A Critical Analysis of the discursive representation of homelessness in News24, District Mail and Ground Up from 2018 - 2020

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DECLARATION

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Abstract

This thesis reports on a qualitative and quantitative study of the discursive representation of homelessness in three South African news media publications, District Mail, News24, and Ground Up between 2018 and 2020 through the analytical lens of van Dijk's (1993) socio-cognitive approach to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The aim of the study was to analyse the role that the news media play in constructing attitudes toward vulnerable groups, like homeless people, as the ways in which such groups are constructed in public discourses typically (re)produces dominant ideologies and public stigma that marginalises the groups by allowing for unfair government policies to be passed that keeps them at the outskirts of society. This research also made use of Braun and Clarke's (2012) approach to Thematic Analysis (TA) in order to establish the main themes that were found in news items that either sustained stereotypes and stigmas about the group, or challenged them. In addition, it also drew upon Scollon's (1997) theory of attribution in order to explore how the local news media either gave a voice to the homeless community or silenced them.

The study's findings identified five thematic representations across the news publications, namely 'A war against the homeless'; 'A neighbourhood nuisance'; 'Homelessness does not discriminate'; 'The homeless are idle'; and 'Ambitious and determined'. Findings also revealed that in anti-homeless publications, stigmas about the group are constructed through discourse that characterises homeless people as being unclean and dangerous substance abusers that are involved in criminal activity and pose a risk to public health. Additionally, the study found a strong trend of polarisation in such media representations of homeless people, typically describing in-group (non-homeless people) suffering and good actions, alongside negative out-group (homeless people) representations, who were marked as the cause of in-group suffering due to their negative actions and characteristics. In contrast, pro-homeless publications characterised as the homeless as victims of injustice whose human rights are being violated by placing emphasis on their lack of access to basic necessities, and the failure of local municipalities to care for their homeless populations. The findings further showed that articles found in Ground Up, which reports on behalf of vulnerable communities, were significantly more pro-homeless whereas the community news publication District Mail's corpus was largely anti-homeless in their reportage.

The study concluded with a number of recommendations for journalists who wish to make their reportage on homelessness more constructive, including avoiding stereotyping; giving agency to individuals or groups who marginalise homeless people in order to show who is responsible for the group's marginalisation; including the voices of homeless people in articles that topicalise them; and situating the problem of homelessness within the socio-economic context of poverty, unemployment, and a lack of appropriate government support instead of attributing it to personal shortcomings and poor decision making.

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Opsomming

Hierdie tesis lewer verslag oor ’n kwalitatiewe en kwantitatiewe studie oor die diskursiewe verteenwoordigings van haweloosheid in die drie Suid-Afrikaanse nuusmedia-publikasies, District Mail, News 24, en Ground Up tussen 2018 en 2020, deur die analitiese lens van van Dijk (1993) se sosio-kognitiewe benadering tot Kritiese Diskoers-analise (KDA). Die doel van die studie was om ’n analise uit te voer rakende die rol wat die nuusmedia speel in die konstruering van houdings teenoor kwesbare groepe, soos hawelose mense, aangesien die maniere waarop sulke groepe gekonstrueer word in publieke diskoerse, tipies dominante ideologieë en publieke stigma (her)produseer, wat die groep marginaliseer deur toe te laat dat onregverdige regeringsbeleide aanvaar word, wat hulle op die buitewyke van die samelewing hou. Hierdie navorsing het ook gebruik gemaak van Braun en Clarke (2012) se benadering tot Tematiese Analise (TA) ten einde die hooftemas vas te stel wat gevind is in nuusitems wat óf stereotipes en stigmas oor die groep handhaaf, óf hulle uitdaag. Verder is Scollon (1997) se teorie van toeskrywing-teorie benut om ondersoek in te stel rakende hoe die plaaslike nuusmedia óf ’n stem gee aan die hawelose gemeenskap óf hulle stilmaak.

Die studie se bevindinge het vyf tematiese verteenwoordigings geïdentifiseer oor die nuus-publikasies heen, naamlik “’n Oorlog teen die haweloses”; “’n Oorlas vir die buurt”; “Haweloosheid diskrimineer nie; “Die haweloses is ledig”; en “Ambisieus en vasberade”. Die bevindinge het ook onthul dat stigmas oor die groep in anti-haweloosheid publikasies gekonstrueer word deur diskoers wat hawelose mense karakteriseer as vuil en gevaarlike middelmisbruikers wat betrokke is in kriminele aktiwiteite en wat ’n risiko vir publieke gesondheid inhou. Verder het die studie ’n sterk tendens van polarisering gevind in hierdie mediaverteenwoordigings van hawelose mense, waar die lyding en goeie dade van in-groep lede (nie-hawelose mense) gewoonlik beskryf word, tesame met negatiewe verteenwoordigings van uit-groep lede (hawelose mense), wat gemerk is as die oorsaak van in-groep lyding weens hulle negatiewe aksies en eienskappe. In kontras hiermee karakteriseer pro-hawelose publikasies die haweloses as slagoffers van onreg wie se menseregte geskend word, deur klem te lê op hul gebrek aan toegang tot basiese noodsaaklikhede, en die versuiming van plaaslike munisipaliteite om vir hulle hawelose bevolking te sorg. Die bevindinge het verder getoon dat artikels van Ground Up, wat verslag lewer namens kwesbare gemeenskappe, merkbaar meer pro-haweloos was, terwyl die gemeenskapsnuus-publikasie District Mail korpus grotendeels anti-haweloos was in hul verslaggewing.

Die studie sluit af met ’n aantal aanbevelings vir joernaliste wat hul verslaggewing oor haweloosheid meer konstruktief wil maak, insluitend om stereotipering te vermy; om agentskap te gee aan individue of groepe wat hawelose mense marginaliseer ten einde te wys wie verantwoordelik is vir die marginalisering van die groep; om die stemme van hawelose mense in te sluit in artikels wat hulle aktualiseer; en om die probleem van haweloosheid te situeer binne die sosio-ekonomiese konteks van armoede, werkloosheid, en ’n gebrek aan voldoende ondersteuning van die regering, eerder as om dit toe te skryf aan persoonlike tekortkominge en swak besluitneming.

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Glossary

Community news publication

A community news publication reports on the local residential areas that it serves. The news events and issues reported on in these community publications are typically bespoke to a certain local area or residents, instead of broader national issues.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

CDA is a type of discourse analysis that emerged from Critical Linguistics and takes a critical analytic approach to text and talk (Wodak 2011:50). The research paradigm's roots are grounded in "classical Rhetoric, Text linguistics and Sociolinguistics, as well as in Applied Linguistics and Pragmatics" (Wodak 2011: 50). Core aims of the CDA thesis is to account for the way that power elites abuse power through discursive strategies and how illegitimate ideologies are legitimated through discourse, especially in terms of the perpetuation of social inequality and discrimination (Van Dijk 1995a:24).

Fringe publication

In this thesis, a "fringe" publication is understood as a news publication that reports for vulnerable groups in society. The word "fringe" is used because this objective is rare in the media and not many news publications serve this end. These publications are relatively new to the South African press landscape, for example Ground Up and New Frame are two fringe publications that were founded in the last ten years in the South African press.

Homeless

For the purposes of this thesis, "homeless" is defined as a person who lives on the streets. This excludes people who are vulnerable to evictions or are living in informal settlements.

Social stigma

The social stigmatisation of some groups happens in a socio-economic and political environment that is unequal, which is vulnerable for separation and discrimination to happen (Belcher and DeForge 2012:929). Social distance, shame and acceptance are some of the main consequences of stigma (Goffman 1963:7).

Ideology

According to Wodak and Meyer (2008:5), the definitions around 'ideology' – that is the belief systems and values held between people and groups – are manifold. Thus, in this thesis the definition for 'ideology' will be defined in terms of van Dijk's understanding of the concept as his analytical approach to CDA is also adopted for this research. Van Dijk (1995b:18) states that ideologies are the foundation for social identity that is shared by "groups, organisations or institutions", thereby making ideology both social and cognitive.

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The news media

This thesis uses the term "news media" to refer to news publications in the press. This excludes forms of journalism that are not considered to be "hard news", such as tabloid, lifestyle, and food journalism. These can be considered a softer form of journalism that exists in the South African news media's landscape.

National publication

National news publications write on national news events and serve the national South African audience.

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Chapter One: Introduction and Background

"We are creating a world in which a whole class of people simply cannot be, entirely because they have no place to be," Mitchell (1997:311).

This thesis will investigate the discursive representation of homeless people in three South African news media publications in order to investigate the ideologies that are evident in different news publications when they topicalise homelessness, as well as the ways in which linguistic strategies that are used to either perpetuate or dispel stigmas manifest in the public discourse of homelessness. The data used for this study was collected from a three-year-period, between 2018 and 2020, from the local news publications District Mail, News24 and Ground Up, and the study's findings will be based on a qualitative analysis from a Thematic and Critical Discourse Analytic perspective, which will be supported by a brief quantitative analysis.

1.1 The stigma of homelessness

Homelessness has long been recognised as a global phenomenon that is ubiquitous to both developed and developing nations (Busch-Geertsema et al. 2016:1). In South Africa, the reality of street homelessness has by and large increased in the face of high levels of unemployment (Cross et al. 2010:5). The most up to date statistics indicate that in 2015 there were approximately 200,000 homeless people of the 55.39 million South African population at that time (Rule-Groenewald). In addition, several million others have inconsistent access to adequate housing (Obioha, ND: 4), for example, some have access to housing but sleep on couches and floors or they have access to housing that is not safe or sanitary (Obioha, ND: 4). It is important to note that these statistics are from 10 years ago, and that the number of homeless people in South Africa is likely to have grown since then, given that the country's population now stands at 60.14 million (StatsSA 2021:7). Moreover, it can be expected that the number of homeless people in South Africa have increased as a result of the outbreak of Covid-19 in South Africa in 2020, which compromised the livelihoods of millions of people around the country. This can be seen in the third financial quarter of 2020, during which the country's unemployment rate stood at 30.8%, a record high for South Africa since 2008 (Stats SA 2021:2), which also indicates that more South Africans are vulnerable to find themselves in a state of homelessness.

Scholars agree that a state of homelessness is the fault of structural issues in society, such as poverty, unemployment, and policies that cut access to government support (Belcher and Deforge 2012:930). Nonetheless, homelessness is recurrently blamed on individual setbacks because characterisations of the group typically deviate from emphasising structural issues and tend to focus on the unfavourable attributes of the group (Belcher and Deforge 2012:932). These unfavourable attributes – i.e., the images of instability, criminality, addiction, anti-social behaviour, victimhood, and vulnerability – surround the social identity of homeless people and stigmatise the group (McCarthy 2013:53). This social stigma influences the way that homeless people are perceived as a result of the characteristics that are imposed upon their identities (McCarthy 2013:47- 48). In fact, Parsell (2011:443) suggests that the social identities of

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homeless people are "ascribed" on the grounds of their homelessness and that homeless people are generally more vulnerable to have unfavourable identities ascribed to them because "the realities of living in public places means that certain behaviours are displayed and thus taken as informative of identity". He goes on to say:

> "Without a home to conceal undesirable behaviours, the constant display of such behaviours can provide a perception of people who are homeless that highlights their deviance and problematic attributes" (Parsell 2011:443).

Here, Parsell (2011) touches Goffman's (1963:127) explanation that the fact that the homeless "wear their situation on their sleeves" leads to stigmatisation. Homeless people cannot hide their poverty from the public, and so are vulnerable to action and judgement – they are under the "public gaze" (Gerrard and Farrugia 2015:2220). It can be further considered that homeless people do things that housed people view as outside the "norm", such as begging or searching for food in dustbins (McCarthy 2013:53). As consequence, people who are not homeless feel uncomfortable when encountering homeless people such that "…we stare, ignore, avert our eyes, give money or purchase a street-magazine, gawk, smile, speak or don't speak" (Gerrard and Farrugia 2015:2224). These outside-the-"norm" characteristics like begging or searching for food in bins alienate homeless people and mark them as the "Other" in society because this breaks the rules of how the public typically engage (McCarthy 2013:53; Gerrard and Farrugia 2015:2223). Moreover, while homelessness is not a new phenomenon, homeless people are still treated as outsiders because they are forced to break these unsaid norms in social interactions (Gerrard and Farrugia 2015:2224). Simmel (1908) explains that homeless people are cast into the role of the "stranger", which is characterised by remoteness and closeness where homeless people are close because they are within the "group or spatial area", yet remote because they are "not integrated into any particular social body" (Lankenau 2010:185).

Moreover, according to Gerrard and Farrugia (2015:2224) people still Other the homeless even when they talk or think about the group sympathetically. This essentially means that all interactions and encounters with the homeless are underscored by difference, because homelessness is seen as a mark of "social failure, dysfunctionality and unproductivity." (Gerrard and Farrugia 2015:2224). As a result, the public have a "blasé attitude" towards homeless people and give them "non-person" treatment where homeless people are effectively ignored and treated as invisible during encounters with the public, who respond to them with indifference (Lankenau 2010:185). This attitude alongside the social stigmas ascribed to the identity of homeless individuals further casts the homeless into the stranger role in society (Lankenau 2010:185). It is therefore due to this strangeness and public stigma foisted on the identity of homeless people that they are repeated victims of social discrimination.

According to Belcher and Deforge (2012: 931), stigma exists "when there is labelling, stereotyping, separating (us versus them), status loss, and discrimination in a situation where there is unequal social, economic, and political power". It is the result of attributing characteristics to an individual that are discrediting and flawed, thereby making them a "less-than" human being and excluding them from full social acceptance (Goffman 1963:3). Goffman (1963:3) states that while stigma refers to an attribute that is "deeply discrediting", it

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must be understood that the way that language plays an important role in constructing and perpetuating discrimination and stigma. In this vein, the evaluative noun "homeless" can be considered as it embodies what Goffman refers to as a "language of relationships". This evaluative noun suggests that "homeless" people are "less" than other people because they do not have homes. Moreover, the noun holds further connotations of homeless people being dangerous, drifters, lazy, as well as being personally responsible of their circumstance (Belcher and Deforge 2012: 931). Thus, it can be seen that these connotative meanings of the noun "homeless" are ultimately a result of the prevailing stigma that is placed upon homeless people (Belcher and Deforge 2012: 931). In addition, in journalistic representations of the homeless, the media are especially reliant a narrative of "lack, victimhood, and marginalisation," according to Gerrard and Farrugia (2015:2222), which further does two things. First, this stereotypical representation of "lack, victimhood and marginalisation" constrains the relationship between non-homeless and homeless people and secondly, it constructs the social issue into a personal problem (Gerrard and Farrugia 2015:2222).

As a result, social attitudes and behaviours towards homeless people are often unsympathetic and unkind even though homeless people are undeniably one of society's most vulnerable populations. This is especially concerning since homeless people already have a poor self-esteem (Burn 1992: n.p.) or even struggle with psychological trauma of potentially losing social connections with friends and family due to their homelessness (Goodman, Saxe and Harvey 1991:1219). A primary reason why homeless people have a low self-esteem is because they feel as if they cannot control life events in addition to being unable to play their roles as active citizens in society (Burn 1992: n.p.). While Burn (1992) explains that homeless individuals are passive because they feel helpless towards life events, the media also play a crucial role in sustaining the idea that homeless people are helpless because homelessness is regularly portrayed as a personal problem and not a social issue in the media (Gerrard and Farrugia 2015:2222). Furthermore, some homeless people are trapped in a pattern of learned helplessness that is perpetuated by stigmatised media representations of homelessness and dismissive interactions with the public, leading to further isolation and passivity (Williams and Stickley 2011:434). Not only is the issue of learned helplessness detrimental to the social identity of homeless individuals, but these factors of social discrimination, learned helplessness and low self-esteem can also trap homeless people into a cycle of poverty because they do not believe that they can live alternatively to their current realities and activities (Stones 2013:160).

In addition to their social discrimination, state policies and regulations like city by-laws that marginalise homeless people are also unsympathetic to homeless people. For example, city by-laws, like the 2007 Streets, Public Places and Prevention of Noise by-law in the Western Cape, prohibit and criminalise certain activities that homeless people are forced to do, such as sleeping on the streets. Thus, homeless people are unfairly discriminated against, being fined, or arrested for activities like sleeping on pavements or begging (Damons 2021, n.p.). A recent amendment to the 2007 Streets, Public Places and Prevention of Noise by-law in the Western Cape has given the City of Cape Town the right to fine homeless people for refusing to take refuge in the city's shelters (Dayimani 2021, n.p.). This recent amendment, which was made to calm noise grievances from other members of the public, not only takes away homeless

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people's free will but also suggests that homeless people must be removed from the public eye.

1.2 Focus of the study

A big source of negative attitudes towards homeless people is the news media, which has more access and power over public discourse than homeless people and average people. Further, this public discourse can regulate how people understand and respond to homeless people, as well as social vulnerability in general (De Melo Resende 2016:599; Sherry and Osborne 2008:97; Calder et al. 2011:3). To illustrate this, a short letter published in the newspaper, The Sydney Morning Herald, addressing the "lamentable sight" of homeless people can be considered below:

> Sir, There is not a more lamentable sight in the city of Sydney than to witness the numbers of squalid, miserable creatures that are marched daily in custody of the police from the different lockups in the city, to be adjudicated upon at the police courts. A portion of these are liable to punishment under the Vagrant Act, as houseless and homeless poor, who are sentenced for no crime but their poverty to such punishment as a bench of magistrates may think proper to award. The excuse of these miserable fellow creatures is that they are obliged to walk the streets having no home or refuge. Surely this ought not to be in this rich populous city, which, to do it justice, has always taken the lead in every kind of useful charity (HGD 1864 in Gerrard and Farrugia 2015:2219).

While this letter was published in 1864, similar themes still populate discursive representations of homeless people (De Melo Resende 2016). For example, in the news media it is not uncommon to suggest that homeless people should be removed from neighbourhoods because they are unsightly or seen as a burden (Gaffar 2020: n.p.). This kind of discursively constructed intolerance is important as knowledge about homeless people originates from what is reified about the group in the news media (Greenberg, May and Elliot 2005: 135). It is also noteworthy that the news media are not the only media that stereotype or stigmatise the social image of homelessness; advertisement and campaign media that is distributed by homeless shelters and NGOs, and television entertainment also stigmatise homelessness (McCarthy 2013:54). According to Shields (2001:216), the same stigmas attributed to homeless people in ordinary life are sustained in the television news media, where homeless people are described as deviants and positioned as the "Other" in reportage. Further, media representations of homelessness construct and define those who are "virtuous, those who are to be rewarded, and those who exercise legitimate power. In turn, and perhaps more importantly, the media define those who are inadequate, ill-legitimate, and exiled" (Shields 2001:195). Therefore, the media play an influential role in depicting homelessness either as a social problem that has underlying societal structural problems requiring appropriate solutions, or not (Scheinder 2013:47). Unfortunately, however, research is indicative that in the case of the news media, the latter is the norm.

In general, the media's representation of marginalised groups – like the homeless – perpetuate tropes that have to do with "problems, conflicts or threats" (Van Djik, 1994:33). This is seen in several studies (Schneider 2014; De Melo Resende 2016:610; Calder et al. 2011:8) that have found that in the discursive representation of homeless people, stereotypes frequently include

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criminality, mental illness, danger, and drug addiction. Critical Discourse Analysts' (Wodak and Meyer 2009:6) conceptualisation of discourse as something that "constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people" is useful here as it explains how popular ideologies are reproduced in discourse, and are, in turn, used to exercise social dominance over certain groups like homeless people (Wodak and Meyer 2009:9; Van Dijk 1995a:20).

Accordingly, the news media can be said to play a pivotal role in perpetuating and challenging certain social norms, stigmas and ideas about the homeless as the media are never only selecting news items but constructing it as well (Sherry and Osborne 2008:97). Furthermore, insomuch as the media are advancing social norms, reportage is also being influenced by societally dominant knowledge, beliefs and discourses that newsrooms and news people hold (Van Dijk 1994:19).

1.3 Problem statement

Considering the above, the problem statement in this study is that the news media are a form of public discourse that play an influential role in reifying the perception of vulnerable groups, like homeless people. In addition, the way that the news media linguistically frame their reportage about homeless people can be a dangerous source of public discourse that perpetuates dominant ideologies and public stigma that discriminates the group as outsiders or as people who do not belong in our cities or neighbourhoods, effectively keeping the group at the outskirts of society by allowing law makers to pass unfair government policies. This ultimately sustains the stigmatisation of the group, leading to more non-person treatment of the homeless community and perpetuating a cycle of learned helplessness. In other words, the news media discourse that topicalises homelessness is vulnerable to be influenced by illegitimate and dominant ideologies, and in turn influences the way that news events and people are perceived and treated.

1.4 Rationale of this study

As homelessness grows across the globe, particularly in light of Covid-19's toll on economies, more people need to take refuge on the streets due to a lack of government support for people who face housing crises. In addition, signs of homelessness are stigmatised in the media, which is problematic as the media plays an important role in shaping the public's perception of homeless individuals and news events. The way that the media represent homeless people is important because the news media has far-reaching effects in terms of how different groups of people in society are viewed and treated (Wodak and Meyer 2009:6). For this reason, it is imperative that journalists, power elites, researchers and the general public are cognisant of how ideologies influence reportage on people and news events.

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1.5 Aims of study

The aim of this study is to contribute to our understanding of the ways in which media texts produce, reinforce, and challenge stigmas of and attitudes towards homeless people by analysing articles in the South African news media that topicalise homelessness. Therefore, this study will do an in-depth exploration of how media discourse frames and constructs the narratives of homelessness in their reportage, as well as to investigate whether this representation has changed over time. These aims have been identified as a means to further understand how ideology shapes news discourse and vice versa. Further, this study aims to establish a set of guidelines that can be followed by journalists that wish to make their reportage on homeless more constructive in order to provide a tangible solution to the problematic ways in which media discourses currently frame homelessness.

1.6 The research questions

Two primary questions have been identified as the research questions of this project, in line with the aim of this thesis' research. The two primary questions are:

1) Which types of identities are attributed to homeless people in news stories that topicalise them?
2) How do the media construct, frame, reinforce or dispel stereotypes and stigmas that are associated with the homeless community?

A sub question to this thesis is:

3) How has the media's representation of the homeless community changed over time, if at all?

1.7 Outline for thesis

The first chapter of this thesis introduces the focus and background of this research exploring the discursive representation of homelessness in the three local news publications. This chapter also addresses the specific research aims and questions that will form the basis of this study. Chapter Two will present this research topic in relation to previous research concerned with the media's representation of homelessness and homeless people that has already been conducted. This literature review will describe the key findings and tropes found in previous media analysis on the topic. Next, Chapter Three will situate this study within the paradigm of CDA, the theoretical framework chosen for this thesis. This chapter will discuss ideology, discourse, and the media as a discursive mechanism that broadcasts dominant ideologies and abuse of social power. Moreover, a detailed description of van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach to CDA will be given, including an explanation of the analytical toolkit used to analyse the media texts included in this study. Following this, Chapter Four will provide an outline of the data collection, methodology and ethical concerns that were followed in this study. Subsequently, Chapter Five will offer an account for the minor quantitative and in-depth qualitative analysis of the news articles in the data corpora, selected during the data collection process. Finally, Chapter Six will discuss the key findings and results that were found during

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the data analysis stage of this research. This chapter will provide an answer to the research questions that were identified in this first chapter of this thesis and will further include a description of the limitations of this study, a list of guidelines for journalists reporting on homelessness, as well as provide suggestions for future research in this research topic.

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Chapter Two: Literature review

This chapter aims to place this thesis' research within the existing literature that explores the topic of the representation of homeless people in the news media. A total of 18 research papers were reviewed for this literature review. This chapter includes a description of the studies' research methods, as well as a discussion of the relevant findings, similarities, and differences that stood out in each of the reviewed research papers.

2.1 Reporting and the press

In her article, "*Discursive representation and violation of homeless people's rights: symbolic violence in Brazilian online journalism*", De Melo Resende (2016:599) notes that the press do not simply report on news in their articles. She states that news is, importantly, also being constructed and selected by journalists and editors alike in their newsrooms (De Melo Resende 2016:599). Several researchers interested in the media representation of homelessness agree with this postulation (Calder, Hansard, Ritcher, Burns and Mao 2011:4; Schneider, Chamberlain and Hodgetts 2010: 149; Schneider 2011: 71; Sherry and Osborne 2011:97, 99; Fateh 2013:149) that the news media essentially construct certain representations of homeless people. Entman (1993:52) similarly defines framing as the way the media are "selecting aspects of perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text". This is important because according to van Dijk (1993:256), the news media are in a position of control due to their free access to and influence over public discourse, which is elaborated further in Chapter Three of this thesis. According to De Melo Resende (2016:597) the way that the news media describe the issue of homelessness is crucial since the manner in which the homeless situation is reified in media texts,

> "Exert[s] influence over how society comprehends it and how it reacts to social vulnerability, as well as the ways in which people who face homelessness identify themselves and relate to each other [in society]".

Furthermore, the media's gaze and representation of social issues like homelessness comes with consequential power because the media influence not only public discourse, but also policy making which has direct and serious implications for the homeless community. Hence, the media's tool of framing can be understood as an authoritative one that is freely at their disposal. It is for this reason that Sherry and Osborne (2011:98) point out that the media are "capable of constructing discourse with far-reaching implications". Research on the discursive representation of homelessness and homeless people in the news media is illustrative of such implications and ultimately shows how the media influence perception and response of homelessness (Schneider 2011:71). Researchers interested in this topic reveal that each media device – headlines, sources, lexical items, and semantic and syntactic construction – plays a major role in the way that readers perceive and respond to news reports.

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2.2 Research methods

A number of studies have been conducted on the media's representation of homelessness. In this section I will provide an overview of the methodologies of these studies. Scholars Buck, Toro and Ramos (2004), De Melo Resende (2016; 2020), Calder et al. (2011), Schneider et al. (2010), Pascale (2005), Best (2010), Meert, Maurel and Cabrera (2006), Schneider (2011), Klodawsky, Farell and D'Aubry (2002), Sherry and Osborne (2011) and Fateh (2013) all used a similar research methodology to conduct their respective Discourse and Content Analysis of the representation of homelessness in the media. These researchers gathered their content through archival platforms of their corresponding newspapers and online news outlets. Researchers Toft (2014) and Lugo-Ocando (2019) have also adopted this methodology to analyse the general representation of poverty in the news media. Gerrard and Farrugia (2015) conducted a literature analysis of the representation of homelessness in visual discourse. In contrast, Schneider (2012) conducted personal interviews with different journalists from three Canadian newspapers to understand another side of the construction of the discursive representation of homeless people in the news, namely journalists' professional practices when reporting about homelessness. In order to investigate how news consumers', respond to the social issue of homelessness, Schneider (2014) collected her data through focus groups to observe the discourses about homelessness that arose both naturally and prompted by recent newspaper articles. Further, a paper by Greenberg et al. (2006) was also considered for this research that investigated media campaigns' influence on homelessness. Although this research paper was not directly related to the research questions of this thesis, it provided noteworthy remarks about news coverage in the media and the social response it invokes. Their research methodology involved a Content and Discourse Analysis of media coverage and documents about homelessness, as well as participant observation in meetings for their aim to provide reliable information for a media campaign to put an end to homelessness. Analysis of news texts' representation of marginalised populations has, over the years, increased in academic research and rightly so according to van Dijk (1991:110), who states that the news media play a vital role in everyday life.

2.3 The right-less people

One of the foremost themes arising from studies concerning the media's representation of homelessness is that it has grave implications for the public perception of the homeless population as people who are fellow human beings, deserving of basic human rights. Researchers De Melo Resende (2016:601; 2020:603), Schneider et al. (2010:168; 2014:7; 2011:84), Pascale (2005:260) and Meert et al. (2006:10) echoed this conclusion. In fact, De Melo Resende (2016:601)'s data – showing largely negative representations of a homeless group in Santa Cecilia, Brazil – altogether denies the homeless population of their basic human rights. Meert et al. (2006:10), who describe the representation of homeless people in French newspapers *Le Figaro* and *Libération* during 2003, explain that their findings show how homeless people in the media are the "effectively rightless [who] live at the margins of law and societal norms because they have no access to rights". Although not all scholars considered in this literature review go as far as asserting that media representation of homeless people totally denies the population of their basic human rights, most agree that the media portray the

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community in a negative way, and that this has serious implications for social inclusion and genuine citizenship for the group (Schneider 2011: 81). Therefore, it is noteworthy here that Klodawsky et al. (2002:127) and Mitchell (1997:311) show how public opinion, that has likely been influenced by media discourse, has influenced the law to the extent that homeless people are denied access to certain areas in cities.

Moreover, researchers find that it is in the persistent association of homeless people with animals, the objectification of the group, and the representation of homelessness as a social problem that the denial of rights, social inclusion and full citizenship are justified (Pascale 2005: 261). De Melo Resende (2016:606) found that in news texts, homeless people were described through lexical items that have close associations with animals: homeless people "dig" through dirt and water, their clothes are "filthy" and they "reek" and even "shit" in public, a word that De Melo Resende states was only ever used six times in the Brazilian online news publication, *Folha de S. Paulo*, of which all except one were talking about animals. This has discursive implications that allows for the group to be objectified through implicit associations with animals. De Melo Resende (2016:606) notes that this "operates as a very negative evaluation of the population group, who suffer violation of every one of their rights, including the right to housing and basic sanitation". Further, this negative representation allows for these violations mentioned by De Melo Resende (2016:606) to be further perpetuated as the homeless person is not seen as a human.

2.4 The unwelcome people

In general, when the poor are constructed in the media as alien and different from others, it constructs a discursive divide between "them" and "us" in news reporting (Lugo-Ocando (2019:1). This is also true for the homeless community, who are cast as unwelcome people and are perceived as inherently different from those who have access to housing (De Melo Resende 2016:602; De Melo Resende 2020:593; Schneider et al. 2010:150; Schneider 2011:10; Pascale 2005:258; Toft 2014:784). De Melo Resende (2020:593) finds that metaphors about territory frequent news texts on homelessness. She explains that public space is described as private territory and that homeless people are described as usurpers that have seized the space or taken it up in some illegal manner. De Melo Resende (2020:590) further identifies the theme of territory as the most frequent in the representation of homeless people in the news media, such that the homeless situation is understood as "human invasion". De Melo Resende (2020:602) concludes that this representation of homeless people as those who take up space casts a divide between us, the elite – in this case those who have access to housing – and the others, in this case homeless people.

This is echoed in Toft's (2014:784) findings that homeless people are represented as invaders of neighbourhoods in news articles. Calder et al. (2011:9) further show that in Canadian newspapers the representation of homeless people as invaders is mostly seen in, what Goffman's (1974) framing theory dubs, "conflict frames". Conflict frames refer to the representations that draw a divide between "us" vs "them". In their literature review of the discursive representation of homelessness in the Canadian news media, they find that conflict frames are often used when reporting about issues surrounding homeless encampments. These

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conflict frames typically describe tension between "us" – the activists, service providers, businesspeople, and community – and "them", the homeless people (Calder et al. 2011:9). These frames ultimately contest homeless people's right to use public space as they are cast as "others" and not welcome into communities (Calder et al. 2011:9; De Melo Resende 2020:590). But even conflict frames that in some instances attempt to amplify or help the homeless argument – for example, activists talking on behalf of homeless people in the media – work to exclude homeless people. In addition, Calder et al. (2011:150) state that news articles promote social exclusion of the population by continuously "perpetuating a view of homeless people as residing outside of normal social enterprise and relationships".

In light of the aforementioned, it is easy to see how laws are passed prohibiting access to some public spaces for homeless people, since they are continually perceived and cast out as space invaders and outsiders who don't belong in "our" public space. According to Pascale (2005:260), "a home is a community, not just a collection of individuals, as is a household. A home is not so much a physical space as it is a rhetorical space of community and belonging". Interestingly, Pascale (2005:258) points out that in the news media, in all other cases, sources or subject of interests are referred to by name, or simply by classification of gender: "he said, she said". By contrast, in the case of the representation of homeless people in the news media, the population is defined and introduced by their economic and social situation: "trolls", "transients", "homeless adults", "river-bottom dwellers", "street youths", "the homeless", and "the new homeless" are but some of the terms found in the news media about the group (Pascale, 2005:258). Pascale (2005:258) links this classification of homeless people in the media with the regulatory practices the media exercise over the group. According to her, "disciplinary or regulatory practices not only produce poverty as a marked category, they also produce it as so inherently meaningful that it overshadows all else about a person, even something as basic as gender," (Pascale 2005:258). To be "homeless" or to be seen without possessions, as opposed to being without work, leaves one completely alienated, according to Pascale (2005:260). Importantly, Pascale (2005:259) points out that the term itself is not so much an emphasis of a lack of housing but rather, of a lack of social belonging and networks.

Furthermore, the homeless population's association as a group of "others" who do not have a home also implies that they lack a place of belonging, home, or community (Pascale, 2005: 259). This lack of belonging is seen consistently in literature where homeless people are referred to as "unwelcome" (De Melo Resende 2016:602; De Melo Resende 2020:590; Schneider 2011:79), "usurpers" (De Melo Resende 2020:593), the "others", or "them" (Schneider et al. 2010:150; Schneider 2011:80), and "unworthy" (Schneider 2011:79). These representations of homeless people as people who are unwelcome and unworthy work to keep the group at the margins of society (Schneider et al. 2010:166).

2.5 The strange people

According to Toft (2014:785), three linguistic devices of deviance are deployed to cast homeless people as the "other". These devices also affirm past patterns picked up in Discourse Analyses of marginalised groups (Toft, 2014:785). Toft (2014:785) identifies these as the use of metonyms, metaphors – connecting homeless people with an alternative semantic target

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domain (for example, the association of the human with the animal, as previously mentioned) – and lexicalisation as a rhetorical strategy to objectify homeless people to the extent that these associations replace the homeless person's identity completely. One example can be seen in De Melo Resende (2016:609)'s findings, where homeless people are referred to as *"the noias"*, the Portuguese term denoting a particular type of drug.

It has previously been established that the media represent homeless people as different from housed people. For example, homeless people are seen as animals, invaders and "other". It is notable here that the media not only reify homeless people as both enemies and as animals, but that in doing so the media also use language to conceal other meanings, like the fact homeless people are human beings and have rights (De Melo Resende 2020:603). It is easy to see how the media construct this representation of homeless people since media representation of homelessness is replete with tropes of addiction, dirtiness, and danger. News reports about homeless people tend to largely associate them with dirt (De Melo Resende 2020:595; Klodawsky 2002:135), danger (De Melo Resende 2016:609; 2020:590; Calder et al. 2011:13; Schneider et al. 2010:159; Meert et al. 2006:12), addiction (De Melo Resende 2016:607; Schneider et al. 2010:159; Klodawsky et al. 2002:135 Pascale 2005:254), mental illness (Schneider et al. 2010:159; Pascale 2005:254), criminality (Schneider 2011:72), and nuisance (De Melo Resende 2016:601; Calder et al. 2011:13; Schneider 2014:7). It should be noted that the news media, which according to Calder et al. (2011:5) is often stereotyped and simplified, are not the only ones who do this as negative stereotypes are a general rule in the representation of homelessness in popular culture and general entertainment as well (Gerrard and Farrugia 2015:2220).

These associations that complement the homeless narrative in the media are detrimental to the understanding of homelessness as a social problem caused by structural factors within society (Best, 2010:75). In their research, Meert et al. (2006:14) observed that in the news media homeless people are "invariably discredited and symbolically dismissed because they are linked to other problems which carry a strong stigma, such as mental illness, laziness at work, drug addiction, alcoholism, illegal immigration and delinquency". These derogatory associations are then reproduced and amplified by people as a direct result of the problematic and stereotypical language used in the mass media (Meert et al. 2006:14). Meert et al. (2006:16) add that most newspaper representations of the community emphasise the dramatic and controversial, like being vulnerable to addiction, aspects of homelessness that emphasise "dead-end misery and huge marginality". Greenberg et al. (2006: 138) reiterate this and indicate that these trends prioritising personal shortcomings over structural issues are the "cultural myths and stereotypes" that media discourse frames.

According to De Melo Resende (2016:597), homeless people are typically cast as a nuisance to non-homeless people in news articles. Calder et al. (2011:14) concur as they find that throughout different narrative frames appearing in media texts, homeless people are seen as burdensome, dangerous, or a "nuisance to society". Discourses of nuisance are even reflected in news reports that attempt to reveal "the homeless side" (De Melo Resende 2016:609). This is further noted in social interactions, for example, Schneider (2014:7) found that during one

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of her discussions with focus groups, a homeless person is referred to as a "pest". This reference of "pest" – functioning as a metonym, metaphor, and an example of lexicalisation – is more often used to describe unwelcomed animals rather than human beings. This lexical item can again be noted for its connotations that homeless people are unwelcome in society. This lexical usage further supports what researchers Calder et al. (2011), De Melo Resende (2016) and Pascale (2005) have found in their studies of the homelessness in the media.

Similar dehumanising lexical associations can also be seen in references to drug and alcohol addiction, dirt, garbage, filth, and waste when reporting on homelessness. Toft (2014:784) showed that homeless people are politically marginalised through the semantic association of "dirtiness, drugs and danger". In his corpus of research, Toft (2014:795) pointed out that homeless encampments are associated with filth and that homeless people are seen as "crack addicts". Similarly, in one news article, De Melo Resende (2016:607) observed that homeless people are reported as the people who "dig through garbage, shit on the street, walk around in filthy and reeking clothes". De Melo Resende (2016:607) points out the significance of the media's use of the word "shit" here, since the media hardly ever associate such terminology with humans, as previously remarked. Klodawsky et al. (2002:10) discovered that in their analysis, approximately one third of their data – that is 79 news items between 1994 and 1997 – associated homelessness with substance abuse. De Melo Resende (2020:590) found 79 references to alcohol use and drug use out of her 35 news texts. Furthermore, Pascale (2005:254) points out newspapers not only associate homelessness with substance abuse but that media texts explicitly attribute the entire social problem to substance abuse.

Notably, a number of researchers concluded that these kinds of media representations lead to the understanding of homeless people as dangerous (De Melo Resende 2016:601; Schneider 2011:72, 79). This is partly the case since homeless people are also associated with criminality or violence (De Melo Resende 2016:609; Schneider 2011:72; Meert et al. 2006:10). Sweeping comments about homeless people being dangerous that frequent the news, like "many of these homeless people have criminal records and are addicted to crack" (De Melo Resende 2016:609), are exemplary of this. Likewise, in their research, Meert et al. (2006:10) echoed that homeless people are portrayed as violent, offenders, threatening, rebellious or at least, "suspected of being capable of all these things". These claims – which are seemingly personal opinions appearing in the texts without any form of statistics or facts to support these representations – sustain generalizations about the homeless community. Toft (2014:784) asserts that stereotypical attributes that are given to groups like the homeless community are one of the greatest social ills of our time, because it results in persistent inequality for marginalised bodies.

