# More than just a job: The meaning of work for those who were previously homeless

Chadley Bissolati

Department of Sociology

University of Cape Town

Supervisor: Bianca Tame

**2019**

## UCT KNOWLEDGE CO-OP

**The UCT Knowledge Co-op facilitated this collaborative project between Khulisa Social Solutions and UCT**.

See http://www.knowledgeco-op.uct.ac.za or
Contact us at know-op@uct.ac.za / 021 – 650 4415

# Plagiarism Declaration:

1. I know that plagiarism is a serious form of academic dishonesty.

2. I have read the document about avoiding plagiarism, am familiar with its contents and have avoided all forms of plagiarism mentioned there.

3. I have used the Harvard UCT formatting for citation and referencing.

4. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this essay/report/project from the work or works, of other people has been attributed, cited and referenced.

5. I have not and shall not allow others to plagiarise my work. I declare that this is my own work.

6. I am attaching the summary of the Turnitin match overview (when required to do so).


I, …........................................................, hereby declare that the work on which this thesis is based is my original work (except where acknowledgements indicate otherwise) and that neither the whole work nor any part of it has been, is being, or is to be submitted for another degree in this or any other university. I authorise the University to reproduce for the purpose of research either the whole or any portion of the contents in any manner whatsoever.


*Chadley Bissolati*                                   13/11/2019

Signature: ……………………………        Date: ………………………………

# Acknowledgements

This research study would not be possible without the help and support of the following individuals and institutions.

First, I would like to express my thanks to my supervisor Bianca Tame. From the onset of my proposal for this study, she expressed a level of excitement which certainly made me feel more comfortable in pursuing this immense task. Even though she already had a wide range of responsibilities within her own capacity, I could always arrange a meeting at any given time to discuss any issues or questions I had regarding my research. The feedback received from these meetings has especially helped to improve the quality of this thesis. Her patience and words of encouragement has therefore proven to be invaluable throughout this research process. It has therefore been an absolute honour to be supervised by Bianca.

Second, I would like to thank the UCT Knowledge Co-op team for facilitating the meeting and continued relationship between myself and Streetscapes. The level of communication was quite remarkable. Barbara especially constantly checked in to see how I was doing and to provide key reminders regarding any of my upcoming deadlines.

Third, I would like to express my thanks to Jesse and her Streetscapes team who are doing incredibly things for those who are homeless. It is not only the Streetscapes team but their beneficiaries that have been absolutely warm and welcoming to my presence within their space. I have never felt more at home, especially with those at the external site. I therefore express my gratitude to the three individuals who have agreed to become part of this study.

Fourth, I would like to thank Andrew for being the key liaison in my research with Streetscapes. I would not be able to visit the external site and conduct my interviews without the transportation provided by him. It is not only this transportation that I am thankful for, but it is the discussions on the road that has been rather influential.

Fifth, this year of study would not be possible without the financial help of the UCT Postgraduate Centre and Funding Office and NRF. Without this financial aid I would not have been able to complete this year of study and consequently this thesis so I am truly grateful.

Last but not least I would like to thank my partner Tayla who has provided me with the best of support to continue and carry out this research process. Without her presence in my life this task would certainly have been much more strenuous.

# Abstract

This research was based on determining the meaning of work for those individuals' whom have previously experienced homelessness. An attempt was made to understand their experiences with regards to their transition (what it also termed their journey) from homelessness to having access to paid work and formal housing. An employment initiative known as Streetscapes was focused on as they specifically cater to the homeless. This research therefore involved a qualitative study in the form of a case study. A combination of three hour-long in-depth interviews and participant observations were used to collect data within this study. The findings suggest that their journey has resulted in more than just obtaining regular income and formal housing. These findings were situated within the context of citizenship, identity and subjective wellbeing. Maslow's hierarchy of needs therefore become a key framework in which to analyse these concepts in relation to work. It therefore seems that work in itself only comprises of one crucial dimension in achieving a sense of belonging within society. At the same time, it also allows one to achieve a strong sense of subjective wellbeing when certain conditions are met. It is therefore proposed that future programmes tasked at 'reintegrating' the homeless need to focus on more than just providing a house or job. Aside from those needs, homeless individuals may require social support and a feeling of belongingness in order to obtain a positive subjective wellbeing in the form of life satisfaction.

# Table of Contents

# Outline

This qualitative study consists of eight chapters:

Chapter 1 comprises of the introduction to this study. It includes the context in which this research takes place, the core research problem, rationale for conducting this research and lastly a definition the core concepts used throughout this study.

Chapter 2 comprises of the specific research questions that were proposed and consequently addressed within this study.

Chapter 3 comprises of a literature review that focuses on a number of key themes related to homelessness, work and the Streetscapes programme.

Chapter 4 comprises of the theoretical framework used throughout this study. This framework includes the conceptualisation of citizenship, social exclusion and identity and subjective wellbeing in the context of this particular study.

Chapter 5 comprises of an explanation of the specific methods used throughout this research process. Sub-sections include: research design, sample, data collection and data analysis. It concludes with the ethical considerations relevant to research and to this study in particular.

Chapter 6 comprises of the results of this study, in which the key findings are detailed.

Chapter 7 comprises of the core discussion of this study, specifically regarding the key findings and its linkages to the literature and theoretical framework used within this study.

Chapter 8 comprises of a conclusion to this study in which the importance of this study is highlighted. This is followed by the specific implications of this research and looking at how such research can be expanded on for any future research endeavours.

# Chapter 1: Introduction

## *Context*

The issue of homelessness has been much debated over the past century - both within academia and the general public. Some scholars believe that it is indeed a problem that can be solved, while others believe that it is perhaps a permanent feature of the "modern urban landscape" (Chamie, 2017). In its basic form, it signifies someone that is without a permanent residence, as someone that is living on the streets. However, its definition may go far beyond the aspect of 'rooflessness' which only refers to one's lack of a permanent residence. Gathering statistical data on the homeless population has not been an easy task either. Hence, a wide range of in-depth global statistical data on homelessness does not exist as of yet. The last major attempt at gathering global data on the homeless population came in 2005 in which it was estimated that roughly 100 million people were homeless worldwide (Kothari, 2005). This estimate has since grown to about 150 million (Chamie, 2017). Literature on the homeless in its entirety has also remained focused within specific regions, mainly in the Global North. This lack of literature may be due to two reasons. First, the homeless is not easily approachable and therefore inaccessible in some cases. Second, with regards to quantitative research, it usually requires one to know certain population characteristics while also obtaining a big enough sample to generalizes from. These become difficult obstacles to overcome when studying the homeless. The latter does not apply to this study as it is qualitative in nature while the former has been overcome by working with an organisation.

Within the context of South Africa, the main causes of homelessness seem to be related to the significant housing shortage, high levels of unemployment and rapid urbanization. Statistically, there were about 200,000 homeless people living on the streets of South Africa in 2015 (Rule-Groenewald et al., 2015). In Cape Town, the number of homeless people is believed to be close to 5000 while an estimated 700 is said to reside within the central business district (CBD) (Western Cape Government, 2019). There is also a widespread perception of those who experience homelessness. The public image of a homeless person is that of the dirty, unkempt male figure who sits on the side of the pavement begging for change. It is their 'laziness' and unwillingness to look for a job that dominates public discourse on the homeless (Boydell, Goering & Morrell-Bellai, 2000). Consequently, this stigmatises those who are homeless. The result is a negative representation of the homeless as homogenous, inferior and dysfunctional (Thomas, Gray & McGinty, 2012: 781).

## *Research problem*

The question to ask then, is what happens when work is provided to these homeless individuals? This question is one that becomes central to what this study aimed to explore. The focus of this research was therefore placed on the meaning of work for those individuals' whom have previously experienced homelessness. In order to understand these experiences, an employment initiative that specifically caters to the homeless was looked at. This research focus was consequently placed within the context of the Streetscapes programme which forms part of Khulisa Social Solutions. An attempt was made to understand the experiences of its beneficiaries with regards to their transition (what it also termed their journey) from homelessness to having access to paid work and formal housing. Simply put, this qualitative study aimed to provide an in-depth exploration of work and its inherent meaning for those who were previously homeless. The key argument I put forth is that work allows one to experience a certain type of citizenship, belonging and subjective wellbeing in which he or she can participate in the sphere of mainstream society. These concepts therefore make up the broader themes of this research study.

## *Rationale*

One major benefit of conducting research on the homeless population is that they may be more approachable to scholars wishing to partake in their own research endeavours. This is especially beneficial when it may result in social action such as providing work or formal housing. The hope is that more research on the homeless may result in a better understanding of how individuals become homeless in the first place, as well as how academics can find ways in which to reduce its occurrence. More importantly, if such research can form the basis for future projects such as Streetscapes, then this so-called problem of homelessness may indeed be one that can be met with dignity and respect with regards to those who experience it. The fundamental goal, then, is for these individuals who have unfortunately found themselves in such dire circumstances to develop a sense of autonomy and inclusion within society. It is therefore suggested that work plays a major role in achieving this. Hence, work has become the core focus of this study. Available literature specifically looking at the link between homelessness and work is not in abundance. This is especially true if looking at literature within South Africa. This study therefore aims to provide a key example of its linkages, whereas other studies have focused more on mental health and the causes or everyday experiences of homelessness.

## *Definitions*

In order to conduct research on homelessness, or any topic for that matter, one needs to define the particular topic in question. This is because terminology used within the social sciences are generally multifaceted. Hence, when certain terms used throughout one's research are not defined, they become ones that are ambiguous in nature.

### *Homelessness*

'Homeless' or 'homelessness' is a prime example of a term that has multiple meanings. This is highlighted by Tipple and Speak (2005) in their paper on the various theoretical concepts and typologies in which homelessness can be described and conceptualised. The paper by Toro (2007) similarly echoes this aspect in looking at homelessness from an international perspective, where the definition of homelessness seems to vary by nation.

With regards to its definition by national and international organisations, the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) for instance defines homelessness as those individuals living "on the street", where an emphasis is made on those who are considered to be the 'true homeless' (Cross et al., 2010: 7). Another major organisation, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), conceptualises homelessness in two stages: namely primary and secondary. Primary refers to those "living in streets or without a shelter or living quarters" while secondary refers to those "with no place of usual residence who move frequently between various types of accommodation" (Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights [OHCHR], 2008).

