How do western typologies help in defining homelessness in developing countries?
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Abstract

This paper reviews the typologies of homelessness available at the time of a major international study on homelessness in developing countries (2001). It uses the data from the nine countries studied to demonstrate where the typologies which were devised for industrialised countries are useful and where they fall short of assisting understanding of homelessness in developing countries. In an attempt to lay the ground for developing one or more typologies for developing countries, seven criteria used in the study countries are presented. The last, that there is potential for improvement (an upward trajectory) is particularly useful in developing countries contexts.

Introduction

In the study of homelessness in Europe and North America, several typologies have been offered as a means of understanding the different circumstances of groups requiring assistance. In our study of homelessness in developing countries, we find conditions which differ quite markedly from those experienced by homeless people in industrialised countries. In this context, we find it instructive to compare situations in our case study countries with those suggested by the typologies on offer.

We conducted a review of homelessness in nine countries; PR China, India, Indonesia and Bangladesh in Asia, Egypt, Ghana, South Africa and Zimbabwe in Africa, and Peru in Latin America; sponsored by DFID.[1] At the time of our study

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[1] Homelessness in developing countries, DFID Research Project No. ESA343, 2001-2003. The UK Department for International Development (DFID) supports policies, programmes and projects to promote international development. DFID provided

(2001), we offered the typologies, based on industrialised contexts, to our researchers,[2] by sending the relevant sections of UNCHS (2000),[3] and asked them to write detailed comments on their relevance for their local circumstances.

The typologies are as follows:

- Based on quality – FEANTSA's typology and Cooper's typology

- Based on risk –BAWO's typology and Daly's typology

- Based on time in homelessness – Hertzberg's typology

- Based on responsibility for alleviation

Our researchers found that the western-oriented typologies offered some insight into homelessness in their countries and they found some more relevant than others. In general, however, there is a need for different typologies to fit the differing circumstances between industrialised and developing countries, especially with respect to mitigating policy.

Based on quality

A. FEANTSA's typology

In its study of homelessness in Europe, the European Federation of National Organizations working with the Homeless (FEANTSA) posits a quality-oriented definition of homelessness beginning with a four-fold sub-division of housing adequacy.

Figure 1. FEANTSA's model of housing adequacy

Security

		High	Low
Quality	High	1	2
	Low	3	4

(FEANTSA, 1999)

According to figure 1. an adequate home (square 1) is one which is secure and where available space and amenities (quality) provide a good environment for the satisfaction of physical, social, psychological and cultural needs.[4] Broad definitions of homelessness (including FEANTSA's) would include all squares except this one. While square one is likely to contain the majority of housing in the European context in which it was developed, it may represent anything from a majority (China) to a small minority (Bangladesh, India) of urban housing in the countries we have examined.

Low quality (squares 3 and 4) in Europe would be manifest by overcrowding, high levels of noise, and pollution or infestation. These are at odds with the need for and right to personal privacy, health, and comfort. Low security, for instance, temporary lodgings, a lack of community belonging or family exclusion and/or poor tenure rights and risk of evictions, are signs of households at risk of homelessness in a narrow sense (squares 2 and 4). However, the main issue for developing countries arising out of this categorisation is that it includes almost any form of housing deficiency within homelessness. Thus, some could argue that all the residents of informal settlements, who probably constitute about half of all urban residents in developing countries, would be included in low quality and low security. While FEANTSA (1999: 10) argues there is a danger that "the unique distress and urgent needs of those people who are identified by a narrow definition (square 4) are lost and neglected" by

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[4] For instance, the UN Global Shelter Strategy from 1987 referred to aspects of home as a site for adequate privacy, space, security, lighting and ventilation, basic infrastructure and location with regard to work and basic facilities–"all at a reasonable cost".

excluding squares 2 and 3, we would argue that, in a developing country context, many millions of households 'in square 4' might not be helpfully be regarded as homeless. Table 2. Shows how our researchers fitted their local circumstances into the model.

Table 2. FEANTSA's model applied to circumstances in developing countries

Security

	High	**Low**
High Quality	**1**. Owner-occupied housing in permanent materials, in low, medium and high income areas, with at least some mains services.	**2**. Owner-occupied or rented housing, and housing on lease,[5] built of permanent materials but on land that is not owned by the owner of the structure (squatters), or is on a short lease, or is threatened by flood (Bangladesh), landslide, and other natural disasters. Lodgers in good quality housing (Indonesia, Zimbabwe, South Africa). Occupants of graveyards (Egypt).

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[5] In present day Indonesia (unlike in the colonial period and the early days of independence) rental units are virtually non-existent. PERUMNAS has only recently introduced rental housing units. Much more common is the lease system, which started to become popular in the 1960s, when Indonesia was plagued by three-digit hyperinflation. By 1998 more than 30% of all urban housing tenure are of this type, while in rural areas the percentage is about 18% (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2000). A lease contract is usually for three or (at least) two years, after which a new contract would have to be made (usually meaning that the lease price, which will have to be paid in advance, will increase). If a new agreement is not reached, the lessee will have to leave the house and find a new place to stay. The lessee vis-à-vis the lessor, therefore, is in a weak position.