2.6 The deserving people

Homeless people are further cast as a culpable group through tropes that supplement the representation of homeless people in the news media, placing blame on the homeless population for their circumstances (Lugo-Ocando 2019:5). Researchers point to a trend in the media's representation of homelessness where homeless people are portrayed as the problem, and not the socioeconomic context (De Melo Resende 2016:607; De Melo Resende 2020:602;

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Schneider et al. 2010:166). Apart from amplifying already well-entrenched negative stereotypes with homeless people, Pascale (2005:261) comments that discursive representations of homeless people suggest that homelessness happens to a particular kind of people because of disagreeable decisions that they have made. For example, homelessness is attributed to drug addiction instead of being attributed to a result of unaffordable housing or unemployment. Meert et al. (2006:21) point out that very seldom will the news media elaborate on the structural factors that cause homelessness. Moreover, Best (2010:87), Meert et al. (2006:21), Pascale (2005:256), Sherry and Osborne (2011:81), Schneider (2011:79), Schneider (2014:9), De Melo Resende (2020:603) and De Melo Resende (2016:597) agree that the news media rarely present the issue of homelessness as a social problem. According to Buck et al. (2004:152) – who investigated reportage on homelessness in the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *Los Angeles Times*, and the *Chicago Tribune* from 1974 to 2003 – WEIRD media were covering homelessness as a social problem, linking the issue back to patterns of structural issues, including coverage on critical programmes and services back in the mid-1980s. However, by the late-1980s, between 1988 and 1990, the media began representing homeless people more negatively (Buck et al. 2004:153); this was also during the time that the perception of homeless people as the "skid-row alcoholic to the deinstitutionalised mentally ill" became the norm (Buck et al. 2004:152).

Best (2010:78) argues that for a situation to be represented as a social problem, articles should be making statements about unjust social circumstances as well as addressing long-term solutions to improve these situations. However, she found that this rarely happens in the news media. Best (2010:78) explains that causes and solutions are either to be described anecdotally – through personal shortcomings – or generally – listing issues like unaffordable housing, unemployment – in news articles about homelessness. Instead, the media "attempt to conceal the perverse social aspects of the issue for they impute the homeless situation to the individual as if the street situation to the individual were something to choose from a menu of other possibilities" (De Melo Resende 2016:603). Another example of this in the literature comes from Schneider (2014:76)'s finding that relatively few articles mention the structural causes of homelessness, and when causes for homelessness are mentioned, homeless people are most often quoted to identify individual setbacks for their circumstance, one example being bad luck.

It is important to note that events that lead to news reportage on the homeless community also play a role in the representation of homelessness as a social problem. For example, Best (2010:87) showed that news invoked by government activities or non-profit organisations were more likely to frame the homeless situation as a social problem. News articles that reported on the issue of homelessness through articles reacting to news events like crimes and conflicts, were less likely to frame the homeless issue as a social problem (Best 2010: 87). Thus, certain news events lead to more thematic coverage pointing to structural issues that challenge the norm. Thematic coverage is usually found in reportage on the problems that the homeless community themselves face but this happens sporadically (Best 2010: 87).

Gerrard and Farrugia (2015:2220) describe homelessness as an issue that needs to be addressed by policies and sociologists. Therefore, whether the media represent homelessness as a social

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issue or not has serious implications for policymaking and research into the social issues, since these can help improve the social issue of homelessness and challenge stigmas that perpetuate social discrimination of the homeless community. Media representations of homelessness that do not present the issue as a social problem naturalise the homeless situation by employing classifications – such as classifying homeless people as other or animalistic in nature – that legitimate social injustices that are imputed on the population (De Melo Resende 2016:599; De Melo Resende 2020:591; Schneider et al. 2010:150). This makes it easy for the public to recognise homeless people as subjects who do not have rights, as news items justify the homeless population's loss of rights (De Melo Resende 2016:605; De Melo Resende 2020:603).

It is noteworthy that news items about poverty in general tend to be represented as an "orphan phenomenon" that is isolated from its wider socioeconomic context linking to structural problems (Lugo-Ocando 2019:5). Thus, the trend to present a social problem isolated from its socio-economic context is not ubiquitous to discursive representations of homeless people in the news media. In addition, research indicates that media representations are also generally paired with short-term solutions to the problem of homelessness – for example homeless shelters, charities, or non-profit agencies can assist the homeless in their situation – rather than long-term solutions to the structural problems that exist (Schneider, Chamberlain and Hodgetts 2010:158). Calder et al. (2011:5) assert that in order for news items to present systematic roots of the social problem of homelessness research, such as statistics – that illustrate the escalating trend of homelessness, unemployment – should be provided alongside representations of homeless people. According to them, statistics on the topic are mostly present in thematic frames that explain the broader context of the social problem within society and typically address the structural issues that lead to the prevalence of homelessness (Calder et al. 2011:5). However, the media report on homelessness far more episodically explaining the reasons for homelessness in terms of personal setbacks and not making reference to structural problems. Furthermore, representations tend to provide short-term solutions to the problem, instead of questioning actual issues within society that bolster issues like homelessness (Calder et al. 2011:5; Best 2010:78).

Best (2010:78) agrees that most news items describe homelessness through isolated events. She shows that when articles on homeless people are reported thematically, news consumers respond by wanting society to take more responsibility in solving the issue of homelessness (Best 2010:78). However, in her research, Best (2010:83) explains that only 34% of articles detailed any cause or solution to the social problem, and that only 7% of articles included statistics about homelessness. Further, only 18% of articles referred to structural causes of homelessness in their reportage and 11% of these addressed the need for public action (Best 2010:78). According to Lugo-Ocando (2019:5), research indicates that journalists reproduce the often-widespread discourses of power elites that allow for legitimatising structural causes for poverty within society, which proves to be true for news reportage on homeless people.

The aforementioned asserts that homelessness is not represented as a social problem in the news media. This comes at a serious consequence since, according to Greenberg et al.

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(2006:139), policymakers and government officials work with the assumption that the way media frame issues have a direct impact on how the public respond and build their opinions about the specific groups.

2.7 The victims

A number of researchers have found that media representations of homeless people aim to make readers feel pity towards them. Schneider et al. (2010:165) for example, contend that news consumers are meant to feel sympathetic to the homeless population. According to Meert et al. (2006:10), this depiction of homeless people as victims is the most widespread representation of the group in the news media. Accordingly, making news readers feel sympathetic towards homeless people is in fact one of the primary goals journalists try to achieve in their news reportage (Schneider 2012:54). It should be noted that some members of the public already feel compassionate towards the homeless population and that news reports add to their sympathetic reactions towards the homeless (Schneider 2014:7). Schneider (2014:6) notes however that in doing so, people construct a kind of "moral identity" for themselves, since sympathy is essential in what constitutes the social role of a "nice person", but that people still distance themselves from addressing the social problem of homelessness.

At the same time that the media aim to reify these sympathetic representations of homeless people as victims of circumstance out of their control, homeless people are still depicted as having freely chosen and made certain bad choices that have led to these unfortunate circumstances (Scheider et al, 2010:166; Schneider 2014:6). In reality, Meert et al. (2006:10) assert that although homeless people are largely depicted as victims, they are almost never depicted as victims of social inequality. Rather they are depicted as victims of life accidents and are perceived as "the suicidal outsider in need of compassion, understanding, assistance, being cared for", although the suicidal rate within the homeless community is relatively low (Meert et al. 2006:10). Thus, the media still represent the issue of homelessness as a personal problem, not a structural one. Moreover, media representations depict homeless people as helpless and in need of "our" help. Again, this draws another distinction between "us", the housed, and "them", the homeless and hapless. This is what Schneider (2011:80) points out when she states that sympathetic narratives of homeless people are just another form of othering. Schneider (2014:9) adds that both good-willed sympathy from journalists and the public alike contribute to the existing social inequalities, which in the end play a role in maintaining the social problem of homelessness.

2.8 The Christmas-candy

It has already been established that news coverage of the homeless community is largely episodic rather than thematic. Some researchers find that newsrooms topicalise homelessness during specific times of the year (Meert et al. 2006:8). Western scholars for example find that reportage on homeless people significantly increases in the winter (in the Northern Hemisphere) and holiday season, during Christmas time for example. It is important to note that during these times of the year, it is expected that the people will feel more sympathetic for homeless people because of the colder weather, as well as the holiday season being a time that

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people are generally more charitable (Bunis, Yancik and Snow 1996: 390). This aids journalists' attempt to stir sympathy of the homeless community in their representations. For Meert et al. (2006:21), this seasonal representation of homelessness, "which puts them together on the same shelf with Christmas candy, Santa Claus or the Three Kings", is one of the most extreme representations of the homeless community.

2.9 The controlled and regulated ones

Schneider et al. (2010:165) state that in addition to media representation of homeless people being largely sympathetic, these representations also represent homeless people as people who need to be controlled and regulated to maintain "social order". First, the sympathetic representation of homeless people depicts the group as a group in need of charity, placing them in a position that is inferior to us (Schneider et al. 2010:166). Secondly, the representation of homeless people as being responsible for their situations owing to bad personal decisions, serves to justify control and regulation of homeless people in their exclusion from society since they have chosen to entertain socially disruptive behaviour (Schneider et al, 2010:166). According to their research, a narrative of control and regulation is an overarching discursive theme that is cast upon the group (Schneider et al 2010:165).

2.10 The silent people

Themes of regulation and control are also present in the media's selectivity of sources in news items that involve the homeless population. For example, the news media rarely use homeless people as a source of information in news reports (Schneider et al 2010:150; 166; Schneider 2014:10; Schneider 2011:82; Pascale 2005: 261; De Melo Resende 2016:603). In this vein, homeless people are controlled and regulated because they are silenced and not given equal access to be voiced in comparison to other sources of information in the media (Schneider et al. 2010:166). In her research, Schneider (2011:80) finds that the polarised pattern of "them" and "us" that is prevalent in the news media's descriptions of homeless people can be extended to the media's use of sources' quotations used in their articles. She explains that the scarce use of quotes from homeless people complemented by the extensive use of expert sources play a notable role in the reproduction of a larger social narrative of us vs. them. Schneider et al. (2010:166) note that more than 70% of quotations used in their data of 765 articles come from what the media call "expert" sources, and that homeless people were rarely quoted in news articles. Expert voices were academics, politicians, government officials, non-profit organisations and so on (Schneider, 2014: 10). These voices are notably all voices that hold a substantial amount of power and control over public discourse (van Dijk 1993: 257). In contrast, homeless people are essentially silenced in the media.

The sources the media use is important because the voices used in news items say something about who matters in society (Schneider 2011:73). Much like the journalistic norm to report news in an inverted structure – commonly referred to as the inverted method – where the media put the most important information at the top of news articles, so the media do the same for the sources used in their news items (van Dijk 1985:122). Accordingly, the most important voices are placed at the top of articles: first the experts talk and then the citizens (Schneider, 2011:73).

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Accordingly, Klodawsky et al. (2002:10) argue that homeless people are generally disregarded in society. This filters through in news reports. Pascale (2005:261) states that the lack of homeless people's voices in news media illustrate that homeless people are seen as irrelevant or unreliable sources of information in the media. Consequently, homeless people become the "objects" of media discourse rather than "subjects" of their discourse (Pascale 2005:261).

When they are quoted in the media, homeless people are mostly used in softer news stories, such as community news about charitable efforts (Schneider 2011:75). Moreover, Schneider (2011:74) further illustrates that in the rare instances that homeless people are quoted, they are not voiced on the societal problem of homelessness. Rather, homeless people talk about their own experiences, which typically promote their persistent marginalisation and sabotage their social inclusion (Schneider 2011:74). Persistent marginalisation is often the outcome when homeless people are used as sources for information in the news items because the media selectively quote homeless people on doing things that people do not condone, such as being engaged in violent and illegal behaviour (Schneider 2011:79). Similarly, Schneider (2011:79) notes that journalists make use of what she dubs "redemption quotes", which refers to typical stories of change and redemption where homeless people share inspirational stories about how they changed their lives around. At the same time homeless people are also described as addressing personal issues such as addiction to explain their homeless circumstance instead of citing larger structural issues, once more undermining the social problem of homelessness. Hence, homeless people have a regulated and devalued voice in the news media because they are not given the same access or equal position as other sources used in news items (Schneider 2011:82). Having an equal footing in the news media matters because,

> "Full citizenship and social inclusion means having the same right to comment on political and social problems and to participate in public discourse on homelessness as other members of society. It means having the same right to be seen as active citizens who frame their own experiences and participate in understanding causes of and generating solutions to their problems" (Schneider 2011:84).

Instead, homeless people are depicted as passive citizens and are greatly ignored by the media, even in articles that attempt to shed a light on homeless people's plight. Accordingly, Schneider et al. (2010:150) conclude that the news media are essentially "a restricted mediapolis, missing both diversity of voices and perspectives and discussions of the complexities of homelessness".

2.11 The considered ones

Not all news items about homeless people are negative. Schneider et al. (2010:159) note that in their analysis, of four Canadian newspapers, the tone of news items was generally neutral, and that representation was "overwhelmingly" positive as well. Even so, approximately 78% of the news items – although slanted towards the more positive side – continued to cite negative associations with the group, namely drug addiction, substance abuse, and so on (Schneider et al. 2010:166). This shows that "all representations work to keep the group on the margins of society" (Schneider et al. 2010:166). However, Schneider et al. (2010:164) show that more positive news items on homeless people lead to a public response that is more committed

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towards taking responsibility in finding solutions for the social problem. In contrast, negative news items lead to a distanced response that is more reliant on government action to solve the problem.

Although research indicates that the latter is the norm within media discourse, changing discourse norms is not an impossible end. Fateh (2004:156) shows that in one Iranian newspaper, journalists were able to shift the homeless narrative to become a primary subject within the media, public and elite discourse, through similar devices already used by the media like eliciting sympathy and emotion discourse. Journalists from the Iranian ISNA newspaper achieved this by evoking sympathetic reactions, often constructed in Western media texts, through representing the homeless situation as neglected but excluded associations with drug addiction and substance abuse. This choice could be largely related to a religious influence where addiction is seen as indecent (similar to general public opinion). This meant that such associations were excluded even if homeless people that they were reporting on were taking drugs because addiction was unfavourable towards their religious prescription, and independent from the actual issue of homelessness. In fact, Fateh (2004:156) points out that had the media included these associations, the homeless person would be seen as deserving of their circumstance. Fateh (2004:156) also notes that journalists' incorporation of religious teachings and literature in their news items engaged with the conscience of the general public and elites. This resulted in subsequent addresses made by municipalities and the president, as well as the establishments of care centres for homeless people (Fateh 2004:158).

2.12 Concluding remarks

This chapter provided an account for the existing literature with which this research is concerned. The findings of this body of literature indicated that media representations of the homeless population are stereotypical and generally reproduce discourses of power, instead of questioning these hegemonic discourses. Overall, the representation of homelessness in the news media is in line with Lugo-Ocando (2019:6)'s conclusion on the news media's representation of poverty that,

> "While poverty is deeply intertwined with most societal issues—in a way that it is almost impossible not to account poverty as the key issues in explaining most problems in society—the news media tends to render it as a by-product of individual life choices that relates little with the rest of society's structural problems."

Indeed, the literature indicated that newsrooms tend to emphasise individual manifestations of homelessness in their dismissal of the complex structural causes of this social phenomenon. In this regard, the responsibility for the homeless situation is cast upon individuals and not the structural issues at play. Additionally, homelessness is mostly reported on episodically, which further disregards the broader context of homelessness. These manifestations come with serious consequences since policy makers look to the news media in determining public debate and law on social problems within society. Public discourse is thus influenced in this instance because a significant amount of what is understood about homelessness and homeless people is influenced by the news media. Notably, the homeless narrative is hardly framed by the

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homeless community themselves. Rather, the issue of homelessness is framed and constructed by so-called expert sources and homeless voices are only heard through a specific narrative that also functions to discriminate against the group. In general, positive or neutral representations of homelessness and homeless people are far and in between. Yet, Fateh (2014:602) shows that the same devices the media use in negative representations can contribute to a positive and effective portrayal of homelessness as a social problem.

In conclusion, it is further noteworthy that the existing corpus of literature on this topic comes predominantly from a WEIRD – Western Educated Industrialised Rich Democratic – perspective (Best 2010; Calder et al. 2011; Schneider 2010; Schneider 2011; Schneider 2014; Schneider et al. 2010; Scheider 2012; Mitchell 1997; Sherry and Osborne 2011; Klodawsky et al. 2002; Meert et al. 2006; Pascale 2005; Toft 2014), with only a small amount of research coming from the Global South (De Melo Resende 2016; De Melo Resende 2020; Fateh 2004; Lugo-Ocando 2019). This has consequences for academic research already conducted in Westernised countries on the topic since the research cannot account for the context and discursive representation being made in the news media in the Global South (Lugo-Ocando 2019:6). In the South African context, no such research on the media's representation of homelessness has yet been conducted. This presents an opportunity to make a valuable contribution to the academic corpus on the discursive representation of this marginalised group.

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Chapter Three: Theoretical Framework

This chapter will provide an account of the theoretical framework that this thesis is placed in. The chapter will introduce and explore the objectives and characteristics of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA); a detailed description of the analytic approach to CDA chosen for this thesis; and the main criticisms that are typically levelled against CDA. Included in the analytic approach is a summary of Scollon's theory of attribution, which is relevant in answering the research questions established in Chapter One.

3.1 CDA: going beyond grammar

The theoretical framework of this thesis is situated in the paradigm of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), otherwise known as Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) or Critical Linguistics (CL). Pioneer Critical Discourse Analyst van Dijk (1993:257), along with other Critical Discourse Analysts; asserts that discourse – text and talk – is a "social practice" because our reality is shaped by it, and the way we understand discourse is shaped by our perception of reality. In other words, discourse is both socially constitutive and socially conditioned at once (Blommaert and Bulcaen 2000:448). Hence, CDA also understands that ideology is constructed in discourse and it is also reflected in discourse because there is a clear dialectical relationship between discourse and the social contexts and structures that encompass it (Wodak 2014:304). At the fore of CDA, researchers aim to unpack and scrutinise the consequences of this dialectal characteristic of language usage, especially in terms of the construction of power and ideology in discourse and the reflection of the two in discourse, and further, how they facilitate the production and reproduction of social dominance that perpetuates social inequality (Wodak and Meyer 2001:3; van Dijk 1993:249; van Dijk 2001a: n.p.).

According to Breeze (2011:495), CDA can be most accurately defined as a "self-conscious movement with an explicit agenda", where its objectives vary from "highly politicised" to "anodyne". These agendas may also vary from one analyst to another, however; two main and essential elements of CDA can be identified as its core objective:

I. A political aim, accounting for how ideology and power function in society, and
II. How language sustains and reveals the functions of ideology and power (Breeze 2011:495).

Hence, the word "critical" in the name "Critical Discourse Analysis" speaks to the CDA focus of socially problematic discourse, and specifically discourse's impact on marginalised and powerless groups (van Dijk 2001b: 96). Further, CDA theorists are concerned with the way that dominant ideologies underlie the reproduction of dominance and inequality in discourse (van Dijk 1995a:17). It is therefore this critical stance that sets CDA apart from other Discourse Analysis disciplines (Kress 1990:84). Since CDA practitioners are concerned with how dominance and inequality are perpetuated subtly, practitioners pay attention to all levels of discourse; that is not only grammar, but also style, rhetoric, and pragmatic strategies (van Dijk 1995a:17; van Dijk 2001b:97).

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3.2 Power and dominance as a primary concern for CDA

A central point of departure for CDA is the relationship of social power between groups, and dominance, which becomes one of the primary concerns in CDA research. More specifically, CDA practitioners concern themselves with the role of discourse in the reproduction, maintenance, and challenge of social power and dominance (van Dijk 1993:254). Van Dijk (1993:255) postulates that power involves control by one group over other groups and argues that this control may translate into limiting the freedom of people or influencing their minds.

This thesis will follow van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach to CDA, and thus, "social power" will be defined according to his understanding of the term. Van Dijk (1993: 257) defines social power by means of privileged access where certain groups have more access to resources and discourse than others. Van Dijk (1993:257) calls groups with more privileged access "power elites". These elites, as van Dijk (2006c:255) points out, often hold important positions in society, for example government officials play a big role in decision or policymaking which impacts different groups, meaning that there is a set hierarchy of power because they hold more privileged access to resources and discourse because of their position. This understanding of "access" also includes the ability to participate in specific discourse events (van Dijk 1993:256). To explain this concept of access clearly, the example of a journalist and a homeless person may be used. In this example, since media discourse is a discourse event that certain groups have preferential access to, the journalist has privileged access to the media as they produce and select the discourse that goes into the public domain, whereas a homeless person is excluded in terms of participation in media discourse as they may not be not asked for comment in the articles that concern them or they do not have the means to physically access this discourse. From this example, it is clear that homeless people are marginalised in terms of media discourse, and it can be further inferred that journalists and the media function as power elites.

Van Dijk (1993:255) further states that power elites have social power because they produce and legitimate dominance in discourse. This legitimation of power is achieved in two ways. These two ways are through laws or policies that are enforced, which perpetuates their power over certain groups and through their dominant ideologies that are sustained in public discourse, like the media (van Dijk 1993:255). It is noteworthy here that the more power and control a group has in communicative events, the more powerful the elites and institutions become (van Dijk 1993:256). The same can be said for those who lack power. Thus, a group's power and dominance can be measured by their access to and control over discourse. Van Dijk (2006a:365) therefore postulates that it is due to the relations between power and access between groups, that public discourse is vulnerable to become a social reproduction of elites' power, because discursive strategies and structures are used to legitimise their control. Furthermore, there is preferential access to public discourse like the media, as this is a type of access that journalists, scholars, and politicians, known as "symbolic elites", enjoy over others (van Dijk 2006a: 362). Preferential access can be seen in media discourse where social discrimination and biases, considered "the norm", are perpetuated (van Dijk 2006a:371). Thus, these biases are further reflective of dominant ideologies and opinions belonging to elites. It is

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further noteworthy that because groups have unequal access to public discourse, manipulation between participants can take place (van Dijk 2006a:362).

3.3 Manipulation as social power abuse

In the previous paragraph it was established that public discourse can easily allow for power abuse to take place, and that this makes discursive structures susceptible to manipulation. This was illustrated through the example that elites hold more social power over dominant discourses and this means that they allow them to control the ideologies of less powerful groups, or those who are not voiced in dominant discourses. This further means that certain groups have the ability to limit the freedom of others (van Dijk 1993:257). Van Dijk (2006a:359) refers to this as "mind control", which is explained as the mental manipulation over action and cognition through discursive strategies and structures. For example, the media may influence a reader through passive sentences and certain lexical items that shift blame or emphasis. This is actually an "abuse of power" in that it exerts control over other groups of people. This is not to imply that all control is an abuse of social power, since for example, in a lecture hall setting a professor will have social power over the students being instructed and likewise, not all instances of social power enjoyed by the media and journalists are manipulative. This is not the kind of social power that CDA researchers are interested in. Instead CDA practitioners are concerned with social power that is exploited by power elites because it leads to the reproduction of dominance (van Dijk 2006a:363). Thus, CDA focuses on manipulation that involves influencing the knowledge that groups share, such as their socially shared representation about social issues (van Dijk 2006a:368). Socially shared representations can be understood as the knowledge, attitudes, and ideologies shared between groups (van Dijk (2006a: 368). This kind of control can further be understood as a form of power abuse if it is at the interest of power elites and against the interests of the dominated or controlled group (van Dijk 2006a:360).

Hence, CDA is ultimately concerned with power abuse and the way that it allows for the acceptance of dominant ideologies, otherwise known and described as hegemony. "Hegemony" refers to Gramsci's (1971) theory of people thinking so much alike that they dismiss alternatives to what is considered "the norm" (Wodak and Meyer 2001:9). It should be noted that power abuse that manifests in discourse is mostly hidden and is often not clear (Fairclough 1989:49). Therefore, van Dijk (2006a: 363) holds that in order for power abuse to take place, social conditions will allow for it to take place at a macro structural level "in terms of group membership, institutional position, profession, material or symbolic resources and other factors that define the power of groups and their members". Furthermore, distinctions can be made between power relations in face-to-face interactions compared to those displayed in a one-sided discursive product, like in media discourse. For example, unlike a conversation where all parties are active in the discourse, the media are writing for a mass audience – at least, for the mainstream media – as well as for an ideal reader, and this will influence their reportage on certain groups. Furthermore, it is important to note that in newsrooms there are also relevant power relations to consider as editors, contributors, and stakeholders all mediate journalists' discourse (Fairclough 1989:53). This is noteworthy as van Dijk (2008:5) makes the point that any kind of manifestation of power and domination, be it in conversation or within

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media relations for example, cannot immediately be assumed to be a casual occurrence. Thus, it is imperative to reveal, analyse and understand the complex socio-cognitive processes behind the manifestation of power abuse in public discourse. This point is closely associated with van Dijk's (2006c) description of mental models, which are central to his theory and help give an understanding for the way that discourse events are internalised and then processed. The consideration of mental models is crucial in understanding how dominant ideologies influence discourse.

3.4 The news media as a discursive practice

The news media is one discursive medium where the dialectical relationship between discourse and society – including social identities, ideologies, and contexts – is evident. Moreover, the news media can be understood as a discursive practice since the press use discourse to frame various events and phenomena that have major ideological effects and social consequences (Wodak 2014:303). Indeed, van Dijk (1995b:28) asserts that in the press, syntactic and lexical decisions, rhetorical figures, speech acts, semiotic devices, and semantic macrostructures show how the status quo and power abuse is often (re)produced in discourse. Fairclough (1989:53) states that there are implicit power relations within the media since the media act as an expression and reproduction of power in dominant society. At the same time, Fairclough (1989:54) points out that the capacity of elites to exert power in media discourse is dependent on trends that happen regularly in the news media and its activities. These manipulative strategies in the media are never isolated.

Fairclough (1989:53) explains that:

> "A single text on its own is quite insignificant: the effects of media power are cumulative, working through the repetition of particular ways of handling causality and agency, particular ways of positioning the reader, and so forth."

It is also important to consider that power abuse in discourse often occurs implicitly and can go unnoticed or even become "acceptable". As such, this is significant to CDA researchers as they are concerned with the more intricate, unconscious, and hidden linguistic strategies that conceal power relations and dominant social representations of language users (van Dijk, 1993:250). Examples of these hidden linguistic strategies include the use of mitigators, disclaimers, implication, and presupposition in discourse.

3.5 Power and dominance in the news media

According to van Dijk (2001a: n.p.), those who control and have privileged access to public discourse play a kind of gatekeeper role in society because they determine and select what should be included in public discourse and how it is constructed. This process of selecting information and making some information more important over others is known as "agenda setting" (Entman 1993:53). In this regard, journalists and the news media can be described as gatekeepers to public discourse and by implication, the public agenda. This can be explicitly seen in the way that the media select news, and choose how to construct their discourse, leaving some facts out and emphasising others, otherwise referred to as framing (Entman 1993:52).

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According to Entman (1993:52), "to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communication text". Framing has a major influence in the way that discourse is understood and interpreted, shaping the perception of people and events that the media report on. Therefore, the way that the media frame their reportage and subjects is important as the media linguistically frame news events making some interpretations and representations of people more salient than others. This therefore influences how events and individuals are perceived in the world.

In this regard, it can be argued that a CDA of discursive texts produced by the news media is fitting, as the school of CDA is predominantly concerned with the consequences of socially dominant groups who abuse their power through public discourse. A CDA will further help describe, explain, and work towards its ultimate aim: to render change in prominent social and political problems (van Dijk, 1993:279). Furthermore, considering that CDA is primarily concerned with the way that dominant ideologies and power relations are (re)produced in discourse, adopting this framework to navigate an analysis of the news media's representations of homelessness and homeless people, who are often stigmatised and socially excluded, is apt.

3.6 Van Dijk's socio-cognitive theory

It was previously established that this thesis adopts van Dijk's (1993) socio-cognitive approach to CDA, which argues that social cognition, that can be understood through his key mental model theory, is the missing and necessary link to the interface between discourse and ideology. This sets van Dijk's approach apart as most CDA mainly focus on the interplay between the social and discursive aspects of discourse. Rather van Dijk (2006a:361) triangulates the social, cognitive and discursive. All three of these factors are inter-related in discourse events and therefore in his theory. This triangulation plays an important role in understanding how manipulation takes place in discourse and how it can be made explicit (van Dijk 2006a:361). Van Dijk (2006a:361) explains,

> "…Manipulation is a social phenomenon - especially because it involves interaction and power abuse between groups and social actors - a cognitive phenomenon because manipulation always implies the manipulation of the minds of participants, and a discursive-semiotic phenomenon, because manipulation is being exercised through text, talk and visual messages."

Thus, van Dijk's theory is the main analytical point of departure for this research as his description of the socio-cognitive structures are valuable for this study's objective to investigate the representation of homeless people in the media. Furthermore, his theory, which accounts for the close relationship between ideology and discourse, explains how public discourses are internalised into individual ideologies and provides an account of the way that journalists' and writers' ideologies influence the discourse structures of the news items they construct.

A core focus in CDA is the notion that ideology plays a crucial function in discourse. Van Dijk (1997:22), who defines ideology as a socially constructed dimension of one's mind, explains

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that ideology is interwoven in everyday social interactions, structures, and practices of discourse. Essentially, van Dijk (1993:258) understands ideologies as "world views" that form social realities. Ideologies are furthermore always evolving as we engage in everyday interaction and as members of different groups in society express, acquire, reproduce, and change them. It is because ideologies are formed through interaction that van Dijk (1993:259) is attentive to the relations between discourse structures and the structures of social cognition.

Thus, van Dijk (2006b:162) argues that there can be no direct link between discourse structures on the one hand and "groups, institutions, social positions or power relations" on the other. Instead, he believes that there must be an interface between the cognitive processes, which individuals use to make sense of reality, and the social processes involved in their everyday interactions. In essence, an adequate interface must be able to serve as "an empirical and conceptual bridge between social reality and discourse", according to van Dijk (2006b:162).

3.7 Mental models as the interface discourse and ideology

Van Dijk (1993:259) identifies "mental models" as the missing link between ideology and discourse, and states that mental models exist independently from the discourses that they are expressed or presupposed in. Mental models are subjective representations of events, situations, and actions. This means that mental models refer to unique mental representations of discourse events either formed or developed through participation, witnessing, or reading about a speech act or event (van Dijk 2002:17). Thus, individual mental models are formed from information taken from different discourses or events, as well as the social context used to understand discourse. Moreover, socio-cultural knowledge and social context, which is generally implicit in discourse, is also being acquired and influenced by these mental models (van Dijk 2006b:170).

According to van Dijk (1999:125), mental models form part of our long-term memory, and they are what individuals will remember about a particular discourse or event. These representations are further multimodal in nature since their representations are represented in terms of vision, sounds, and gestures as they are processed by different parts of the brain (van Dijk 2017:7). According to van Dijk (2006b:174),

> "Mental models are the ideal psychological notion to account for such subjective definitions of situations. They account for personal variation in discourse production and comprehension, for style, for interactional conflicts, and especially for the ways discourse is appropriate in given social, political or cultural situations (…) They describe aspects of discourse that cannot be described in the 'autonomous' terms of discourse or interaction structures alone, and at the same time provide frameworks for the explanation of such structures – both of participants as well as of analysts."

Hence, mental models are personal and account for how different people interpret and represent certain events, as well as the opinions that they form about events (2006b:174). This explains how people could have an invalid or distorted version or interpretation of a communicative event. Further, since mental models primarily influence language usage and discourse, it means

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that a discourse participant's mental models will influence their discourse (van Dijk 1993:257). The interface of mental models is crucial to van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach to CDA as he states that they help describe, explain, and analyse how dominant discourses influence socially shared representations (van Dijk 1993:259).

It is further noteworthy that the production and interpretation of discourse are based on an individual's specific mental models (van Dijk 1993:258). This means that when a journalist reports on homelessness, their mental models about the homeless people are formed whilst reporting in the field and this influences the journalist's reportage, which is also in addition to the mental models shaped by existing knowledge that the journalist already has. This shows that both general representations of ideologies, attitudes, and knowledge that are socially shared and personal mental representations are involved in discourse processes (van Dijk 1993:258).

In addition, van Dijk (1993:259) argues that it is equally important to assess how discourse structures, such as media texts, determine or facilitate the formation of these ideologies, knowledge, and attitudes. Van Dijk (1993:259) makes this argument as he suggests that discursive structures, such as schematic categories, and linguistic strategies, such as rhetorical figures and sematic moves, impact the organisation and formation of different mental models.

3.8 Discursive (re)production of mental models

Van Dijk (2002:17) argues that mental models are ideologically formed and that they generally give rise to topics, lexical choices, metaphors, and other discourse properties, like discourse coherence, that are biased. In addition, van Dijk (2002:17) explains that values play a vital role in establishing specific ideologies, which render social attitudes, and in turn has notable control of meaning production of discourse. How ideologies are formed is important as they are the foundation of social beliefs as well as a group's practices (van Dijk 2002:12). Values that people hold, for example the values of equality, are the foundations that form ideologies. Moreover, when groups select their values that they ascribe to and see as important, they define their ideology, like the ideology of socialism (van Dijk 2002:17). Furthermore, shared values between group members render ideologies that define a group by means of membership, their activities, objectives and so on. In addition, van Dijk (2002:24) states further that a key socio-cognitive function of ideologies is to organise attitudes, defined as "socially shared opinions", that are expressed in discourse. Figure 1 can be considered below as an illustration of how ideologies become evident in discourse.

Figure 1: Diagram illustration showing the link between ideology and discourse

Values → Ideologies → Attitudes → Discourse

In van Dijk (2001a: n.p.)'s explanation of the role of values, he makes reference to what he calls social and episodic memory, both of which play a crucial role in the how mental models materialise. The two different types of memory can be differentiated as follows: social memory refers to the social representations and socio-cultural knowledge that are shared across groups,

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whereas episodic memory refers to one's personal experiences and opinions about people, places and things (2001a: n.p.). Both episodic and social memory are involved in understanding and producing discourse, and further means that the two are also evolving over discourse events that shape or influence a language user's mental model (2001a: n.p.).

According to van Dijk (1993:262), before group ideologies are produced in discourse, they have first been internalised in the mental models of group members, and impact group member's own episodic memory or individual mental model. This means that different group members of the same group, although they share the same ideology, can have different mental models since no person shares the same experiences. Although mental models are unique from person to person and have contextual variation from person to person, van Dijk (1993:262) states that the more models resemble general knowledge and attitudes of a group, the more stereotypical a groups' discourse and action will be. Therefore, models account for the uniqueness of discourse and actions because they are personal on the one hand, and at the same time also accounts for similarity of discourse and actions in divergent situations because they are social and shared (van Dijk 1995c:253). Hence, he argues that the mental models and social representations that allow groups to exert power abuse must be scrutinised, as they illustrate how dominant ideologies can discriminate and lead to hegemony in discourse. With this understanding in mind, van Dijk (2001a: n.p.) asserts that discursive manipulation can be defined as control over mental models of other people.

3.9 Event and context models and their vulnerability to be controlled

Van Dijk (2002:17) makes a further distinction between two different types of mental models, namely event and context models. Event models deal with content and refer to the mental representations that are formed in the situations we talk, write, read and hear about; whereas context models, which can be understood as pragmatic models since they have to do with context, are mental representations associated with the activities we participate in (2002:17). According to van Dijk (1999: 130), when language-users participate in a communicative event, these models are always being formed or updated, and include information that is important to context models such as "age, gender, ethnicity, class, roles, goals, or beliefs of participants, as well as setting characteristics, such as time, location, and circumstances" (van Dijk 1999: 130).

Understanding context models is crucial in understanding the production of discourse, because they explain how the specific physical, social, and linguistic circumstances in which an utterance is made impacts the production and comprehension of a text (van Dijk 2002:18). In fact, van Dijk (2002:18) explains that language users would not be able to contribute to on-going discourse without these context models because understanding context is the goal of discourse. Van Dijk (2002:18) stipulates that context models make clear the objective of discourse. This means that objectives of discourse become evident because discourse participants make clear what is important in their context model during a social situation. Furthermore, whatever language users foreground in their discourse is a reflection of their context model of the particular communicative event, as their context model influences their interpretation of a communicative event (van Dijk 2006b:169). Furthermore, it is important to note that since context models are based on subjective experiences of events or situations, they

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could in turn also render biased event models. This means that event models are not always reliable or true because our mental models could have a skewed representation of reality (van Dijk 2006b:169).

There are several shortcomings in van Dijk's theory (2006b:173) of mental models, which need further investigation and research to garner more knowledge about context models. For example, there is still not much known about the schemas of context models, what is important, the complexity thereof and so on, and how these may differ between cultures. More cognitive detail needs to be known about how context models control discourse production and comprehension, and importantly for discourse analysts, more detail is still needed on which discourse structures are controlled by context models (2006b:173).

3.10 Discourse structures

Van Dijk (1997:23) stipulates that social functions, cognitive structures, and discursive reproduction form the three main components in his theory of ideology. According to van Dijk (1997:24), social functions are the primary reasons why people use ideologies to advance the interests of their group. A main part of social function is the organisation of the social practices so that group members may be identified and protected (van Dijk 1997:24). Van Dijk's (1997:24) explanation of discourse structures describes what ideologies look like and how they manage social practices. Discourse structures show that what people do as group members reflect what they think, and vice versa (van Dijk 1997:24). Furthermore, discursive reproduction refers to how group ideologies and attitudes are both implicitly or explicitly expressed in discourse. Van Dijk (2006c:125) lists some linguistic strategies which will also form part of this thesis' framework when analysing underlying ideologies and beliefs that are reflected in discourse. A description and summary of this framework is offered below:

i. Lexical items

An analysis of individual lexical items can reveal words that express norms and value judgements. For example, the connotative and denotative meaning of the lexical item "pest" used to label a person would reveal something about the writer/speaker's value judgements about the person they are talking or writing about. Words expressing norms and value judgements typically appear in evaluative content words such as nouns and verbs, as well as modifiers such as adjectives and adverbs. According to van Dijk (1997:32), certain lexical items are strategically selected to perpetuate a certain group identity in the press in order to provoke or suppress, and hence control, certain thoughts for the reader. While lexical items remain important to analyse, van Dijk (1997:31) indicates that opinions may be further expressed in more complex and less complex ways in discourse, for example in syntactic structures, headlines, story structures and so on. These discourse structures and strategies are explained in detail below:

ii. Propositions

While certain individual lexical items reveal evaluative beliefs, these do not occur in isolation. They are combined into propositions expressed by their clauses and sentences, which also carry

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specific meanings (van Dijk 1997:32). Propositions should be analysed within the context of their sentences and its meaning, also considering semantic roles in the proposition. Different semantic roles in a proposition include who is the agent or the patient in the proposition, and these may further be modified by modalities that express possibility or necessity (van Dijk 1997:32). While individual lexical items reveal opinions, according to van Dijk (1997:32), it is not only lexical items in propositions that reveal opinions as propositional structures can also reveal this.