Amongst scholars, there are various debates regarding its definition, where aspects such as one's lack of formal housing and temporal dimension (i.e. time spent as homeless) all appear to be ambiguous when defining homelessness. Nevertheless, there appears to be a general consensus that homelessness may indeed exist on a continuum rather than as a dichotomy between homeless and non-homeless (Lee, Tyler & Wright, 2010: 503). An example of this is the so-called 'couch surfer' that is neither truly homeless nor truly 'housed'. For this study, however, the definition of homelessness has consequently not been defined in terms of my own understanding of it, nor has a definition been sought by an organisation or by the work of an academic. Instead, the participants have been allowed to define homelessness in terms of their own specific contexts, in order to "stay true to the meanings of the actors themselves" (Babbie & Mouton, 2001: 272).

*Work*

Employment, job, occupation, work - these terms appear to all relate to the same concept: the act of performing a task or set of tasks for monetary compensation in the form of wages or a salary. However, each of these terms can be conceptualised in different ways and in various contexts. For the purpose of this study, the term 'work' will be used as it appears to be well suited to the activity beneficiaries perform in their daily lives. In order to determine what role work may play in a previously homeless person's life, we first need to define work in this particular context. Work therefore refers to the gardening work carried out by Streetscapes' beneficiaries with compensation in the form of a monthly stipend. Its particular meaning will be derived from the participants' own narratives.

*Citizenship*

Citizenship in itself can be described in various ways. It is therefore imperative that citizenship is explicitly defined within this specific context. Its definition begins with the work of Thomas Marshall. Even though Marshall's book was released in the twentieth century, his notion of citizenship is still very much relevant today. He defined it as a status in which grants one membership of a particular community, where "all who possess the status are equal with respect to the rights and duties with which the status is endowed" (Marshall, 1950: 28–29). A more modern notion of citizenship can be seen in the work by Ruth Lister: "to be a citizen, in the legal and sociological sense, means to enjoy the rights of citizenship necessary for agency and social and political participation" (Lister, 1997: 41). The homeless is do not possess this particular status. Additionally, the definition put forth by Lister emphasises the aspect of agency and participation (what is also referred to as belonging in this paper). What this research study therefore focuses on is the inherent belongingness and agency that comes with citizenship. The key argument I make is that work is a crucial factor in attaining this status of citizenship, where the homeless and even the unemployed are not allowed this status.

*Subjective wellbeing*

The concept of wellbeing is one that has been much debated with regards to its particular definition and meaning. In some cases, it has also been used in conjunction with the term 'quality of life', however that may indeed just be one dimension of wellbeing (Dodge et al., 2012: 224). For this study, the definition proposed by Dodge et al. will be used. They define it as "the balance point "between an individual's resource pool and the challenges faced" (Dodge et al., 2012: 230). In this conceptualisation of wellbeing, it is seen as a scale with

resources on one end and challenges on the other. Both include psychological, social and physical components. Achieving a 'stable' form of wellbeing can thus be achieved when one's resources are able to meet a particular challenge. The term 'subjective' relates to the notion of life satisfaction which is further conceptualised in the *'Theoretical Framework'* section. Subjective also refers to the personal nature of each participants' perceived wellbeing.

# Chapter 2: Research Questions

The overarching research question in this study is:

- What role does work play with regards to 'belonging' in society and achieving a positive sense of subjective wellbeing for those who were previously homeless?

This research was consequently guided by five key sub-questions, namely:

- What does work mean to those who were previously homeless?
- What are their lived experiences of this transition from being homeless to now having access to a job and formal housing?
- What are their perceived benefits of having access to regular paid work?
- What is the importance of work in the context of being a part of society, i.e. in becoming a certain type of citizen or 'belonging'?
- In what ways has work affected their sense of subjective wellbeing?

An emphasis was placed on each individual's subjective experiences of what work means to someone that was homeless or 'on the street'. This was followed by how their experience of being homeless has shifted since their exposure to the Streetscapes programme, along with what impact that has had, and will have, on their lives. The impact it will have is not by any means a prediction by myself. Instead it comprises of a personal narrative of what the future may hold for each participant.

The aforementioned research questions are linked to key themes such as:

- Social exclusion
- Citizenship and belonging
- Identity and subjective wellbeing

It is noted that a multitude of themes can be attributed to this research endeavour. Specifically, aspects such as mental health, substance abuse and the broader economic landscape and labour market are all factors that could have been investigated within this study. However, due to the time constraints placed within this Honours programme, the scope of the study has been limited to looking at the meaning of work and its linkages to the aspect of belonging, social exclusion, citizenship and subjective wellbeing.

# Chapter 3: Literature Review

This literature review comprises of an overview of academic work that pertains to themes regarding work, housing, social integration and citizenship. It specifically focuses on these themes in the context of homelessness. It begins with a global overview on the aspect of homelessness. This is followed by looking at literature that relates to both work and homelessness. Three short case studies provide key examples of how certain programmes have engaged with the homeless – specifically with regards to aspects such as housing and employment opportunities. These programmes all originate from the US, however, and as such may not be entirely applicable to a South African context. The final section of this chapter concludes with an introduction to the Streetscapes programme that is subsequently the locale in which this research has taken place.

Studies regarding homelessness within South Africa are limited. This study therefore aimed to fill a particular gap within existing literature. The majority of literature regarding homelessness in South Africa stems from the HSRC four-year study of street homelessness in South Africa, conducted from 2005-2008. Recent studies have focused on the causes (Makiwane, Tamasane & Schneider, 2010; Schenck et al., 2017), demographics (Kok, Cross & Roux, 2010), health (Seager & Tamasane, 2010) and historical context (Morrow, 2010) of the homeless in South Africa. However, there is a lack of literature in South Africa specifically focusing on the role of work in the lives of homeless individuals. Literature mainly originating from outside of South Africa have therefore been looked at to determine the extent to which this focus on work has been investigated with specific regard to the homeless.

## *Conceptual challenges and debates on homelessness*

Due to the nature of the homeless population one can understand the difficulties when conducting research in this regard, where these individuals tend to live rather secluded lives and as such, may have influenced a lack of research within the field. However, this seclusion may not always be possible and as such due to their lack of a permanent and private residence, they become visible (and thus marginalised) in the public eye. This marginality in turn, proves a challenge for scholars as they attempt to study this "fluid, stigmatized, and sometimes inaccessible group" (Lee, Tyler & Wright, 2010: 502). However, this has not stopped a considerable body of literature to emerge on the homelessness.

The majority of literature appears to be focused more predominantly in certain locations such as in the USA and UK. This may perhaps be due to the occurrence of homelessness shifting from a 'Third World problem' to one that has become quite prevalent in the 'First World'. An example of this shift can be found in the US where an area known as 'Skid Row' has become (in)famous for containing one of the largest concentrations of homeless people in the world. This shift to the First World has therefore resulted in a larger influx of homeless literature than ever before. However, Toro (2007) notes that this influx of literature is largely placed within developed nations due to the lack of literature within developing nations that does not seem to "focuses explicitly on homelessness, as distinct from the broader topics of poverty, hunger, ethnic conflict, and related problems" (p. 469).

Some studies have also explicitly focused on the 'stigmatised homeless'. One such study was conducted by Phelan et al. (1997) in which they directly compared attitudes toward the homeless and the poor as well as the effects of being labelled homeless or mentally ill. Interestingly, the key findings in this study indicate that the there is no discernible difference between the homeless and the poor with regards to experiencing stigma within society, whereas the stigma that comes with being labelled mentally ill seems to exist independently with that of being labelled homeless. The link between mental health and homelessness is important due to the large prevalence of homeless individuals who are also either mentally ill or substance abusers, or both (Seager & Tamasane, 2010; Seager, 2011; McVicar, Moschion & van Ours, 2015). Another key finding is that the experience of stigma for the homeless does not only affect their self-esteem or psychological well-being. What also appears to be the case is "the possibility that they will face discrimination in social relations, employment, and housing, which will contribute to the perpetuation of their homeless condition" (Phelan et al., 1997: 335). It is important to note that this study was conducted during a time in which the notion of the "new homeless" was still an emerging concept.

Another study, one that was conducted more recently, was conducted by Belcher and DeForge (2012) in which they focused on the stigmatization of homelessness and its links to the capitalist system we experience today. In both studies, it is made clear that society places homelessness firmly within the individual, where they are generally blamed for the particular predicament they find themselves in. The paper by Belcher and DeForge furthers this point in which the homeless also face stigmatisation for being 'useless' and 'non-functional' members of society as they "do not actively work and support the support the system" (Belcher & DeForge, 2012: 934).

The linkage to work in a broader societal context is imperative with regards to the scope of this study. Stigma thus forms part of this study's discussion on citizenship and belonging in the following chapter as it also appeared to emerge within the interview process and will thus be highlighted in the *'Discussion'* chapter.

## *Work and homelessness*

Work has always been central in modern society. It exists in many forms, be it: formal or informal, paid or unpaid, productive or reproductive. What is clear today is that there exists a clear distinction between those who perform certain forms of work and those who do not, where the latter is generally positioned on the peripheries of the economy and society itself. The type of work one performs generally locates an individual on a particular spectrum within society - from being an 'active agent' within the economy and being included in 'mainstream society' to being on the borders of these very spheres.

Those who are unemployed tend to exist along these borders, where the unemployed in itself has become a distinct social category that comprises of a particular identity (Standing, 2009: 115). Those who are homeless experience further marginalisation within this context, where they may indeed fit into what Guy Standing terms the "detached" or the *lumpenproletariat*. Here he refers to those at the bottom of society, a growing category of people whom are "cut off from mainstream state benefits, lingering in chronic poverty, anomic and, more by their presence than by their actions, threatening those above them in the income spectrum" (ibid.). Standing then goes on to state that "they linger in the streets, in bus and train stations in city parks… they make those above them in the social order feel uncomfortable or smug, depending on where they fit" (ibid.). Although the term homeless is not explicitly used in this description, it is quite apparent that he is referring to the homeless who indeed fits into this category as those situated on the extreme peripheries of society.

The study by Hartwell (1999) can be looked as an example of what the meaning of work may look like within this particular context. In this research, 31 homeless men were interviewed with the aim of exploring the working lives of these men, whom are consequently termed "street addicts" as each of them are subject to drug or alcohol abuse. The key findings show that they "believe that holding a job is normative, important for their well-being and self-esteem, and a good way to structure their time" (Hartwell, 1999: 14). What also appeared to be the case is that substance abuse became the main barrier in finding and maintaining formal employment. Although this study is rather dated, its particular sample, i.e. "street addicts",

very much relate to the nature of almost all of the beneficiaries within Streetscapes, where the participants in this study have or is currently in the process of overcoming substance abuse.