Low Quality	**3**. Housing in established areas where services are poorly provided or absent. Congested private slums, refugee colonies and old-city tenement houses (Bangladesh, India), *kampung* areas, especially *kampung kumuh* (Indonesia), old suburbs[6] and transit camps (Zimbabwe, South Africa), temporarily converted shops and emergency housing (Egypt).	**4**. Housing in unserviced and illegal squatter settlements with threat of eviction, violence and extortion, *permukiman liar* (Indonesia), backyard or other shacks (Egypt, Zimbabwe, South Africa). Sleeping rough, pavement dwelling. Living under staircases, in boats and Zabbalin settlements (Egypt).

There is consensus in Zimbabwe on what adequate housing is, and little discussion about it. If an occupant owns their dwelling (it is secure) and it conforms to current minimum standards and building regulations (it is of high quality), then they have the right type of housing. Sector three is also tolerated because secure ownership is the touchstone. These dwellings are part of the 600,000 units in the county's inventory. Occupants of backyard shacks and other outbuildings are considered and (consider themselves) to be homeless (sector 4). However, some occupants of high quality dwellings in former squatter settlements (sector two) are insecure as they still illegally occupy the land (through invasion or illegal transactions). They feel insecure, as they have to constantly bribe some officials and are regarded as homeless.

Researchers in Peru, India, China and Ghana and did not find this categorisation helpful. In Perú, *de facto* security is gained by occupying (invading) a plot on unserviced land. If nobody claims the land as theirs after the first day (during which an immediate eviction can be requested without a court order), the occupants can have confidence that they will not be evicted. In Ghana, housing quality is irrelevant in discussions about whether someone is homeless; only those sleeping rough would be counted.

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[6] In Zimbabwe, these include decayed and decaying residential areas established in the colonial era for limited populations (mostly single men), which experienced great increases in population after independence. Among these are Mbare (Harare), Sakubva (Mutare), Mutapa (Gweru), Makokoba, Mabutweni (Bulawayo), Mahombekombe (Kariba). A fuller analysis is found in Kamete (2001).

B. Cooper's typology

Cooper (1995) offers a quality-based typology dividing homelessness and potential homelessness into four categories as summarised in columns 1 and 2 of Table 3. In them, quality is not based solely on tenure and physical conditions, but includes the more socially-constructed concept of home.

Home is a very rich concept. It embodies many ideas such as comfort, belonging, identity and security. Somerville (1992: 532-4) attempts to tease out the multi-dimensional nature of the meaning of home and its converse, homelessness. He presents seven key signifiers of home – "shelter, hearth, heart, privacy, roots, abode and paradise". To these, are added the connotations they have for dwellers (warmth, love, etc.), the nature of the security they give (physiological, emotional, etc.), and how these affect them in relation to themselves (relaxation, happiness, etc.) and others (homeliness, stability, etc.). Homelessness is the condition that represents the corollary of these, expressed in connotations of coldness, indifference, etc., presenting stress, misery, alienation, instability, etc.

Thus "home" is a place where a person is able to establish meaningful social relations with others through entertaining them in his/her own space, or where the person is able to withdraw from such relationships. "Home" should be a place where a person is able to define the space as their own, where they are able to control its form and shape. This may be through control of activities and of defining their privacy in terms of access to their space. When this is done, they have made a home with a sense of their identity (Cooper, 1995).

Our researchers attempted to fit their circumstances into the four categories Cooper offers.

Table 3. Cooper's categories of homelessness and their application in developing countries

Cooper's categorisation and application		Application in developing countries from our researchers
Characteristics	Degree of homelessness	
Housed but without conditions of "home", e.g., security, safety, or adequate standards.	Third degree relative homelessness/ inadequate housing/ incipient homelessness.	These are people who live in dwellings of inadequate standard (Peru, *Kunnanhu* in China), or with insecure tenure (Zimbabwe), who might be large proportions of the population (55 per cent of the population of South Africa). Zabbalins (Egypt). Not recognised as valid in Bangladesh, Ghana, Indonesia,
People constrained to live permanently in single rooms in private boarding houses.	Second degree relative homelessness.	This is a relevant category in China, Peru and South Africa (where it is about 10 per cent of the population). It accounts for a small part of the housing choices in the floating population of China. It includes a common group in Peru, made up of lodgers in the 'popular neighbourhoods', usually young couples, single relatives and students. Shared and emergency housing and graveyards in Egypt. Most could as easily be included in the cell below. Not recognised as valid in Bangladesh, Ghana, Indonesia, Zimbabwe.

People moving between various forms of temporary or medium term shelter such as refuges, boarding houses, hostels or friends.	First degree relative homelessness.	Difficult to separate from second degree homelessness, this includes casual workers who occupy tied employer housing (China), lodgers (Bangladesh, Zimbabwe, South Africa), occupants of workers' hostels (South Africa, Zimbabwe) and some squatters (Indonesia in *kampung kumuh* and *kampung liar*), in converted shops and understairs (Egypt). Not recognised as valid in Ghana, Peru.
People without an acceptable roof over their heads, living on the streets, under bridges and deserted buildings.	Absolute homelessness.	Those living on the streets and public spaces; in boats, shacks and kiosks (Egypt).

Source: Adapted from Cooper (1995).

This typology contains some ambiguities for rapidly developing cities that are not envisaged in the European context. For example, absolute homelessness includes "people without an acceptable roof over their heads". In contexts where squatters and other forms of informal settlement are common, and many people have only rudimentary structures, there is an overlap between the third degree relative homelessness (seemingly the most secure of the homelessness categories) and absolute homelessness (the least secure). Thus, there is no linear progression of worsening conditions down the table.