To explain how evaluative beliefs are revealed in propositional structures, van Dijk's explanation of the "ideological square" where out-group members are negatively described, and in-group members are positively described, can be considered. The ideological square pays close attention to what is being attributed to whom and includes consideration of the agent role in a proposition as this role assigns responsibility. Furthermore, if out-group members are involved in actions that are seen as negative, this will typically be placed in the agent role, thus emphasising their responsibility for the negative action (van Dijk1997:32). However, when in-group members are involved in negative actions, they are generally not placed in the agent role. Instead, this agent role may remain empty and subsequently, responsibility for this negative action is blurred (van Dijk 1997:32). Empty agent roles in sentences, or its strategic placement for example in passive sentences, are used to evade responsibility (van Dijk 1997:32). According to van Dijk (2002:31) active and passive voice are strategic when agents of negative actions are not expressed in the "first position subject" in the sentence such that actions are suppressed, whereas the typical "first position subject" placement would emphasise agency. Thus, a strategy of polarisation is evident – where "our" (in-group) good properties or actions are emphasised while deemphasising our bad properties or actions, and "their" bad properties or actions are emphasised while deemphasising their good properties or actions. It is noteworthy that this is a general strategy used by groups that makes their ideologies more evident (van Dijk 1997:32). Thus overall, van Dijk (1997:32) holds that not only may lexical items imply positive or negative evaluations, but discourse structures may also imply positive or negative evaluations about groups and events.

iii. Implications

Propositions can further suggest certain realities about people through implicit linguistic strategies, like assertion or through modalities, like necessity modalities. As an example of a necessity modality, consider the sentence "we had to remove them". In this sentence, it is implied that there was no other option than the removal of "them". Likewise, the sentence "giving money to homeless people is bad" can be considered as an example of assertion. The use of assertion in this sentence expresses the opinion that giving money to homeless people is bad as a fact, and therefore implies this fact and may further suggest something about people who do so. Therefore, it can be seen that opinions are not always explicitly revealed in propositions, and one proposition can further imply several other propositions.

iv. Presuppositions

Presuppositions are ideological when they conflict with the interests of another group. Sentences with ideological presuppositions assume a value to true about something or someone

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(van Dijk 1997:34). It is noteworthy that although presuppositions are presumed to be true, these may in reality be false beliefs or opinions (van Dijk 1997:34). Thus, according to van Dijk (1997:34), this means that presuppositions may be strategically placed in a text to introduce a proposition or opinion that is actually false.

v. Descriptions

Van Dijk (1997:34) explains that in terms of the sequence of propositions, some propositions are described in more general ways, and others with more specificity. This means that events are described at different levels. Van Dijk's same illustration of the ideological square can be applied here. In this regard, it can be anticipated that the in-group good actions and the out-group bad actions will generally be detailed at a more specific level in discourse, whereas more general and abstract descriptions would likely apply for the bad actions of the in-group and the good actions of the out-group if expressed in discourse (van Dijk 1997:34).

vi. Importance

The way that ideology is reflected in discourse is usually only part of a speaker's interpretation; our mental models about events are usually far more detailed than what we say about them (van Dijk 2006b:170). This means that speakers tend to reflect the hierarchal structure of their mental models, where some information is deemed more important and other information less important (van Dijk 1997:42). Since mental models of events differ from person to person, this structure is also different from person to person (van Dijk 1997:42). This influences discourse where some propositions only appear in local structures; others function as overarching macrostructures (van Dijk 1997:42). Thus, perceived levels of importance may be manipulated in discourse meaning (van Dijk 1997:42). This further means that it can be expected that as a strategy, information that is more favourable to the in-group and information that is unfavourable for the out-group is likely to be put as more important and will reflect so in macro-propositional content.

vii. Relevance

According to van Dijk (1997:42), some information is also more relevant to readers and an audience. At the same time, some irrelevant information about groups or events may also be important to them (van Dijk 1997:42). According to van Dijk (1997:43), relevance is controlled by context models because what is deemed relevant in discourse correlates with what information is of practical importance for language-users and thus, reflects in discourse. It can be expected that in in-group discourse, information and opinions relevant to the in-group will be featured at greater volumes (van Dijk 1997:43). At the same time, irrelevant information may be casually added into discourse about an out-group member as to discredit this out-group member (van Dijk 1997:43).

viii. Semantic moves

According to van Dijk (1997:39), positive self-representation and negative other-representation can also occur at the local level of sentences and their sequences. This can be accounted in

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local semantic moves like disclaimers or apparent concessions, where one clause expresses one strategy (positive self-representation for example), and the next clause expresses another strategy (negative other-representation for example). While these strategies are not simply rhetorical, they are used to manage opinions and impressions, according to van Dijk (1997:40).

ix. Rhetorical devices

According to van Dijk (1995b:29), rhetorical devices are used in ideological discourse to deemphasise information deemed unfavourable to the in-group and emphasise negative information about the out-group. These include rhetorical devices such as alliteration, rhyme, and "semantic figures" such as metaphors, hyperbole, euphemisms, understatements, and mitigation (van Dijk 1995b:29). "Semantic figures" or devices are more closely associated and indicative of underlying ideologies in discourse (van Dijk 1995b:29).

x. Local coherence, global coherence and topics

Van Dijk (1997:36) describes coherence as a "crucial semantic condition of textuality". Local coherence has to do with the micro-level of the text in the way that words and sentences "hang together". According to van Dijk (1997:37, sequences of propositions may also be related by "intentional or functional" relations where for example, a proposition may include a generalisation, specification, contrast, or offer examples to explain meanings. While local coherence between propositions is important, it is "not [a] sufficient condition for discursive coherence" (van Dijk 1997:38). Instead, discursive coherence is achieved through the unifying principle of global, or overall, coherence in discourse. This can be defined topics of paragraphs and discourse as a whole (van Dijk 1997:38). These topics are formally described as semantic macrostructures.

xi. Attribution

There are two kinds of attribution that are relevant to media discourse. The first is the attribution of acts and refers to the assignment of responsibility, agency or blame to actors (van Dijk 1997:43). This assignment also follows an ideological orientation, where good acts will likely be assigned to in-group members and bad acts assigned to out-group members (van Dijk 1997:43). In contrast, in-group bad actions will be deemphasised, and out-group good actions are deemphasised (van Dijk 1997:43). This further means that the ideological square applies here too. The second kind of attribution involves the attribution of quotes, and for this Scollon's (1997) theory of attribution, in which he explains that journalists and the news media give or withhold voices in their discourse, can be noted. According to Scollon (1997b:384), attribution involves "any linguistic means one might use to indicate who is responsible for saying something". In this way, it can be understood that by attributing certain information to other sources, journalists evade responsibility and distance themselves from the ideologies and attitudes reflected in these quotes. Further, the choice of attributive verbs, like the neutral "say" over a stronger verb like "asserts", is influenced by ideological stance, and also influences the way this is perceived by the reader (Scollon 1997b:143).

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Information is typically attributed in three different ways in articles. Namely, through direct, indirect voice or it is paraphrased in the journalist's own voice (Scollon 1997b:228). This allocation of attribution is dependent on whether the journalist wants to take responsibility for the attitudes expressed or if they want to evade responsibility (Scollon 1997b:228). According to Scollon (1997b:217), journalists will generally use indirect quotes to retain control over what is said and how this is said, while also assigning responsibility to the source. Direct quotes will also be used to evade responsibility but is more often used when the journalist's ideological stance is not in agreement with what is being said. Moreover, the way that the credibility of sources is assigned in articles should also be noted in the analysis. This is usually indicated through a description of the source's competence or authority to comment on a news event, which is usually emphasised when in line with the journalist's group but deemphasised when it is not. It is for this reason that Scollon (1997b:216) states that news articles are merely reported events by newsmakers rather than an actual account of a news event. Scollon (1997b:360) argues further that no conclusions around attributions can be made fully without discursive texts being read within its wider social and ideological context.

Scollon (1997a:3) further distinguishes between three different roles that people play in discourse. These distinctions are between the receptor role, the interpreter role and the principal role. The person who is passively or actively processing what is being said in discourse is the receptor and the person who interprets what is said is the interpreter (Scollon 1997a:3). Often, the same participant can play the receptor and interpreter roles, because they can both hear or read and also develop an interpretation for what is being heard or read (Scollon 1997a:3). Finally, the person who takes responsibility of discourse fills the principal role. In the example of the news media and in the context of attribution of quotes, it can be seen that people who are quoted giving information are cast as the principal role because they are essentially taking responsibility for the ideologies they express. Therefore, journalists or editors' authorship or responsibility is cancelled to some extent.

3.11 The main criticisms of CDA

The paradigm of CDA is not without critique. One of the primary critiques of CDA is that CDA cannot account for reader reception and interpretation of discourse. Since this is a fair critique, it would be beneficial for a CDA researcher to consider conducting interviews, running questionnaires or consulting social media platform commentaries, that would help reveal how readers interpret and respond to texts. Unfortunately, in light of the practical limitations and considerations for this thesis, readers' reception and interpretation were not accounted for in the analysis of news texts, but an analysis of this would be profitable and is encouraged for further research (see Chapter Six). It has further been argued that the theoretical frameworks and foundations for CDA are too broad and have no well-grounded scholarly principle (Breeze 2011:498). This critique comes as CDA scholars often draw on diverse social and philosophical theories that contribute to the interpretation and analysis that is needed for understanding discourse. According to Hammersley (1997:244), the philosophical foundations of the school are "simply take[n] for granted". Breeze (2011:499) states that researchers of CDA ought to make their theoretical foundations explicit, as well as the methodological implications that accompany their theoretical foundation. One solution to this concern could be for the CDA

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researcher to take a mixed-methods approach to the discourse analysis to substantiate their claims further about the trends in the data. It was for this reason that a mixed-methods approach was chosen in this thesis. This was achieved through a qualitative study that was supported with a number of quantitative observations.

Another major critique of CDA is that researchers lack a systematic approach to their research methodology. According to Widdowson (1998:138), deep methodological flaws are owing to a weak academic rigor in analysis and interpretation in these cases. It would be valuable to note, however, that this critique concerns mostly the early work in the field of CDA. Indeed, the most recent work in CDA shows great awareness of this shortcoming. In fact, Breeze (2011:505) acknowledges that CDA researchers have become aware of the need for a more systematic approach to a text in its context. In addition, more CDA researchers are drawing upon corpus methodology that involves statistical analysis over large texts for a more structured methodological framework (Ngula 2018:205). CDA researchers calling for this kind of approach include van Dijk (1993), whose approach to CDA was followed in this thesis, and Partington (2003).

Critical Discourse Analysts have further been criticised for moving too quickly and inadequately through the different stages of analysis, from the language data to interpretation, and finally to an explanation of the data (Breeze 2011:520). In response to this, Verschueren (2011) calls for a more in-depth and systematic approach in the analysis of the qualitative data. This should be based on set principals that speak to the nature of methods used to analyse the meanings emerging from the dataset (Breeze 2011:507). Breeze (2011:520) argues that it is also the responsibility of the reader of the final published analysis to evaluate interpretations against the available data and in all cases, researchers should endeavour to be explicit about their methods of analysis and findings. Another solution for these criticisms would be for researchers to build equipped toolkits to render analysis that is well rounded, with detailed discussion and analysis of discursive strategies within the text's greater context.

Likewise, CDA researchers have been critiqued for dismissing the immediate context of discourse in efforts to analyse the macro-context of discourse (Breeze 2011:513). It is for this reason that different methods of analyses should be used in combination with CDA research, which was done in this thesis. Finally, CDA researchers have been critiqued for generalising the underlying ideologies of the discourse (Breeze 2011:520). This critique is fair, and researchers ought to pay more attention to the immediate context of the microstructures at play in discourse (Breeze 2011:521). The observations and consideration of the immediate context of the discourse being analysed was one of the first steps taken during the CDA conducted in this thesis. It was for this reason that "Backgrounds and Context" formed part of the analytical tool kit drawn up and used in this thesis. The analytical toolkit, where "Backgrounds and Context" is described, is detailed further in the next chapter. While these theoretical and analytical criticisms must be considered and taken into account during analysis, CDA provides an invaluable account for the way that ideology influences discourse. This makes CDA's aim outweigh its critics as it importantly explains how dominant ideologies can control marginalised and powerless groups in discourse (Breeze 2011:520).

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3.12 Concluding remarks

This chapter provided an overview of the theoretical framework and points of departure for this thesis. It was established that CDA is concerned with discourse because language reveals far-reaching realities, power relations and power abuse as a result of underlying ideological beliefs. This can be understood as CDA's foremost concern because it is interested in the way that discourse is manipulated to reproduce and bolster social inequalities and keep the marginalised at the outskirts of society and access. This chapter also provided a detailed description and motivation for the main theoretical framework and analytic approach to CDA, namely van Dijk's (1993) socio-cognitive approach to CDA. Van Dijk (1993)'s concept of mental models was described as the crucial interface between discourse and ideology, which sets his approach apart from other approaches to CDA. Mental models help explain how discourse events are processed and constructed and mental models further play a prominent role in the reproduction and perpetuation of power and dominance in discourse. It was noted that ideologies regularly underlie and are implicit in discourse, and this is also true for discursive structures and strategies that embody dominant ideologies in discourse as well. These strategies, which will form part of the analytical toolkit for this thesis, were listed and described to explain how ideology is evident in and influences linguistic strategies used by the news media. It was further argued that while CDA has several shortcomings that must be avoided, the theoretical framework of CDA provides an invaluable account of how dominant ideologies are reproduced and sustained in public discourse, as well as how mental models are internalised and then reflected it. The following chapter will provide an overview and description of the research methodology and considerations that were followed in this study.

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Chapter Four: Research Methodology

This chapter provides an outline of the research methodology followed in this thesis. It provides a description of the methodology followed for the research purpose, including the reasoning behind the choices that were made during the data collection phase. The chapter also describes the sampling procedure that was followed during the research collection, as well as the nature of the three selected publications for this research. Furthermore, the chapter includes a description of the analytical approach to the data analysis. In addition, the chapter discusses the methodological challenges that were encountered. Finally, the chapter concludes with a discussion of the ethical considerations that were made before and during the data collection.

The aim of this research, as identified in Chapter One, was to do an in-depth exploration of how the South African news media's discourse frames and constructs the narratives of homelessness in their reportage, as well as to investigate whether this representation has changed over time. Thus, this research is qualitative in nature, as it analyses the discursive moves and strategies that are used within media texts that result in power abuse. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2005:2), qualitative research methods should aim to explain data in their most "natural environment" with the attempt to describe studied behaviour, for example text and talk can be considered a natural environment where our ideologies are reflected. For this research, I understand media discourse as one "natural setting" where linguistic strategies that attempt to perpetuate power abuse can be observed and analysed. Thus, power abuse can manifest in the news media because discursive strategies are used to put forward the writer's preferred mental model and manipulate mental models of others.

4.1 The sample

There are three different news types that exist within the South African news media landscape, each of which hold different mandates and objectives. These different news types include national news publications, reporting for the national audience; and local news publications, reporting for local communities. A third news type that exists is publications that report on fringe issues. This news type is described as "fringe" because the news events that these publications report on are sometimes ignored by mainstream publications because it is not always considered "newsworthy". An example of these issues are social justice and human rights issues. This is in contrast to mainstream publications that generally report on political affairs, rather than issues focusing on social justice. These differences in reportage are owing to their differing mandates, audiences, and news values within their newsrooms. It is for this reason that the three South African news media outlets, News24, District Mail, and Ground Up, were selected for this research. Each of these news outlets give an example of the different type of news mandates that exist within the South African press and provides an account of how different news media may report on the same issue. Moreover, it was anticipated that different news mandates would influence reportage on the homeless. For example, it was anticipated that District Mail and Ground Up's reportage on the homeless community would differ largely as the news publications have two divergent objectives and report for different

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readers. For example, Ground Up reports on the behalf of vulnerable communities whereas District Mail's audience is residents of the Helderberg community area.

Taking this into consideration, it is important to note the further differences between the publications under analysis for this research. News24 is a daily online news platform and is considered to have South Africa's largest local readership (News24, 2020). The community newspaper, District Mail, is published weekly. District Mail, also known as *Distrikspos*, is the only print media in the data corpus but all articles published in their weekly newspaper are also posted online. Finally, the fringe daily-publication Ground Up is youngest in the data corpus, only founded in 2012, and focuses on human rights reportage (About Ground Up, 2021). It is also the only non-profit news agency in the dataset.

All articles on the topic of homelessness published in these three news publications were selected within a three-year span, from 2018 to 2020, during which several news events happened. Some of the notable news events that occurred during the three-year-span included the 2018 Western Cape Drought, the implementation of the 2007 pavement by-law, and Covid-19. A period of three years was chosen to allow for the investigation of whether any change occurred in the way that the media reported on homeless people in news items. While this time frame is long enough to account for change within reportage over time, it also allowed for substantial and adequate data collection since the media in general do not categorically report on homelessness or homeless people. These choices and criteria for the research design were made in line with the framework of this thesis' research aim and research questions that were first identified in Chapter One and restated below:

The aim of this research is to do an in-depth exploration of the way media discourse frames and constructs the narratives of homelessness in their reportage, as well as to investigate whether this representation has changed over time. Thus, the following questions have been identified as the research questions of this project:

1) Which types of identities are attributed to homeless people in news stories that topicalise them?
2) How do the media construct, frame, reinforce or dispel stereotypes and stigmas that are associated with the homeless community?

A sub-question to this research has also been identified:

3) How has the media's representation of the homeless community changed over time, if at all?

4.2 Methods

It was established in Chapter Three that this thesis is situated in the paradigm of CDA, and more specifically the analytical theory and approach of van Dijk (1993). Much like their divergent and varied theoretical groundings explored in Chapter Three, CDA theorists do not have a typical method for their data collection (Wodak and Meyer 2008:23). It is notable

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however, that although there is no well-defined empirical method in CDA, its practitioners' theoretical base and research questions remain similar in nature (Wodak and Meyer 2008:23). Further, although van Dijk (1993) is interested in CDA research within the press, he is also not explicit on his research methods in this regard. It is the same for other CDA researchers who conduct research of media texts and television reports, using the media as their research tool, like Jäger and Fairclough (Wodak and Meyer 2008:24).

In this thesis, data was collected through the news archives of the three news outlets that were under analysis. These archives were available online and thus made the data collection process relatively seamless. The news outlets' online archives were filtered through the use of four key word searches, namely "homeless", "homeless people", "homelessness" and "housing issues". All articles, editorials, and advertisements that topicalised homeless people between 2018 and 2020 were selected to be included in the corpus. However, because homelessness is nuanced, this meant further distinguishing between articles that topicalised groups like homeless people who already live on the streets and groups who were vulnerable to illegal evictions that are at risk of becoming homeless. Thus, it was necessary to include a definition for "homeless" in this thesis, which I established as people reported on who did not have a permanent roof over their heads. Overall, a total of 49 articles were collected, of which 14 were published in News24, 14 were published in District Mail and 21 were published in Ground Up.

4.3 Data analysis

I took an interdisciplinary approach to my data corpus, in that, I first applied a broad TA as proposed by Braun and Clark (2012), and from there I analysed the media texts within their thematic representations established during the TA, using van Dijk (1993)'s socio-cognitive analytical approach to CDA. A number of quantitative observations were also made before and during the TA stage of the data analysis. Braun and Clark (2012:6) describe TA in six steps that help organise and describe data in a minimal but rich manner.

The first step of the TA was taken to allow me to identify existing commonalities, patterns and themes that were important to the research questions being explored in this thesis (Braun and Clark, 2006:2). This first step involved immersing myself with the entire dataset before coding any data within the research corpus (Braun and Clark 2012:16). According to Braun and Clark (2012:17) this step is vital, and thus should not be rushed since it is the "bedrock for the rest of the analysis". This foundation-setting step involved a process of actively and continuously reading the data for patterns and meanings and making notes. This step allowed me to become acquainted with the data. The second step involved the more formal act of organising the data by systematically identifying what was interesting in the dataset and what stood out in a significant way that could form the basis of themes in my dataset. All data extracts must be coded before they are organised together in groups, according to Braun and Clark (2012:19), thus after the second step in the TA, I had a total of 107 pages worth of coded and collated data, which was then organised in terms of possible themes.

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Next, I analysed the initial coded extracts to identify broad themes and also sub-themes. Fourthly, once a set of themes were devised, I revised and refined these by first consulting whether coherent patterns appeared in the initial coded and collated extracts, and then did the same with the entire data corpus. I initially constructed ten themes out of this step, which was later halved after a number of themes began to overlap and indicate commonalities. In step five of my TA, I analysed, defined and refined the themes identified in the fourth step. This meant going back to collated and coded data to evaluate what was significant to the different media extracts that reflected the established themes. This step also meant writing a report of each theme, including how the theme related to the research questions and the data set as a whole (Braun and Clark 2012:22). Finally, step six of the TA called for writing up an analysis, or as Braun and Clark (2012:23) call it "a story", of the data in which the account makes an argument in relation to the research question at hand.

After conducting the TA, I analysed the data further by means of a CDA, analysing how the identified themes manifested in terms discourse structures, such as syntactic structures, lexical choices, and semantic representations. Van Dijk (1993:259)'s analytical approach, fixed within his social and cognitive framework, was followed to conduct this CDA. While a 'complete' CDA cannot reasonably exist given the extensive and intricate dimensions of discourse, van Dijk (2001b:99) asserts that the discourse structures susceptible to social power are of the most interest. Indeed, there are discourse structures that are a merely matters of grammatical obligation and these were not analysed during the research. This distinction was made as van Dijk (2001b:99) further argues that of those discourse structures that are susceptible to social power, only the structures relevant to the research question are of value for analysis.

While van Dijk's (1993:260) method of analysis looks both at the macro and micro-levels in which dominance and power influence discourse, he asserts that the actual analysis takes place at the micro level of discourse, which is the discursive details of sentences in discourse, as opposed to global discursive characteristics that describe discourse as a whole. Van Dijk (2001b:97) argues that explicit CDA must have a solid linguistic grounding as it must account for "the detailed structures, strategies and functions of text and talk, including grammatical, pragmatic, interactional, stylistic, rhetorical, semiotic, narrative or similar forms of verbal and paraverbal organization of communicative events". Thus, van Dijk (1993:260) concludes that the main areas of interest for analysis are found in the syntactical and lexical style, intonation, rhetoric forms and semantic structures, such as specific themes of topics in discourse.

According to van Dijk (1985:115), the researcher should look at the semantic macrostructures; these are the topics or global meanings that language-users speak about and infer in discourse. Semantic macrostructures illustrate what the speaker, writer or organisations orient towards (van Dijk 1985:115) and this first step identifies what the media texts topicalised. After looking at the semantic macrostructures, I studied how local meanings, and structures of propositions and coherence within the media texts influenced linguistic strategies that were either implicitly or explicitly ideological as distinguished by van Dijk (1997). Local meanings refer to the micro-detail of the discursive texts, for example grammatical characterization in a sentence. This can be distinguished from the macro-structural or global observations in discursive texts,

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which consider an overall observation of texts. This point of analysis was taken as, according to van Dijk (1985:117), local meanings are often the result of speakers' various mental models and are also most influential over recipients' mental models. However, global meanings in discursive texts are still relevant and important to consider. Consequently, semantic representations of local meanings together with semantic macrostructures were observed. Some of these semantic representations are more implicit – present in presuppositions and implications for example – than explicit, meaning that although existing in the mental models of the users, they may not directly manifest in the text itself. The use of rhetoric was also important to consider, and thus formed part of the third phase of the CDA analysis. An analytical framework, detailed in Chapter Three and described in van Dijk's (1997: 31-45) "Opinions and Ideologies in the Press", was drawn up and adopted to systematically conduct the above and analyse the themed media texts:

4.3.1 Backgrounds and context

First, analysing the backgrounds and contexts of articles that represented homeless people were significant as they revealed social contexts that influenced discourse around homeless people. This was an important step considering a main critique of CDA that questions a dismissal of immediate and social contexts of discourse (Breeze 2011: 521). This step also meant taking into consideration the type of article that was topicalising homeless people, for example general news reports or opinion pieces will report on events and people differently.

4.3.2 Macro-propositional content

Macro-propositional content in articles described how homeless people and homelessness were globally represented. This meant looking at how homeless people were spoken about as a whole across articles that held similar themes and topics.

4.3.3 Individual lexical items and modified phrases

At a micro-level of analysis, certain individual lexical items and modified propositions were analysed. According to van Dijk (1997:32) certain words reveal norms and value judgements about people or events, this micro-analysis meant identifying how selected lexical items and modifiers were used strategically in the text.

4.3.4 Presuppositions and implications

Some of the strategic moves in discourse structures are more implicitly evaluative than the use of words that has clear negative associations attached to it. There are two examples of these, namely, presuppositions and implication. A presupposition is a belief held about a group that assumes a value about this group (van Dijk 1997:29). On the other hand, implication involves indirectly suggesting an opinion about a group. Thus, presuppositions and implications were further examined across texts topicalising homelessness for how implicit opinions about homeless people were revealed in the news texts (van Dijk 1997:34).

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4.3.5 Descriptions

Looking at how descriptions of groups were included in these articles played a significant role in the data analysis. This called for the analysis of how homeless people were described in certain ways, and City Officials, NGO workers or residents, in another way. These observations were revealed and analysed in detail as they closely related to van Dijk's ideological square theory. This further meant examining semantic moves of self-representation and other-representation for example, as well looking at what was revealed as relevant and important about homeless people in these descriptions.

4.3.6 Rhetorical devices

It was further useful to look at how a number of rhetorical devices – such as, metaphors, idiomatic language and rhetorical questions – were used to emphasise certain characteristics of homeless people, as well as characteristics belonging to other people who were reported on or voiced in relation to the homeless.

4.3.7 Local coherence

In this step, I analysed how the representations and information (revealed in sentences and lexical items) about homeless people were strung together to create coherence throughout representations of homeless people, power elites, and in the articles in general.

4.3.8 Attribution

Finally, I examined how acts and information were attributed in the media representations about homeless people. This was done in terms of Scollon's theory of attribution. This was also valuable in the analysis of how attributions to sources were incorporated in the text. This also meant examining who was voiced and whose voice was withheld in the texts about homeless people. Examining how information was attributed was essential in the analysis, since news articles typically use voices from experts or community members who are deemed relevant to an article's topic to frame information in their reportage (Scollon 1997b:143). This means that information is reported according to the point of view of the people who are voiced in articles, and what is said by these sources of information also reveals what the journalists' values as relevant and important in a news item (Scollon 1997b:143). This analysis of attribution in news articles further revealed which voices were being heard or silenced in articles.

4.4 Methodological challenges

Some of the main methodological challenges that arose whilst conducting the data collection in this thesis, although not many, can be noted. These included narrowing the number of articles included during the phase of data collection, themes and eliminating articles that topicalised groups that could have been closely associated with the homeless community. These eliminated articles topicalised issues around homelessness, like housing shortages, but did not topicalise homeless people or homelessness itself. Another consideration made was to exclude

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representations of South African people in the media who were vulnerable to illegal eviction or living in informal settlements, as these did not relate closely enough to the identified research questions and did not fit the definition of "homelessness" established for this research.

4.5 Ethical issues

The ethical issues encountered during the data collection and analysis stages were minimal. This was as I was working with public data as, after articles are published, publications have waived ethical rights to their news items. This means that permission to use articles was not necessary during the data collection process. In addition, this research did not involve human participation, institutions or organisations.

4.6 Concluding remarks

This chapter served to make explicit my methodological approaches and intentions in this research. All considerations for the data collection, methodological approach, issues and challenges, were guided by this thesis' research questions and aims. This chapter further identified the approach taken to conduct the analysis of my data corpus. The two methods, a TA and van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach to CDA, for analysis were explained and systematically outlined to explain the analytical approach that was taken during this research. Finally, it was noted that that the ethical issues that arose during the stage of data collection and analysis were relatively minor, allowing for a smooth data collection phase. The following chapter will provide an account for the data analysis that was applied as outlined in this chapter for the purpose of answering the research questions. Chapter Five will provide an account of the quantitative observations made and the CDA of media texts that topicalised homeless people. The chapter will further provide an account of this CDA within the background of the thematic representations of homeless people that was identified across the data corpus during the TA phase of this research.

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Chapter Five: Data analysis

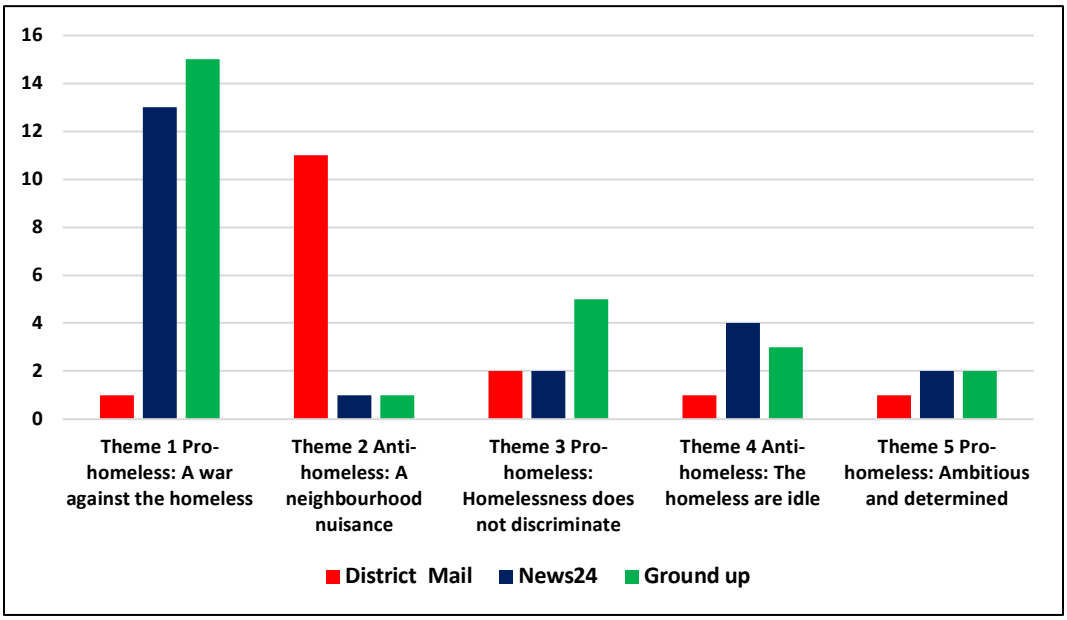
This chapter will provide an overview of the findings that stemmed from the analysis of the data corpora collected from the three news publications, District Mail (labelled as Group 1), News24 (labelled as Group 2), and Ground Up (labelled as Group 3) that topicalised homelessness in their reportage from 2018 to 2020. Articles can be found in the appendix organised according to their date of publication and news source. Thus, articles published by District Mail are labelled in the appendix as Appendix 1A-1I, articles published by News24 are labelled as Appendix 2A-2K, and articles published by Ground Up are labelled as Appendix 3A-3J. Overall, a total of 49 articles were collected, of which 14 news items were published in News24, 14 news items were published in District Mail and 21 news items were published in Ground Up. Table 1 below provides a tally of all the articles collected in the data corpus:

Table 1: A tally of the articles per news publication during 2018 - 2020 collected in the data corpus.

	2018	2019	2020	2018-2020
News24	1	5	8	14
District Mail	3	3	8	14
Ground Up	14	1	5	21

A broad TA established five thematic representations of homeless people that were relevant to the research questions established in Chapter One. Figure 2 below provides an overview of the distribution of five of the main themes that were identified in the data:

Figure 2 : The number of times the identified themes were repeated in each of the selected news publications.



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As seen in Figure 2, the five main themes identified in the dataset, from the most frequently to the least frequently recurring, are as follows: A war against the homeless; A neighbourhood nuisance; Homelessness does not discriminate; The homeless are idle; and Ambitious and determined. The graphic representation in Figure 2 shows that the Theme 1 " A war against the homeless", and Theme 2, "A neighbourhood nuisance", were the most recurring thematic representations in the data corpora. It can further be noted that in Theme 1, Ground Up and News24 articles most frequently foregrounded the discrimination of homeless people and in Theme 2, District Mail articles were most regularly presenting homeless people as "a neighbourhood nuisance". Furthermore, it can be noted that the frequency of these two thematic representations considerably outweigh the frequency of the other three themes that appear in the data corpora.

While each of these themes are described in detail later in this chapter, it can be noted that Theme 1's macro-propositional content indicates a pro-homeless representation; Theme 2's macro-propositional content suggests an anti-homeless representation; Theme 3's macro-propositional content suggests a representation that is mostly positive; Theme 4's macro-propositional content suggests an anti-homeless representation; and Theme 5's macro-propositional content suggests a pro-homeless representation. Thus, it can be further noted in Figure 2 that while District Mail representations of the homeless were greatly prevalent in Theme 2, the community newspaper's articles appeared less frequently in other representations of the homeless, especially in pro-homeless themes, while the opposite is true for articles coming out of the fringe news agency, Ground Up. It is worth noting that a number of the thematic representations identified also overlapped with other representations in the sense that articles represented both anti-homeless and pro-homeless sentiments but most of the articles were distinctly pro-homeless or anti-homeless in their representations.

The following section provides a minor quantitative analysis about the corpora collected in this study. Thereafter, the chapter will use van Dijk's (1993) approach to CDA to provide a qualitative analysis of the discursive construction of the main themes that characterised the corpora frames in order to show how these themes manifested linguistically. This discussion is provided in the order of the most frequent to the least frequent occurring themes in this chapter.

5.1 A brief quantitative representation of homelessness in the news media

In this section, I will briefly outline a number of quantitative observations about the data. Figures 3 – 6 below illustrates how news reportage that topicalised homeless people has changed over the years across the three news publications, and in Figure 7 found later in this section, a comparison will be drawn between the frequency of homeless people being voiced in articles to the number of times that power elites are voiced in articles. In Chapter One, three research questions were identified. All three will be answered in this chapter. The analysis that follows this section will answer research questions 1-2:

1) Which types of identities are attributed to homeless people in news stories that topicalise them?

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2) How do the media either construct, frame and reinforce or dispel stereotypes and stigmas that are associated with the homeless community?

5.1.1 Change of reportage over time

Figures 3 – 6 will provide a number of observations that will unpack this thesis' sub-research question. The sub-research question 3 asked how reportage of homeless people has changed from 2018 – 2020. Figures 3–6 represent three different timelines, of which Figure 3 represents articles published during 2018, Figure 4 represents articles published during 2019, and Figure 5-6 represent articles that were published during 2020. The timelines show all the articles and their topics that were published across publications in each year. In Figures 3-6, articles are labelled with green to indicate a pro-homeless representation or red, indicating an anti-homeless representation. From Figure 3–6, three broad aspects concerning the change in reportage over 2018 – 2020 can be made. These include how the representation of homeless people has changed across publications; how the global topics of articles have changed over time across publications; and how volume in reportage topicalising homelessness has changed.

