UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL ™

INYUVESI YAKWAZULU-NATALI

AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF VIOLENT BEHAVIOURS PERPETRATED AGAINST HOMELESS PEOPLE: A CASE STUDY OF DURBAN CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT

by

Nosipho Nombulelo Mthembu (219019561)

Supervisor: Dr Nomakhosi Nomathemba Sibisi

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of Master of Social Science
in
Criminology and Forensic Studies
in the
Faculty of Applied Human Sciences

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL

December 2023

DECLARATION

This is to confirm that this dissertation is my own work and that I have never previously submitted it to any other univerisity for any other purpose. All sources used have been cited and referenced.

Signature of candidate: 

On the ……**23rd** … day of ……**November**….. 2023.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to every homeless individual who, in addition to experiencing the difficulties of homelessness, has also been exposed to violent behaviours or victimisation. Please know that you are visible and that your struggles and pain are acknowledged. Be assured that there are people who care about you out there!

I would also like to dedicate this dissertation to my three younger brothers, Lindokuhle Mthembu, Sikhulile Mthembu, and Melokuhle Mthembu. Anything is possible if you put your mind to it, my little champs. Never be afraid to reach for the stars.
It always seems impossible until it is done.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Psalm 125:1-2. "Those who trust in the Lord are like Mount Zion, which cannot be shaken but endures forever. As the mountains surround Jerusalem, so the Lord surrounds His people both now and forevermore."

- First and foremost, I would like to give my thanks to Almighty God for guiding me throughout the process of writing this dissertation. Thank you, Father, for providing me with the strength to soldier on even when I felt that the journey was too much. It was not my understanding and my wisdom but your grace that carried me through it all.
- To my esteemed Supervisor, Dr Noma Sibisi, *Mahlase, Bhovungana, Mlom'bomvu*! *Isandla sendlula ikhanda*! From the bottom of my heart, thank you for your unwavering support and guidance from the beginning and throughout this journey. Thank you for your care, compassion, patience and encouragement that motivated me to reach for the stars. I was truly blessed with the opportunity to walk this journey with you.
- To Cllr Ntando Khuzwayo from Ward 28 and the Haven of Hope team, thank you so much for providing me with the opportunity to conduct my study in your areas.
- To Sister Cathy Murugan of the Denis Hurley Centre, thank you so much for believing in my research. May the Good Lord bless you for your kind heart.
- I wish to thank my mother, Miss SP Ndebele, who witnessed my challenges throughout this journey. I deeply appreciate your emotional encouragement and unwavering belief in me. Thank you.
- I also thank two special friends, Naniwe Ntshangase and Nhlanzeko Sikhakhane. It often seemed as if this degree was registered in all three our names! Never once did I feel all alone during this journey. You were always there to catch me should I fall but you made sure that I did not. I thank God that our paths crossed.
- To my family, thank you all for believing in me. Especially my cousin, Nomonde Nxumalo, thank you, dear bestie!
- To my other fellow 2023 classmates, thank you for lending me your ears whenever I needed to vent my frustrations and fears.
- Mrs Linda Coertze, thank you for editing my work.

ABSTRACT

The homeless population faces numerous challenges, including social exclusion, poverty, and lack of access to basic resources. However, a particularly alarming concern is the perpetration of violence against this vulnerable group. Such behaviours pose a severe threat to their safety, well-being, and overall societal cohesion. This study explored the prevalence, factors, and impacts of violent behaviours on homeless individuals in the Durban inner-city area. Qualitative techniques were employed to gain in-depth insight into the nature and extent of the violence experienced by homeless individuals. Primary data were collected by means of semi-structured individual interviews that were conducted with seventeen (n=17) participants who roamed the Durban inner-city area. The study employed the deviant place theory as well as the victim precipitation theory to explain in depth how homeless people become targets of violent victimisation. The findings revealed a disturbing pattern of violent behaviours against homeless people in the Durban inner-city environment. The primary forms of violence that were observed included physical assaults, verbal abuse, sexual harassment, and property theft and damage. The study identified several key factors contributing to the perpetration of violence against the homeless, including collective punishment, stigma based on appearance, visibility and vulnerability, and impaired judgement due to substance use and abuse. Moreover, it became evident that violence often emanated from multiple sources, including other homeless individuals, community members, and even law enforcement personnel. The study discovered that homeless victims of violence experience physical injuries, psychological trauma, and a heightened sense of fear and mistrust. Moreover, the persistent threat of violence significantly hampers their ability to access essential services and reintegrate into mainstream society.

***Key terms**: Homelessness, victims, victimisation, violence, violent behaviours*

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

APA	American Psychology Association
ASGI-SA	Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative-South Africa
CBD	Central Business District
CCID	Cape Town Central City Improvement District
CoTMM	City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Retribution
GP	General Practitioner
LGBTQ+	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Queer
NCH	National Coalition for the Homeless
NPO/s	Non-Profitable Organisation/s
PEPUA	Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SAPS	South African Police Service
UKZN	University of KwaZulu-Natal
UN	United Nations
UNOHRC	United Nations Office of the Human Rights Commissioner
USA	United States of America
WHO	World Health Organisation

LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES

ANNEXURES

Annexure **A1:** Interview schedule (English version)

Annexure **A2:** Interview schedule (IsiZulu version)

Annexure **B1:** Informed consent form (English version)

Annexure **B2:** Informed consent form (IsiZulu version)

Annexure **C:** Ethical clearance letter

Annexure **D1:** Gatekeepers letter (Ethekwini Municipality)

Annexure **D2:** Gatekeepers letter (Haven of Hope Shelter)

Annexure **E:** Social worker approval letter

Annexure **F:** Proof of language editing

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Violence is an age-old and challenging phenomenon that is still prevalent in the South African society. Violent behaviours can be experienced by anyone, regardless of the colour of their skin, age, economic status, or gender. Violent behaviours manifest in various types of inappropriate and hurtful conduct and can be verbal, non-verbal, or physical. It is perpetrated by individuals or groups with the intention of causing psychological, emotional, or physical harm to other persons or property (Flannery, Vazsonyi & Waldman, 2016). Research has associated homelessness with violent behaviours and has argued that homeless people are often the perpetrators of such behaviours rather than the victims (Heerde & Hemphill, 2019). There is therefore little focus in the literature on homeless people being the victims of violent behaviours in countries such as the United States, South Africa, and England (Clark, 2018). It was against this background that the current study explored the violent behaviours experienced by homeless people in the Durban Central Business District (CBD) in South Africa.

Throughout the history of humankind, homes or dwellings have been the foundation of its existence. It is in homes where people find sanctuary, rest and relaxation, protection, and enjoyment with friends, family, and relatives. A home is also the place where people can learn, grow, and simply be themselves (Angelo, 2018). Homes are important, whether they are permanent or temporary, stationary or mobile, owned or rented, and situated in planned communities or in informal settlements. However, there are numerous people across the globe who have no home where they can seek comfort, safety, protection, and care, and their situation often leads to negative consequences such as exposure to the elements and different kinds of victimisation by others (Angelo, 2018). Homelessness affects almost all countries around the globe, with South Africa being no exception. In fact, in this country, it is a burning issue that has gradually grown worse over time (Morrow, 2015).

It is important to note that the conceptualisation of the word ‘homelessness’ varies as it encompasses more than just a lack of housing; rather, it includes people living on the streets, in homeless shelters, shack dwellers, as well as those who commit crimes in order to survive

on the streets (Doherty, Ogbomnwan, & Williams, 2018). According to Morrow (2015), what matters most is understanding the plight associated with the homeless phenomenon rather than how homelessness is defined. According to the Human Sciences Research Council (2015), an estimated 100 000 to 200 000 people in South Africa fit the description of being completely without homes, with the majority of these living on the streets. Hewitt (2014) states that homeless people who live on the streets are at greater risk of being victims of crime compared to those who live in shelters.

Studies have shown that homeless people are at significant risk of sustaining severe injuries, which makes them one of the most vulnerable groups in society as they are subjected to a disproportionate range of threats such as violence, crime, and victimisation (Pophaim, 2019). According to Pophaim (2019), most violent behaviours committed against homeless people are perpetrated by members of the public, but such acts are also committed by homeless people themselves. However, there is still little public awareness about homeless victimisation. Newburn and Rock (2014) propose that members of the homeless population are thirteen times more likely to have violent behaviours perpetrated against them and are forty-seven times more likely to be victims of theft than their non-homeless counterparts in the general public. Yet, the literature on the link between homelessness and crime tends to place greater emphasis on homeless people being criminals rather than the victims of criminal attacks.

1.2 Background to the Study

Violence against homeless individuals is a global phenomenon, and Shlay and Rossi (2019) argue that such acts have been an unrecognised and ongoing concern for a very long time. For instance, the United States of America (USA) is one of the countries with a proliferation of media reports on violent behaviours perpetrated against homeless people. According to Kushel (2022), statistics suggest that three homeless people are stabbed daily, while approximately five people are shot every day while sleeping outdoors in New York and Washington DC. In Los Angeles, eighty-five homeless people were murdered in 2021 (Kushel, 2022). In 2021 in England, homeless people were nearly seventeen times more likely to experience violent crimes and fifteen times more likely to experience verbal abuse than their more fortunate counterparts (The Crisis, 2022). Swenson (2022) argues that the issue of violence against homeless people is a catastrophic outcome of a string of policy failures that, together, account for more than 580 000 Americans and 457 000 British being without homes every night.

Violence against homeless people in South Africa has a long history. According to Moiz (2022), the apartheid era has contributed significantly to homelessness and violence in South Africa. People were forcibly removed from their original properties as part of the apartheid system, and every effort was made to clear slum areas, deny citizens documentation, and enforce racial categorisation for residential zoning and other purposes. During the apartheid era, mostly black communities were disadvantaged as the political system favoured white people. In addition, the apartheid regime appropriated land to create mines, farmland, and towns that only belonged to white people, thus leaving many black people stranded without safe homes or places to stay. According to Vlaskamp (2011), even to this day most people who are homeless in South Africa are black people. During the apartheid era, physical violence against homeless people was enforced by white policemen with barking dogs and sjamboks and by armed soldiers who patrolled townships (Msimang, 2018). Inevitably, black people were beaten and assaulted for simply appearing in public or loitering, sleeping or resting in areas reserved for another race, passively or actively asking for alms, and even forming interracial relationships (Naeh, 2021). It is inarguable that violence was used by the colonialists to oppress and govern indigenous people. Today, it is challenging to eradicate this culture of violence, particularly when it has been institutionalised and is still being used by various groups as a means of coercion.

Durban, which is a coastal city located on the eastern part of KwaZulu-Natal, is the largest city in this province and the third most populated city in South Africa, following Johannesburg and Cape Town (Statistics South Africa, 2007). The CBD of Durban is currently facing a crisis due to homelessness and high levels of crime. According to Khan (2021), a study conducted by the Human Sciences Research Council in 2016 estimated that 4 000 people were homeless in Durban, with 1 959 individuals sleeping on the streets in the inner city and 1 974 living in homeless shelters. These numbers included people of all racial groups, ages, and both genders. The rapid escalation in the number of homeless people in the Durban inner-city area is attributed to rural-urban migration (Ravallion, 2012). The term ‘rural-urban migration’ refers to the movement of people from rural to urban areas, mostly with the purpose of improving their livelihoods through economic empowerment. People move to Durban in search of better job opportunities, but this unprecedented influx from rural areas has resulted in an overwhelming increase in the homeless population who now resides on the streets in the Durban CBD (Ndlovu, 2019). According to Kok and Collinson (2015), urban homelessness typically results because the rural sector fails to provide its inhabitants with better livelihoods or job opportunities, and this situation forces them to move to urban regions in search of better

economic opportunities. It is undeniable that rural-urban migration is exacerbated by the need for economic improvement as people who struggle to survive in rural areas wish to increase their income and resources. However, given that the homeless phenomenon in South Africa is strongly influenced by this county's history, it is unclear whether rural development will ever ease the demands on the country (Ndlovu, 2019).

Holness (2020) states that violence against homeless people by the general public is mostly motivated by feelings of hatred and dislike. Homeless people in general and in Durban in particular are stigmatised and labelled as 'dirty' and 'criminals' (Holness, 2020). Furthermore, the eThekwini Municipality's by-laws, such as the Nuisances and Behaviour in Public Places and Beaches implemented in 2015, perpetuate acts of violence against homeless people. These laws are implemented by the eThekwini Municipality to control anti-social behaviours and maintain social order, mostly in the inner city (Naidoo, 2018). However, governed by these by-laws, it is common for local officials to harass and denigrate the homeless population on a daily basis. Homeless people are violently beaten, harassed, and removed from the Durban inner-city area on the pretext of "removing any image of poverty in order to beautify the city and attract investment and development" (UNOHRC, 2011).