The work Streetscapes beneficiaries perform mainly includes tending to the garden and cleaning the streets. More specific details of the programme can be found in a following section titled '*Brief overview of the Streetscapes programme'*. The type of work performed here cannot be compared to that of the formal employment performed by those participants in the Hartwell study. It is not conducted within a business setting. For example, Streetscapes' beneficiaries are not under risk of losing their jobs due to any disruptions in the labour market for instance. There are also no real pressures to perform better at one's job nor is there any competition amongst beneficiaries. The parallels to formal work, however, are: a set time for work (one session in the morning and another in the afternoon), a regular monthly pay cheque based on one's working hours, a uniform provided by Streetscapes and the administrative process of signing it an out of work. These aspects have been determined by my observations when conducting the fieldwork for this study. Indeed, while Streetscapes does not offer a business setting and thus not formal employment per se, the work it provides does in fact offer some aspects of formal employment. The term work and not employment is therefore used throughout this paper signifying this difference between the two concepts.

## *Initiatives for the homeless*

There has been promising research looking at various initiatives regarding the homeless populous. One of these initiatives is the "Housing First" model which was established to provide housing and mental health treatment to those considered chronic or 'true' homeless (Tsemberis, Gulcur & Nakae, 2004). Its belief is that these homeless individuals (termed consumers) have a basic right to housing, along with a foundation of psychiatric rehabilitation and freedom of choice. This model therefore highlights one's personal autonomy, and this is especially crucial for those homeless individuals attempting to gain access to housing initiatives. However, most housing initiatives have strict requirements and rules regarding the conditions of entry and being able to stay in a particular programme. The basic overall requirement for individuals seems to be "house readiness", which may include complete abstinence from all substances, as well as adhering to a particular psychiatric treatment plan. As Tsemberis, Gulcur and Nakae (2004: 651) state, "program requirements are incompatible with consumers' priorities and restrict the access of consumers who are unable or unwilling to comply with program terms". As such, most of these programmes are essentially limiting or governing the personal autonomy of those homeless individuals

seeking to enter these programmes. This lack of freedom may thus discourage those who are homeless to enter these programmes, as their homelessness grants them complete freedom on the streets.

*A look at two employment programmes originating from the US*

The aforementioned Housing First programme is one that predominantly focuses on the provision of housing; however, this research is more interested in the role of work which, in my opinion, should precede or work in conjunction with the entry into a housing programme. Two programmes, originating from the United States, are key examples of programmes that recognise how central work is to exiting homeless.

The study by Shaheen and Rio (2007) highlights the ways in which two distinct initiatives engage and support homeless individuals through work, where work plays a particular role within each of these initiatives. The first, titled by the authors as "A Portal to Employment", is a partnership between a career centre (WorkSource Center) and a prominent homeless shelter in Los Angeles, where the aim of this initiative is to reduce the prevalence of homelessness by means of employment and housing (Shaheen & Rio, 2007: 354). This partnership stems from the results of a focus group made up of those whom resided within the shelter, where employment services provided by the WorkSource Center were deemed 'hostile'. This narrative is similarly displayed in the study by Cross et al. (2010) in which the homeless are perceived to be "resistant" to the various services being offered to them. Another result of this focus group was the inability to access core services such as applying for a job due to a lack of computer skills amongst those residing within the shelter. The response thus came in the form of computer skills classes in which to assist and facilitate the process of those individuals' attempts at finding employment.

The second initiative, "A Journey Home", refers to an initiative known as the Threshold Project which operates at a smaller scale to the aforementioned programme, and is thus more similar to Streetscapes in this regard. It was established in the city of Indianapolis with the same objective of reducing the prevalence of homelessness by means of employment and housing. Its focus is slightly more concentrated on serving those with mental health or substance use issues, offering them a permanent residence and facilitating their entry into employment (Shaheen & Rio, 2007: 355). Another strength of this programme is its provision of customised employment services which can help those homeless individuals find a job

tailored to their particular interests and skills. Employers are also included in this training as they are taught how to engage with those who seek employment.

## *Overview of the Streetscapes programme*

The Streetscapes project was started in 2015 and it has since gone to establish a number of work sites throughout the Cape Town CBD, as well as in the Northern and Southern Suburbs. It forms part of a larger international organisation known as Khulisa Social Solutions which has a number of programmes operating within South Africa and abroad. The core Streetscapes sites come in the form of vegetable gardens in which its beneficiaries are trained to maintain these gardens, where the produce gets sold and profits go back into the programme in the form of stipends. The programme also provides cleaning services in the CBD and Observatory.

The overall aim of the project is to offer those homeless individuals (referred to as clients) who were caught up in the criminal justice system or that is dealing with any chronic and progressive drug or alcohol addiction a second chance. Specifically, it is people who find themselves living on the streets with substance abuse issues and concurrent mental health problems. They become a burden on the health and criminal justice systems as well as a leading cause of public complaints. The programme's approach incorporates a combination of subsidised work accompanied by strategic psychosocial support. The work they provide therefore act as "opportunities that are rehabilitative and reintegrative", where "it provides this vulnerable population with a real opportunity to rebuild their lives which reducing crime and grime in the inner city" (Khulisa Social Solutions, n.d.). Social integration thus becomes one of the primary objectives within this programme, along with reducing the prevalence of homelessness within the city while allowing those who are substance abusers to once again become sober or 'clean'. As such, it has partnered with various stakeholders within the city, most importantly local business whom have previously dissented to the presence and visibility of homelessness within their surroundings.

Fundamentally, the main goal of Streetscapes can be observed in what one can consider to be their mission statement:

> "We believe in the 'bottom up' approach, where we support the most vulnerable to regain their dignity and feel that they belong to a caring community. We help people to rebuild a sense of self" ("StreetUni Cape Town", n.d.).

The discourse that the programme engaged in, especially the use of terms such as community, dignity and sense of self appears to manifest within the participants' own narratives in this study. Indeed, it appears that this combined approach has allowed its beneficiaries to frame themselves within these particular concepts.

Streetscapes has also been the focus of previous academic research conducted by students from the University of Cape Town (UCT) - most notably in the form of Master's theses by Ebrahim (2017) and Fromke (2018). The dissertation conducted by Ebrahim (2017) serves as a reflective paper in which a journalistic standpoint is taken in detailing the lived experiences of homeless individuals in the city of Cape Town. This research highlighted the (in)significance of the perception that homeless people are lazy or passive and merely depend on state welfare, and therefore do not or will not seek any form of employment. Yet, the homeless individuals in this study displayed markedly different attitudes, where they were highly motivated to seek and gain access to formal employment. Work itself was also not merely seen as a means of income, but instead it was perceived as a means of providing them with "self-worth, dignity and a source of hope" (Ebrahim, 2017). Fromke (2018) makes use of photovoice methodology in order to portray the lived experiences of homeless individuals in Cape Town. By using the photovoice method, this study enabled its participants to achieve a level of critical consciousness that enabled them to obtain a form of empowerment, thus making them aware of various social networks that exist within their social environment (Fromke, 2018). These dissertations have provided a much-needed spotlight into the lived experiences of homeless individuals. Nevertheless, work, more specifically the role it plays for those beneficiaries, are not investigated within these studies.

The central themes throughout this literature review is concerned with notions of agency, autonomy and individual rights. An emphasis is also placed on the marginalisation of the homeless. These concepts are all crucial with regards to the central argument of this study – that is work which may allow one to experience a certain form of citizenship, identity and subjective wellbeing. Work therefore becomes a key difference between a homeless person living on the streets without a job or any experience of agency, autonomy, rights and a person who has since obtained a secure paid job and formal residence. The following section comprises of a theoretical outline that links to the themes highlighted throughout the literature review.

# Chapter 4: Theoretical Framework

This section will comprise of a breakdown of the various concepts used throughout this study. This study was informed by theoretical frameworks concerning the notion of citizenship, social exclusion, identity and subjective wellbeing.

The work by Marshall (1950) can be seen as the most prominent when concerning citizenship theory. It therefore formed the basis for this study's notion of citizenship, along with academic works by Tronto (1994) and Whiteford (2010). However, it is noted that these works may indeed offer a very Eurocentric view on what constitutes citizenship. It was therefore imperative that this study was conducted in a way that does not impose Eurocentric views within a South African context. As such, localised conceptions of citizenship were also focused on, specifically  the work of Miraftab and Wills (2005) and Nattrass and Seekings (1997) offer crucial insights into South African notions of citizenship.

With regards to social exclusion, the work of Pleace (1998) formed the foundation for conceptualising social exclusion within this study.

The aspect of identity forms the last section of this framework. Specifically, the aspect of one's self-image and subjective wellbeing will be focused on. As such, the core work of this framework is that of Maslow's (1954) hierarchy of needs. However, a more modern approach has also been taken with regards to this concept and as such the work of Seager (2011) has proven to be imperative in creating the foundation for this section.

## *Citizenship theory*

Marshall (1950) divided citizenship into three domains, namely: civil, political and social. Civil citizenship is concerned with the legal rights of individuals, such as freedom of speech and the right to own property. Political citizenship is concerned with the right to participate in the exercise of political power and therefore includes the right to vote or become a member of a political group. Social citizenship is concerned with the aspect of economic welfare and security and is therefore instituted by the educational system and social services. It is this social domain of citizenship that this research primarily focuses its discussion on citizenship within this study. Marshall (1950: 9) states that citizenship has in fact become a form of "legitimate social inequality" and this is shown in an example regarding housing – a relevant topic with regards to this study. As stated above, the right to own property is a civil right and thus forms part of the civil domain of citizenship. However, there is another side to this right which intrudes on one's rights of citizenship. One's right to housing is infringed upon when

referring to the rights of a certain kind of citizen. In this case the 'middle-class man' is able to exercise this right, but what about the homeless man? The key difference in this basic example is that the 'middle-class man' has access to regular, paid and secure work while the homeless man does not.

## *The responsible citizen*

The work by Whiteford (2010) was another key factor in this discussion on citizenship, specifically regarding twenty-first century understandings of citizenship with reference to the homeless. Whiteford focuses this discussion on what he calls "responsibilisation" which relates to how the problem of homelessness has been reduced to individual responsibility and social obligation, as well as how certain actors within the community have sought to politicise the voluntary sector in which the homeless are also situated. This narrative has been reproduced in other academic work, where the notion of a "responsibilised citizen" has also been criticised as having a particularly neo-liberal agenda (Kistner, 2009). Through his findings, Whiteford discovers that "homeless people encode citizenship with cultural meanings, which reflect both common and discrete experiences of social exclusion", in which case the notion of "responsible citizenship" comprises of a moral assessment (Whiteford, 2010: 202).