In cities in Bangladesh, only a minority of evicted squatters may take refuge in their relative's shelter for a short time (first degree). Most of them start living in the street or sheltered public spaces, such as railway stations, bus terminals and shopping

arcades (absolute homelessness) and they have little if no option to take refuge in institutional or social care during their crisis.

This typology has more resonance in China than our other study countries. Households in third degree relative homelessness have permanent living spaces but they may be built to inadequate standards. However, neither the government nor the public regard them as homeless. Usually the government regards them as *Kunnanhu* (households with inadequate living standards); to be helped by social housing.

Households in second degree relative homelessness are regarded as homeless. In Shanghai, it is reported that there are a few "underground" hostels, which are usually located near the railway station and docks, reputedly to accommodate people without legal identification, such as prostitutes, escaped convicts, etc. The rent for one bed in these illegal hostels is very low, from 10 to 30 yuan per day. They are crowded and have very poor facilities (Shanghai Morning Post, Nov. 20, 2001).

With respect to first degree relative homelessness in China, sharing is very common. Many households share dwellings with their parents, relatives or friends, and many live in dormitories. However, we must be cautious about whether they are homeless or not. The dormitory is a temporary shelter for new arrivals in the city, or for local residents. They may be regarded as in need of housing but they often have permanent work and stable social linkages. There is also a large group of people in China who have migrated to cities away from their official place of registration, or *Hukou*, and have not re-registered. These people, who are known as *Mangliu* (blindly floating people) or *Sanwurenyuan* (without registration card), are the closest to being officially defined as homeless people that can be found in China. They are not entitled to (subsidised) housing through the normal channels and, like most households, find themselves unable to afford housing on the open market. Many live in shared rooms in their workplaces and so are very vulnerable as, if they lose their precarious jobs, they will have nowhere to live.

In Egypt, our researchers included households living in open boats, shacks and kiosks in the absolute homelessness group because they are subject to frequent harassment by the police. Those in temporarily converted shop units and those who lie under the staircases of blocks of flats are included as first degree homeless. Those in shared and emergency housing, and those living in graveyards, are included in second degree homelessness because they are likely to have rather more permanence. The Zabbalin communities, who live in poor quality housing and

have been subject to periodic removal and relocation (Dunford, 2002) are regarded as third degree homeless.

In Indonesia, Cooper's typology offers ambiguity as people living in *kampung kumuh* could be included in the homeless category as they might be classed as without an acceptable roof over their heads. Similarly they could be included with residents of *kampung liar* as being in the third degree relative homelessness category since they are housed but without conditions of 'home' i.e., security, safety, or adequate standards.

There are too many people living in refugee camps (victims of human made or natural disasters), boarding houses, hostels, and with friends (or relatives) for them all to be considered as homeless. As Cooper suggests, this would imply that 'something must be done' for an extremely large number of people.

Our researcher in Peru felt that absolute homelessness perfectly matches with those that live on the streets and who are categorised as mentally ill people, indigents, drug addicts, criminals and street children.

The first degree presented by Cooper does not match with Peruvian reality but the second degree matches with the extremely common "lodgers" in the 'popular neighbourhoods', usually consisting of young couples, single relatives and students, who occupy rooms inside the dwellings belonging to their own families. A great majority of the Peruvian population, however, fits into third degree homelessness as squatting on peripheral urban land is an important way to find housing but such areas do not provide *de jure* security or services.

Based on risk

C. BAWO's typology

In Austria, the definition of homelessness used by BAWO (Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft Wohnungslosenhilfe) focuses on risk. The situation of being "houseless" (the term used there) can be acute, imminent or potential, as follows:

"'Potential houselessness' includes those where the housing loss is not imminent but may be approaching because of inadequate housing or income. People in this category would include those with very low incomes, those overstretched in debt, and some pensioners, single parents, handicapped persons and foreigners.

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'Imminent houselessness' concerns those who are threatened with the loss of their current abode, who are incapable of keeping it, or who cannot provide a replacement for themselves. They would include those losing tied housing at the end of their employment, those to be released from institutions or prisons, some involved in divorce or separation, those threatened with eviction, and those coming to the end of a fixed term lease.

'Acute houselessness' includes living in the streets; in buildings meant for demolition, subway tunnels, railway wagons; in asylums, emergency shelters, institutions, inns and pensions; and people evicted from their former residence, staying with friends or relatives because of inadequate housing of their own, and living in housing that is an acute health hazard" (UNCHS, 2000) and (BAWO website http://www.bawo.at).

Peressini et al. (1995) use similar ideas in a Canadian study; 'literally homeless'; 'moving in and out of homelessness'; and 'marginally housed and at risk of homelessness'.

Where potentially or actually homeless people are neither counted nor considered, they are sometimes called the hidden homeless. They may include people living in insecure accommodation and those who are regarded as either a concealed or a potential household (Pleace, 1998). Hidden refugees and asylum-seekers are generally excluded from national counts (FEANTSA, 1999)).[7]

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[7] This section draws extensively on UNCHS/ILO (1995) written by the author.