1.3 Problem Statement

Because victimisation against the homeless is a relatively unreported and concealed crime, there is a dearth of research information on the topic and insufficient progress has been made in reducing or eliminating it on a global and national scale (Huey, 2012; Sadiki, 2016; Pophaim, 2019). This topic has been disregarded for a long time and is still a neglected subject in current South African academic discourse. Although it is well known that homeless people endure significant suffering on the streets, few studies have highlighted the seriousness of the homeless victimisation phenomenon. According to Newburn and Rock (2004), instead of examining how homeless people experience victimisation, many studies have concentrated on homelessness in general or how it leads to criminal activity.

On face value, Durban appears to be a well-adjusted and rich city, and with its transformational exterior, it may be perceived by many as a relatively open society that is all-inclusive regardless of the enormous disparities existing among its varied population groups. However, according to Nel and Judge (2018), given the frequent occurrence of crimes motivated by prejudice and

unfairness, this idealised vision may not be a realistic representation of the reality. Nel and Judge (2018) further state that the historical background of this country, which was rife with discrimination, segregation, and the marginalisation of specific groups, has created the scene for victimisation of the homeless population in Durban. Therefore, one cannot help but assume that most of the crimes committed against homeless people are driven by hatred or dislike.

There is little doubt that the Durban inner-city area faces a huge challenge due to the growing number of homeless people in the past few years. This has been exacerbated by the disastrous effects of the COVID-19 pandemic, the riots in July 2021, and the floods in April and May 2022, which left many people without homes. According to Mayisela (2022), most people faced job losses and the destruction of their homes, and this resulted in an escalation in the number of homeless people to approximately 16 000 in 2022. According to Mayisela (2022), this rise in homelessness has taken a great toll on the economy of the city. For instance, shelters for the homeless were built at great cost in an attempt to accommodate them, but due to an unprecedented rise in numbers, not all homeless people can be accommodated.

Media reports tend to add to the misrepresentation of violent behaviours against homeless people. According to Griffith (2019), widely published media reports shy away from reporting the violence that is experienced by homeless people, which results in the fact that limited information is shared with the general public about this phenomenon. Media reports tend to focus on dramatic occurrences, yet violence against homeless people is constant, tedious, and devastating. In his article titled *Homeless community suffers abuse under law enforcement*, Ntseku (2022) states that the media would rather cover a report about a homeless individual stabbing a police officer, than a police officer brutally beating a homeless individual to pulp. Every act of victimisation that homeless people experience is perceived as their own fault as they are generally seen as perpetrators rather than victims. Hudson (2019) states that this misrepresentation of homeless people leads to them being criminalised and degraded. The excessive focus by the media and society on the seldom violent behaviours of the homeless and the emphasis on their housing situation have led to laws that criminalise their survival attempts such, as sitting and sleeping under bridges and living in cars, while nothing is done to increase their safety and support their efforts to survive (Hudson, 2019).

Table 1.1 presents a summary of some South African media reports that paint a clear picture of the brutal victimisation of the homeless.

Table 1.1: Summary of media reports on the victimisation of the homeless

Date	Victim	Nature of Victimisation	Location	Source
May 2020	An unidentified 35-year-old homeless male	A homeless man was physically assaulted by security guards after he was told he was "not allowed" to sleep on the streets near the train station.	Berea train station, Durban	Muhammed (2020)
November 2021	An unidentified homeless man	A 60-year-old unidentified homeless male was assaulted by an unknown suspect with a mannequin.	Gqeberha, Eastern Cape	Swanepoel (2021)
March 2021	Zodwa Majola	A homeless woman who lived in the streets of Davenport Park died following a mob attack. Stones were thrown at homeless people occupying the park.	Davenport Park, Durban	Walford (2021)
January 2023	Simphiwe Khumalo	A homeless young man (25) was violently assaulted by Durban Metro Police	Near Durban City Hall	Mabuza (2023)

Source: Author's summary

Novac (2006) supports the notion that there is a tendency to focus on crimes perpetrated by homeless persons without considering their increased risk of being victims of crime. According to Newburn (2014), existing South African literature on homeless people and violent behaviours creates the misconception that homeless people are the perpetrators of crime, while many are in fact the victims. This misconception reveals a lack of knowledge about the acts of violence that many homeless people are exposed to in the South African context. Such acts include, but are not limited to, being deliberately kicked or hit, having things thrown at them, sexual assault, intimidation or threats, and verbal abuse and harassment (Crisis, 2019).

1.4 Aim of the Study

The overall aim of this study was to explore the violent behaviours perpetrated against homeless people in the Durban inner-city area. As most South African studies on homeless people have focused on their complicity in the commission of acts of violence and crime, this

study aimed to balance the picture by focusing attention on their experiences of violent acts against them by the general public and structures such as the SAPS and the health care system.

1.5 Objectives of the Study

To achieve the aim of this study, the researcher formulated the following objectives:

(1) To explore the types of violent behaviours committed against homeless people.

The study sought to enhance understanding of the types of violent behaviours experienced by homeless people in a broader context.

(2) To identify the root causes of violent behaviours against homeless people.

Considering the dearth of literature about homelessness and victimisation, this study sought to fill this gap by contributing in-depth information about the root causes of violent behaviour against homeless people to the existing literature. Moreover, the study further sought to discover who the perpetrators of such behaviour towards homeless people are.

(3) To determine the effects of violent behaviours on homeless people.

Every action has consequences. This means that every act of violence that is perpetrated against an individual will have an effect on the victim, and this effect is generally negative. Therefore, this study also attempted to explore the effects that violent behaviours have on the homeless.

(4) To analyse how homeless victims interact with South African law enforcement agencies in response to the victimisation they experience.

As homeless people are generally not given any attention other than the perception that they are criminals, this study set out to determine whether homeless people received attention and justice when they reported cases of victimisation to the SAPS.

1.5 Research Questions

To achieve the objectives of the study, the following key research questions were posed:

(1) What types of violent behaviours do homeless people experience?

(2) What are the root causes of violent behaviours against homeless people?

(3) What effects do violent behaviours have on homeless people?

(4) What is the nature of the interaction between homeless individuals and South African law enforcement agencies in response to the victimisation they experience?

1.6 Significance of the Study

It is undeniable that homelessness is a social phenomenon that has existed for several centuries, and therefore it is important to provide in-depth insight into one of the key challenges faced by the homeless population, namely acts of violence committed against them. As limited research has been done to understand their plight, there is little understanding of the victimisation that homeless people experience, and this study sought to fill this gap. The researcher therefore gathered relevant and authentic data to better understand the correlation between homelessness and the violence committed against them by the general public and even those who should protect them. The findings of the study will enhance scholarly understanding of the causes of violent behaviours against homeless individuals, the types of violent behaviours they experience, and the effects that violent behaviours have on them. The study also explored the possibility of any preventative measures to curb the perpetration of violence against homeless people, and tried to determine if these measures would be effective and sustainable.

The results of this study may be valuable as, after understanding the causes of violent behaviours against homeless people, measures could be put in place to minimise these causes and reduce the increasing rate of violence committed against the homeless in the Durban inner-city area. According to Clark (2016), understanding the characteristics of the homeless, their life experiences, and the processes of mobility among them can help determine the severity of the issue and how it affects social change and population displacement. Furthermore, this study will be valuable in pointing out how the South African criminal justice system and the SAPS react when homeless people report cases of victimisation, and whether justice is served in such instances.

This study was prompted by the growing number of homeless individuals and escalating crimes against them in South Africa, and more particularly in the study area. The researcher was interested in exploring the experiences of homeless people who were exposed to crime and victimisation from their own viewpoint to acquire in-depth insight into their plight and the effects such behaviours had on them. By embarking on this explorative journey, the study aspired to contribute meaningful insights in the pursuit of a safer, more compassionate society

for all, and particularly for the homeless in the Durban CBD who are the most vulnerable among us.

The inner city of Durban was selected as the study area as this city is one of four principal urban-industrial centres in South Africa and is frequently cited as one of the cities in the world with the fastest population growth (Maharaj & Moodley, 2010). Durban was also selected due to current by-laws that seem to contribute to the victimisation of the homeless. The findings will therefore aid in providing insight into the experiences of victimisation by the homeless population as well as the root causes of violent behaviours against them. It is noteworthy that Durban is plagued by an escalating rate of housing shortages that has led to the unprecedented growth of informal settlements and homelessness. The focus was on Ward 28 in the Durban inner-city area covering Berea, the English Market, and The Workshop areas that are frequented by the homeless population. The fact that there are established networks among non-profitable organisations (NPOs) in these areas to deal closely with homeless people was advantageous for the study.

1.7 Research Methods

The study utilised a qualitative research approach to explore the experiences of homeless individuals who had been, and who still were, exposed to violence. An interpretive research paradigm was adopted to allow the researcher to gain valuable insights into the lived experiences of homeless individuals exposed to violent behaviours. To generate data and answer the research questions, the researcher conducted in-depth interviews with seventeen (n=17) participants who were selected using a purposive non-probability sampling technique. This sampling technique was chosen deliberately as it would facilitate the identification of participants with rich information pertaining to violent behaviours within the homeless community. The participants in this study were homeless individuals who resided on the streets and in a shelter in the Durban inner city area. The area is demarcated as Ward 28 and the Haven of Hope homeless shelter is located in this area. The participants' first-hand experiences of violence elicited a unique perspective on the prevalence of violent assaults in the study. The frank accounts of their experiences allowed the researcher to obtain valuable data about the underlying issues surrounding violent behaviours affecting the homeless.

The data generated by means of interviews were analysed thematically. In this process, key themes emerged that formed the basis for in-depth discussions on the participants' views and experiences related to the research problem under study. The research methodology is discussed in more depth in Chapter four.

1.8 Conceptualisation of Key Terms

The following key concepts are referred to throughout this dissertation and are therefore defined in relation to the context of the study.

Homelessness: Defining homelessness is a subject of significant debate because the concepts of 'home', 'homeless', and 'homelessness' can differ substantially from one country to another. In the context of this study, homelessness refers to the condition of individuals or families lacking stable, safe, and permanent housing (Pleace & Bretherton, 2013). Homelessness is a multifaceted social issue characterised by the absence of a fixed, regular, and adequate night-time residence (Edgar & Doherty, 2019). Homeless people often live in temporary shelters, public spaces, or inadequate and unsafe accommodations. In this study, homelessness refers to a state of having no home and refers to people living on the streets and in a homeless shelter.

Violent behaviours: The term 'violent behaviours' refers to actions undertaken by an individual that pose a threat, cause harm or injury to oneself or others, or result in the destruction of property (Anderson & Bushman, 2022). These behaviours can manifest in various forms, such as physical assault, verbal abuse, bullying, harassment, and intimidation. In this dissertation, the term 'violent behaviours' is used interchangeably with the terms 'violence', 'victimisation', and 'violent victimisation'.

Violence: Violence encompasses any action that causes physical or non-physical harm to one or multiple individuals (Barak, 2013). In relation to this study, violence is defined as the use of power or force that may result in physical, emotional, or psychological harm to others.

Victimisation: The term refers to the process or act of making someone a victim, typically involving the unfair or unjust treatment of an individual or group (Weis & Borges, 2013). Victimisation often includes actions or behaviours that cause harm, exploitation, or discrimination, leading to a person or group experiencing physical, emotional, financial, or social damage.

Homeless victim: This term refers to an individual who is experiencing homelessness and has become a target of victimisation (Turner, Funge & Gabbard, 2018). Victimisation can encompass various forms of harm, including physical assault, verbal abuse, theft, or any other form of mistreatment or violence directed at a person experiencing homelessness.

1.9 Structure of the Dissertation

This dissertation comprises six chapters, each addressing specific aspects of the research study. **Chapter one** presents an overview of the study by illuminating its purpose and background. The chapter highlights the problem of homeless individuals who are exposed to violent victimisation. Additionally, the chapter elucidates the objectives and the pivotal questions that directed the research.

Chapter two presents a comprehensive examination of relevant literature concerning the subject under investigation. In accordance with the purpose of the study, the discourse primarily focuses on the underlying factors that cause the victimisation of the homeless. It also elucidates the various forms of harm the homeless experience and discusses the consequences of violent victimisation on the homeless population. The literature review chapter establishes the groundwork for the subsequent chapters.

Chapter three delves into the conceptual framework that guided the study and emphasises two specific theories: the deviant place theory and the victim precipitation theory. By drawing on these theories, the researcher gained valuable insights into the processes and motivations behind the victimisation of homeless individuals, and these theories ultimately shed light on the reasons why these particular people are susceptible and subjected to violent victimisation.

Chapter four elucidates the research methodology that was employed to address the research questions and achieve the objectives of the study. The qualitative research approach was adopted, and this chapter provides a detailed account of how the key components of this research methodology were utilised.