The paper by Colvin, Robins and Leavens (2010) looks at this notion of a responsibilised citizen with reference to those living with HIV/AIDS in South Africa. This 'responsibilised citizen' infers that "both 'caring for the self' and/as 'caring for the social', whether through forms of political activism, community engagement or simply through contributing to their local cycle of social reproduction" (Colvin, Robins & Leavens, 2010: 1180).

These academic works both link to Tronto's (1994) book on the moral boundaries of politicising an ethic of care, in which care-receivers or the "needy" are viewed as helpless, therefore decreasing one's sense of autonomy, and consequently lessening their standing within the broader society. Even though the example of disabled people is used in this case, it can very well be extended to the homeless, where being in need of care (and thus being vulnerable) influences how fellow citizens view these social groups. Ultimately, they are not viewed as being equally deserving of dignity and respect, and this is in fact reflected in the key findings from the interviews. Another aspect to be considered was modern society's notion of the "work ethic" which situates employment as a "public good", therefore allowing one to experience citizenship by means of employment (Tronto, 1994: 165). This notion of a

'responsibilised citizen' was specifically chosen as it explicitly draws out the individuality of citizenship. The argument I put forward is that work alters the moral assessment that comes with a 'responsibilised citizen' in which having a job affords one a sense of dignity and respect. At the same time, it serves as recognition of belonging to a certain community while also referring to one's responsibility of helping others within this community.

## *An alternative citizenship: The working citizen*

The work by Miraftab and Wills (2005) looks at an alternative notion of citizenship with specific regard to how it is practiced and how it stretches beyond the formal notion of citizenship. The actors in this case are the marginalised poor within Cape Town, which more often than not are Black and Coloured individuals. The sample demographic and my own observations support this calm, where all those within the programme were either Black or Coloured. However, this by no means indicates that the homeless or marginalised poor is confined to these two racial groups.

This alternative citizenship is placed in the context of South Africa's liberal democracy in which many have critiqued its Western ideologies and therefore its relevance to people living in the global South, as noted by Miraftab and Wills (2005). They also note that any discussion on citizenship in post-apartheid South Africa usually centres around the aspects of housing and basic service delivery. The relevance and utility of their work with regards to this research is founded upon the recognition that we need to "move beyond a limited and liberal definition of citizenship to one of an inclusive citizenship" (Miraftab & Wills, 2005: 206). As such, we need to recognize that citizenship in itself is not one-dimensional, and that those people who are marginalised and excluded can assert citizenship rights in their own ways (ibid.). This research thus aimed to determine how the previously homeless have navigated this path to being more inclusive in this notion of citizenship. Pertaining to my above argument, work is therefore a major driving force in how once may assert particular citizenship rights.

Nattrass and Seekings (1997) notes that people have certain social rights, not simply as citizens, but specifically as citizens who are employed or have been employed in some capacity. These rights extend into one's economic wellbeing, in which it is not based solely on their status as legal citizens, but instead on their position in the labour market (Nattrass & Seekings, 1997: 468). This position in the labour market largely depends on the type of employment an individual is situated in, whether it be a skilled profession or part-time low

skilled wage job. The type of work these previously homeless individuals undertake is thus a key factor in terms of this positionality. In this regard, citizenship can rather be thought of as a practice than something that is given, in which certain individuals are excluded from being able to fully engage in this practice (Gaventa, 2002).

## *Social exclusion*

Pleace (1998) highlights the role of citizenship within the context of a liberal democratic state, which is evident in the case of South Africa. Individuals in this context are expected to participate in the free market and their citizenship is thus defined by their economic rights and activities as well as by their right to engage in state politics (for example, by means of voting) (Pleace, 1998: 48). It is the former that has become the basis for this study's discussion on social inclusivity, where homeless individuals may indeed have the right to engage in the economy, but essentially do not have the ability or means to successfully do so.

Another key point made is that the aspect of homelessness has largely been misconstrued as a 'social problem', therefore implying that it can be viewed in isolation. Homelessness should instead be understood as "a set of consequences that arise when social exclusion occurs in a context within which little or no assistance is given to those who experience it" (Pleace, 1998: 57). In this regard, homelessness is construed as a manifestation of social exclusion, in which those who experience it are positioned on the peripheries of the broader society, unable to engage in their right to partake in the economy.

Fundamentally, the question is what form of citizenship individuals can attain in performing paid work after previously existing outside this domain of social inclusivity and citizenship. The notion of a 'working citizen' is therefore proposed in possibly describing what the answer to that question may be. Hence, this study is focused on those who were situated outside of this realm, i.e. the previously homeless, whom were consequently unable to experience this notion of citizenship in today's society.

## *Identity and subjective wellbeing*

One last framework to consider is that of the self. Specifically, it is one's identity and feeling of belongingness is tied greatly to that of citizenship. This identity is shaped by one's subjective wellbeing. Work, I argue acts as a central feature to both the status of citizenship and achieving a positive sense of subjective wellbeing.

The idea of wellbeing is one that is not limited to a particular sphere of one's life. For instance, simply providing a homeless person with a house may not result in a positive wellbeing. If that individual does not have the freedom to pursue certain aspects of his or her life that are meaningful and valuable then the provision of a house has not successfully contributed to his or her subjective wellbeing. We therefore see that subjective wellbeing in particular is focused on happiness as the measure for wellbeing, including life satisfaction, the presence of positive emotions and the absence of negative emotions (Diener, 2009). Likewise, a person's agency also becomes important in defining wellbeing. For the homeless, this agency is limited by inequality and a lack of opportunity to participate in mainstream society (Thomas, Gray & McGinty, 2012: 783).

Life satisfaction can be linked to the fulfilment of human needs which is conceptualised in Maslow's (1954) hierarchy of needs. It comprises of a framework (Figure 1) which postulates that one's basic needs can be categorised into five distinct groups: physiological, safety and security, belongingness, esteem, and self-actualization. What he theorized was that these needs appeared to be chronological in nature, where one moves up the scale as the individual develops from birth to adulthood. Additionally, the needs at the bottom of this scale are seen as more influential than those at the top. The more these basic needs were satisfied, the better one's psychological health would be.



**Figure 1: Maslow's hierarchy of needs**

With regards to this study, two core basic needs of regular paid work and decent housing have been met and is assumed to be of the highest priority for those who are homeless. The subsequent levels of priority therefore appears to be achieving a sense of belonging and subjective wellbeing. A more contemporary version of this framework can be observed in the

work by Seager and Manning (2009, cited in Seager 2011). They have determined what may be considered the core structure for an individual's universal psychological needs (henceforth UPN). These are: to be loved, listened to, belong, achieve and have meaning and hope. This framework thus acts as a possible speculation as to what takes priority after achieving the bottom most needs being housing and regular paid work.

Concerning the work performed within Streetscapes, the structures that become most applicable are that of belonging, achieving and having meaning and hope. Indeed, when talking about one's inclusion in society, those whom are excluded are placed within an ''exclusion zone'' where "it is precisely those people who never experienced an inclusive family life to begin with who are most likely to end up becoming the most entrenched rough sleepers, living on the edge of society in what is in effect a self-imposed" (Seager, 2011: 184). The Streetscapes programme therefore offers not only the basic needs of the homeless. It also offers the consequent levels of needs which link to one's subjective wellbeing and feelings of belongingness.

# Chapter 5: Methodology

This study made use of qualitative research methods and this is specifically due to the nature of the enquiry. Although certain factors can be quantified in this context (such as correlations between age, gender, income levels, previous occupations, etc), that was not the aim of this endeavour. This section therefore comprises of an explanation of the various methods using within this research study. It contains sections on: research design, sample, data collection, data analysis and ethical considerations.

## *Research Design*

The design of this study is one that was phenomenological in nature, where the role of the researcher is to convey individuals' experiences into words in data collection, and then attempt to understand those experiences based on their statements or remarks (Sanjari et al., 2014). This is followed by recording the "essence" of these experiences in writing, with the aim being to comprehensively describe the phenomenon in question. Indeed, phenomenology acts as a lens in which it "examines taken-for-granted human situations as they are experienced in everyday life but which go typically unquestioned" (Finlay, 2013: 173). The objective was therefore to determine meaning in this concept we know as 'work' in the context of these previously homeless individuals. Seidman (1992) emphasises the aspect of context in researching specific topics or populations. He makes the example of studying homelessness in which "the meaning and the structure of homelessness are inseparable from the social locale of which it is a part" (Seidman, 1992: 70). The experiences of these individuals can thus be seen as heterogenous in nature, where one's experiences may differ with regards to a number of social factors such as race, gender, age, sexual orientation and so forth.

The specific type of qualitative research design was a case study in which those who previously homeless became the unit of investigation and analysis (Babbie & Mouton, 2001: 281). At its core, a case study can be defined as an empirical investigation of an existing phenomenon within its actual context, especially when the boundaries between this context and the phenomenon itself are not made clear (Yin, 1994: 13). According to Punch (2014a: 122), case studies are generally characterised by four key components, namely: a bounded system, a case of something, an attempt to preserve the wholeness and lastly the use of multiple sources of data and multiple data collection. A bounded system refers to the boundary that exists between the case and its specific context, where the researcher has to

clearly define and recognise these boundaries. A case of something refers to the focus of the research, where recognising what the "case is a case of" may indeed assist in determining the study's unit of analysis. Preserving the wholeness refers to a holistic approach in which all aspects of a case ought to be uncovered, while at the same time these aspects need to be relevant within its particular context. The use of specific research questions thus helped in this regard. Lastly, the use of multiple sources of data and multiple data collection refers to the focus of case studies as being conducted within a naturalistic setting.

The design of this research was consequently aligned with the aforementioned characteristics, thus making it, in essence, a case study. It is noted that case studies have largely been criticised for lacking rigour and being unable to provide a basis for generalization. However, these criticisms have simply been misguided, as established by Yin (1994). Its greatest 'asset' lies in its capability to be reformed and revised after the onset of the study, which allows a greater sense of flexibility in the research process.