Table 4. BAWO's Homelessness typology based on risk and its manifestation in Bangladesh

BAWO classification	Data from Bangladesh and Zimbabwe		
	Country	Reasons for risk	Affected groups
Potential homelessness: *People in those situations where the housing loss is not imminent but may be approaching because of inadequate housing or income.*	Bangladesh	Social causes rather than inadequate housing or sudden loss of income. Causes rural-urban migration.	Poor widows and people approaching old-age; functionally landless marginal farmers; households vulnerable to approaching river-erosion
	Zimbabwe	High inflation, erosion of savings, rising cost of living and loss of employment	Urban mortgagers especially those in MDAs[8] and LDAs; New owners in HDAs. Pensioners especially those who retired before 1990. Tenants and lodgers of all the above. Refugees whose countries are now considered 'safe'
Imminent homelessness: *Those who are threatened with the loss of their current abode, who are incapable of keeping it, or who*	Bangladesh	Vulnerability to loss of income, eviction or violence	Low-paid employees if without pensions after retirement and without supports from their earning children; households living as squatters, abused/tortured children living with (step)parents

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[8] Medium density areas; and, likewise, Low and High density areas.

cannot provide a replacement for themselves.	Zimbabwe	Downsizing of civil service, retrenchments, retirement, and closures of mines, farms, estates and plantations, obsolescence, foreclosures	Farm mine, estate and plantation workers, prisoners, uniformed service personnel, domestic workers, occupants of company houses; Owners of old houses and their lodgers and tenants, insolvent debtors
Acute homelessness: *Includes those who are living in the streets.*	Bangladesh	Lack of ability to afford any housing	Includes single poor migrant workers who sleep in pavements, children of the street and floating disadvantaged women including single mothers, disabled beggars and prostitutes
	Zimbabwe	Poverty, breakdown of extended family, stigmatisation, mental illness, alien residency, political violence, transport costs, dysfunctional families	The very poor, people released from prisons, discharged from hospitals, those in institutions that are closing down, beggars who have set up base in town, political refugees

Our researchers in China and Ghana found the risk-based typology useful in the context of the floating population of China and the inner city low-quality housing in Ghana. In the absence of relevant social security systems for these people, future reductions in housing quality are likely to cause people to slip into homelessness.

Our researcher in Egypt allocated all homelessness types to BAWO's acute homelessness category.

People living in the *kampung kumuhs* of Indonesian large cities and, probably, many other unrecognised and unserviced squatter areas elsewhere, may be best categorised as being in imminent houselessness as they are in constant danger of being forcefully evicted. There are, for example, cases of mysterious fires that have broken out in these settlements, probably started with official approval[9] which have forced people to leave their homes (Berman, 2001). When a new shopping mall or high rise office tower rises on the site, prior suspicions of official collusion are confirmed.

The current economic problems in Zimbabwe are generating risks for even high and middle income people because of job losses[10] or dwindling incomes[11] Foreclosures and repossessions are fairly common even among those groups. The main risk for residents of the high density areas (low-income areas) is the obsolescence of the dwellings built before the Second World War and some from the 1960s built out of prefabricated material.[12] Pensioners are not in such a desperate state as most of them have paid off their mortgages. The major risk arises from indebtedness being followed by seizure of property and its subsequent auctioning, which the Deputy Sheriff does not hesitate to do.

Release from institutions (mainly penal and health) in Zimbabwe is beginning to be a problem as former inmates are stigmatised and may have been held in remote places from where they may fail to find transport fares back home[13]. They have no option but to settle in the street and in public places.

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[9] Laine Berman of Georgetown University in her article 'The Family of Girli: the homeless children of Yogyakarta' tells the story of a boy named Budi. One day Budi went out to play ball with his friends in a slum neighbourhood of Jakarta called Tanah Merah. When he returned his home was gone. A fire had burnt down his neighbourhood; his parents were also gone. Confused, he ran away and eventually came to Yogyakarta, a city located several hundred kilometres from Jakarta and became a member of the community of street children called Girli, short for 'pinggir kali', a Javanese word meaning 'river bank', indicating the place where they live.

[10] At the time of the case study, it was estimated that about 400 companies closed between January and June 2001 alone, with job losses of some 4000.

[11] At the time of the study, the finance minister admitted that the Zimbabwe Dollar was worth only 9% of its 1990 value (*Zimbabwe Independent*, 2001).

[12] In other work (Tipple, 2000) we show how such obsolescent areas in Zimbabwe are being improved through the efforts of residents.

[13] Travel warrants, issued by the police and the social welfare department are hard to come by. Where they are obtained, there are often not accepted on public transport owing to government's poor payment record.

D. Daly's typology

From work in Britain, USA and Canada, Daly (1996) drew up a five point classification based on the risks run by people who are, or are potentially, homeless:

1. "People who are at risk or vulnerable to homelessness soon, perhaps within the next month, who need short term assistance to keep them off the streets.

2. People whose primary or sole need is housing. They are usually working people who may be temporarily or episodically without homes and really need some financial or other assistance but do not have serious problems otherwise.

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

4. People with substantial and/or multiple difficulties but who, with help, could live in group- or sheltered-housing. These include those who have been institutionalised or abused and who need time before setting up independently.

5. People who need permanent institutional care or who may graduate on to some supportive or sheltered housing" (UNCHS, 2000: 29).

This typology appears to be relatively unsuited to developing country realities as our researchers seemed to struggle to fit the categories to what they saw around them. The idea of homelessness classification based on risk won general approval but Daly's categories appeared to be concentrating too much on what is a very tiny group in most developing countries – those who are homeless for reasons other than lacking the money to find rudimentary fixed shelter. In table 5., we have tried to fit responses from Bangladesh and Indonesia to Daly's categories.