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Figure 3: A representation of reportage over time in 2018

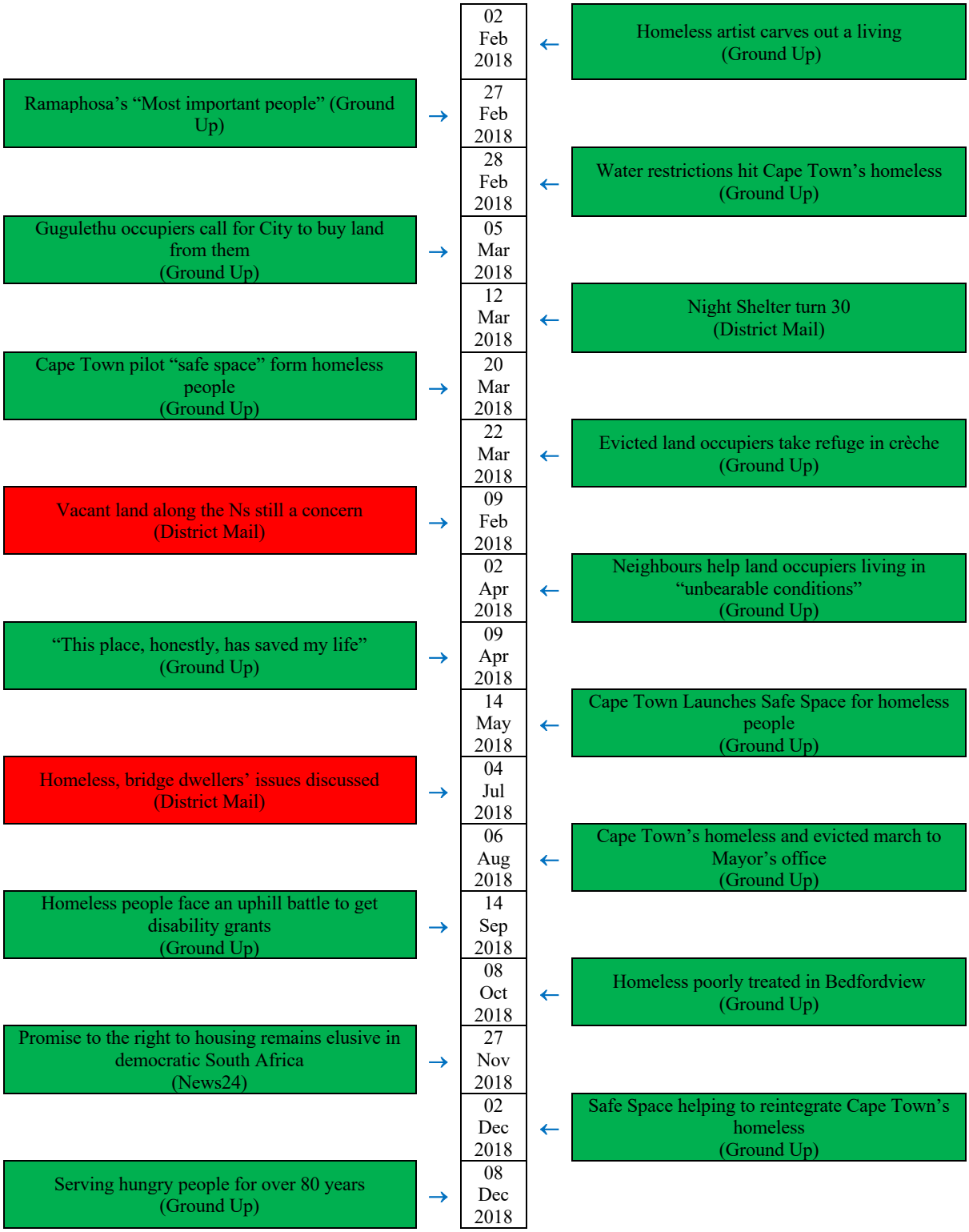

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Figure 3: A representation of reportage over time in 2019

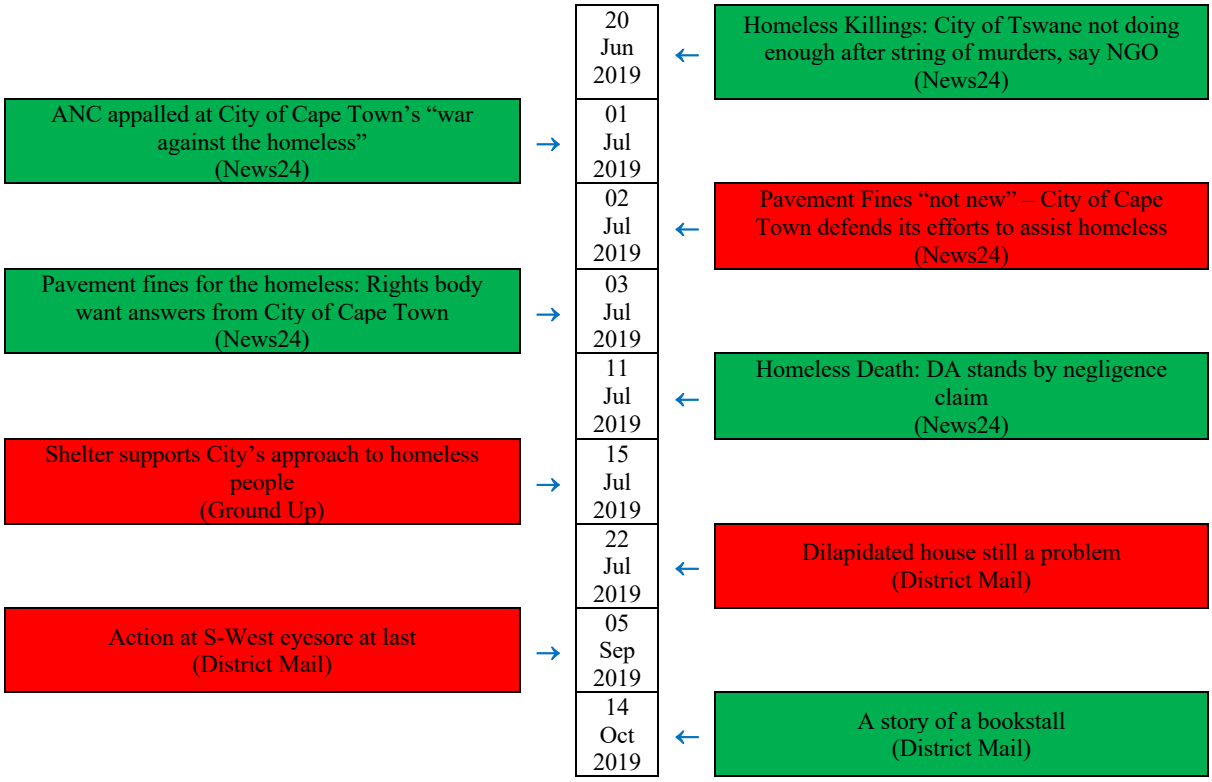

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Figure 4: A representation of reportage over time during 2020

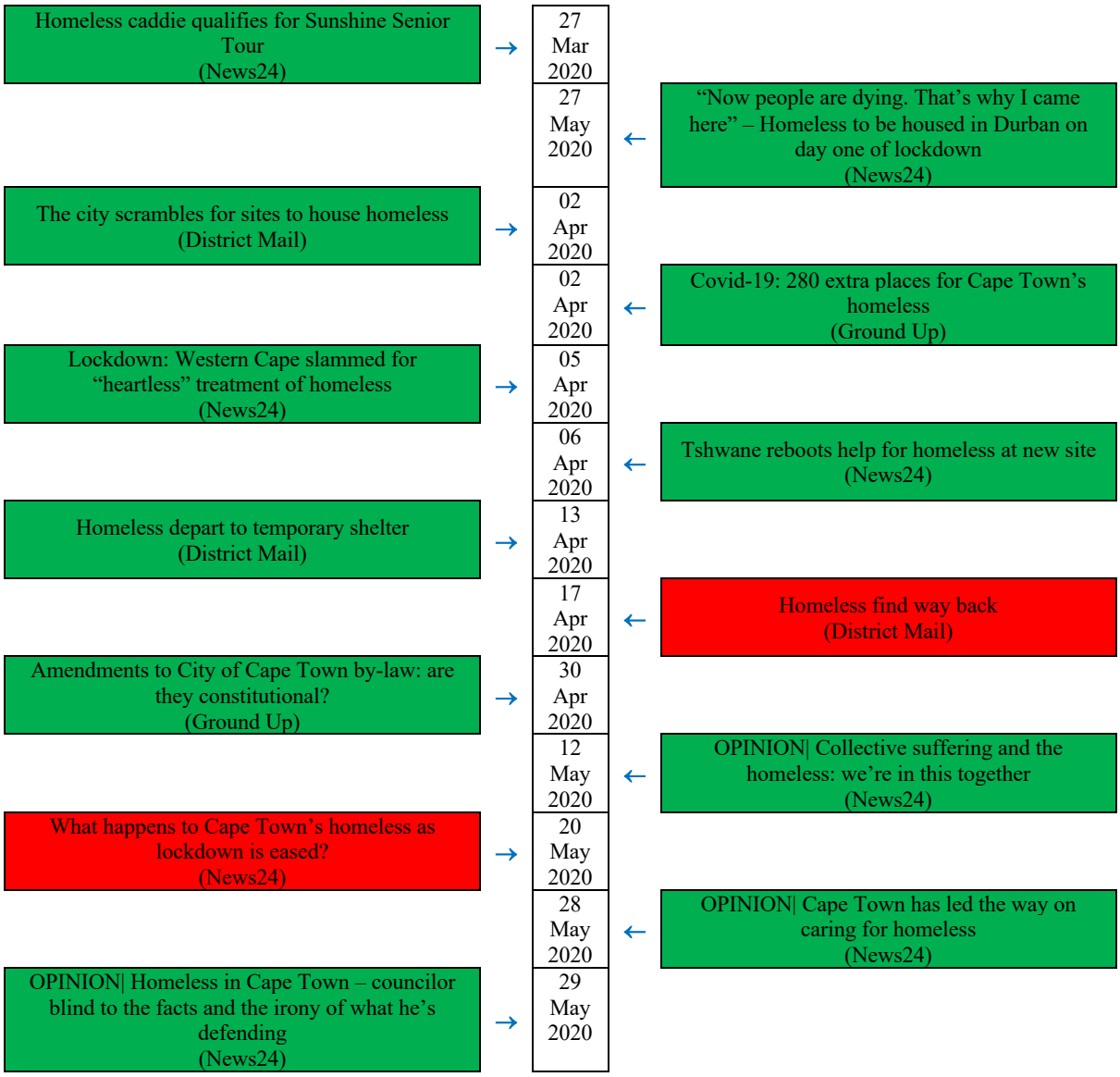

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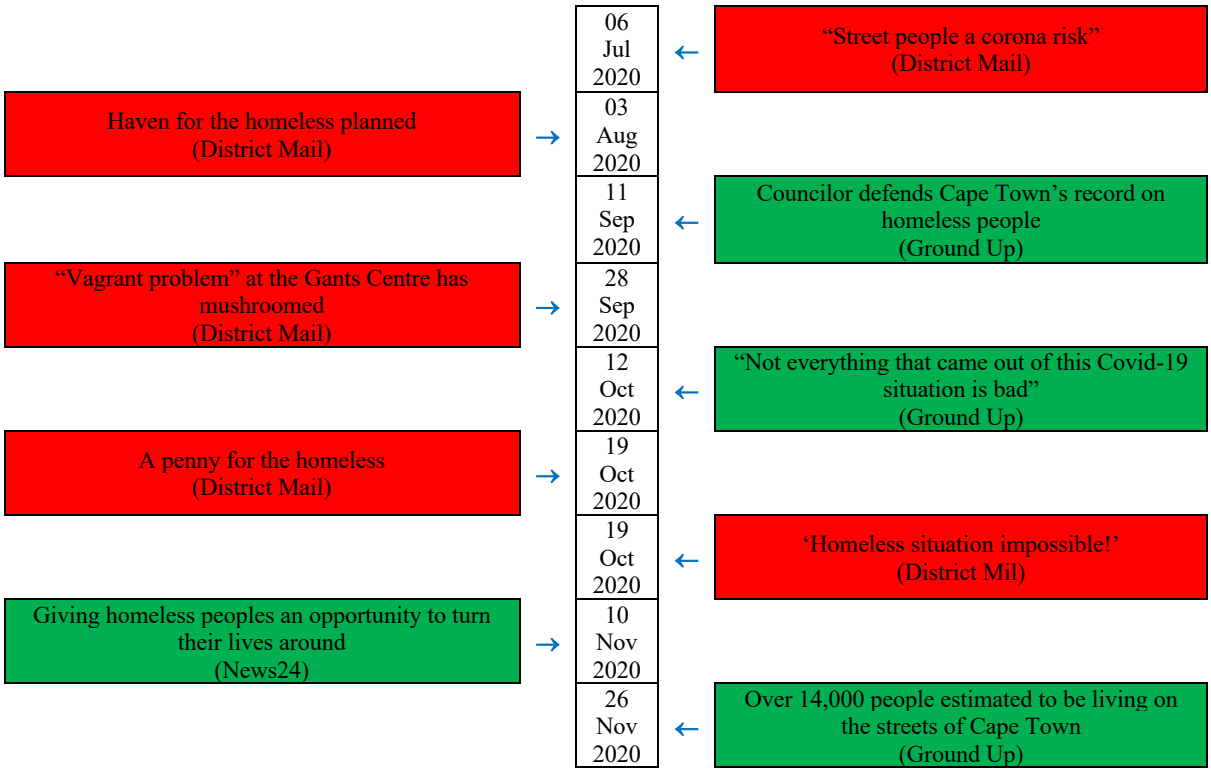
Figure 5: A representation of reportage over time in 2020 cont.



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The first observations that can be made about the timelines represented in Figures 3-6 concern the ways in which the representations of homeless people have changed from 2018–2020. I distinguished between two different ways that homeless people were represented in news items, namely positively or negatively. It was found that although articles reflected nuanced representations of the homeless community, showing both positive and negative representations of the group, articles tended to be explicitly more positive or negative in their representations of homeless people. Thus, I identified articles reporting either a pro-homeless or anti-homeless agenda in their reportage. In Figures 3-6, it can be noted that articles identified as "feel good" articles and presented pro-homeless representations were notably either published at the beginning of the year, around New Year's Day or towards the end of the year, nearing Christmas Day. This stands out as these holiday periods are typically when people are more giving and sympathetic towards vulnerable groups like the homeless (Bunis, Yancik and Snow 1996:399). Overall, however, it can be noted that there was no pattern to whether homeless people were represented positively or negatively from year to year. Thus, the way that homeless people were represented did not change over time. Rather, homeless people were typically represented negatively or positively based on which publication was reporting on the group.

Furthermore, it can be considered whether global topics in reportage changed over time in the three figures. Figures 3-6 reveal that the local, national, and global context that characterises the time at which something is published impacts its topic. This can most notably be observed in Figures 3-6 where most articles published across all three publications in 2020 and topicalised Covid-19 and its impact on homeless people and residents. Other observations about the time and topic of articles include that during 2019, a number of articles topicalised the impact of the 2007-pavement by-law's – which has been enforced since 2007 but since 2020 an amendment to it has allowed municipalities to fine homeless people – impact on homeless people in the Western Cape, and most were published by News24. During 2019, two articles also topicalised a series of homeless murders happening in Pretoria, which was also reported by News24. Therefore, it can be concluded that global topics in news articles changed over time as a result of the different news events that were happening at its time of publication.

Finally, the extent to which the volume of reportage on homeless people has changed over the years 2018 – 2020 can be noted. From Figures 3-6 it can be noted that most articles topicalising homeless people were published during 2020. This was expected as the Covid-19 pandemic and subsequent national lockdown made vulnerable citizens more "newsworthy". At the onset of Covid-19, homeless people became newsworthy because world news, other than Covid-19, slowed down as South Africa went into a hard lockdown. Therefore, homeless people, who could not retreat to their homes for the lockdown, were instantly more newsworthy (see Appendix 2J). Interestingly, News24 and District Mail increased their reportage on homeless people during this time, whereas Ground Up reported more on homeless people during the previous years, especially during 2018.

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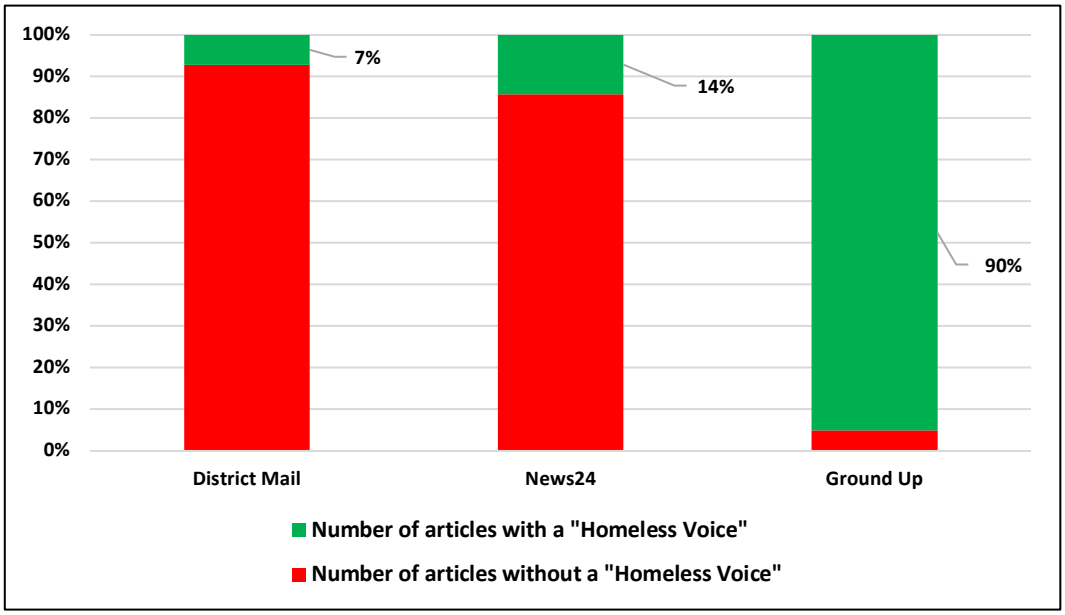
5.1.2 The voiced and the voiceless

In Chapter Three, it was established that Scollon's (1997) theory of attribution was relevant to the news media because news events are constructed through the perspectives of different sources. This means that journalists either give a voice to or silence groups in their reportage (Scollon 1997a:392). Thus, it is important to note who is saying what and who is implicated in this discourse by analysing who is voiced and who is silenced in articles concerning homeless people. This is especially important as voicing implicated individuals in news reportage to have a balanced account of a news event is a normative ethical practice in journalism as seen in the South African Press Code for online and print media, which states that the media should "seek, if practicable, the views of the subject of critical reportage" (Press Council 2020: n.p.). Thus, it should be expected that the voice of homeless people would be included in all news items that reported on them. With this mind, Figure 7 can be considered below:

Figure 6: Percentage of articles per news publication that include the voice of homeless people



In Figure 7 above, it can be observed that the inclusions of homeless people's voice vary from publication to publication, and that the homeless community's voice was largely disregarded in District Mail articles and News24 articles. By contrast, 90% of articles collected from Ground Up included the voices from the homeless community. This is especially noteworthy as it was indicated in Figure 1 that most of the District Mail representations of homeless people were negative, whereas Ground Up articles that included the voice of homeless people, presented mostly positive representations of homeless people. This means that majority of articles, especially in District Mail and News24 articles relied solely on power elites as sources of information, which means that reportage was skewed to the power elite's point of view and

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not from the homeless community. This is indicative that discourse presented in articles that topicalise homelessness is more likely to perpetuate social power imbalances and dominance the discourse is being constructed and framed by power elites. This further falls in line with van Dijk's (2000: 310) remark that minority groups are rarely quoted as credible sources in the news media in comparison to mainstream news sources, such as power elites and organisations. Moreover, Figure 7 supports van Dijk (1991: 113)'s stipulation that sources of information, as well as newsgathering practices, are ultimately biased decisions. Examples of power elites included in the articles were politicians, businesspeople, local residents, and founders of non-profit organisations. The next section of this chapter will provide a detailed account of the themes that emerged from this study's TA, as well as a CDA that illustrates how these thematic representations were discursively constructed in articles that topicalised the homeless community.

5.2 Theme 1: A war against the homeless

In a News24 article published in 2019 and titled "The ANC appalled at the city's war against the homeless", the African National Congress (ANC) identified the implementation of anti-poor policies spear-headed by their opposition, the Democratic Alliance (DA) in Cape Town, as "a war against the homeless" (Appendix 2B, line 1), claiming that these policies were a "tantamount to criminalising homelessness" (Appendix 2B, line 21-22; see also Appendix 3I, line 29-30). The article was largely a political rebuttal between two opposing political parties, but its title illustrated one common theme running through articles: namely, the discrimination against and the large-scale suffering of homeless people. This therefore rendered a sympathetic representation of the group. The TA identified this as the most common occurring theme in the corpus with a total of 28 of the 49 articles foregrounding discrimination against homeless people.

Notably, it was mostly Ground Up articles that presented this theme in their reportage, with a total of 18 articles published by this news agency; where News24 published 9 and District Mail published 1 article contributing to this theme. Articles that argued that there is "a war against the homeless" described how homeless people are so extensively victimised through government policy and their lack of access to social and health security, that they are targeted through city policies, and thereby power elites (Appendix 3F, line 2). For example, homeless people are described as "simply dumped" (Appendix 2K, line 6) to other areas and have to endure homeless "clean ups" (Appendix 2D, line 65), where their possessions are raided or taken away. Moreover, the homeless community are described as being cut off from basic resources, like running water, and are refused access to public health facilities because hospitals turn homeless people away for reasons like them stinking (Appendix 2E, line 6 - 7).

In this theme, power elites, like the City of Cape Town, are described as "heartless" and "ruthless" (Appendix 2G, line 3), "aggressive" (Appendix 2D, line 13), and dishonest because they do not want the homeless to "actually" be "part of the working system" (Appendix 3F, line 28). These unfavourable representations of power elites are contrasted with sympathetic representations of homeless people. Modifiers are predominantly used to emphasise the

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inequality that characterises homelessness as homeless people are referred to as "the poor" (Appendix 2J, line 71), the "most vulnerable people" (Appendix 2A, line 4), a "voiceless community" (Appendix 2E, line 40), "the destitute" (Appendix 2B, line 15), as "having nothing" (Appendix 2B, line 15), "those living in extreme conditions of poverty" (Appendix 2A, line 4-5), and as those "in desperate need" (Appendix 2A, line 10).

In these examples, it can be observed that determiners like "the most" and that the adjectives "extreme", "vulnerable", and "desperate" all emphasise the desolate state of homeless people. Other evaluative nouns can also be observed that denote homeless people as honourable and undeserving of ill treatment by power elites. Some of these include "that gentleman" (Appendix 2J, line 52) and "those nameless, faceless human beings" (Appendix 2J, line 68). It is further noteworthy that homeless people are described in modified propositions in such a way that highlights their vulnerability. For example, homeless people are introduced as "partially blind and homeless" (Appendix 3F, line 26), "hungry and exposed to the weather" (Appendix 3D, line 23), and "living in unbearable conditions" (Appendix 3D, line 1). This representation is further relayed by propositions that emphasise their lack of access to basic government assistance like disability or social grants. For example, in Appendix 3F, line 15, disability grants are described as "much needed" for homeless people.

Four sub-themes were identified within this first theme that can be described as follows: the impact of the 2018 drought in Cape Town on homeless people; government support issues that homeless people experience; the impact of anti-poor policies on homeless people; and the impact of the ill-conditioned homeless lockdown camps that were enforced at the onset of the Covid-19 outbreak in South Africa. The following section will provide an in-depth analysis of five sentences/extracts that illustrate how homeless people were discursively represented as targets or victims.

5.2.1 Cape Town's drought in 2018

The extract below is taken from a news article published by Ground Up on 8 October 2018 (Appendix 3B). This extract emphasises how homeless people were impacted by the drought that occurred in Cape Town in 2018, and the subsequent water restrictions that the City of Cape Town implemented.

(1) "Water restrictions hit Cape Town's homeless. 'We might stay on the streets, but we want to be clean'." (Appendix 3B, line 1-2)

In this extract, line 1 (the headline) of the article already frames the homeless as victims, which further sets the macro-proposition and tone of the article. This is first indicated in line 1 where the evaluative verb "hit" depicts homeless people as being struck or hurt by the water restrictions. The restrictions are personified in the sentence, and stands in the agent role of it, which assigns responsibility to the negative action of "hit" to the city's water restrictions and does so in the active voice. Later in this article, it becomes clear that it is not the restrictions that are harming homeless people but actually the city policies that are targeting the homeless

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community. Therefore, this headline casts blame on power elites, identified as the City of Cape Town, because they enforce these restrictions. This positions city officials as the out-group in line 1 as negative attributions are awarded to them. Line 2, "We might stay on the streets, but we want to be clean", in the extract is a direct quote from a homeless person, appearing twice in the article. First, the quote is used as a blurb to the article, and thus also sets the semantic macrostructure of the entire article (van Dijk 1995a: 22) and later, the quote appears again, when a homeless person is quoted in the article.

The apparent concession in line 2 holds two clauses, in which one addresses a presupposition about homeless people and the other disqualifies it. The clause, "we might stay on the streets" suggests that homeless people still want to be clean even though they "might stay on the streets". The disclaimer that homeless people want to be clean like any other human being is emphasised in the clause that follows, "but we want to clean". Here, the contrastive conjunction "but" introduces the disqualification of the implied belief that homeless people don't care if they are dirty. It is further noteworthy that the pronoun "we" in this proposition situates homeless people as part of the in-group. Thus, lines 1-2 set the global tone and topic for the article, with both sentences spotlighting how homeless people are victimised because of the water restrictions.

5.2.2 The problem of social security

The sentence below is taken from another headline found in a Ground Up news article, published on 14 September 2018. This article topicalised the difficulties that differently abled homeless people face when trying to secure disability grants, especially because things like having a home address are one of the requirements for securing this kind of social security.

(2) "Homeless people face an uphill battle to get disability grants." (Appendix 3F, line 1)

In (2) homeless people's efforts to secure disability grants are described through the metaphor and noun phrase, facing "an uphill battle". This rhetorical device implies that homeless people experience steep challenges before they secure a disability grant. Overall, macro-propositional content in the article further implies that homeless people experience several obstacles in securing this grant. Several modified phrases that trickle throughout the article help create local coherence in this representation of homelessness. A number of adjectival phrases imply that securing such grants for homeless people is "particularly challenging" (Appendix 3F, line 4-5), "extremely difficult" (Appendix 3F, line 11), and through adverbial phrases, taking "many months" (Appendix 3F, line14), and "far longer" (Appendix 3F, line 14) than it should, with some processes taking "four to five months" (Appendix 3F, line 44). A noun phrase is used to further imply that it is an all-round "lengthy process" (Appendix 3F, line 42) for homeless people to secure basic health and social security. These modifiers, which mostly include quantifying modifiers and adjectival phrases, all reflect this difficulty in gaining access to disability grants, and the descriptions of the homeless people are built around these. Moreover, the unending nature of this process is emphasised through the use of repetitive phrases like "we

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need this, we need that" (Appendix 3F, line 31 - 32), reflecting the repetitive nature of obstacles that homeless people face.

5.2.3 Anti-poor policies

The sentence below contains the subtheme describing homeless people as targets of anti-poor policies, framed as tenacious attacks on the homeless. The extract found in (3) was published by Ground Up on 8 October 2018. In (3), anti-poor attacks against homeless people are described as not only categorical and but widespread. This is to a large extent indicated by quantifying modifiers and markers of plurality in (3).

(3) "People living on the street say they will resist smear campaigns and persistent attempts to have them removed. In Johannesburg's affluent East suburbs, homeless people are under pressure from local government and the private sector. According to several people living on the street, property development and urban renewal are to blame (…) One homeless person told Ground Up the metro cops had even tried to solicit money from him." (Appendix 3G, line 2-9)

In (3), the attacks against homeless individuals are framed as tenacious through plurality in the nouns "smear campaigns" and "attempts" and through the quantifying modifiers, "many years" and "over the past few months", and the adjective "persistent" in (3). In addition, in the attributive phrase "according to several homeless people" and the quantifying adjective "several", it is once more indicated that these attacks are categorical and widespread. These number markers construct homeless people as constant victims of anti-poor policies and further create local coherency. Importantly, in (3) agency for negative actions against the homeless people is cast on the power elites. For example, blame is cast on the "local government and the private sector", "property development and urban renewal are to blame", and "even" the "metro cops" who attempt to take money from the homeless. Here, the adverb "even" works to emphasise the absurdity of a police officer soliciting money from a homeless person. Thus, it can be established that power elites are characterised negatively because they are responsible for the bad actions in (3).

Also noteworthy, is the way that power elites, who are city authorities and local residents, are described in relation to the homeless people. In (3), a strategy of polarisation can be noted that describes the in-group, homeless people, as victims, and positions the out-group, locals and businesspeople, as the people who are targeting the homeless. In line 3, the evaluative noun phrase "affluent East suburbs" positions the locals as the well-off or wealthy who are targeting the homeless people. Therefore, the locals are described negatively because of their actions against the homeless community whereas homeless people are characterised as victims through the phrases "under pressure" and "subjected to" in relation to the locals doing the harm.

Likewise, the sentence in (4), from a News24 article published on 1 July 2019, the absurdity of anti-poor policies are spotlighted. This article focussed on the impact of the 2007 Western Cape pavement by-law on homeless people.

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(4) "The City is fining the destitute for having nothing, not even money to pay these fines. How cruel is that? This is the real hard, cold-blooded, uncaring face of the DA," Jacobs added." (Article 2B, line 15 -17)

From the above, polarised identities between homeless people and city officials can be noted. In (4) the ingroup is the homeless community, and the outgroup is power elites, who are the city officials and local residents. Identities belonging to the city are constructed through the list of evaluative adjectives "real hard, cold-blooded, uncaring", and "cruel". The modifiers starkly contrast with the representation of homeless people who are characterised through the metonym "the destitute". Likewise, this is suggested in the prepositional phrase "for having nothing". Moreover, the additional clause in line 15, "not even money to pay these fines" work to emphasise the absurdity of fining the homeless people. Here we find the same adverb "even" that was observed in (3) functioning in the same way. Likewise, the rhetorical question found in (4) "How cruel is that" further emphasises the simple-minded nature of the city's actions and their cruel intentions. Thus, we find that power elites' negative attributes are emphasised in contrast to the representation of homeless people who are once more sympathetically described as victims. The representation of these identities is consistent with van Dijk's theory of ideology in terms of his ideological square and in-group/out-group attribution.

5.2.4 Lockdown camps

The final subtheme identified in Theme 1 topicalised the maltreatment of homeless people in the lockdown homeless shelters during the initial 21-day national lockdown that was enforced at the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic. These camps quickly became controversial after their implementation during the March-outbreak of Covid-19 in South Africa, as living conditions were bad; homeless people were raped and died in the unorganised camps (see Appendix 2J). In a District Mail article, titled 'Homeless find their way back', homeless people are said to describe the conditions as "akin to living in a concentration camp" (District Mail, 2020). News reports coming from community workers also supported this evaluation (Cape Talk, 2020). This inclusion of the drastic comparison between lockdown camps and concentration camps under Nazi Germany where Jewish people were killed, is telling of the severe conditions that homeless people were subjected to in the camps. The extract below, taken from a News24 opinion piece published on 29 May 2020, replies to the City of Cape Town's maltreatment of the homeless in these lockdown camps:

(5) "Badroodien boasts about the excellent facilities at their internment camp in Strandfontein. The facts are that there was no social distancing to protect people from the Coronavirus. Hundreds of people were crowded into marquees together and at least one young woman was gang-raped at the camp. Eyewitnesses confirm that no one had mattresses to sleep on during those cold, wet nights. I doubt he spent a night there to check out the conditions himself." (Appendix 2I, line 22-28)

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The extract in (5) attempts to invalidate another opinion piece written by a City of Cape Town councilor who commended the City's care for the homeless during the national lockdown. In line 22, the pronoun "their" positions the councilor and the city as the out-group. The propositions that follow all work to dispel their (the City's) position and expose their actions. In line 24, the writer begins to list violations against the homeless in lockdown camps that work against the councilor's position and labels this as "the facts", inferring that what he has to say is undeniable, thereby strengthening the propositions that follow. This list of offences, "no social distancing", "crowded into marquees", "gang-raped", and "no one had mattresses", emphasise and uphold the argument that the conditions of the camps were grotesque. It can be further noted that phrases again carrying quantifiers, "hundreds of people", "at least one", and "no one" imply that there was large-scale suffering for the homeless.

The most shocking of these offences is described in the phrase, "at least one young woman was gang-raped". Here, the quantifying phrase "at least one" denotes the minimum, but not the total number of rapes that took place in these lockdown camps. The homeless woman who was gang-raped is described in the noun phrase "young woman", which further implies the vulnerability of this homeless person. Additionally, the strong attributive verb "confirm" used in line 26 further strengthens the accusations made in (5), functioning similarly to the evaluative noun used in line 24 "the facts". Therefore in (5), the City is once more positioned as the out-group and the homeless are positioned as the in-group.

In this first theme, ideological discourse described homeless people as victims and suffering at the hands of power elites, who are the city officials that give effect to laws, protocols, and living conditions that sustain the social discrimination of homeless people.

5.3 Theme 2: A neighbourhood nuisance

Representations of homeless people as a neighbourhood nuisance were the second most frequent representation of homeless people found, which was regularly reported in anti-homeless news articles. This theme was mostly evident in the community news publication, District Mail. By illustration, over all 14 news items were collected from this news publication of which 11 articles represented this theme. The rest of the news articles contributing to this representation were 1 article published by News24 and 1 article published by Ground Up. Thus, a total of 13 articles contributed towards this theme. In this theme, homeless people are frequently depicted as "the problem", alongside representations replete with stigmas, such as the homeless being dangerous, addicts, and a risk to public health, business, and property values. Furthermore, this theme commonly reports that the presence of homelessness has a negative impact on local business, property prices, and the general wellbeing in a community. Thus, homelessness is described as problematic and a gloomy sight for residents, who are implicitly cast as the victims because they have to deal with homeless people "rummaging through waste bins (…) lying down on pavements (…) holding out their hands at various traffic lights" (Appendix 1H, line 2-4). It is noteworthy that these representations were not sympathetic towards the homeless community.

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Lexical items and modified phrases that constructed homeless people as problematic typically described them as a "problem" (Appendix 1G, line 1), an "eyesore" (Appendix 1C, line 1), a "nuisance" (Appendix 1H, line 12), "unsightly and unpleasant" (Appendix 1H, line 8), a "bone of contention" (Appendix 1I, line 2) and a "Corona risk" (Appendix 1F, line 1). Thus, it was most commonly found that negative characteristics were cast on homeless people and emphasised, whereas residents were framed as tolerant and reasonable people, burdened by the presence of homeless people. Thus, van Dijk's ideological square was especially relevant and applicable to this theme where out-group negative actions were augmented, while their positive attributes were deemphasised or not mentioned, and conversely in-group positive actions were augmented, and their negative attributes were deemphasised.

These representations were articulated in a way that presents the issue of homelessness as a growing problem – for example, adverbial phrases like "the latest influx of vagrants" (Appendix 1I, line 6) or "an increase of homeless people" (Appendix 1G line 2) implied this will eventually result in negative outcomes for residential communities, like crime and danger in the area. Moreover, representations in this theme were populated with clear and constant polarisations between "us" and "them", where the problems in the neighbourhood were framed as a consequence of the activity of homeless people, mostly indicated by the adverb "now". For example, consider the use of the adverb "now" in "the smell of urine is now distinct in the air around the centre" (Appendix 1G, line 17), "area is now a mess" (Appendix 1I, line 19), and "he added that there was now a rat infestation and a stench was hanging over the area" (Appendix 1I, line 27 - 28). Alongside these representations come calls for alleviation from the "problem" which came mostly from neighbourhood residents that implied that homeless people should be removed from neighbourhoods. In the next part of this section, a close analysis of five sentences and extracts will account for the way that homeless people were constructed as a neighbourhood burden.

The sentence in (6) below comes from a District Mail article published on 6 August 2018, titled "Homeless, bridge dwellers issues discussed", it can be found in Appendix 1B. The article concerned a group of homeless people who were occupying a place underneath a bridge. In the article, the homeless people's activity there was scrutinised as being the origin of several problems in the community. In (6) a stigma of danger around homeless people is rendered.

(6) "The problem is not going to go away on its own, at this stage you have to ask yourself when it will be your turn to endure a run in with a homeless person who wants to harm you." (Appendix 1B, line 32 – 34)

In (6) the evaluative noun "the problem" is used as a metonym to describe homeless people, completely objectifying them as "a problem", and replacing the identity of homeless people. Likewise, homeless people are further constructed as burdensome through the clause "not going to go away". This clause infers that "the problem" is stubborn and growing. Additionally, the necessity modality "have to" in the clause "you have to ask yourself" is important here, as it implies that it is inevitable for homelessness to escalate into danger, where homeless people are bound to "harm you". This perpetuates a stigma of danger around homeless people.

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Moreover, a number of content words also implied this, for example, verbs such as "endure", that denotes pain, and "harm", meaning to injure, both stigmatise homeless people as dangerous. Thus, a strategy of polarisation can be noted in (6) where the out-group, homeless people, are negatively characterised as being dangerous, alongside a representation of the in-group, who are implicitly cast as victims since they are bound to be harmed by homeless people.

The extract below is taken from a District Mail article published on 6 July, after the initial national lockdown that took place in response to Covid-19. By 6 July, the lockdown shelters were defunct, and the economic impact of Covid-19 had also resulted in an increase in the number of people living on the street. The sentences below render an intolerant representation of homeless people.

(7) "'Street people a Corona risk' Dozens of homeless people camped opposite the Strand Police Station and Strand Courts are seen as a sight for sore eyes, and, especially, a risk to patients of nearby medical facility as possible carriers of Covid-19." (Appendix 1F, line 1-4)

In line 1 (the headline of the article) street people are described metaphorically through the evaluative noun "Corona risk", framing street people as a public health risk. However, in line 2, homeless people are described through the idiomatic phrase as "a sight for sore eyes" which means "something I want to see". The use of this phrase suggests that the journalist has mistaken the meaning of this idiom given the harsh evaluation that follows in the next line, which stigmatises homeless people as a public health risk. Here, in line 3, the evaluative adjective "especially" emphasises this proposition that homeless people are largely a public health risk since they are "possible carriers of Covid-19". At the same time, it can be noted that the adjective "possible" in "possible carriers" softens this value-judgement, making this proposition less unsympathetic towards homeless people. However, semantic content in (7) still negatively represents homeless people and stigmatises them as something to be feared and avoided. Moreover, the quantifying noun phrase "dozens of homeless people" implies that the public health risk that homeless people pose is large. Thus, in (7) homeless people are positioned as the out-group, where they are negatively constructed as a health risk. This contrasts with the proposition of "patients", the in-group, who are implicitly cast as vulnerable to homeless people. This in-group out-group strategy in (7) sustains stigmas around public health issues and homeless people.

In (7) it was observed that homeless people were described as a public health risk after the closure of lockdown camps. Similarly, in (8) below, an extract from a District Mail article published on 3 August 2020, discussed the increase of homeless people felt in residential areas after the lockdown camps were closed. This extract presents an intolerant representation of homeless people.

(8) "Gordon's Bay, over the past few years, has become a haven for the homeless and vagrancy," says GBRA chairperson Edwina Hadfield. "It has now gotten to the stage where it is affecting not only the look and feel of our town, but residents and businesses alike, which are suffering with the numbers that have inhabited the various areas in Gordon's Bay. It is

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impacting our daily lives. We, as residents, are concerned about the broken window concept, which we will not allow to take hold." (Appendix 1E, line 8-14)

In (8) the residential area, Gordon's Bay, is described through the evaluative noun phrase "a haven for the homeless and vagrancy", denoting that the residential area has become a refuge for homeless people. This refuge is not welcomed, as the propositions later imply that homeless people are unwelcome, which is suggested by the clause that the community is "suffering the numbers that have inhabited" the areas. More polarised representations can be noted in the use of pronouns that explicitly create this distance between "us" and "them". These pronouns are possessive in "our town" and "our daily lives", which imply that homeless people do not belong because they are excluded here from the in-group pronoun "our", as well as "we" in "we, as residents" and in the phrase "which we will not allow to take hold". It can therefore be established that in (8) the in-group are the "residents and businesses" that form part of the "we" and the out-group are the homeless. Furthermore, in line 13, residents and businesses are described through the verb "suffering" because of the negative actions of homeless people and vagrants. Therefore, residents are cast as victims of homelessness, and homeless people are described as a problem because they affect the "look and feel of the town" as well as the "daily lives" of residents.