## *Sample*

The sampling method used in this research was purposeful sampling in which the aim was to obtain a diverse group of individuals to make up the sample group for this study. The sample criteria were therefore based on factors such as age, race, gender and years within the programme. These factors thus formed the basis for determining how varied the sample needs to be. In total, three beneficiaries were selected to participate in this study. Through my observations, it was determined that more women were part of the programme compared to men. The sample therefore comprises of more women than men (see Figure 1). Those based in the external site became the subject of the interviews and consequently became the primary source of knowledge production within this study. This particular group was chosen due to their unique position of having previously been homeless to now having access to affordable housing along with the provision of food that is obtained through paid work provided by Streetscapes.

Specific demographic data was not collected from these participants as a rather small sample was used and the use of demographic data itself was not applicable to this study. However, it was possible to place them within specific demographic categories based on my participant observation and subsequent informal conversations. Figure 2 comprises of a brief demographic profile of the three participants. The racial category 'Coloured' refers to a

person of mixed European, African or Asian heritage, as officially defined by the South African government during the Apartheid era.

| | Sophia | Noah | Allison |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Age** | 55+ | 25-35 | 45-54 |
| **Gender** | Female | Male | Female |
| **Race** | Coloured | Coloured | Coloured |
| **Nationality** | South African | South African | South African |

**Figure 2: Demographic profile of participants**

As previously mentioned, the Honours programme has a rather limited timeframe to complete this research and as such the number of interviews was limited to three. Nevertheless, these three interviews provided sufficient data and hence no further interviews were conducted.

## *Data Collection*

The data collection process was required to follow the notion of naturalism where multiple forms of data collection came in the form of in-depth interviews and field notes from observations. In-depth interviews were the primary means of data collection for this study. However, before undertaking this task, I had multiple visits to each site with the aim of establishing some form of rapport with the beneficiaries and their working environment. This process formed part of the participant observation component of data collection, in which three Streetscapes garden sites in the Cape Town CBD were visited.

Participant observation is where the researcher is simultaneously a member and observer of the particular group that is to be studied (Babbie & Mouton, 2001: 293). This brings about a particular dilemma: whether to state that you are doing research or whether to perform 'covert research'. The latter is particularly seen as unethical in today's research practice. Hence, my purpose was clearly stated to all those whom I interacted with. Participant observation is also a core function of ethnographies where the intent is to go 'native' (Punch, 2014a: 183). However, that was not the intent of this study. Instead, participant observation was mainly used as a means to analyse the working environment of the Streetscapes beneficiaries. It therefore involved engaging with the beneficiaries as well as participating in some of their daily activities. An additional observation took place at an external site based in the Northern Suburbs where the same process was followed with the beneficiaries in order to build rapport before initiating the in-depth interviews.

The result of these observations came in the form of brief field notes highlighting certain aspects: either that of an individual or group of individuals, or the general (social) environment within these sites. Field notes act as a means to record the researcher's thoughts during the observation process. It may include ideas regarding the fieldwork itself, ideas about later processes such as the interview schedule or the dynamics of social relations within a particular social group (Arthur et al., 2014: 171). These field notes have consequently acted as a means to reinforce the data collected in the in-depth interviews and to further strengthen the reliability of this data.

Interviews within qualitative research are often described as a 'conversation with a purpose'. At its core, "it produces a fundamental process through which knowledge about the social world is constructed in normal human interaction" (Legard, Keegan & Ward, 2003: 138). The incentive for using interviews in the research process is its flexible and interactive nature. Additionally, interviews are able to achieve depth and generate rich forms of data (Yeo et al., 2014). A pilot was not utilised within this study. Its importance is noted, especially with regards to the planning and structuring of one's research (Sampson, 2004). However, a pilot was not deemed necessary due to having established a good rapport with my participants before performing the interviews.

The interviews were conducted in English and even though this didn't appear to be the first language for the participants, all participants had a sufficient understanding of the language for these interviews to be conducted in English. The interviews ranged from about 40 to 60 minutes long and were of a semi-structured nature. This allowed for a conversational manner of interview, but one that did not detract from the focus of the research (Punch, 2014b). The interviews were conducted with reference to a predetermined topic guide in which to focus the discussions on (see Appendix A). However, this guide was by no means fixed and only existed as a frame of reference in so as to not limit the depth of the interviews. This is evident in the data analysis section, in which certain topics arose without the use of this topic guide. All interviews were conducted in one location: an informal office and storage room that is secluded from the house itself. This offered a quiet and private environment to conduct the interviews and all participants agreed to being interviewed in this location.

## *Data Analysis*

Once all the relevant data was collected, the process of transcribing and analysing this data began. The audio recorded interview transcripts were first transcribed by using an encrypted

(and thus secure and private) online audio-to-text converter to save time on this initial stage of the transcription process. This process was then followed by going through the transcript and fixing any errors within the transcript while concurrently listening to the audio recording. After transcribing the interviews, each transcript was read through briefly in order to establish broad themes throughout the texts. Upon completion of this task, eight major themes were established within and between each participant's transcripts. Each transcript was then read through more thoroughly, this time with the aim of capturing each participant's particular narrative. An outline of these themes can be found in the *'Results'* section below and in Appendices C and D.

In order to do analyse these themes, a computer software called NVivo was used, which is widely utilised amongst qualitative researchers in transcribing and coding one's interviews. The systemic way in which one can organise and rearrange within the coding process is why NVivo was chosen for this task. However, it is noted that there are particular concerns in using computer software to analyse one's data. Some scholars feel that using computer software may alienate the researcher from their data by creating an apparent distance between them and their participants (Flick, 2013). However, this concern was stated during early versions of this software. Updated versions allow the researcher to code and analyse segments of a transcript whilst keeping it within the specific context in which it was extracted from. This somewhat mitigates the apparent alienation that may occur in coding with computer software.

The type of analysis performed was that of a combined approach, i.e. both thematic analysis and narrative analysis was used. This combined approach is not new as studies such as the one by Shukla, Wilson and Boddy (2014) shows the applicability and practicality in using a combined approach. What is quite apparent in this combined method of analysis is that "thematic analysis draws on individual cases primarily to represent themes across the sample, while our narrative analysis presents individual cases to understand their particularities" (Shukla, Wilson & Boddy, 2014: 12). As such, thematic analysis was used when coding the first-level themes across each participant, while narrative analysis was used to focus more deeply on what each particular participant said in their interviews.

The rationale for choosing thematic analysis is based on its function as it "provides a useful starting point in developing a report of findings from a study" (Bazeley, 2013: 191). This initial step therefore served as a platform on which to develop a deeper form of analysis and

thus establish meaningful links across the data. This step in itself is, I believe, not sufficient to conduct a comprehensive analysis of one's research findings. This point is substantiated by Bazeley (2013) in which "effective analysis requires using data to build a comprehensive, contextualised, and integrated understanding or theoretical model of what has been found, with an argument drawn from across the data that establishes the conclusions drawn" (p. 191). As such. this form thematic analysis has been complemented by the use of narrative analysis to strengthen the conclusions drawn from the research findings.

The rationale for choosing narrative analysis is therefore based on its inherent foundation, that is, focusing on the narratives people produce. Indeed, it is via narrative that "we not only shape the world and ourselves but they are shaped for us through narrative" (Murray, 2003: 95)**.** Researchers look for themes via a comprehensive analysis of each participant's personal experiences. Murray (2003) highlights three broad approaches to narrative data analysis used within qualitative research, where each focuses on different aspects of narrative structure. These focuses are: linguistic and literary, grounded and social context. For the purposes of this study, social context is most applicable. Social context and narrative analysis is based on focusing participants' narratives within the broader interpersonal and social context (Murray, 2003: 107). This is strongly linked to this study's particular focus on situating the meaning of work for previously homeless individuals with regards to the broader society and the notion of citizenship. In transcribing the interviews, the researcher therefore has to look for as much detail as possible in terms of what the participant is saying, especially when there is particular emphasis on certain topics. These topics may thus be linked to existing narratives within the interpersonal and broader societal domain. It will also be important to compare these individuals' own perceptions and experiences of work and citizenship to how the Streetscapes itself perceives these aspects.

## *Ethical considerations*

Ethics is a crucial factor when conducting research. It is especially crucial when the research involves people – as is the case for this research. As such, due to the nature of this research inquiry, as well as the nature of the participants in question, there are certain ethical concerns that had to be addressed.

First, it has been made clear that a number of Streetscape's beneficiaries are previous or current substance abusers, in addition to some also experiencing mental health issues. Streetscapes also has a number of social workers at their disposal and as such, any important

information that had to be known was made clear to me before engaging in fieldwork. If assistance was needed, it was assured that they would be available along with various supervisors posted at each site. This was certainly the case, especially throughout the participant observation component of this study. With regards to the interview process, it was recognised that even though this study was not entirely focused on a participants' past experiences of being homeless, any relating questions might have proven to be sensitive. Therefore, if any participant felt distressed in any way the interview would be stopped, where the specific topic in question was avoided if the interview were to proceed further. The recorded interview transcripts were immediately stored onto my personal USB flash drive while also being stored on a fully encrypted cloud drive. Hence, these recordings did not come into connect with any other individual other than myself.

Orb, Eisenhauer and Wynaden (2001) highlight three fundamental principles of ethical research, namely: autonomy, beneficence and justice. The aspect of autonomy is represented by informed consent which allows participants to recognise their voluntary nature in participating in this research, as well as their right to anonymity and to leave if desired. The use of pseudonyms as mentioned above, aided in this aspect as it firmly conceals all participants' identities. Beneficence is described as "doing good for others and preventing harm" (Orb, Eisenhauer & Wynaden, 2001: 95), which largely refers to how a researcher's collected data and selection criteria has ethical implications. For this research, the inclusion criteria excluded those who were still abusing substances or had mental health issues. Protecting participants' identity was also seen as a moral obligation and as such, this obligation was taken very seriously. Any information that could potentially link to a participant's identity was not disclosed in any fashion within the final write up of this research paper. The principle of justice is founded upon equality and fairness, where the exploitation and abuse of participants are condemned. The recognition of vulnerable groups (such as in this study) is therefore imperative (Orb, Eisenhauer & Wynaden, 2001: 96).

