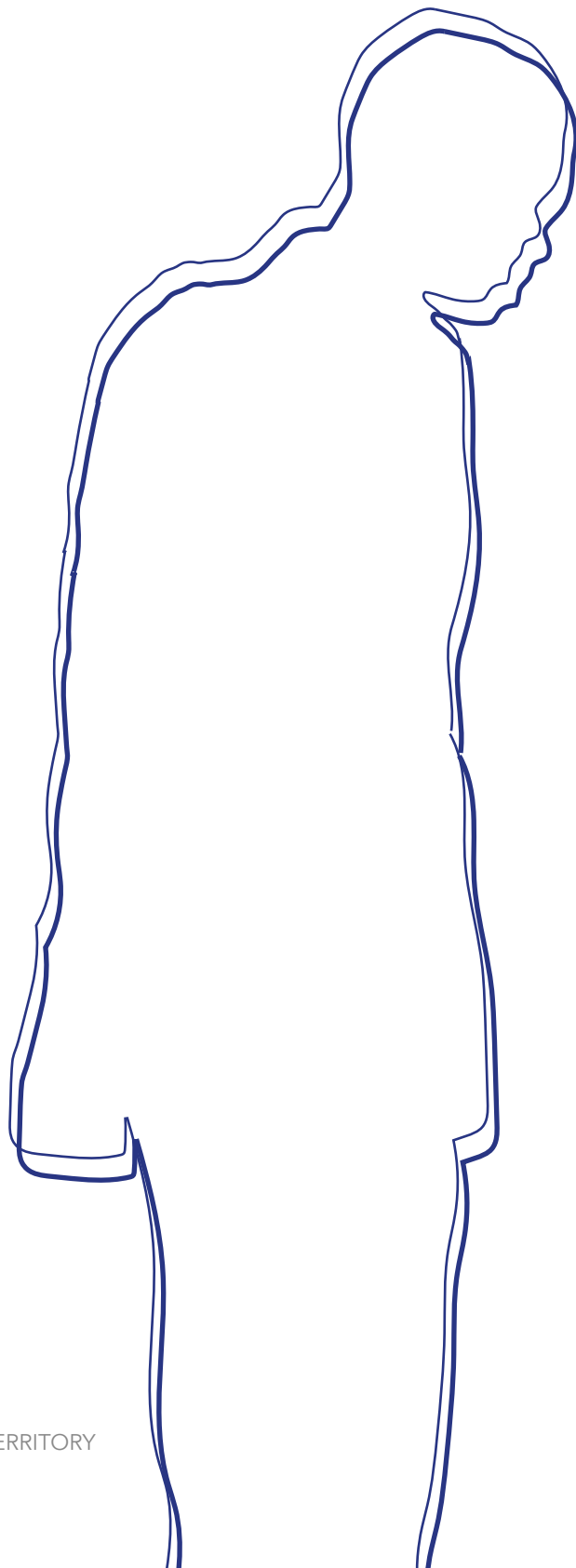
MEDIUM

HIGH

VERY HIGH

ECONOMIC HUBS





INTRODUCTION

How do people, experiencing homelessness, live in the city and its public space? Is public space really public?

As Smith formulates: *"For territory, we see that it is made through bodies: embodied practices and the materiality of bodies affect and are inseparable from the production and maintenance of territory. [...] A focus on bodies as they constitute and comprise territory enables new lines of questioning and a material understanding of state-making and non-state-centred bordering practices."*¹

'From Body to Territory' can be seen as a research about the lived experiences of homelessness. Informal conversations with people, who were or are living on the streets, regarding their lived experiences, can help understand the meanings of the urban space to them. The starting points of this study are the persons and their expertise's. Their habitual lived experience of the urban tissue was the focus of attention. Inspired by the words of Wagner, the study tries not to approach homeless people as passive victims of society. Street people develop their own self-consciousness, culture and alternative community.²

During volunteering and outreach work, several homeless people described that they were not 'homeless homeless', to immediately follow up this statement with a place description of where they were staying. According to Gieryn, to be without a place of one's own - *persona no locata* - is to be almost non-existent.³ In other words, the loss of place can be devastating. When confronted with the shattering reality of placelessness, people are prone to seek and make new places in which to be or feel at home.⁴ In the opinion of Wright it is clear that poor people, like all people, attempt to reassert their place in society, to establish a homeplace in the midst of deprivation, humiliation, and degradation.⁵

From numerous conversations with street people, several methods of place-making were discussed. Whether they lay a piece of cardboard on the ground, mark their territory on a park bench or seek company of other homeless individuals, they are all creating places of their own.

The City of Cape Town does not operate as a blank page, where people can freely act on place-making. A mosaic of supportive and anti-homeless dynamics characterizes the urban territory, which either create or diminish opportunities for homeless people to interact with.

For a large extent, following research is based on conducted interviews with people, who either once lived or are still living on the streets of Cape Town. Personal narratives, that both endorse and contradict each other, will be opposed to narratives, written from outsider perspectives. This allows to paint a evocative, intimate and humanistic picture of homelessness.

The chapter is constructed in four different sections, which complement each other to discuss the subject 'from body to territory' as comprehensively as possible. First, the daily life on the street will be considered. How are people, experiencing homelessness, able to fulfill all daily human necessities? Where can they go or where are they better off not going?

In addition to this, dynamics during the night will be addressed. In a city with such a high crime rate as Cape Town - 16th highest crime index of the world -⁶ vulnerable people, such as homeless people, often get exposed to dangers. Especially after the sun has set, the chances of coming into contact with some sort of crime, increase.

The third part will go into detail of homemaking. First, the meaning of a home, after which the aspect of how to achieve this, will be addressed. A home can have many different meanings for different persons. Which rituals or objects makes a place a home?

After all, life pathways will conclude these touched topics as natural synthesis.

INDIVIDUALS INTERVIEWED

The following overview gives a short introduction of the people, experiencing homelessness, with whom we have talked extensively about their pathways and insights. Some of them are still living on the streets of Cape Town, others managed to find a way out of homelessness. There was a different use of methodology, whether they were or were not experiencing homelessness.

If the person was still living on the street, the conversations came unplanned and spontaneously during walks around the city. We tried to go back several times, on different days, to

continue or repeat the conversation in order to get a better understanding of their story. In contrast, with those interviewed who are no longer living on the streets, a time and place could be agreed to.

Not everyone is included in undermentioned overview. From some conversations only snaps of information were used. They will be spoken about anonymously when referring to their experiences. First names have been slightly changed, starting with the correct initial letter, to respect everyone's privacy.

MONTY



Born in Eastern Cape, South Africa, 1986.

In 2014, when he was 27 years old, Monty became roofless because of a lingering drug addiction. He was roofless for roughly 2 years. In 2016, he accepted support and went into the shelter system. He stayed at The Hope Exchange, in the city center of Cape Town. After a period of about 1,5 years depending on the support system, he managed to find an apartment on the private market again. Through the support program of The Hope Exchange, he developed barista talents. As a result, Monty runs his own coffee shop 'Heaven Coffee' in Cape Town's city center.

PARKER



Born in Cape Town, South Africa.

In 2008, he became roofless because of an alcohol addiction, with unemployment as root cause. He lived on the streets of Cape Town for about 2,5 years. In 2010, he met John Philmon, founder of Youth Solutions Africa, who convinced him to stay at his shelter. Parker established a relationship of trust and was given more and more responsibility within YSA. In 2011, he stopped staying at YSA and opened his own soup kitchen in Salt River.

EREC



Born in Manenberg, Cape Town, South Africa, 1971.

He grew up in Manenberg, a township of Cape Town. Due to his environment and peer pressure, he became a gangster from an age of 10 years old. When he was 17 years old, he ended up in jail for murder and was sentenced to 15 years in prison. Released from jail, Erec found himself once again surrounded with gangsters. During the COVID-19 pandemic, he was forcibly moved by the government to the Strandfontein emergency camp. In Strandfontein, he came in contact with Clifford Martinus, founder of Oasis Place, a shelter in Phillippi, Cape Town, where he stays to this day.

EREKHSa



Born in Cape Town, South Africa, 1984.

She lived with her grandmother because her parents separated at a young age. ErekhSA fell pregnant at a young age. Since her grandmother could not take care of her and the child, she was on her own. Once she made sure her son was at a good help center, she thought to have a fresh start on the streets. For 23 years, she lived with a homeless community in Muizenberg, on the flanks of Table Mountain. She did car guarding and prostitution on the side, which provided her with a decent income. ErekhSA approached Oasis Place herself because she wanted a better life for herself. She currently still stays there.

KEAGAN



Born in Cape Town, South Africa, 1985.

Due to his schizophrenia and less fortunate childhood, Keagan is already homeless for a couple of years, together with his twin brother. No matter what happens, they always stay together. They have stayed in different shelters all over Cape Town. Currently, they are enrolled in the program of Streetscapes, in Kuilsrivier.

SOLOMYN



Born in Mitchells Plain, Cape Town, South Africa, 1989.

A confluence of circumstances in his childhood caused him to surround himself with the wrong people and gangsterism. At an age of 13, he committed his first murder. After years of being in and out of prison, he became homeless. Following a couple of months of staying on the streets, he came in contact with the manager of The Haven Night Belville, who convinced him to stay at the shelter.

CECYL



Born in Grassi Park, Cape Town, South Africa, 1961.

He became part of gangsterism at an age of 14. After a few years, he tried to escape his life in Cape Town by moving to Durban. Afterwards, Cecyl also lived on the streets of Johannesburg for a while. Eventually, after a lot of years, he came back to Cape Town. For the last 10 years, he is staying in a shack, just outside De Waal Park, Oranjezicht.

GERIK



Born in Cape Town, South Africa, 1978.

Gerik was a wealthy lawyer, living in Sea Point. Due to a combination of his expensive lifestyle and the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic, he lost a huge amount of money. Eventually, he was forced to sell all his possessions except for his car, where he lived in for a couple of months. Afterwards, Gerik ended up at the pride shelter, where he currently still stays. To this day, shame plays a very big part in his story. Both his family and friends have no idea that he is homeless.

PRIMA
& JERROLD



Born in Cape Town, South Africa, 1997.

While walking through the Gardens neighborhood, a spontaneous interaction with them, took place. After which, several conversations followed while sharing a meal together. They stay on the same corner of Schoonstreet, Gardens, everyday. They only leave this place for washing themselves and sleeping during the night.

A DAY IN THE LIFE

How does a day in the life look like for someone, living on the street? Where to go and what to do?

STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL

With no real income or private place to escape to, everyday activities easily become a difficulty for people, experiencing homelessness. Common daily struggles consist of the need to find something to eat, the desire to being able to wash yourself, the need to storage personal belongings amongst other things.

Which soup kitchen is open when? Where can I wash myself at what time? It is difficult to adapt to the homeless rules when you first become homeless. A first reflex for many would be to seek company and advice from other, more experienced homeless people.

However, staying together with other people makes it ten times more difficult to come off the streets according to different people that stayed on the streets. *"You're ready but they are not. You want to quit but they don't. It's a symbiotic but most of all parasitic relationship."* - Parker, 2023 October 23.

TIME CONTINUUM

When you are living on the streets, a day can be unpredictable as you are constantly faced with new environments, people and challenges. At the same time, a lot of homeless people experience draining monotony.⁷ While one person does not have any built-in structure to their day, the other feels trapped within a certain routine. Following quotes add to this dichotomy.

"I didn't know what time it was most of the time. It didn't matter. I didn't need to be anywhere. Time was not an important thing to me. I was scarreling trying to find food and drugs, until late. That was it." - Monty, ex-homeless and owner of The Heaven Coffee shop, 2023 October 30.

"Living on the streets is like a prison. It might not be behind bars but each day is the same. It's a cycle. Each day you get up and do the same things you do everyday. Everyday you walk the same places." - Parker, 2023 October 23.

Having a sense of time while staying on the streets can be linked to whether or not the person makes use of the supportive network, which functions with a tight time schedule. Soup kitchens, shelters, sanitary facilities amongst other things are only accessible during a certain period of time a day. People, wanting to make use of these facilities, will have to be on time. These timeframes help create a form of structure and discipline according to different people living on the streets. This thematic is illustrated by a graphic 24 hour clock of the supportive system in chapter four 'Supportive Structures' on page 164.

VARIETY IN UNITY

Although there are many recurring activities, they often differ in implementation.

Before starting their day, homeless people want to make sure their belongings stay safe. In shelters, lockers are often provided to hold personal goods. If storing individual items is

not a possibility, alternatives are found. A common example is hanging belongings in a tall tree, what has been observed several times in the Sea Point promenade case study.

However, most homeless people are very attached to the limited number of belongings they have, which makes them carry those items everywhere.

"I would go to the back of Food Lovers Market and ask to a security guy I knew if he could keep my blankets and stuff during the day. I gave him 10 or 20 ZAR to keep my stuff." - Solomyn, 2023 October 19.

Once the day is started, the first thing most people want to achieve is wash themselves. There is only a few places in the entire city center of Cape Town, where homeless people are invited to wash themselves in a private establishment. Organizations like The Hope Exchange and Straatwerk are one of them. Besides utilizing a formal washing area, the majority of homeless people goes to a running stream in Company Gardens or washes themselves with sea water at one of Cape Town's beaches.

Alongside, finding food takes up a large part of their daily routine. It varies from person to person whether or not they are willing to beg for food, survive on food scraps or go to soup kitchens.

"A lot of guys on the streets never go to soup kitchens. It has a lot to do with pride. The shame of standing and queuing for food was more present than the shame for digging for food in the trash." - Monty, 2023 October 30.

The purposes for which homeless people gather money differ. Whether it is for a new ID card, a shelter fee, substances, or something else, the fact that they need to find a way to gather money remains.

By briefly considering common activities, the variety in unity in the daily life's of homeless people becomes clear. Whether days consist of a fixed routine or not, however they are filled in, days start to flow into each other. Days can become weeks, months can become years.

A graphic synthesis of different common daily activities, illustrated as a 24 hour clock, is provided on the next page. It is constructed out of various interviews.



Figure 1 : Individual, experiencing homelessness, carrying their belongings, Gardens

A DAY IN THE LIFE

COOKING FOOD

"At night, I would make fire unther the bridge to cook. I would cook potatoes, chicken, baked beans, anything you could cook in a normal house. I got most of the pots and stuff from people I asked. People would bring me stuff." - Solomyn, 2023 October 19.

FINDING FOOD

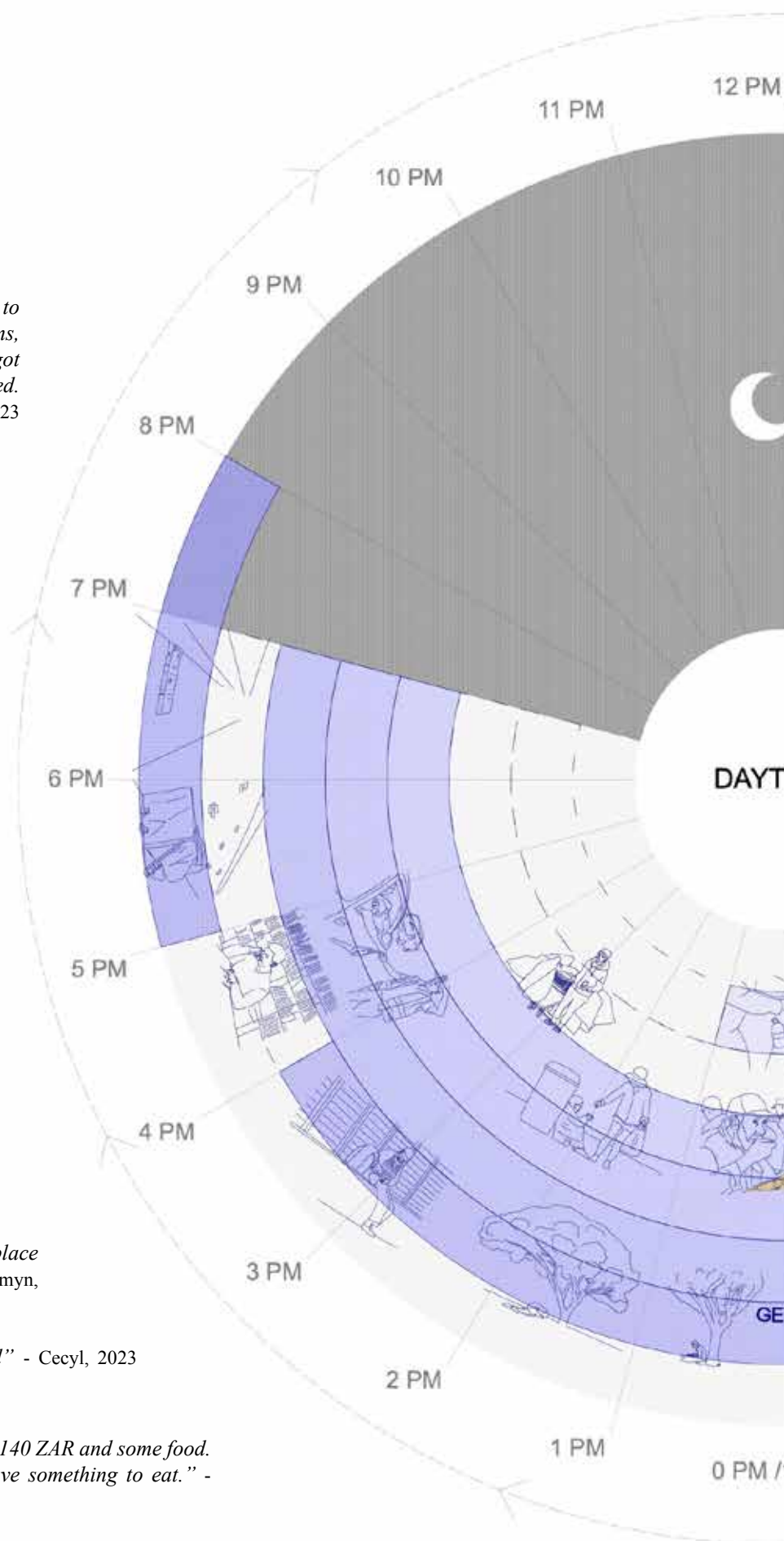
"Depending on what day it was, certain soup kitchens would give out food. You would go there again at around 4 or 5 pm. Afterwards, I would go to the library until closing time. Later on, preparing for the night, I would get my cardboard at KFC." - Parker, 2023 October 23.

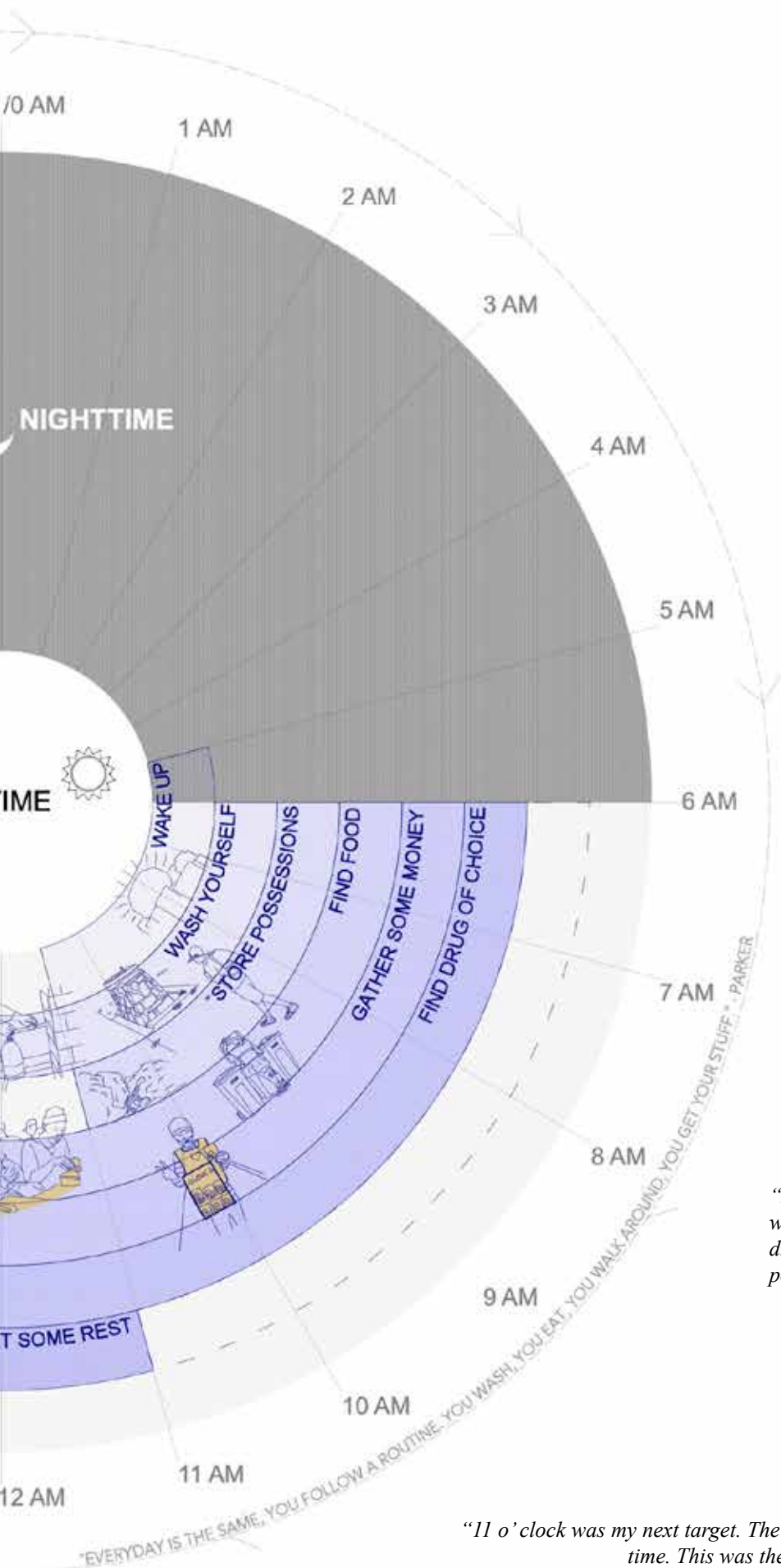
GATHERING MONEY

"Selling cans, selling plastic, etc to a recycling place can be a way to get money on the streets." - Solomyn, 2023 October 19.

"Sometimes I do a job. I clean people's yard" - Cecyl, 2023 October 28.

"On a good day of begging, I would get around 140 ZAR and some food. I could at least get high of the money and have something to eat." - Solomyn, 2023 October 19.





KEEPING POSSESSIONS SAFE

"My stuff would either be in a drain somewhere or it would be in a tree. Guys on the streets like to steal blankets and shoes."

- Parker, 2023 October 23.

WASHING YOURSELF

"You would wake up and if you are tidy person, you would first wash yourself or go somewhere, where you can take a shower. I only knew one place in Cape Town. It was very limited. It's called The Hope Exchange."

- Parker, 2023 October 23.

"I wash myself every day in my tent with could water. If I have money, I go to the place on Long Street to take a shower. It is 30 ZAR to have a good shower and shave myself. It is a very good shower."

- Cecyl, 2023 October 28.

"I would get water at another ladies' house. I would walk there with my bucket. I would open the drain, where the water comes flowing out. I would pour my water in the bucket and wash myself with it."

- Solomyn, 2023 October 19.

FINDING FOOD

"11 o'clock was my next target. The Service Dining Rooms would serve lunch at that time. This was the main event of the day."

- Parker, 2023 October 23.

SETTLING FOR THE NIGHT

How to spend a night on the streets? An analysis of what nighttime can look like for an individual living on the street is made. A distinction can be made between those staying in shelters and those sleeping on the streets. The latter can be differentiated between those settling more permanently and those sleeping in open air.

CRIMINALIZATION AND GANGSTERISM

With its high criminality rate, the streets of Cape Town can be an unsafe space. Especially after the sun has set. This applies both to those who do and those who do not experience homelessness. However, people, living on the streets are often criminalized. They are seen as part of a societal problem instead of experiencing it themselves.

Since, according to stereotypes and stigmatization, they lay at the cause of the unsafe environment of the streets of Cape Town, they can not experience the unsafety itself. Based on personal stories, previously mentioned stigma can be debunked. Multiple individuals have mentioned how unsafe it is for them to stay on the streets while being homeless.

"For a lot of people, the time to rest is when the sun is up. When the sun is down, you are waiting for when the sun is up."
- Parker, 2023 October 23.

As Phinius, founder of Rea Thusana Foundation mentioned, gangs seem to make use of the streets and control people, staying on it. If you are sleeping on the streets, you are likely to not be a part of larger gangsterism, but be controlled by it. Staying on the streets may just be a way to escape from criminality. Both Erec and Solomyn mentioned they were given accommodation if they were still part of the gangs. However, when they no longer wanted to be part of it, they were forced to live on the streets.

"It depends on what your rank in the gang is. The higher your rank, the more expensive accommodation you get. Due to the gang, I was living in a flat in Sea Point." - Solomyn, 2023 October 19.