Chapter five offers an extensive examination of the data that were collected by means of interviews with the study participants as well as observations. The data were thoroughly analysed using thematic analysis to identify patterns of similarities and differences in the

responses of the participants, and these are explored and explained in detail in this chapter. The findings are compared with those of earlier studies and scrutinised in relation to the theoretical framework, and the research questions are addressed to achieve the objectives of the study.

Chapter six is the concluding chapter of this study report. The discourse emphasises the key findings and the conclusions that were drawn. The limitations of the study are acknowledged and recommendations that emerged from the findings are offered.

1.10 Conclusion

In conclusion, this introductory chapter has laid the foundation for this explorative study on violent behaviours perpetrated against homeless people in the Durban inner-city area. The significance of this research stems from the alarming prevalence of violence experienced by the homeless population in the study area, coupled with a dearth of focused investigations into this problem. The chapter highlighted the pressing need to understand the underlying causes and manifestations of violence against homeless individuals, with the ultimate aim of formulating evidence-based interventions and devising support systems to address this critical social issue.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an analysis of the information that was gathered by previous researchers regarding the research topic. According to Baglione (2012), a literature review is an overview of previous publications with the aim of creating a broad picture of what is known about the topic under investigation. Secondary data in scholarly journals, published articles, books, and media reports related to the experiences of homeless victimisation were reviewed and are analysed in this chapter. Earlier and more recent research on homeless people mainly focused on them as the perpetrators of violence, and few researchers considered the fact that homeless people can also be victims of violence and are at greater risk of experiencing violent behaviours compared to the general public. Therefore, the current study will contribute to the existing body of knowledge about this phenomenon and create a platform for potential future research on the homeless and violent behaviours against them.

2.2 A Global Perspectives on Homelessness

Although this study explored violent behaviours perpetrated against homeless people in the Durban inner-city area in South Africa, it is essential to examine violent behaviours perpetrated against homeless people from a global perspective as well. The homeless are undeniably vulnerable as they are deprived of comfortable livelihoods and are frequently traumatised, while many experience persistent physical and mental health issues. However, homeless people often do not have strong relationships with others who may offer them assistance and safety, and homeless people are therefore disproportionately likely to fall victim to crime and violence.

2.2.1 Europe

According to the National Coalition for the Homeless (2014), approximately 1 437 incidents of violent victimisation against the homeless population were reported in Europe in the period 2013/2014, and almost one sixth (16.5%) of these assaults ended in fatalities. Between 1999 and 2013, the total number of homeless people who were murdered in Europe was almost three times higher than the total number of people from all other groups who were murdered (Turner, Funge & Gabbard, 2018). People were murdered as a result of killers' prejudice against race,

colour, nationality, ethnicity, religion, ability status, or sexual orientation (NCH, 2014). Moreover, homeless people in Europe are frequently the victims of nonfatal crimes such as physical assault, robberies and burglaries, and they are also the targets of derogatory remarks, threats, and insults (Wachholz, 2015; Merrill, 2012).

2.2.2 United States of America (USA)

A study was conducted in the United States with the aim of exploring the hidden pandemic of violence against homeless people (Kushel, 2022). The latter study revealed that three homeless people were stabbed daily on the streets of New York in 2019, with one in three being stabbed fatally during their sleep. These reports support those of similar incidents within the country. For instance, one attacker shot five individuals who camped outside New York and Washington, DC (Kushel, 2022). Moreover, eighty-five homeless people were murdered in Los Angeles in 2021, which is the greatest number of murders of homeless people ever reported in one area (Shelton, 2022). The latter study also reported that, during the survey period, 48% of homeless women had encountered physical violence without a weapon, 18% with a weapon, and 18% had experienced sexual violence in the span of six months (Kushel, 2022). These incidents illustrate the severity of the frequency of acts of violence against homeless people. False narratives that incite fear and portray homeless people as perpetrators of violence are a contributing factor that exacerbates this phenomenon (Potter, 2017).

2.2.3 Canada

Canada is also a country that faces the global phenomenon of homeless victimisation. In a Canadian study on the homeless phenomenon, victimisation, and crime, Brassard and Cousineau (2010) found that 46% of homeless women and 39% of homeless men had been victims of physical assault in 2009. The study further revealed that 10% of the participants had been violently victimised by the police, 43% of women had been sexually assaulted, and 21% of the homeless women had reported being raped (Brassard & Cousineau, 2010). This affirms that homeless victimisation knows no gender. A study that was conducted by North, Smith, and Spitznagel (2014) in Toronto reported that 10% of the homeless people that they interviewed had needed emergency medical attention for assault-related injuries. Furthermore, due to the high prevalence and frequency of violent victimisation that they had experienced; symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) were common among the homeless

victims. Additionally, Shapcott (2017) reported that the rate of physical assault among the homeless population in Toronto was much greater than that of the housed population.

2.2.4 Hungary

In Hungary, being homeless is a crime, and this issue is tackled using a punitive approach through policies that aim to eliminate homelessness by punishment. A seventh amendment to the Fundamental Law of Hungary was passed on 15 October 2018 that prohibits the use of public places for a living (Hungary, 2018). According to this new law, homeless persons can be arrested, made to leave public areas, detained, and have their goods destroyed. A study in Hungary that was conducted by Faragó, Ferenczy-Nyúl, Kende, Krekó and Gurály (2021) aimed to test whether this new law caused more violence against homeless people in this country, and it was found that support for the new law by authorities and the social dominance orientation of this country were indeed related to violence against homeless people. Authoritarian aggression in Hungary is aimed at groups that are deemed to represent a threat to the beliefs and customs of the in-group or of those that exhibit risky behaviour (Lippa & Arad, 2019), hence homeless people are viewed as a threatening and a norm-violating group. Therefore, the new law in Hungary legitimises authorities, such as the police, to apply physical violence against the homeless.

2.2.5 Homelessness in African countries

Africa is an amazing and beautiful continent and is home to many wild and exotic animals. Unfortunately, it is also home to many homeless people and homelessness on this continent is increasing rapidly in many developing countries. Moiz (2022) states that poverty is the main factor that contributes to homelessness in Africa due to a high percentage of illiteracy and lack of skills, as well as a lack of knowledge about how to take advantage of available opportunities. Many people in African countries tend to settle for low-paying jobs, hence they cannot afford proper housing. Furthermore, Africa is a continent that is highly prone to natural disasters that leave many people with no choice but to live on the streets. For example, Ethiopia has recently been hit by floods that affected over 200 000 people as those living in affected areas were told to move from the potential danger (Davies, 2023). In Mali, people were forced to flee as fire destroyed a camp in Bamako, leaving more than 1 000 people displaced and homeless (Jeezera, 2020). Homeless African people therefore face many challenges, of which violent victimisation is one. The next sections will explore homeless victimisation in some African countries.

2.2.5.1 Ghana

According to Asibey (2019), there is no official housing policy that clearly defines homelessness in Ghana. It comes therefore as no surprise that homeless people in this country are seen as criminals and perpetrators of violence rather than victims. Asibey (2019) conducted a survey among almost 400 people to explore their experiences of living without a permanent home. A key finding was the challenge of being violently assaulted by members of the public. Another finding was the reluctance of homeless people to seek help from health services and GP clinics due to the stigma and discrimination they faced. Most homeless participants, especially those living on the streets, reported that they were subjected to insults from medical staff when seeking medical assistance, which made them feel bad about themselves. Homeless victimisation in Ghana is more common in cities than in rural areas because of rural-urban migration which is largely work oriented. Furthermore, Gyami (2019) states that the crime rate in the country has also risen, arguing that it has been widely observed that increasing numbers of street people are a main reason for the upward trajectory of crime and victimisation in contemporary Ghana. According to Gyami (2019), criminal behaviour, social exclusion, and the marginalisation of the homeless increase the risk of them being victimised more often compared to the general public in Ghana.

2.2.5.2 Zimbabwe

While many people find comfort in their homes, 1.5 million Zimbabweans have a different story to tell because the Zimbabwean government started a campaign, called Operation Murambatsvina (translated as ‘sweep out the rubbish’) to destroy what it labels illegal settlements (Dyer, 2015). As a result of this campaign, approximately 500 000 people were left homeless in the city of Harare (Masimba, 2018). Those who have been left homeless do not enjoy the sunset because, for them, another uphill task of spending cold nights on pavements and being on the lookout for possible offenders of violence begins as soon as the sun sets. Near the Mbare Musika bus terminus where most homeless people dwell, they are exposed to drunkards who violently wake them up at night and even beat them and steal from them (Takawira, 2015). One participant reported being violently assault by police officers and council authorities when they were chasing them from where he slept. These officials did not tolerate the presence of the homeless at the terminus, and victimised and abused them

physically. Moreover, verbal abuse from people who pass by is commonly experienced by homeless people in Zimbabwe, as they are perceived as insane and a threat. Although it is uncommon for homeless people to perpetrate violence against other homeless people, this is not always the case among young Zimbabwean street dwellers. According to Mhindu (2018), young street children are subjected to vicious treatment by their older compatriots on the streets. The older ones order the younger ones to find food for them in return for a place to sleep at night, and failure to procure food results in these young children being physically assaulted or evicted from basic shelters and the pavements.

2.2.5.3 Botswana

Homelessness in Botswana is a complex issue that is impacted by various factors such as poverty, unemployment, housing affordability, and mental health challenges. Some individuals in Botswana become homeless due to eviction, the loss of a job, or the lack of affordable housing options (Benfer, 2021). Homeless individuals are often vulnerable to victimisation due to their lack of stable housing and limited access to resources and support systems. Most prevalent forms of violent victimisation faced by homeless people in this country include physical and sexual violence, theft, harassment, and discrimination (Phiri, 2016). The limited body of research on the victimisation of the homeless in Botswana makes it difficult to provide detailed statistics or discuss particular trends. However, anecdotal evidence and reports suggest that homeless people in Botswana are at risk of exploitation and abuse, particularly in urban areas where they may be subjected to violence, sexual assault, theft, and other crimes, and they often have little recourse or support (Kampamba & Kachepa, 2018).

2.2.6 Homelessness in the South African context

In South Africa, the issue of homelessness and violence against homeless people dates back to even before the apartheid era that officially lasted from 1948 to 1994 (Olufemi, 1997). During the apartheid era, the government formally established a system of institutionalised racial segregation and discrimination that had existed since the colonisation of the region by Western powers. Apartheid had a substantial impact on social and economic conditions as its main focus was on racial classification and the segregation of the population into racial groups (Morrow, 2010). A variety of laws and regulations were put into place by the apartheid government that disproportionately impacted the non-White population, notably Black and Coloured people and

Indians. These policies aimed to forcibly remove non-White communities from areas designated for White settlement and compelled their relocation to designated townships or rural areas. As a result, many Black families who had come to seek a better life in urban areas lost their homes and means of support and became so-called 'squatters' (Carton, 2016). People who were homeless due to apartheid restrictions relocated to shack settlements as visible destitution was not permitted on the streets. According to Davenport and Hunt (1974), land was confiscated from Black people by the dominant White government throughout the colonial and apartheid eras in regions like the Cape, Free State, and Transvaal, and this gave rise to squatting and vagrancy in South Africa. Vagrancy became a characteristic of landless Black people who migrated to restricted urban and semi-urban areas in search of job opportunities.

Moreover, a variety of oppressive regulations and practices were put in place by the apartheid government that further marginalised those who were homeless. For instance, the notorious Pass Law mandated non-White people to always carry an identity document known as 'a pass' with them all the time. According to Cross and Seager (2010), the pass governed movement and restricted entry to cities, making it challenging for the homeless to find shelter and look for jobs. The police and army were in charge of maintaining order and enforcing apartheid regulations, and they frequently did this by employing excessive force against people who were thought to be breaking the rules (Human Rights Watch, 1996), hence homeless individuals, particularly those without proper identification, were vulnerable to abuse and discrimination. It is important to note that the experiences of homeless individuals during apartheid varied depending on their race and socio-economic background. While the non-White population bore the brunt of forced removals and discriminatory policies, there were also instances of homelessness and victimisation among poor White communities, although to a lesser extent due to the lower number of this population group (Panter-Brick, 2012).

In South Africa, not much research has been done on homeless victimisation. This country currently faces a rising number of homeless people, which will naturally increase the rate of victimisation against them. Sadiki (2017) conducted a quantitative study with the aim of exploring and describing the experiences of homeless people as victims of crime in the Gauteng and Limpopo provinces. The study focused particularly on Pretoria and Thohoyandou, which are the largest urban centres in these two provinces respectively. The results of the latter study revealed that the majority of the sample had experienced victimisation since becoming homeless, with 35.1% being physically assaulted and 70.2% being robbed (Sadiki, 2017). The

high levels of theft reported in the latter study correlate with a finding by Novac (2006) that homeless people are more likely, compared to the general public, to be the target of theft as they often carry their belongings with them everywhere they go. Furthermore, homeless people are also likely to be wrongfully accused of crime. Research has shown that this is because homeless people are often viewed and treated as perpetrators of crime rather than as the victims of crime.