The sample which was chosen for the in-depth interviews were selected with the help of Jesse Laitinen (Manager of Strategic Partnerships at Khulisa) in order to maintain any safety concerns on my behalf. It is noted that obtaining this help does pose a risk of skewing the results of this study. It also questions the level of agency which the participants had in being part of this study. However, the proposed sample of participants were asked directly by myself whether they want to take part in this research. All participants therefore become part of this research through their own volition. The names given to these participants are

pseudonyms so as to protect their identity and comply with the agreement of confidentiality in participating within this study. A consent form (see Appendix B) was given to each participant which conveyed the objective of this research, the anonymity of participating in this research, as well as the voluntarily nature of being a participant in this study – all factors that make up the core foundations of consent in research. These forms were read, understood and signed by each participant before the interview process could take place. As this research involved a group that is considered uneducated and vulnerable, and thus potentially unable or unwilling to agree to consent, the most appropriate means was used in obtaining informed consent from the participants in this study. This therefore included going through the consent form section by section, and then consequently obtaining this consent verbally in which the participant understood all aspects of giving informed consent.

The process of gaining ethical clearance for this research involved submitting an ethics form to UCT in which I agreed to certain conditions such as the aforementioned confidentially and no risk of harm. I only began my fieldwork once I was granted ethical approval.

# Chapter 6: Results

This chapter aims to provide an outline of the key findings within this research study. It comprises of a section on the thematic themes and another section comprising of the narrative themes found within the data. A more thorough and in-depth analysis of these findings will follow in the next chapter.

## *Thematic themes*

As noted above, the method of analysis in this segment of the coding process comprised of thematic analysis. These themes correlate with the type of questions asked within the interview guide (see Appendix A) and make up the first-level coding process as described by Miles and Huberman (1994). Eight themes were established which are: citizenship, definition of homelessness, lived experiences, perceived benefits of work, plans for the future, self-image, society, support. The themes 'lived experiences' and 'support' also contain sub-themes, which include 'before', 'during' and 'after homeless' for lived experiences and 'other programmes' and 'Streetscapes' for support.

*Citizenship* regards a participant's personal definition or meaning of being a citizen, for example:

> "Citizen for me is like, also being part of the community being how can I say for me is like being homeless, it was like I wasn't part of the community people look down on you" (**Allison, 22/08/2019**)

*Definition of homelessness* refers to a participant's own personal view or definition of being homeless. *Lived experiences* refers to a participant's experiences at different stages of their journey, hence it contains the sub-themes of '*before'*, '*during'* and '*after'* in which '*after'* begins with the entry into the house of the Streetscapes programme. *Perceived benefits of work* regard things or actions that are now accessible or doable due to being part of this programme and being able to work for a monthly wage. For example:

> "I was clean I wasn't using and everything in my life was going good man. I bought me a phone I bought me clothes I found me a place to rent in town and everything and I was doing really good" (**Noah, 12/07/2019**)

*Plans for the future* regards a participant's own perception of what he or she wants to do in terms of future employment or exiting the programme.

*Self-image* regards a participant's personal factors or perceptions throughout their journey, for example statements such as:

> "That's how people started giving me trust like that (EMPHASIS). And I thought to myself, wow, look at to what point I have taken myself. I can take myself to even higher than this" (Noah, 12/07/2019)

*Society* regards the participant's perception of how others (specifically the general public) view them and also their own personal view with regards their role to others and within their own community or a community in general. For example:

> "I want my dignity back in which way uhm where people can look up to me you know and say okay I will also give back to society" (**Sophia, 11/07/2019**)

*Support* regards a participant's experiences of working for or gaining support from programmes or people. A distinction is made between Streetscapes and any other organisations or people; hence it contains these two sub-themes. With regards to Streetscapes, it focuses on a participant's experiences from the entry into the programme as well as his or her perceptions of the programme as a whole. A summary of these themes can be found in Appendix C.

## *Narrative themes*

Upon further analysis, a deeper level of coding was established based purely on the participants narratives. Hence, the use of narrative analysis was at the core of this process. It is this deeper analysis that has allowed for determining the meaning attached to work and other aspects of a participant's life, while simultaneously looking at the linkages between these narratives. Based on these findings, it is clear that some of these narratives mirror certain aspects of this study's theoretical framework – most notably regarding the aspects of social exclusion (or inclusion) and that of belonging and having meaning and hope. The following chapter provides an in-depth discussion and analysis regarding the aforementioned themes. It attempts to link these themes to the relevant literature and theoretical frameworks of this study.

# Chapter 7: Discussion

This chapter seeks to provide a coherent analysis of the findings within the research process. Specifically, it aims to link these findings to the body of literature this study has engaged with. Linkages to the theoretical framework is therefore of particular importance in conducting this analysis. A number of themes (see Appendix D) have been established as the foundation for this analysis and consequently of the study in itself. Hence, this analysis is evident of the attempt to determine the role work plays in the life of individuals who were previously homeless.

## *Participants' definition of homelessness*

Before discussing and analysing the major themes found throughout the participants' interviews, their own perceptions of what homeless constitutes first need to be explored. The following definitions of homelessness can be observed by all three participants:

"I did not have any dignity" (Sophia, 11/07/2019)

"…you don't have access to a lot of things that a person that lives in a home will have access to" (Noah, 12/07/2019)

"…the thing is that being homeless, for me is like, you can't find a job can't find, you can get money, food, anything like clothing, you have to beg for things and stuff like that" (Allison, 22/08/2019)

Based on these extracts, one could define a homeless person as: an individual that lacks access to basic needs (such as a permanent residence, regular income, food and clothes) and as a result, eventually loses his or her dignity and sense of belonging within society. However, there appears to be many facets to what constitutes homelessness and as such the above definition only manifests as one that is placed within the context of the participants within this study. What appears to be the case is that notions of "dignity" and 'access" are ones which may allow one to experience what is considered a "normal life".

## *Looking back*

Looking back focuses on the lived experiences of the participants while they were homeless. It therefore manifests itself as an indicator of what a lack of work meant for these participants. All paritipcants make reference to a 'good home', where the onset of homelessness is not one that appears to be due to an unstable household or family life in their past. It seems that becoming homeless has disrupted their own family structures which in turn

produced feelings of guilt and despair which no doubt contributed to their sense of 'meaningless'.

The following extract highlights Noah's futile and pessimistic outlook one may have when homeless:

> "You don't think hey, you don't think about the future. you just (…) because you give up on yourself, you give up for yourself man, you know" (Noah, 12/07/2019)

This particular extract inherently links to the theme of *'A future'* as something that resembles hope. When comparing the participants' narratives, this extract indicates the complete lack thereof – an understandably dystopian view of the future. The link between this 'dystopia' and subsequent 'utopia' experienced in '*A future'* is therefore imperative. It also links to one of the core structures in UPN which is to have meaning and hope.

The rather precarious and unstable nature of being homeless becomes another aspect that is emphasised within the interviews. Noah for example, expresses how easy it is to lose key personal items such as one's identity document, driver's licence or wallet:

> "At the end of the day you don't work. Now these stuff are gone. You don't have money to fix it. You don't you don't have nothing" (Noah, 12/07/2019)

This instability is highlighted to foreshadow the resultant stability that is obtained once a participant began to work in the programme. Referring to Maslow's hierarchy, the need for safety is clearly not met in this regard. The absence of positive emotions also show that life satisfaction is quite evidently not achieved.

## *Personal choice*

Another important aspect to consider is the perceived agency the participants had throughout their journey. Here agency refers to the extent in which a participant has chosen his or her own path and to what extent work has shaped this path. All participants appear to have first discovered the Streetscapes programme via word of mouth as opposed to being approached directly by the programme. In some cases, they were also referred to by an organisation known as TB HIV Care which aided in providing methadone to those who wanted to become rid of their substance abuse. Upon discovered the existence programme, it seems that this provided an opportunity to exercise their own sense of agency, in which the decision to undertake this opportunity was purely based on their own volition.

It is noted, however, that the number of choices was rather limited for those seeking to obtain some form of work and/or regular income. The aforementioned TB HIV Care organisation offered menial jobs such as picking up used drug injection needles across the CBD. With regards to some form of accommodation, the only option seemed to be the Winter Readiness Programme which was established by City of Cape Town to "provide temporary mattress space during the winter period, between May and September" ("Winter Readiness Programme", n.d.). But this did not appear to be a favourable choice. Hence when being offered the opportunity to work in the programme with the chance to be formally housed, Noah did not hesitate to take this opportunity:

> "I thought to myself, this is my perfect opportunity to pick myself up from the street again because I'm (…) I was currently living on the street after I've relapsed. I lost my jobs, my rent, my place where I was renting, everything"
> (Noah, 12/07/2019)

The agency expressed here is indicative of a sense of self-actualization that is placed within Maslow's hierarchy. Perhaps for the first time in a long time they have questioned their own potential in becoming something more than just homeless. This self-actualization will be more thoroughly discussed in the section '*A future*'.

## *Stigma*

This theme focuses on the aspect of stigma, more specifically the general view of the public with regards to the homeless in general as well as to themselves. As expressed in an earlier chapter, society views the homeless as lazy, 'useless' and unwilling to change their lives. Interestingly, however, it appears that the 'label' of homeless was superseded by that of an 'addict'. The negative perception usually associated with the homeless is maintained however, and in this case the aspect of criminality is brought into question:

> "If you don't have a job, people won't see you as part of a citizen or it's like, maybe you were (…) you don't work (..) you like either you're robbing, you stealing or you like a criminal or something like that" (Allison, 22/08/2019)

A shift in these perceptions seems to have occurred after each participant entered the programme. Allison expresses this shift most prominently:

> "Being homeless, it was like I wasn't part of the community, people look down on you. And now being (…) working here, it's like people recognise you as being part of the community. So, me as this citizen here in this land, whatever it is I feel good about myself being a citizen" (Allison, 22/08/2019)

In this case, citizenship is regarded as being born within the country and this belief is evident within all three participants. Their basic understanding of citizenship therefore appears to be limited to the literal legal aspect of the term. However, the use of "community" indicates that there is a recognition of the need to belong within society. For Allison, the recognition of being a worker allows for this feeling belongingness to be achieved.

The aspect of one's appearance is also emphasised, where one may be homeless but not necessarily 'look the part'. Sophia expresses this from the view of others in which:

> "I tell them I live on the streets; they didn't want to believe me. Because I was never dirty you know, I was always decent, I looked decent. You know, I tried to keep myself decent" (Sophia, 11/07/2019)

Here the emphasis on one's appearance is firmly situated from the view of 'others' or more specifically the general public. It is perhaps a form of resistance to how society generally views the homeless as those considered to be 'dirty'.