ADDITIONAL HIERARCHY ON THE STREETS

Besides gangsterism influencing the life of people on the streets, there are a large number of hierarchies between people experiencing homelessness. Thus, there seems to be a differentiation between people, addicted to different substances.

"We don't get along on the streets. Drug addicts sometimes try to take the alcoholic people's money. I never did that but I know people did. In general, drug addicts are younger, more vicious and often come from gangsterism. Alcoholics won't do crime but they will beg or work for money. In contrast, a drug addict won't think twice to steal your phone to sell for drugs."
- Solomyn, 2023 October 19.

The tension between those two groups was confirmed several times during conducted interviews with both people, struggling with an addiction to drugs and respectively alcohol. Prima and Jerrold, a young couple struggling with an addiction to alcohol, referred to being controlled by drug users. They gave examples of needing to pay 20 ZAR in return for protection and not being able to put up a shack as this structure would get demolished or parts would get stolen by people, struggling with a drug addiction.

STAYING TOGETHER

"You can't stay alone. It is dangerous. You have to stay with people around you. Anything can happen if you sleep alone in a corner." - Erec, 2023 October 12.

Almost everyone, which has been spoken to, mentioned the importance of not being alone on the streets. If you're alone, you are an easy target. Just being in the company of people can give a sense of safety and security.

"Living on the streets is dangerous. You want to live where other people are. I felt safe with people, even if I didn't know them." - Monty, 2023 October 30.

FINDING A PLACE

There are multiple considerations to be taken into account with finding a place for the night, however intuitive it may seem. The nature of these specific places can provide insightful knowledge on how (leftover) public spaces are used and how these spaces are appropriated for shelter, informal trading and informal recreation.

Besides wanting to be in the presence of others for the sake of safety, there is a dual atmosphere towards police, law enforcement and private security. It was noticed that a large group of homeless people gathers next to the police station in the evening. Having police nearby, gives the people staying on the streets a feeling of security. Although they are tolerated at night, the same people are pushed away as soon as the sun rises. It is a game of attraction and repulsion. They need to take their things and leave to spend the day somewhere else in the public space, only to return in the evening. Such place often attracts people, who are new to staying on the streets. *"I didn't intend to stay on the streets. I was clueless on what to do next. The first night, I went to sit by the police station at night. The next day, I did the same."* - Parker, 2023 October 23.

The case study of the police station in Chapter six, illustrates this dual atmosphere more into detail.

Opposite, it is common for homeless people to want to feel invisible. This applies not only during the day out of shame but equally at night so law enforcement can not see them, wake them and force them to move.⁸

“Sometimes, you make it so comfortable at one place, law enforcement comes and takes your stuff.” - Erec, 2023 October 12.

As mentioned in the introductory chapter, some homeless people stay at the foot of the mountain. Ereksa, currently staying in the Oasis Place shelter, lived at the foot of the mountain in Muizenberg for 23 years. She stayed with a group of twenty homeless people, which she referred to as her family. A lot of tents were behind trees, making them invisible to the street scene. The mountain not only acts as a place of refuge. Where the water comes from Table Mountain and runs into the district of Gardens, close to the city center, the public is used as spot to wash yourself.

MAKING USE OF URBAN SPACES

In the following pages, the different main categories of the physical urban spaces, used by people living on the streets, are categorized in a photographic atlas. A distinction can be made between those settling more permanently by sleeping in a tent or shack and those sleeping in open air with nothing more than a cardboard or mattress.

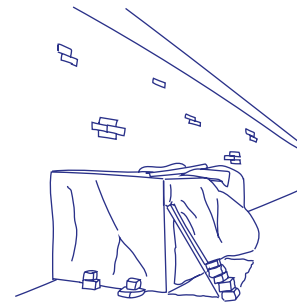
Settling in the city by putting up more permanent structures like tents or shacks, is more common than it used to be in the context of Cape Town. Since covid there are numerous full-fledged informal settlements in the city center, creating a growing visibility of the problem of homelessness within the urban landscape.

“In my time, it was cardboard and plastic. I carried that around. Most of the guys still operate that way. The structures are new. It is post-covid that you see these communities in the city. Before covid, no one did. No one was building anything.” - Monty, 2023 October 30.

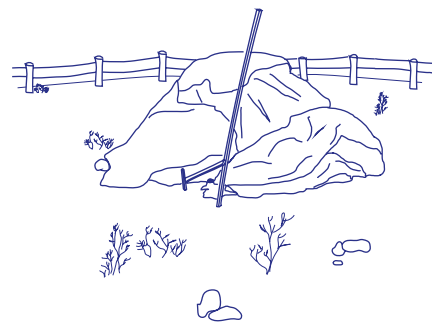
Specific locations of these settlements are not chosen at random. In addition to the intangible choices previously mentioned like the level of concealment or safety, the way in which the place gives protection against the natural elements is considered. In addition, the urban environment can also be used for extra stability to build a structure against.

Various subdivisions can be made:

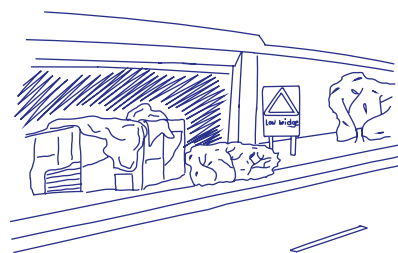
- [1] Against a wall
- [2] In vacant public spaces
- [3] In between large infrastructures
- [4] Under bridges
- [5] Hidden in nature



[1] Against a wall



[2] In vacant public spaces



[3] In between large infrastructures



[4] Under bridges



[5] Hidden in nature

SETTLING FOR THE NIGHT - SETTLING IN THE CITY

1 : 28 250 

-  [1] AGAINST A WALL
-  [2] IN VACANT SPACES
-  [3] IN BETWEEN LARGE INFRASTRUCTURES
-  [4] UNDER BRIDGES
-  [5] HIDDEN IN NATURE

[2-D]



[4-A]



[2]



[1-A]



[2]

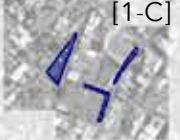
[1]



[1]



[2]



[1-C]

[1-B]

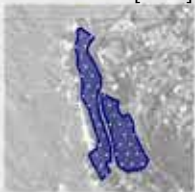


[2]



[2-C]

[5-A]





[1] AGAINST A WALL

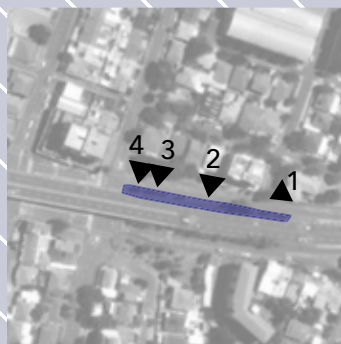
A wall, fence or other vast structure can be used as a hold-on of the informal structure. A self-made structure, often made of wooden boards and corrugated iron, is placed against it.

Besides offering stability, the reinforcing wall can also offer protection against natural elements such as wind and rain.

A - BUITENGRACHTSTREET



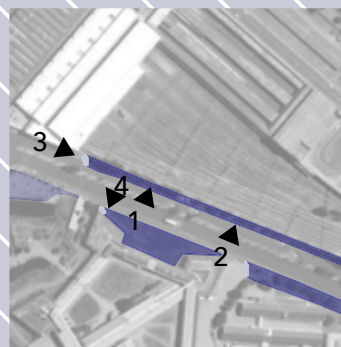
B - MILL STREET



C - BUITENKANT STREET



D - NEWMARKET STREET

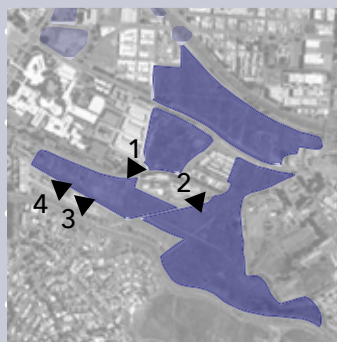




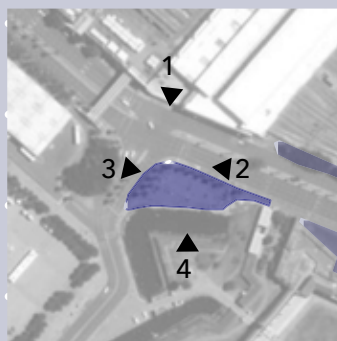
[2] IN VACANT SPACES

Vacant, undefined and unused public space within the city center are used to put up primitive dwelling structures.

A - GRASS FIELDS IN DISTRICT SIX



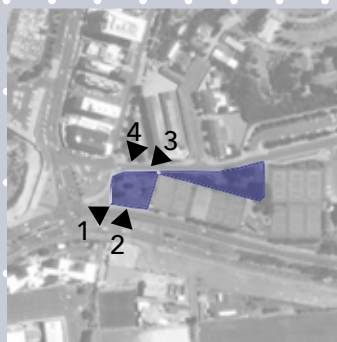
B - OPEN SPACE IN FRONT OF CASTLE OF GOOD HOPE



C - OPEN GREEN SPACE OPPOSITE DE WAAL PARK



D - TENT CITY



[Google maps 2022]



* Cecyl lives in this shack



[Google maps 2022]



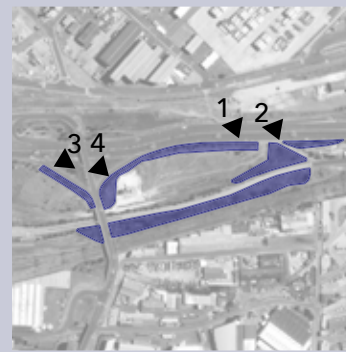
[Google maps 2024]



[3] IN BETWEEN INFRASTRUCTURES

Vacant green spaces in between large mobility infrastructures such as railways and highways are often used to put up informal structures. These rest spaces are hidden in the urban tissue. More out of sight, damaging the ideal image of the city, people living there will be evicted less quickly.

F W DE KLERK BLVD



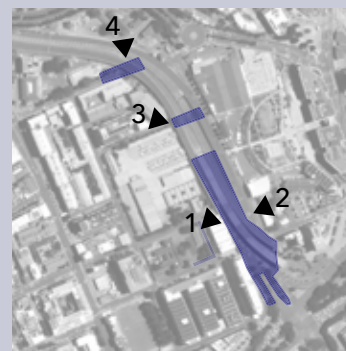
[4] UNDER BRIDGES

"The bridge worked as a shelter. When it rains, it is covered. There's no wind." - Monty, 2023 October 30.

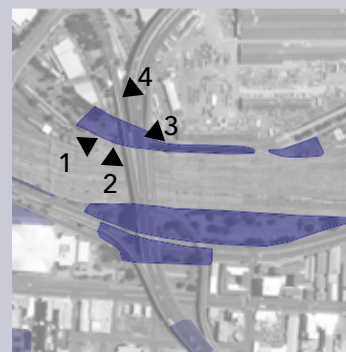
"The things that made me stay, where I would stay, is if I could stay sheltered from rain. Under the bridge, there would be bushes to relieve myself. There would also be lots of people that parked their cars there. This would be handy for begging to people." - Solomyn, 2023 October 19.

Structures are put up underneath bridges because of the protection they offer against natural weather conditions such as rain and wind in winter, and sun in summer.

A - HELEN SUZMAN BLVD BRIDGE



B - NELSON MANDELA BLVD BRIDGE

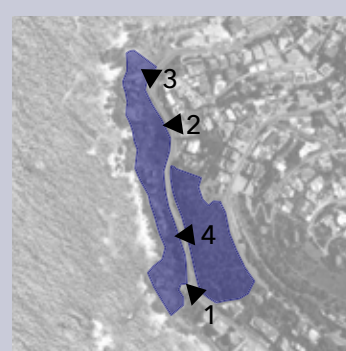


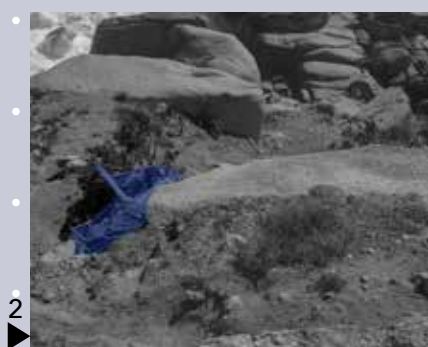
[Google maps 2024]

[5] HIDDEN IN NATURE

As Cape Town is defined by its natural geography, surrounded by mountains and beaches, the natural environment plays a large role in the city. For someone wanting to have privacy, away from the judging eye of passers-by and law enforcement, these places are of great benefit.

A - ROCKS OF BANTRY BAY





SETTLING FOR THE NIGHT - SLEEPING IN OPEN AIR

Whether or not one lives within a fixed informal structure like a tent or shack on the streets, or one only roams with cardboard and other possible belongings, depends on a few factors. As mentioned earlier, the phenomenon of having informal communities on the streets is a recently more present development. Before the COVID-19 pandemic, there were very few structures visible in the city streetscape.

Although this is a new development in Cape Town's urban landscape, certainly not everyone is doing it. Namely, a structure in plain sight draws more attention to other people and law enforcement.

OUT OF SIGHT, OUT OF MIND

"A shack attracts people. They can see there's someone there. It can attract police and law enforcement. If my bed is flat, no one can see I am there. In the morning, I hide my mattress somewhere and go with my backpack." - Solomyn, 2023 October 19.

Wanderers often sleep on a piece of cardboard, which can serve as a mattress. Those pieces of cardboard can be found at shops like KFC around closing time. Additionally, other objects are carried around like plastic bags, sleeping bags, etc.

"The only thing that I would say I carried around was a little plastic bag. A plastic bag keeps you warm if it gets windy." - Monty, 2023 October 30.

SMALLER NEED OF SPACE

The reasoning behind which specific public space gets occupied by people staying the night on the streets, is parallel whether the people stay in a structure or sleep in open air. They often stay at the same kind of spaces. The largest difference is the amount of available space needed to make use of the place as a sleeping spot. Where there should be enough space to build a structure, a cardboard can be laid in a small gutter.

"When you see something that is a little gap, you will see that someone is staying there at night. You feel that you are covered in a way." - Monty, 2023 October 30.

FREELY ON THE PEDESTRIAN ROAD



SHELTERED



HIDDEN IN DITCHES



ON NATURAL PATCHES



HOW TO MAKE A 'HOME'?

By means of what elements can someone, living on the streets, create a sense of 'home'? What is a 'home'?

"I had Christmas lights in my shack. My walls would be covered with red curtain. I made my place look like a real room. I had some vinyl flooring inside of my shack. I made my shack look nice. It was my home. I was proud of it. It was my space: my home away from home." - Solomyn, 2023 October 19.

In interviews, conducted with people experiencing homelessness, they often referred to their places as 'a real home', 'a real room'. What are they referring to? On hearing the word 'home', a range of places, objects and people can spring to mind. Places may vary from a house, a neighborhood or perhaps a country.

Architects tend to emphasize the physical house as a home, although some take the symbolic significance seriously. More phenomenologically oriented researchers stress the notion of appropriation and rootedness to places.⁹ As cited in the introduction of this chapter, Gieryn mentions that to be without a place of one's own, is to be almost non-existent.¹⁰ In other words, the loss of place can be devastating.

Other depictions of a home include home as territoriality, home as a locus in space, home as a crucial site of cultural activity, amongst other things. The diversity of these notions of home suggest that it is a complex, multivarious phenomenon.¹¹

In order to identify and clarify different senses of home, an exploratory research was conducted. Informal conversations with people, who experienced or are experiencing homelessness, regarding their daily pathways and lived experiences, can help understand the meanings of home to them. The starting points of this study are the persons and their expertise's. Their habitual lived experience of home was the focus of attention. What was something they couldn't live without? What did they take with them everywhere? What did they have implemented in their sleeping quarters that made them feel comfortable?

On the following page, a collage illustrates the findings of these conversations. Specific objects that were of essential value, whether it was for - according to them, practical or sentimental - reasons, are illustrated. However, the subjects do not have to be of a material nature. People often mentioned a routine, making them feel safe. In addition, being in presence of other people reduces the feeling of loneliness and gives people the idea that they are part of something, that they are at 'home' somewhere.

The largest focus points, which the individuals experiencing homelessness indicated themselves, are depicted and addressed.



Figure 2 : Interior of Cecyl's tent, Oranjezicht

HOW TO MAKE A 'HOME'?

*"I had **Christmas lights** in my shack. My walls would be covered with red curtain. I made my place look like a real room. I had flooring inside of my shack. I made my shack look nice. It was my home. I was proud of it. It was my space: my home away from home. "* - Solomyn, 2023 October 19.

"A community feeling is important. " - Monty, 2023 October 30.

"The people, I lived with on the foot of the mountain in Muizenberg, are my family. I miss them everyday. " - Ereksa, 2023 October 12.

"I saw a lot of people staying under the bridge. I went there. " - Solomyn, 2023 October 19.



*"I made that **clothing line** there to dry my laundry. "* - Cecyl, 2023 October 28.



*"I got my **lights**. I have a gas stove too. Those are two important elements for me. "* - Cecyl, 2023 October 28.

"I think a tent is the best. Inside, it looks beautiful. From the outside, it looks ugly. " - Cecyl, 2023 October 28.

*"My first tent was given to me by a white guy. I didn't know him but he just gave it to me. Afterwards, I took a black **sail and some wooden boards**, about ten of them. I also took some sticks and hit them in the ground so it can be solid. "* - Cecyl, 2023 October 28.



*"It was important that I could **lock my** door of my shack at night. "* - Solomyn, 2023 October 19.

"I want to stay in my own room, that I can lock. It is like a house. " - Cecyl, 2023 October 28.

*"I would move but that would be my home base. I would live in a self-made type of **plastic and cardboard shack**. I would give someone drugs to bring me materials. It is a business for materials on the streets. "* - Solomyn, 2023 October 19.





"You must see how it is burning. It looks like a real **stove**. It is very good. I like it. I have it for two years now." - Cecyl, 2023 October 28.

"I would cook potatoes, chicken, baked beans, anything you could cook in a normal house." - Solomyn, 2023 October 19.

"Once you get a routine, it becomes a safety net. It is like a prison." - Parker, 2023 October 23.



"I had a small **cool box**, where I would keep my food in." - Solomyn, 2023 October 19.

"I was sleeping in the open air there, no shack, nothing, only my mattress. If it would rain, I would throw **plastic** over me." - Solomyn, 2023 October 19.

"I would hide my mattress somewhere and go with my **backpack**" - Solomyn, 2023 October 19.



"The only thing that I would say I carried around was a little plastic bag. A plastic bag keeps you warm if it gets windy." - Monty, 2023 October 30.

"Homeless people are always looking for a bag to carry around. In that, you have **toiletry, a blanket or sleeping bag** if you have one, etc. You have some clothes. You wear the same set of clothes at least 3 or 4 days in a row." - Parker, 2023 October 23.

"I felt safe with people, even if I didn't know them. I would place my cardboard somewhere close to where there is people, knowing they won't bother me. If something would happen, I would know there's people there. It is people. We shouldn't forget that." - Monty, 2023 October 30.



"There was this one **jacket** I did not want to lose. I just kept it. I always had it. It was valuable for me. At some point, I gave it for a down payment for a drug but I got it back." - Monty, 2023 October 30.

"It was difficult because I couldn't keep much stuff. I would just have a backpack with my clothes. I would go to the back of Food Lovers Market and ask to a security guy I knew if he could keep my blankets and stuff during the day. I gave him 10 or 20 ZAR to keep my stuff." - Solomyn, 2023 October 19.

"In my time, it was card board and plastic. I carried that around. Most of the guys still operate that way. The structures are new. It is post-covid that you see these communities in the city. Before covid, no one did. No one was building anything." - Monty, 2023 October 30.



CONCLUSION - LIFE PATHWAYS

Following pages illustrate life pathways, seen as a synthesis of this chapter, of four different individuals with each their own significance. By illustrating full life cycles, the multitude of discussed topics in this chapter is condensed on the drawings. The full trajectory, from how someone ended up on the streets to how they finally got out of the cycle of homelessness, will be discussed. The extensiveness of different reasons and stories has the power to break down stigmas.

Lived experiences are brought together within a hard frame of the urban infrastructure. Although the stories and experiences differ, there lies a strength in the fact that everyone of these interviewees directly knew something to say to the questions regarding where specifically they were staying and what objects they liked to carry to make themselves as 'homely' and comfortable as possible.

Despite the meaning behind those questions may have been different for them all, the sense of yearning for the known, the familiar, exists in everyone. It is an overarching drive among housed and non-housed people. For homeless people, the city is often their starting point, their blank sheet, which they can color themselves according to preference. It is important to keep in mind that people, experience homelessness, should be able to express these preferences. These, perhaps unconscious, preferences are expressed through their routines.

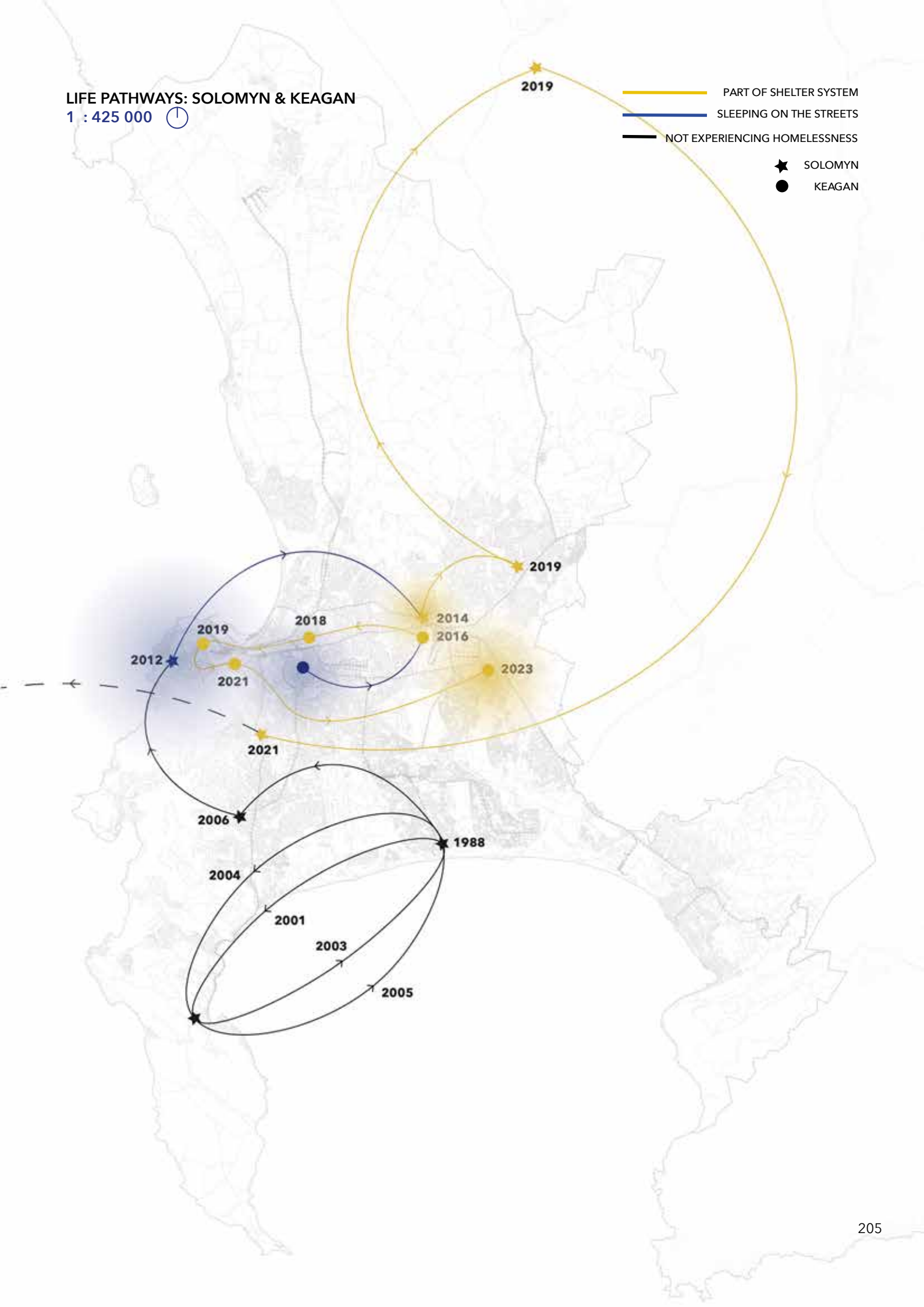
It is not a coincidence but a conscious strategic choice made regarding where they sleep, how they collect money, who they stay with, amongst other things. These are substantiated arguments and therefore enormously valuable as outcome of research on how they react on the given frameworks of the urban environment.

LIFE PATHWAYS: SOLOMYN & KEAGAN

1 : 425 000



- PART OF SHELTER SYSTEM
- SLEEPING ON THE STREETS
- NOT EXPERIENCING HOMELESSNESS
- ★ SOLOMYN
- KEAGAN



LIFE PATHWAY: MONTY

1 : 28 250 

ESCAPING THE CITY LIFE

"In the beginning of 2023, I was tired of staying in the city. I am in the city all the time. The energy here is just too much all the time. I wanted to stay on the Atlantic Seaboard in **Green Point**. I found an apartment there and I live there now."