After experiencing violent behaviours against them, homeless people are not likely to report such cases to the authorities. The underreporting of cases of victimisation by homeless people to the police is mostly due to the lack of trust they have in the South African criminal justice system and the fear of being further victimised by police officials. Pophaim (2019) conducted a qualitative study in the Free State and Northern Cape provinces on homeless shelters to explore experiences of victimisation among homeless people. The findings revealed that very few (17%) of the participants had had positive experiences with the police while the majority (41.2%) had had negative interactions with members of the SAPS. Bruce (2013) also found that homeless victims of violent behaviour were at great risk of experiencing secondary victimisation, arguing that they were usually met by insensitive and disrespectful police officials who did not meet their mandate of supporting and assisting homeless people as members of the public following a victimisation episode.

Previous studies on the violent victimisation of the homeless tended to focus on substance abuse as a cause of violent behaviour being perpetrated against them (Turok, 2015), Sadiki (2016) focused only on African males, and the study by Roy, Crocker, Nicholls, Latimer and Ayllon (2012) focused on the victimisation of homeless people with severe mental illness, and was quantitative in nature. However, it is an essential requirement that any experiences of violent behaviours be addressed across all ethnicities and both genders in qualitative studies to accurately capture their lived experiences. Furthermore, homeless victimisation is a national phenomenon, thus it is also essential that studies are conducted across various geographical regions in South Africa so that the seriousness of this phenomenon can be better exposed and understood.

2.2.7 Summative reflection

The dearth of studies on the plight of the homeless allows one to conclude that incidences of violent victimisation against them are underreported in both developed and developing countries. For instance, a study by Novac, Hermer, Paradis and Kellen (2009) found that only one in five homeless youths and adults reported being a victim of violent victimisation to the police, whereas only three in ten homeless women reported being victims of assault to the authorities. Underreporting of crimes committed against homeless people may occur as a result of the abuse and harassment that they continually experience as well as their fear of interacting with the police who are notoriously overzealous in their enforcement of quality-of-life issues. Municipal workers' mandate to keep the streets clear of vagrants and loiterers may also contribute to the victimisation of the homeless, whereas being untrained in understanding mental illness and other factors that contribute to homelessness may also exacerbate the public's negative and intolerant attitude towards homeless people (Georgiades, 2015; Simpson, 2015). As a result, homeless people are perceived as unproductive members of society who are undeserving of more substantial efforts to meet their rights and address their needs.

2.3 Conceptualising the Nature of Homelessness

2.3.1 Defining homelessness

The term 'homelessness' has diverse meanings that vary from country to country and frequently represent a wide range of experiences and ideological views rather than the reality of deprivation, making its definition a highly contentious issue. Caplow, Bahr and Sternberg (2018:37) define homelessness as "a condition of social estrangement characterised by the absence or weakening of the affiliative ties that bind settled people to a network of interrelated social structures". Authors such as Edgar and Doherty (2019) propose that homelessness features a lack of a right of access to secure and minimally appropriate housing, variously described as rootlessness, houselessness, or access to inadequate housing. The fact that there is no consensus on what precisely qualifies as homelessness makes it challenging to arrive at a universal and accurate definition of the phenomenon, and this challenge impacts the ability of governments to respond to homelessness adequately and appropriately (Edgar & Meert, 2015).

The United Nations (UNOHRC, 2011) defines homeless households as those without a shelter that would qualify within the scope of no living quarters due to a lack of a reliable source of

income. Affected individuals carry their few belongings with them and sleep more or less randomly on the streets, in doorways, on piers, or in other informal or abandoned locations. The United Nations (UNOHRC, 2011) recognises two categories of homelessness, namely absolute and relative homelessness. Absolute or primary homelessness includes people who do not have access to a physical shelter of their own and live on the streets or in temporary shelters located in places that are not deemed suitable for human habitation (UNOHRC, 2004). Relative or secondary homelessness includes individuals who endure hidden or concealed homelessness and live in places or shelters that do not meet the minimum standards for habitable dwellings (Cooper, 2015). Such people may lack protection from environmental elements and have little or no access to clean water and sanitation. Moreover, their personal safety is perpetually compromised if they do not find safe accommodation.

The condition of homelessness is multi-dimensional. According to Somerville (2022), homelessness is more than just a matter of having no shelter, lack of abode, or not having a roof over one's head. Homelessness involves being deprived of a number of dimensions such as the physiological dimension, where one is deprived of bodily comfort or warmth; the emotional dimension, where one lacks love or joy; the territorial dimension, where one lacks privacy; the ontological dimension, where one lacks rootedness in the world and anomie; and the spiritual dimension, where one lacks hope and purpose (Somerville, 2022; Watson & Austerberry, 2016). This means that homelessness goes beyond just having no shelter and beyond what the eye can see from the perspective of the general public. Only those experiencing homelessness can fully understand what homelessness really is. For the purpose of this study, homelessness is defined as the state of having no home, and includes people living on the streets and in homeless shelters.

2.3.2 Factors contributing to homelessness

There are several myths and misconceptions surrounding the issue of homelessness. Most people think that homelessness is a choice; people hold the opinion that those individuals who are homeless might easily pick themselves up if they so desire, and that they are homeless simply because they are lazy or they ran away from their homes. However, homelessness is not always a choice. There are several reasons or factors that contribute to a person being homeless. It is also important to note that the causes of homelessness are diverse, thus there is no single cause that renders individuals homeless (Echenberg & Jensen, 2020). The majority of the

literature on the causes of homelessness normally divides these causes into three main groups, namely: (i) structural factors, (ii) individual and relational factors, and (iii) systemic factors (Gaetz, Donaldson, Richter & Gulliver, 2013; Ponio, 2022). The following three sections explore the major contributors to homelessness.

2.3.2.1 Structural factors

Structural factors are economic and societal factors that have an impact on the opportunities and social environments of an individual (Homeless Hub, 2013). Structural factors refer to the impact of norms, values, and beliefs that regulate social action. There are multiple structural factors that can contribute to someone becoming homeless.

Poverty and unemployment: Speak (2019) alludes to the fact that poverty is one of the major contributors to homelessness across the world. This occurs due to the failure of rural livelihoods and lack of services and opportunities in rural settings, linked with limited opportunities provided by expanding urban development. Many individuals are compelled by poverty to leave their underdeveloped homes, at least temporarily, in search of better economic and social prospects in more developed cities or towns. Such people are often able to send a small remittance home to their families. However, Brockhaus and Locatelli (2013) stress that migration is not a contributory factor to homelessness per se, arguing that it should be considered as part of the *process* of becoming homeless. Tipple and Speak (2009) support this notion. Their study was conducted in England, and they found that the migration process began when an individual travelled to the city seeking temporary work to support a household living in an underdeveloped area. However, due to poor wages earned in the city, the individual could not afford proper accommodation as most of the money earned had to be sent home, and the person thus ended up sleeping in a make-shift shelter on the streets (Tipple & Speak, 2009). To earn more money, other family members would join the main member in the city as it seemed economically viable to do so. Mosse (2012) agrees with the former evaluation, arguing that, in Western India, the poorer the family the more likely it is that its members will migrate, thus leaving only a few to sustain a rural lifestyle. However, with no sustainable and adequate housing for them, an entire family may end up on the streets, or in slums if they are ‘fortunate’.

Natural disasters and displacement: Another structural factor identified by Arup (2018) is the loss of a home or displacement due to environmental disasters or evictions. In many countries, particularly in developing countries, poor citizens are more likely than their more affluent counterparts to be impacted by environmental catastrophes and the effects of climate change, and for them such events lead to widespread home destruction and human casualties. In 2019, countries such as Bangladesh and Southern India were badly hit by Cyclone Fani, which affected more than 2.5 million people and left hundreds of thousands of people without homes (Speak, 2019). After the 2004 tsunami that rocked Indonesia, about 1.5 million people were left homeless, and many of them are still without homes today (Waterman, 2018). In April 2022, KwaZulu-Natal, which is located on the south-eastern part of South Africa, experienced days of heavy rain which led to deadly floods. This devastating disaster left approximately 40 000 people homeless, 435 people dead, an unknown number of people missing, and a large number of people displaced (Burke, 2022). Just like floods, fire is a dreaded threat in unofficial slum settlements. Fire spreads very quickly and often results in death and destruction, particularly in informal settlements where many people live in close proximity to others. According to Turok (2015), 4 000 people were left without a place to live when a fire in Masiphumelele informal settlement, Cape Town, destroyed about 1 000 dwellings. The fire resulted in the residents not only losing their shelters, but also their few possessions and the little money they had.

2.3.2.2 Individual and relational factors

The relationship between homeless people and their families: Homelessness may be caused by factors that are unique to each person and their living circumstances. In terms of individual factors that result in homelessness, the existing literature tends to highlight the negative parts of the lives of homeless youths and young adults. Many focus on a problematic upbringing and high-risk behaviours such as substance abuse, mental health issues, and delinquency. According to Bonner and Bree (2019), childhood hardship is highly correlated with homelessness among adults. Individuals who experienced any form of abuse during their childhood are at high risk of running away to escape a negative and abusive environment (Echenberg & Jensen, 2012). A study that was conducted on homeless women in inner Sydney found that the prevalence of violence in the families of origin was extraordinarily high, with 65% of women experiencing physical abuse at home (Larney, Conroy & Mills, 2019). Hyde

(2015) reported that 59% of seventy-four homeless participants had experienced physical abuse while 50% had been exposed to familial conflict.

It is apparent that there is an undeniable connection between domestic violence and homelessness. According to Statistics Canada (2016), family violence affects 237 victims per 100 000 people, and this can cause individuals and families to abruptly abandon their homes without the necessary assistance. Moreover, family violence also causes the homelessness of women and children. Women who are subjected to abuse and live in poverty frequently have to choose between being in a violent relationship or being homeless. Soken-Huberty (2021) agrees, arguing that family conflict, which is closely related to domestic violence, can easily result in homelessness. Soken-Huberty (2021) highlights that the LGBTQI+ members of the population are most likely to become homeless due to family conflict. 'Straight', powerful family members kick the individual out or make the home environment dangerous and intolerable because their gender orientation and beliefs do not allow them to be tolerant of a family member who is 'different'. True Colours Fund (2019) estimates that 1.6 million young LGBTQ+ people become homeless across the globe each year.

Substance abuse: Nooe and Patterson (2010) identify substance abuse as a major contributor to homelessness. It is largely acknowledged that a link exists between homelessness and substance abuse, even though there is substantial disagreement over the relationship between substance misuse and homelessness. Addictive disorders disrupt family and friendship relationships and often result in people losing employment (Shelton, 2019). According to a survey conducted by the US Conference of Mayors (2018), 12% of the 25 cities that were surveyed mentioned substance abuse as the main cause of homelessness among residents. According to Johnson and Fendrich (2017), two models that can be used to explore the connection between substance abuse and homelessness are the social selection and the social adaptation models. The social selection model contends that people who use substances drift into homelessness as their addiction leads to the gradual exhaustion of their social and economic resources (Johnson & Fendrich, 2017). Therefore, substance abuse places an individual at great risk of becoming homeless, as is also proposed by the social adaptation model (Johnson & Fendrich, 2017). This means that substance abuse is a means of adapting to life on the streets and may be learned as a coping strategy when homeless.

Mental illness: Previous studies have reported that there is an undeniable connection between mental illness and homelessness. Tarr (2018) notes that mental illnesses such as depression, anxiety disorder, bipolar disorder, and schizophrenia can significantly impact the ability of a person to find and maintain employment. Symptoms such as difficulty concentrating, mood fluctuations, and impaired social functioning can make it challenging to hold down a job, and unemployment then leads to financial instability and eventual homelessness. Moreover, some individuals who experience mental illness may not have access to adequate mental health services due to financial constraints, limited availability, or lack of awareness. Without proper diagnosis, treatment, and ongoing support, their symptoms can worsen, leading to a decline in their overall functioning and an increased risk of homelessness (Fazel, 2018). Mental health problems can also lead to social isolation and strained relationships with family, friends, and other support networks. This isolation can further perpetuate homelessness, as individuals may lack the social support necessary to secure housing or access resources.

2.3.2.3 Systemic factors

Although homelessness can occur as a result of individual and structural factors, systemic failures cannot be ignored as causes of homelessness. According to Homeless Hub (2013), systemic failures occur when conventional care and support systems malfunction, resulting in vulnerable people being forced to turn to the homeless sector when other mainstream services may have prevented this need. Homelessness can also occur when society and relevant institutions fail to identify and support people who are at risk of becoming homeless (Sokem-Huberty, 2021). According to Ponio (2022), lack of access to medical care can result in homelessness as countries tend to escalate their healthcare bills, thus disadvantaged people frequently go permanently in debt due to being unable to afford medical services. They end up spending their money that was supposed to pay the rent and household expenses on medical bills, thus 40% of the homeless population in Canada has become homeless as a result of this (Speak, 2019).