Table 5.   Homelessness typology based on potential and its manifestation in Bangladesh

Daly's categories[*]	Peoples affected in Bangladesh and Indonesia
People who are at risk or vulnerable to homelessness soon, perhaps within the next month, who need short term assistance to keep them off the streets.	Indonesia: People living in *kampong kumuh* and *kampong liar*. (several millions). Occupants of institutions as they close down.
(Working) people whose primary or sole need is housing. ... (they) may be temporarily or episodically without homes and really need some financial or other assistance but do not have serious problems otherwise.	Bangladesh: Male daily-labourers and female garments workers living in 'mess' in slums and squats in Dhaka ; individual male hawkers and transport workers and their dependents living in the streets or squats. Indonesia: Many street dwellers.
People who can become quasi-independent but need help with life skills so that they can manage on their own.	Bangladesh: Floating disadvantaged women, e.g., single mother, disabled beggar and prostitutes; extreme homeless children of the street and passive homeless children on the street.
People with substantial and/or multiple difficulties but who, with help, could live in group- or sheltered-housing.	Bangladesh: Girl street children traumatized by sexual abuse; floating prostitutes; single mother with many young children
People who need permanent institutional care or who may graduate on to some supportive or sheltered housing.	Bangladesh: Disabled persons Indonesia: mentally ill persons

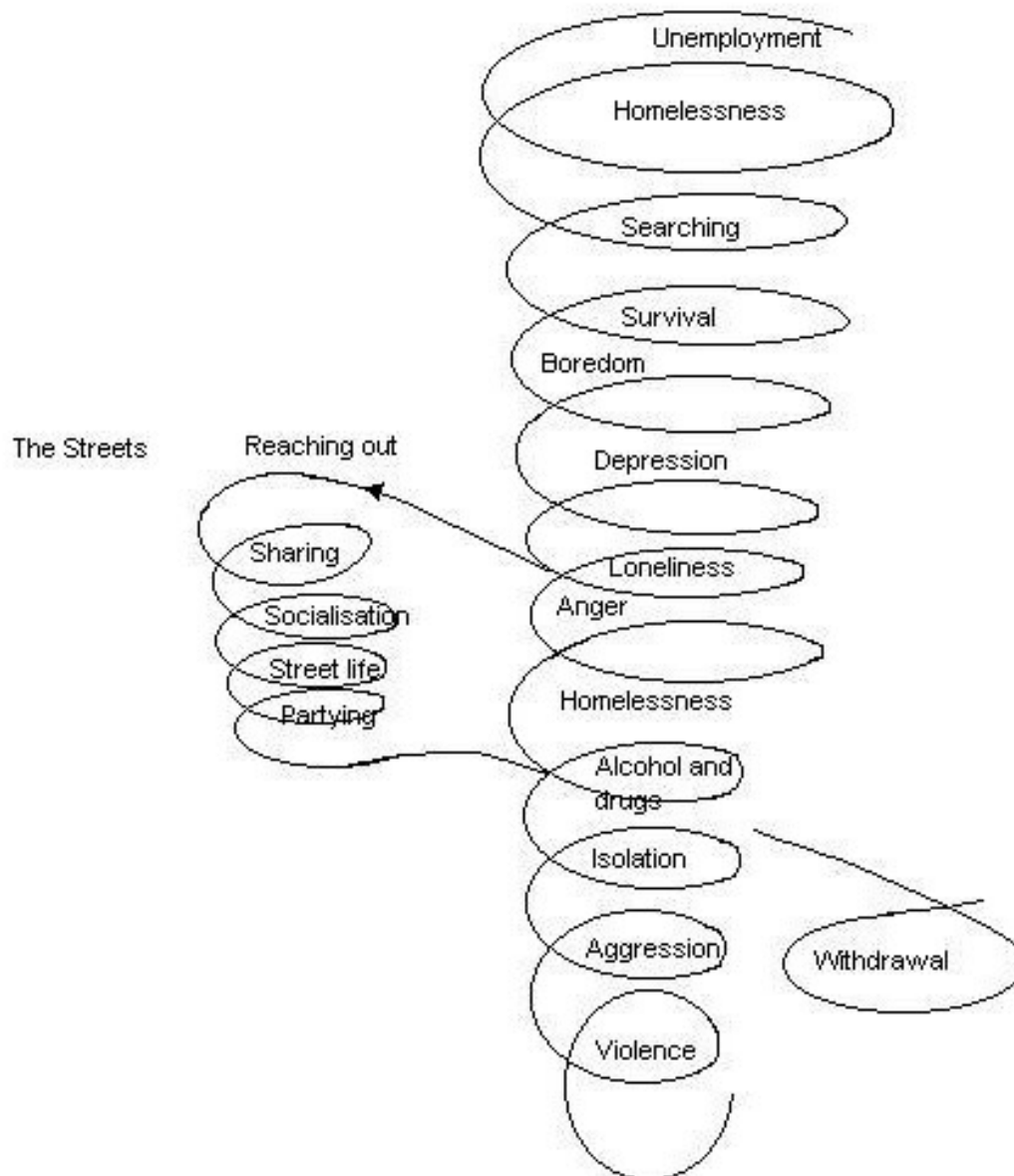**Note** [*]**:** Text in this column is from UNCHS (2000: 29).

Based on time in homelessness: Hertzberg's typology

Much of the following theoretical discussion is from UNCHS (2000) written by Tipple.