2023

SALVATION ARMY

"From there, I moved to **Salvation Army**. It was very interesting. It is a different type of people that live there. I stayed there for three to four months and then I moved back to The Hope Exchange for another six months."

2016

2022

OWN APARTMENT 2021

"I needed to find another place. I found a new apartment down the road of **Greenmarket Square**. I stayed there for 2021 and 2022."

FINDING A JOB

"In that time, I got a job at a coffee shop in Bree Street."



AN OPPORTUNITY

"I got an opportunity through the church to open a coffee shop in the church nearby **Greenmarket Square**."

STAYING WITH A FRIEND 2020

"In February of 2020, a friend of mine offered me a room in his house. That was a gift."

SUPPORT GROUPS

"When I moved into The Hope Exchange, I started going to support groups like NA and AA. They have a meeting here, in the **church at Greenmarket Square**, everyday, at one a' clock."



UNEXPECTED HELP

"I met two tourists that were in town. I was under the bridge, close to the train station. They were looking for directions to a church. We started chatting. They got me into a shelter somehow and paid for my shelter at **The Hope Exchange**. This was the situation for 8 months."

2015

COFFEE SHOP

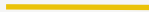
"I opened the coffee shop mid 2017. Just after I opened the coffee shop, I moved out of the shelter."

SHARED HOUSE

"I was able to rent a room in a shared house. It was hard to be dependent on my own again, and not on the shelter system."

2017

*"My believe is the **supportive system is looped**. It sort of keeps you in. It keeps you dependent. They have programs, where they try to help guys to be self-sustaining. The way it is set up, it keeps you in the system. It is a loop."*

-  PART OF SHELTER SYSTEM
-  SLEEPING ON THE STREETS
-  NOT EXPERIENCING HOMELESSNESS

*"The bridge worked as a **shelter**. When it rains, it is covered. There's no wind."*

ROCK BOTTOM

"Rock bottom for me was ending up on the streets of Cape Town, living **under the bridge** and eating from trash. This was my life. Everyday I would wake up, scratch bins for food, ask people for money and fix drugs."

2014

UNWANTED SUPPORT



"Before I got fired, the work took me to **treatment centers**, expensive places to get help. I would go, come back and continue with how I was living. I didn't believe I had a problem. Everyone had a problem with me."

2013

MOIRA HENDERSON SHELTER

"I stayed at the Moira Henderson shelter on and off. I actually stayed there when I was **still working**. I was still getting paid a very good salary but I was starting to lose things. Even then, I was still going to work. It was a **very well paid job**. This was before I ended up on the streets."

FROM EASTERN CAPE TO CAPE TOWN

"My **drug use** started in Cape Town. I, myself, am from the Eastern Cape. My family is still in the Eastern Cape. I moved here by myself."

2010

DRUG USE AS A PROGRESSIVE THING

"It started once a month and then once a weekend. I was starting to do drugs in between the week and in between work. The **priority** started to become about using. I neglected everything else, whether it be paying bills or sending money home."

INTRODUCTION TO DRUGS

"It was really good for two to three years. This is the whole reason you start and keep going. It was good. It was **fun**. I enjoyed it."



"I slept all over Cape Town. I slept in the bushes, in the

DHL STADIUM

"I stayed at Cape
stayed there, I wou
evening. If they ha
food. You have to l

NEXT TO THE TENNIS COURTS

"Between the tennis courts in Green Point, there would
be a ditch. I slept there a whole winter. I slept next to
court number one. I loved tennis. When I would wake
up, I would hear and watch the guys play tennis."

*"I dont believe Cape Town has nice shel-
ters. People stay forever. Because they stay
forever, there is no space for new people to
come in. If you go there two years from new,
you will find the same people,"*



FIRST NIGHT ON THE STREETS

2008

"The first night, I went to sit for the police
station by the night. The next day, I did the
same. Somebody showed me where to get a
plate of food."

BREAKING POINT

"The place was sold and it all fell apart. Five
or six months down the line, my wife left me.
I walked out of that life, again. I came to the
streets. When I came onto the streets, I was
very depressed about my life."

the ditches, anywhere."

Town stadium, when they were building it. When I
ld go to The Haven Night Shelter: Napier Street in the
d food left after the dinner shift, you could have some
bring your own container.

THE HAVEN NIGHT: NAPIER STREET

"I stayed in The Haven Night Shelter, Napier Street,
for a while. After two to three weeks, they would start
asking me for money. I didn't have any money so I
needed to leave that place."

NEXT TO THE TRAIN TRACKS

"I went to sleep next to the train tracks, out of
sight. It id were the Culemburg Safe Space is
now. It was my safe space, before it became a
Safe Space."



2009

2010

COMING OFF THE STREETS

"One day, as I was outside, pastor John (founder of YSA shelter
passed by. He asked me whether I needed a place to stay. I was
hesitant because I was so used to my environment. It is a big
decision to come off the streets."

INTRODUCTION TO ALCOHOL

"The thing with the restaurant industry is, you drink a lot. I became a full on
alcoholic, without knowing. I feel the warning signs are when you wake up
and you need to have a beer before your day."

PROMOTION

"I became general manager for
many years. I had a nice standard
of life. I stayed at the waterfront."

RESTAURANT INDUSTRY

"I came to Cape Town and I got a job
as a waiter at The Waterfront Ocean
Basket. The first table I served, I felt
that did was what I wanted to do."

LAW STUDIES

"I studied law. I graduated and I did my
internship. I really hated that. When I decided
to quit it, I had a lot of family issues with my
parents. I walked out on the whole thing"

— PART OF SHELTER SYSTEM
— SLEEPING ON THE STREETS
— NOT EXPERIENCING HOMELESSNESS



"The neighbourhood community was killing. They wanted this place
closed. It is a dominantly muslim community. By opening up the soup
kitchen, you open up the community to everyone, especially the homeless
guys. They weren't happy. The police came by so many times. Funny
enough, the community became the biggest support for this place."

STARTING OWN SOUP KITCHEN WITH HELP OF PASTOR JOHN

2011



ENDNOTE

Annex: interviews with private and public security - organizations and people, experiencing homelessness.

All images or maps without references of a source are taken or made by the authors of this research.

GRAPHIC SYNTHESIS

Data of Map

S.n. S.d. *Open Data Portal*. City of Cape Town, consulted 2024 May 12.
<https://www.capetown.gov.za/City-Connect/All-City-online-services/open-data-portal/>

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INDIVIDUALS INTERVIEWED

7 S.n. S.d. *A day in the life: homelessness*. The Connection, conducted at 2024 May 7.
<https://www.connection-at-stmartins.org.uk/news-item/a-day-in-the-life-homelessness/>

8 Monty. Personal communication, 2023 October 30.

SETTLING FOR THE NIGHT - SETTLING IN THE CITY

Data of Map

S.n. S.d. *Open Data Portal*. City of Cape Town, consulted 2024 May 12.
<https://www.capetown.gov.za/City-Connect/All-City-online-services/open-data-portal/>

Image

S.n. S.d. *Unlock Earth's Secrets*. ESRI, consulted on 2024 May 15.
<https://www.esri.com/en-us/arcgis/products/unlock-earths-secrets>

WHAT IS A 'HOME'?

9 Sixsmith, J. 1986. *The meaning of home: an exploratory study of environmental experience*, in Journal of Environmental Psychology. Vol 6. United Kingdom: University of Surrey: Department of Psychology.

10 Gieryn, T. 2000. *A Space for Place in Sociology*, in Annual Review of Sociology. Vol 26.

11 Sixsmith, J. 1986. *The meaning of home: an exploratory study of environmental experience*, in Journal of Environmental Psychology. Vol 6. United Kingdom: University of Surrey: Department of Psychology.

LIFE PATHWAYS

Data of Maps

S.n. S.d. *Open Data Portal*. City of Cape Town, consulted 2024 May 12.
<https://www.capetown.gov.za/City-Connect/All-City-online-services/open-data-portal/>



06. CASE STUDIES



How do the different dynamics of the homeless city come together in the specific case studies of Sea Point promenade, Company Gardens and the Central Police Station of Cape Town?

Arthur Caelis - Paulien Daenen - Ann-Sofie Wens
Prof. Viviana d'Auria
2023 - 2024

06. CASE STUDIES

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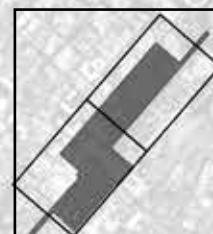
P242 ENDNOTE

GRAPHIC SYNTHESIS

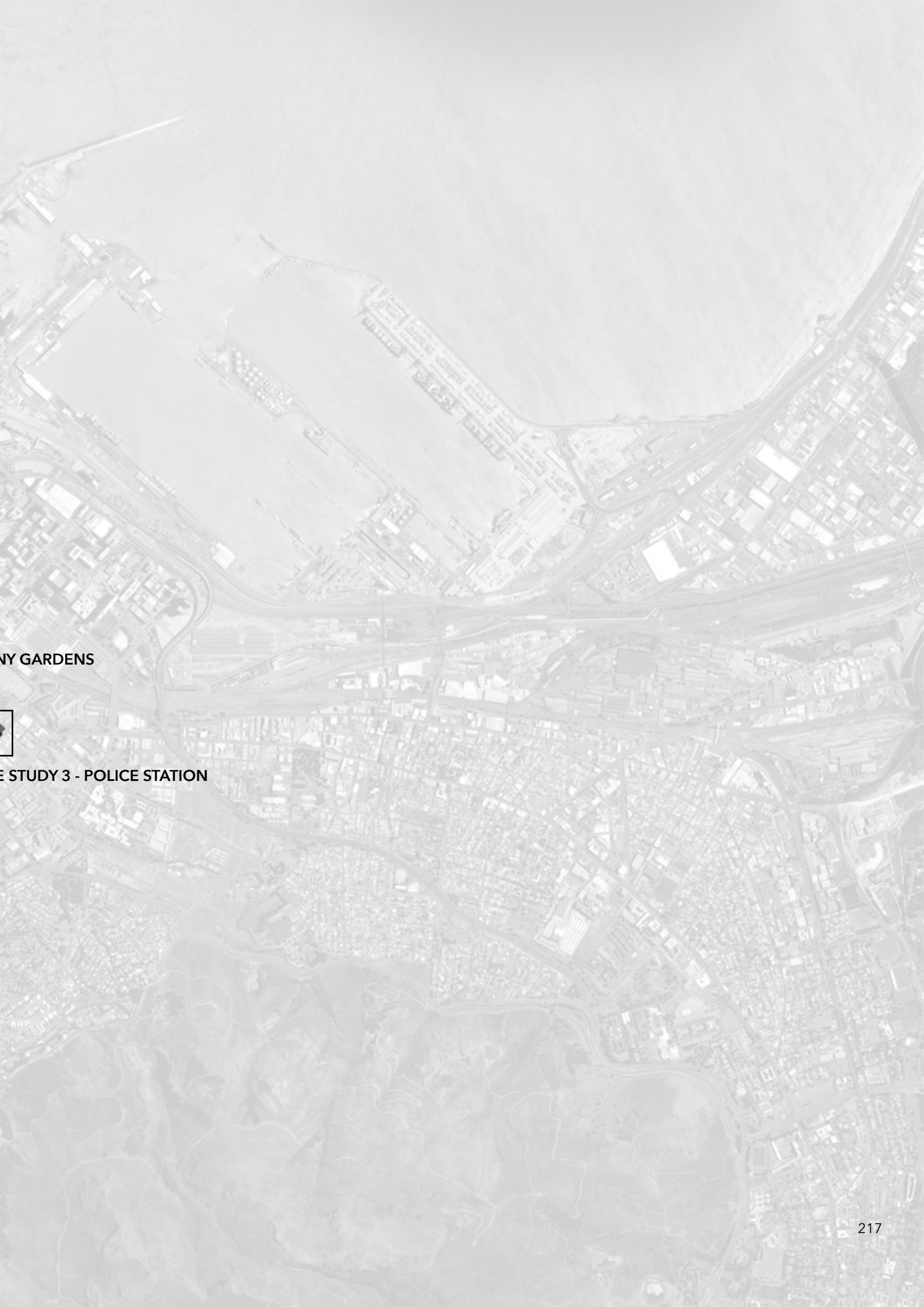
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CASE STUDY 2 - COMPAN



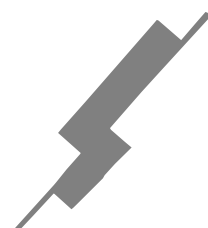
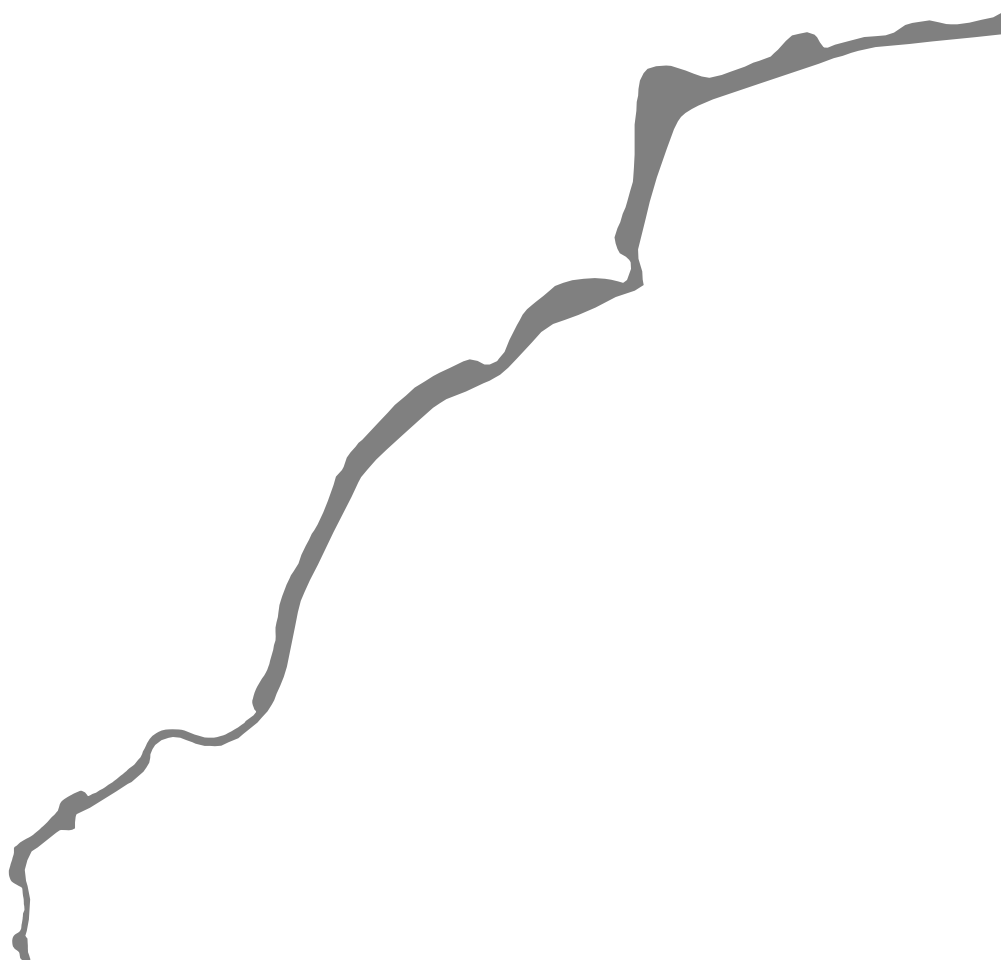
CASE



NY GARDENS

E STUDY 3 - POLICE STATION

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INTRODUCTION

Based on a formal definition, the case study method can be defined as *“an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident”*.¹

By a comprehensive empirical research, an effort has been made to synthesize the previous chapters in a tactical way. By analyzing specific public spaces within the city center, the complex interplay of facilitating, hostile and social dynamics is illustrated. How and with which intensity are the punitive and supportive response present in the urban tissue? How do people, experiencing and not experiencing homelessness, use the space in a similar or different matter?

Three specific sites were chosen because of their interesting composition of space, gathering of different users - both residents, tourists, and people, experiencing homelessness - and practices. Following case studies will be discussed respectively: Sea Point promenade, Company Gardens and Cape Town Central Police Station.

In order to proceed the study in a structured and thorough manner, four different time frames, when each site had to be visited at least once, were defined.

- 6AM - 8 AM: Start of the day. There is a lot of movement in the city: people go to work, children go to school, homeless people awaken in the public space and start their day.

- 12PM - 14 PM: Lunch break, implying more people are wandering around the city. Some schools allow children to go out during lunch. In the meanwhile, tourists have also started their day.

- 15 PM - 17 PM: End of work- or school day.

- 18 PM - 20 PM: Sun goes down and in doing so, the end of the day and beginning of the night is marked. Because of the high crime rate, not many people walk alone on the streets at night in Cape Town.

Despite the fact that being able to observe the difference between night and day on the streets, should involve supplementary dynamics, it was not in our reach.

Using this systematic methodology, the dominant urban dynamics have been observed. To represent the observations in an understandable and comprehensive way, axonometries of the larger urban spaces provide a comprehensive understanding of the spatial context. Different architectural elements, either facilitating or hostile, are highlighted on the drawings.

Afterwards, a photographic atlas adds additional information and displays the specific dynamics, transforming conceptual subjects into specific examples.



1



2



3

CASE STUDY 1 - SEA POINT PROMENADE

Sea Point promenade, located in the northwest of the city center, contains an extended esplanade along the Atlantic Ocean. The promenade is approximately 5 kilometers long and connects different neighborhoods such as Mouille Point, Three Anchor Bay and Sea Point. It is an urban hotspot, well known by both tourists and local Capetonians stroll alongside the coastline in Cape Town.

COMPOSITION OF SPACE

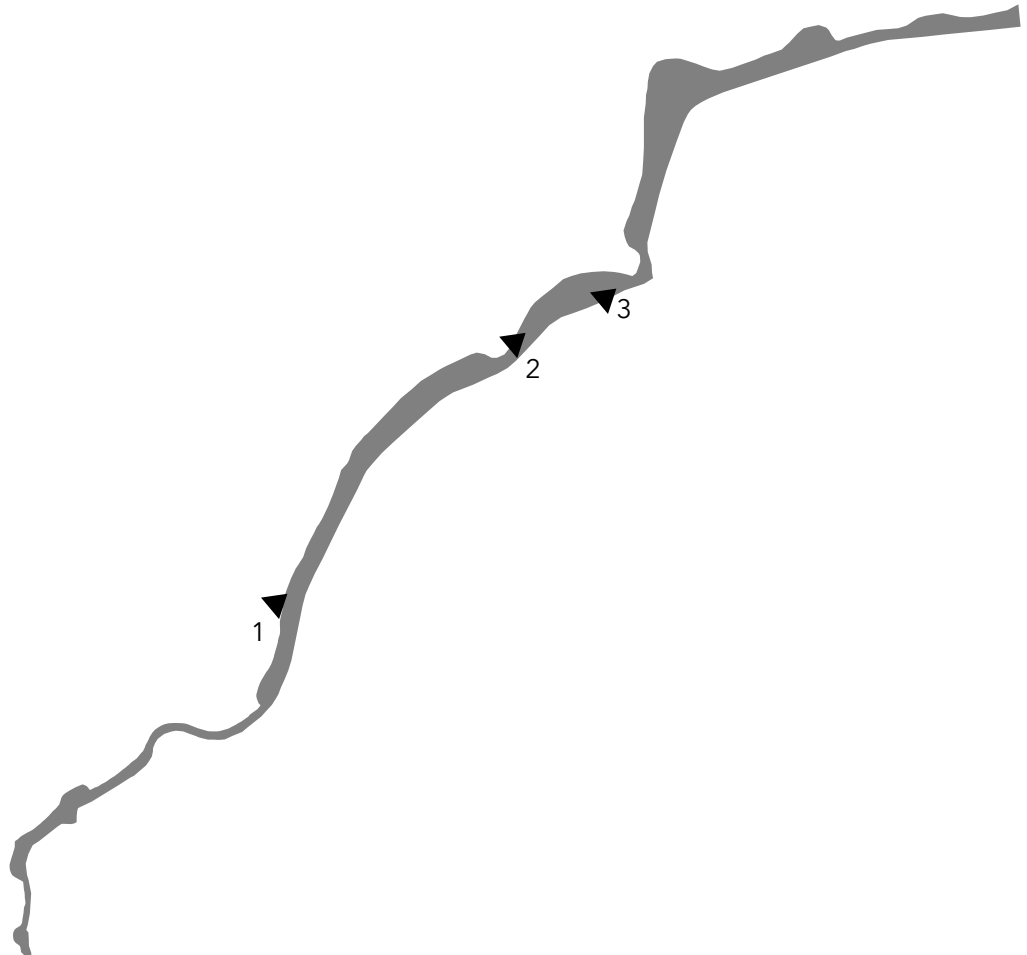
The esplanade is spatially divided into aligned lanes, parallel to the coastline. An avenue of apartments forms a demarcation line between the open promenade and the dense inner city. Subsequent, space is allocated for urban traffic, under which a highway, consisting of four lanes and sidewalks on both sides. The remaining public space, is filled in by the sea promenade, which consists of enormous grass plains, with a wide pedestrian boulevard next to it. Most of the coastline along the promenade consist of rocks, very occasionally alternated with a few meters of sandy beaches.

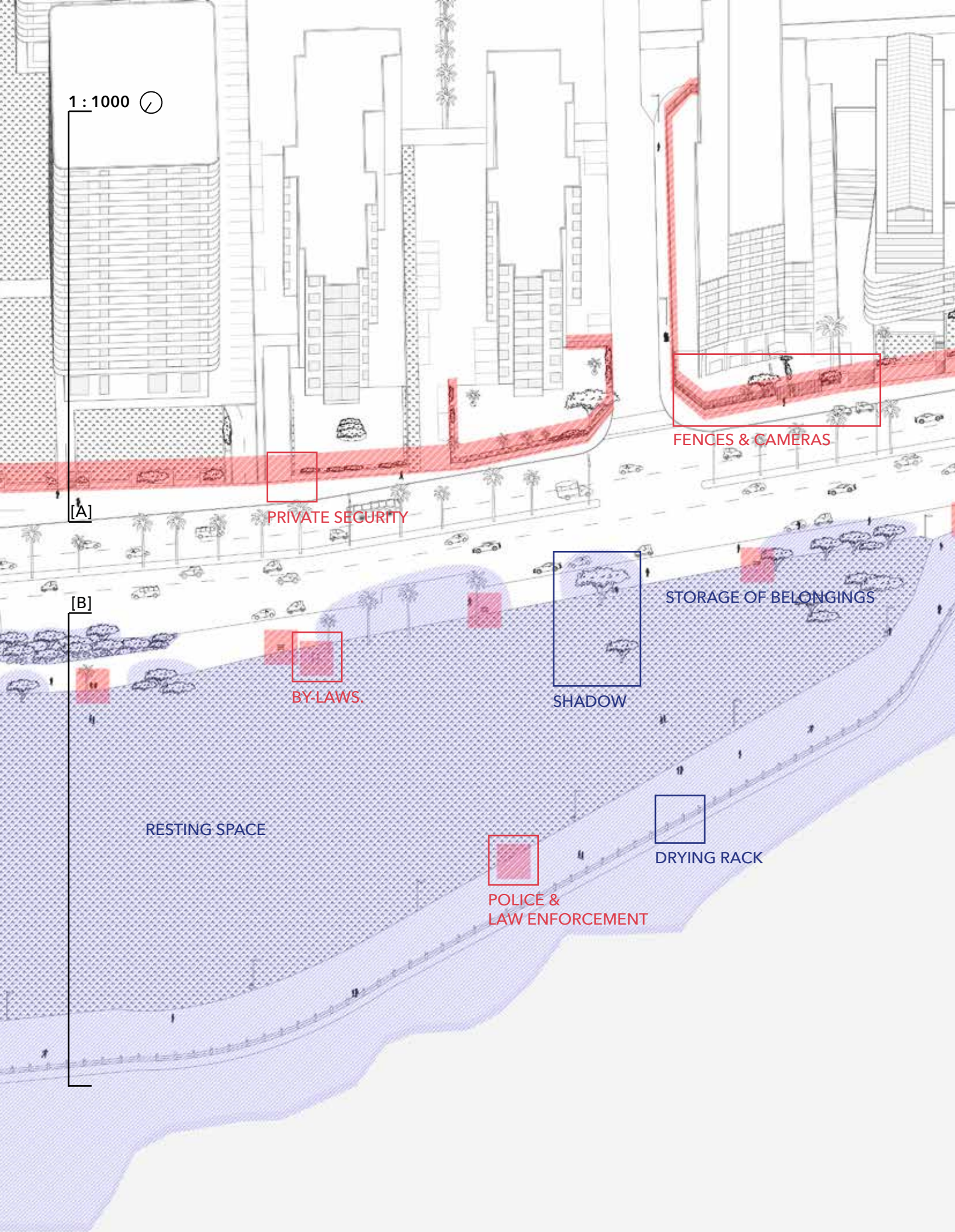
USAGE - WHO? WHAT? WHEN?