Furthermore, Speak (2019) adds that homelessness is highly politicised in both developing and developed countries. The institutional frameworks put in place by governments to regulate access to land and provide housing can aid or obstruct the urban poor in their pursuit of safe housing (Simbizi, Bennett & Zevenbergen, 2014). Because many governments in the developing world are currently failing to create frameworks for pro-poor development, this

leaves the poor with unequal access to land for housing (Bredenoord, van Lindert & Smets, 2014). Sadly, this situation offers politicians enough opportunities to solicit votes form the poor by promising them land, homes, a secure tenure, services, or the improvement of a settlement. These promises are more often than not broken. Even more overtly, homelessness can result as a consequence of the lack of support for immigrants and refugees and the failure of some governments to enforce citizens' (particularly women's) human, land, and property rights (Speak, 2005).

2.4 Forms of Violent Behaviours that Target Homeless People

It cannot be stressed enough that homeless people are the more at-risk group for experiencing violent behaviours and/or victimisation compared to the housed population. This group does not have homes to retreat to whenever they experience attacks or abuse (Kinsella, 2012). For the purpose of this study, violent behaviour entails "a behaviour, an act or threat of physical, verbal, or psychological aggression by any individual to another or group(s)" (Piquero, Farrington, Jennings & Diamond, 2013:12). The fact that homeless people are viewed as a marginalised group makes it difficult and challenging for them when seeking help after experiencing violent victimisation. The fact that homeless people fall outside the generally accepted victim profile and are frequently blamed for their own victimisation makes it difficult to understand the actual plight of homeless victims. The following section will explore the most prevalent types of violent behaviours experienced by homeless people.

2.4.1 Physically violent behaviour

Physically violent behaviour, sometimes referred to as physical aggression, is defined by Kaye and Erdley (2011: 11) as "a behaviour causing or threatening to cause physical harm to others". As with other forms of violent behaviours, the primary intention of the perpetrator is not only, or may not always be, to cause physical harm to the victim, but also to limit the victim's capacity for self-determination (Lebow & Brennan, 2017). Most studies argue that physical aggression is the most common type of violent behaviour experienced by homeless people, and that this form of aggression is aimed at homeless people regardless of their age, race, and gender (Mayock & Baptista, 2016; Hwang & Tepperman, 2021; Campo, 2015).

When attacked, homeless people are likely to be beaten, stabbed, kicked, or have things thrown at them. These aggressive acts are more commonly aimed at homeless people than at their

housed counterparts (North, Smith & Spitznagel, 2014). Kim (2013) conducted a qualitative research study using Twitter (now X) to find out how people viewed the homeless population. Using the Python program, the study collected 1.75 million Twitter posts containing the word 'homeless'. Of the total number of Twitter posts collected, only 6 400 were randomly selected by the researcher for further analysis. Of these 6 400 tweets, 1 250 mentioned one or some of the following: "curb stomping a hobo to death", "urinated on a homeless person to keep him warm", and "shanked a homeless person for stealing tacos" (Kim, 2013). Not only physical violence is perpetrated on the homeless, but their limited possessions are also maliciously damaged or burnt.

Sadiki (2017) conducted a study on the experiences of homeless people as victims of crime in South Africa, and more than one third of the homeless participants reported having been physically assaulted, while 10.8% stated that they had experienced grievous bodily harm. On a similar note, more than half (53.8%) of the homeless participants in Pophaim's (2019) study in the Northern Cape and Free State reported having experienced physical violence against them. These authors, as well as Novac (2006), Newburn and Rock (2014), and Evans and Forsyth (2004) support the argument that physical assault or aggression is the most common type of violent behaviour experienced by homeless people.

The Africa Journal of Nursing and Midwifery published a 2012 study from the University of KwaZulu-Natal that examined the "health-seeking experiences and behaviours of homeless people in South Central Durban. According to the findings of the study, the absence of shelters puts homeless persons in danger of physical violence. Furthermore, a study by Roebuck (2018) found that homeless men were nine times more likely to be murdered compared to men among the general population. Additionally, it has been asserted that homeless women typically endure higher rates of victimisation than homeless men, possibly as a result of their perceived physical vulnerability that makes them a more appealing target for potential offenders (Couldrey, 2010; Kushel et al., 2013).

2.4.2 Verbally violent behaviours

There is an old saying in the English language that Northall (1894) quotes that goes: "Sticks and stones may break my bones, but words will never hurt me". This means that a physical attack may injure me, but a verbal attack cannot break me. However, this is not always true,

especially for homeless people. According to a definition by Hoffman (2017:17), verbally violent behaviour, also known as verbal aggression or verbal violence, is "a form of behaviour that can cause psychological or emotional harm and involves the use of spoken, gestured, and written language that is directed towards the victim". Furthermore, verbally violent behaviour includes acts such as harassing, labelling, insulting, scolding, or excessive yelling at an individual (Rosenthal, Byerly, Taylor & Martinovich, 2018; Lawson, 2013).

Verbally violent behaviour is frequently disregarded and considered to be the least significant kind of victimisation that homeless people encounter, but such behaviour has been shown to be the most mentally devastating regardless of its frequency. The use of obscene language or the making of remarks with the intent to terrify, humiliate, demean, or diminish another person may result in mental and/or emotional distress for the victim. According to Merrill (2012), homeless people have been targets of offensive speech, threats, and insults by either the general public or medical staff when seeking medical attention. Because many homeless people reside in public spaces, homelessness is more noticeable and disruptive compared to other forms of poverty. Also, many homeless people may be visually unpleasant due to the challenges they experience when they cannot clean and groom themselves.

A study that was conducted by Jewkes and Bennett (2013) found that bullying was the most common form of verbally violent behaviour against homeless people. According to Castor's (2015:5) definition, bullying is "the use of physical, verbal, or psychological coercion to force someone to submit to the will of another and/or torment them emotionally". Williams (2017) states that, with no doors to lock and safe places to protect their belongings, homeless people usually have their sleeping blankets, or the cardboard they sleep on, ripped and torn by bullies. Addington (2022) conducted a study on bullying and homelessness and found that 42% of the homeless participants had been bullied compared to 23% of the housed participants. Furthermore, the study found that the suicide rate among homeless people who had been bullied was three times higher than that of their housed counterparts. These findings demonstrate how severe the consequences of bullying can be on homeless people.

The other most prevalent verbally violent behaviour experienced by homeless people is derogatory name-calling. The Marriam-Webster dictionary (1831) defines name-calling as "the use of offensive terms, particularly to win an argument or to cause someone or something to be rejected or condemned, without giving the situation or the facts any objective thought".

Farha (2015) states that people who are homeless are often referred to in disparaging terms such as ‘vermin’, ‘cockroaches’, and ‘pigeons’, which are associated with creatures that are irritating and should be exterminated. An international study conducted by Tipple and Speak (2014) on attitudes towards and interventions to curb homelessness found that in Peru, homeless people are referred to as ‘piranitas’, which infers that they are dangerous. In several cities and countries such as New Delhi, the USA, and Ghana, homeless people are referred to as ‘beggars’, ‘mentally ill’, ‘bums’, ‘hobos’, or ‘tramps’ (Hopkins, 2013), while in Indonesia and Bangladesh they are often called ‘tuna’. A South African study revealed that homeless people are referred to as ‘malunda’, which is an indigenous word that refers to a homeless person on the move with no real location (Tipple & Speak, 2014). However, the most commonly used name for homeless people in South Africa, particularly in cities like Cape Town, Johannesburg and Durban, is ‘iphara’, which is a word that means homeless people spend most of their time on the streets taking drugs, begging for money, and also looking and smelling like they do not shower (Maia, 2019). Homeless people experience this type of abuse because of the stigma and labels associated with their homeless status.

2.4.3 Sexually violent behaviours

Davis (2014:15) defines sexually violent behaviour as “any behaviour that is understood to be of a sexual nature which is unwanted and occurs without consent”. Sexually violent behaviours can occur in many forms, but Shange (2019) argues that one thing all forms of sexually violent behaviours have in common is that they are an effort by the perpetrator to coerce or manipulate another person into sexual acts without having expressed consent. Shange (2019:20) also states that “anyone can be a victim, just like anyone can be the abuser, regardless of race, gender, sexual orientation, socioeconomic status, religion, ability or disability status”. The sexual perpetrator tends to take advantage of stereotypes and sometimes relationships to further shame the victim into being silent and isolated.

A study by Holland (2021) found that more than a third of the homeless people had experienced sexual assault, and that more than half of the participants had reported being sexually harassed. Sexual harassment is defined by Parudi and Barickman (2021:22) as “a [form of] harassment where any form of unwanted verbal, nonverbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature occurs, with the purpose or effect of violating the dignity of a person, in particular when creating an intimidating, hostile, degrading, humiliating, or offensive environment”. The behaviours

identified by Cynthia (2019) that can be regarded as sexual harassment against homeless people include: name calling of a sexual nature; intrusive, sexually explicit questions such as asking homeless people if they engage in sexual intercourse with dirty private parts; remarks or jokes about their revealing and torn clothing, body, or sexual activities; and sexual innuendo. Sexual assault is "an act in which one intentionally sexually touches another person without their consent, or coerces or physically forces a person to engage in a sexual act against their will" (Cameron, Jelinek, Brown, Kelly & Little, 2011). Sexual assault takes many forms such as rape, attempted rape, and physical attacks. A study conducted in the USA reported that 79% of the victims of sexual assault and harassment were homeless women, while 21% were homeless men (Clarke, Goddard, Wellings, Hirve, Casanovas, Bewley, Viner, Kramer & Khadr, 2021).

Most studies argue that homeless women are more likely to experience sexually violent behaviours compared to their homeless male counterparts. Homeless women are particularly vulnerable to different forms of interpersonal victimisation, including sexual abuse by acquaintances, strangers, sex traffickers, and intimate partners while living on the streets, in unsafe housing arrangements, or in shelters (Zirkle, 2022). Risk factors for sexual violence against homeless women include, but are not limited to, substance abuse, childhood trauma, location when homeless, financial survival techniques, and mental illness. According to Dalla (2013), most homeless women have little choice but to engage in sex as an economic strategy for survival, which increases their risk of sexual abuse. Furthermore, Wenzel (2016) discovered that homeless women who panhandled or traded sex for drugs, food, or money were three times more likely to experience sexual assault and other sexually violent behaviours than their homeless counterparts who did not engage in sex trade.

Homeless people are considered suitable targets by attackers because they frequently participate in unlawful activities and, as a result, they are less likely to report being victimised or to have their claims believed by the authorities. Homeless women who have a severe mental illness are particularly vulnerable to sexual assault. In Zirkle's (2022) study, all the homeless and mentally ill participants reported experiencing violent victimisation at least once in their lives, while 28% reported at least one sexual or physical assault incident in the month before the interviews. These women had to deal with at least three types of social stigma, as they were deemed by society as people with a mental illness, people who had experienced sexual assault, and women who were poor or homeless.

According to Tyler, Hoyt, Whitbeck and Cauce (2011), the likelihood of being sexually violated while homeless tends to be higher for homeless individuals who have a history of sexual abuse. Goodman (2016) supports Tyler et al. (2011), stating that the majority of in-depth and rigorous studies on homeless individuals highlight the extremely high levels of abuse and victimisation that homeless people experience before, during, and after their periods of homelessness. According to a study by Brown and Bassuk (2017), 63% of homeless women who participated in the study reported experiencing intimate partner violence as adults, while 43% of the racially diverse sample of homeless women reported experiencing sexual abuse as children. Overall, 92% of the women reported experiencing physical and/or sexual violence at some point in their lives (Brown & Bassuk, 2017). Another study found that 13% of the homeless women had been raped more than once during their homelessness (Wenzel et al., 2010).

Although quite uncommon, it is not only women who experience sexual assault. For instance, Sadiki (2017) found that 2% of the homeless male participants in Pretoria had been sexually abused. Kushel (2013) conducted a study on the homeless and people living in inadequate housing, and found that 32% of the female, 27% of the male, and 38% of the transgender participants had experienced physical or sexual abuse in the year preceding the study.

2.4.4 Relationally aggressive behaviours

The most unobserved type of violent behaviour against homeless people is relationally aggressive behaviour. This type of behaviour entails harming or damaging the relationships or the social status of another person (McGrath, 2016). Many studies on relationally aggressive behaviour have focused on this behaviour being perpetrated by teenage girls on others, but this is not the only group that is affected by this behaviour (Gordon, 2022). Among teenage girls, this type of behaviour includes backstabbing, cyberbullying, intimidating others, making fun of others for who they are and what they wear, as well as spreading rumours or engaging in gossip.