It is further valuable to note that in (8) a power elite is being quoted, namely the Gordon's Bay Residents Association chairperson, who positions residents as the in-group and homeless people as the out-group. This positive self-representation is an ideologically typical move for power elites, as is a linguistic strategy, like polarisation, that reproduces stigmas or stereotypes about certain groups. Furthermore, it can be observed that the metaphor of 'the broken window' is used to emphasise the problematic nature of homelessness. This refers to a criminology theory, also known as "urban decay", that suggests that when there are signs of disorder in an area, there is greater likelihood that more disorder, anti-social behaviour, and crime will occur in this area (Ruhl 2021: n.p.). This implies that visual signs of homelessness will bring an escalation of problems to the area. Moreover, this metaphor also associates the homeless with these attributes of disorder, and therefore perpetuates the trope that homeless people are problematic by nature. As was indicated previously, this too creates clear polarisation between "we" the residents and "them", who are contributing to this broken window concept in the neighbourhood. This further implies that homeless people are unwelcome to residential areas, as they are once more portrayed as bringing problems to the neighbourhood.

In the final two extracts in this subsection, the reproduction of a number of negative and stereotypical characterisations about homeless people can be noted. The extracts come from a District Mail article published on 19 October 2020, also in response to the increase of homelessness after the outbreak of Covid-19 and presents an intolerant representation of homeless people.

(9) "'Homeless situation impossible!" The plight of the homeless all over the Helderberg continues to be a bone of contention. Desperate pleas by local communities to find a workable solution fall on deaf ears, they say, as neither the police nor law enforcement can resolve the

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issue despite daily complaints of harassment, intimidation and health concerns among others. The latest influx of vagrants is camped opposite the Somerset West Police Station at De Beers Park, where they put up makeshift tents, defecate openly and regularly pose a nuisance to nearby residents of Private Road." (Appendix 1I, line 1-8)

First, the stereotypes reproduced in (9) about homeless people can be noted. These are that they are dangerous, indicated through the propositions of "harassment" and "intimidation"; and that they are a health risk, indicated through the propositions of "health concerns" and "defecate openly". Alongside these negative attributes that are cast on these homeless people, it is also suggested that the named problems are only a mere few of many. This is suggested through the phrase "among others". Moreover, it can be noted here that homeless people are further described as an overall burden, where the presence of homeless people is conveyed through the idiomatic phrase as a "bone of contention" and as well as the phrase "regularly pose a nuisance [to housed residents]".

These negative out-group representations of homeless people are contrasted with representations of the in-group, the residents, who are described as victims in (9), indicated through the evaluative verb phrase "desperate pleas", and imposed on because of the activity of homeless people, described through the adverb as "regularly" being problematic for "nearby residents". Moreover, residents are described as tolerant as they try to "find a workable solution". This is depicted in residents' pleas that "fall on deaf ears", a verb phrase that describes homelessness as an overall hopeless situation. This verb phrase acts as a metaphor for being silenced. The construction of homeless people as being a problem is further suggested through the clause "neither the police nor law enforcement can resolve the issue", which implies that something must be done about homeless people in the area. In this vein, two content words help construct homeless people as a problem, namely, the verb "resolve" and the noun "issue". Furthermore, hopelessness around the homeless situation is explicitly expressed through this article's headline reading "Homeless situation impossible!" This rhetorical device of an exclamation mark in the text is rarely used in the news media, and thus its use for emphasis in a headline is significant and must be noted. This is what van Dijk (1995b:23) refers to as "screaming newspaper headlines" that is used to draw special attention to specific meanings. Moreover, this proposition in line 1 further emphasises that the "homeless situation" is hopeless and an escalating issue.

The next extract in (10) below appears further down in the article. In this extract, a strategy of polarisation continues an intolerant representation of homeless people.

(10) "We are not heartless, we know they have to eat and have to sleep somewhere, but rather a shelter where they can get help and not here." (Appendix 1I, line 42-43)

In (10), we can note two conflicting propositions, first an apparent denial and apparent concession appears in the assertion "we are not heartless" and then the negating contrastive conjunction "but" introduces a completely different proposition where it is implied that the homeless should be removed from the area. The disclaimer presents locals as decent and

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understanding because they want to find a "solution" and are "not heartless". Moreover, this word "solution" continues to represent homeless people as a problem. Therefore, residents' positive attributes are emphasised, and it can be concluded that residents form part of the in-group. This disclaimer about the in-group works to almost justify the proposition that follows, implying that homeless people should be removed from the area. The next two clauses contradict the first clause, however. Here, "but rather a shelter where they can get help and not here" implies that homeless people do not belong in neighbourhoods, and the phrase "not here" further suggests that homeless people should be removed from the residential area. The first disclaimer, used to soften the forceful second clause of the sentence, helps to manage residents' identities and is another way of reinforcing a positive self-representation. It can be further noted in the two counterarguments, "we are not heartless" and "rather a shelter where they can get help and not here", the use of the pronouns "we" and "they" that also create division between "us" and "them", contributing further to polarised representations in (10).

The ideological discourse identified in this theme indicates that residents, businesspeople, and City Officials, who are power elites in relation to homeless people, view homeless people as dangerous, public health threats, dirty, bad for business and the look and feel of the town, and a general nuisance that allows for an influx of problems to neighbourhoods. This discourse sustains stigmas and social exclusion of the group.

5.4 Theme 3: Homelessness does not discriminate

The theme 'Homelessness does not discriminate' reports that homelessness is multi-faceted and that it does not happen to solely one "type" of person. This representation of homelessness had more mixed representations of homeless people than other themes that were evident in the data corpus. This meant that representations of homeless people in this theme reported both negatively and positively about the homeless community. However, because the theme reported that homelessness is nuanced and emphasised that it was not a result of personal circumstances, this theme was interpreted as a positive theme. A total of nine articles reflected this theme, of which Ground Up published 5 articles, District Mail published 2, and News24 published 2. While it is noteworthy that representations in this theme dispel some stereotypes like the belief that homelessness is a result of negative actions, these representations don't always point to homelessness as stemming from societal structural issues. However, it should also be noted that representations in this theme also topicalise homelessness whilst addressing the socioeconomic context that bolsters inequalities (Appendix 3C, line 78). The macro-propositional content of this theme mostly explores how homelessness is in reality one consequence that could result from a multitude of events, namely family death, unemployment, unstable households, illegal eviction, and so on.

It is primarily through personal accounts from homeless people that the far-reaching reasons and circumstances of homeless people are illustrated in this theme, which show the complexities of the worldwide phenomenon. Moreover, this theme illustrates how the complexities around homelessness call for more sustainable solutions and long-term interventions to address the problem of homelessness more holistically. Individual lexical items

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and modified propositions that reported this theme typically speak of homelessness as misunderstood and impacting a diverse group of individuals. Examples of these can be considered in the five sentences and extracts below.

The extract below in (11), which comes from a District Mail article, published on 12 March 2018, which reported on the anniversary celebration of a night shelter, presents a pro-homeless representation. Modifiers in (11) below imply that homelessness is a convoluted phenomenon.

(11) "Homelessness is multifaceted and complex, people from all walks of life can find themselves in this unfortunate disposition. It takes wisdom and knowledge, understanding, skill and hands-on experience to know how to connect and offer hope and dignity." (Appendix 1A, line 69-72).

In (11) homelessness is described through the adjectives, "multifaceted" and "complex", and is described through the evaluative noun phrase "unfortunate disposition". These realities are frequently cited to describe homelessness in propositions presenting this theme but are also at the same time used to justify the implementation of unbalanced by-laws that target vulnerable groups (see Appendix 2C, line 59-66). It can be further noted in (11) that homelessness is described as needing to be addressed holistically because it is so far-reaching. The complex and far-reaching nature of homelessness is further implied through a number of content words, such as the evaluative nouns "wisdom", "knowledge", "understanding", "skill", and "hands-on experience", that imply that homelessness is complex. Moreover, in (11), homeless people are described idiomatically as coming "from all walks of life". Therefore, it is implied that homelessness can happen to anyone and impacts a diverse set of people. Finally, homeless people are cast as deserving to be treated and helped fairly. This is implied through content words, such as the verb "connect" and nouns "hope" and "dignity".

Suggestions that homeless people come from "all walks of life", noted in (11), are regularly found in this theme and can also be observed in (12) below. The sentence below comes from a Ground Up article, published on 18 December 2018, that, like (11), reported on a celebration of a charity organisation, this time of a soup kitchen.

(12) "Not having enough money for food could happen to anybody, she says." (Appendix 3H, line 23-24)

The pronoun in (12) "anybody" asserts that homelessness does not occur to one specific type of person. This entire proposition implies that homeless people should be treated with compassion and to some extent understanding. While this challenges the notion that homelessness only impacts a specific kind of person, in (12), homelessness is depicted as a result of unfortunate circumstance and not necessarily socio-economic issues that make some groups more vulnerable to homelessness than others. Furthermore, implicit linguistic strategies in this theme also appear to indicate that homelessness is complex. This can be considered below in (13), which is taken from an opinion piece published by News24 on 29 May 2020. This opinion piece, written by a politician, was a response to another opinion piece that also

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topicalised the treatment of homeless people during the national lockdown. The sentence below presents a tolerant representation of homeless people.

(13) “Homelessness cannot be solved perfectly or overnight but there are better or worse ways to handle it.” (Appendix 2I, line 31-32)

Here in (13) the phrase “cannot be solved overnight” implies that homelessness is complex and additionally the word “solved” implies that homelessness is a problem. Moreover, the clause “but there are better or worse ways to handle it” indicates that although complex, homelessness must be treated with the same kind of dignity that was referenced in (11) but no solutions follow this statement to address the problem. Tolerant and compassionate representations of the homeless are further seen below in a sentence from a District Mail article published on 14 October 2019. In it one homeless person’s reasons for being homeless are described. The sentence in (14) also presents a tolerant representation of homeless people.

(14) “Charise needs others to understand that she’s not homeless because she chooses to be; she is an educated person who was knocked down by the many tough blows life dealt her.” (Article 1D, line 19 -21)

In (14), the clause “needs others to understand” suggests that other people do not understand Charise or her circumstance. The verb “needs” marks necessity in this clause, indicating the importance that others must understand that she does not choose to be homeless. This proposition challenges the stereotype that some homeless people choose the streets, which will be explored further in the next theme. The fact that Charise is described as “an educated person” also implies that homelessness could happen to “anybody”, as was implied in (13). In (14), the determiner “many” denotes that her state of homelessness comes after a number of unfortunate circumstances, described metaphorically as “tough blows”. While the noun “blows” further illustrates this harsh and uncontrolled circumstance, it is noteworthy that the writer has not implied that the reasons for homelessness are due to Charise’s actions or decisions. Rather, life is personified here and is described as dealing out these “blows”. Thus, homelessness is not depicted as a result of bad decisions made by the homeless person, but as a consequence of the unfairness of life.

The final sentence (15) below is taken from an article published by Ground Up on 20 March 2018. This sentence explicitly addresses the error of thinking about homelessness as an intrinsic problem. The sentence presents a neutral representation of homeless people.

(15) “Homelessness is a symptom of the problem, not the problem itself.” (Article 3C, line 78)

In (15) homelessness is described as evidence of a greater problem, which is denoted by the noun phrase “a symptom of the problem”. Thus, homelessness is described metaphorically as “a symptom” of an illness. The clause, “not the problem itself”, that follows further reiterates that homelessness is not the problem by and of itself. It should however be noted that no

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reference to structural issues is given following this remark, and thus the sentence stands alone and unelaborated much like the sentence in (13).

In the third theme, discourse emphasises that homeless people have encountered categorical "blows in life" or that unfortunate individual circumstances contribute to a situation of homelessness. Furthermore, homelessness is described as being complex and needing to be dealt with in a holistic way, but this does not faithfully point back to socio-economic issues that lead to the increase of homelessness.

5.5 Theme 4: The homeless are idle

The fourth theme occurring in the data corpora appeared most frequently in city, authority and NGO's discourse about the reasons for homelessness in the assertion that "their" assistance to homeless people is not being embraced. Homeless people here were cast as unresponsive people that do not take up the "myriad interventions" (Appendix 2C, line 35) offered to them, because they do not want to comply with rules. Thus, homeless people are described as being uncooperative and passive to the assistance and programmes made available to help them. This thematic representation of the homeless further framed them as lazy, passive and often that they choose the streets because of the freedom it grants them. Overall, 7 articles presented this theme, of which News24 published 4, Ground Up published 3, and District Mail published 1. This representation of homeless people was more frequently evident in anti-homeless discourse, as it implied not only that homeless people do not want to be helped, but also that they have chosen to live on the streets, thereby also choosing the harsh realities of living on the streets. Hence, homelessness is minimised to a choice that somebody makes and a result of idleness in life.

Modifiers such as adverbs implied that homeless people on the streets have obstinately chosen to live there, like assistance being "simply refused" (Appendix 2D, line 32) or "steadfastly refused" (Appendix 2I, line 53). In addition, implicit linguistic strategies suggest that some homeless people have chosen to live on the streets. For example, consider the phrase, "all those who have accepted the offer" (Appendix 2H, line 56) and the sentence, "there is no person on the street at the moment who has not been offered accommodation" (Appendix 2C, line 62 - 63). In both of these it is implied, through the determiners "all" and "no", that there are people who have chosen to not accept assistance and thereby that they have chosen the streets, since all have been offered accommodation and assistance. The next section in this theme will do an in-depth analysis of five sentences and extracts that constructed this identity for homeless people.

The first extract below, which comes out of a District Mail editorial that was published on 19 October 2020, characterised the homeless as choosing to live on the streets. The extract in (16) is the introduction (otherwise known as the lead) to the editorial, and thus sets the global tone and topic of it. This extract presents an intolerant representation of homeless people as people who are lazy and slothful. Moreover, the discursive representation of homeless persons in (16)

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negatively sustains the image of homeless people as a "lamentable sight" (Gerrard and Farrugia 2015:2220).

(16) "Street people purposelessly roaming Helderberg streets, rummaging through waste bins on sidewalks, lying down on pavements for some shut eye, women and children holding out their hands at various traffic intersections. These may well have become such a part of the visible landscape that many locals are used to them." (Appendix 1H, line 2-5)

First, the use of the evaluative adverb "purposelessly roaming" is indicative that homeless people are aimless. This aimlessness is further depicted through the use of the following progressive verbs "roaming", "rummaging" and "lying down". In addition, these verbs also carry negative connotative meanings, suggesting laziness and aimlessness, which further indicate a sense of sluggishness and therefore both works to render an unfavourable representation of homeless people. It can be noted that there are two demonstratives of distance evident in (16) like the pronoun "them" that is used to describe homeless people as well as the demonstrative pronoun "these" that describe their actions. The use of this deixis creates social distance between homeless people and locals, and further casts homeless people as the "other". A similar deixis can be noted in (17) below. The sentence in (17) comes from an opinion piece published by News24 on 28 May 2020; it presents an intolerant representation of homeless people as being dismissive of assistance.

(17) "This group have steadfastly refused our assistance to help them into smaller shelters – a service that thousands of other homeless individuals have gladly accepted." (Article 2H, line 53-54)

In (17), the evaluative adverb "steadfastly" emphasises that the homeless group have adamantly and repeatedly refused the city's assistance. This adverb suggests that the homeless are ungrateful for the assistance that is offered to them. Noteworthy here, is that in (17) the city's good actions, indicated by the phrase "our assistance to help" is being refused by "them", creating clear polarisation between the two groups through the opposing pronouns "our" and "them". Thus, it can be noted that the city is also being depicted as the hero saving the homeless in the sentence. Moreover, the phrase "our assistance to help them" is further an example of positive self-representation because they position themselves as the noble in their assistance towards the homeless. Furthermore, the additional information added to the main sentence – indicated by the dash in (17) – implies that there is no reason for the group to have "steadfastly refused" the city's assistance, since "other homeless individuals have gladly accepted" it. This point is emphasised through the quantifying adjective "thousands" and evaluative adverb "gladly". The quantifying adjective makes the generalisation that many homeless people refuse assistance and further suggests that they do so without hesitance or second thought, therefore implying that people who are on the streets prefer to live there and further, that homeless people do not want to receive assistance.

The sentence in (18) also implies that most homeless people have chosen to live on the streets rather than staying in shelters or accepting City assistance. This sentence is taken from a

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News24 article published on 2 July 2019 and presents an intolerant representation of homelessness.

(18) “Around 85 % of people on the street refused assistance, Smith said, adding that he had heard people do not want to be in shelters and did not like them for different reasons.” (Article 2C, line 64-66)

In (18), the quantifying modifier “around 85% of people” implies that most homeless people are homeless because they choose to live on the streets as they refuse assistance, which perpetuates the idea that homeless people rather choose to live on the streets. In (18), the writer further includes additional information that suggests reasons for this refusal. This supplication can be understood as an opinion since it is mere hearsay and not a factual statement, indicated by the phrase “adding that he had heard”. It can therefore be noted that these two additional clauses further sustain the presumption that homeless people are happier living on the streets. The sentence in (19) comes from a News24 article published on 3 July 2019. The sentence expresses an intolerant sentiment about homeless people.

(19) “In spite of its best efforts, however, the social development and early childhood development departments street people unit finds that many street people simply refuse any form of assistance.” (Appendix 2D, line 30 - 32)

In (19), a strategy of polarisation can be identified between people who are “helping”, who are the city officials, and people who are “ungrateful”, who are the homeless people. This can be observed through the positive self-representation of the city, depicted as doing their utmost, inferred in the clause “in spite of their best efforts”. In contrast, homeless people “simply refuse” this assistance implying that homeless people do not want help or are ungrateful. Here, the use of the evaluative adverb “simply” is notable as the homeless are depicted as foolishly refusing the assistance available to them. The use of the determiner “many” is again notable, as it implies that most homeless people are dismissive of assistance offered to get them off the streets. Therefore, “the social development and early childhood development department” is positioned as the in-group because their positive actions are emphasised, and homeless people, who are identified as indifferent to city care are positioned as the out-group because their negative actions are emphasised.

The final extract that will be looked at for this theme in (20) is taken from a District Mail article, published on 3 August 2020. This extract has an intolerant perspective of homeless people and sustains a number of stereotypes about the group.

(20) “There are many who do not understand the impact of assisting those on the street, the goods they give are dumped if they are not deemed suitable, and are strewn all over different areas, as is food one gives the family. Nine times out of 10 they do not land up on the table, but are sold for substance abuse and children are sent to the soup kitchens to be fed. So, people should think before they give.” (Appendix 1E, line 52 -56)

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The extract above quotes a city official, and therefore a power elite. Macro-propositional content implies that residents should give assistance, donations or aid responsibly to the homeless. In (20) it is implied that the most homeless people, indicated here by the quantifying phrase "nine times out of 10", are inclined to abuse this generosity and instead use money given to them to feed undesirable habits like substance abuse. This therefore reinforces the stereotype that homeless people are addicts. Thus, homeless people can be identified as the out-group and residents as the in-group in (20). Furthermore, demonstratives of distance can be noted in the phrases "those on the street" and in the consistent use of "they" to describe the homeless and their things. This pronoun also at times refers to the in-group acts, such as "people should think before they give" and in "the goods they give". Further examples of negative other-representation can be observed in (20), where the homeless are described as ungrateful for assistance, conveyed in the content verbs "dumped" and "strewn". These verbs' connotative and denotative meanings further construct homeless people as dirty or messy. In the clause "if they are not deemed suitable", where homeless people are perceived as being ungrateful for the kind of assistance they receive. The final sentence "so people should think before they give", implies that people should think about withholding assistance because most homeless people will abuse this assistance. It is rather suggested that people give to charities that help the homeless.

Media representations of homelessness in the fourth theme identified that in-group members imply that homeless people are idle and often choose to live on the streets because they are ungrateful. Furthermore, it is suggested that homeless people do not take up the interventions that are offered to them. Therefore, homeless people are positioned as ungrateful and even entitled in discourse.

5.6 Theme 5: Ambitious and determined

In Theme 1, thematic representation of the homeless suggested that homeless people find themselves in a state of destitution. Theme 5, "Ambitious and determined", suggests otherwise about the homeless community where it is suggested that there are some homeless people who turn their lives around and try to make a living. This was the least common theme where a total of 4 articles reported this theme, of which Ground Up published 2; District Mail published 1 and News24 published 1. These were the success stories, where homeless people are constructed as positive and determined. Here, homeless people are reported to have "come out the other side" (Appendix 3E, line 28), for example from being addicted to drugs or committing crime. Therefore, this thematic representation still reproduced negative tropes about the group. It should be noted that some of these representations still make mention of a tropes attached to the community and consequently perpetuate them. Thus, this reformation is made against the odds since it is also implied in these representations that other homeless people have not turned their lives around but remain stuck in their state of destitution.

These success stories are reported sporadically and function as uplifting items in news discourse. For example, News24 has included one of these success stories under the banner: "FEEL GOOD" (Appendix 2F, line 1). These stories are not always considered newsworthy,

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but when they do appear in the press' news cycle they are commonly inspirational. The inspirational representations of the homeless community typically represent homeless people as resilient and hardworking, and therefore it is generally found that positive modifiers in propositions describe their resilience. For example, the homeless people are described as "ever friendly", "positive" (Appendix 1D, line 7), "admirable" (Appendix 1D, line 16), proactive (Appendix 1D, line 5-6), resilient (Appendix 3J, line 37 -38), and hardworking (Appendix 3A, line 20). Thus, unlike in Theme 4, homeless people are not passive towards life events. Furthermore, it is important to note that these positive attributes come alongside a narrative of past adversity, for example "at an early age, Barnes faced several obstacles" (Appendix 2F, line 6), "despite his difficult circumstances" (Appendix 2F, line 44), and "against all odds" (Appendix 2F, line 3).

In the following section, five sentences and extracts that represent homeless people in terms of this theme, "Ambitious and determined", will be analysed. The sentence below is from a District Mail article that was published on 14 October 2019 and follows the narrative of one homeless woman who is framed as resilient.

(21) "However, despite having nowhere stable to live for the past six years, Charise Buch has not allowed the harsh reality to rob her of this ability." (Appendix 1D, line 6-7)

In (21) above, the contrastive conjunction "despite" indicates this homeless woman's resilience to what is described as an unstable living arrangement. Here, Charise (to whom the sentence refers) is further described as determined through the verb phrase "has not allowed the harsh reality to rob her of this ability". Connotations of the word "rob" suggest that Charise has been resilient in the face of potentially being wronged or taken advantage of. It can be noted that the personification of the evaluative noun "harsh reality" in this sentence is cast as stealing opportunities from Charise. The use of personification puts blame on the unfairness of life for her situation of homelessness, and not on Charise. Although no structural issues are addressed, no blame is cast towards the homeless woman, and this therefore renders a more tolerant representation of her.

This next sentence follows from the previous sentence in (21). Although this sentence still positively attributes the subject, Charise, of this sentence, it unfavourably frames all other homeless people.

(22) "Unlike most people in her position, she remains determined to make a living rather than badgering motorists at traffic lights, resorting to crime or expecting hand-outs." (Appendix 1D, line 10-12)

First, we can note the evaluative adjective, "determined", that is used to describe the homeless woman in the sentence. This evaluative adjective helps construct a tolerant and positive representation of her. However, in (22), the clause "unlike most people in her position" denotes a negative implication about "most" homeless people. The phrase "in her position" here, is referring to her state of homelessness and thus, (22) implies that most homeless people are not

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resilient. This is indicated by the negating adverb "unlike", where it is implied that most homeless people are "unlike" Charise, who is resilient. Thus, it is presupposed in (22) that other homeless people are not determined; they badger people at traffic lights, and they resort to crime and expect "hand-outs". It is noteworthy here that this presupposition perpetuates a number of stereotypes most commonly found and explored in Theme 2. Therefore, in (22), two contradictory propositions are presented alongside each other. These are, positioning the homeless people, who are the out-group in this sentence, negatively while still managing their identities' as compassionate, thereby casting the in-group as tolerant too. This is similar to van Dijk's observations about the function of disclaimers in discourse that can be identified as ideological.

The sentence in (23) is taken from a News24 article published on 11 February 2020. The article follows the narrative of one homeless man who had qualified to play as an amateur golfer in a senior golfing tournament. The sentence below presents a tolerant representation of the homeless man.

(23) "'I couldn't shake the feeling that there could be something special about this guy and I thought God was speaking to me,' said Frost." (Appendix 2F, line 63-64)

Most notable to the sentence in (23) is its reference to God. This immediately gives an authoritative voice to what is being said about the homeless man, who is described through the evaluative adjective "special". Further, in (23), the clause, "I couldn't shake the feeling", the verb "shake" denotes getting rid of something. Frost, who is a friend of the homeless golfer, attributes this "special" feeling about the homeless man's ability as coming from God, which strengthens the impact of what is being said. Therefore, in (23) the homeless man is described as gifted. The sentence below follows a few lines down from (23) after the journalist reports on a number of challenges the homeless person needed to endure before entering into the golfing tournament. In (24) below, a tolerant representation of homeless people being positive and wanting to turn their lives around is presented.

(24) "This is an opportunity for me to let go of the weight of my past and look to a new future." (Appendix 2F, line 85-86)

In (24) the homeless man is described as hopeful, implied through a number of propositions. Two contrasting propositions of future and past can be noted. In the metaphorical noun phrase "the weight of my past", his past is characterised as heavy and burdensome. This is in contrast with the proposition of a "new future" where it can be noted that connotative meanings associated with this word "future" suggests something hopeful. This is also indicated by the phrasal verb "look to". Additionally, the adjective "new" suggests a fresh start. This is similarly implied through the noun phrase "an opportunity". Thus, the homeless man is described as turning his life around as he is letting go of his past, and hopeful because of the prospect of a new future that the opportunity presents.

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The final sentence in (25) is taken from a Ground Up article published on 14 May 2018. The article reports on work of a shelter in the lives of a number of homeless individuals. The sentence presents a positive view of homeless people as being hopeful.

(25) "He hopes to rebuild his relationship with his wife and two children and reunite his family." (Appendix 3E, line 29-30)

In (25) the homeless man is described as being hopeful, indicated through the verb "hopes" [to turn his life around]". In (25), the homeless person is described as hopeful to turn his life around through re-establishing connections with his family. Therefore, this homeless person is depicted as determined and driven, which are constructed through the verb "hopes". Furthermore, the homeless person is again constructed as determined through the verb "rebuild". The content word "rebuild" suggests an expectation of labour in the homeless persons' ambitions given the morpheme "re" which means to do again, alongside this verb "build", expressing connotations of work. Likewise, we can note that both verbs "rebuild" and "reunite" denote starting over and a new, which reiterates this theme of ambition and determination. Thus, we see descriptions of the homeless as resilient and willing to work to achieve their goals.

Media representations of the homeless community, seen in the final theme, shows that homeless people are described as hopeful and positive about changing the circumstances of their lives. Homeless people are positively described as determined and goal orientated. Discourse in this theme further frames homeless people as resilient and hardworking in the face of adversity.

5.7 Concluding remarks

This chapter provided an overview of the different ways that homeless people are discursively represented across three local news publications, District Mail, News24 and Ground Up. A total of five thematic representations were identified, of which three of the identified themes were pro-homeless representations and two were anti-homeless representations. A number of quantitative observations showed that the way the homeless community were represented did not change over time. Rather, the way that the homeless community were represented was dependent on the ideological stances of the newsrooms, and the only notable change in reportage was by topic or news event. The quantitative study also revealed that the homeless community were hardly ever quoted in anti-homeless news publications, whereas the homeless were almost always voiced in pro-homeless news publications.

Furthermore, a CDA revealed that in ideological discourse one of the most prevalent linguistic strategies used was the strategy of polarisation to construct both anti- and pro-homeless representations. It was noted that in anti-homeless representations, power elites, such as City of Cape Town officials, and residents of neighbourhoods typically emphasised negative attributes of homeless people linking them to crime, danger, and health risks, and posing a general nuisance to residents. In contrast, it was found that residents and NGO officials were

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framed as tolerant, reasonable and proactive. Furthermore, micro-structural elements also reflected this where homeless people were described through negative lexical items and modified phrases. It was found that positive self-representation alongside negative other-representation was notably relevant in representations of this kind, which is in line with van Dijk's theory of polarisation. In contrast, pro-homeless representations framed the homeless community as misunderstood and victims; while power elites were cast as responsible for negative actions that caused homeless people to suffer. This data analysis chapter has served to provide key findings in line with the research questions of this thesis, as outlined in the outset of Chapter One. Chapter Six will provide a more detailed account of the key findings of this study, suggestions for future research on this topic will be made and a number of guidelines will be suggested for journalists reporting on homelessness that are based on the findings of this thesis.

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Chapter Six: Discussion and Conclusion

This chapter will discuss the key findings of Chapter Five in relation to this study's research questions that were set out for this thesis in Chapter One. I will discuss key findings by means of a comparative analysis, in which I will unpack the different characterising features of anti-homeless and pro-homeless representations that appeared in the three local news publications, District Mail, News24, and Ground Up. Furthermore, I will highlight key findings across publications studied in this thesis' corpus. These findings will be discussed in line with van Dijk's theory of ideology as his analytical approach to CDA was adopted for this research. In addition, a summary of this thesis' findings that were similar to findings made in previous studies will be discussed, along with a description of the methodological challenges I experienced whilst conducting this research. Then, suggestions will be made for further research into this research topic. Finally, a list of guidelines based on this thesis' findings will be discussed with the intention for journalists reporting on homelessness to use in the field.

This study's research aim was to do an in-depth exploration of the ways that media discourse frames and constructs the narratives of homelessness in their reportage, as well as to investigate whether this representation has changed over a timespan of three years. In Chapter One of this thesis, I posed the following research questions for this study:

1) Which types of identities are attributed to homeless people in news stories that topicalise them?
2) How do the media construct, frame, reinforce or dispel stereotypes and stigmas that are associated with the homeless community?

And one sub question:

3) How has the media's representation of the homeless community changed over time, if at all?

The first four chapters provided the foundation for answering these research questions. In Chapter Four, the research methods that were used to answer these questions were described in full. This included a broad TA as proposed by Braun and Clarke (2012) and a focused CDA as proposed by van Dijk (1993) over the data corpus of 49 news items that were collected from District Mail, News24 and Ground Up. In Chapter Five answers to the research questions listed were provided. In the following section a summary of the answers to each of the research questions will be detailed.

6.1 Answering the research questions

This section will provide answers to the main and sub research questions that directed this thesis' investigation of the discursive representation of homelessness in the South African news media. The first research question set out for this thesis was:

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1) Which types of identities are attributed to homeless people in news stories that topicalise them?

This thesis found that in thematic representations identified as "pro-homeless", the ways in which homeless people are discriminated against and cut off from access to resources is foregrounded. Articles that therefore presented this thematic representation typically positioned homeless people as the in-group and victims in their reportage. Identities attributed to homeless people in pro-homeless representations described them sympathetically, like describing homeless people as “the poor” (Appendix 2I, line 13), the “most vulnerable people” (Appendix 2A, line 4) or “the destitute” (Appendix 2B, line 15). This thesis found that most of the representations that presented a pro-homeless representation came from Ground Up publications.

In contrast, this study found that in thematic representations identified as “anti-homeless", homeless people were frequently depicted as “the problem” (Appendix 1B, line 32) in the sense that they were constructed as dangerous, addicts, choosing the streets, and a risk to public health, business, and property values. Therefore, residents are cast as the victims of homelessness in these articles because they have to bear with the presence of homeless people.

2) How do the media construct, frame, reinforce or dispel stereotypes and stigmas that are associated with the homeless community?

In line with van Dijk’s (2017:10) concept of the ideological square, this thesis found that the polarised nature of representations of homeless people in news articles in the corpus typically described in-group suffering and good actions alongside representations of the out-group, who were marked as the cause of in-group suffering due to their negative actions and characteristics. Therefore, when articles reinforced negative stereotypes about homeless people, representations were populated with clear and constant polarisations between “us” and “them” through the use of demonstratives of distance, like “these” or “those” and the use of personal pronouns, like “us”, “we”, “our” and “them”. These representations of homeless people that promoted or showed anti-homeless ideologies largely emanated from District Mail publications. This is in contrast with the news publications that had pro-homeless ideologies where homeless people are positioned as the in-group, constructing them as victims alongside power elites, like the City of Cape Town, who are described as “cold-hearted” and “ruthless”.

Finally, a sub research question that directed this research was:

3) How has the media’s representation of the homeless community changed over time, if at all?

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A quantitative analysis conducted in Chapter Five revealed that there was no change (becoming more positive or negative) in the representation of the homeless people or homelessness over the three-year-period from which the data for this thesis was collected. Instead, the way that news publications topicalised homelessness was closely aligned with the ideological stances of the different news publications and the news events happening at the time. It was expected that the ideological objectives of newsrooms were the determining factor in how homeless people were represented and this will be elaborated on in the comparative discussion in this chapter. This finding meant that Ground Up, as a fringe publication reporting on behalf of vulnerable communities, typically represented homeless people positively, whereas District Mail would report on the homeless community negatively. Moreover, it was found that homelessness was topicalised more regularly during 2020 at the outbreak of Covid-19. This meant that homelessness became more newsworthy during this time across publications. While homelessness was more newsworthy during 2020 in all the publications, the way that homeless people were represented in publications was still aligned with the publications' ideological stance reporting for vulnerable communities or residents. This meant that even during Covid-19, District Mail still represented homeless people negatively and Ground Up continued to represent homeless people sympathetically, as did News24.

6.2 Framing homelessness in the South African press

In 6.1 a summary of the answers to this thesis' research questions were provided. This section will discuss and detail what these answers indicate about framing homelessness in the South African press. This study showed that representations of the homeless community were relative to newsrooms' ideological stance. Thus, news publications either put forward a pro or anti-homeless agenda, further detailed in the following sections of this chapter. In positive media representations of homeless people, or in pro-homeless representations, the group are often framed as vulnerable and victims of power elites and city policies, and sometimes they are also framed as resilient. At the same time however, it was found that in publications that described homeless people as resilient, unfavourable tropes about the community – such as being involved in drug or substance abuse for example – would still be perpetuated in the reportage. Generally, the positive representations of homeless people in this study's corpus routinely foregrounded discriminatory actions against the group as a result of skewed protocols and regulations that unfairly discriminated against the group, which power elites enforced. Furthermore, these positive representations attempted to address structural issues, thereby dispelling stigmas such as the belief that homeless people choose to live on the streets or that they are too lazy to work. For instance, Appendix 2A and Appendix 3I are explicit examples of articles that scrutinised policy and worked to dispel negative tropes about the community. Of course, not all publications that contained positive representations of homeless people characterised homelessness in this way, with some representations of the community, still attributing negative traits to them, or not attributing the issue of homelessness to societal structures.

Further, the negative representations of homeless people in this study's corpus generally characterised homeless people in terms of addiction, danger, risks to public health, criminality,

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and laziness. These negative representations also included references to homeless people being destructive, rule breakers, and a general nuisance. Furthermore, such negative characteristics frequently echoed common stigmas that surround the homeless community, including the belief that homelessness is a choice. Additionally, it was found that strategies of polarisation were prominent in negative representations of the community as homeless people were positioned as the Other whereas representations of city officials and residents were characterised as tolerant and reasonable. Another significant finding was that homeless people were hardly voiced, if at all, which resulted in such publications being more biased and critical of the community.

6.3 A comparative analysis of different news agendas

Although articles were not intentionally gathered on the basis of topic or time of publication, there are several noteworthy patterns in similarities and difference between the representations of homeless people found in each of the three publications. Thus, this short comparative analysis aims to provide a consolidated account for how linguistic strategies were used in media discourse to either reinforce or dispel stigmas around homeless people.

In Chapter Four, it was established that the news publications from which the data corpora were collected had dissimilar objectives and reported for different audiences. It was stated that District Mail's audience and readers are residents living in the Helderberg community, that News24's readership served a national audience, and that Ground Up's objective was to report on news that impacts vulnerable communities and on behalf of them. These different audiences and objectives meant that some differences between the corpora were expected as it was anticipated that the varied objectives of the news platforms would lead to some divergence in the way that news was selected and constructed. Thus, it was anticipated that the three sets of data corpora from the varying publications would report on the homeless community differently even in articles that reported on the same news event or group of people.

As expected, District Mail reportage that topicalised homelessness was markedly more critical of the homeless community compared to the other two news publications included in the data corpora. A key finding was that most of this community news publication's articles reproduced negative stereotypes and stigmas associated with homeless people. Lexical items and modified phrases in these articles framed homeless people as a constant burden to the area's housed residents. This identity was often perpetuated through rhetorical devices, like the use of metonyms, which completely objectified homeless people, like "the problem" (Appendix 1B, line 32). Moreover, representations of the homeless community in District Mail centred tropes of filth, where homelessness was regularly positioned as a problem that was destined to escalate, so drastically that this anti-homeless discourse likened the social problem to a ticking time bomb that would soon implode and impose further on residents (Appendix 1I; Appendix 1F). These representations were grossly unsympathetic towards homeless people that they reported on, and few of these news items included the voice of homeless people in reportage. Therefore, the newspaper effectively silenced the homeless community in their reportage. This meant that the District Mail corpus was characterised by semantic macrostructures that largely

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cast the homeless as the "Other". Furthermore, headlines and leads in District Mail often constructed the presence of homeless people, as well as the reported consequences of their presence, as a hopeless situation with no identifiable solutions. These semantic macrostructures came alongside regular polarised representations of the homeless community, framing residents as victims of homelessness, and homeless people as a burden to residents. Homelessness was further described as escalating into something out of control that was infesting the area, consequently leaving a "stench" (Appendix 1I, line 27) hovering over the neighbourhood, and resulting in the peace in the area "all but" disappearing (Appendix 1I, line 12).

Alongside these negative representations of homeless people, residents were cast as tolerant, wanting to find a working solution, and were, with NGO's, positioned as noble for their involvement in programmes or initiatives that helped the homeless community. In this regard, there was clear positive self-representation of residents, who formed the in-group and also the audience of District Mail. To an extent, these key findings in District Mail were expected because community news publications tend to be more critical about the homeless community as homelessness is felt on the ground in communities, and thus often constructed as a community issue, i.e. people generally do not notice homelessness on a national scale but rather it is noticed and felt in neighbourhoods. Therefore, this representation of homelessness as a burden to residents of an area, or a "neighbourhood nuisance", was anticipated since this negative view of the group is typical to residential neighbourhoods.