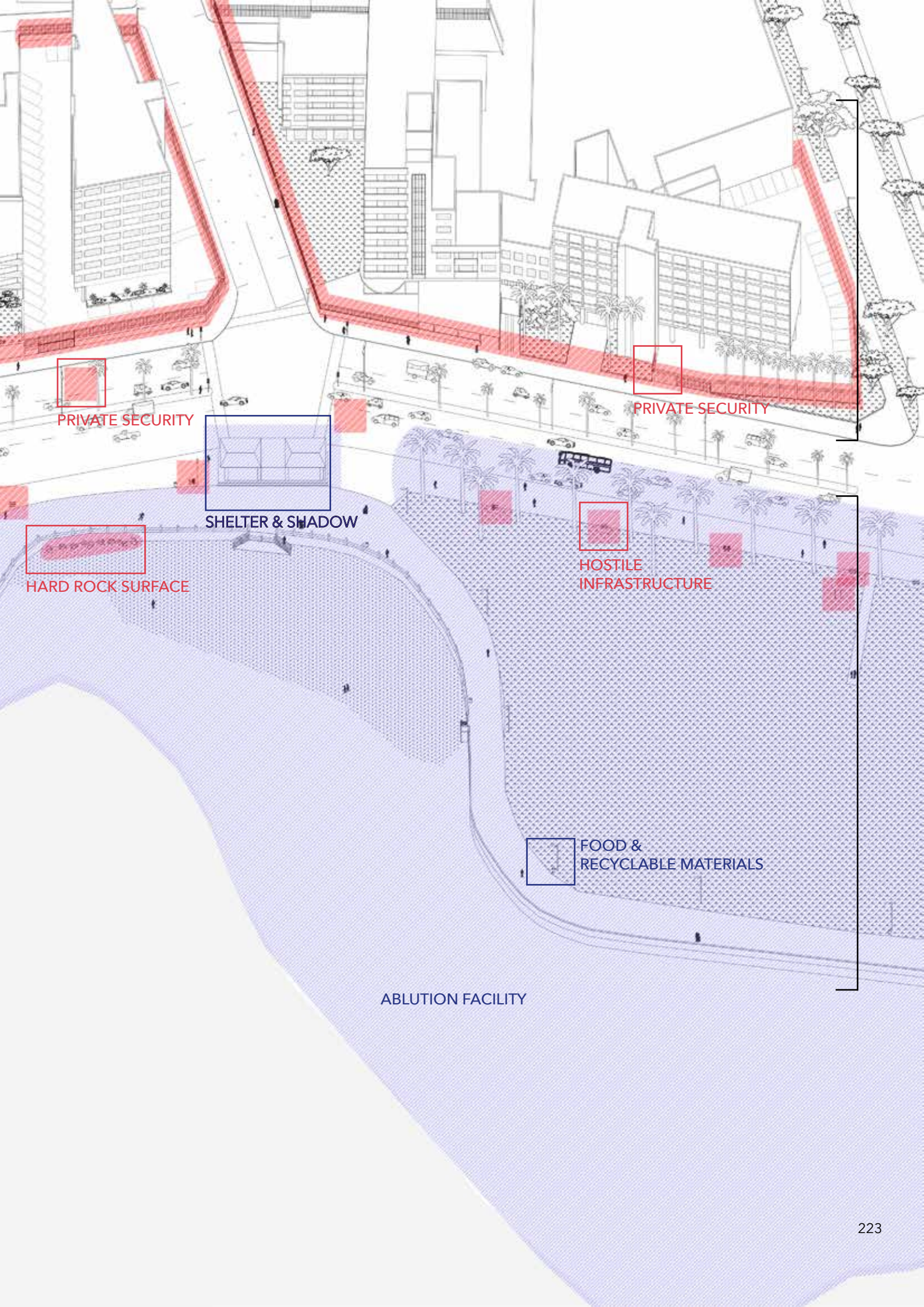
By conducting extensive field research in Cape Town for 8 weeks, it was noted that the place is used intensively by people, both experiencing and not experiencing homelessness, especially in the early morning and at sundown. The sheer number of runners was striking in the morning. In addition, there were many pedestrians, both tourists and locals, enjoying walking down the coastline.

As mentioned, despite the presence of hostile elements, the specific site is still found attractive by homeless people. The large grass areas, ideal resting space, are the most used. Clusters of trees provide shade and storage to put their belongings.

Several times throughout the day the homeless are indirectly encouraged to move. A high rate of landing paragliders, a popular tourist attraction in Cape Town, and watering of the grass patches by sprinklers, imply these relocations.







PRIVATE SECURITY

PRIVATE SECURITY

SHELTER & SHADOW

HARD ROCK SURFACE

HOSTILE
INFRASTRUCTURE

FOOD &
RECYCLABLE MATERIALS

ABLUTION FACILITY

A - AVENUE OF APPARTMENT BLOCKS IN FRONT OF THE ATLANTIC OCEAN

WARNING SIGNS

As mentioned in chapter three, security warning signs are omnipresent in Cape Town's security landscape. These warning signs influence the space in whether or not the surroundings feel hospitable or inhospitable. Specifically for the wealthier areas, which includes Sea Point, it is prominently present in the streetscape.



[Google maps 2024]



[Google maps 2024]

PRIVATE SECURITY

In the tourist minded areas in town, homeless people are chased away since they simply do not fit the aesthetic of the ideal city. Private security determines in a way who is or is not welcome in 'their' neighborhoods. Since Sea Point attracts an average number of tourists, there is no great tolerance for homelessness.



[Google maps 2024]

B - PUBLIC SPACE OF THE SEA POINT PROMENADE

HOSTILE ARCHITECTURE

To maintain control over where a homeless person can rest in the street scene, urban infrastructure is adjusted in order to be too uncomfortable to settle. Examples include creating hostile urban furniture or integrating uncomfortable surfaces.



FENCES

Properties are heavily fenced off. It creates an extra barrier between private and public space. This barrier is felt materially and immaterially through the prominent presence of these fences.



[Google maps 2024]



[Google maps 2024]

FENCES AND MORE FENCES

Not only residential buildings, but also privately shared parking lots, are closed off.



[Google maps 2024]



[Google maps 2024]

BY-LAWS & POLICE PATROLLING

By-laws are designed to make survival on the streets as uncomfortable and limited as possible. They are often implemented to move visible homelessness out of commercial and tourist districts, including Sea Point. Police patrols are deployed to check whether these by-laws are being followed, or not.



[Google maps 2024]



SHELTER, SHADOW, ABLUTION & WATER

Two volumes, alongside the promenade, contain public toilets that are accessible to everyone, including homeless people. It provides access to limited drinking water. The volumes themselves provide shelter, shade and a sturdy backrest to lean against.



SHADOW

Trees are natural shade makers. As the sun rises higher in the sky, it can become very warm on the open grass areas. Most people seek cooling in the shade under a tree.



SOFT SURFACES

Grass is generally a fairly soft surface to lie on without a mattress. Although it is observed that a number of homeless people lie on the open plain, even more are attracted by small heterogeneous changes in surface.

The presence of a hedge as protection or a tree stump as headrest, make a space an optimal resting place.



STORAGE

In addition to providing shade, trees and bushes can be used to store belongings.

Among the foliage, personal belongings are less visible. Besides being a practical hanging solution, it can also be a hiding place to make sure goods are not stolen.



FACILITATING ELEMENTS

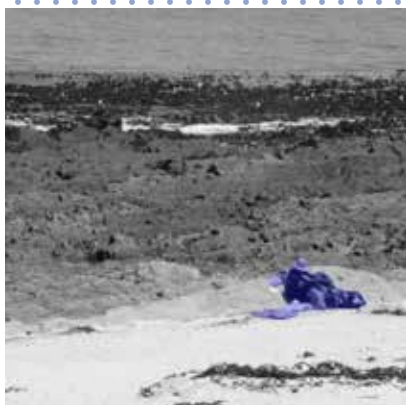
A new meaning is given to several conventional elements in urban space, by people experiencing homelessness. While an ordinary balustrade can be seen as a drying rack, the presence of bins implicates the possibility of income. The bins may contain leftover food or cans, which can respectively be eaten or exchanged for change.



SOFT SURFACES & ABLUTION

A beach can be a pleasant place to spend the day. It provides a soft surface to rest on. In addition, the rocks can serve as a hiding or backing mechanism.

Small waterbeds in between the rocks, are ideal to wash oneself.





1



2



3

CASE STUDY 2 - COMPANY GARDENS

Company Gardens, historically rooted in the dense city center of Cape Town, is a highly used public park. It is the oldest garden in South Africa, having its origins in Jan van Riebeeck's Vegetable Garden.²

COMPOSITION OF SPACE

The park is a conglomeration of an open park and botanical garden set. While the park is open for use throughout the entire day with no exception, the botanical garden is only accessible between 7 AM and 19 PM.

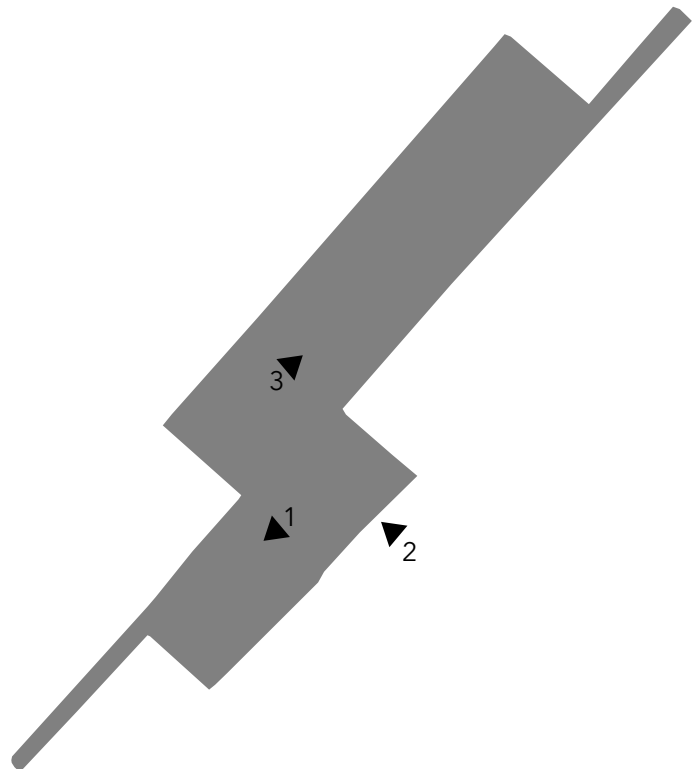
The open park is featured by large grass patches, demarcated by paved avenues, which in turn are outlined by static rows of trees. The park overlooks two high schools, one of which has its entrance located in the park. The botanical set is full of various trees and plant species. Since it is a denser space, peculiar to botanical gardens, fewer open areas are present. Inside of the garden, two dining houses and a public toilet facility can be found.

A tree-lined avenue forms a pathway between the neighborhood of Gardens and the City center. Company Gardens offers access to several important buildings within its perimeter, including the South African Museum, the Planetarium, and the South African Art Gallery.

USAGE - WHO? WHAT? WHEN?

Given Company Gardens is located in a busy area of the CBD, the park forms a green oasis in the tumult. At lunch hour, Company Gardens is teeming with locals, who seek out fresh air and beautiful views of Table Mountain. The garden is filled with children at times when both high schools either start, have lunch break or end their school day. In addition, the historical aspect makes many tourists have this on their to-do list when visiting Cape Town.

In addition, the park provides a place comfortable for homeless people to stay. Since they are free to go wherever they want, at least in the open park section, many spend the night in the park. Many continue to rest during the day. Since multiple tree avenues flank small streams throughout the park, it is common for homeless people to use this specific public space to wash themselves. It was noted that the botanical garden is more guarded by security, implicating fewer homeless people that venture into the garden.



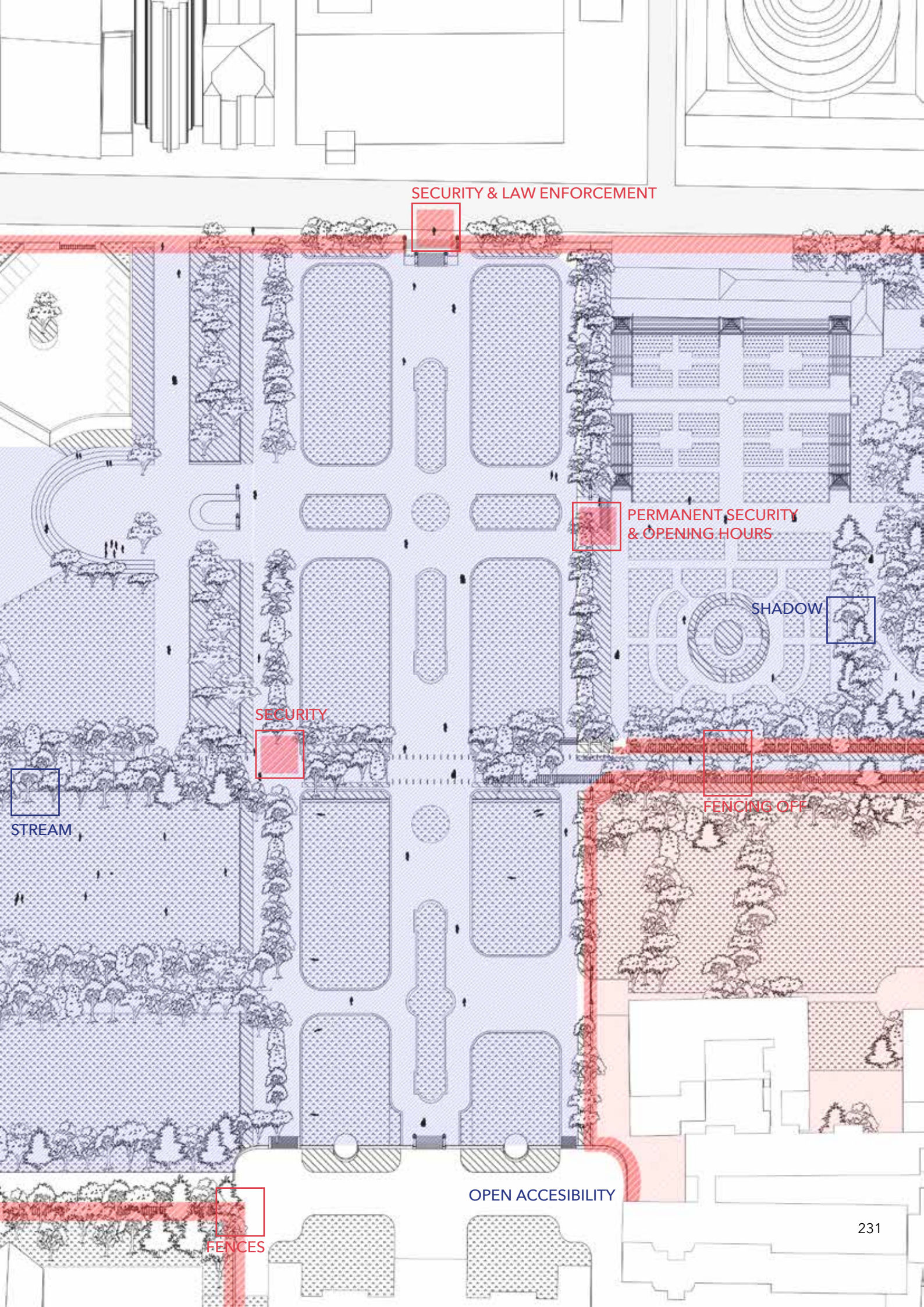
1:1000

FENCING OFF

RESTING SPACE

ABLUTION

SHADOW



SECURITY & LAW ENFORCEMENT

PERMANENT SECURITY
& OPENING HOURS

SHADOW

SECURITY

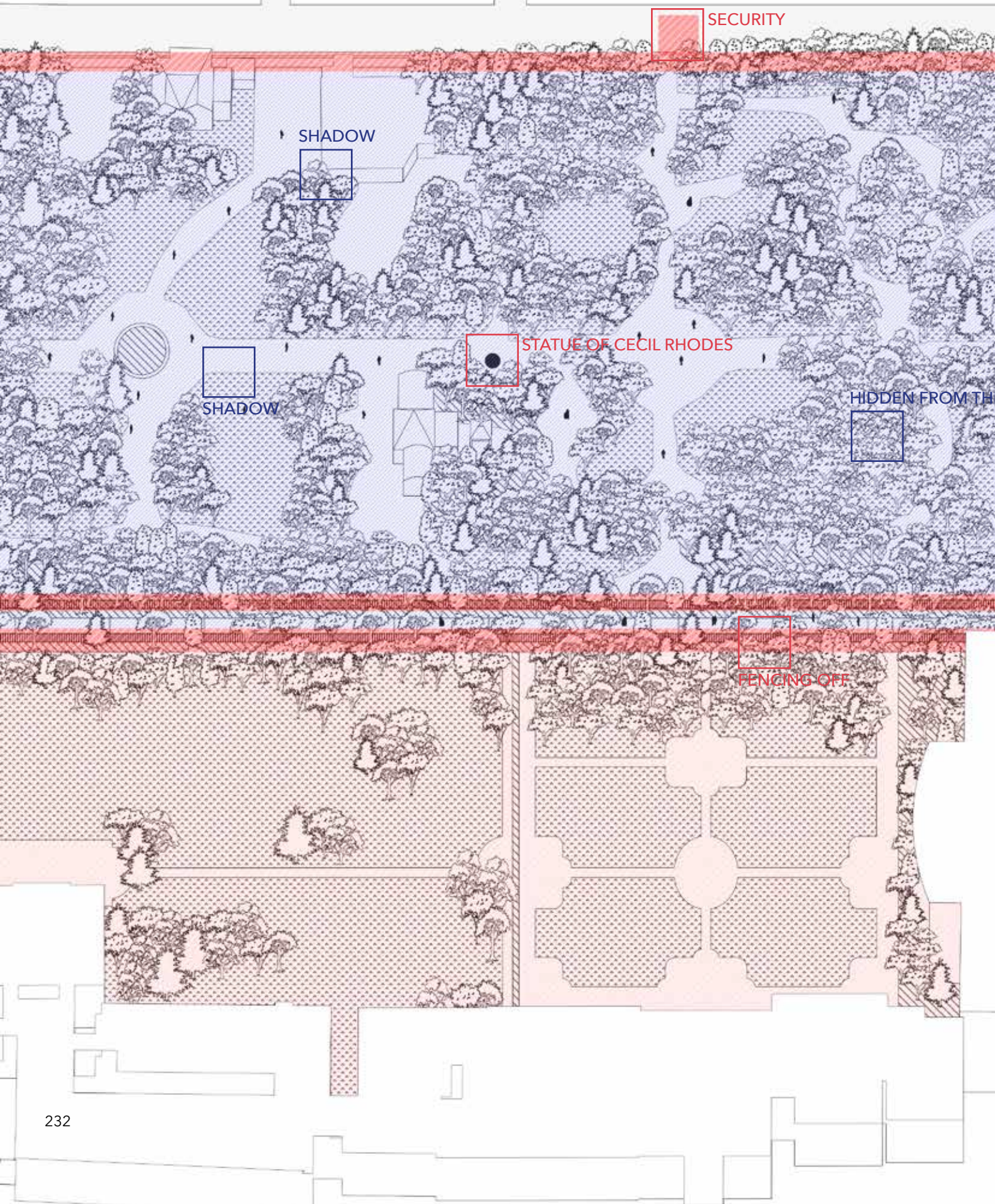
FENCING OFF

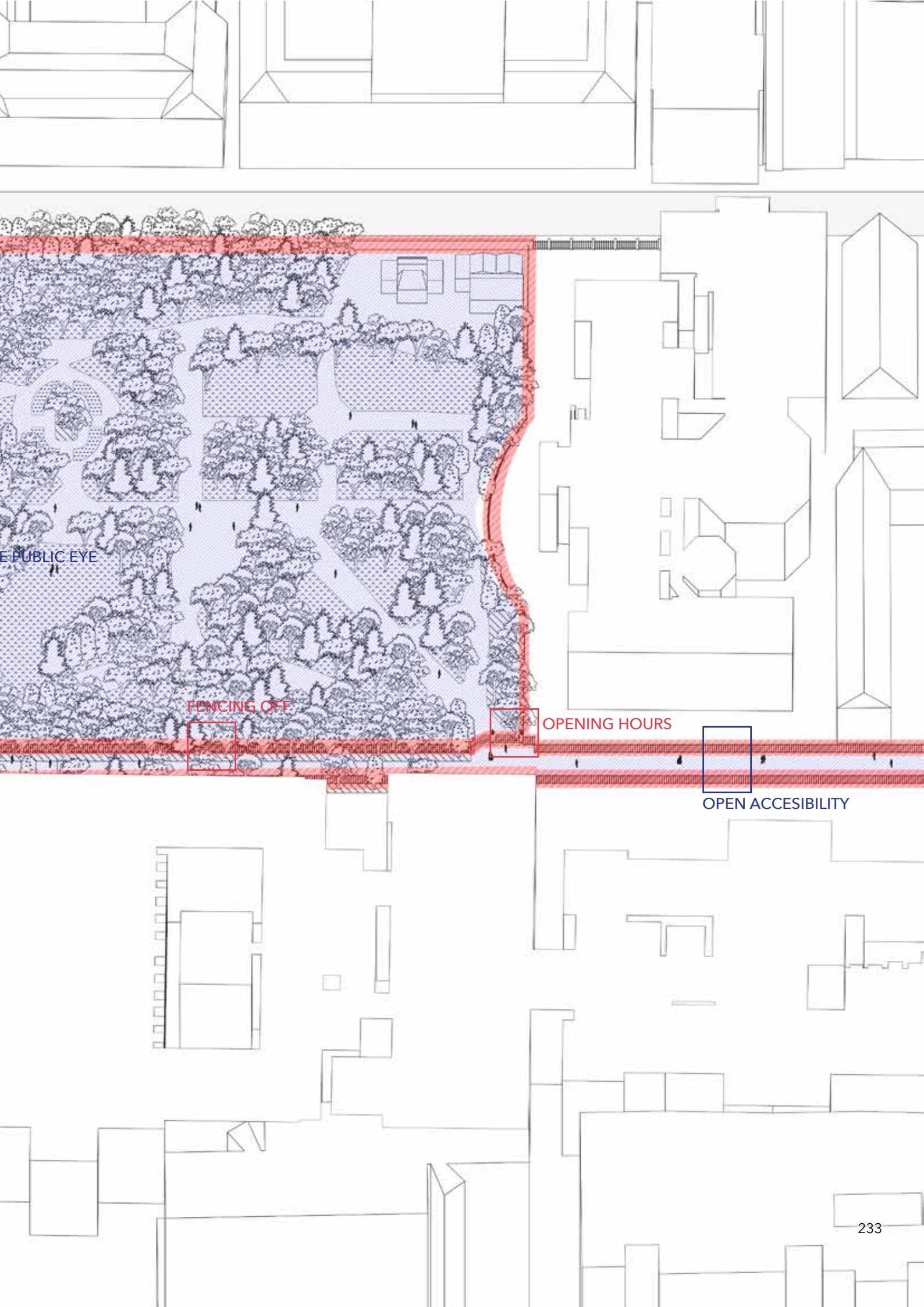
STREAM

OPEN ACCESIBILITY

FENCES

1:1000





E PUBLIC EYE

FENCING OFF

OPENING HOURS

OPEN ACCESIBILITY

HOSTILE

A - PUBLIC PARK

BY-LAWS & HOSTILE ARCHITECTURE

Similar to the case of Sea Point, by-laws are designed to make settling in the public space as difficult and limited as possible. Many of the same apply as in the previous case study.

Hostile architecture is materialized in the form of bench dividers, making it impossible to lie down comfortably.



PUBLIC SECURITY & POLICE

Park guards and police officers stroll around the park to indicate a permanent state of surveillance.

It is more frequent in the botanical garden than in the open park.



B - BOTANICAL GARDEN

CLOSING OFF

As mentioned, the vegetable garden is only accessible during a certain time frame throughout the day.

While open to the public, a permanent state of surveillance is noticeable. Park guards stand at the entrance gates, overseeing the botanical garden.

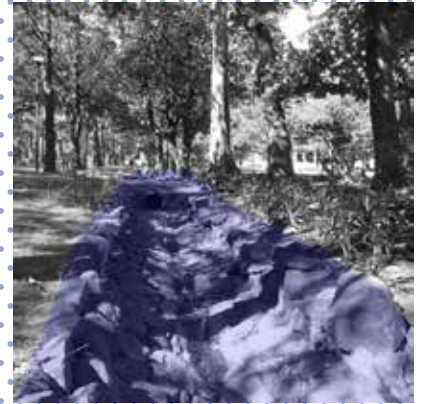


FACILITATING

A - PUBLIC PARK

NATURAL ABLUTION

This is one of the streams, cited in introductory text about Company Gardens, that can be used as a washing place. This was observed during research.