Hertzberg's (1992) classification of homeless people focuses on the potential short-term homeless people have of either moving back into settled accommodation or slipping into more permanent states of homelessness. To express this, she places them on a continuum based on the length of the homeless episode and their reaction to their state. She divides them into resistors, teeterers and accommodators. Kuhn and Culhane (1998) similarly divide visitors to shelters into transitionally homeless, episodically homeless, and chronically homeless.

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

Hertzberg's (1992) "resistors", are people who have been in stable employment and have spent the least time homeless. They assume that homelessness will be short-lived and should actively be resisted. Resistors are determined to get off the streets, they firmly believe that they will be successful in doing so and returning to their old life. They hold realistic hopes for the future, with expectations of upward mobility but, when their efforts at job hunting meet with no success, and affordable housing cannot be found, they become discouraged, their self-esteem declines; shame and guilt growkeeping them from calling on state support systems if they exist. Alienation, anger and frustration over such circumstances often turn inward, becoming depression. Alternatively they may join the long-term homeless whose accepting subculture seems welcoming amid the rejection. Escape through drinking or substance abuse becomes a daily routine. (Hertzberg, 1992: 155-6).

The Streets   Reaching out

Unemployment

Homelessness

Searching

Survival

Boredom

Depression

Sharing

Loneliness

Socialisation

Anger

Street life

Partying

Homelessness

Alcohol and drugs

Isolation

Withdrawal

Aggression

Violence

Hertzberg's (1992) spiral of homelessness

Table 6. Characteristics of persons on Hertzberg's continuum of homelessness

Characteristic	Resistors	Teeterers	Accommodators
Length of homelessness	Brief (2-4 years)	Longer (4-10 years)	Long-term (10+ years)
Attitude to condition	Fighting against	Ambivalent	Accepting
Staying where?	Inside	Most outside	Outside
Reason for homelessness	Not own decision	Not own decision	Some own decision
Desire for more education	Most want	Some want	Few want
Literate	National average	Most	Half
Severe family dysfunction	Some	Almost all	Most
View childhood positively	Almost all	Most	Almost none
Desire for own place	Almost all	Some	Few
Realistic hopes for the future	Most	Few	None

The second group are 'teeterers'. They have been homeless for longer and tend to have significant personal barriers to stability; mental illness, alcoholism, severe family dysfunction. Although they hope to stabilize their lives, they tend to have accepted homelessness and hope is edged with despair (Hertzberg, 1992).

The 'accommodators' are the traditional 'bums and hobos' of America, the wandering street dwellers who tend to have been on the streets a long time. Even in severe climates, most stay outside, rarely using shelters. They are proud of their

'independence'; usually taking no welfare payments. They are mostly illiterate, long unemployed, not upwardly mobile, and generally do not wish for a home of their own as many have dysfunctional family circumstances to look back on. They have accepted homelessness and claim to be content with their lives, some claiming to have 'chosen' it. Most believe that there is no place for them in society, nor do they wish to have a part in society, preferring instead their 'freedom'. They have accommodated themselves to being homeless (Hertzberg, 1992). These are the group often characterised as homeless people by the general public and the popular press.

Table 7. Typology based on time and its manifestation in our case studies, mainly in Bangladesh

Categories[*]	Manifestation
Resistors: These people had a steady job/income before becoming homeless recently. They view their homeless status as temporary and try hard to get out of it. But if they fail, they lose their self-esteem and faith in society.	Bangladesh: Resistors are new homeless people from the villages or people evicted from low income neighbourhoods who hope to move back in soon. They try desperately to maintain a source of income, are very conscious to preserve his self-esteem; maintain a family life, and remain involved in a social network. Ghana: Most migrants on the streets of the major towns. Peru: the victims of disasters lodged in provisional tents and camps, generally supported by the State.
Teeterers: Teeterers are homeless for a longer period and tend to have significant personal barriers to stability, mental illness, alcoholism and severe family dysfunction. They view their status less negatively than resistors.	Bangladesh: Most of the resistors, under stress and strain, become teeterers over time. In their present state, they are uncertain about their chance to live in a slum/squatter settlement, their earnings reduce and are uncertain, family break-up starts and social support weakens. Ghana: Some of the mentally ill and destitute who are in institutional care.
Accommodators: Most visible and commonly perceived type of homeless people. None have realistic hopes for the future. Their homeless status has been accepted without any resistance.	Bangladesh: Teeterer adults and children growing up for a long time in the street are the eventual accommodators. They have accepted their fate for living in the street, have often passed days without income and food, no family relationship or social support

	network.
	Ghana: Some of the mentally ill and destitute who are in institutional care.
	Zimbabwe: social outcasts, mostly those with severe mental problems (*mipengo*)

Note [*]: Text in this column is adapted from UNCHS (2000: 30-1).

Our researchers found it generally difficult to fit their situations into Herzberg's three categories; only a few countries appeared to found any of the categories relevant. In China, a time-based typology could explain some of the different characteristics of people within the general category of "blindly floating". Their attitudes to their dwellings, and their desire for more education or better future, appear to differ greatly between the short-term and long-term blindly floating people.

In Indonesia, people similar to Supri, Dadang and Bu Sri, interviewed by our researcher, who have all been homeless for more than ten years, show a remarkable degree of acceptance of their circumstances. As Supri, says, for example: "I really don't have any other place to go." Meanwhile Dadang and his wife say they plan to stay in Semarang, even if they have to sleep on the sidewalk, because they think it is a friendly city for poor people like them. This philosophical acceptance of their present situation might be based on *pasrah*, a kind of fatalism which is common among Indonesians and especially among the Javanese. It might be the reason why, in other respects, they deviate from Hertzberger's accommodators. They all have families and have been living with their respective partners for many years. All are working to earn a living (albeit in the informal sector) and do not seem to have drinking or substance abuse habits. They want their children to have better education and they certainly do not show the characteristics of the traditional 'bums and hobos' of the United States[14].