The negative constructions of the homeless community in District Mail contrasted with positive representations that were found in the fringe publication, Ground Up, whose representation of homeless people was chiefly sympathetic, positioning homeless people as victims, as seen in the headline "Water restrictions hit homeless people" (Appendix 3B, line 1). Representations that were positive in Ground Up news articles also used a strategy of polarisation. A key finding from Ground Up representations was that agency for actions, notably bad actions that caused homeless people to suffer, were cast on city policies, thereby implicating city officials for their bad actions. For example, agency for bad actions is cast on city officials such as in "law enforcement removed a large makeshift shack" (Appendix 3D, line 3) and in "property development and urban renewal are to blame" (Appendix 3G, line 5). These sentences stand out as the power elites stand in the agent position of the sentence, which contrasts with typical syntactic structures in District Mail articles that blurred agency. Moreover, negative representations coming out of District Mail articles placed agency on homeless people for their living conditions through syntactic structures such as passive sentences or empty agent positions in sentences. While it the TA and CDA conducted showed that Ground Up articles were largely more sympathetic towards the homeless community, this did not always necessitate a completely positive representation of the group. For instance, news reportage still cast the group as helpless and did not always point back to socio-economic structures leading to homelessness. This meant that to an extent even Ground Up, a news group reporting on behalf of homeless individuals, remained within the frame of individual responsibility for homelessness.

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The local and fringe publications further contrasted with each other in terms of who was voiced in articles. In District Mail representations, power elites, like ward councilors or residents, were regularly voiced in articles that perpetuated tropes about homeless people, while homeless people's points of view were almost never represented in these representations. For example, only one article in the District Mail corpus quoted a homeless man on the harsh conditions of the Strandfontein lockdown camps. On the other hand, Ground Up articles habitually voiced homeless people in such a way that their voice framed the entire narrative of an article, such that the macro-structure of articles included the homeless voice from the beginning of an article throughout the news account. Thus, Ground Up articles topicalised homelessness more frequently through the voice of the homeless person. Since Ground Up's focus is to report in the interest of more vulnerable communities, this was also an expected finding.

The characterisation of the homeless community in the News24 news items appeared to be more neutral than those found in the District Mail and Ground Up, although most articles indicated pro-homeless themes. One of the main themes that was found in the News24 corpus was descriptions of anti-poor policies against homeless people, including the harsh realities in lockdown camps and the impact of the pavement by-law that was implemented in 2007. In a number of News24 articles, power elites were positioned as the out-group, and were blamed for bad actions, for example "the heartless and ruthless manner in which the Western Cape and the City of Cape Town have dealt with homelessness during the Covid-19 pandemic" (Appendix 2G, line 3-5). Some opinion pieces questioned city care in terms of housing and the brutal lockdown camps that were enforced on homeless people, thus spotlighting discrimination against homeless people. In these publications, power elites were again cast as the out-group, and blamed as being ignorant to the reality that homeless people have to face. For example, in one article a city councilor is framed as "blind to the facts and the irony of what he's defending" (Appendix 2I, line 1). Although most of the News24 articles represented homelessness in a sympathetic way, it was found that homeless people were not frequently voiced in these representations. Rather, news facts and events were sourced from power elites, who were often politicians. This finding was in line with News24's objective to produce what can be considered "fast news" where news is fast and breaking, and where press statements from groups often used as sources, as is the case in Appendix 2I. Thus, this kind of reportage did not tend to be in-depth, however, opinion pieces topicalising the vulnerability of homeless people were an exception to this observation.

Therefore, this study concludes that different news agendas influenced how homeless people were reported on, and also who was voiced in this reportage to frame homeless narratives. However, there were some notable similarities found across the data corpora. In the news articles that aimed to show the resilience of homeless people, it was still commonly found that negative stigmas were attached to the homeless people in news reportage. This finding was commonly seen as homeless people were described as coming out of tough realities that frequently included drug addiction or jail time. Furthermore, it was found that even in pro-homeless representations of the group, homelessness was not often attributed to structural issues in society that bolster inequalities. Instead, personal setbacks were reported to be one of the main reasons for an individual's homelessness. For example, articles would report that

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personal setbacks, like family tragedy leading to children getting involved with the wrong crowd, would end in homelessness. Thus, while homelessness was described in articles as complex and multi-faceted, certain stigmas were still sustained around homelessness.

6.4 Situating the findings in terms of van Dijk's socio-cognitive theory

As discussed in Chapter Three, van Dijk (1995a:22) states that strategic syntactic and semantic surface patterns are expressed in discourse to serve prominent underlying beliefs, and that discourse structures express the interests and perspectives of groups. Therefore, van Dijk's theoretical framework for CDA provided a helpful basis to understand some of findings at which this thesis arrived. These findings agree with van Dijk's assertion about ideological discourse, proving that in-group/out-group representations closely reflected the news agendas and ideologies of the news publications that were reporting on homeless people. Thus, this next section will provide a discussion of the ways in which this study's findings are in line with van Dijk's ideology theory and his socio-cognitive theory. This discussion will be presented in terms of two different news agendas put forward by news publications, namely anti-homeless news agendas and pro-homeless news agendas. It is noteworthy that both ideological representations, either negative or positive, of homeless people presented homelessness in polarised ways in order to achieve goals that were in line with a publication's news objectives.

Articles with anti-homeless news agendas showed that semantic macrostructures frequently reinforced common tropes about the homeless community. For instance, homeless people were constructed as being public health threats (Appendix 1F), bad for property value and business (Appendix 1E), inappropriate (Appendix 1I), dangerous (Appendix 1B), and a general nuisance (Appendix 1I). This is in line with van Dijk's theory that vulnerable groups, cast as the "Other", will typically be presented in negative terms. According to van Dijk (1995a: 28), while underlying ideologies do not directly control schematic categories, like headlines or leads, such categories do indicate what is considered most important or relevant in articles and are thus vulnerable to being manipulated. This was true for articles that emphasised anti-homeless and stigmatised representations about the community, where headlines and leads to articles greatly assigned negative attributes to the homeless community. It was also found that macro-propositional content further perpetuated negative evaluations about the homeless community so that the global topic of news articles reflected anti-homeless sentiments.

One of the most noteworthy instances of this was found in the headline of the article in Appendix 1I that read "Homeless situation impossible!". The exclamation mark was noteworthy since such punctuation is typically representative of emotion and therefore not objective as the news media aim to be (Press Council 2020: n.p.). Thus, such emotive language violates normative communicative standards in news texts (van Dijk 1995a:23). This is also an example of what van Dijk labels "screaming headlines" where special and unconventional stress is used to emphasise particular meanings about events and people. This stands out further since van Dijk (1995:23) states that surface structures of discourse "do not have explicit meanings of their own. Surface structures of discourse are rather only the conventional manifestations of underlying meanings". This screaming headline was a notable instance of

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how schematic structures were used to manage opinions about homeless people due to its violation of communicative standards in news discourse. It was mostly found that headlines, leads and semantic macrostructures carried underlying ideologies, for example through rhetorical devices like metaphors about homeless people as a nuisance, a hopeless situation, and a danger.

A chief characteristic of anti-homeless representations was the significant use of demonstratives of distance, like "these" or "those" and the use of personal pronouns, like "us", "we", "our", and "them". According to van Dijk's theory of ideology, this is typical in ideological discourse as it results from and in polarised representations between "us", the in-group, and "them", the out-group. Such polarisation between "us" and "them" reproduces power abuse in media discourse. This kind of polarised representation in articles typically described in-group suffering and good actions alongside representations of the out-group who were marked as the cause of the in-group's suffering due to their negative associations. This ties in with van Dijk's theory that participants' use strategic linguistic moves like pronouns or demonstratives of distance to manage their identities in discourse, which he calls "impression management" (van Dijk 1995a:27).

One notable example of this was the disclaimer sentence found in Appendix 1H (line 42-43) reading, "We are not heartless, we know they have to eat and have to sleep somewhere, but rather a shelter where they can get help and not here". As observed in Chapter Five, the disclaimer "we are not heartless" (Appendix 1H, line 42-43) is an example of positive self-representation of the in-group as compassionate and reasonable people, but the next clause beginning with the contradictory "but" disqualifies this disclaimer completely, implying that homeless people needed to be removed from neighbourhoods to relieve residents of problems that were framed as emanating from the activity of homeless people. This example is a typical illustration of how in-group members will generally want to make a good impression and avoid looking bad (van Dijk 1995a:27). These trends found in negative representations of homeless people stood as a good example of van Dijk (1995a:27)'s description of groups' management of identities and its strategic goal:

> "[The management of identities] contribute to the overall strategy of positive self-description (viz., we are tolerant citizens), or the avoidance of a negative impression, on the one hand, and of negative other-presentation, on the other hand, because the second term of these moves (…) is always negative about the Others."

This is actually a result of the fact that ideologies are structured in such a way that representations are put forward in terms of the "us" versus "them" dimension, which was populated in anti-homeless discourse (van Dijk 1995a:18). It was further found that similar strategies of polarisation, implicature, rhetoric, semantic macro-structures, and so on were also evident in pro-homeless discourse in the sense that homeless people were framed as the "in-group" in such discourse. It was noted that in anti-homeless media representations, residents were cast as victims because of the negative actions of homeless people, whereas homeless people were positioned as the victims in representations that were pro-homeless. Responsibility

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for skewed city protocols and policies that perpetuated the discrimination of homeless people was, in addition to other discursive strategies, present in pro-homeless news discourse. It was notable that power elites, such as politicians like city officials from the DA and ANC, were cast as responsible for the suffering of homeless people because they implemented policies allowing for it. This further suggested that homeless people were part of the in-group and power elites were positioned as the out-group because in ideological discourse, agency for out-group bad actions will be highlighted (van Dijk 1995b:25). While it was found that out-group bad actions were addressed in pro-homeless discourse and that passive markers and euphemistic language were also evident when assigning agency for negative actions in pro-homeless news agendas, van Dijk's (2006a:373) prediction that syntactic word order or clause structure emphasises on agency was not consistently realised in this study's data.

6.5 Similarities and differences to previous studies' findings

A number of findings in this study were coherent with other findings of previous studies on the representation of homelessness both in the Global South and in WEIRD reportage. Several similarities were found in reportage that negatively represented homeless communities, indicating that there are general trends that can be found in anti-homeless representations. Findings in this study were similar to those found in Luco-Ocando (2019) as both studies showed that media representations of homeless people that perpetuated stigmas around the group framed them as problematic, unwelcome and as the "Other". Additional research also conceding with this includes De Melo Resende (2016; 2020), Greenberg et al. (2006), Schneider et al. (2010), Schneider (2011), Pascale (2005) and Toft (2014). Anti-homeless representations found in this study are also similar with Meert et al. (2006)'s findings, indicating that homeless people are dismissed through stereotypical language that links them to addiction, laziness, and delinquency. In this study's corpora it was found that District Mail publications frequently reflected such negative themes that linked the homeless community to drug and substance addiction, dirt, danger, and laziness. This study also arrived at a similar finding to Meert et al. (2006), who found that news topics and representations of the homeless community changed during certain periods of the year, like in the winter and around Christmas time, incentivising people to care more for homeless people, as this study found that reportage of the homeless community tended to be more positive of the community at the beginning of the year.

Throughout the rest of the year however, De Melo Resende (2016; 2020) found that media reportage reinforced the idea that homeless people are less than human, and thus the idea that discrimination against them was justified. Her finding was discussed in greater detail in Chapter Two of this thesis. In contrast with De Melo Resende's (2016; 2020) findings, this study found that pro-homeless representations pointed to the reality of basic human rights abuses made against homeless people in terms of city policies and by-laws, a finding that was not observed in previous literature reviewed in this thesis. The fringe publication included in this study, Ground Up, regularly foregrounded human rights violations against homeless people in their reportage. It can therefore be concluded that this is not the norm in mainstream media publications, especially given Ground Up's objective to report on social justice issues

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and for vulnerable groups, unlike most mainstream media objectives. While the Ground Up publication stood out as a publication that challenged stigmas about the group in this thesis' data corpus, none of the news media observed in this study showed a similar finding to Fateh (2004), who found that an Iranian newspaper made the social issue of homelessness newsworthy by making it a primary topic of reportage and excluded negative tropes like substance abuse from their media coverage. This brought social reform and change to the way that the public care for homeless people (Fateh 2004:156).

6.6 Methodological issues

One of the methodological issues encountered during this research concerned whether a CDA would be applied to an entire article or if a CDA would only apply to a portion of the article that was noteworthy. In Chapter Three, it was pointed out that it is unfavourable to do a CDA of small portions of texts, isolated from their context and without a rigorous explanation for the researchers' analytic stances that are made (Widowson 1998; Fowler 1996). Van Dijk (2001b:97) also argues against the analysis of texts in isolation of its original context and not in its entirety. In this study, it was decided that a CDA would not be conducted over all the texts that were collected but rather in selected extracts that were found to be characteristic of a particular theme. This meant that although a TA was conducted over all 49 articles, a CDA was used to analyse characteristics that embodied a theme and that appeared repeatedly over texts within the same thematic frame. This decision was made to allow for extracts to be studied within their themes instead of within their articles, as this would further account for how certain tropes manifested linguistically in news items. All extracts were however analysed within the context of their articles as well. Furthermore, this analysis was further complemented by a quantitative analysis that helped support analytical stances. For example, the quantitative analysis helped identify how often the news media included or excluded the voice of homeless people. This quantitative observation was in line with the news media's ideological representations of the homeless community. Furthermore, this combined quantitative and qualitative research approach allowed for discursive trends to be identified across publications and articles, such as how homelessness was topicalised across publications over time.

It can be further noted that scholars like Widowson (1998:136) and Stubbs (1997:10) also argue that in order for CDA practitioners to identify language use as being used to manipulate and dominate marginalised groups, a methodical, step by step, analysis must indicate this. In addition, linguistic strategies need to regularly show a trend occurring over numerous texts that are of the same genre. It is for this reason that the data corpus for this thesis considered a variety of sources in terms of the diverse news objectives selected, so that a CDA of a vast set of extracts would be possible. A variety of news sources also helped identify strategic linguistic trends and themes that were developing over several news texts. Furthermore, the timespan 2018-2020 from which the articles were selected aided an analysis of categorical trends to be accounted for over time because the time spam was long enough to identify notable themes. These methodological considerations were made in an effort to allow for the identification of legitimate trends of power abuse that appeared regularly in the texts. Moreover, it was

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prioritised that all conclusions made during the CDA phase of this research were explained within the immediate and social contexts of the texts.

6.7 Limitations and suggestions for future research

This study did not include an analysis of the way that the news publications' audiences interpreted the studied-news discourse. In addition, while data collected from a three-year span allowed to identify changes in reportage on the homeless community, a wider timespan could have accounted for a wider impression of how reportage has changed over the years. These shortcomings were not considered in this thesis given its limitations in terms of timeframe and length. An additional analysis of how readers perceive the reportage of homeless people however would be valuable for a future study interested in this research subject. For example, this could entail interviewing members of the news publication's target audience and asking them how they interpret the text or doing a social media analysis of how readers respond to articles on a publication's social media platforms. This kind of analysis would be valuable, as it would account for the extent to which media discourse influences the perception and treatment of homeless people.

6.8 Guidelines for journalists when reporting on the homeless community

At the outset of this thesis, it was established that journalists have privileged access to public discourse. In addition to this, this thesis has shown and concluded that media discourse and the way that groups are represented in media discourse is dependent on the ideological presuppositions and stances of the newsrooms (van Dijk 1997:21). Moreover, the complexities in the interaction between the news productions and the personal and professional ideologies that journalists hold cannot be ignored (Philo 2007:181). These factors suggest that journalists' opinions and ideologies influence discourse structures in the media (van Dijk 1997:21). Therefore, while this thesis could not offer an account for readers' receptions of media discourse that topicalised homelessness in this study, it is undeniable that journalists have the power to manipulate public discourse, which can have lasting consequences, especially in the way that readers internalise and respond – in terms of forming ideologies and opinions – to the news they consume. This means further that journalists also have power to influence how other power elites, like politicians, respond to the social problem of homelessness. Considering the responsibility that journalists have in their profession, as well as the findings at which this thesis has arrived, I have compiled a list of guidelines for reporting on the homeless community.

1. Stop stereotyping:
   A key finding identified in this thesis was that South African news publications that exhibited or promoted an anti-homeless agenda reproduced negative stereotypes associating homeless people with crime, filth, delinquency and problematic behaviour. This contributes to a stigmatisation of the group that promotes a divide between "us" and "them". The stigmatisation of the group is problematic for two reasons. First, these negative associations can be unfounded and, like metonyms, it replaces the identity of

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the group, therefore perpetuating their social discrimination. Secondly, associating the homeless community with negative actions places undue attention on individual attributes rather than underscoring homelessness as a social problem and the ways to solve it. Moreover, Fateh (2004)'s findings indicate the impact that journalists can have should they decide to avoid the inclusion of stereotypical characterisations in describing the homeless community. His findings suggest that should journalists actively decide to exclude stereotypical language about the community, it could put into effect genuine change both in terms of readers' response to news about the community, as well as response to the community itself.

2. Give agency where it is due:
   It was established earlier in the thesis that it is a journalistic norm to objectively report the news. One way that this is done is to present a balanced view of news events (Philo 2007:182). I encourage journalists to have this standard not only at the degree of including the voice of opposite sides but to also give agency and responsibility for actions where it is due. This also means being cognisant of how agency is identified in syntactic structures as this thesis found that given the ideological stance of newsrooms, agency for bad actions was blurred through syntactic deviations.

3. Shed light on those who are invisible
   While it is a normative practise for journalists to include opposing sides in their reportage with the goal of balanced reporting, this thesis found that homeless people were rarely voiced in articles that concerned them in District Mail or News24. In District Mail, less than 10% of articles included the voice of homeless people and in News24 only 14% of articles included homeless people as sources of information. This shows that homeless people's voice is largely excluded in the media, with the exception of publications like Ground Up that report on behalf of the homeless community. Journalists should endeavour to voice the homeless community in articles that concern them, as it is a normative expectation in journalism practise. Moreover, homeless people should be allowed to frame and inform their realities, instead of politicians and NGOs, in news reportage that topicalises homelessness.

4. Place the problem within its socio-economic context:
   Finally, homelessness must be placed within its socio-economic context of skyrocketing unemployment, as well as poverty, in reportage. This thesis founds that irrespective of news publication, homelessness was rarely positioned in the context of structural issues that allow the social problem to bolster. Journalists should report on homelessness more holistically so that the issue of homelessness is not minimised to a result of personal setbacks or decisions. In addition, identifying root issues of the social problem is the only way to render sustainable solutions to address the problem. Placing homeless discourse in the news media within its socioeconomic context could initiate real change in discourse and attitudes around homelessness.

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6.9 Concluding remarks

This thesis aimed to provide an account for the way that local media characterises homeless people in their reportage. A main objective for this research was to investigate how these representations of homeless people were linguistically framed or constructed to either perpetuate or dispel stigmas that are associated with the group. Thus, this study had a strong focus particularly on the discourse of certain news publications with different objectives in the local press. This research project shows the importance of the dialectal relationship of language and society. Moreover, it illustrates that the way that the media, described as the "gate-keepers" to discourse, use language impacts how we understand the news events and groups of people that they choose to report on. Thus, the impact that language usage exerts in public discourse was a prime reason for conducting this study. This study began in a newsroom in 2020. At the time, I was a journalism honour's student and writing a final project on homelessness as a news topic that was underreported in the local media. While I was working on the project, two things stood out: the media rarely report on homelessness; and when the media do, journalistic norms are violated, like not getting comment from the homeless community on which a journalist was reporting. At the front of the violations was the way that language was used to describe and represent homeless people – it routinely sustained linguistic stigmas about the group. This study shows that the ideology of newsrooms influences the discourses that are (re)produced in such spaces, who render strategic representations of people and news events that in turn mediate how we think about and understand news events and people in the world. This can be seen in the way that the different news publications included in this study varied in their representations of homeless people.

This finding must be taken seriously as it indicates that skewed ideologies render skewed representations of people, events and realities. The finding is more salient considering that there are groups of people, like the homeless community, who are more vulnerable to societal discrimination due to prevailing negative stereotypes, stigmatization and unfair public policies. These three factors allow for the societal mistreatment of vulnerable people, and mainstream media discourse shows to sustain this maltreatment of these individuals who are not the problem but victims of a failing system. In lieu, the media should endeavour to report on issues like homelessness holistically, pointing to structural issues to help bring sustainable reform instead of pointing to personal flaws – that, in this case, for any non-homeless person is masked behind the confines of their homes. With this in mind, it is encouraging to see that younger fringe publications like Ground Up are pushing the status quo and scrutinising dominant ideologies that are commonly reproduced in news discourse topicalising homelessness. That being said, it was discouraging to find a trend in community news discourse that was replete with linguistic strategies to reproduce stigmas and stereotypes about the group. This distinction between the representations of homeless people in Ground Up compared to District Mail is salient as newsrooms have powerful platforms to shape the identities of groups as either welcomed partakers of society or outsiders.

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Appendix 1A

Night Shelter turns 30 (12 March 2018)

A safe haven for those in need of shelter is what the Somerset West Night Shelter has offered for the past three decades.

The shelter was established in 1988, thus celebrating its 30th anniversary this year.

Chairperson Jo Swart says in those days a group of concerned community members saw the plight of the homeless and was compassionately moved to do something about it.

They found a site, negotiated with the municipality and raised funds to erect a building. The rest is history.

Swart says her involvement with the shelter started more than 12 years ago and she has never looked back, still fighting the good fight.

"I had seen a request in the District Mail from the Shelter Committee, a call for volunteers and people to get involved, as there was a clear need for support," she explains.

"I was drawn to the advert, as I could imagine that raising support and recruiting volunteers to help homeless adults may be a challenge. Helping the underdog is what pressed on my heart."

Swart approached her church to see how it could be of assistance.

"Initially, our involvement wasn't much, we committed to serving a meal at the shelter on the last Friday night of every month.

"We would provide the meal, usually a meaty pasta or something other than their norm of soup and bread," Swart says. "We did this for years."

But the more time she spent with them the more the people tugged at her heartstrings.

"We never realised how much we would enjoy these visits, and how quickly the people staying in the shelter would become people who we cared for deeply. Over the years we endeavoured to bring extra spoils over Christmas time, and to do what we could where we could with what we had, until one day my husband came back from church conference and was so inspired to do something of significance, to be generous in action.

This resulted in the renovation of the kitchen.

"I was already rearing to go and just needed to be 'let out the gate', so to speak," Swart says. "Since then I haven't stopped wanting to improve, raise the level of service given and upgrade every aspect of the organisation."

Seven years ago, then committee leaders Dave and Glynnis Crossley asked her to take over the reins of the shelter.

"I wasn't sure what it all meant and initially was quite overwhelmed," Swart recalls. "Glynnis, with the help of her husband, had faithfully taken care of all the goings on at the shelter all the years."

A new committee was established, and together they faced the restructuring that has brought the shelter where it is today, Swart explains.

The shelter's services include social and psychological assessments as well as

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personal development of individuals, whom the shelter views as its clients. The shelter also provides counselling and referrals to relevant social services and provides much needed temporary accommodation to homeless adults.

“The staff are our engine, the clients our passion and the volunteers are the ones who are ultimately blessed,” says Swart. “I have had the privilege of being involved in a fantastic transition of facilities, expansion of space and mapping out our future plans.

A little more than a year ago, the shelter opened its very own coffee shop, Church Street Coffee, which has since become a quiet hotspot for locals who want to enjoy a freshly brewed cup of coffee and a slice of cake while giving back to the homeless, the profits going to the shelter.

It fills the bridge of disconnect between people who want to help and those who need help,” she says.

One of the obstacles the shelter still faces daily is the struggle to raise awareness for support, Swart says.

Too many people in the Helderberg don’t know where the shelter is and haven’t yet planned to find out,” she says. “ Daily we see beggars and daily they received support, because they are right there standing in your face, with a sad story and a hand-out. Our challenge is to encourage people to give responsibly and to consider their giving. To consider the lasting impact their giving can have if they support our shelter.”

In an effort to teach people to give responsibly, the shelter has instituted a voucher system where, instead of giving cash, the community can give vouchers, which those in need of a meal or place to lay their heads down can redeem at the shelter.

Says Swart: “We receive very little payment from our clients (very few actually manage to pay) so most of our funds need to come from support raised.

Homelessness is multifaceted and complex, people from all walks of life can find themselves in this unfortunate disposition. It takes wisdom, knowledge, understanding, skill and hands-on experience to know how to connect and offer hope and dignity.

But despite the many social challenges and heartbreak, the prospect of giving someone a better future is what keeps Swart and everyone involved in the shelter motivated and passionate.

“Those who have once stayed with us and moved out have moved onto their next best, and when they come back to visit, or when we meet them in and around or even when they write to say thanks. It will always be a changed life for the better that moves us the most.

And her hopes and dreams for the shelter in the next 30 years?

“We have always said the Helderberg needs two more shelters; we know where, we just lack the finance,” Swart points out. “We also trust that soon we will be able to launch a very first for our area, under the management structure of the shelter, but of course, a group effort involving all the local organisations related to this: a shelter for woman and children.”

She is also passionate and eager to get this project off the ground that a name has

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already been chosen – House Hope.
"We patiently await confirmations of a venue," says Swart. "We have several other ideas, we have no lack of visions, we know that somehow provisions is always provided miraculously. However, we are practical and our biggest challenge is securing land and facility use."
In celebration of its 30th anniversary, the shelter will host an Easter Market on Friday 31 March, from 18:00 to 21:00, at Life Church in WR Quinan Boulevard, Somerset West.
There will be live music, children's entertainment, including an Easter egg hunt, jumping castle and face-painting, food and clothing stalls as well as a barista competition.

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Appendix 1B

Homeless, bridge dwellers issues discussed (6 August 2018)

Last week, minister Dan Plato held a meeting with the Somerset West Community. Plato, the provincial minister for Community Safety, addressed the public on the Thursday 26 July. The meeting came as a result of residents being fed up with the issue of vagrancy and the problems stemming from it.

Somerset West resident, Neill Matthews, a neighbour of the infamous 6 Bellona Street, reached out to the minister after problems with the homeless still did not subside even after the house was demolished last year.

After 6 Bellona Street was demolished, the homeless who occupied the house did not move out of the area but found other shelter in the vicinity thus not solving the initial problem residents had.

"It is still an issue because people are still being robbed and assaulted. Especially the residents from the carious retirement villages who have to walk to the shopping centres. A lot of them have come to the point where they are too scared to wander the streets and have resorted to waiting when someone uses a car to go to the shops and send their shopping lists with them," said Matthews.

Furthermore Matthews said round about 150 people showed up to the meeting and according to him the majority of residents shared their discontent with the South African Police Service in Somerset West.

"I invited members of the Somerset West police station to attend the meeting but instead received a letter from them saying that they won't be able to attend the meeting because they have other activities to tend to. But at the moment they do nothing to alleviate the problem of vagrancy and the problems arising from it. Mostly the local security companies have been to the bridge in Andries Pretorius street almost every day to remove the people and recover stolen goods.

He adds that Plato has scheduled a follow-up meeting that will be held on Tuesday 11 September at the Helderberg Dutch Reformed Church Hall in Firmount Street, Somerset West.

"The minister said they want to make sure that SAPS attends the next meeting. Personally, I am also appealing to the residents to attend the meeting, as well as residents from Strand and Gordon's Bay.

"The problem is not going to go away on its own, at this stage you have to ask yourself when it will be your turn to endure a run in with a homeless person who wants to harm you."

At the next meeting, he says, Plato will also give the community tips on what to do when they find themselves in a situation where someone has trespassed onto their

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property and is putting their family in danger.

Local ward councilor Greg Peck also attended the meeting and said a lot of things were said but no one could come up with a solution.

“Not all of us are experts in this area, but I do believe that some of these claims about the homelessness are unsubstantiated. If people understand the situations that led to people living on the streets, they would understand street people. Not all of them are criminally inclined. Some of the reasons that they have ended up on the streets are sad, heart breaking reasons. But instead of everyone just complaining about it, people need to come up with solutions as well.”

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Appendix 1C

Action at S-West eyesore at last (9 September 2019)

A "problem building" on the corner of Dummer Street and Main Road in Somerset West has been cleared of illegal occupants. The property is now fenced.

This follows months of neglect that resulted in the site being stripped of anything of value and becoming a haven for vagrants, some of them suspected of crimes committed in the surrounding area.

Last month, the City of Cape Town considered officially declaring the property a problem building and was on the verge of bricking-up all the entrances.

Gregory Peck, Ward 15 councilor, said the owner of the property has now complied with council's Problem Building and Planning bylaws.

"The owner has erected fence around the property, evicted all those who were inhabiting the buildings and removed all the loose roofing and brickwork," he said.

"The City's planning department still has to approve the new building plans. Once that is done, the owner can start constructing the new building."

In June, District Mail reported on homeless people who had moved into the building and stripped it of everything of value.

They claimed to have permission to live there and promised to protect and guard it with their lives.

At the time, the property's owner, Jose de Abreu, stated the building was earmarked for a R20 million development and one of the tenants would be a well-known estate agency. He claimed to have tried everything to rid the building of vagrants and refused to take the blame for the then situation.

When contacted this week, De Abreu said he spent a significant amount of money to conduct a "clean-up" in compliance with certain requirements. He apparently also met with local police in the hopes of finding a sustainable solution.

"Amendments were made to the original site development plan as per requirements and we are now awaiting a permit, which we expect to be issued in the next few days," he said. "Only then can we submit the building plans approval."

Meanwhile, De Abreu is concerned about the issue of vagrancy and the risk his property faces as the process of approvals takes its course.

"The vagrants have moved just a few metres away to a public open space owned by the City, where they loiter. It's easy to blame the victim when vagrants move into and destroy a property but now that they've been removed, the problem persists. Many properties are at risk of being invaded and one cannot ignore the criminal element.

We are trying to get the City to act to find sustainable solutions and we will host a public meeting on the matter very soon."

He said more details would be made available closer to the time.

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Appendix 1D

A story of a bookstall (14 October 2019)

Being homeless has devastating effects on one's life. Those who find themselves in a state of destitution may lose their self-esteem and worse, there will to care for themselves and earn a living.

However, despite having nowhere stable to live for the past six years, Charise Buch has not allowed the harsh reality to rob her of this ability.

The ever-friendly, positive 59-year-old still operates the book stall in Caledon Street. The mobile stall is located adjacent to the parking area at the Oudehuis Centre and came to being as a "beginning to get back up" after becoming destitute in 2013. Unlike most people in her position, she remains determined to make a living rather than badgering motorists at traffic lights, resorting to crime or expecting hand-outs. But she desperately needs support.

People are always passing criticism, making remarks and advising the homeless to attempts to help themselves by trying to earn some money and yet here I am," a despondent Charise told *DistrictMail*.

The admirable stallholder ended up on the streets after health complications forced her to close the doors of her tiling company, Hanyman Can, which operated successfully for 10 years in Somerset West.

Charise needs other to understand that she's not homeless because she chooses to be; she is an educated person who was knocked down by the many tough blows life dealt her. Born and bred in Hillbrow, Johannesburg, she started her school career at Barnato Park Primary School in 1966 and completed standard 8, Grade 10, at Waverly Girls' High before enrolling at the Modern Methods Business College. A mere month before her 18th birthday, she moved to Israel where she lived for 15 years and learnt to speak Hebrew.

In 1979, Charise joined the army where she was involved in underground communications on borders for two years. In following years, after having completed secretarial and translator courses, she worked as South Africa a translator from home. Charise however was diagnosed with cervical cancer and later developed a drinking habit.

With no family to offer support, a lack of finances and after the passing of her father, she moved back to South Africa in 1993.

Unfortunately the translating job became redundant and she moved in with her mother who resided in Camps Bay for six months before relocating to Johannesburg where she furthered her studies while working as a tour guide at Gold Reef City.

Two years later, she obtained her diploma in bible studies at the Rhema Bible College. In 1995, she put herself and her car on a train to join her mother, who by then had moved to Somerset West.

She enrolled in and completed course in tourism in the Western Cape, thinking a job in tourism would earn her a decent salary as it did in Johannesburg. However jobs were few and far between.

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What changed it all for her was when her mother went to Canada and America to visit family and contracted someone to parquet flooring at their home while she was away.

After the person upped and left without completing the job, she decided to try her hand at it. A friend saw her work and offered to teach her how to tile and she took him up on the offer.

After three months of hands-on training, she opened her own tiling company in 1998. Charise, however, developed arthritis and, with the work being very labour-intensive, business suffered. This resulted not only in her business' closure, but also left her homeless since 2013.

She did odd jobs such as dog and house sitting, shop assisting and even car guarding for four years to stay a float. Her last job was working as a shop assistant at Sibul Furnishers, where she earned very little, until June 2015.

Charise decided to setup her stall in the hope of earning an income after two local who shared her passing for books and reading, donated about 100 books to her in September 2015.

The steel-framed, covered book stall which is weather proof and fitted onto wheels for easy storing, offers an array of books. Mills and Boons books cost R8 a single, R11 for a 2- in-1 and R13 for a 3-in-1; and the rest ranging from R30 a book. Charise says with more support from locals she may just be able to afford a place to stay, which has been her main priority. "I would like to thank my regular clients and those who pop in to make sure I have something to eat."

For more information or books, phone Charise on 061 233 4903

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Appendix 1E

Haven for the homeless planned (3 August 2020)

The Gordon's Bay Residence Association has vowed to remain firm on several commitments to tackle a boom in homelessness and vagrancy in the area, which includes establishing a shelter that will service both Strand and Gordon's Bay.

Homelessness is being blamed for the damaging or destruction of buildings, pollution, a spike in crime and continuous intimidation and nuisance to the community generally.

Gordon's Bay, over the past few years, has become a haven for the homeless and vagrancy," says GBRA chairperson Edwina Hadfield.

"It has now gotten the stage where it is affecting not only the look and feel of our town, but residents and businesses alike, which are suffering with the numbers that have inhabited the various areas in Gordon's Bay. It is impacting our daily lives. We, as residents, are concerned about the broken window concept, which we will not allow to take hold.

She mentioned the present influx is a result of the closure of the now defunct Strandfontein site established for street people during the initial Covid-19 lockdown period. "This has brought about a new determined focus on the protection of our properties, both residential and business, and we are determined to bring about a solution."

Hadfield adds it is not only on the beachfront that there are vagrants, but also at Pollock Park, the different green belt areas and open tracts of land.

"They are all around us; they are discreet and one is unaware of them, until one has a good look, and sees a shelter of sorts has gone up in the mountains. The dunes are a continual hotspot, with our flora totally destroyed. As a result, the sand is shifting towards the homes of Fleur Park."

The GBRA points out "petty crime" and housebreaking have increased, begging at the various areas is totally out of control as is the selling of drugs, prostitution, informers, car guards, drain dwellers and illegal squatting.

Hadfield estimates the homeless population in Gordon's Bay as being 120 to 150 people on the streets.

"We cannot keep bemoaning the situation, for we know that this is a worldwide problem The numbers are increasing [in the Helderberg] and they will move around to find the best place that suits their needs. Residents and business owners have to be proactive instead of reactive, so the GBRA, community policing forum and neighbourhood watch have been working on a number of issues for a while find a solutions where we can start to reintegrate and get the homeless off the streets.

"We're working with the City of Cape Town on establishing a shelter and for the first time in four years, we are reaching finality on identification of a land between Gordon's Bay and Strand, so the shelter will serve both areas."

More details on the project will be made available as it progresses, Hadfield related. This partnership is also obtaining the services of an NPO that will run the

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assessment centre to profile and work with people in trying to bring back their dignity and reintegrate them into society.
It is also starting a Pink Bib Parking Attendant Programme to be run in Gordon's Bay, one that has been successful in various towns around the Cape Peninsula , including Strand.
Hadfield also mentioned the establishment of the Vegetable Garden Project, where the homeless can assist in a community garden.
"We need to encourage residents of Gordon's Bay and Strand to give responsibly," she said.
"There are many who do not understand the impact of assisting those on the street, the goods they give are dumped if they are not deemed suitable, and are strewn all over different areas, as is food one gives the family."
"Nine times out of 10 they do not land up on the able, but are sold for substance abuse and children are sent to the soup kitchens to be fed. So people should think before they give."
Hadfield urges residents, instead, to support GB Lockdown Feeding Project, which supports seven soup kitchens in the ward.

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Appendix 1F

‘Street people a corona risk’ (6 July 2020)

Dozens of homeless people camped opposite the Strand Police Station and Strand courts are seen as a sight for sore eyes, and, especially, a risk to patients of nearby medical facility as possible carriers of Covid-19.

This, according to several residents, who over the past few weeks have expressed concern that nothing is being done to alleviate the situation.

One resident, who passes the police station on her way to school daily, stated she sees the squatters everyday, labelling the current situation a poor reflection on station management, to who she has addressed a letter.

Another resident, Jackie Viljoen, wrote to the City of Cape Town to complain there are no toilets nearby and it remains an open question where these people defecate. “There is not even a river nearby to wash it away!” she said, “And it is also not pleasant to see a man urinating against a wall early in the morning. Elderly people from nearby retirement homes have to walk past that mess to get to the shops. People from Altena Road have to walk past it for the same reason. It is only a matter of time before one is attacked and robbed - or worse.

“It is horrifying even to think of the mess, and even worse to think I could be the person attacked.”

In response to concerns raised, Zahid Badroodien, Mayoral Committee member for Community Service and Health, said it’s not illegal to be homeless and live on the street, but any anti-social behaviour contravening the City’s relevant bylaws can be reported.

“With regard to criminal activity, the public is requested to lay charges with the South African Police Service,” he said. Badroodien explained the City’s Street People Programme was introduced to help people living and surviving on the streets. It aims to facilitate a developmental approach to addressing the needs of street people.

The Street People Unit engages the person and offers social assistance. It engages with the person up to six times and if they still refuse assistance and transgress bylaws, the matter is then referred to the Displaced Persons Unit, which will address bylaw infringements.

“Street people are not compelled to accept social assistance or placement into a shelter,” Badroodien said.

“As previously mentioned, it is not illegal to remain on the street. We aim to restore a sense of human dignity among the people we engage with.”

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Appendix 1G

'Vagrant problem' at the Gants Centre has mushroomed (28 September 2020)

An increase of homeless people sleeping in tents around the Gants Centre is having negative impact on business, as complaints stream in regarding public health concerns, an increase in crime and vandalism, and harassments of customers visiting shops.

But they cannot be removed, as the National Disaster management Act is in place and law enforcement cannot confiscate any personal items. Tents, bedding as well as clothes are deemed personal items and cannot be confiscated.

Greg Pepper, owner of Value Baking Supplies situated on the corner of Gerber Boulevard and the N2, said the business has been operating from the centre for 10 years, and its never been so bad. He is now exploring the option of vacating the premises.