SOFT SURFACES & PEACEFUL ENVIRONMENT

Grass patches host people, experiencing homelessness, as ideal resting spaces. Trees and plants offer a lot of shadow and protection to hide from the public eye.



B - BOTANICAL GARDEN

GREENERY & SHADOW

"I enjoyed staying on the grass in Company Gardens. It was quiet and peaceful." - Cecyl, experiencing homelessness and currently staying at De Waal park, 2023 October 28.





1
▶



2
▶



3
▶

CASE STUDY 3 - CAPE TOWN CENTRAL POLICE STATION

The public space, surrounding Cape Town's Central Police Station, is subject to a dual atmosphere. As mentioned several times throughout the thesis, police officers regulate and evict settling spots of people, experiencing homelessness. Yet police power contains connotations of protection and safety for many. A reflex of vulnerable people on the street, can be to be close to this protective force during the night.

COMPOSITION OF SPACE

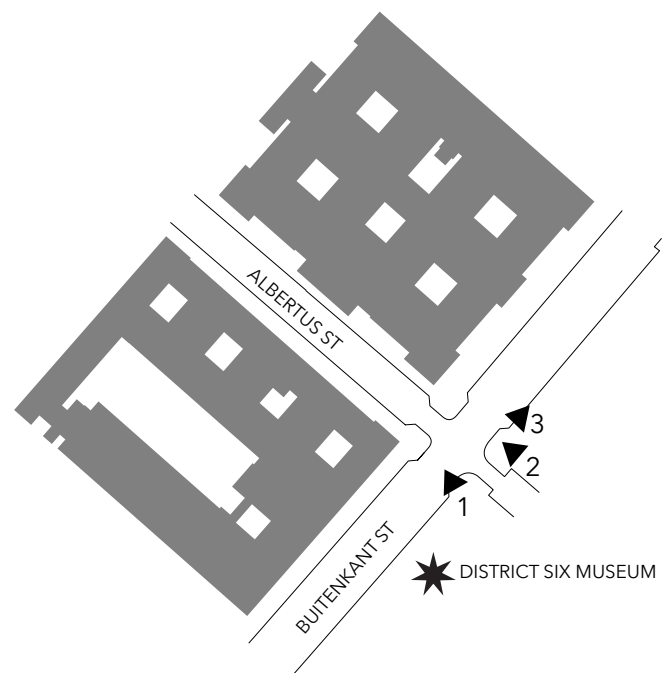
The South African Police Services (SAPS) offices are located in the Central Business District (CBD) of Cape Town. The complex is spread over two building blocks which are located along Buitenkant Street. In between the two blocks runs a more narrow street, shaped with a full row of trees.

Opposite of the police station, the District Six museum is to be found. Keeping in mind the recent history of forced removals from District Six, this museum has important significance for South Africans and attracts many tourists. The contradiction of the police station opposite to the museum, translates the ambiguity of atmospheres in space into volumes.

USAGE - WHO? WHAT? WHEN?

Buitenkant Street is a crowded road with a lot of traffic, going straight through the CBD, guiding to an important landmark of Cape Town: Castle of Good Hope. Due to the presence of the District Six museum and the proximity of Castle of Good Hope, tourists often pass Buitenkant Street as one of the stops in their guided tour.

Albertus Street on the other hand, being a one-way street with smaller dimensions, is more quiet. Specific spatial characteristics of the street, combined with underlying connotations to the police office, ensures that numerous homeless people settle there at night. As the sun rises, most police officers return to the office and tourists begin their guided tour, homeless people are encouraged to leave - only to return in the evening.



1 : 250

[B]

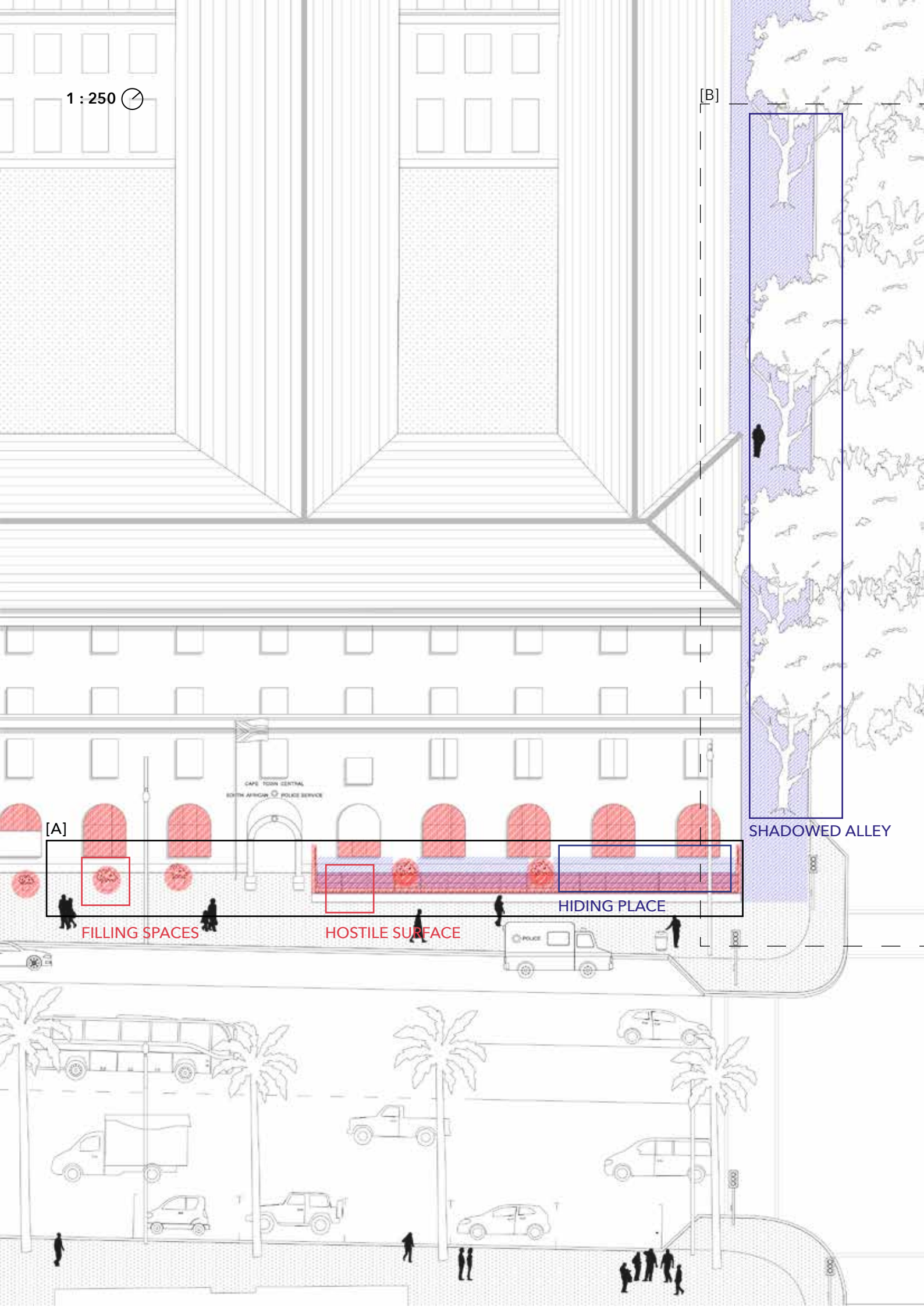
[A]

SHADOWED ALLEY

FILLING SPACES

HOSTILE SURFACE

HIDING PLACE

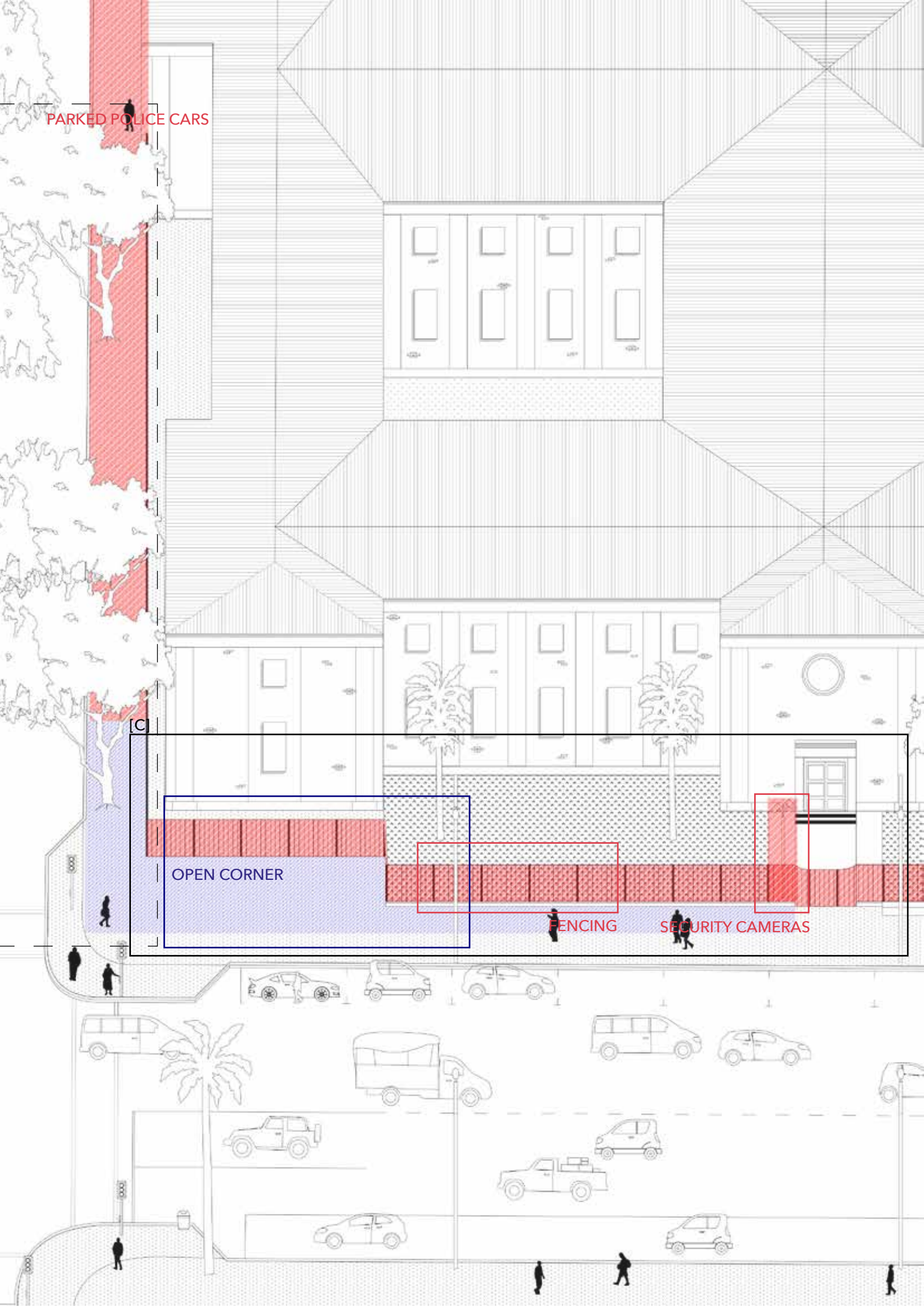


PARKED POLICE CARS

OPEN CORNER

FENCING

SECURITY CAMERAS



HOSTILE

A - MAIN ENTRANCE

HOSTILE ARCHITECTURE

Hostile elements are very present on this case study. They are not disguised by any means.

Metal pins, balustrades and obstructing elements make it as difficult as possible for the homeless to settle in the urban landscape.



A - MAIN ENTRANCE

PRESSING POLICE PRESENCE

The much used parking space for police cars, creates a pressing and imaginative controlled atmosphere.



[Google maps 2024]

C - BUITENKANT STREET

FENCING OFF

Buitenkant Street is characterized by a lot of fencing off of space. The pictures show a fenced off green grass patch.

The fences extend the building's boundary but clearly do not stop the homeless dynamics of occurring as can be seen on the imageries.



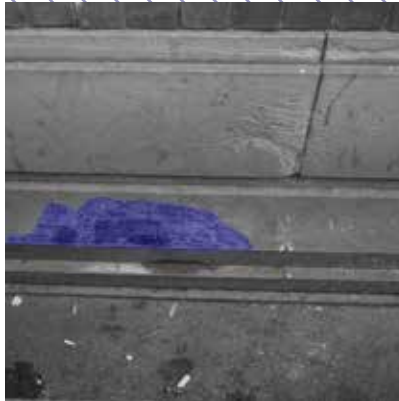
FACILITATING

A - MAIN ENTRANCE

HIDDEN DITCH

A hidden ditch in the urban tissue, facilitates an ideal hiding and resting space during the night.

Since it is not in the eye of the general public, small place-making elements indicative of homelessness remain.



A - MAIN ENTRANCE

QUIET SPACE

The shadowed alley of Albertus Street offers concealment by the presence of its many trees. A feeling of invisibility and salvation is thereby generated.



C - BUITENKANT STREET

FENCES AS SUPPORT STRUCTURE

The small open corner space, at the intersection of Albertus Street and Buitenkant Street, is defined by metal fences. At first reflex, fences are a way of closing off space. However, because of their sturdiness, fences can also be creatively used as support structures to attach tents and other informal structures to.



ENDNOTE

Annex: interviews with private and public security - organizations and people, experiencing homelessness.

All images or maps without references of a source are taken or made by the authors of this research.

GRAPHIC SYNTHESIS

Image

S.n. S.d. *Unlock Earth's Secrets*. ESRI, consulted on 2024 May 15.
<https://www.esri.com/en-us/arcgis/products/unlock-earths-secrets>

INTRODUCTION

1 Yin, Z. 2003. *Who stopped flying around September 11th?* in Case study research: design and methods, third edition. London: Sage.

CASE STUDY 2 - COMPANY GARDENS

2 S.n. 2021. *Company Gardens in Cape Town*. South African History Online, consulted on 2024 May 29.
<https://www.sahistory.org.za/place/company-gardens-cape-town>



07. ALTERNATIVE SCENARIOS



Which alternative scenarios can be imagined contributing to the homeless-less city of the future??

Arthur Caelis - Paulien Daenen - Ann-Sofie Wens
Prof. Viviana d'Auria
2023 - 2024

07. ALTERNATIVE FUTURES

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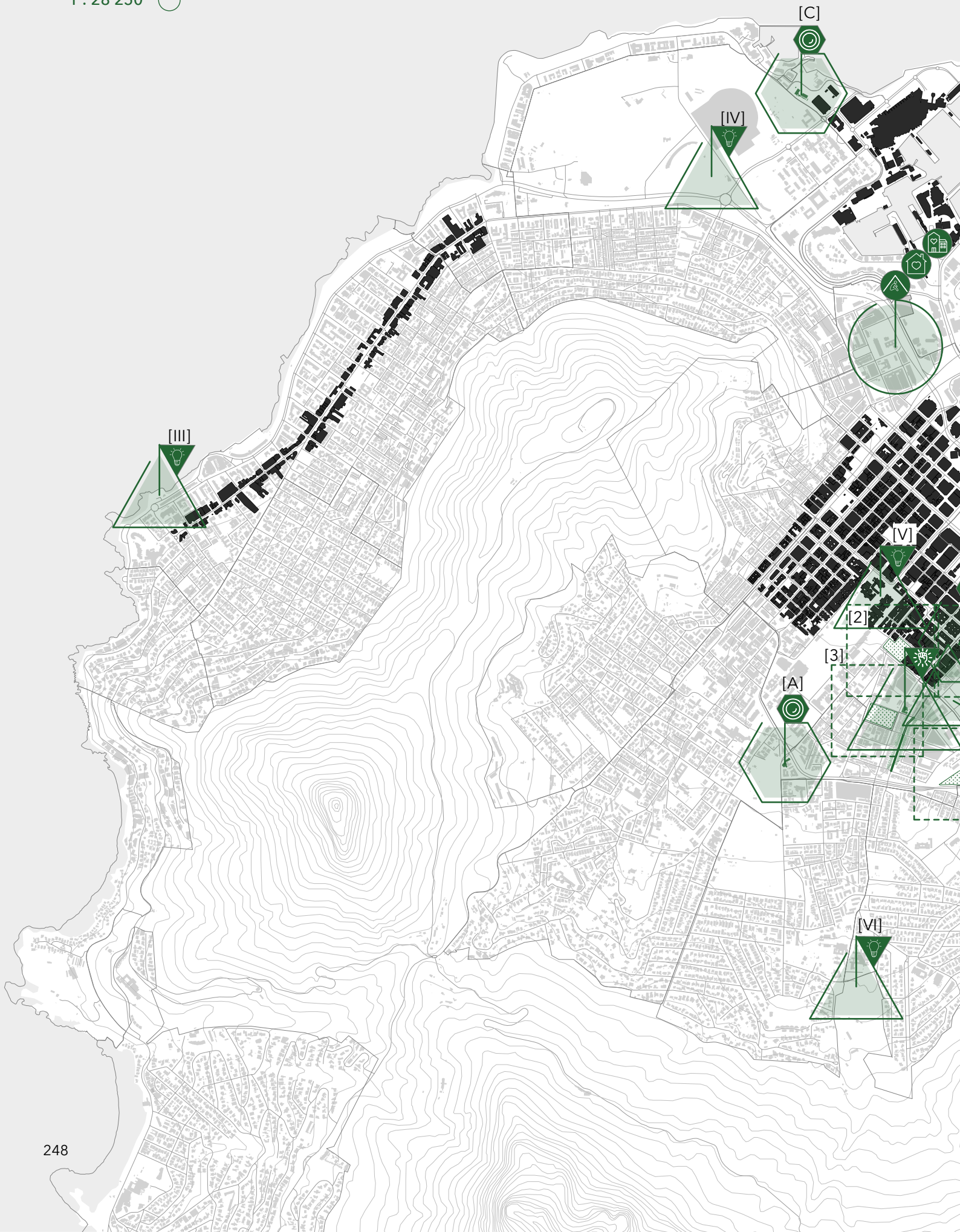
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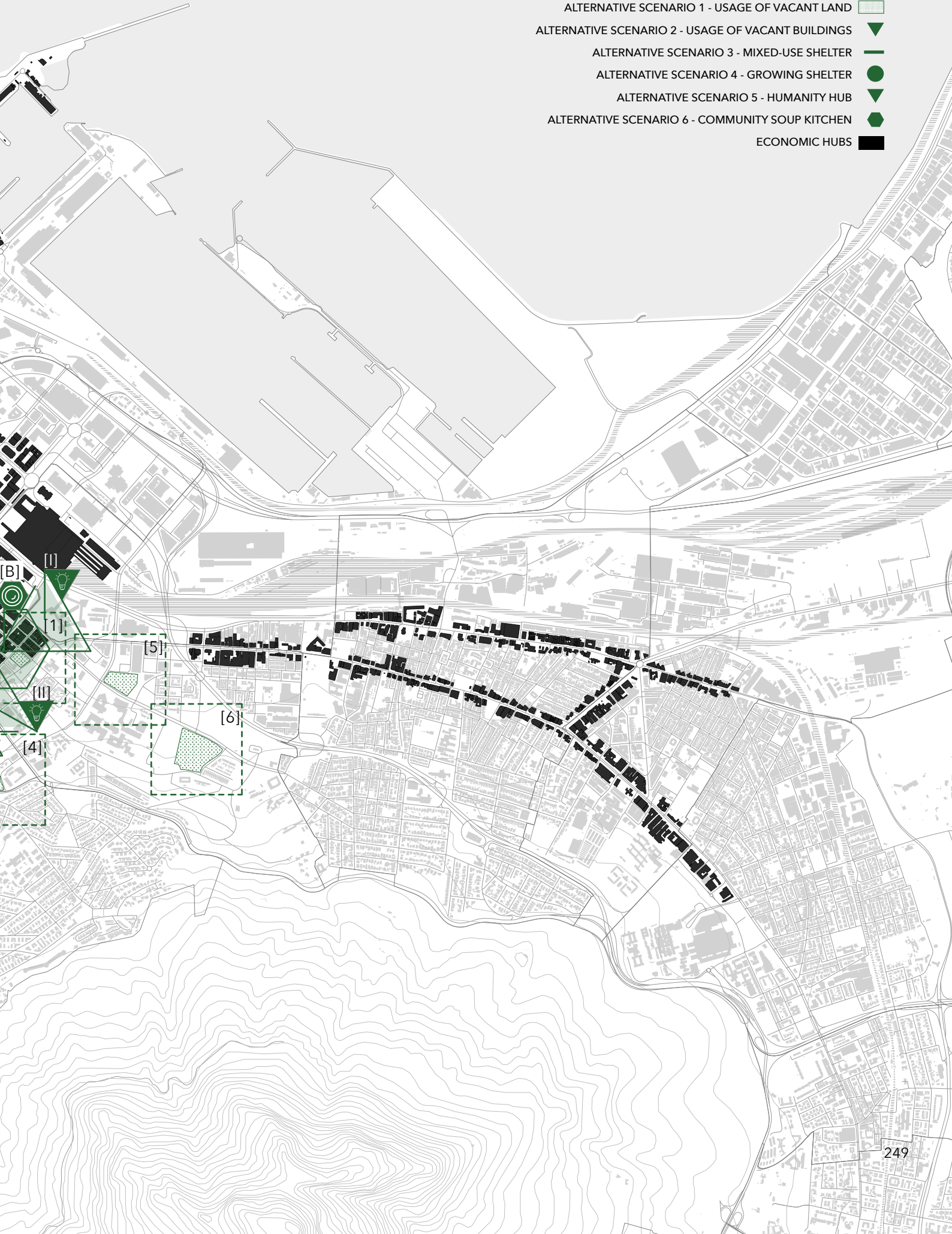
P272 CONCLUSION

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The larger the graphic designation, the larger the capacity.

- ALTERNATIVE SCENARIO 1 - USAGE OF VACANT LAND 
- ALTERNATIVE SCENARIO 2 - USAGE OF VACANT BUILDINGS 
- ALTERNATIVE SCENARIO 3 - MIXED-USE SHELTER 
- ALTERNATIVE SCENARIO 4 - GROWING SHELTER 
- ALTERNATIVE SCENARIO 5 - HUMANITY HUB 
- ALTERNATIVE SCENARIO 6 - COMMUNITY SOUP KITCHEN 
- ECONOMIC HUBS 



GRAPHIC SYNTHESIS - LEGEND

ALTERNATIVE SCENARIO 1 - USAGE OF VACANT LAND



1. CALEDON STREET, DISTRICT SIX
2. ROELAND STREET, CBD
3. BUITENKANT STREET, CBD
4. BRANDWEER STREET, GARDENS
5. SYDNEY STREET, DISTRICT SIX
6. HANOVER STREET, DISTRICT SIX

ALTERNATIVE SCENARIO 2 - USAGE OF VACANT BUILDINGS



ROBBIE NUROCK HOSPITAL - BUITENKANT STREET, CBD

ALTERNATIVE SCENARIO 3 - MIXED-USE SHELTER



MAYNARD STREET, GARDENS

ALTERNATIVE SCENARIO 4 - GROWING SHELTER



THE HAVEN NIGHT SHELTER: NAPIER STREET - NAPIER STREET, WATERFRONT

ALTERNATIVE SCENARIO 5 - HUMANITY HUB



- I. CASTLE OF GOOD HOPE - BUITENKANT STREET, CBD
- II. PARKING FOOD LOVER'S MARKET - UPPER ROELAND STREET, DISTRICT SIX
- III. SEA POINT PROMENADE - BEACH ROAD, SEAPOINT
- IV. GREEN POINT STADIUM - FRITZ SONNENBERG, GREEN POINT
- V. COMPANY GARDENS - QUEEN VICTORIA STREET, CBD
- VI. VAN RIEBEECK PARK - UPPER BUITENKANT STREET, VREDEHOEK

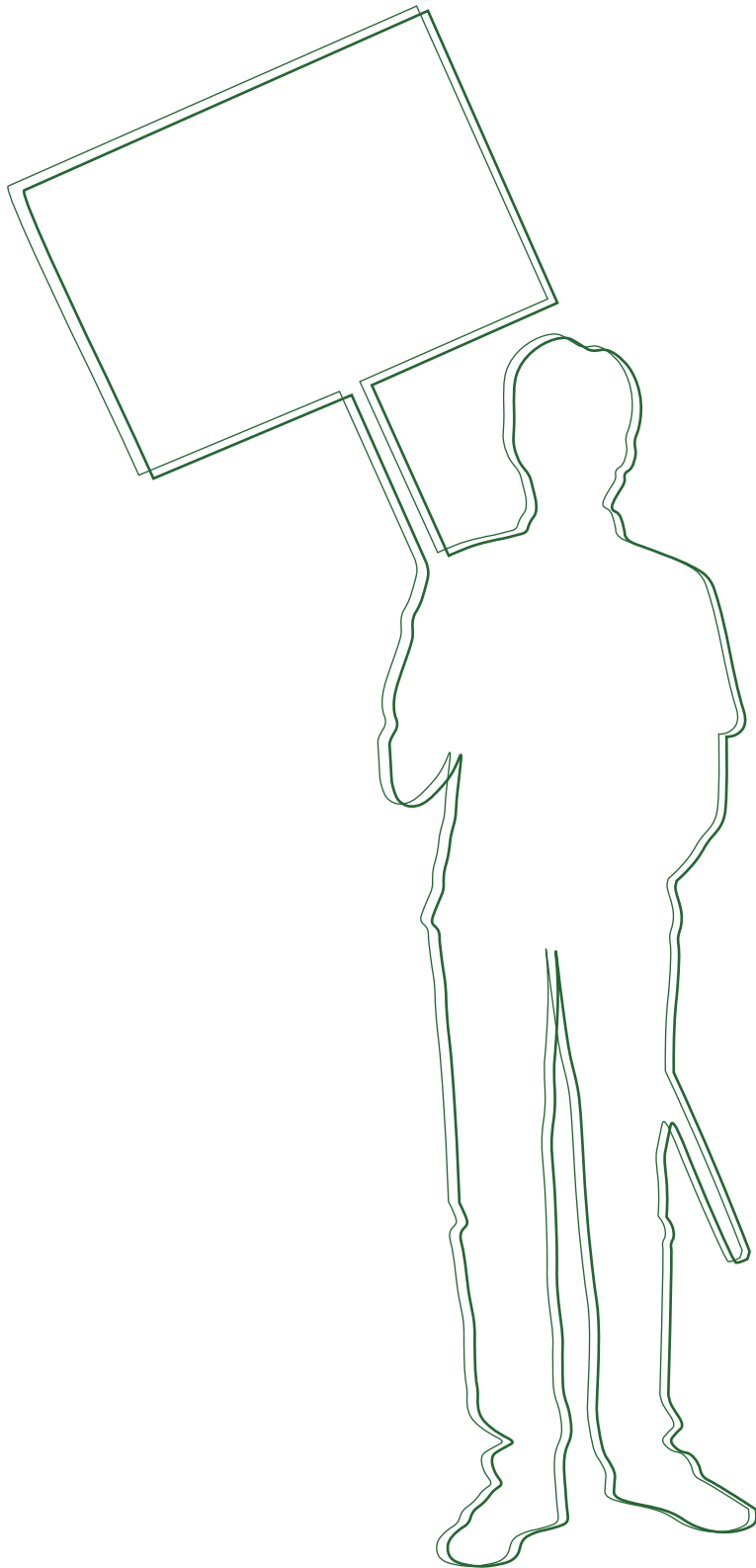
ALTERNATIVE SCENARIO 6 - COMMUNITY SOUP KITCHEN



- A. PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH - HATFIELD STREET, GARDENS
- B. TEXAS - ALBERTUS STREET, CBD
- C. ORANJEZICHT CITY FARM MARKET - HAUL ROAD, WATERFRONT



Figure 1 : 'Housing is a human right', Urban Land Justice Gathering, Ndifuna Ukwazi



INTRODUCTION

Previous chapters have delved into the intricate and layered nature of homelessness within the urban fabric of Cape Town. They have explored the multifaceted tendencies present in the city's spatial environment, including anti-homeless dynamics, supportive structures, and the lived experiences of homeless individuals. These discussions have highlighted the complexity of homelessness as an issue that is deeply embedded in the urban context.