## *The meaning of work*

Thus far the work has only been mentioned, but not explicitly analysed with regards to its inherent meaning within this context. One key finding is the clear distinction observed between a formal job and the work being performed within the programme:

> "My freedom that's what I mostly like, because there where I used to work it's like they owned me and here, it's not like that" (Allison, 22/08/2019)

The programme itself is cited as a way for the homeless "to get themselves back in the community" (Allison, 22/08/2019). The specific use of the term 'community' showcases the inclusive nature of work where not having this opportunity may place one as outside of this community. This falls under Marshall's definition of citizenship in which it is seen as a status that grants one membership of a particularly community.

In the previous theme on *'Looking back'*, the aspect of instability was mentioned. The relationship that has become apparent is one which places work at the centre of one's stability within their life. For Allison, this meant that:

> "it helps you stabilise yourself; it helps you recover; it helps you get back into community, it helps you get back with your family and that is it (…) helps you get respect from other people and stuff" (Allison, 22/08/2019)

What can be highlighted is the value attached to work in regard to the broader society in which work allows one to "becoming more part of society you are more valuable for people"

(Sophia, 11/07/2019). The emphasis on value largely ties in with Belcher and DeForge's (2012) paper which links the stigmatisation of those without work as lacking value in today's capitalist system. Sophia (unbeknownst to her) expresses this aspect, in which simply having a job firmly places some value on you as an individual a person that is actively contributing in some way to the 'system'.

## *Giving back*

All participants made it clear that they aimed to 'give back' to the community or to society. This aspect came about out of their own accord, as the topic guide did not make reference to this particular aspect. One example of how these participants and other beneficiaries living in the house have given back was observed when conducting field work. On this particular day they decided to hand out food to the local homeless population (observation, 04/07/2019). This action was undertaken without the influence of the programme itself and was completely done out of goodwill by the beneficiaries. The core idea behind this theme is that the participants now refer to themselves as being part of a community, where this was not the case while they were homeless. Both Noah and Sophia explicitly express this recognition of being part of a community. Their current situation of having a job and living in a house affords them a certain level of dignity and respect which was not afforded whilst homeless. This can therefore be linked to the aforementioned notion of a responsibilised citizen in which they both care for the self and care for the social.

## *The self*

The narratives observed within the interviews referred to various aspects of 'the self'. For the most part these narratives were articulated within a social context.

Noah for example, expresses:

> I feel that I'm not in any way a bad influence on any members of society. I feel that from old to young, they'll respect me if they should see that I'm working class (Noah, 12/07/2019)

As mentioned in the previous section, respect and dignity becomes key components in how participants express their identity. These in turn link to one's subjective wellbeing. As stated above, subjective wellbeing refers to life satisfaction, the presence of positive emotions and the absence of negative emotions.

The presence of positive emotions is one aspect that is quite apparent within each participant's narrative. For the most part this has to do with their substance abuse in which

participants recognise and accept that it is and was an issue in their lives. Furthermore, positive emotions are expressed at how each participant has changed since their entry into the programme. Sophia for instance, expresses that "I've got a job. I'm shy to ask people something" (Sophia, 11/07/2019) which relates to her having to previously beg for money. Similarly, Noah expresses the position emotion of being viewed differently in the public eye:

> "Because now it's as if they looking at you as this independent person working, having a smile on his face having to face everyday difficulties of life, you know what I'm saying?" (Noah, 12/07/2019)

Although the absence of negative emotions and subsequent existence of positive emotions is prevalent, complete life satisfaction is not as prevalent. This was notably observed during my fieldwork. For those beneficiaries who are still homeless, they generally expressed their desire to exit homelessness but found it to be a difficult task due to the amount they earn (observation, 21/06/2019). This expression related to life satisfaction was similarly expressed by the participant. It therefore ties in to the following action

## *A future*

The final theme concludes with each participant's new-found 'utopia' since entering the programme. As mentioned above, thinking about the future was not something that would have been feasible or likely to occur when homeless. However, at this point in their lives, each participant expressed a different outlook in how they perceived their own futures. Sophia for instance, would like to become a supervisor within the programme. Noah expresses his desire to obtain a driver's licence in which to make himself "marketable" in the market. Allison wants to become a language interpreter and is actively saving up to pursue this dream. Another beneficiary whom I met while doing my observations, expressed his desire to work in a restaurant and has since undertaken courses at a Culinary School (25/06/2019).

What this theme signifies is the self-actualisation level of Maslow's hierarchy. Indeed, what the participants recognise now is their potential to achieve 'a better life'. The role work plays in this regard is somewhat blurred. I believe that this self-actualisation stems more from the structure of the Streetscape programme than from the work that is provided. However, it may indeed be that the work in itself has allowed them to reach a point of stability in which to question their own abilities and consequent future. In essence, they have now come to find a meaning in life that is important to them – an aspect stressed by Maslow in this conceptualisation of self-actualization (McLeod, 2007).

# Chapter 8: Conclusion

This study aimed to explore the role that work played in the lives of those who were once homeless. The findings showed that although work in itself has played a major role within the lives of the participants, it is not the work in itself that has led to their current state of subjective wellbeing. What is clear is that providing work and housing is only one dimension of exiting homelessness and participating in mainstream society. However, work does appear to be a central feature as expressed by the participants of this study. Promoting a strong sense of one's subjective wellbeing is believed to be a key aspect that needs to be focused on when introducing programmes that aim to 'reintegrate' the homeless back into society. Another aspect is the agency and belongingness that comes with having a job. It is clear that simply being able to look 'clean' and doing basic tasks like shopping allows one the status of being part of the community. The status of a 'working citizen' is therefore expressed in this regard.

Their core basic needs as stipulated by Maslow's hierarchy have been met. They have access to a monthly stipend for their gardening work and have been placed in a formal house with other individuals. Streetscapes have provided this work along with a regular support structure in the form of social workers and other role players (for example student volunteers) that teach regular classes and provide help on an individual basis that have allowed a sense of stability for those in the programme. The overall aim for Streetscapes is that of rehabilitation, and the 'fruits of their labour' is already being witnessed by looking at those individuals who currently reside within the house.

It is noted that the results from this study is by no means indicative of the reality of all those who are considered homeless or who have previously been homeless. What it does 'bring to the table' is an in-depth look into the lives of three participants that at one point in their lives have experienced homelessness. Future programmes tasked at reintegrating the homeless therefore need to focus on more than just providing a house or job. Aside from those needs, homeless individuals may require social support and a feeling of belongingness in order to obtain a positive subjective wellbeing in the form of life satisfaction.

# References

Arthur, S., Mitchell, M., Lewis, J. & McNaughton Nicholls, C. 2014. Designing Fieldwork. In *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers*. J. Ritchie, J. Lewis, C. McNaughton Nicholls, & R. Ormston, Eds. London: Sage Publications. 148–160.

Babbie, E. & Mouton, J. 2001. Qualitative studies. In *The Practice of Social Research*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press. 269–311.

Bazeley, P. 2013. *Qualitative data analysis: Practical strategies*. Sage.

Belcher, J.R. & DeForge, B.R. 2012. Social stigma and homelessness: The limits of social change. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment*. 22(8):929–946.

Boydell, K.M., Goering, P. & Morrell-Bellai, T.L. 2000. Narratives of identity: Re-presentation of self in people who are homeless. *Qualitative health research*. 10(1):26–38.

Chamie, J. 2017. *As Cities Grow, So Do the Numbers of Homeless*. Available: https://yaleglobal.yale.edu/content/cities-grow-so-do-numbers-homeless [2019, November 05].

Colvin, C.J., Robins, S. & Leavens, J. 2010. Grounding 'responsibilisation talk': masculinities, citizenship and HIV in Cape Town, South Africa. *The Journal of Development Studies*. 46(7):1179–1195.

Cross, C., Seager, J., Erasmus, J., Ward, C. & O'Donovan, M. 2010. Skeletons at the feast: A review of street homelessness in South Africa and other world regions. *Development Southern Africa*. 27(1):5–20. DOI: 10.1080/03768350903519291.

Diener, E. 2009. *Culture and well-being: The collected works of Ed Diener*. V. 38. Springer.

Dodge, R., Daly, A.P., Huyton, J. & Sanders, L.D. 2012. The challenge of defining wellbeing. *International journal of wellbeing*. 2(3).

Ebrahim, Z. 2017. The Streetscapes Project. University of Cape Town.

Finlay, L. 2013. Unfolding the phenomenological research process: Iterative stages of "seeing afresh". *Journal of Humanistic Psychology*. 53(2):172–201.

Flick, U. 2013. *The SAGE handbook of qualitative data analysis*. Sage.

Fromke, C. 2018. Community Insights: Exploring the Lived Experiences of Homelessness Through Photovoice. Masters. University of Cape Town.

Gaventa, J. 2002. Exploring citizenship, participation and accountability.

Hartwell, S. 1999. The working life of homeless street addicts. *Journal of Substance Use*. 4(1):10–15.

Khulisa Social Solutions. n.d. *STORY OF THE YEAR*. Available: http://www.khulisa.org.za/streetscapes/.

Kistner, U. 2009. Adversities in adherence: paralogisms of 'biological citizenship' in South Africa.

Kok, P., Cross, C. & Roux, N. 2010. Towards a demographic profile of the street homeless in South Africa. *Development Southern Africa*. 27(1):21–37. DOI: 10.1080/03768350903519309.

Kothari, M. 2005. *Report of the Special Rapporteur on adequate housing as a component of the right to an adequate standard of living*. UN.

Lee, B.A., Tyler, K.A. & Wright, J.D. 2010. The new homelessness revisited. *Annual review of sociology*. 36:501–521.

Legard, R., Keegan, J. & Ward, K. 2003. In-depth Interviews. In *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers*. J. Ritchie & J. Lewis, Eds. London: Sage Publications. 138–169.

Lister, R. 1997. *Citizenship: Feminist Perspectives*. New York: New York University Press.

Makiwane, M., Tamasane, T. & Schneider, M. 2010. Homeless individuals, families and communities: The societal origins of homelessness. *Development Southern Africa*. 27(1):39–49. DOI: 10.1080/03768350903519325.

Marshall, T.H. 1950. *Citizenship and Social Class and Other Essays*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,. Available: http://www.jura.uni-bielefeld.de/lehrstuehle/davy/wustldata/1950_Marshall_Citzenship_and_Social_Class_OCR.pdf.

Maslow, A.H. 1954. *Motivation And Personality*. New York: Harper & Row.

McLeod, S. 2007. Maslow's hierarchy of needs. *Simply psychology*. 1.

McVicar, D., Moschion, J. & van Ours, J.C. 2015. From substance use to homelessness or vice versa? *Social Science & Medicine*. 136:89–98.