"They defecate in the storm water gully, wash cloths next to the highway and harass my staff and clients: Pepper said. They refuse to go to shelters. What are our options?

He said since Friday 11 September more than four structures were put up within a week and the smell of urine is now distinct in the air around the centre.

According to Wayne Dyason, spokesperson for the City of Cape Town's Law Enforcement, the city is aware of this group of homeless people. "Operations take place regularly. This entails the cleaning up of dirt and rubbish the homeless leave behind and offering assistance to the homeless," he said.

In most instances this help is refused. If someone wishes for assistance, Law Enforcement will contact the Department of Social Development, which will then place this person in alternative accommodation. Being homeless is not a crime nor can we force people into moving into shelters.

Zahid Badroodien, Mayoral Committee member for Community Services and Health, says the City's street people team regularly conducts social outreach to individuals at the location and they are offered various services, including family reunification and access to developmental programmes. "The team has worked in partnership with Law Enforcement on this matter."

But the efforts are just not enough, said Pepper, who wants to see more viable solution that will help everybody and not disadvantage the homeless or business owners. "We don't want to vacate these premises, because it means job losses and the entire area will be open to vandalism," related. We also want to see a programme for the homeless that works. The problem is increasing and is already out of hand.

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Appendix 1H

A penny for the homeless (19 October 2020)

Street people purposelessly roaming Helderberg streets, rummaging through waste bins on sidewalks, lying down on pavements for some shut eye, women and children holding out their hands at various traffic intersections. These may well have become such a part of the visible landscape that many locals are used to them.

The picture of homelessness, as it occurs practically on the doorsteps of Somerset residents has got even gloomier, in more recent times, and it is the police and nearby residents who battle the unsightliness and unpleasantness of many homeless people at De Beers Park along Pastorie Road, where they have made a campsite.

Desperate calls are made to the council and local authorities to act on the influx of vagrants, who have put up makeshift tents, defecate openly, walk around exposed and regularly pose a nuisance to homeowners. Furthermore, crime in the area is on the rise and property values are at risk.

The situation in the wake of the Covid-19 pandemic will worsen. Unemployment is a reality, one of the contributing factors to homelessness. We hear and see how the pandemic has affected the household as it has business.

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Appendix 1I

‘Homeless situation impossible!’ (19 October 2020)

The plight of homeless all over the Helderberg continues to be a bone of contention. Desperate pleas by local communities to find a workable solution fall on deaf ears, they say, as neither the police nor law enforcement can resolve the issue despite daily complaints of harassment, intimidation and health concerns among others.

The latest influx of vagrants is camped opposite the Somerset West Police Station at De Beers Park, where they put up makeshift tents, defecate openly and regularly pose a nuisance to nearby residents of Private Road. There are now groups of vagrants camping at three police stations in the Helderberg, including both Gordon’s Bay and Strand Police Stations.

Homeowners near the Somerset West Police Station say incidents of petty crime have increased, the peace of the area has all but disappeared, they are unable to leave windows open and can no longer enjoy the park as it is now occupied by the group of vagrants.

Owners are concerned about their property values, their safety as well as their health, but also express concern for the well-being of the homeless, saying they don’t want to just kick them out but also find a workable solution that will benefit everybody.

Area is now a mess

A resident of Private Road, Fanus Smit, said the first vagrants moved in as early as January but during the hard lockdown in April they had all but disappeared.

“About two months ago they came back with a vengeance and much more aggressive than before,” said Smit. “The area is just a mess. There’s no toilets so you can imagine where they doing their business. The bus stop has been entirely invaded and passengers have to wait in the mornings several metres away from the actually stop. The guard is also helpless to stop anything.”

He added there was now a rat infestation and a stench was starting to hang over the area. “We don’t know where to turn. The police can’t help us unless the vagrants commit a crime, and Law Enforcement tells us the issue has been attended to when clearly it has not.

Residents say a vagrant with suspected of mental illness often walks around naked, which terrifies young students who attend a nearby art school. During one such incident the police were called and the vagrant ran to put on a mask but not any clothes.

“Its just a ridiculous situation that affects our daily life. We pay rates and taxes but now our property values are just collapsing. Who do we turn to and what do we do?”

Vagrants a danger to themselves

Another resident who asked not to be named, said that if the situation is not brought under control now it probably won’t ever be. “I personally put two fires out myself that had been started by the vagrants due to the danger it poses to our houses. We are not heartless, we know they have to eat and have to sleep

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somewhere, but rather a shelter where they can get help and not here. Some of these vagrants are a danger to themselves," she said, adding that the vagrants sometimes even get visitors like a community-type environment."

"This area is definitely not ideal for them, it's not hygienic, and that poses a threat to all of us as we live so close-by."

Public indecency and damage

Specific questions posed to the City of Cape Town were not answered directly, but instead an overview of the situation in general given.

Wayne Dyason, spokesperson for Law Enforcement, says the City's Law Enforcement Department receives numerous complaints each month from communities about anti-social behaviour and bylaw transgressions committed by street people, and that monthly complaints include structures erected on public open spaces and the accumulation of waste, public urination and bathing, public indecency and damage to municipal infrastructures as well as more serious criminal offences such as assault and intimidation.

"Law enforcement officers enforce the law for all people engaging in anti-social behaviour and criminal offences. Many street people engage in informal recyling acitivites, Dyson said. "This results in unsightly waste build-up in open spaces which also presents health risks to the community and the street people. It must be borne in mind officers can only issue fines. Offficers do not remove personal belongings. Only the waste accumulated at sites where street people gather is removed."

"Officers cannot arrest the homeless for being homelss and this means when officers leave they return to the places the officers had just cleared, and thenthe cycle restarts. So these types of operations occur all over the City, and because of resource restraints it means problematic areas are queued for action on a rotating basis. No place is ignored, even though it may seem that way, but this is just when it is the cue for re-intervention.

In a statement the city mentioned it had changed how it responds to complaints about street people. "Social care call centre agents were employed at the call centre a few years ago to ensure the city prioritises a response by social workers or outreach workers," Dyason said. "Only once the outreach workers confirm our offers of assistance have been declined, would the matter be handed to law enforcement officers.

"The call centre agents who respond to callers asking for support for street people as well as those who respond to other emergency and policing complaints are located at 107 Public Emergency Communications Centre.

Residents can contact the Emergency Centre at 021 480 7700 froma cellphone, or 107 from a landline.

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Appendix 2A

Promise of right to housing remains elusive in democratic South Africa (27 November 2018)

South Africa's constitution protects everyone's right to access adequate housing.

This principle was spelled out in law when the court issued a landmark ruling in 2000 that stipulated the most vulnerable people – "those living in extreme conditions of poverty, homelessness or intolerable housing" - should be given priority access to housing.

A new law to effect this was passed in 2001. But, 17 years later, the law hasn't been implemented. The main reason is that the country's municipalities still don't have adequate plans setting out the time frames in which they will provide adequate housing for thousands of people in desperate need.

Tens of thousands of South Africans are living in emergency housing areas known as temporary areas. These were established by municipalities as emergency housing for displaced people. But they have proved not to be temporary at all. In fact some relocation areas have grown in size. This has left both the people who were originally moved into them on a temporary basis, as well as newcomers, in situation of limbo.

This reveals an epic failure by local, provincial and national governments to deliver social housing, as required by the Constitution. This unresponsiveness of government needs scrutiny by the South African Human Rights Commission, which is constitutionally mandated to promote, protect and monitor the realisation of human rights in the country, including access to housing.

And parliament, in its oversight capacity, should hold government to account for its failure to provide housing for the most vulnerable as espoused by the 2000 landmark judgement.

Relocated and abandoned

One relocation settlement is Blikkiesdorp, a poverty stricken community 30km east of Cape Town. Blikkiesdorp was established in 2007. It was meant to provide temporary shelter for 650 displaced, indigent people. A decade later, they city still has no definite plans to provide adequate housing for those people. The number of residents has since swelled to 15 000 in about 3000 dwellings.

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A similar situation is also found in Johannesburg, where 118 households were evicted from the Marie Louise informal settlement in 2001 and placed in temporary relocation areas. Although the move was only supposed to be for 18 months, this community is still without adequate homes seven years later. This, despite the courts ordering the City of Johannesburg to provide them adequate basic housing. As with Blikkiesdorp, there are still no precise time frames for when this community will receive adequate basic housing.

In Durban, the Jadhu Place informal settlement was devastated by a fire in 2008 which displaced 600 households. A decade on, these residents remain in temporary shelters. They don't know when they will be properly housed.

All these situations violate the Constitutional Court's 2000 ruling and subsequent legislation. They also go against the policy guidelines the court provided in 2008 for emergency housing.

Who has Failed?

South Africa's constitution obliges the government – specifically the Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs, which is responsible for municipalities – to provide social housing for indigent South Africans.

Since the landmark Grootboom case, the Housing Development Agency has provided national policy guidelines for emergency housing programmes.

Places like Blikkiesdorp were supposed to be a short-term housing solution. But, a decade later, its residents still live in the area. They endure poor basic services like water and sanitation. This is contrary to the 2008 court judgement that provided guidance for dignified temporary housing.

In 2016, the then-mayor of Cape Town demanded that her officials present her, in two weeks, with a plan which would set out time frames for the rehousing of Blikkiesdorp. Two years later, the city has confirmed there are currently three housing developments for Blikkiesdorp but "poor contractor performance" has caused indefinite delays.

The South African Human Rights Commission is constitutionally mandated to take steps to secure appropriate redress where human rights have been violated – such as is happening in Blikkiesdorp. It confirmed in a report in 2015 it was aware that people relocated to temporary areas end up living there forever.

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But it has done nothing to ease the plight of people like those living in Blikkiesdorp.

What needs to happen?

Communities that are relocated to temporary areas are deemed to be vulnerable by the Constitutional Court, and need to be provided with adequate housing as a matter of priority.

Local government is compelled by policy guidelines which provide clear steps how this should be done. There are three steps to be followed.

The first is relocate to temporary areas, then maintain the place adequately and, lastly, relocate the affected people to permanent housing, Importantly, the community must be involved in setting the time frames for the allocation of permanent housing.

Staying indefinitely in a temporary housing area is a relegation of just administration principles as set out in the Promotion of Administrative Just Act.

Actions by government that materially and adversely affects the rights or legitimate expectations of any person much be procedurally fair.

The Human Rights Commission and Parliament are the custodians that should ensure the government upholds its constitutional obligations to provide adequate housing.

Blikkiesdorp and other displaced communities have a right to fair administration action in line with their legitimate expectations. The Human Rights Commission needs to prove its worth and hold the government to account on time-frames to provide adequate housing for these people – and others in a similar situation. This should preferably be complemented by parliamentary oversight.

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Appendix 2B

ANC appalled at City of Cape Town's 'war against the homeless' (1 July 2019)

The ANC in the Western Cape says it is appalled and disgusted by the city's war against the homeless after it was revealed that a bylaw was being enforced that saw homeless people being fined for obstructing pavements. "We demand that the city stops this cruel, inhuman enforcement of its by-laws immediately, as well as showing more compassion by making more shelters available to the homeless," ANC Western Cape secretary Faiez Jacobs said in a statement on Monday.

Their enforcement came after the City said it had received numerous complaints from residents in different areas about the contravention of the by-laws. The most cited was the ones relating to streets, public places and the prevention of noise nuisances, News24 earlier reported.

"We believe that residents have been complaining about the breaking of the bylaws. But bylaws relating to streets, public spaces and the prevention of noise nuisances cannot be more important than human beings.

The City is fining the destitute for having nothing, not even money to pay these fines. How cruel is that? This is the real hard, cold-blooded, uncaring face of the DA," Jacobs added.

As a result the bylaws would see those who make a fire in a public place facing a fine of up to R1500 while obstructing pedestrian traffic on a pavement with any object or motor vehicle could attract a fine of R300, as does sleeping in a stationary motor vehicles in a public place, News24 earlier reported. "This is tantamount to criminalising homelessness," Jacobs said in response.

The ANC suggested that the city opt for a more compassionate manner in dealing with the issue of homelessness.

"A more compassionate way of dealing with the homeless would be feed them, encourage them to go into shelters at night and reunite them with their families".

"We demand that the city stops this callousness immediately and that it implements more human policies to deal with homelessness," Jacobs concluded.

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Appendix 2C

1 Pavement fines 'not new'-City of Cape Town defends its efforts to assist homeless (2 July 2019)

As people come to terms with the inevitable effects that a public places by-law has on the homeless, including being fined, the city has defended its efforts to help the vulnerable get off the streets.

This follows a story on Monday in which it emerged that homeless people were receiving fines from law enforcement officials for obstructing pavements and other offences. The public largely reacted with outrage on social media and the ANC in the province demanded an end to what it deemed a "war against homeless".

City officials explained at the time that they were not targeting the homeless but enforcing the bylaws following numerous complaints from residents.

Most often cited is contraventions of the 2007 by law relating to streets public places and preventions of noise nuisances.

This bylaw prohibits people from erecting a shelter, sleeping or camping overnight in any undesignated area. It also prohibits anyone from "in anyway" obstructing the pedestrian traffic on a pavement or depositing, packing, unpacking or leaving any goods in a public place. Those who start or keep a fire in a public place can be fined up to R1500. Obstructing pedestrian traffic on a pavement with any object or motor vehicle could attract a fine of R300 as does sleeping in a stationary motor vehicle in a public place.

The bylaw states that no one is allowed to live in a motor vehicle for longer than 24 houses. Excluding designated rest areas, one can only sleep in a car in a dire emergency or where someone is the driver of public transportation or guarding the motor vehicle. Small-scale littering or dumping attract a fine of up to R500 in terms of the integrated waste management plan by-law.

'Dynamics have changed'

In a joint statement on Tuesday, mayoral committee members JP Smith and Zahid Badroodien said the city had invested in the plight of its street people through a host of interventions in the last decade. These included the departments of social development and early childhood development working with the City's displaced

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persons unity as well as the opening of the first “safe space” in 2018 that currently houses 211 street people who are receiving support designed to help them get off the streets. The departments also run an annual winter readiness programme, which made R699 000 available in 2019 to provide aid in the form of blankets, mattresses, non-perishable food and toiletries to NGOs. “For several years, we have been focusing strongly on social development, as the myriad interventions attest to.”

However the dynamics on our streets have changed for a number of reasons, including an increase in the number of parolees being released by the correctional services department, as well as an increase in the number of foreign nationals on the streets, due to a non-functioning immigration service,” the statement said. “These changing dynamics require more consistent action, which is why we are trying to find a better balance between bylaw enforcement and our social development basket of services. “It is not illegal to be homeless and street people are entitled to freedom of movement as outlined in the bill of rights. However, like everyone else, street people are expected to abide by the laws of the country and by laws of the city – particularly the bylaw relating to streets, public places and prevention of noise nuisances.

199 fines issued from Jan to March.

From January to March this year, the displaced persons unit received 3051 complaints from the public about “anti-social behaviour by street people”, the City said.

During the same period, the unity issued 199 fines for contraventions of the by-laws. The city added that the 2007 by-laws were not new.

When it was drafted we compared it with legislation in other municipalities and purposefully made our bylaws more humane and more considerate than those in other major metropolitan areas.” “The issuing of fines in relation to this specific by laws is not new either. Furthermore the fines are set by the department of justice, not the city”

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The city said it was in the unenviable position of trying to balance the rights of street people with the rights of the general population. “Homelessness is a global phenomenon that very few countries have managed to adequately address.”

On Monday Smith told News24 “there is no person on the street at the moment who has not been offered accommodation”.

“Every person has been spoken to by a reintegration worker,” he asserted. “Around 85 % of people on the street refused assistance,” Smith said, adding that he had heard people do not want to be in shelters and did not like them for different reasons.

Since June last year, 616 people have made use of the safe space. Many of them have been reunited with their family, relocated to their place of origin and were assisted in securing identity documents.

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Appendix 2D

Pavement fines for the homeless: Rights body want answers from City of Cape Town (3 July 2019)

The South African Human Rights Commission wants to urgently meet the City over street bylaws being enforced that have resulted in a number of homeless people being fined, the rights body said on Wednesday.

"We have received more than a hundred complaints and I mean literally, hundred" said SAHRC Chris Nissen after reports emerged this week that some homeless people have been fined based on a 2007 by-law.

"Where is proper policy on homeless people that does not violate the dignity of homeless people" asked Niseen at a media briefing after visits to some of the sites around the city that the homeless set up as a shelter.

"Homeless people have got rights" said Nissen.

At the briefing the SAHRC tammy carter help up a copy of the constitution and said the current "aggressive" action by the city was in violation of section 27 of the constitution which deals with the right to healthcare, food , water and social development.

City denies it is harassing homeless people

A joint statement by the city denied it was harassing people.

Instead, it said there were people not accepting the myriad interventions already in place. In terms of its "Street People Policy", the departments of social development and early childhood development work closely with the city's displaced persons unit. Safety and Security MMC JP Smith and Community and Health Services MMC Zahid Badroodien said field workers reach out to street people, offering assistance with access to social services, including temporary shelter, identity documents, social grants and temporary employment of opportunities.

In 2018, a "Safe Space", which currently houses 211 street people was opened, and the private sector has helped with finding jobs for those living there. The city also provided R699 000 worth of blankets, mattresses, non-perishable food and toiletries to NGOs.

"In spite of its best efforts, however, the Social Development and Early Childhood Development Department's Street People Unit finds that many street people simply refuse any form of assistance," the MMCs said.

They said there had also been some changes in the makeup of people living on the streets, having noted an increase in the number of parolees released by prisons, and an increase in the number of foreign nationals on the streets due to a "non-functioning" immigration service. In the past three months 3051 complaints were received regarding "anti-social" behaviour by street people, and199 fines issued, the City said.

'Complex'

The SAHRC believes the current tier-system of sheltering homeless people- which starts at getting a bed, then connection with social development and other government agencies for help, and then possible reintegration into their original homes, is inadequate.

Carter said the reasons for leaving a home are complicated and include mental illness, addiction, and intolerable home conditions.

"It is a complex situation when you are dealing with the homeless who have fallen out of the normal security nets of society," said Carter.

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There is currently a tier system where a person who want to, gets a bed in a shelter, access social services and is then reintegrated back home, Carter siad. Sending people back home is not always a good option, because the original homes' situation may have led to the homelessness in the first place, and if this is not dealt with as a whole, simply being back home will not help.

The removal of homeless people to Wolweiver, a dusty and remote temporary relocation centre north Cape Town, is also not the answer, the SAHRC believes. Nissen said if they were to be take to Wolweivier, they would find themselves without proper services, no main street lighting at night which makes it unsafe and they would battle to get their children to school.

Personal possessions seized

The SAHRC is also concerned by reports from a group which has organised itself into the Street People's Movement that when they are confronted by authorities for sleeping on streets and pavements, their personal possessions are loaded onto a truck and taken away to be dumped.

"They lose treasured items like photographs from their previous life," said Carter. The gravest impact is that identity documents are caught up in these "clean ups" and without any form of identity, the homeless will struggle to get the healthcare and SA Social Security Agency grants they need.

The SAHRC believes the homeless should be given options and choices for their futures, and not have the threat of fines or prisons hanging over them. The by-laws also need to be examined. Carter said authorities should take note of a recent south Gauteng High Court judgement that ruled a group of homeless people had to be compensated for personal items they lost during a removal.

Nissen said the homeless that the SAHRC has interviews, said that once they have had their belongings taken away and fined, they live on the fringes of the city or on the slopes of table mountain for a while and then gravitate back to their old spots. They have names for their spots such as "eerste bos" and "tweede bos; and some have children or sickly relative with them, who don't want to be separated.

Nissen added that possibly criminalising homelessness in the light of affordable housing shortages would also clog up the courts and already overflowing prisons.

"We want to meet the mayor as soon as possible" said Nissen.

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Appendix 2E

Homeless Death: DA stands by negligence claim (11 July 2019)

The Democratic Alliance in Gauteng is questioning the province's health department's claim that a homeless man who died outside the Tshwane district hospital last week was not denied access to health care.

DA Gauteng spokesperson on social development Crezane Bosch said she has interviewed eyewitnesses who claimed the death was caused by alleged negligence from nurses who allegedly turned him away because he "stank".

CCTV footage that the department used as part of its investigation shows the homeless man collapsing before he reached the clinic.

"I have personally seen the footage but from what I have heard, it does seem to be the same person. However I don't believe the CCTV footage constitutes a full investigation, she said.

Bosch told News24 it appears the man was turned away form the clinic earlier in the say when he tried to get help.

"I have personally, with another journalist, interviewed witnesses from the homeless community which has been recorded, which in fact confirms that the deceased was chased away earlier during the day by the security at the entrance at the street because he was stinking. He was told to go have a bath. The one witness confirmed that he assisted the deceased before he returned to the hospital and upon return, he fainted and passed away," Bosch explained.

The Gauteng Heath Department has previously denied allegations that the deceased was not given access to healthcare on the day in question, News24 earlier reported.

"Following investigations into the alleged incident, I am convinced that the allegations that the homeless man was denied healthcare at the Tshwane facility are untrue and have no basis in fact," said Gauteng MEC Bandile Masuku.

Masuku's spokesperson Kwara Kekana clarified that the hospital also considered the witness statement of the car guard as part of its investigation which led to the MEC concluding that the deceased died before reaching the hospital.

Kekana said the department was open to any information that may contradict its conclusions in this matter. "We are committed to being transparent and to work with all stakeholders in fixing our health system in our province. If there is any evident that is not consistent to the reports received, we are open to receiving that evidence," Kekana told News24 on Thursday. "The Bill of Rights state that access to health care is a basic human right and therefore nobody can be denied access to healthcare. No one is to be denied health services at our facilities."

Meanwhile, Bosch wrote to the Tshwane District Director on Wednesday to request a meeting to discuss evidence, including witness statements and recordings detailing the sequence of events leading up to the man's death.

"This remains a voiceless community, and we need to listen to them if they raise concerns as homelessness needs to be addressed holistically."

"I still stand firm that the investigation needs to be comprehensive and this should

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include the security as well as witness statements from the homeless community. But I have submitted questions to the department in this regard and will wait for the outcome," she concluded.

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Appendix 2F

1 FEEL GOOD | Homeless caddie qualifies for Sunshine Senior Tour (11 February 2020)

2 Five months ago Llewellyn Barnes was a homeless man living on the streets of Pretoria.
3 Against all odds, the 59-year-old will participate in a Sunshine Senior Tour event, the
4 Fidelity Pro-Am, on March 16 and 17 at the Country Club Johannesburg.
5 **A difficult childhood**
6 At an early age, Barnes faced several obstacles. His father died when he was 10 and he was
7 separated from his mom and his siblings, as she couldn't care for him on her salary as a
8 domestic worker.
9 He later found himself living in a hostel on the Zwartkops golf course in Centurion and his
10 sisters were placed in foster care in the Eastern Cape.
11 It was at Zwartkops where Barnes' love affair with the game of golf began. In the
12 morning, he would attend school and in the afternoon, he would run to the golf course
13 looking for caddie opportunities.
14 "I carried my first golf bag when I was only 10 years old. Those days, working as a
15 caddie paid well. I was paid 30c for a day's work, enough to buy bread and a cold drink.
16 This is where my love for the game started. I dreamed that one day I would become a
17 professional golfer," said Barnes.
18 At the age of 13, Barnes ran away from Zwartkops after suffering abuse from both
19 teachers and students and found himself in Durban, sleeping in a kombi and selling
20 newspapers to support himself.
21 He later learnt that his mother was living in Uitenhage in the Eastern Cape and he did his
22 best to reunite with her.
23 "I never thought I would see my mom again. When I eventually found her, she was living
24 with another man who didn't have much time for us. They were always drinking and
25 fighting and I knew I couldn't stay there."
26 "I was soon sent to school in Cape Town, but I didn't stay long.What are you going to do
27 when you are 18 and in Grade 8? I ran away."
28 Barnes then went to live with his grandmother, aunt and three cousins in East London.
29 Instead of being welcomed, Barnes felt more like a liability and was pressured to find a
30 job. Being uneducated, opportunities were limited and he struggled to find employment.
31 **Experiencing hunger and homelessness**
32 Instead of relying on his family, Barnes decided to go back to Zwartkops to make a small
33 income. He returned to work as a caddie on the golf course.
34 "You don't need to be educated when you are a caddie, you just need to know the game. I
35 caddied for a couple of years, sleeping under a tree after a day on the golf course. On cold
36 winter nights, the other caddies and I would make huge fires to stay warm. It wasn't fun
37 and it wasn't easy, but we made it through together," said Barnes.
38 When work was slow, Barnes would dive into the Hennops River – even on cold winter 39
mornings – in search of golf balls he could sell.

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"Sometimes you were lucky, in the summer, when the floods would come, you would find hundreds of balls under the bridge. On the days where I couldn't find any balls, I would have nothing to eat," said Barnes.

When the golf course underwent renovations, Barnes had to leave and with nowhere to go, the then 25-year-old was forced to live on the streets. Despite his difficult circumstances, he found solace in playing golf whenever the opportunity arose.

On days when he found caddie jobs around Centurion, he would have some money to eat and a place to sleep for the night. Other nights he would sleep in the bush or on the pavement.

"Life on the streets was tough, but I had to manage. I had no one to look up to, no one to complain to. I had no family, no place to call home, I was alone. At night, I would pray that the tsotsies wouldn't kill me. I slept with one eye open, waiting for morning," said Barnes.

An unlikely friendship In January 2019, Barnes' luck started to change.

The gold club where he was caddying offered him a storage container to live in. Soon after Barnes made an unlikely friend by the name of Gareth Frost who was running a "breakfast club" on Saturday morning for the homeless at Weirda Bridge.

The pair connected through their mutual love of sport and in time formed an unbreakable bond. After breakfast one morning, Barnes took a leap of faith and told Frost that he wanted to play professional golf and all he needed was a sponsor.

"I am used to requests from my homeless friends. They normally ask for a pair of shoes or shirts. When Llewellyn asked if I would like to sponsor him because he believed he could play professional golf, I didn't think he was serious. But I couldn't shake the feeling that there could be something special about this guy and I thought God was speaking to me," said Frost.

For senior amateur golfers, the fastest way to get playing status in any major tournament is to make it through Qualifying School.

Frost followed the advice of the Senior Tour directors, learnt the requirements and gathered the funds for Barnes to enter Q-School in January 2020.

Showcasing his natural ability, Barnes silenced naysayers with a handicap of +2 despite not playing golf for over a year.

Struggling to hide his excitement, Barnes phoned Frost to tell him the news that he had qualified as a professional golfer with provisional exception to participate in the Sunshine Senior Tour.

Crowdfunding on BackaBuddy

To participate in the Senior Tour, which gets underway in March, Barnes will need to cover his travelling, lodging and will also need new attire and a new set of golf clubs.

Frost and non-profit organisation Fearless Love have created campaign on donations based crowdfunding platform BackaBuddy to appeal to the public to support this rising star.

The crowdfunding campaign was launched on February 8 and has thus far raised a total of R6211.96 towards the fundraising target of R45 000 with contributions from 7 donors.

"I am so excited about the Senior Tour. The chance to show my true colours means the world to me. It has always been my dream to participate in a proper tournament against

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85 professional players. This is an opportunity for me to let go of the weight of my past and
86 look to a new future. My only focus is the game now and I am participating to be at my
87 best," said Barnes.

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Appendix 2G

Lockdown: Western Cape slammed for heartless' treatment of homeless (5 April 2020)

The African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL) in the Dullah Omar region has condemned, what it describes as the heartless and ruthless manner in which the Western Cape and the City of Cape Town have dealt with homelessness during the Covid-19 pandemic. On Sunday, it claimed that the province was using the pandemic" as a useful excuse to act against the homeless". "The homeless already suffer from some cold-related diseases like tuberculosis, pneumonia with no treatment nor proper nutrition at all available to them." It complained that the City provided "a mere tent" for the homeless, despite a number of public facilities which could be used.

The ANCYL region threatened that it would file a complaint with the SAHRC if the issue is not addressed within five working days. It further compared the City's plans to settle homeless people on the Strandfontein sports ground to that of forced removals during apartheid and sending activist into exile.

However, the province said guidelines have been developed regarding the safety of homeless people during the lockdown period, which is in line with state of disaster protocols.

These guidelines have also been shared with all departments and municipalities, according to social development MEC Sharna Fernandez.

"It was agreed that municipalities would provide alternative accommodation for homeless people not in shelters, this is the standard procedure during large scale disasters, which is followed by all provinces.

Most support for the homeless is coordinated by our municipalities. However, the provincial Department of Social Development remains committed to providing assistance where municipalities request it," Fernandez said.

She added that 26 department funder shelters, with a total of 1499 spaces, are operational.

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Appendix 2H

OPINION| Cape Town has led the way on caring for the homeless (28 May 2020)

We're the only local authority which offers a comprehensive service package to the homeless, including EPWP work opportunities, reintegration and a host of other opportunities, writes Zahid Badroodien.

The city of Cape Town will continue to play our part in caring for the homeless community despite on going political attacks against us by the local ANC and related groupings.

Much of the misinformation being spread has found its way into media reports and so as Member of the Mayoral Committee for Community Services and Health, I would like to set out some facts. While local governments hold no direct mandate over homelessness or shelters, the City has been at the forefront of caring for this community during the State of Disaster.

Together with the existing shelter network, Cape Town has achieved the country's highest service reach into the homeless community under Level 5 lockdown regulations, which required the evacuation of the homeless to temporary facilities.

In response our metro offered shelter to roughly double the number of homeless persons compared to the whole of Gauteng. This is according to the national Department of Social Development's 23April report to Parliament. By initially concentrating our limited city resources at the Strandfontein Temporary Shelter, the following was made possible:

– 1352 homeless persons provided with chronic treatment for TB,HIV, Diabetes, Hypertension and Epilepsy. – 272 people tested for TB with 24 on treatment and isolated.

– 1858 people screened for Covid and 66 tested and isolated.

– Over 120 people reunited with family due to reintegration services.

– 4500 meals issued daily to homeless persons at the facility.

– 2000 mattresses and blankets distributed to every person.

– Psycho-social services for substance users as part of the rehab process.

Strandfontein facility has since been decommissioned having served its temporary purpose.

Amendments to national regulations also now mean that municipalities can no longer evacuate homeless persons as to shelters.

As such, the City and NGO Partners have assisted with shelter placement for every homeless person at the Strandfontein facility who was willing to accept this offer.

Despite our efforts, the city has been under consistent attack by organisations who have used the homeless community as a political football to score cheap points.

Various attempts at lawfare have been waged by the Strandfontein Ratepayers Association, Ndifuna Ukwazi, the South African Human Rights Commission, Lawyers for Human Rights, Women's Legal Centre and most recently law-firm, Dingley Marshall.

In each matter, the court has either postponed indefinitely, or is yet to make a ruling. But every time, the court has reaffirmed the city's original intentions to

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offer shelter placement for the homeless at various smaller facilities across the metro.
The City welcomes the latest of these rulings, in which Western Cape High Court order aligns perfectly with the City's decommissioning plans for the temporary Strandfontein shelter.
We also note that lawyers withdrew their representation of the so-called "Homeless Action Committee", following consistent untruths about shelter and quarantine opportunities that the City has offered to them.
The withdrawal notably occurred prior to the order being signed by the judge, and not after as in correctly reported in the media.
The "Homeless Action Committee" forms part of a group of persons currently camping at Culemborg in the Cape Town CBD. This group have steadfastly refused our assistance to help them into smaller shelters – a service that thousands of other homeless individuals have gladly accepted.
All those who accepted the offer of shelter, have been transferred to smaller facilities for focused care and personal development opportunities.
The City's street people unit division hand to facilitate shelter placement or any homeless person at Culemborg who has changed their mind about refusing shelter.
Our NGO partners remains ready to welcome them at the Haven Night Shelter, Oasis Reach for Your Dream, Ubuntu Circle for Courage TASP and the Cape Flats YMCA.
The City is committed to providing services to the most vulnerable among us.
We're the only local authority which offers a comprehensive service package to the homeless including EPWP work opportunities, reintegration and a host of other opportunities. As for the ANC's poor effort to find relevance in fear mongering our vulnerable homeless community, I won't be dragged into the politics of a stale opposition within the city.

It is shameful that the ANC has staged a racial attack on me publicly insisting that I am incapable of making sound and logical decisions in the best interest of all of our communities.

No matter how much the ANC hurls racial insults at me, I will remember my mother's family that was forcefully removed from District Six by the apartheid government. I will remember my father who works from 6am to 6pm everyday to look after his family. And I will especially remember my Mother who worked two jobs to make sure that everyone of her children had access to decent education so that we could access the opportunities my parents never had.

While we all continue to deal with the legacy of the past, I will not allow my contributions to our City to be shackled by the ANC's apartheid mentality and hateful outlook on the world. - Cllr Zahid Badroodien, Community & Health MMC

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Appendix 2I

OPINION| Homeless in Cape Town – councilor blind to the facts and the irony of what he's defending (29 May 2020)

When the NGOs in Cape Town tried to get access to Strandfontein, they were barred from entry, and those that did make it in – like the SA Human Rights Commission and Doctors Without Borders were horrified by what they saw and recommended that the camp be closed down, writes Mark Rountree.

I don't know who has the right to speak on behalf of Cape Town's thousands of homeless people, but someone should.

Most will not have access to social media, much less email, to reply to the shameful statements spewed by Cape Town Councilor Badroodien in his recent puff piece.

Badrooidien boasts that Cape Town leads the way on caring for the homeless.
Indeed, in his city where the cars of NGO workers assisting the homeless are petrol-bombed, they are the only metro making international headlines for fining the homeless. If it is not obvious, being global leader in intolerance of the poor and vulnerable is not something to be proud of.
He offers to set out some facts, but misses the basic starting point.
His colleague, JP Smith, told the Sunday Times there were enough homeless shelter beds for all the city's homes people. The facts, if we stick to that them, were reported by the Western Cape Provincial Department of Social Development and their numbers differ from Smiths assertion. They confirm that, last year, as Smith and co. were fining the homeless in Ccape Town, there were just 1499 shelter spaces for the city's 4000 homeless people.
Badroodien boasts about the excellent facilities at their internment camp in Strandfontein.
The facts are that there was no social distancing to protect people from the coronavirus. Hundreds of people were crowded into marquees together and at least one young woman was gang-raped at the camp. Eyewitnesses confirm that no one had mattresses to sleep on during those cold, wet nights.
I doubt he spent a night there to check out the conditions himself. Cruelly, the fining of the homeless continued even whilst they were locked up in the internment camp.
Homelessness cannot be solved over perfectly or overnight, but there are better or worse ways to handle it.
Cape Town opted for a reported 58 million central camp for thousands. When the NGOs in Cape Town tried to get access to Strandfontein, they were barred from entry and those that did make it in, like the SA Human Rights Commissions and Doctors without Borders were horrified by what they saw and recommended that the camp be closed down. Shutting the facility down is not "lawfare" – it is just about

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doing what is decent and right. Those wasted tens of millions should have been allocated to shelters so that more spaces and support could be provided for the longer term.

Badroodien ends by remembering the injustices that the National Party wrought on his family who were cruelly removed from the inner city and dumped on the outskirts.

He is blind to the fact that Mayor Plato and many of his colleague were members of that National Party; and he is blindly defending their repeated unjust forced removals.

- Mark Rountree, National Policy Officer for GOOD

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Appendix 2J

OPINION| Collective suffering and the homeless: we're in this together (12 May 2020)

Think of every headline you remember coming out of South Africa. Now ask yourself: when last did the death of a homeless person make the news?

Now try recalling when, or even if the rape of a homeless woman has ever made the headlines. The last time I remember the plight of the homeless getting so much media attention was back in July last year, when it came to light that the city was actively "enforcing by-laws" by financially punishing those with no-where to live. While the SAHRC rushed to get a court interdict against the City, the Sea Point Ratepayers Association paid for a lawyer to support the City in court. They were worried that not being able to fine homeless people could "lead to a situation of chronic and irreversible settlements and 'homelessness' on the Atlantic Sea Band".

The issue of fining the homeless reared its ugly head again this year when an officer gave a resident at the controversial Strandfontein lock-down shelter site, a R500 fine for his "riotous" behaviour. City officials expect him to hand over the money by the 15 July of go to court. In response the city mayoral committee member for Safety and Security JP Smith said.

"I'm not sure what our officers were expected to do in this situation – we cannot allow people to behave aggressively and get away with it.

What he had failed to mention was that the mental health support, substance abuse treatment or even the adult time out measures had been exhausted before the officer issues the fine. And that's likely because there weren't any. In a recent scathing report sent to the SAHRC, experts found that accessing healthcare, even physical care, was not easy.

Which was even more worrying when they found several shelter residents with "severe mental health diseases such as schizophrenia and dementia", and others with "urinary and fecal incontinence". They had been left without assistance.

They had been left without assistance. One gentle man in particular was found suffering from such a severely altered mental state that he was disorientated in time and space and could no longer take care of himself.

Aside from the obvious recommendation to shut the site down, the report also raised concern around how the living conditions were endangering the safety of residents. Having nearly 1500 women , transgender women, elderly, pregnant women, disabled, drug users and gang members all bunched together was always going to be a recipe for disaster. The disaster presented itself in another new headline, of how a 36 year old man gad been arrested for raping a 19 year old homeless woman. The incident took place just days after the shelter had opened.