In this chapter, alternative scenarios are envisioned, already exemplified by organizations and rooted in extensive fieldwork. These proposed alternatives aspire to serve as a foundation for initiating conversations, discussions, and the development of new approaches to addressing homelessness.

What follows are speculative development scenarios designed to provoke thought and inspire innovative solutions. Some of these scenarios are more unconventional and imaginative than others, but all aim to stimulate creative thinking about how to better accommodate and support homeless populations.

The questions raised in these scenarios are deliberately speculative, intended to spark the imagination and challenge conventional thinking: what if? Each scenario is rooted in the analyses presented in earlier chapters, ensuring a direct connection with the conducted research. To enhance understanding, each alternative is linked to a graphic scheme, previously shown in the thesis, which visually represents its connection to the research findings.

Six different alternatives are presented, with thematics ranging from vacancy, gaps in the shelter system and more unique support models.

ALTERNATIVE SCENARIO 1 - USAGE OF VACANT LAND

Why is there so much vacant space while yet so many people on the housing waiting list? Approximately 630 000 people are on this list in the Western Cape,¹ with many more people being forced in unsafe, inadequate homes that are far from schools, hospitals, jobs and other crucial services. Without putting forward any evidence, all three spheres of government claim that there is a shortage of public land available to build well-located, affordable housing. But is this true?

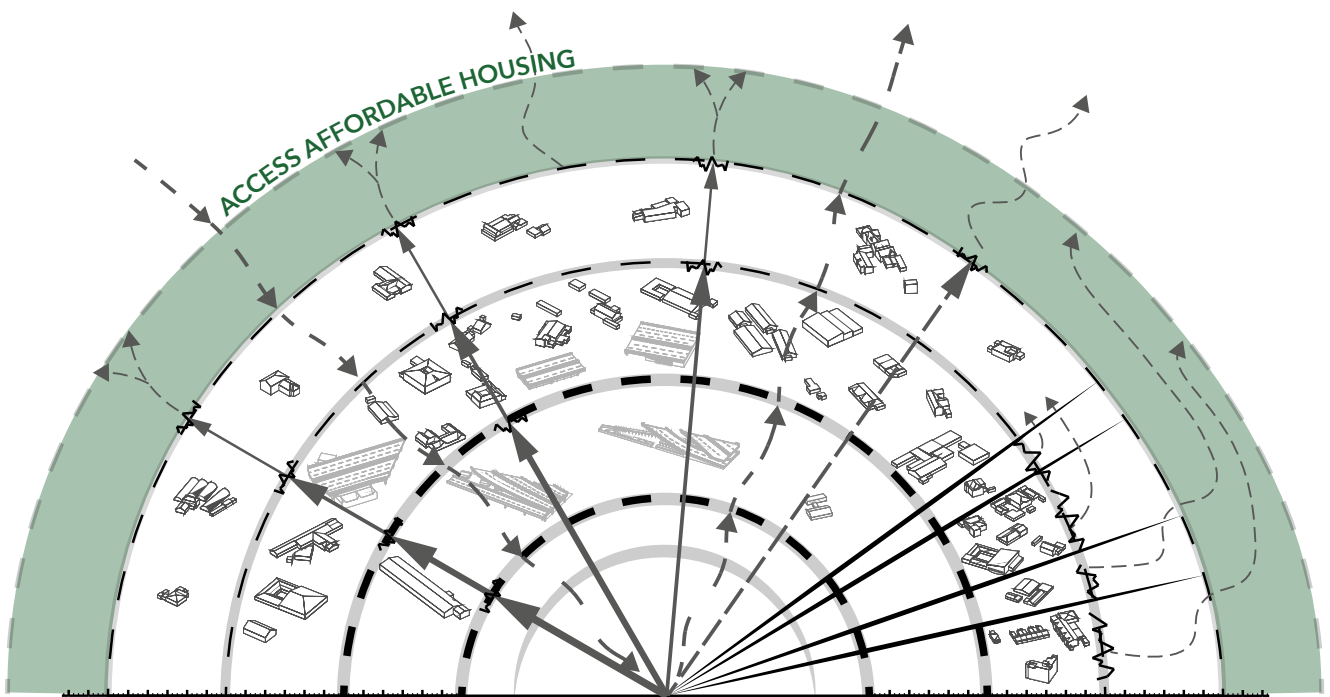
As Budlender and Park-Ross state *“The enduring legacy of colonialism and apartheid, combined with a highly exclusive property market, means that Cape Town is perhaps the most racially segregated city anywhere on earth.”*² Numerous families reside in diminutive 40m² houses, located 40 kilometers from their workplaces, with transportation costs consuming up to 40% of their household income. Only 25% of Cape Town households can afford the cheapest home on the market.³

The housing crisis exacerbates annually. What can be done to address this situation, reduce the backlog and provide adequate homes?

The most pragmatic solution lies in leveraging public land for the common good. Public land is publicly owned, meaning it belongs to everyone. The role of the government should be to use this land in the best interest of the people. However, there has been a significant shortfall in employing public land in an equitable, efficient, or sustainable manner.⁴

*“For too long, public land has been viewed by the government as an asset that can be sold for a short-term cash injection, or as an untouchable resource whose main purpose is to bolster the balance sheets of various state entities. [...] When used intentionally and strategically, public land is a powerful tool. It is cheaper to develop than buying private land; It can be sold at a discount to enable maximum affordability; It can enable hundreds of thousands of homes to be built and, if used wisely, it can catalyse the development of entire dense and inclusive neighborhoods and guide investment for more equitable outcomes.”*⁵

To conclude, available plots of public land should be utilized more effectively. It is essential to shift away from current approaches that have allowed public land to remain unused or underused for decades. Utilizing public land more effectively is not only a matter of justice but also crucial for economic development, productivity, job creation, and environmental sustainability.⁶



REFERENCE - NDIFUNA UKWAZI

Ndifuna Ukwazi (NU), an activist organization and law center based in Cape Town, has been campaigning for and researching these pressing issues for a long time. NU advocates for a more equal, spatially just and inclusive city by protecting and expanding access to well-located land and affordable housing.

In their campaigns, NU employs a mix of community organizing, research, advocacy, and litigation to promote urban land justice and drive systemic change. Their theory of change asserts that social transformation is achieved by integrating the use of law, evidence-based research, media advocacy, and, crucially, a collective movement of people. It is believed this convergence fosters the ideal conditions for social change.

Their work addresses the persistent legacy of racial, economic, and spatial inequality in cities. For Ndifuna Ukwazi, this involves disrupting the perpetuation of spatial apartheid and segregation by: compelling the government to fulfill its constitutional obligations to use land for affordable housing - challenging the private sector to contribute to the provision of affordable housing - defending the rights and security of tenure for individuals being displaced due to rising rents, gentrification, unfair rental practices amongst other things - protecting the rights of people living on the streets.⁷

Ndifuna Ukwazi's key activities to advance urban land justice are organized into four main areas:

- Resisting Evictions and Displacement
- Equitable Access to Land and Housing
- Security of Tenure
- Community Organizing and Movement Support



Figure 2

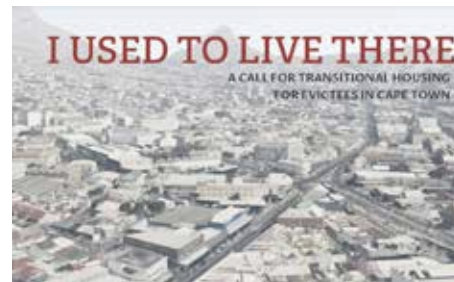


Figure 3



Figure 4



Figure 5



Figure 6



Figure 7

NDIFUNA UKWAZI - THE PEOPLE'S LAND MAP

In 2016, Ndifuna Ukwazi raised the question, how much vacant and underutilized public land is really available in the City of Cape Town in the face of a growing housing crisis.⁸

To create an evidence base and push back against all three spheres of government claiming there is a shortage of public land, Ndifuna Ukwazi and OpenUp have developed an online interactive map which demonstrates how much vacant and underutilized public land there is in each neighborhood in Cape Town.

The aim of this study was to gain a comprehensive understanding of the amount of vacant public land owned by each sphere of government that is vacant and underutilized. Although not entirely precise, the map is based on the most accurate publicly available data. The data for this map was collected between 2018 and 2022.

The extensive research found out that there is more vacant and underutilized public land in Cape Town than the entire area of Barcelona. Combined, all spheres of the government own at least 128 723 055 m² of vacant and underutilized public land.⁹ It demonstrates that there is more than enough publicly owned land available to help address the housing backlog and desegregate of Cape Town.¹⁰

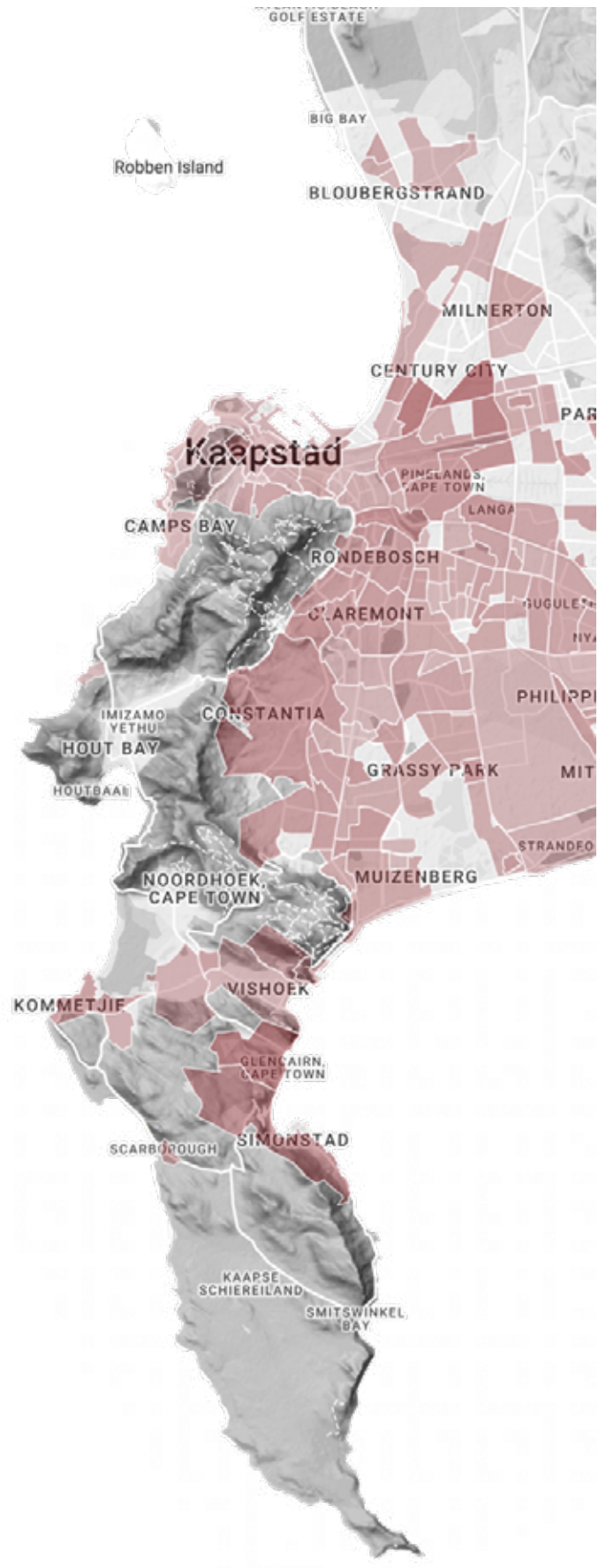


Figure 8 : The People's Land Map

ALTERNATIVE SCENARIO 1 - USAGE OF VACANT LAND

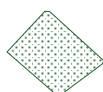
Inspired by Ndifuna Ukwazi's campaigning, another way of provoking the same subject is provided. Specific vacant lots in Cape Town city center were searched and approached from two different typologies to show how many people could be housed. While one typology represents a low-density house, the second typology typifies a standard apartment building in the city. The typology of family house, discussed in chapter

four 'Supportive Networks', is elaborated on the specific case of The Net shelter in Fish Hoek. Assumptions, based on observations, are made for the apartment building. The figures show, on the one hand, how many of the typologies fit into the vacant plots and how many people could be housed in these places as a result. The remarkable figures speak for themselves as this is only a few plots of the vacant land available.

CASE STUDY - CITY CENTER

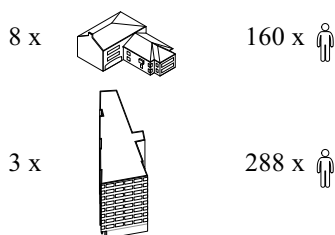
PARKING LOTS

[1]

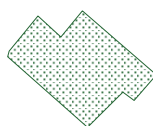


Caledon Street, District Six
Area +/- : 5 100 m²

Capacity:

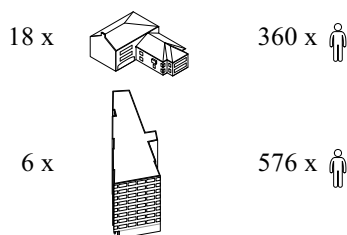


[2]

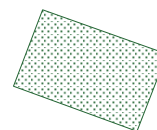


Roeland Street, CBD
Area +/- : 10 800 m²

Capacity:

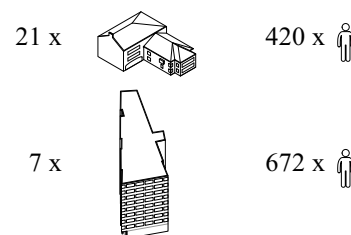


[3]



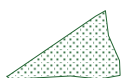
Buitenkant Street, CBD
Area +/- : 13 000 m²

Capacity:



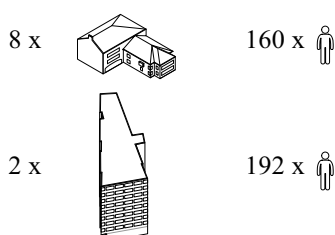
VACANT PLOTS

[4]

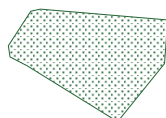


Brandweer Street, Gardens
Area +/- : 5 000 m²

Capacity:

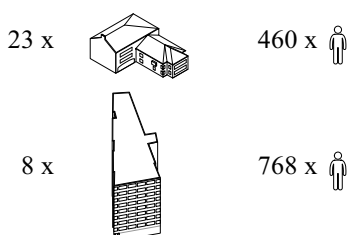


[5]

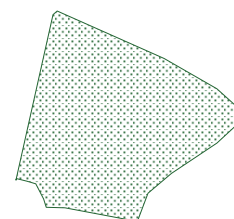


Sydney Street, District Six
Area +/- : 14 000 m²

Capacity:

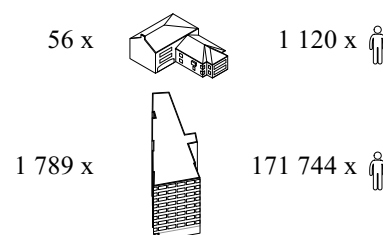


[6]



Hanover Street, District Six
Area +/- : 34 000 m²

Capacity:



ALTERNATIVE SCENARIO 2 - USAGE OF VACANT BUILDINGS

The housing crisis exacerbates annually. What can be done to address this situation, reduce the backlog, and provide adequate homes?

Occupations have been, and remain, a prevalent method of city-building, primarily driven by the need for housing in cities plagued by chronic housing shortages. As cities become more dense and vacant land becomes more scarce and peripheral, retrofitting underutilized buildings - especially through grassroots actions like occupations - becomes a crucial mode of urban development.¹¹

Located within a provocation of city-making and future imaginaries, occupations are recognized as a necessary and immediate response to housing precarity as well as precarious entities in themselves.¹²

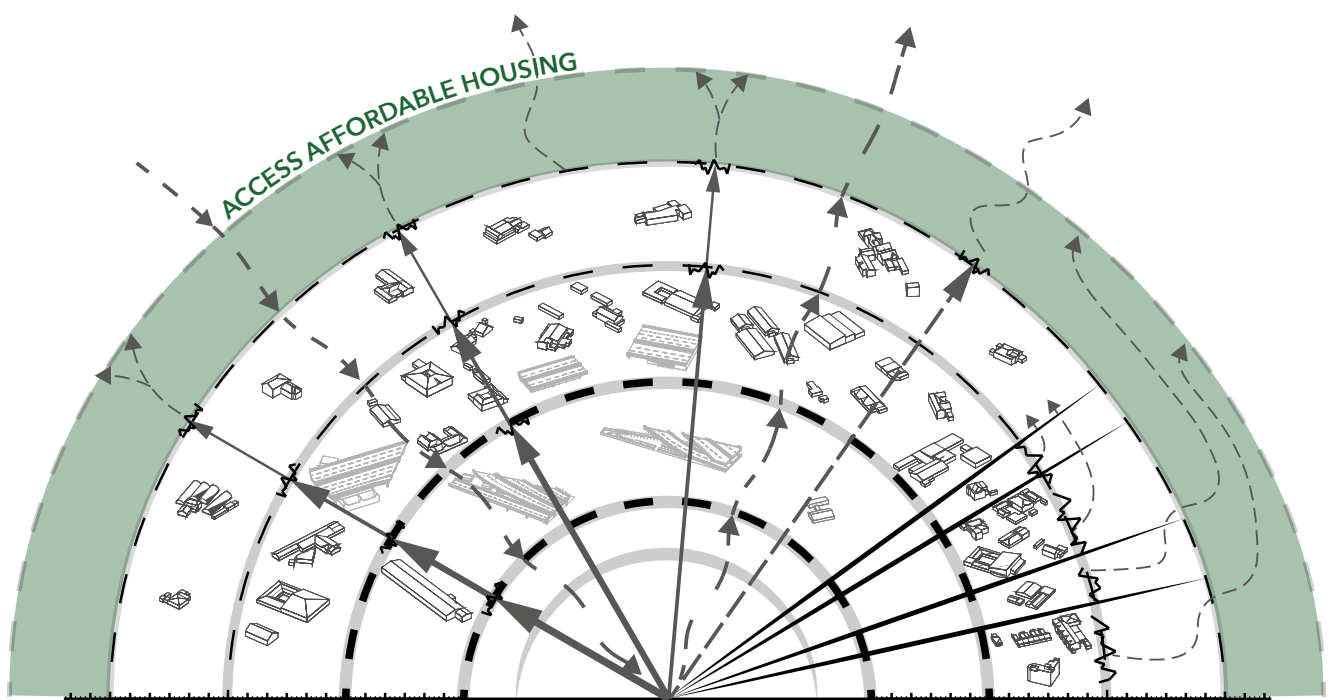
With the recent history of apartheid, where people have been forced from their homes and almost complete neighborhoods like District Six in Cape Town have been demolished, it is an extra delicate matter in South Africa. Reclaim the City (RTC) articulates this justification of urban land in their manifesto, in a very emotional matter, added on the right. It reflects the outrage prevalent among the lower class, in need of more adequate housing.

"We occupied public buildings because our members are desperate for housing. Because we cannot afford to pay our rents anymore. Because we don't want to live on the street when we are evicted. Because we don't want to be sent to relocation camps by the government to be forgotten. Because we are tired of living in distant informal settlements and townships. Because we have little land and no security."

We occupied public buildings because we too have a right to live in the city. A right to walk on the promenade and walk in the gardens. A right to have a view of the sea. A right to raise our children and care for our families in good areas where there are good schools and good hospitals. A right to be close to work and earn an income.

We occupied public buildings because the City, the Province and the National Government have failed us. They say we must wait patiently and the land and housing will come. But it never does and most likely it never will unless we organise against the property power that maintains inequality and spatial apartheid.

We occupied public buildings because we want to bring the struggles of poor and working class Black and Coloured people back to the centre of our city, to the seat of power, and to the land that matters." - Reclaim the City.¹³



REFERENCE - RECLAIM THE CITY

Reclaim the City is a social movement of tenants and workers campaigning for affordable housing in well-located areas. They believe it is time to take the struggle for housing to the center of the city, to the heart of power, to the people who should live there, and to the land that matters. Their slogan reads: “Land for people, not profit”.¹⁴

RTC aims to build an inclusive, spatially correct city. Redistribution of vacant and underutilized public land and buildings to benefit poor and working-class populations are subjects they focus on. Support and solidarity is given to members facing challenges with landlords and threats of eviction, which often lead to homelessness or displacement.

In the context of a housing crisis, Reclaim the City maintains that no eviction can be considered just. Therefore, RTC offers advice, legal defense, and actively resists unjust evictions both in court and on the streets.



Figure 9



Figure 10



Figure 11



Figure 12



Figure 13

RECLAIM THE CITY - CISSIE GOOL HOUSE

"It is a highly organized and disciplined initiative. If the city supports it in the appropriate manner, it could become a model." - Malcolm Campbell, architect and development planner.¹⁵

In 2007, the City of Cape Town declared Woodstock as an Urban Development Zone area, meaning developers could get a tax break for building in the area. Private property developers, driven by the desire for profit, increasingly began constructing in the area, resulting in exorbitant rent increased and the purchase of properties, forcing people to leave.¹⁶ The distressing context of gentrification and housing affordability crisis led to the occupation of Cissie Gool House (CGH), formerly the Woodstock Hospital by the housing justice movement Reclaim the City.

It is a bottom-up response defined by experimentation, resistance, and survival, offering a home to more than 1000 people.¹⁷ After going through an intake procedure, along with being assigned a room, residents were given an old hospital or operating room. Since residents have full control over the interpretation of their own space within the occupation, this has led to a creative variety of fill-in spaces.¹⁸ With very little cost, residents converted the Woodstock Hospital into an affordable residential accommodation.