The *gepengs* and the few mentally-ill people who go around the city nearly naked, who rarely wash and who barely communicate with other people[15] are probably close to "accommodators". They beg or scavenge garbage bins for food and sleep anywhere they happen to be at the moment.

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[14] However, they lack of solidarity with other people who share the same fate. This is quite in contrast to the close social relationship among residents of 'ordinary' *kampungs*. This feeling of solidarity is also what makes the case of Seno and his friends different from that of Supri, Dadang and Bu Sri.
[15] Which is why it was not possible to interview them.

In Peru, the victims of the frequent disasters who are lodged in tents and camps, generally supported by the State would probably equate to "resistors". But there would appear to be no groups similar to "teeterers" and "accommodators" in Peru.

In South Africa, 50 percent of street homeless people have been homeless for less than five years and 29 percent for between 6-10 years, and 21 percent have been on the streets for over 10 years. Olufemi (1997) argues that homelessness should be perceived not only in terms of the duration on the street, but also the time in which it occurs in an individual's life.

In Zimbabwe, time-based typologies of homelessness have not been very appropriate but the changing conditions, culture and perceptions are likely to make them more so. Also, there is no tradition in Zimbabwe (and, we suspect, in many of our survey countries) of linking housing to such issues as education, childhood and hope for the future. In Zimbabwe, at the time of our survey, transitional homelessness is the only evident and accepted form. Save for a few mentally-disturbed people, there is evidence that homelessness in Zimbabwe is mainly transitional. Of course this is very different from the position which arises if official definitions based on being eligible to be on the housing waiting list are used. For example, Harare's official housing waiting list has people on it who have been there for more than 20 years!

The tendency among all who are considered to be homeless is to better themselves, a feature that even those along railway stations, under bridges and on the pavements display (DSHZ and ZIHOPFE, 2000). The worst that one observes is a waning of their tenacity rather than total resignation. There are a few "accommodators" in the country, mainly confined to what our researcher refers to as social outcasts, mostly those with severe mental problems (*mipengo*).

Based on responsibility for alleviation

Unlike in many countries in Europe, very few developing countries' governments and related agencies appear to have any legal obligation to look after particular categories of homeless people. On the contrary, the state apparatus often only affects homeless people by way of vagrancy laws which allow them to be cleared off the streets, sent 'home' to the rural areas, or imprisoned. The archetype of this is the Bombay Prevention of Begging Act which makes street sleeping illegal and is used

to clear the streets of many cities of homeless people when important events are to take place.

In Zimbabwe, established views sometimes differ from the normal official and popular conceptions. There is help available as long as the homelessness is short, or it does not involve the helping agency in a long term flow of resources should they commit themselves to help. Thus, there is help for street children, children needing accommodation in children's homes, and people who are temporarily displaced. Some long term commitment is made by those agencies that care for the aged, orphans and international refugees and they can finance their operations through per capita grants from central government and local and international agencies.

When numbers of long-term and terminally ill people expanded greatly, particularly HIV/AIDS sufferers, emphasis was placed on home-based care. However, as AIDS sufferers were increasingly homeless (and so unsuited to home-based care), central government introduced the AIDS levy[16] from which funds are channelled to those who are infected, those affected by the diseases, and those helping them.

Indonesia is an example of a country where homelessness is still seen as a public order problem. From time to time, homeless people (whether they are residents of *kampung kumuh*,[17] or *tunawisma*[18] or *gepeng*[19]) are seen as 'disturbing public order' or 'disturbing the city's appearance' and are evicted or removed. They then usually become the responsibility of the Public Order Office (or its equivalent) in each city. Police and army raids have been conducted against homeless people, pedicab (*becak*) drivers, street vendors, and roadside prostitutes[20].

After being raided, the homeless people become the responsibility of the local Social Welfare Office and various charitible organisations. They given a kind of indoctrination (*pembinaan*) to 'enlighten' (*menyadarkan*) them that, as responsible

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[16] The levy is calculated at 5% of income tax (i.e. Z$5 for every Z$100 paid in taxes). Every tax-paying employee in the country pays it. The National Aids Council administers it.

[17] Poorly serviced settlements.

[18] 'Homeless people'.

[19] '*Gelandangan* '*pengemis*' (wandering beggar). Given the Indonesian penchant for acronyms, *gepeng*' for short.

[20] In September 2001 Jakarta's Public Order Office announced plans to buy about 60 guns to equip its officers amid increasing public opposition to its operations, especially from *becak* (three-wheeled pedicab) drivers. The office's head admitted that the guns, mostly gas pistols and rubber bullet pistols, would be used for self-defence purposes during public order operations. The preceding year the office had already bought 60 German-made guns each costing Rp. 22 million (US$2,444). In the first nine months of 2001, the city allocated Rp 36 billion of taxpayer's money for public order operations against *becak* drivers, street vendors, prostitutes and transvestites. (The Jakarta Post, 15 September 2001).

citizens, they are expected to voluntarily leave the city and return to their home towns or villages. In the past, some were sent from cities in Java to less crowded islands in the archipelago as part of the government's transmigration programme. But this has been discontinued in the last few years because the indigenous inhabitants saw it as a Javanese scheme to colonise their islands.