Previous studies have portrayed homeless people as perpetrators of crime, and not victims. The stigma attached to homeless people that they are responsible for their own consequences damages the understanding of ‘homelessness’ and what it entails. Society tends to disregard the societal factors that lead to homelessness and puts more emphasis on individual factors. Jin

(2019) states that relationally aggressive behaviour against homeless people mostly manifests in media portrayals of them. The homeless have for ever been stereotyped as smelly, always intoxicated, sleeping on the streets, filthy, and drug users. The homeless are therefore frequently depicted negatively in the media as though they are less valuable than those who are not homeless (Jin, 2019). However, in their vivid news reporting and filmed photographs, the media fail to convey the fact that homelessness is a result of larger issues that society and the state have yet to address. One study found that the media frequently fixated on broad generalisations of homelessness through the lens that these problems are just a part of the status quo (Gowan, 2017). This perception is what makes people avoid the homeless they frequently come across. They are not even given a glance of recognition and they are certainly not provided with any assistance, as avoiding them has become the norm. Homeless individuals are frequently referred to as 'dangerous', yet they are simply human beings with the same rights to a decent way of life as everyone else.

2.5 Understanding the factors that prompt violence against the homeless

The victimisation vulnerability of an individual or a group is vested in their ability to avoid or prevent being victimised. Fischer (2012) argues that vulnerability attracts victimisation, and previous studies have consistently shown that homeless people experience violent victimisation at a rate that is significantly greater than that of the general population (Garland, 2014; Gaetz, 2004; Rattelade, 2014; Fazel, Khosla, Doll & Gedde, 2008; Kushel, 2003; Perron, Alexander-Eitzman, Gillespie & Pollio, 2008). Lack of housing and shelter is the most obvious cause of violent behaviours against homeless people, as those who lack adequate shelter are more likely to fall victim to violence than those who have stable and adequate housing. According to Gaetz (2016), homelessness creates an environment that is favourable for violent victimisation. Homeless people occupy the streets at all hours of the day and night (Roebuck, 2018), thus increasing the risk of victimisation. Their situation is also made worse by the lack of control over the environment, the absence of personal space, and the inability to close a door against the onslaughts of life. The homeless also have no access to a shelter where they can take precautions against violent victimisation.

As a country with one of the most well-documented and well-known stories of significant political upheaval on the planet, South Africa is historically rich with one of the most remarkable paradigm transformations as it shifted from apartheid to democracy. According to

Pophaim (2022), the effects of apartheid capitalism are still visible in many different areas of life, but arguably the most negative is how it pushed many people to the margins of society. The homeless are therefore part of the people who are burdened by the past and, as a result, they frequently face various types of difficulties. Homeless people are sometimes viewed as a "homogeneous disposable mass that has broken through social safety nets and plunged abruptly into homelessness" (Peacock & Rosenblatt, 2013:16).

2.5.1 Marginality

Lee and Schreck (2015) argue that the high incidence of violent victimisation observed among homeless people can be traced to their marginality. The term 'marginality' was first used in sociology to describe the predicament faced by immigrants and multi-ethnic people who are familiar with two cultures yet are grounded in only one. The term has evolved through time to refer to a lack of integration in a more general sense (Park, 2018). Marginal individuals are now those individuals who are perceived as 'outsiders' and are not considered complete members of society. Theories of contemporary homelessness illustrate that homeless exclusion might have both institutional and personal causes. Theorists note that those who are subsequently chosen into literal homelessness frequently exhibit the kinds of issues, such as substance abuse and mental illness, that reduce employability, erode support networks, and elicit stigmatising reactions (Koegel, Burnam & Baumohl, 2016). This is in contrast to how persistent poverty, a lack of affordable housing, economic trends, changes in welfare and mental health policies, and similar forces operating at the macro level are hypothesised to have expanded the homeless population (Rossi, 2019).

Marginality among homeless people manifests in ways that draw attention to a continual need for people to exercise control over their lives so as to not end up homeless. By definition, homeless people suffer from residential and spatial marginality as they do not have stable housing which is an important source of protection. Instead, they have to frequently carry their belongings with them and sleep where there is some semblance, or no semblance, of comfort (Snow & Mulcahy, 2011). According to Lee and Price-Spratlen (2014), homeless people typically cluster in inner-city areas, which further exposes them to victimisation. A 'skid row', which is a poor area in a city where homeless people sleep outdoors (Marriam-Webster Dictionary, 1831), and other areas where homeless people reside have 'deviant space' characteristics that attract motivated offenders but provide little guardianship (Sherman,

Gartin, & Buerger, 2019; Stark, 2017). In such environments, police officials frequently place more emphasis on preserving order than on reacting to specific complaints from the homeless. The chances of violent victimisation against homeless people are increased by the fact that they spend time on the streets during the day and the night. In this context, Fischer (2012) argues that the terms 'victimisation' and 'homelessness' are often used interchangeably because homelessness itself can be viewed as a type of structural victimisation, as society denies 'lower class people' access to the rights, protection, and resources frequently enjoyed by the rest of society.

According to Bassuk and Franklin (2012), having poor social bonds, being socially isolated and marginalised, or disconnected from society are characteristics of the homeless status, and this is reflected in most definitions of homelessness. As a result, the homeless are frequently unable to access the formal systems of social assistance that are typically readily accessible to every other member of the general public. Moreover, when it comes to the causes of homelessness, a homelessness episode might start as a result of factors connected to a broken family or being distant from one's family. Roy and Ayllon (2012) state that particular difficulties, such as mental health issues and drug and narcotic abuse disorders that are frequently experienced by homeless people, and the breakdown of familial and social bonds are typical among members of the homeless population.

Previous studies have revealed that homeless individuals who suffer from mental or physical health challenges are frequently abandoned by their family members and society at large. It is for this reason that these factors are deemed to contribute to the disruption of social bonds, implying that homeless people are forced to function in isolation. According to Dietz and Wright (2015), homeless individuals are often labelled as 'other', and this labelling typically results in the weakened or devalued social status of the homeless. It also invariably leads to unfavourable situations for the homeless where factors such as the lack of guardianship or exposure unavoidably lead to an increased risk of experiencing victimisation. Therefore, as the homeless are marginalised and treated as 'other, they lack protection against danger and abuse, and they become easy targets for people with violent intent.

2.5.2 Mental health issues

Homeless people who have mental health issues are naturally highly vulnerable to experiencing violent victimisation. Goering (2011) states that people living with mental health issues are

often a disproportionately large group among the homeless population. This is because people who are homeless are more likely to suffer from mental health issues such as severe and persistent episodes of mood swings and affective disorders. In 2017, the World Health Organisation (WHO, 2017) estimated that between 20% and 50% of homeless adults suffered from severe mental health conditions which placed them at greater risk for prolonged and repeated episodes of homelessness compared to other groups experiencing homelessness. According to Skosana (2014), over 50% of homeless people in Durban, South Africa, suffered from mental illness at the time the report was written. Skosana (2014) argued that the number could be that high as many homeless people might not have remembered the diagnosis and might not have been able to access support services, or because some had not received information about the diagnosis. A study that was published in 2010 that examined the health and well-being of homeless people in South African cities and towns reported that 45% of the children and 58% of the adults that were surveyed "reported experiencing symptoms of depression", yet only 3% of the children and 6% of the adults had actually been diagnosed with that mental condition (Piat, 2015).

Although sometimes treated as separate issues, the reality is that mental health and victimisation frequently overlap. In 2019, WHO released a report that indicated that homeless people who suffered from mental health conditions self-reported having a rate of violent victimisation that was more than three times higher than that of homeless people without mental health issues. In their analysis of mental health issues as a causal factor for increased victimisation, Lee and Schreck (2015:1057) note that mental health problems make homeless people physically frail, disabled, or confused, arguing that this increases their attractiveness as a target for violent victimisation. Mental health conditions may prevent alertness, protectiveness, and self-defence actions when one is threatened by violent behaviour. Furthermore, Lee and Schreck (2015) explain that perpetrators often victimise homeless people who suffer from mental health issues just for the fun of it as they are often aware that such people, especially those who experience psychological distress, have distorted perceptions, poor judgement, and other forms of dysfunction. These factors lessen the ability of the victim to flee or fight back when being victimised and further prevent the ability of the victim to identify risky or dangerous situations and to then respond appropriately in a way that can mitigate the risk of being victimised.

2.5.3 Bias-motivated behaviour

Bias-motivated behaviour, often referred to as hate crime, is defined by Garafolo and Martin (1993:110) as an act in which "the perpetrator appears to be motivated by characteristics, such as race, colour, nationality, religion, sexual orientation, or the social status of the victim that identifies the victim as a member of some group toward which the perpetrator feels animosity. Barker (2013) agrees, and explains that bias-motivated crimes are illegal acts intended to inflict harm on a group or an individual whose affiliation, principles, or actions are intolerable to the perpetrator. In 1999, the National Coalition for the Homeless (NCH) began documenting incidents of hate crime and violence against homeless people in an annual report. The statistics and stories in these reports demonstrate an alarming increase in violent attacks on and murders of homeless people. Joern (2018) notes that the violent attacks referred to in these NCH reports where perpetrators targeted victims because they were homeless meet the legal definition of bias-motivated or hate crimes. As homeless people are undervalued in society, they are viewed as suitable targets for bias-motivated crimes.

Generally, a person can become a victim of bias-motivated behaviour when he or she shares group characteristics that are not to the liking of the perpetrator. Usually, the perpetrator and the victim will not have any prior relationship that could give rise to a motive for the crime other than the perpetrator being biased (Summer, 2019). Grattet and Jenness (2011) identify two distinct, yet overlapping, analytical models to better explain how bias-motivated behaviour can cause violent behaviours being perpetrated against homeless people: discriminatory selection and the racial animus. Both these models hold accountable the motive behind the offender victimising a homeless person. However, these models do not punish the motive alone, as the prohibited motive must also manifest in an unlawful act committed against the victim (Mitchell, 2012). Although they are similar in some ways, the fundamental distinction between racial animus and discriminatory selection is the criteria that each model employs to determine whether or not the motivations of the offender meet the requirements for a bias-motivated behaviour.

According to Grattet and Jenness (2011), the discriminatory selection identifies bias-motivated behaviour that occurs "on the basis of the offender's discriminatory selection of the victim, regardless of why the selection was made". The discriminatory selection asserts that the perpetrator intentionally chooses the victim because of a certain characteristic which, in this case, is the homelessness of the victim. The perpetrator in this case is not driven by hate or

hostility towards a homeless person, but targets the homeless person for violent victimisation because they believe that their homeless status makes them more vulnerable and thus easy to victimise (Dobbins & Florida, 2012). This is mainly because the homeless do not have refuge to protect themselves against victimisation. Homeless people sometimes live in areas such as streets and under bridges that have no protective barriers, thus making it easy for perpetrators to victimise them. Under discriminatory selection, these actions reflect the bias motive because the perpetrator purposefully chooses the victim based on a preconceived notion about the homeless status of the victim.

Unlike the discriminatory selection, Grattet and Jenness (2011) state that racial animus puts emphasis on the reasons for the discriminatory selection of the victim. In such instances, the perpetrator's violent behaviour towards the homeless victim is motivated by animus, hatred, and hostility against homeless people (Summer, 2019). The perpetrator targets a homeless person because the latter is perceived as worthless and deserving of being violently victimised. Most perpetrators of violent behaviour against homeless people tend to be hostile towards the homeless because they believe homeless people are to blame for their condition and circumstances (Depastino, 2013). The animosity and hostility the perpetrator feels are mostly fuelled by the perception that homeless people choose to live as social outcasts and fail to fit in with cultural norms. For this reason, the perpetrator sees homeless people as worthy of scorn and victimisation. Under the racial animus, these acts reflect bias-motive because the perpetrator selects the homeless victim mainly because of the animus, or hostility, towards homeless people (Grattets & Jenness, 2011).

Bias-motivated behaviour against the homeless is often perpetrated by a variety of people, with the most prevalent group being housed people and supremacists who believe that they should have more influence and are more powerful than those who are homeless (Mock, 2017). However, the most upsetting of these bias-motivated behaviours, and the ones that receive most media attention, are those that thrill-seeking teenagers commit against the homeless. Thrill-seeking offenders often commit criminal and/or violent acts out of boredom, in the quest for a psychological thrill, or because of the desire to impress his or her peers (Manganyi, 2014). Thrill-seekers may be motivated to select a homeless victim because of their homeless status, but also because they believe that homeless people are vulnerable, deserving of humiliation, or that the chances of being caught are minimal as the victim is homeless (Prather, 2010).