The future of Cissie Gool House, together with other occupations in the city center, is uncertain. The City of Cape Town is intent on moving towards social housing on the site. *"The struggle to remain continues."*¹⁹

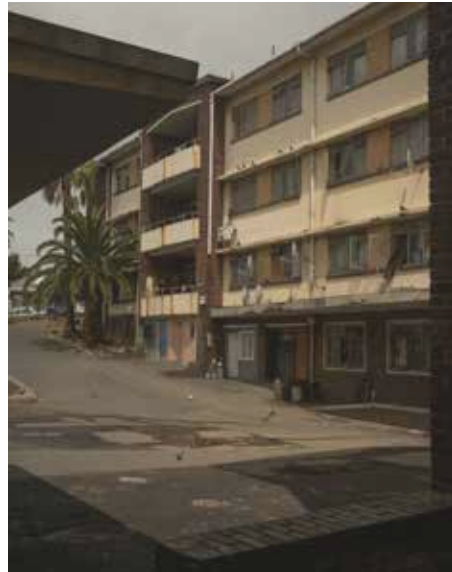


Figure 14



Figure 15



Figure 16



Figure 17

ALTERNATIVE SCENARIO 2 - USAGE OF VACANT BUILDINGS

What if more vacant building could be occupied and exploited as adequate housing, following the model of Cissie Gool House? What if the government supports this co-designing process?

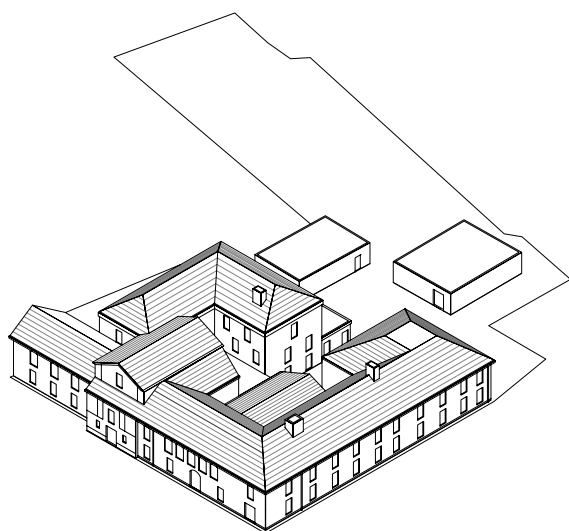
A chosen case study is the Robbie Nurock Hospital, located in Gardens. Similar preconditions to these of CGH are noticed being a central location and prior history of hospital. The institutional background of the building ensures that a large number of divided rooms is present, as is the case in Cissie Gool House. An existing compartmentalization, where hospital rooms can serve as complete residences, facilitates the process of retrofitting.

Using the average size unit of Cissie Gool House as reference (40m²), the amount of units and therefore families the Robbie Nurock Hospital could facilitate is shown below.



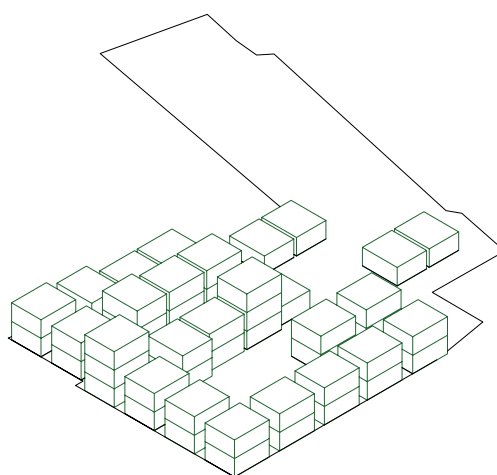
Figure 18

CASE STUDY - ROBBIE NUROCK HOSPITAL



NOW

0 HOUSING UNITS (40M²)



ALTERNATIVE SCENARIO

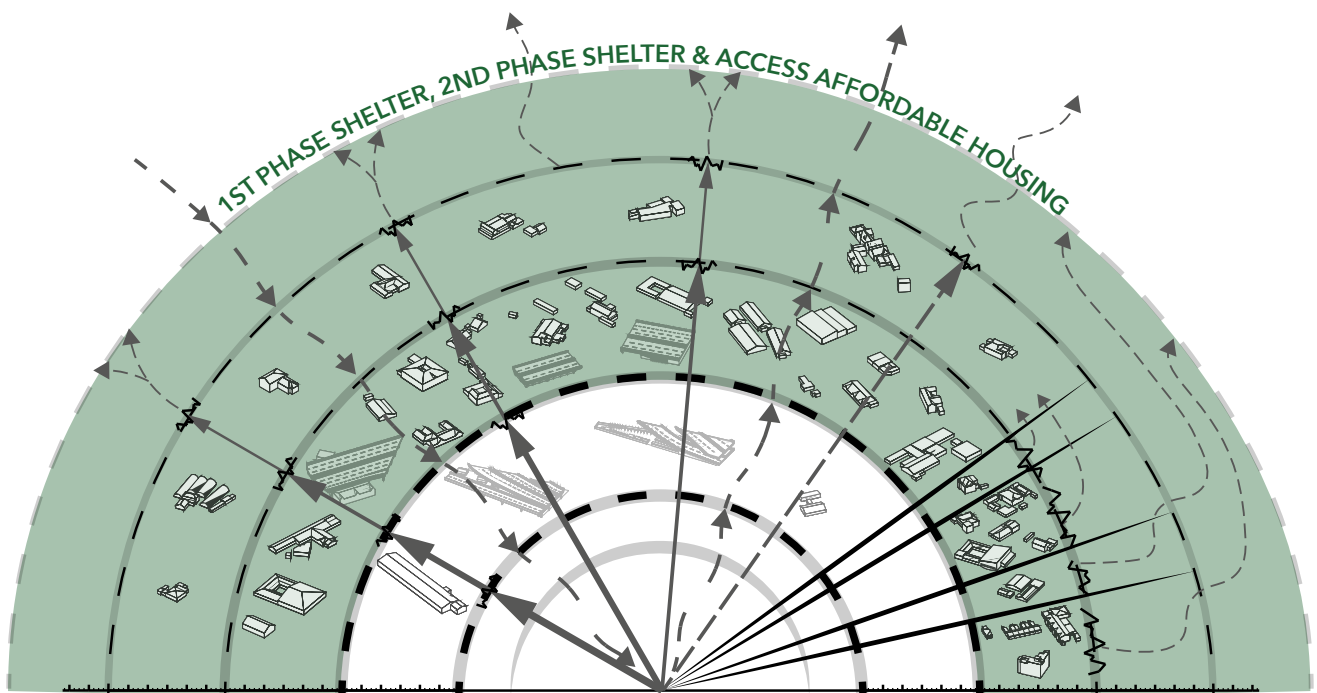
48 HOUSING UNITS (40M²)

ALTERNATIVE SCENARIO 3 - MIXED-USE SHELTER

During the field work, it was noticed that in many cases there is little to no urban interaction between the shelter system and neighboring residential environment. Shelters are often located in uncomfortably large residual plots: under bridges, in large industrial buildings, etc. Most shelters are not integrated into residential neighborhoods.

Neighborhoods are regarded as fundamental building blocks of urban social space. This social space consists of a mosaic of socially homogeneous areas, partly segregated from neighboring areas. Each area may be inhabited by individuals from different social categories, yet remains internally homogeneous and cohesive, driven by the logic of proximity and the primacy of face-to-face interactions.²⁰

In what ways can diversification of a street or a neighborhood be achieved?



REFERENCE - THE NET - NEW HOPE SA - PILLIANS COURT

The Net in Fish Hoek is a second phase shelter, accommodating 20 people. Since it is located within a residential neighborhood, the barrier between the people, experiencing and not experiencing homelessness, is less large. The building is not entirely implemented as shelter. As it contains five apartments, three of them are used by The Net, including one for the house mother on site. The two remaining flats are rented out to conventional tenants.

The same concept applies for the second phase shelter of New Hope SA, located in Muizenberg. While New Hope SA utilizes the ground floor, a more conventional family lives on the first floor. They share the same access to the property. Direct interaction, not only outside the premises but also on the site itself, between clients of The Net and residents of the neighborhood, is assured since they live in the same building. Unfortunately, the reality can involve clashes and non-accepting neighbors. *“The people upstairs think that their lives are at risk. We have had a lot of issues with them. They have regularly tried to have us kicked out. We have had lawyers’ letters with a whole lot of allegations.”* - Leanne, managing director at New Hope SA, 2023 October 24.

Initiative does not always have to be institutionalized. A couple of years ago, Gill and John Lanham decided, after several disappointing experiences with tenants, to rent out one of their apartments at a lower cost in Rosebank to graduated clients of New Hope SA. Differentiation in the neighborhood as well as in the building is thus established.



Figure 19



Figure 20



Figure 21

ALTERNATIVE SCENARIO 3 - MIXED-USE SHELTER

The following case-study is developed in response to a scheduled public auction of properties on Maynard Street, Gardens - happening to be home base during the conducted field work.

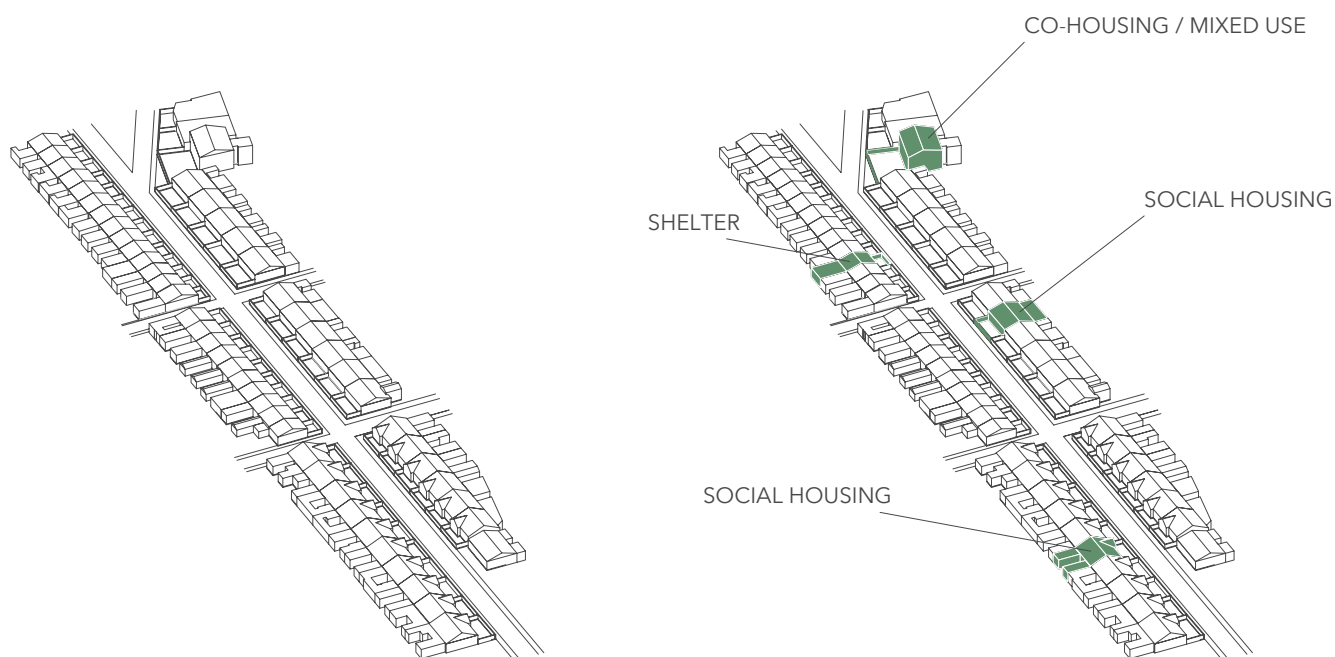
According to the City of Cape Town, the best economic and social value will be derived from the release of these properties for a range of uses, from industrial to community and private sector led residential development, depending on the zoning. Having the knowledge that a huge amount of undeveloped land - owned by the City of Cape Town - exists, the auctions seem bizarre and especially unnecessary.²¹

Public housing seems to be predominantly regarded as a financial asset by the city rather than a societal good, particularly in well-located areas. The sale of well-situated public housing threatens the maintenance of inclusivity within an inner-city that is already characterized by exclusivity and unaffordability.²²

What if, instead of auctioning these houses, the city commits to innovative typologies into the monotonous residential neighborhood of Gardens?

By implementing typologies such as social housing, co-housing or any shelter system into a standard residential neighborhood, a desegregation of neighborhoods is initiated.

CASE STUDY - MAYNARD STREET



NOW

HOMOGENEOUS NEIGHBORHOOD
HIGH RENTS
GENTRIFICATION

ALTERNATIVE SCENARIO

HETEROGENEOUS NEIGHBORHOOD
DIVERSIFIED RENTS
INCLUSIVE COMMUNITY



Figure 22 : Maynard Street, Gardens

ALTERNATIVE SCENARIO 4 - GROWING SHELTER

“People living on the street have their support network in any given community and that’s where they want to reside.”
- Stephen Underwood, staff-member of U-turn. Instead of people having to move to complete the pathway out of homelessness, can’t the shelter grow with them?

The shelter system in Cape Town is divided into several phases, which in theory must be passed sequentially in order to be integrated back into society from the street. This is often referred to as the pathway out of homelessness. NGOs define either as first or as second phase approaches, but not often as both. This phenomenon stems from the construction of government funding, which follows a pattern depending on whether an NGO identifies itself as first or second phase.

Streetscapes can be seen as an exception, where a disposition of multiple sites throughout Cape Town is deployed as an internalized pass-through system. As clients stay with Streetscapes and evolve in their pathway to independence, they grow within the organization. One first phase shelter and two second phase accommodations are defined within Streetscapes.

This ensures that a transition between first and second phases does not require a switch in regulations and approach, which is often the case if two different NGOs are involved. The constant change of organization is encouraged by regulations from the Department of Social Development concluding that a person can stay in a specific shelter for a maximum of 6 months.

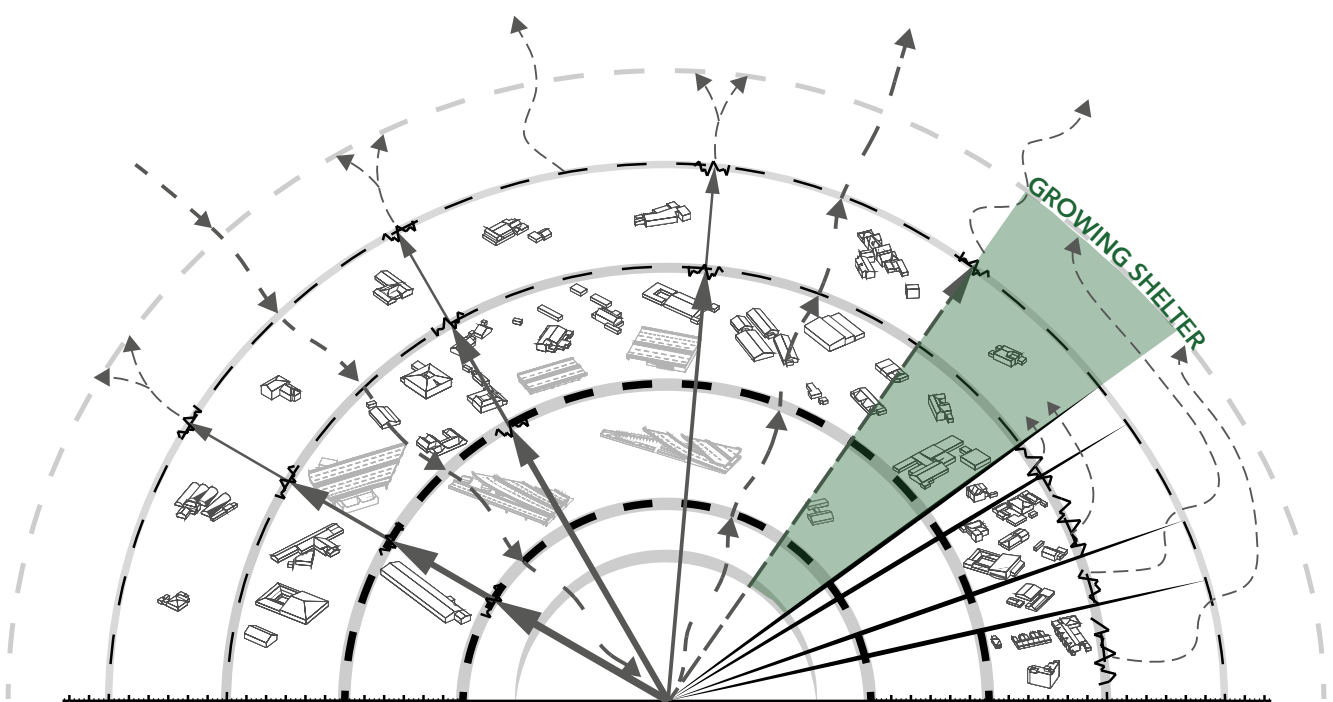
While numerous similarities can be noted in the approaches of NGOs, practical differences in implementation can not be avoided. How tolerant is the response to a relapse in drug use? In the case of a first phase: when are clients allowed or required to go outside? With how many do they sleep in a room?

A relocation signifies a different everyday environment, a different group of people to live with, and many other implications. It can feel like a fresh start. However, does the idea of a fresh start fit into the framework of the phased approach? Is it not contradicting to need to start over again, when you have evolved in the roadmap out of homelessness?

Oasis, located in a business park in Phillippi, was mentioned as applied example for the little village typology in the chapter regarding supportive structures. Although it currently defines as a first phase shelter, it is likely to expand in the future.

“The ultimate goal for Oasis would be to build our own transitional housing on site. This would be a pilot project. Containers could be transformed into non-permanent housing on site.” - Clifford, founder of Oasis, 2023 October 2. The idea of allowing people to stay on the same site and to continue to grow is taken as a starting point in further alternative scenario.

How can the idea of a growing shelter, simultaneously developing in parallel with residents’ personal development, be implemented in central Cape Town?



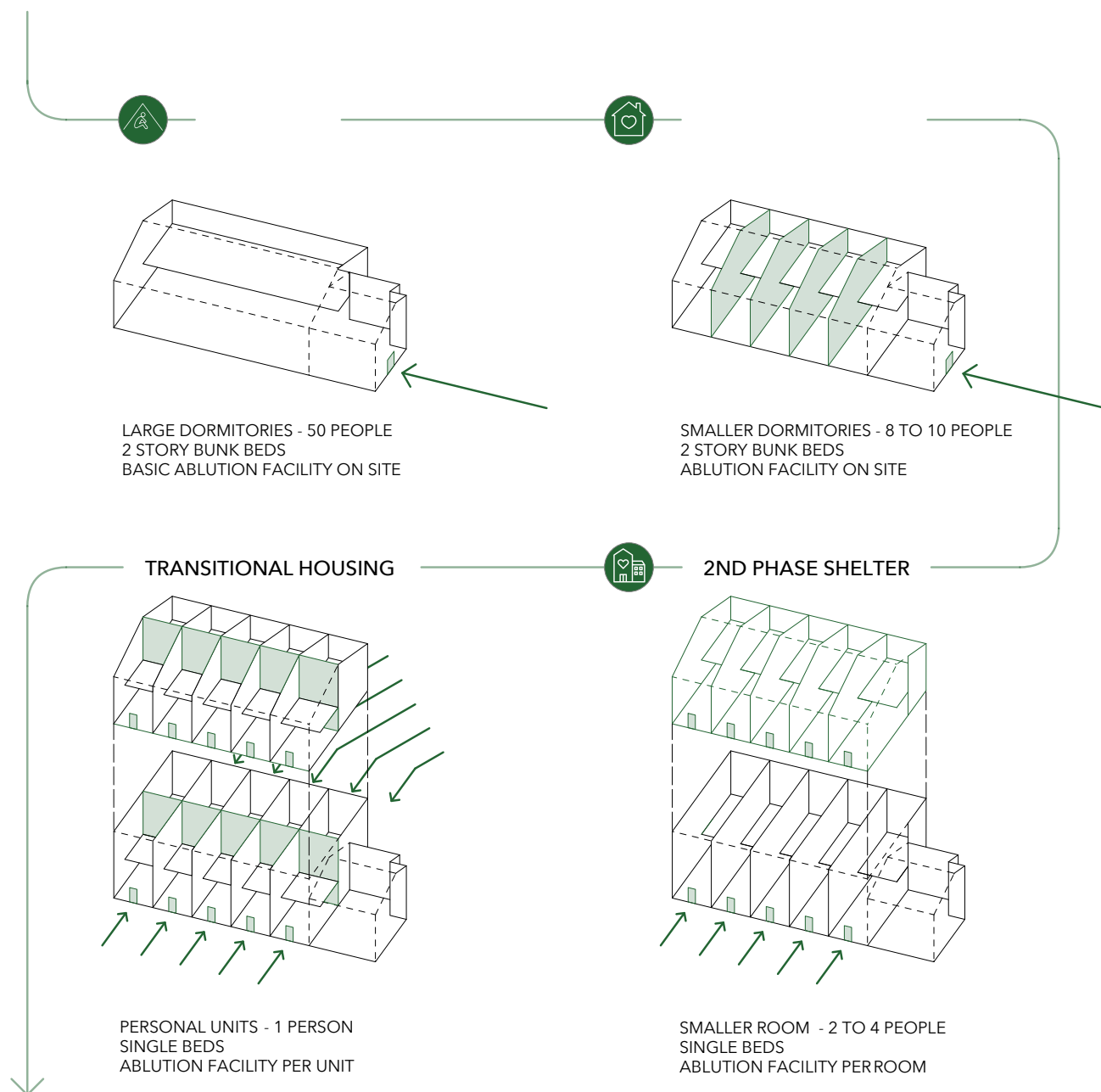
The site of The Haven Night Shelter: Napier Street is taken as starting point for further imagination. It is located in the city center of Cape Town, close to economic opportunities and leisure facilities such as the beach.

The building itself provides a clear and linear structure, which allows adjustments and extensions to be added in a systematic manner as the building, along with its occupants, grows over time. By playing with the number of partitions and entrance of the volume, the space can be divided into smaller subdivisions.

Facilities become increasingly personal and independent as time evolves.

Due to the systematic nature of development, it is not necessary for the entire building to go through the modifications at the same pace. This allows both the building and individuals, experiencing homelessness, to develop on their own time - but at least in the same place, with the same urban environment.

CASE STUDY - THE HAVEN NIGHT SHELTER: NAPIER STREET



ALTERNATIVE SCENARIO 5 - HUMANITY HUB

The support system is dominated by a wide range of shelter systems and soup kitchens, complemented by economic opportunities and additional functions. Each support mechanism has its own operating hours.

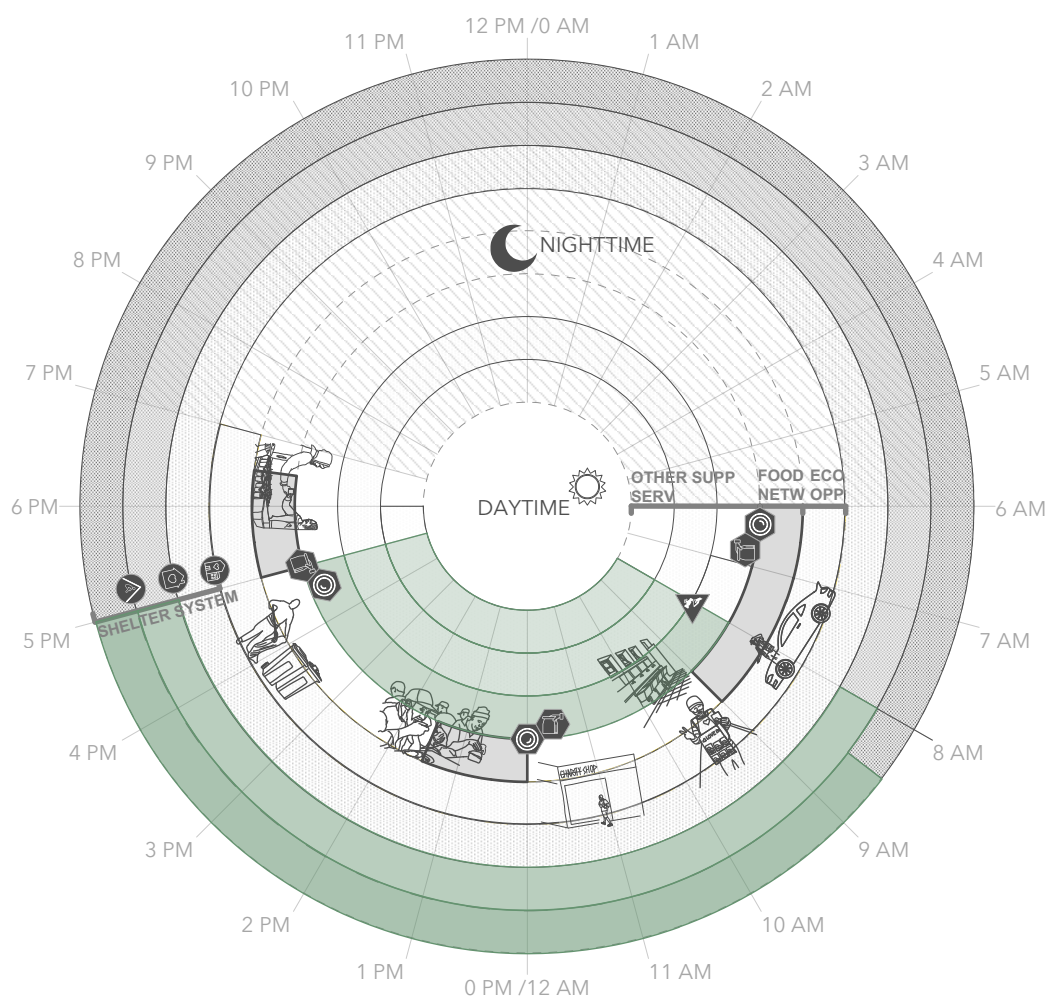
Some shelters employ the operation of an over-night facility, requiring people to leave the shelter facility throughout the day. Where to go? What to do?