Miles, M.B. & Huberman, A.M. 1994. Early steps in analysis. In *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook*. London: Sage Publications. 50–89.

Miraftab, F. & Wills, S. 2005. Insurgency and spaces of active citizenship: The story of Western Cape anti-eviction campaign in South Africa. *Journal of planning education and research*. 25(2):200–217.

Morrow, S. 2010. The homeless in historical context. *Development Southern Africa*. 27(1):51–62. DOI: 10.1080/03768350903519341.

Murray, M. 2003. Narrative psychology and narrative analysis. In *Qualitative Research in Psychology: Expanding Perspectives in Methodology and Design*. P.M. Camic, J.E. Rhodes, & L. Yardley, Eds. Washington, D.C.: American Psychological Association.

Nattrass, N. & Seekings, J. 1997. Citizenship and welfare in South Africa: deracialisation and inequality in a labour-surplus economy. *Canadian Journal of African Studies/La revue canadienne des études africaines*. 31(3):452–481.

Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights [OHCHR]. 2008. Available: https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/Housing/homelessness.pdf [2019, May 14].

Orb, A., Eisenhauer, L. & Wynaden, D. 2001. Ethics in qualitative research. *Journal of Nursing Scholarship*. 33(1):93–96.

Phelan, J., Link, B.G., Moore, R.E. & Stueve, A. 1997. The stigma of homelessness: The impact of the label" homeless" on attitudes toward poor persons. *Social psychology quarterly*. 323–337.

Pleace, N. 1998. Single homelessness as social exclusion: the unique and the extreme. *Social Policy & Administration*. 32(1):46–59.

Punch, K. 2014a. Qualitative research design. In *Introduction to Social Research: Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches*. 3rd ed. London: Sage Publications. 113–141.

Punch, K. 2014b. Collecting qualitative data. In *Introduction to Social Research: Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches*. 3rd ed. London: Sage Publications. 143–166.

Rule-Groenewald, C., Timol, F., Khalema, E. & Desmond, C. 2015. More than just a roof: unpacking homelessness. *Human Sciences Resource Center. www. hsrc. ac. za/en/review/hsrc-review-march-2015/unpacking-homelessness. Accessed (07 Sept. 2015.)*.

Sampson, H. 2004. Navigating the waves: the usefulness of a pilot in qualitative research. *Qualitative research*. 4(3):383–402.

Sanjari, M., Bahramnezhad, F., Fomani, F.K., Shoghi, M. & Cheraghi, M.A. 2014. Ethical challenges of researchers in qualitative studies: the necessity to develop a specific guideline. *Journal of Medical Ethics and History of Medicine*. 7.

Schenck, R., Roman, N., Erasmus, C., Blaauw, D. & Ryan, J. 2017. Homeless in observatory, Cape Town through the lens of Max-Neef's fundamental human needs taxonomy. *Social Work*. 53(2):266–287.

Seager, M. 2011. Homelessness is more than houselessness: a psychologically-minded approach to inclusion and rough sleeping. *Mental Health and Social Inclusion*. 15(4):183–189.

Seager, J.R. & Tamasane, T. 2010. Health and well-being of the homeless in South African cities and towns. *Development Southern Africa*. 27(1):63–83. DOI: 10.1080/03768350903519358.

Seidman, S. 1992. Postmodern social theory as narrative with a moral intent. In *Postmodernism and Social Theory: The Debate Over General Theory*. S. Seidma & D. Wagner, Eds. Oxford: Blackwell. 47–81.

Shaheen, G. & Rio, J. 2007. Recognizing work as a priority in preventing or ending homelessness. *The Journal of Primary Prevention*. 28(3–4):341–358.

Shukla, N., Wilson, E. & Boddy, J. 2014. Combining thematic and narrative analysis of qualitative interviews to understand children's spatialities in Andhra Pradesh, India.

Standing, G. 2009. *Work After Globalization: Building Occupational Citizenship*. Edward Elgar Publishing, Incorporated. Available: https://books.google.co.za/books?id=s70zWz00aP4C.

*StreetUni Cape Town*. n.d. Available: http://www.streetunicapetown.com/why_are_we_different.html [2019, October 14].

Thomas, Y., Gray, M.A. & McGinty, S. 2012. An exploration of subjective wellbeing among people experiencing homelessness: A strengths-based approach. *Social work in health care*. 51(9):780–797.

Tipple, G. & Speak, S. 2005. Definitions of homelessness in developing countries. *Habitat International*. 29(2):337–352.

Toro, P.A. 2007. Toward an international understanding of homelessness. *Journal of Social Issues*. 63(3):461–481.

Tronto, J. 1994. *Moral Boundaries: A Political Argument for an Ethic of Care*. London: Routledge.

Tsemberis, S., Gulcur, L. & Nakae, M. 2004. Housing first, consumer choice, and harm reduction for homeless individuals with a dual diagnosis. *American Journal of Public Health*. 94(4):651–656.

Western Cape Government. 2019. *Homelessness*. Available: https://www.westerncape.gov.za/general-publication/homelessness-0 [2019, November 05].

Whiteford, M. 2010. Hot tea, dry toast and the responsibilisation of homeless people. *Social Policy and Society*. 9(2):193–205.

*Winter Readiness Programme*. n.d. Available: https://www.capetown.gov.za/City-Connect/Activities-and-programmes/health-and-wellness/Winter-Readiness-Programme [2019, October 14].

Yeo, A., Legard, R., Keegan, J., Ward, K., McNaughton Nicholls, C. & Lewis, J. 2014. In-depth Interviews. In *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers*. J. Ritchie, J. Lewis, C. McNaughton Nicholls, & R. Ormston, Eds. London: Sage Publications. 178–209.

Yin, R.K. 1994. Introduction. In *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. Second ed. London: Sage.

# Appendix A – Interview Guide

Definition

- How would you personally define homelessness?

Work

- Walk me through how you attempted to find some form of paid work in your daily life. What did you do?
  - o Were there people/agencies that helped or made it more difficult?
  - o Were you aware of any governmental grants or services that may have helped someone in your situation?
  - o If yes: Have you attempted to contact these agencies or claim any governmental grants/use any of these services?
- How did you hear about Khulisa/Streetscapes?
  - o What has your experience been like?
  - o What would you change?
- Were you employed in any capacity before you became homeless?
  - o What did it mean to you?
  - o What does it mean to you now?

Social

- When you were homeless, how were you treated?
  - o When did that change (if at all)?
- How do people treat you now?
  - o What do you think caused this change (if any)?

# Appendix B – Consent Form

University of Cape Town



Department of Sociology

*What role does work play in the transition from being homeless to working citizens?*

## Invitation and Purpose

This research is being conducted on behalf of the University of Cape Town and Khulisa Social Solutions. You are invited to take part in this study that aims to explore the role of work in the lives of those who were previously homeless as well as their experiences in this transition from being homeless to now having access to work and housing.

## Procedure

This research will include a number of interviews with yourself and other members of the Streetscapes programme.

The following will happen if you decide to participate in this study:

- You will be asked to take part in a one-on-one interview with the researcher, in which you will describe your particular experiences.
- This will take about 40 to 60 minutes.
- Your participation in this project is completely voluntary. You don't have to take part in this study if you don't want to.
- You can also withdraw from the study at any point in time should you feel the need to do so.

## Risks, Discomforts and Inconveniences

This study should not cause any risks to you.

It is important for you to know that you will be encouraged to only speak about things you feel comfortable about.

If you do feel distressed during the study, please note you can leave the study at any time without any consequences.

If you would like to talk to someone about how you are feeling, the researcher will refer you for counselling.

Although you might be inconvenienced by taking out time to participate in this study, each meeting will not take longer than one and a half hours.

## Potential Benefits

Participating in this study will give you a space to share your experiences, speak about the challenges you faced and what you value about having access to this form of work.

Letting others hear your stories can raise awareness about what you are experiencing and hopefully help to develop ways in which this programme or other programmes can improve their services.

## Privacy and Confidentiality

I will do everything in my power to ensure that whatever you say will not be traced back to you.

Your name will be hidden in the writing of this project and in any potential publications.

All your personal information will be securely locked away.

The interview will take place in a private area of your choosing.

The interview will be recorded with an audio recorder. These recordings will only be used by the researcher will not be accessible to anyone else. You have the right to demand that the audio recorder be switched off at any point during the interview.

It is important for you to know that anything that is discussed in the interviews can be reported in the thesis and any potential publications of the researcher. You will still remain anonymous of course.

## Contact Details

If you have any further questions or concerns in relation to this research project please do not hesitate to contact Chadley Bissolati at bsscha010@myuct.ac.za or Bianca Tame at bianca.tame@uct.ac.za.


☐ I agree to participate in this research project.

☐ I have read this consent form and the information it contains and had the

opportunity to ask questions about them.

☐ I agree to my responses being used for education and research on condition my

privacy is respected

☐ I understand that I am under no obligation to take part in this project.

☐ I understand I have the right to withdraw from this project at any stage.

☐ I understand that this research might be published in a research journal or book. In the case of dissertation research, the document will be available to readers in a university library in printed form, and possibly in electronic form as well.


Signature of Participant: _____

Name of Participant: _____

Signature of person who sought consent: _____

Name of person who sought consent: _____

Date: _____

# Appendix C – Codebook (thematic)

| Name | Description |
| --- | --- |
| Citizenship | Regarding the personal definition or meaning of being a citizen |
| Definition of homelessness | Personal view/definition of homelessness |
| Lived experiences | |
| After homeless | Experiences since entering the house |
| Before homeless | Experiences before living on the street |
| Homeless | Experiences during living on the street |
| Perceived benefits of work | Things/actions that are now accessible or doable that wasn't before entering the programme |
| Plans for the future | Regarding future employment |
| Self-image | Regarding personal factors/perceptions throughout journey |
| Society | Regarding view of others, also personal view with regards to others/community |
| Support | |
| Other programmes | Experiences of work/help from other programmes/people |
| Streetscapes | Experiences within the programme from the onset, also personal view of programme |

# Appendix D – Codebook (narrative)

| Name | Description |
| --- | --- |
| Looking back | The lived experiences of participants while homeless |
| Personal choice | The perceived agency the participants had throughout their journey |
| Stigma | The perceived view of how the public sees them |
| The meaning of work | The role work played/plays in their lives |
| Giving back | The participant's recognition of being part of a community |
| The self | The narratives regarding each participant's identity and subjective wellbeing |
| A future | The narrative of self-actualisation among participants |