In the USA, a surveillance camera was active on 12 January 2016 and captured two teenagers beating a homeless man in an unprovoked attack in Fort Lauderdale, Florida (Macollvie, 2016). The victim, later identified as Jacques Pierre, is seen in the footage attempting to protect himself while his attackers hit him with baseball bats. The attack of Jacques Pierre followed two other violent attacks committed against homeless people that same night by three teenagers acting in a group (Fantz, 2017). Two homeless males, including Jacques Pierre, were hospitalised as a result of these attacks, and Norris Gaynor, another homeless victim, died (Macollvie, 2016). Following the assaults, the Fort Lauderdale footage quickly went viral on national media, provoking outrage from the public and attracting legislative attention to what appeared to be attacks on the homeless for no other reason than 'sport'.

In South Africa, in an area known as Muckleneuck which is situated in the City of Tshwane, five bodies of homeless people were found in June 2019 (Mitchley, 2019). These were the bodies of homeless people who had lived on the streets in Tshwane. These murders resulted in other homeless people living in utter fear of further retaliation, as it had been reported that there might be a serial killer on the loose targeting homeless people (Mawela, 2019). Although no one has been arrested for these murders to date, the Gauteng SAPS reported that they believed that the perpetrator had been driven by hate against homeless people (Mitchley, 2019). This is the highest number of murders recorded for the murder of homeless people in the country over a short period of time.

2.5.4 Stigma and attitude

The stigma attached to homeless people and the negative attitudes held by society against them are often viewed as an extension of bias-motivated behaviour. Sadiki (2016) states that when studying both criminology and victimology, the attitude of the perpetrator towards the victim is an important consideration, although it is usually overlooked in investigations. Attitudes frequently play a vital role in the victimisation and the decision-making process when choosing an appropriate or attractive target. Pophaim (2019) states that this is largely due to the fact that the victim of choice is typically determined by the perpetrator's view of and attitude towards that specific victim. Factors such as appeal, susceptibility, and appropriateness are rarely unbiased nor absolute, and their significance as selection criteria for a particular victim depends on the personal view of the potential offender about what constitutes an attractive, vulnerable, and suitable victim. Additionally, by redefining and rationalising the victimising behaviour,

the offender is able to overcome any internal limitations, protect his or her self-image, and prevent a post victimisation feeling of guilt (Fattah, 2012).

It can be argued that the attitude of the general public towards the homeless population is often negative as people who are homeless are typically negatively labelled because of their social standing (Alam & Akter, 2015). Torn clothing, weathered skin, and shopping carts have become symbols for public disdain. Therefore, most members of the general public are unwilling to engage in any sort of social engagement with homeless people. Dennis (2017) postulates that this attitude is typically prompted by a weakened set of cultural beliefs that perpetrators adhere to. Frequently, perpetrators believe that homeless people are themselves perpetrators of crime and not victims, thus they should be punished. Similarly, the way society views the homeless and the quality of the services they receive when in need of help are typically affected by the poor portrayal of them in the media (Marshall & Bhurga, 2016). According to Harriss-White (2002:12), violent behaviour against the homeless is triggered by the following:

> "…the fear of criminality – particularly of theft and of the consequences of addiction. It involves views on 'idleness' and lack of work, the stigmatisation of occupations as physically dirty, anti-social and illegal (such as drug dealing), and notions of ugliness and of destitution as a challenge to modernity."

According to Goffman (2016:3), stigma is socially defined as "deeply discrediting, ruining the identity of a person and preventing them from receiving full social acceptance". Stigma thus includes both extremely negative judgments of the targeted individual and social rejection of that individual. Similarly, Pagán (2021) adds that the perception that all homeless people are dangerous is dangerous itself. The notion that every person experiencing homelessness *must have* a criminal history or *must be* dangerous is damaging to how homeless families and individuals are viewed by the general public.

A study by Vitelli (2021) on stigma and the health of homeless people found that there were certain perceptions that paved the way for the commission of violent behaviours against homeless people. A quarter of the study participants reported experiencing harsh words from the general public simply because they were deemed "dirty and unhygienic" (Vitelli, 2021:115). The homeless people felt they were the target of jokes and harmful words directed at them because of their "lack of hygiene [and] undesirable body odour", and often they were exposed to "disgracing behaviour" as others would urinate or defecating in their vicinity.

Furthermore, 17% reported being violently assaulted because the perpetrators told them they were already "socially deviant" (Kim, Hiller, Lin, Hildebrand & Auerswald, 2022). This was particularly true for panhandlers who were frequently perceived as 'scam artists' who either pretended to be homeless or begged for money to spend on drink or drugs rather than food.

A study conducted by Meinbresse Brinkley-Rubinstein, Grassette, and Benson (2014) on public beliefs about homeless people found that more than half (54%) of the participants viewed homeless people as threatening, violent, and/or engaged in criminal behaviour. Most of these participants shared stories about the 'aggressive panhandling' and other unusual behaviour of the homeless that 'normal' people found intimidating. It was never mentioned by any of the participants that homeless people could also be victims of violent acts. Perhaps most of the views and beliefs about homeless people among the general public stem from the lingering perception that they are lazy and deserve to be homeless. Previous research has identified that the general public hold the notion that a homeless status is the result of the person's own bad behaviour (Hall, Hamilton, Malott & Jenkins, 2014; Vitelli, 2021). The 'bad behaviour' referred to by the researchers most likely includes frequent substance abuse, refusal to return home, refusal to seek treatment for their mental illness, or belonging to stigmatised groups such as sex workers or visible minorities.

The stigma identified by previous researchers has negative consequences for the homeless as it clouds the judgement of society about the homeless population and renders the homeless vulnerable to violent and aggressive behaviours against them by the general public. This can be attributed to the perception that homeless people are undeserving of contact with 'normal' citizens and deserving of victimisation as they created their own circumstances (Kushel, Evans, Perry, Robertson, & Moss, 2013).

2.5.5 Criminalisation of the homeless

To address the issue of the aesthetics of inner-city areas and the quality of life, the citizens of most countries expect law enforcement and the criminal justice system to ensure the pristine nature of cities, streets, and parks. However, criminalisation policies do not address the underlying issues that lead to homelessness, but they do use up a lot of cities' resources and increase the discomfort of the homeless (Joern, 2019). Policies that address homelessness and make actions necessary to remove the homeless from the streets feed the myth that those who are homeless are criminals who should be punished and are unworthy of protection. Homeless

people are criminalised for trying to survive, therefore homeless-related actions such as panhandling; sleeping, eating, and standing in public spaces; soliciting alms; vagrancy; and loitering have been made illegal (Fisher, Miller, Walter & Selbin, 2015; Weisberg, 2005). By-laws encourage a cycle of structural violence and social injustice that results in unfavourable judgments of those who are homeless and elicits an overall lack of sympathy and drive to invest in housing and other systemic solutions to curb persistent homelessness. For instance, international public space regulations propose designs (such as park benches with bars to prohibit reclining) that make homeless persons more 'visible' and subject them to victimisation (Pophaim, 2019). The degree of the enforcement of municipal by-laws differs from municipality to municipality, but one of the objectives of such laws is to create 'sanitized' public areas in the name of security (Killander, 2019). These laws are deemed appealing by a significant portion of the general public as they were motivated by concerns about general public health, crime and safety, the economic impact of homelessness on commercial interests, and concerns about aesthetics and the sustainability of a general quality of life (Foscarinis, Cunningham-Bowers & Brown, 2009). Tourism is also a primary motivator for keeping the homeless away from popular spaces as local shop owners, chambers of commerce, tourism officials, and other business owners resent the presence of homeless people in their commercial districts and see them as a danger to their business interests (Culhane, 2010).

Moreover, researchers have argued that policing homeless people through the enforcement of laws leads to their constant circulation through jail facilities, and this makes it difficult for them to obtain employment or receive job training (Gatez, 2014). Most significantly, it makes homeless individuals feel disrespected, disliked, and largely alienated from the larger society. It is also important to understand that one of the consequences of controlling the lives of homeless people (such as where they should or should not sleep, where they can or cannot sit, and whether they can or cannot occupy public or semi-public places) is that they are frequently forced out of safe areas in a city and located where they may be in danger and have little control over their interactions with others (Novac, 2007). It is a reality that homeless people are constantly exposed to potential offenders who mean them harm, whether they are working, resting, or engaging in social activities.

Furthermore, society wants to protect itself against vagrants. The Oxford Dictionary (1989) defines a vagrant as "a person without a settled home or regular work who wanders from place to place and lives by begging". Vagrants who are trying to make a living in public spaces are

considered a threat and a danger to society (Killander, 2019). Such people are frequently accused of stealing, causing traffic delays and accidents, spreading illness across cities, and generally being a public nuisance. Some even believe that they have reason to commit violence against the homeless to "purge the world of the particular evil" that they believe homeless people are a part of, while also honouring the call of their own norms and beliefs in the process (Naidoo, 2016:40). Additionally, most perpetrators of violence against homeless people tend to initiate violent attacks as a justification for self-defence and with the mentality of "getting them before they get us" (Alam & Akter, 2015). However, in this regard, research has shown that it is highly unlikely that homeless people will initiate an attack that could support the statement of "getting them before they get us".

2.5.5.1 eThekwini Municipality by-laws

The eThekwini Municipality adopted the Nuisances and Behaviour in Public Places by-laws in 2015. These bylaws, which are enforced by the eThekwini Municipality through the Metropolitan Police, are designed to control 'anti-social behaviour' by prohibiting and punishing such behaviour (Memeza, 2018). These by-laws criminalise anti-social behaviour using terms such as 'loitering' and 'begging'. Beach by-laws further criminalise begging as well as sleeping in a public space (Holness, 2021). These laws frequently criminalise homelessness without using the terms 'homeless' or 'housing', yet when homeless persons break the rules, they frequently face unconstitutional arrests based on their living situation rather than actions that are criminal in nature. Such actions by the eThekwini Municipality clearly violate the rights of its homeless population and further create possibilities for violent behaviours to be perpetrated against homeless people and other marginalised groups. Homeless people are usually violently removed and abused before and after the holiday season and during clean-up operations before major international events (Hills, Meyer-Weitz & Oppong Asante, 2016). This paints a negative picture and motivates the general public to think that homeless people are not needed in society as they are 'dirty' and are deserving of being violently victimised. Despite any claims to the contrary, these strategies reveal anti-poor attitudes on the side of the municipality.

2.5.5.2 The City of Cape Town by-laws

The City of Cape Town, like other municipalities across the country, is granted constitutional authority to enact and enforce laws necessary for the efficient administration of its affairs, as outlined in section 156 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 (Ballard,

Burton, Edward, Grossar & Sali, 2021). However, the presence and enforcement of numerous laws criminalizing activities vital for sustaining life and striving for a dignified existence are now being questioned and may face legal challenges. Local governments have implemented measures aimed at criminalizing poverty and homelessness, often through the introduction of by-laws targeting what are broadly termed as 'petty offences'. These measures involve the creation and enforcement of laws intended to prevent the occupation of public spaces and the undertaking of certain activities in those spaces (African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights, 2017). These laws typically stipulate fines, imprisonment, or both as penalties for violations. In 2019, the City of Cape Town's decision to issue fines to homeless individuals for occupying communal areas sparked public outrage, highlighting the complex issues at the intersection of criminal justice, poverty, and development (Ballard et al., 2021). This move reignited opposition from civil society groups and other stakeholders against the coordinated use of criminal sanctions on vulnerable populations for actions essential to their survival in the City of Cape Town.

2.5.5.3 The City of Tshwane response to homelessness

The district and local government authorities bear the primary responsibility for safeguarding the rights of all citizens as outlined in the South African Constitution, including those of homeless individuals. The nation has instituted policies aimed at permanently reducing homelessness. The City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality (CoTMM) is actively engaged in efforts to significantly diminish homelessness (Netshipale, 2018). This involves reviewing existing homeless policies and collaborating with stakeholders like the University of Pretoria, University of South Africa, and the Tshwane Homeless Forum in initiatives like the 'Pathways Out of Homelessness' (Netshipale, 2018). These efforts include hosting summits, conducting research, reviewing policies, and implementing strategies to eliminate street homelessness in the CoT. Since 2010, the CoTMM has implemented a homeless policy designed to formalize programs that support and stabilize the homeless population, promote their income-generating potential, and ensure effective implementation of comprehensive measures to address homelessness (Erasmus & du Toit, 2015). Social workers within the municipality are tasked with providing services aimed at helping homeless individuals survive by addressing their various needs, such as housing insecurity (Erasmus & du Toit, 2015).