Given the circumstance and lack of support it s not surprising that she was only able to report

the matter two days later, when she was finally taken to hospital for medical attention. Its unlikely that she was the only victim of gender based violence, as many women told research group they did not feel safe at the camp, especially at night around the toilet and shower facilities. Reports of women being traded for

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sex and cigarettes quickly followed.
And then, there was the **death**…
One of the residents who walked into that shelter had no idea he'd be leaving in a body bag or that his passing would make national news. The City said his death was due to natural causes. But news of his death didn't originally come from city officials, it came after the SAHRC's Chris Nissen was tipped off about it and started investigating. At that point it had also become near impossible to get accurate information out of the camp, as the city decided to ban the media from entering the premises. To this day, no one has been able to put a name to the body of that gentleman. Cape Town wasn't the only place where news of homeless people has come to the forefront. Over in Gauteng, a miscalculation by the provincial government proved officials had no idea just how wide-spread the issue of homelessness was.
When lockdown shelter planning began they thought there were only 15 000 homeless people who'd need to be catered for in the province.
Turns out that figure was just a third of the now 50 000 estimated to be homeless. Underestimating the need of the other 35 000 people then led to overcrowding in shelters and shortages of food, bedding and sanitation. Its then no surprise that by Day 13 of the lockdown, 88% of the city of Johannesburg's homeless residents had still not been housed. Now we need to ask ourselves why these stories have suddenly gripped the nation. It's not as if it wasn't happening before the lockdown and its unlikely that it'll end afterwards.
So why all this coverage now?
Perhaps South Africans have developed an appetite for news about the country's most vulnerable. Maybe it takes collective suffering during a pandemic for us to consider the suffering of those nameless, faceless human beings?
Or maybe its because when the lockdown began, their suffering was the first glaringly obvious reminder about the massive inequality in South Africa. No matter which way you look at it, it is the poor who will suffer the most". Personally I found it hard to think about anything else, seeing empty streets resembling the set of a zombie apocalypse movie as tired and starving people slowly swayed from bin to bin in the hopes of finding scraps of food. We may never know the reason why their plight has become newsworthy lately but what we do know is that is we don't act, we can surely expect to read more harrowing stories of their pain
Here's the good news though: The more concern and interest we as privileged South Africans give to this matter, the more coverage it will get. Before this lockdown, you may not have heard about Pretoria's Community Orientated Substance Use Programme (COSUP). The group is now making headlines because their programme to treat heroin addicts, by giving them methadone, has roughly doubled in size since the lockdown began. Easier access to this service at some homeless shelters is welcomed relief for anyone wanting to sober up or at the very least, stave off those horrible withdrawal symptoms.
You may also not have been fully aware of the host of services gender-based

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violence shelters offer to newly homeless women and children. With a little extra help from government, many of these shelters have also been able to expand their capacity to house victims during the lockdown. Look don't get me wrong, I'm not expecting anyone suddenly to reach out and help every single homeless person in the country. Right now that's simply not possible. The majority of South Africans are suffering.

Many of us struggle to make ends meet as it is. But there is still something we can do to help and it wont cost you a thing. If you too, find it crazy that your municipality has a by-law allowing officials to take money from the penniless, say something. Take part in those public participation processes and write to your local ward councilor. Demand to see the section of the National Health Insurance scheme that will support substance abuse programmes, like COSUP. Question the budgets being given to GBV houses and temporary shelter and whether they'll get to enjoy the same expanded financial support after this lockdown.

Come down like a ton of bricks on the government when it disregards homeless people from elsewhere on our continent, those are still human beings. While a homeless person might not be able to scroll through timelines, you've got the power to click share and comment on news pieces about them, keeping the conversation going. Finally don't forget to celebrate the organisations that have been tirelessly serving the homeless long before this lockdown took place. At worst, these organisations might be the only ones who remember to care for our most vulnerable when they're no longer making the news.

Saya Pierce-Jones is broadcast journalist and radio news anchor in the Western Cape. Her focus is on social justice and environmental conservation. The views expressed here are he own.

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Appendix 2K

What happens to Cape Town' homeless as lockdown is eased? (20 May 2020)

The City of Cape Town said it can no longer force homeless people to live in shelters now that the lockdown has eased from Level 5 to level 4, denying it is dumping people as it shuts down its Strandfontein camp.

This after the Muizenberg Improvement District (MID) said in a press release a group of homeless people was simply dumped as the shelter in Strandfontein works towards closure on 20 may.

According to the MID, there was a protest in the seaside town at 8.30 on Saturday by homeless people who were living in the Muizenberg park near the police station without food water and ablution facilities. It viewed the situation as the authorities abdication of responsibility for their care during the Covid-19 crisis and said it had not succeed in being able to discuss the matter with the city.

"These people were either brought to the area or returned independently after the city decided to close the controversial Strandfontein facility [on 20 May]. Around 40 people were literally dumped in the park following level 4 on 1 may," the MID contended. "This is fast becoming a major health risk to the homeless and surrounding community as too are the scored of desperate people belonging on the streets and thereby placing themselves and the broader community at risk of covid-19 infection as they flout the lockdown regulations."

The Strandfontein camp has been controversial from the start with critics saying residents were living too close to each other with no personal autonomy that it was not safe and that opposition politicians were not allowed in for oversight.

Among those questioning the future of the site is ANC MPL Gladys Baku Vos who recently recovered from Covid-19. She said simply letting people go was like a health time bomb and residents should be placed in alternate shelters. In the meantime, groups of people have been seen around Cape Town's pavements and parks again since 1 May.

At least one case of Covid-19 was detected in an individual who moved from the Strandfontein site to a smaller shelter, and an NGO was being assisted in managing the situation, according to statement earlier this week.

Meanwhile, makeshift tents with guy ropes attached to trees for stability and tiny warrens of cardboard houses have returned to the centre island of dual carriageways, with blankets being spread out to air again in fields as the sun rises.

The city said people were moving out of Strandfontein of their own free will and that had already been discussed with the MID on 5 May.

"The MID was informed that the homeless who has made their way back to the park were the same individuals who opted to leave the Strandfontein temporary emergency accommodation, said the mayoral committee member for community services and health, Zahid Badroodien.

"The city had indicated to these homeless individuals that we would assist them into smaller shelters and that they should remain at the emergency accommodation facility where they were able to access showers, three meals a day, psychosocial

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programmes and daily medical services, he added.
"Those who left the facility refused further assistance from the city and this was clearly explained to the MID who have not appreciated this information and are now using the homeless to score points in their community.
In the meantime, 356 people have said they wanted to carry on living in a safe space instead of returning to the streets.
The city is working on extending existing shelters by creating additional bed spaces as well as the long-term development of safe spaces across the city in identified communities. It said it had always been clear the accommodation in Strandfontein was temporary and it was not closing because of alleged human rights abuses as claimed. "They were informed that the facility was always of a temporary nature and that the city would prepare smaller shelters and move the homeless community at Strandfontein into those which we are now ready to do," said Badroodien.
"The MID is incorrect to allege that a safe space would have been erected by the 20th as this deadline was for the closure of the Strandfontein facility and not the implementation of a safe space, which is a longer-term solution."
"The City's social development and early childhood development department is working closely with shelters where spaces have been secured at the Haven Night Shelter, Oasis Reach for Your Dream, Ubuntu Circle of Courage, TASP, Cape Flats YMCA and the Happy Valley Shelter".
Individuals who accepted further city assistance remains at the Strandfontein temporary emergency accommodation and they will be moved to prefabricated structures at existing shelters.
"Many persons who were house at Strandfontein have opted to return to the streets – some of them have already returned to their areas of origin. It is not illegal to be homeless. The Level 4 lockdown regulations remove the authority of the state to evacuate a homeless person from any place as a necessary precaution to preserve life" "This goes to say that if a homeless person chooses not to access a shelter, the City cannot place an individual in a shelter without their consent."
In the meantime the City's homeless agency committee offers rehabilitation services, up skilling programme, reintegration and reunification with families as well as short-term employment opportunities so they may engage in a sustainable way to exit homelessness.

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Appendix 3A

Homeless artist carves out a living (2 February 2018)

Michael Helsie makes wooden sculptures of animals

For motorists coming into and out of central Cape Town on Mill Street, Michael Helsie with his distinctive dreadlocks is a familiar sight. Helsie is homeless. He earns an income making wooden sculptures of animals at the roadside.

Helsie has been carving wood at his spot by the road for about two years. He is originally from Bloemfontein in the Free State. In the photograph above Helsie is working on a cheetah commissioned by one of his clients. It will take him around four days to complete and he will sell it for R500.

Helsie lives under a tree close to the Garden Centre. He collects pieces of wood wherever he can. “Sometimes people renovate a house,” he says, and he collects the off-cuts. He stores his wood in the tree where he lives to prevent other people from taking his materials. He says people will take the wood to make fires.

He has a few basic tools – a saw, a hammer and a metal file – and he uses cold glue. Most of his carvings and sculptures take between one and two weeks to complete.

While working, Helsie is quiet and completely absorbed in his process. “You must have the time. You must concentrate,” he says.

He gets his design inspirations from magazines. His creations include eagles, cheetahs and wolves. An incomplete wolf can be seen in the photograph above.

Above, Helsie shows off a completed sculpture of an eagle which he sold on Wednesday for R400.

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Appendix 3B

Water restrictions hit Cape Town's homeless (28 February 2018)

"We might stay on the streets, but we want to be clean"

It is 6am on a Tuesday morning and 72-year-old Tina Solulu is first in line at The Carpenter's Shop on Roeland Street, Cape Town. She sleeps at the gate to make sure she will be in the front of the queue. She has come to have a bath.

Solulu is one of more than 80 homeless people waiting for a bath and a meal this morning. The gates only open at 7:30am, but people start lining up in the early hours. The gates close at 10am.

A few minutes before 7am, Faghma Petersen arrives. She is responsible for giving people soap, toothpaste and a towel. On Tuesdays, donated clothes are also given to people.

There are separate showers for men and women, but since the City of Cape Town's water restrictions came into force, the showers have been turned off. Petersen now gives each person a small five-litre bucket half filled with water. People pour the water into a larger plastic basin and then wash themselves. Afterwards, the grey water is poured into a large drum and used for flushing toilets.

Solulu said she is originally from Duncan Village, East London. She has been living on the streets of Cape Town for years, though she can't remember how many. She had one child, but her child died.

Cape Town has over 700 homeless people sleeping in the city centre, according to a 2015 survey. Most of them rely on water from public facilities such as public toilets to drink and wash. But with water restrictions, there is no water in many of these facilities.

GroundUp visited the public toilets on Greenmarket Square and found the taps were closed. This was also the case in the Company Gardens on Queen Victoria Street.

"Use the sanitiser; no water," said a woman janitor in a bib handing out toilet paper at Greenmarket Square.

Linda Ndakrokra sleeps in the Company Gardens. She used to use the facilities there.

"Even though the water was cold, we would bath there and do our washing before the toilets closed at five," she said. Since the taps were closed she has started going to The Carpenter's Shop to wash.

"Now if you want to wash your clothes, you must go around and ask people for water. We might stay on the streets but we want to be clean as well," said Nakrokra.

The City's Mayoral Committee Member for Social Services JP Smith said the Recreation and Parks Department had closed all showers on beaches and most of the taps in public ablution facilities. He said waterless hand sanitisers were provided to save water while still maintaining hygiene standards.

Smith said the Recreation and Parks Department manages nine bathhouses. "These are public facilities and are not for the exclusive use of homeless people."

There is one in the City Centre, two in Gugulethu, five in Langa, and one in Manenberg.

A woman who only gave her name as Marcia, said she used to rely on the toilet at the train station in Muizenberg.

"If the toilets were locked, then I went to the beach, but now there is no water in the showers so I just use the sea … It's better than nothing," she said.

Pastor Alan Storey from the Central Methodist Mission said the organisation had been

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asking the City for years to open ablution services 24 hours a day.
“It is dehumanising to think people can stop themselves from going to the toilet after five, like you can restrict yourself … When things are good the poor are the last to benefit, when they are bad they are the first to suffer,” said Storey.
“The water they [the homeless] use is minuscule compared to the water used in a [suburban] household with 10 to 15 access points,” said Storey.

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Appendix 3C

Cape Town to pilot "safe space" for homeless people (20 March 2018)

Councilor says new approach may be more successful at reducing the number of people living on the streets

A "safe space" for homeless people at the Culemborg bridge in the Cape Town city centre should be operational in May 2018, according to JP Smith, Mayco Member for Safety and Security, and Social Services.

The space was initially scheduled to open in February but "a temporary land use departure had to be secured" said Smith.

The space will have beds, ablution facilities and storage lockers. The initiative is intended to address the shortage of beds at shelters in the city centre, as well as the safety of those sleeping on the streets. The space is designed for 230 persons. Use of the facility will be free of charge.

"The safe space and its perimeter will be manned 24-hours a day by 15 law enforcement officers who will work on a shift basis," said Smith. "This will improve the overall security of the existing space."

He said the safe space will not serve food, but the City would be encouraging organisations that run soup kitchens to partner with it to provide at least one meal a day.

"We will offer social services, access to developmental programmes and Expanded Public Works Programme [job] opportunities," said Smith.

Smith said the site will be managed by a service provider. "We are currently going through a standard tender process," he said.

Speaking about the enforcement of the City's by-laws, Smith said using the criminal justice system was lengthy and "makes minimal impact". "A developmental approach may be a more successful means of reducing the number of persons on the street," he said.

Smith said the Culemborg safe space would be a trial that will inform the municipality for additional sites. "We need to gain an understanding of the dynamics around implementing such a safe space for street people before we can consider rolling it out to other areas."

Richard Bolland, a member of New Hope SA, a voluntary organisation that assists homeless people, said the success of the safe space initiative depends on what social services are provided during the day. "I think that will play the biggest role in whether it succeeds," said Bolland.

New Hope SA runs community dinners at St Peter's Church in Cape Town as part of its model to help get homeless people off the streets and into employment. He said the dinners provide a chance for homeless people to talk to someone about what opportunities and resources are available.

Bolland said that while City initiatives, shelters and NGOs have a role to play, long-term interventions are necessary to reintegrate homeless people back into society.

"The mentality that a street person has on the streets is very much survival; it is very much short-term thinking," said Bolland. "It's about trying to get people out of that survival mode first and then focus on upskilling once they've left that survival mode."

Bolland said the City is getting better at dealing with homelessness. "I think they are waking up to the reality that homelessness is not something that goes away very quickly."

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"The public has played a great role in putting pressure on the City and on the councilors to perform better and make more services [available]," said Bolland.
Smith said the City's Street People Reintegration Unit offers social support, which includes access to shelters, identity documents, social grants, reunification with family and access to temporary work opportunities through the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP).
"Between July 2017 and February 2018, 34 persons were reunified [with their families]," said Smith.

Life on the streets

Jennifer Samuels is 64. She has been sleeping on the sidewalk of Buitenkant Street for about three months. "I cannot get into a shelter because it is too expensive for me," she said.
Samuels said she does not receive a pension and has no identity document. "I went to [Cape Town] Home Affairs to apply for an ID, but they told me I must go to Worcester, where I was born. I don't have money to go there."
Samuels said she had not heard about the Street People's Reintegration Unit nor the City's plan to set up a safe space.
David Jacobs, 61, said he has been homeless for three years and he had heard about the City's plan to construct a safe space. Jacobs said he liked the idea of having 24-hour security and storage lockers, and would consider making use of such a safe space.
Jacobs left his job as a toilet cleaner in 2015 and has since been selling discarded goods, such as pens and T-shirts, on a sidewalk in Gardens.
"There are guys roaming around the street at night, many of them on drugs, looking for an opportunity to steal … That is why I rather go to Sea Point, to get away from the dangers," said Jacobs. He goes to Sea Point every night where a woman has given him permission to sleep on her property, which has private security nearby.
Jacobs said he had tried staying at night shelters, but he did not like it. "The shelters have too many rules and are very rigid, you have to be in at a certain time and leave at a certain time."
According to a street people report conducted in 2015 by the Directorate of Social Development and Early Childhood Development, the main reasons for homelessness were poverty, lack of housing, substance abuse, dysfunctional relationships, unemployment, exploitation, failed rural to urban migration and mental illness.
The report stated that over 7,000 people in the Cape Town municipality are homeless.
"We are currently undertaking a survey on reasons for homelessness to determine if there are any new aggravating factors," said Smith.
"Homelessness is a symptom of the problem, not the problem itself," according to Danny Diliberto, founder of Ladles of Love soup kitchen, which he said "served 63,000 meals in 2017".
Diliberto said he has received a lot of backlash from people who accuse him of enabling homelessness, but he disagrees, saying that food helps to reduce the desperation which can lead to aggression. "It helps to restore human dignity," he said.
Bolland is hopeful about the safe spaces initiative but said that the ultimate goal of any

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intervention against homelessness should always be to lead to other services. “I guess we have to wait and see how it works and what it’s like,” said Bolland.

According to the City, the site for the Culemborg safe space is under the bridge as one leaves the Cape Town CBD via Hertzog Boulevard, in the vicinity of the car dealerships.

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Appendix 3D

Neighbours help land occupiers living in "unbearable conditions" (9 April 2018)

Mfuleni backyarders stay in large rickety shack

Law Enforcement removed a large makeshift shack where a number of evicted land occupiers were living in Sondela, Mfuleni, on Friday. This followed the demolition of more than 100 structures erected on vacant land about two weeks ago.

City of Cape Town's Tarryn Rinkwest confirmed that "1,200 illegal unoccupied structures" on City-owned land were removed on 23 March.

Last year Khwezi Ndabeni, a community leader in Sondela informal settlement, was in a similar situation to the current occupiers. She was also homeless and stayed in a communal shack on the same land before the City allowed her and other homeless residents to stay in what is now called Sondela. She lives a short walk from the makeshift shack.

Ndabeni described Friday's removal: "The officials threw away food and paraffin bottles and damaged pieces of furniture belonging to homeless residents." But she said the land occupiers rebuilt the large shack immediately after they left.

"These residents live along with their babies under unbearable conditions," said Ndabeni.

The roof is made of old wooden planks, ply boards and pieces of thick plastic. Most of the occupiers are backyarders, people who rent shacks in the backyards of formal homes. But faced with cramped conditions coupled with high rents, many have taken part in land occupations across Cape Town over the past month.

Ndabeni said that the City allowed her and others to stay in what has become the Sondelo informal settlement in April last year. She claims the City "began to give us serious attention" after a five-month-old baby died.

Ndabeni said the residents of the makeshift shack are hungry and exposed to the weather. She helps about 20 children who stay in the shack to go to their schools and crèches daily.

"I wake up early and collect them before they bathe and iron their clothes in my shack and in other resident's shacks," she said. "Because we are also parents, we feel for the poor kids and don't want them to drop out of school because of their living conditions."

She said that she and other Sondela residents allow about six elderly land occupiers to stay in their shacks. "They sleep in our shacks because they have nowhere else to sleep."

Ndabeni said the residents are not safe in the makeshift shack. "Irresponsible drunks from nearby taverns and shebeens throw stones into the shack when they walk past it at night."

Nosicelo Miliso moved out of her landlord's yard in Bardale and erected a shack in Sondela. Law Enforcement destroyed it three times, she claims. She is left with only three blankets and clothes. She works at a vegetable farm near Kuils River. She described how her two primary school children are mocked by their schoolmates because of their poverty. "Now they want to leave school," she said.

Malwande Ntanga is a trained but unemployed security guard. He and other residents collect small pieces of corrugated iron sheets and sell them to a scrap dealer in Blackheath. "We bought food with the money we got from the scrap dealer. We eat once a day so that our groceries can last," he said.

Ntanga said he doesn't bathe his whole body anymore because water is scarce. "Most of the time I just wash my face and armpits. Because we don't have toilets, some residents

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43 defecate in the bushes while others go to nearby houses."

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Appendix 3E

“This place, honestly, has saved my life.” (14 May 2018)

Shelters to get boost from City of Cape Town for winter.

“Come back 15 May. We will have more beds then,” the manager of Happy Valley Home in Simon’s Town tells a homeless man.

Happy Valley is one of the nine organisations that will receive aid from the City of Cape Town this winter from 15 May to 30 September. The shelter will get ten additional beds. Shelters will also receive additional groceries, blankets, mattresses, toiletries and cleaning materials. This is “to help cater for an expected increase in the number of street people seeking shelter during the cold winter months” according to a City press release.

The City’s “winter readiness plan” adds 276 beds for the homeless, and supplies for seven organisations in Cape Town, according to Councilor JP Smith.

Happy Valley Home can accommodate 65 residents, 45 men and 20 women. The shelter could only add ten additional bed spaces because of limited space. Its beds are almost always full.

During the winter homeless people “cry at the gate” said the manager, who did not wish to be named.

Happy Valley Home does not charge people to stay, but asks for a monthly contribution of up to R650. Residents get three meals per day, seven days a week.

Darren Feldman, who came to Happy Valley almost a year ago, said, “This place, honestly, has saved my life.”

When he arrived, he “couldn’t string a sentence together” he said. He had just completed his eighth drug rehabilitation program, but the rehab centre closed down, leaving Feldman homeless.

At the shelter he created a personal development plan with the manager and set goals to reintegrate with society, as do all the Happy Valley Home residents. The shelter also helps people gain employment by assisting them with CVs and obtaining ID documents for them.

Feldman now works at the City’s waste department. “I’ve come out the other side,” he said. He hopes to rebuild his relationship with his wife and two children and reunite his family. “My dream is to be totally independent and send money home to my kids and donate money here [to Happy Valley],” said Feldman.

According to a street people report conducted in 2015 by the Directorate of Social Development and Early Childhood Development, there were 7,383 homeless people in the City. The report stated 4,862 people slepts on the streets and 2,521 in shelters. 79% were male and nearly three-quarters were between the ages of 26 and 45.

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Appendix 3F

Homeless people face an uphill battle to get disability grants (14 September 2018)

"They seldom havean ID and cannot provide proof of residence"

More than one million people in South Africa receive a disability grant from the South African Social Security Agency (SASSA). But if you're homeless it can be particularly challenging to get this support.

Proof of residence and a valid South African ID book are required when applying for a disability grant. A person must also be between 18 and 59 years of age, must submit a medical assessment report not older than three months, not be cared for in a state institution, and must not be a recipient of another social grant.

The fixed monthly amount of a disability grant is currently R1,690.

"It is extremely difficult for people living on the streets to obtain a disability grant because they seldom have an ID and cannot provide proof of residence," said Pat Eddy, manager of Cape Town's Central City Improvement District (CCID). "This entire process could take many months, which inevitably results in the person having to wait far longer than should be necessary to access the much needed disability grant," said Eddy.

CCID assists people without an ID by contacting their family and the Department of Home Affairs to find out if the person has ever had an ID. They also contact the last school the person attended to check the school's records for a date of birth. If this fails, the CCID fieldworker gets a sworn affidavit from a family member or community leader who can verify the person's information. Sometimes, the CCID reaches out to other shelters and NGOs who can agree that their physical address is used. They also assist in taking applicants to have their medical examination.

Shivani Wahab of SASSA said alternative identification can only be used for applicants that have never had an ID book or card. If the applicant had an ID but has lost it, they would have to apply for a temporary ID at the Department of Home Affairs.

Warren Ronald Evans is partially blind and homeless. He begs for money at traffic lights in Gardens. His ID was stolen and he hasn't applied for another one since.

"If there is no way the government can actually let me be part of the working system then I don't need the ID. I am quite happy with what I am doing now," said Evans. He said sometimes he meets people who want to help but the problem is he doesn't have a fixed address. "I don't have time for SASSA. Besides, if I do go then they will say we need this, we need that," he said.

"When you have a shelter address, they help you get a grant very quickly. I can never get one because I don't have a proof of address," said Gavin Johnson, 53. "I'm very angry because they don't feel the pain we're going through. I was working from the age of 17."

Johnson used to get a disability grant for TB when he had a home address. Now, he can't bend his arm from arthritis. He said his medical practitioner deemed him unfit for heavy labour, but that the SASSA doctor said otherwise.

Jane Maritz, 55, had a much easier experience getting a disability grant. She paid R50 for her assessment at Groote Schuur Hospital and received a permanent grant in three months. She said she used her niece's address as a proof of residence.

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Getting a medical examination can also be a lengthy process. According to Ian Veary, a social worker at The Hope Exchange — formally The Carpenter's Shop — making an appointment for an examination can take four to five months because of their triage system.

"The systems they put in place are to prevent fraud and corruption and that is good," said Veary. "My sense is that there are so many people wanting to get grants. Every time you go to SASSA it can take half a day. I've sat for seven hours at SASSA only to be given three forms and have to come back another day. I've been turned away before because they've got too many people."

Mayoral Committee Member for Social Services Alderman JP Smith said the City has a partnership with the Western Cape Government, the Department of Home Affairs and SASSA to assist homeless people who want help getting identity documents, social grant applications, medical services and referrals to shelters.

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Appendix 3G

Homeless poorly treated in Bedfordview (8 October 2018)

People living on the street say they will resist smear campaigns and persistent attempts to have them removed

In Johannesburg's affluent East suburbs, homeless people are under pressure from local government and the private sector. According to several people living on the street, property development and urban renewal are to blame.

In Bedfordview over the past few months homeless people have had their bedding and possessions confiscated, been subjected to verbal harassment and threatened with arrests, fines and assault. One homeless person told GroundUp the metro cops had even tried to solicit money from him.

Homeless people we spoke to say they have stood their ground against anti-poor policies and sentiments for many years, including mass removals from the streets and illegal arrests. Last year, there was a public protest by Ekurhuleni residents wanting beggars out.

Beggars at traffic lights in Bedfordview were in the spotlight recently. A front page story of a local knock-and-drop newspaper announced the launch of a Twitter campaign urging residents not to give money or food to beggars.

A member of the Bedfordview Community Policing Forum (CPF) also made claims in the article that associated some of the homeless with criminal activities, including involvement with "child beggar syndicates" and the renting out of children as "sympathy tools".

One homeless woman told GroundUp she was stunned to hear these stories. She insisted the child with her, who was blind, was her child and not a child she had rented as a "sympathy tool". The woman has since disappeared after social workers stepped in.

Launched by the local CPF, the Edenvale branch of Child Welfare South Africa, and some local residents, the campaign was sparked by comments on a social media site about a beggar at a Bedfordview intersection allegedly hitting a young child.

This social media furore came soon after Ekurhuleni Metro Police operations targeted homeless people and the CPF renewed its own efforts as did private security firm Night Guard and certain residents to rid the area's traffic intersections of beggars.

"Not everyone is against us. There are still kind and generous people out there who we really appreciate, but there aren't too many and they seem to be getting less," said 41-year-old Warren Roman.

He and about a dozen other homeless people endured several freezing nights after metro police raided an abandoned building in Rhodes Park, not far from Bedfordview, where the homeless had been sleeping. Metro police confiscated bedding and other possessions including clothing, toiletries and medicines.

"Some of us don't even have a single blanket. I didn't sleep much and every morning my feet felt like ice," said a man who identified himself as Shibowa.

Rhodes Park has been home to immigrants and South Africans of all races for about a year.

Roman, well-known to motorists passing through Bedfordview intersections, said the loss of his mattress, blankets and some clothing was one of several "cruel blows" recently.

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Roman said he was the target of a social media campaign last year. “Nothing said in that post was the truth and I could prove it. Yet, a so-called community leader gets to say anything he wants, misleading the public.”

“We are being made to look as if we are a danger to the community or something, or else the scum of the earth. They keep talk about begging syndicates and other nonsense … I’ve already noticed a negative effect on people. I even get looks from some people as if I have had burned down their house or something,” he says.

A Mocambique hawker who sells his own paintings of African wildlife and scenery on the roadside, said metro police confiscated his paintings and told him he was not allowed to sell them at the intersection. He says that when he went to try and get his works of art returned, he was told to pay R800.

A Zimbabwean woman who sells Homeless Talk at the Nicol and Van De Linde intersection, says she has been told several times to go away by metro police. On one occasion, she says, metro police ordered her to get into their vehicle and they drove her several blocks away. They told her it would be “a lot further away” next time.

“I have been here for three years. Everyone knows me. They must take me to the police station; even the police know me. I have a permit to be selling here,” she said.

Security firm Night Guard was instructed by Bedford Centre management to clear the intersections near the centre. Homeless people say they were sworn at and threatened with assault by the security company guards.

Metro police spokesperson Inspector Kobeli Mokheseng said, “Hawkers, beggars and other homeless people are members of the community and if they do not abide by the rules, we will throw the book at them. We will continue to enforce by-laws on a daily basis in the City of Ekurhuleni.”

“Any person illegally invading a vacant building, that could contribute to harbouring criminals or suspected to be performing illegal activities, shall be evacuated from that building,” Mokheseng said.

Mokheseng urged anyone who witnessed metro police behaving in an unprofessional manner, including harassment, intimidation or verbal or physical abuse, to phone the call centre on 011 458 0911.

Night Guard and Edenvale Child Welfare did not respond to our queries.

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Appendix 3H

Serving hungry people for over 80 years (18 December 2018)

The Service Dining Rooms provides over 3,500 meals a week

Almost everyday, hundreds of homeless people gather at the Service Dining Rooms for a warm cooked meal and cooldrink. Situated in Cape Town's city centre, this charity has been feeding people in need for over 80 years. On Thursday, the organisation held its annual Christmas Party. where meals were prepared for over 400 people.

The Service Dining Rooms cook approximately 200 meals six times a week for hungry people who come to the organisation for food. Another 500 meals are prepared daily and delivered to numerous NGOs from Mondays to Friday.

For the annual Christmas party, they had to prepare double the number of meals, and they began preparing from Tuesday.

Usually those wanting a meal would need a "token". These tokens can be earned in a number of ways. From working in the garden nearby or going for an HIV or TB blood test. The public can also purchase tokens to hand out. For the Christmas party, no token was needed and the food was open to everyone. Thursday's meal was chicken, rice, coleslaw and potato salad, followed by juice and ice cream.

First established in 1935, The Service Dining Rooms has been operational for over 80 years. It currently employs six full time staff and offers a host of services, such as a narcotics anonymous group and support groups for HIV, TB and transgender people. In the future, the organisation is planning to open a psychiatric clinic.

Karen Cain (pictured above), the Operations Manager, says they get people aged 18 to 70. Most are men. There are also a number of transgender people. Cain says that some of the clients are even psychologists and advocates. Not having enough money for food "could happen to anybody" she says.

People in need start waiting outside from as early as 9am. Monica Ngcezi, Brendan Louw and Deidre Roode are friends. They currently sleep on Hope Street and have been homeless for over ten years. Originally from Manenberg, Louw found themself homeless after their parents died. Louw is now 40 years old and has been living on the street since age 11.

Kashiefa Fredericks and Yolande Titus have been friends for over six years. Both of them are homeless and are staying in Bo-Kaap. Titus and Fredericks have been in and out of prison for stealing but they say that they've changed and haven't robbed anyone for over two years. Titus says that when her mom died she was disowned by her family because of her alcohol abuse. Now she lives on the street. Fredericks says that she comes to The Service Dining Rooms daily for food.

John Classen is 66 years old and was kicked out of home in Kensington in 2012. Classen survives on donations and the Dining Service Rooms. He currently sleeps on the parade.

Food was served from about 11:30am, women and children first, then older men and disabled men. Then the rest of the men.

Many people chose to sit outside and eat, like this man on the corner of Canterbury and Roeland streets.

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Appendix 3I

Amendments to City of Cape Town by-law: are they constitutional? (30 April 2020)

Proposed amendments would allow officials to conduct search and seizure without a warrant

The City of Cape Town has recently proposed amendments to its Streets and Public Places By-law, which empower officials to conduct search and seizure without a warrant in certain circumstances. Is this constitutional?

The by-law on Streets, Public Places and Prevention of Noise Nuisances regulates the conduct of individuals in public spaces. For example, it prohibits people begging, spitting or urinating in public, or making a loud noise from their car.

The amendments relate to section 22 of the by-Law, which grants City officials certain powers, including issuing compliance notices and recovering costs from people.

The amendments to the by-law make provision for a premises, person or their property (including a vehicle) to be searched without warrant. This is permitted in two circumstances. First, where a "prima facie" offence has been committed in terms of the by-law in the official's presence. Second, where an officer has "reasonable grounds to believe" that an offence is being committed. In the latter case, the official may only conduct the search if the person concerned consents or if the official has reasonable grounds to believe that if he applies for a warrant it will be issued and the delay caused by obtaining a warrant would defeat the object and purpose of the search. The amendments also make provision for an official to obtain a warrant from a judge and set out the process and criteria for this.

In addition, the amendments empower the City to impound a person's property without warrant where the official has reasonable grounds to believe that the property is being used for the commission of an offence in terms of the by-law. An official must provide a notice outlining the reason for the impoundment and the impoundment fee. The amendments set out circumstances for the release of a person's property and when the impounded goods become the property of the City.

The City has given the public until 17 May 2020 to make comments on the draft laws. But some civil society organisations have already slammed the proposal. Chumile Sali from the African Policing Civilian Oversight Forum says the amendments are "criminalising poor and working-class people." In his view, "the City of Cape Town wants a shortcut to deal with homelessness, remove hawkers, remove sex workers, and remove people who are occupying places in the Central Business District." The Forum opposes the amendments because they confer discretionary powers on officials which, says the Forum, may be abused and will have a disproportionate impact on vulnerable groups. "If you are black walking around Camps Bay, traffic officers can tell you to leave," Sali says.

Councillor Mzwakhe Nqavashe, chairperson of the City's Safety and Security Portfolio Committee, says the purpose of the amendments is to provide additional powers to officers to enforce the by-law and to make it more in line with the Criminal Procedures Act. Also, he says the City hopes that "the amendments will allow our Law Enforcement staff to deal more decisively with serious crimes like the proliferation of drugs and gangs in some of our communities."

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Because the by-law provides for search and seizure without warrant, it may be attacked on constitutional grounds. This is because it may infringe the right to privacy and the constitutional prohibition against the arbitrary deprivation of property.

In terms of the South African Constitution, a constitutional right may be limited if this is reasonable and justifiable in an open and democratic society based on human dignity, equality and freedom. In considering the lawfulness of a limitation a court will consider:

the nature of the right;

the importance of the purpose of the limitation;

the nature and extent of the limitation;

the relation between the limitation and its purpose; and

less restrictive means to achieve the purpose.

In practice, a court will weigh up the objective the law seeks to achieve against the means employed to achieve it. So, even if the limitation serves a legitimate government purpose, a court will set aside the law if the impact on the right is too severe and less restrictive means could have been deployed.

The City's by-laws ostensibly serve a legitimate aim: the preservation of public order in public spaces in the city. Conversely, the right to privacy is a fundamental right tied to the right to dignity. And the state should only be able to deprive you of your property for a sufficient reason.

It is questionable whether some of the provisions will survive constitutional scrutiny. For example, the amendments enable a search without warrant where a "prima facie" offence has been committed in the officer's presence. What this means is not clear as the amendments do not define what is meant by a "prima facie offence". There is a danger that this may confer wide discretionary power on City officials which may be abused, especially against vulnerable groups.

The clause suggesting that the official must have reasonable grounds to believe that an offence is being committed does at least mean that the official would have to believe objectively, as opposed to subjectively, that an offence has been committed. The provision also says the official must have reasonable grounds that if he applies for a warrant it will be issued and the delay caused by obtaining a warrant would defeat the object and purpose of the search. The City may defend this provision on the basis that it is very similar to Section 22 of the Criminal Procedure Act (CPA).

The City may also rely on the constitutional principle of "reading down" which requires courts to read legislation consistently with the Bill of Rights where the language permits this. Practically speaking, this means the City could argue that because the by-law requires officials to have "reasonable grounds" to believe an offence has been committed, this should be interpreted strictly in a way that is consistent with privacy rights. The same argument could be advanced for the impoundment of goods where there must be "reasonable grounds" to believe that it is linked to the commission of an offence.

However, critics may argue that the offences listed in the by-law are generally non-violent petty offences which do not justify these extensive powers. These municipal offences are different in nature than murder, robbery or other serious crimes which the Criminal

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Procedure Act targets Furthermore, it is questionable whether these offences impose the kind of urgency and risk to the safety of people or property that justify these extraordinary powers. So, less restrictive means could be employed here: the use of a warrant which specifies the time, place and manner of execution of a search.

Critics would also be correct in arguing that these by-laws may have a disproportionate impact on vulnerable groups such as street traders, homeless people and so on. South African courts have found that poverty can constitute unfair discrimination. Even if a law does not target specific groups but has a disproportionate impact on them, it can amount to discrimination. Homeless people and other vulnerable groups may be harassed by City officials and this would undermine their right to dignity as well. This would apply also if the amendments were used to seize the property of homeless people.

Members of the public have until 17 May 2020 to make submissions on the proposed amendments.

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Appendix 3J

“Not everything that came out of this Covid-19 situation was bad” (12 October 2020)

Some homeless people in Durban have reunited with their families because of the City’s lockdown programme

– Dozens of homeless people in Durban have been reunited with their families.

– It was part of the eThekwini Municipality’s program to assist people who moved into their 5 shelters at the start of lockdown.

–The City says it spent R66 million on homeless people during the first three months of – lockdown.

“Not everything that came out of this Covid-19 situation was bad,” says aspiring artist Njabulo Khuzani.

Khuzani is one of the many homeless people who were moved into eThekwini Homeless shelters across Durban since March as part of the municipality’s attempt to mitigate the spread of Covid-19.

About a month ago, Khuzani, 29, from Mpangeni in northern KwaZulu-Natal, was reunited with his family. He has been living on the streets of Durban since 2017. “When I left home, I had stolen money to feed my gambling addiction and when I returned home to ask for forgiveness, my mother and the rest of my family welcomed me with open arms. I was afraid at first but after meeting with them, I know that I am still loved.

“If it was not for the municipality’s homeless programme, I wouldn’t have been discovered,” he said.

Khuzani was speaking at the World Homeless Day event hosted by eThekwini Municipality at the Bellhaven Memorial Hall on Saturday. The City’s interventions included reuniting homeless people with their families, providing access to employment and business opportunities, drug rehabilitation, access to health services, skills development and training, access to education and giving them accommodation during the peak of the Covid-19 outbreak.

According to the City, it spent R66 million on homeless people during the first three months of lockdown. There are still over 700 homeless people living in shelters, it said.

“The outbreak of the Coronavirus brought something good for me as I got to stay at the shelter where I got all the help I needed to kick this bad habit and start afresh,” Khuzani said.

Khuzani said that during his time at the shelter, he met renowned musician Thina Zungu who is helping him record his first music album. He will continue living at the shelter until his album is done.

Thabiso Dladla, 30, from Umlazi said that even though he has not yet found a job, he too was happy to have found his maternal and paternal families. Dladla said he left home at a young age. “My father died when I was nine and my mother when I was ten. Both my parent’s families took care of me until I was old enough to be on my own. It has not been easy on the streets but I am grateful for the opportunity to change my life,” said Dladla.

He said when lockdown started, he went to live at the shelter where he received treatment and has since stopped using whoonga. “I want to be with my family but at the moment, I

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am going to continue living at the shelter until I get a job. They have welcomed me back into their lives and the least I can do is to find something to do or go back to school to start a new life for myself," said Dladla.

EThekwini Deputy Mayor Belinda Scott said: "With the continuous interventions and comprehensive plans to aggressively address homelessness in the city, we are also contributing to the realisation of the National Drug Master Plan which aims to reduce supply and demand of drugs for non-medicinal use, increase harm reduction treatment approaches and prevent new drugs from entering the market."

Scott said the success in helping hundreds of homeless drug users was a direct result of their partnership with civil society. "We couldn't have done this without the help from the Department of Health, the Department of Social Development as well as all of our medical NGOs," she said.

Scott said they are looking into a more sustainable program which will include establishing safe spaces for homeless people.