People, living on the streets who are not enrolled in the shelter system, and dwell through the city are equally in need of support although the barrier to accepting support is greater for them. In addition, existing systems tend to have conditions that must be met in order to receive help. For example, although shelters have an ablution facility to comply with the norms and standards, determined by the Department of Social Development, only clients of the specific shelter are allowed to use them. This is unfortunate in the reality of Cape Town, where there is a shortage of ablution facilities for the homeless.

It evokes the idea of a humanity hub: where homeless people can choose to come to during the day, where necessary support is present, where mandatory conditions are absent.

In addition to operating as a second phase shelter for their clients, The Hope Exchange operates as a dignity hub. People, experiencing homelessness, are given the opportunity to wash themselves every day. Once a week, they can wash their clothes on site and once a month FAMSA, a medical clinic, visits.

The offered support is without any obligation. It is possible for people to come once, not show up for three weeks and return. It gives the homeless an opportunity for social support, but does not entail any associated obligations and responsibilities. It ensures that people, living on the streets, can do it with more dignity. Another organization that provides the concept of the humanity hub is Souper Troopers.



In addition to the facilities provided by The Hope Exchange, focused on sanitation and health care, there are a number of supplemental support elements that would strengthen the concept of a humanity hub. Besides the ability to wash clothes, new clothes can be of great help to maintain a fresh appearance.

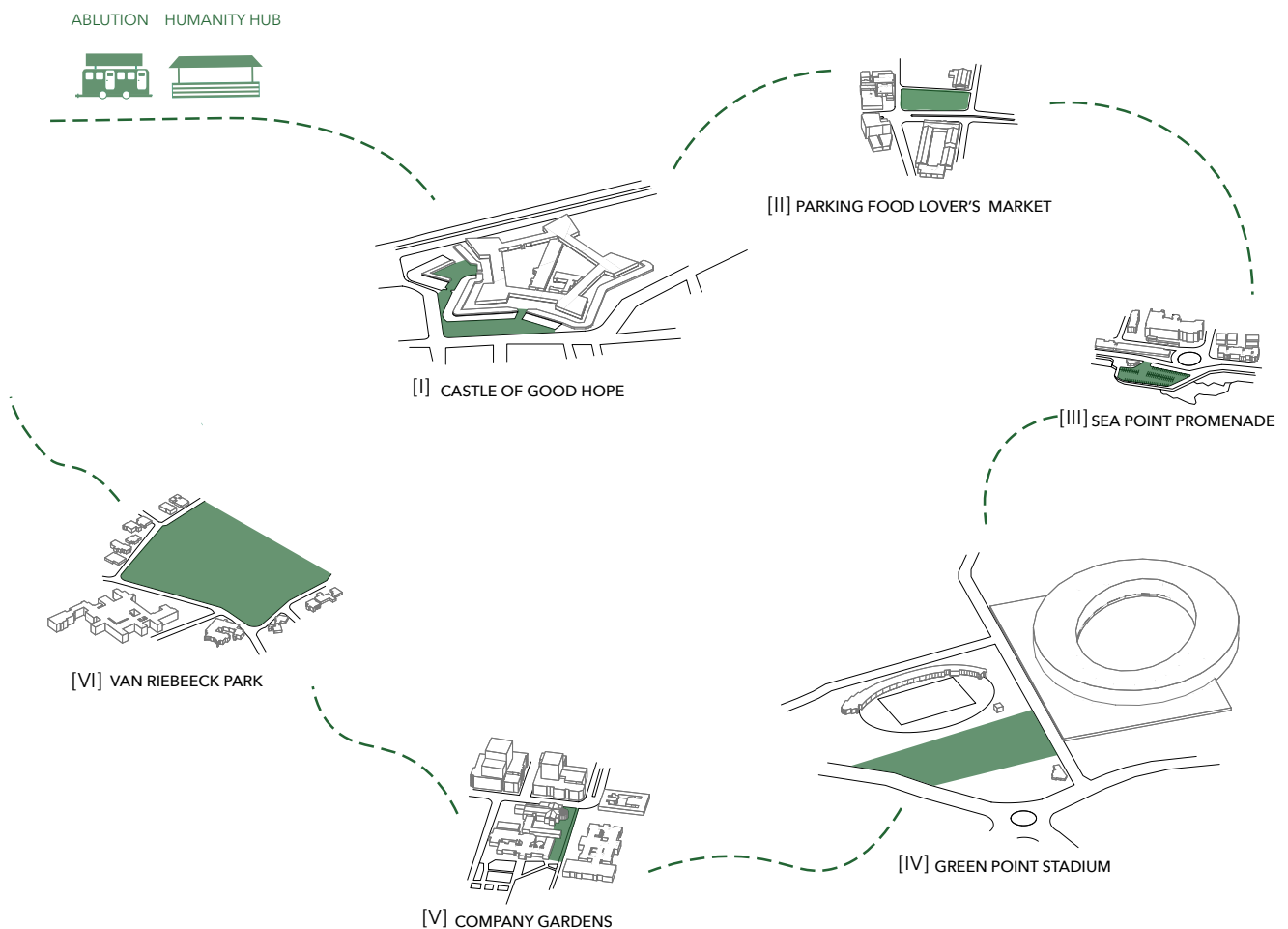
Personal belongings are of great importance to people who live on the street. To avoid the struggle of either carrying everything with them or finding a hiding place with the associated risk of stolen items, provision of solid lockers at a humanity hub can offer a solution.

The humanity hub can be a place where social help is provided in the form of open conversations. These can, but do not have to be, with regulated social workers to keep the threshold as low as possible.

Previously mentioned support functions can be implemented as mobile applications. This way, the humanity hubs can operate in public places such as squares and open spaces, scattered around the city center of Cape Town, challenging the enclosed character of those spaces within the urban fabric.

Consideration has been given to which places, in the city center of Cape Town, have enough space to implement this and are accessible - or even of great importance - to people, experiencing homelessness. The places below were all mentioned in conducted interviews with people, experiencing homelessness, as important places, being resting places, hiding places or places to stay.

CASE STUDY - HUMANITY HUBS



ALTERNATIVE SCENARIO 6 - COMMUNITY SOUP KITCHEN

People experiencing homelessness have long been regarded as embodying ‘otherness’. Their lifestyles are marked by deep histories of exclusion, stigmatization, and punitive treatment.²³

“The urban rough sleeper is a contested figure in the city, evoking crime, disorder and poverty and thus disrupting the projects of aestheticization and securitization of the revanchist city.”²⁴ People who experience homelessness are labeled as delinquent and therefore treated in that way.

To tackle the complex problem of homelessness in an efficient and sustainable matter, efforts must be made to reduce the accompanying stigmatization. How can there be a platform for direct interaction between people, who may or may not be experiencing homelessness, created?

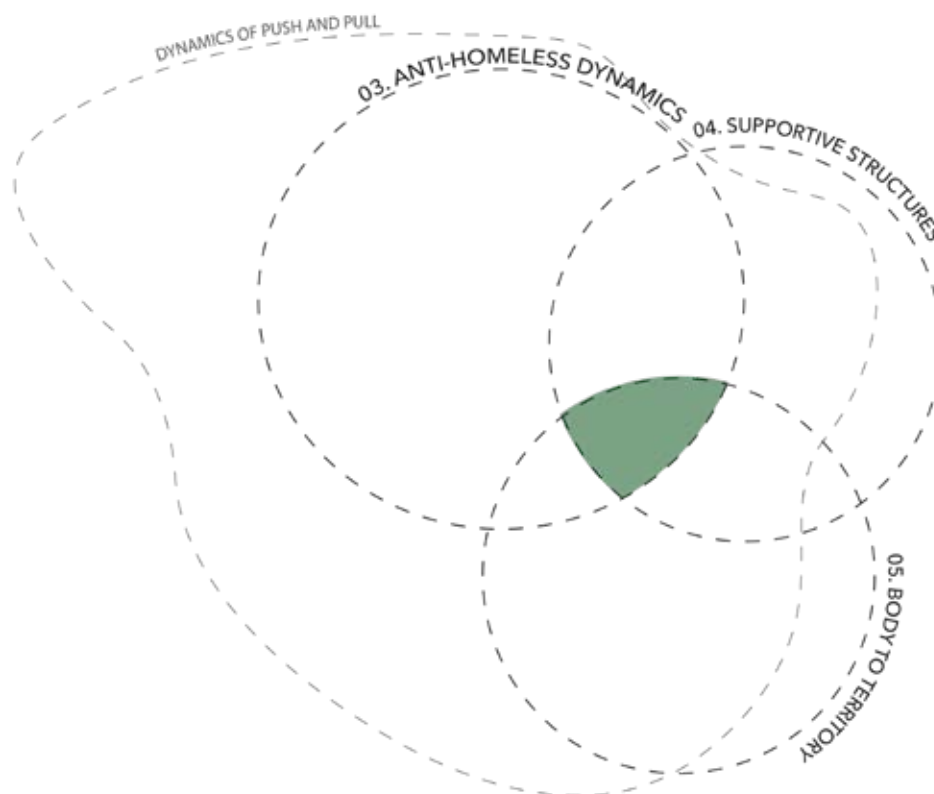
New Hope SA recently started the concept of community dinners on Tuesday nights in Muizenberg, Cape Town. It is a dinner, open for anyone, housed and unhoused. *“One of the core values is that it is bringing together people that wouldn’t normally sit around the table together. It is bringing together people that are housed and unhoused to sit down and have conversations. We very actively encourage people to not sit with the same people every week, not sit with people you know but sit with people you don’t know.”* - Leanne, managing director at New Hope SA, 2023 October 24.

The concept of community dinners takes the idea of soup kitchens out of its segregated context. It ensures that there is no discrimination, whether positive or negative, towards people experiencing homelessness.

“The ratio is definitely more unhoused people, but it is not only unhoused people. There are people who want to be there to build relationships.” - Leanne, 2023 October 24. As quoted above, housed people who want to come, join the community dinner.

How can this concept be further developed so people, skeptical of such initiatives, are encouraged to sit around the table anyway?

Efforts can be made to implement community dinners in public spaces, where people come anyway. Skeptics do not have to be convinced to join an event, but simply bump into it.



To strengthen the imaginative scenario, the concept has been worked out on several sites in the city center of Cape Town. All three sites are very different places, with a public character, already hosting larger crowds in various ways. In which the church and market are self-explanatory, it should be pointed out that Texas is a pop-up site that hosts events for youth.

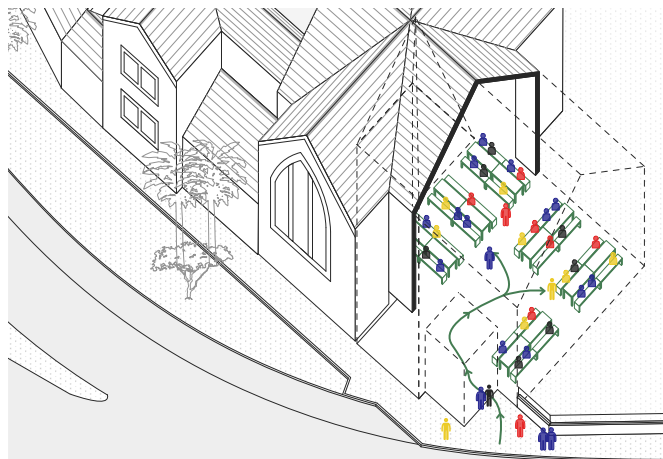
The concept is radicalized one step at a time for each site. Whereas it is easy to imagine such concept occurring in a church, it is more difficult to imagine on a pop-up site, let alone on a gentrified place like OZCF market, one of the hot spots for affluent Capetonians during the weekend. Yet it retains its power and imagination.

CASE STUDY - COMMUNITY SOUP KITCHENS

A. PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH



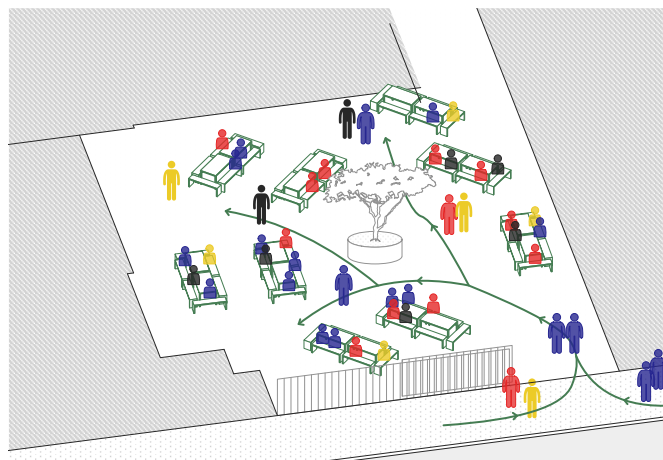
Figure 23 [Google maps 2022]



B. TEXAS



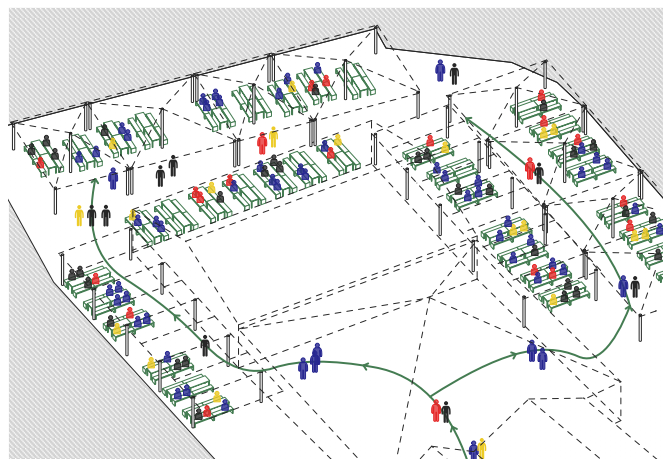
Figure 24 [Google maps 2024]



C. ORANJEZICHT CITY FARM MARKET (OZCF MARKET)



Figure 25



CONCLUSION

By carrying deep wounds of the Apartheid regime, a constant imbalance in the struggle over urban territory, and more particularly for urban land justice, is manifested. The never-ending storyline of forced removals and evictions, lives on in the urban fabric of Cape Town. Furthermore, different crises, such as the recent COVID-19 pandemic and the increasing housing backlog, significantly affects the homeless dwelling culture in the legislative capital of South Africa.

This homeless dwelling culture is constituted of various complex spatial layers and social dynamics. Whether visible or invisible, tangible or intangible, these dynamics are often neglected in the larger framework of urban development. Therefore, the objective of this thesis is to uncover the complexity of the homeless city, including the multi-layered urban tissue, the shelter and service system, and the body to territory relations of urban residents experiencing homelessness.

Throughout history as much as today, this struggle over urban territory emerges relentlessly in the narrative of people experiencing homelessness. As illustrated in this research, Cape Town consists of various dynamics of anti-homelessness that seek to push people, who live on the streets, out of sight. These dynamics include urban securitization, hostile architecture, by-laws, social movements such as NIMBY, different processes of evictions, or even aspects that might not be introduced in this research. By reinforcing each other, the urban landscape of the city is made inhospitable and hostile towards people, experiencing homelessness. As they rely highly on public space to fulfill their daily functional needs, it exacerbates the struggle for their right to the city.

Dynamics of anti-homelessness should also be understood in terms of ownership. Therefore designers, individual residents, and those who govern the city, all participate in determining how inhospitable and hostile public space is shaped. Although spatial restrictions impact people experiencing homelessness the most, their perspectives and voices regarding the debate on how to shape public space are excluded. As punitive measures merely conceal the problem without addressing fundamental issues like unemployment, poverty, or inadequate affordable housing, they undermine the moral space necessary to address homelessness.

Different NGOs and supportive structures, scattered around the urban territory of Cape Town, play a significant role in providing the daily necessary needs of homeless people. By providing bed space in shelter facilities, food in soup kitchens, economic opportunities, and other support, they are part of the daily routine of many, demonstrating their value. Different approaches and working methods complement each other to form a broad diversity of support. In the supply of diversity, opportunity can be found. Different people ask for different approaches.

In this complex network of support systems, collaborations are crucial to facilitate different needs of people experiencing homelessness. However, boundaries appear where approaches do not complement each other. Furthermore, the struggle for funding, implying competition, makes those collaborations more difficult to establish. Although in stronger collaboration, there is great opportunity, supportive networks play a highly important role in supporting the homeless.

In debates on homelessness, the voice of those who have experienced or are experiencing homelessness is too often neglected. Therefore, it is important to include them and their lived experiences in dialogues on the different frameworks of the homeless city. It helps understand the meanings of, and how they interact with, the urban space. Furthermore, it can demonstrate what their - whether direct or long-term - needs may be.

As those different layers of 'Anti-homeless Dynamics', 'Supportive Structures' and 'From Body to Territory' are introduced separately, in reality they manifest one and the same urban fabric. The public space is subject to a dual atmosphere, where facilitating and hostile architecture, are in constant interference and interaction with one another. The symbiotic relation between these contrasting dynamics, push and pull people experiencing homelessness throughout the City of Cape Town.

Within the complexity of the homeless city, potential alternatives are envisioned, already exemplified by NGOs, activist organizations, and rooted in extensive fieldwork. Ranging from challenging existing housing and shelter frameworks to implementing innovative concepts on how to rethink public land, these proposed alternatives aspire to serve as a foundation for initiating conversations, discussions, and the development of new approaches to addressing homelessness.

The development of various opportunities can contribute to a more social and equitable shaping of the homeless city of tomorrow. By highlighting the different spatial and social layers of the homeless city of Cape Town, this atlas aims to make a small but significant contribution in such direction.

ENDNOTE

Annex: interviews with private and public security - organizations and people, experiencing homelessness.

All images or maps without references of a source are taken or made by the authors of this research.

GRAPHIC SYNTHESIS

Data of Map

S.n. S.d. *Open Data Portal*. City of Cape Town, consulted 2024 May 12.
<https://www.capetown.gov.za/City-Connect/All-City-online-services/open-data-portal/>

USAGE OF VACANT LAND

Image

Figure 2 : Ndifuna Ukwazi. 2018. *Inclusionary Housing: Measuring Access to residential developments by race and class - working notes*. Version 1.

Figure 3 : Pillay, S et al. 2017. *I used to live there. A call for transitional housing for evictees in Cape Town*. South Africa: Ndifuna Ukwazi.

Figure 4 : Ndifuna Ukwazi. 2024. *Public Land for People not for Parking*.

Figure 5 : Ndifuna Ukwazi. 2022. *Regulating the Private Sector: Case Studies in Inclusionary Housing Developments in Cape Town*.

Figure 7 : Ndifuna Ukwazi. 2021. *Spatial Justice Delayed? Understanding the Obstacles to Social and Transitional Housing in Central Cape Town*.

Figure 8 : Ndifuna Ukwazi. 2023. *The People's Land Map*. <https://peopleslandmap.nu.org.za/>

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<https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2023-11-09-almost-10000-soccer-fields-unused-public-land-in-cape-town/>

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<https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2023-11-09-almost-10000-soccer-fields-unused-public-land-in-cape-town/>

USAGE OF VACANT BUILDINGS

Image

Figure 9 : S.n. S.d. *Ahmed Kathrada House*. [Photograph]. Reclaim The City, consulted on 2024 May 30. <https://reclaimthecity.org.za/our-movement/our-houses/ahmed-kathrada-house/>

Figure 10 : S.n. S.d. *Irene Grootboom House*. [Photograph]. Reclaim The City, consulted on 2024 May 30. <https://reclaimthecity.org.za/our-movement/our-houses/irene-grootboom-house/>

Figure 11 : Knoetze, D. 2016. *StopTheSale submissions handover march on Tafelberg*. [Photograph]. Reclaim The City, consulted on 2024 May 30. <https://reclaimthecity.org.za/our-movement/>

Figure 12 : Mian, N. 2016. *Reclaim the City protestors on Long Street in Cape Town yesterday*. [Photograph]. Ground Up, consulted on 2024 May 30. <https://groundup.org.za/article/reclaim-city-claims-victory-tafelberg-battle/>

Figure 13 : S.n. S.d. *City of Cape Town: Build Affordable housing here*. [Photograph]. Reclaim The City, consulted on 2024 May 30. <https://reclaimthecity.org.za/>

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COMMUNITY SOUP KITCHEN

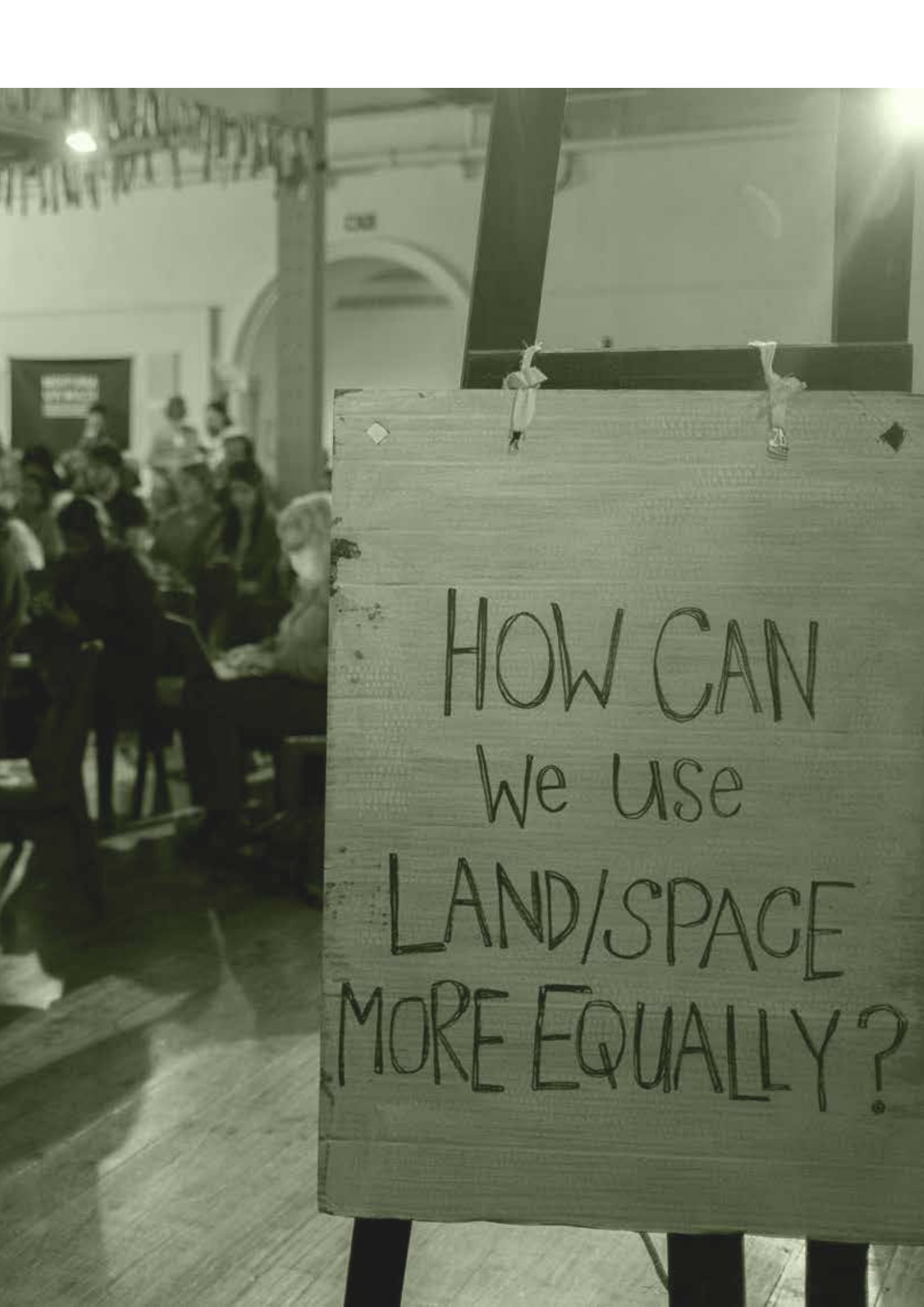
Image

Figure 25 : S.n. S.d. *Oranjezicht City Farm Market*. [Photograph]. Inside Guide, consulted on 2024 June 1. <https://insideguide.co.za/cape-town/things-to-do/oranjezicht-city-farm-market/>

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HOW CAN
We Use
LAND/SPACE
MORE EQUALLY?