In Bangladesh, destitute people can receive monthly old age allowances and homeless/ rootless/ landless people in rural areas may be provide with shelter or land from centrally controlled and funded programmes. Local authorities play their role identifying the beneficiaries and implementing the distribution of benefits under central supervision. In China, people in the 'blindly floating' population are excluded from the welfare system unless they return to their home area.

In Ghana, a few charitable institutions and non-governmental organisations are assisting and caring for various categories of people who could have been sleeping rough on the street (e.g., abandoned babies and orphans), or are on the street.

Towards a typology for developing countries

It would take quite a stretch of imagination to believe that our researchers felt that the western typologies had a great deal to offer them in understanding homelessness in their developing countries. There are places where some are useful and some parts of some typologies help cast light on local circumstances.

In a previous paper (Tipple and Speak, 2005a), we have discussed definitions of homelessness used in developing countries using six criteria. These are as follows and represented in tabular form in tables 8.and 9.:

E. Lifestyles

If someone lives on the streets or other open spaces and does not regularly sleep within a recognised dwelling, they are defined as homeless. There may also be components of transience in this state; they tend to sleep in different places each night, even in several places each night.

F. Location

Very closely linked with lifestyle, it tends to define homelessness by where they are; 'on the streets or other open spaces' or 'mobile'. Many countries define homelessness as not living in recognised dwellings - as in Springer's (2000) housing

situation or minimum standard - and then go on to stipulate the sort of places homeless people are found; their location. Thus, those living on the streets (a location as well as a lifestyle) are usually included. The more contentious issue of location is whom to include or exclude on the margins. For example, if those living in squatter settlements are included, this brings together all qualities of accommodation therein, from the very rudimentary to the relatively palatial.

G. Permanence of occupation, security of tenure

This brings together insecure accommodation and risk of becoming homeless under the rubric of 'having no permanent place to stay' (*tidak mempunyai tempat tinggal tetap* in our Indonesian study, 'floating' in both China and Bangladesh).

H. Quality

This includes people living in marginal housing ("*Iskan gawazi*" in Egypt) and unsuitable housing are regarded as homeless. This is not the same as in industrialised countries where the state of repair or lack of a utility can render housing unfit (UNCHS, 2000??), conditions tend to be much worse when a dwelling is included in this.

I. Welfare entitlement

A few of our study countries have definitions based on entitlement to housing and other form of help. Zimbabwe is the most marked example as everyone who is entitled to be on the Local Authority housing waiting list is defined as homeless.

J. Lack of welfare entitlement

Some countries have entitlements for those whose housing conditions are a little above the worst but not for those in the worst. In India, for example, designation as a 'slum' entitles squatters to have rights to plots which are not available unless that 'promotion' takes place. The only definition available in China involves those known as *Mangliu* (blindly floating people) or *Sanwurenyuan* (without registration card) without any entitlements to work, housing and welfare because of their lack of registration.

K. Upward trajectory

In an unpublished paper (Tipple and Speak, 2005b), we have discussed where the threshold between inadequate housing and homelessness might be. Our best current threshold is the ability of people to improve their housing and other circumstances. Those for whom an upward housing trajectory is possible or perceived might reasonably be regarded as not homeless. From the discussions we have had with our in-country researchers, the upward trajectory seems to be more important than any other characteristic in typing homelessness.

There is obviously much room for further discussion and our hope is that this conference will start that process in the developing countries context.

Table 8. Criteria for homelessness by country studied

	Lifestyle (Vagrancy, transience)	Location	Permanence of occupation or security of tenure	Housing quality	Welfare entitlement	Others
Bangladesh	Mobile and vagrant, rootless people	In rail station, launch terminal, bus station, market, shrine, staircase of public/ gov't buildings, open space, etc.				
China						Outside their district of registration
Egypt				In marginal and unsuitable housing,	Those in marginal and unsuitable	

				including shacks, kiosks, staircases, rooftops, public institutions, open boats and cemeteries	housing, and in public institutions are eligible for government-provided housing	
Ghana				Lacking a roof		Lacking anyone to care for them
India				Not living in "census houses", i.e. a structure with a roof.	In settlements officially recognised as 'slums'	
Indonesia			Without a permanent place to stay			

	Lifestyle (Vagrancy, transience)	Location	Permanence of occupation or security of tenure	Housing quality	Entitlement to housing	Others
Peru	Living on the streets: alcoholics, addicts, vagrants, criminals and mentally ill.		Without legal title to land		Households registered on the'Family Plots Programme'	
South Africa		In squatter settlements, in backrooms in townships and elsewhere	Without secure tenure, in squatter settlements, in rented backrooms in townships and elsewhere			
Zimbabwe			In informal residential areas		Any household not owning a publicly	

					provided dwelling is entitled to register on the Official Housing Waiting List (OHWL).	

Table 9. Groups who might be considered homeless but are removed from entitlement

	Categories excluded from rights to housing and other welfare benefits
China	Those known as *Mangliu* (blindly floating people) or *Sanwurenyuan* (without registration card)
India	Pavement dwellers, squatters whose settlement has not been recognised as a 'slum', Hindu *sadhus* (wandering ascetics), *Banjaras* (Gypsies) and Loharas (nomadic blacksmiths)
Indonesia	Those without a identity card issued by the local authority.
Peru	Those living in dilapidated *tugurios*

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