2.5.5.4 The perpetrators of violence against homeless people

Unsurprisingly, those who perpetrate violent behaviours against homeless people tend to be members of the general public who, in most cases, are motivated by their negative attitude towards the homeless. According to the National Coalition of the Homeless (2014), it is most common for perpetrators of violent behaviour against homeless people to be young men under the age of 30 years. Nel and Breen (2013) support the notion that men younger than 30 years are typically in the process of coming to terms with who they are, and they take advantage of every opportunity to display their strength and masculinity. As a result, some of these young individuals might wish to accept a challenge from their peers to gain their respect, and they typically engage in thrill-seeking behaviours such victimising vulnerable groups for fun and to alleviate boredom (Naidoo, 2016).

Violent victimisation against homeless people is also likely to be perpetrated by business owners. Studies have found that business owners tend to use violence when homeless people panhandle or beg, sleep, or sit near their establishments because their 'dirty appearance' gives the business a bad name and chases customers away (Fengu, 2016). According to Fengu (2016), one homeless participant reported to have been violently assaulted with his own crutches by a restaurant owner after the participant had been begging for money near a restaurant in Sea Point, Cape Town. In addition, homeless people also claimed that they had experienced violent victimisation at the hands of members of the SAPS, the Durban Metropolitan Police, and private security guards hired by the municipality (Mahlangu, 2021), and this reality should not go unnoticed. According to Asmal (2020), a participant claimed that he had been shot unprovoked by a security guard at the Durban Berea Station, while two other homeless people had been killed the same night of the attack. According to Ntseku (2021), Cape Town Central City Improvement District (CCID) safety and security guards are also notorious for manhandling and assaulting homeless people.

Homeless people who live on the streets are generally able to differentiate between the actions of SAPS members whom they perceive to be reasonable, and those who are not. The majority of homeless people believe that the police pay them too much attention and that it is unfair that they are approached, searched, ordered to 'move on', and charged more frequently by the police than members of the general public (Gaetz & O'Grady, 2020). Research by Gaetz and O'Grady (2020) found that 49% of the homeless participants in their study referred to police harassment and misconduct. The data further revealed that homeless participants had been exposed to

different forms of ‘assault’ by the police, ranging from activities such as being beaten up on the street, being detained, and being verbally assaulted and threatened. A female participant who was a sex worker reported that an off-duty police officer had threatened to “take [her] down to the station unless she performed sexual favours” for him (Gaetz & O’Grady, 2020). The participants also claimed that the police treated them unfairly and differently from the general public, whether they were under investigation for a crime or just loitering in an area minding their own business.

Other unsettling stories of police misbehaviour included claims that they had seized property when homeless people had not even been charged with a crime. According to Bradpiece (2021), homeless people in Cape Town reported that SAPS members had seized their clothing, sleeping bags, dentures, and even the materials that they use to make jewellery to sell for a living. The participants further claimed that city officials tended to repeatedly remove the cardboard and plastic sheeting they used as protection against the elements in the dead of night.

2.6 The Impact of Violent Behaviours on Homeless People

Every action has consequences, whether negative or positive, thus every action against a homeless individual will affect the victim (Bruce, 2011). The next section will analyse the effects that violent behaviours have on homeless people as revealed by previous researchers.

2.6.1 Physical effects

According to Wallace (2018), physical injury is one of the most common and noticeable effects of violent victimisation against homeless people. These physical effects have been studied more extensively compared to psychological effects, with research on the latter area only becoming more intense over the past two or three decades (Rivara, Adhia, Lyons, Massey, Mills, Morgan, Simckes & Rowhani-Rahbar, 2019). Previous research has shown that physical injuries occur as a result of physical attacks and sometimes sexually violent behaviour. Wallace (2018) argues that physical effects are not only easily noticeable, but also easier to treat than psychological harm.

Basile, Jones and Smith (2021) note that physical effects on a homeless victim, or any victim, could be either short- or long-term. Short-term physical effects of violent victimisation can occur as minor injuries or severe conditions. Homeless people reported suffering bruises, cuts, broken bones, and damage to organs and other parts inside the body (Novac, 2016). According

to Basile et al. (2021), the latter injuries are difficult to detect without scans, X-rays, or tests run by a medical doctor or a nurse. When such injuries are suffered, they incur medical bills that the homeless people cannot not afford. Furthermore, homeless people are at an increased risk of contracting infectious diseases, mostly as a result of sexually violent behaviours (Novac, 2016). Sexual assaults such as rape may put the homeless victim at risk of being infected with HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases (STDs), sexually transmitted infections (STIs), vaginal bleeding or pelvic pain, and/or even unwanted pregnancy (Modi, Palmer & Armstrong, 2014). These effects may worsen due to a compromised immune system, poor nutrition and hygiene, and lack of finances to access medical attention (Modi et al., 2014).

Long-term physical effects of violent victimisation often manifest physiologically. Homeless participants in a study conducted by the Centre for Disease Control and Prevention (2015) reported suffering from painful joints, ligaments, and tendons due to prolonged homelessness and violent victimisation. Furthermore, it happened in some instances that physical assaults left homeless persons physically disabled. In a study by Delara (2017), two participants were in wheelchairs as a result of physical attacks. A study on managing chronic pain among homeless people found that treating this chronic condition was difficult because of their stressful lives on the streets or in shelters, their inability to acquire prescription medications, and their uncomfortable sleeping arrangements (Hwang, Wilkins, Chambers, Estrabillo, Berends & MacDonalds, 2011). The latter study revealed that homeless people used drugs or alcohol to cope with their pain and, because they had a history of missing visits and/or using drugs, doctors were reluctant to prescribe over-the-counter pain relievers. When this happens, cases of chronic pain go untreated among the homeless population.

Homeless people usually run a significantly higher risk of early death than their housed counterparts. According to Woolley (2021), intentional and unintentional physical injuries are identified as the leading cause of morbidity and mortality among homeless people, especially homeless men. Morbidity is defined as a state of having a specific illness or condition, whereas mortality refers to the number of deaths that have occurred as a result of a specific illness or condition (Seladi-Schulman, 2020). Homeless people often incur unintentional injuries when they fall or are struck by motor vehicles. Woolley (2021) further states that it is also common for homeless people to die due to an unintentional overdose of drugs, alcohol, or both. Being homeless also puts people at risk of physical effects caused by inclement weather conditions. In cold weather, homeless people are vulnerable to frostbite and hypothermia and deaths occur

due to freezing, and in excessively hot weather, homeless people can suffer from severe sunburn and heatstroke (Homeless Hub, 2015).

Intentional injuries caused by violent assaults also result in the death of homeless people. A survey that was conducted in Toronto discovered that 21% of homeless women had been raped and 40% of homeless men had been physically assaulted (Hardill & Crowe, 2013). This study concluded that homeless men were approximately nine times more likely to be murdered compared to their housed counterparts. Additionally, injuries caused by physical attacks such as stabbing, bludgeoning, and assault with a heavy weapon also caused the death of homeless people (Rivara et al., 2019).

2.6.2 Psychological effects

Robinson, Smith, and Segal (2021:250) define a psychological effect "as an effect of an incident, event, or occurrence on the mental or emotional state of individuals or groups resulting in a change in perception and/or behaviour". Although psychological effects are often used interchangeably with emotional effects due to their almost similar characteristics (Daskas, 2020), psychological effects focus on the mind and its health, whereas the latter can be seen as the result of adverse psychological experiences (Ferguson, 2015).

The experiences of victims due to violent behaviours may not be the same, therefore the way in which they respond to violent victimisation may also vary greatly depending on the characteristics of the victim. No matter how it manifests, violent victimisation can cause victims to experience both short- and long-term psychological distress (Verdun-Jones & Rossiter, 2010:611). According to Verdun-Jones and Rossiter (2010:618), the characteristics of individual victims that affect their psychological reactions to violent victimisation include both structural factors, such as gender, age, race, sexual orientation, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status, and individual factors, such as prior victimisation and traumatic experiences, underlying mental illness, and the availability of social support systems. Pophaim (2019) mentions that the socioeconomic status of an individual is a structural factor that can influence how violent victimisation affects the victim psychologically. Socioeconomic status is a condition that determines the educational attainment, employment status, and level of income of an individual. Individuals with low socioeconomic status, which is associated with unemployment, may face chronic or episodic poverty and homelessness, which are factors that

increase the risk of victimisation and psychological distress following an experience of victimisation (Pophaim, 2019; Verdun-Jones & Rossiter, 2010:620).

Because homeless people generally have a very low socioeconomic status, they fall into the population group that has the highest reported levels of fear and stress after violent victimisation (Yunus, Hairi & Choo, 2019). The increased risks of experiencing fear and anxiety reactions, suicidal thoughts, and suicide attempts are other possible psychological side effects of experiencing violent behaviours (Morgan & Truman, 2017). Furthermore, following violent victimisation, homeless people are highly likely to suffer from schizophrenia and mood disorders such as bipolarity, post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), and panic disorders (North, Smith & Spitznagel, 1994; Sundin & Baguley, 2014). Homeless victims of violent behaviours also tend to resort to the abuse of alcohol and other substances as a coping mechanism when dealing with the psychological effects of violence against them (Wallace, 2018), and the abuse of substances tends to exacerbate the already present or newly developed challenges they have to deal with.

An individual-level factor that has a significant impact on how the victim responds psychologically to violent victimisation is the experience of prior trauma. Homelessness is a traumatic experience in itself and the sudden loss of a home and having to adjust to a new environment take their toll (Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, 2022). Some traumatic events for homeless people include earlier events such as childhood abuse, incarceration, or job loss (Lee & Schreck, 2015). These events were naturally very upsetting; thus, the victim will react negatively when memories of them are triggered in a traumatic way. Structural variables, such as violent victimisation and the hardships experienced while on the streets, also tend to trigger psychological challenges and may elevate depression and PTSD (Lee & Schreck, 2015).

2.6.3 Emotional effects

Not all violent attacks result in physical injuries, but many can leave emotional scars. The American Psychological Association (APA:860) dictionary defines an emotional effect as “any experience of feeling or emotion, ranging from suffering to elation, from the simplest to the most complex sensations of feeling, and from the most normal to the most pathological emotional reactions”. Emotions are mental states caused by neurophysiological changes that

are variously linked to thoughts, sensations, behavioural reactions, and the level of pleasure or displeasure a person experiences (Schacter, Gilbert & Wegner, 2011).

Violent victimisation will likely leave a homeless victim feeling depressed and suffering from a low self-esteem (Moyer-Gusé, Giles & Linz, 2018). Self-esteem is the belief and confidence in one's own worth and abilities. However, a low self-esteem in homeless people can be the result of rejection and discrimination by society based on their perceived characteristics that set them apart from the general public. Jones (2013) asserts that verbally violent behaviour is the most common trigger that causes a victim to question their self-worth and abilities. This is because verbally violent behaviours usually occur in the form of derogatory terms that may be damaging to the victim's self-confidence.

According to a study by the General Social Survey (2014), the most prevalent emotions that were evoked in homeless people by violent attacks included being angry with oneself and at the situation (32%); being upset, confused, and frustrated (20%); feelings of fear (28%); and being more cautious and aware (9%). A report by the National Health Services (2022) states that violent victimisation deprives victims of their sense of security and control over their lives. This may leave victims feeling uncertain about many aspects of their lives, which in turn may evoke feelings of irritability, anger, and fright. Petroski, Blair, Betz, Fowler, Jack and Lyons (2017) argue that the experience of violent victimisation tends to leave the victim feeling worried and fearful that the experience might repeat itself. Victims should therefore seek professional help and advice to heal. Unfortunately, homeless people do not have the financial means to approach professionals to help them deal with these feelings, and thus their suffering is prolonged and untreated.

2.7 The Interaction of Homeless People with the Criminal Justice System

2.7.1 Homeless people's complicity in criminal behaviours

In terms of the legal consequences homeless people face, the criminal behaviour of some is a main concern. According to Hermer (2016), most homeless people are unlikely to report violent victimisation against them to the police. Wright (2015) argues that homeless people do not report such cases because they are hardly acknowledged by the criminal justice system, and they often experience secondary victimisation by the system that is supposed to protect them and help them fight for justice. Simpson (2015) argues that homeless people's lack of knowledge about their legal rights, their refusal to regard themselves as victims, the challenges

experienced in obtaining reliable evidence and witnesses, and their lack of trust in the criminal justice system are all contributory factors that prevent them from engaging with the criminal justice system (Killander, 2019; Hermer, 2016).

A study conducted by Gaetz (2012) found that homeless people were unlikely to tell anyone about their experience of violent victimisation, while only a few reported the incident to the police. Most homeless people stated that they were reluctant to report their experience to the SAPS because they felt that the incident was nothing major to worry about, or that there was obviously nothing that the police would do about it (Msimango, 2015). In some instances, homeless people did not want to report their experience to the police as they had been engaged in an unlawful activity at the time of the victimisation. As a matter of fact, it has been argued that criminalising activities such as panhandling, squeegeeing, or prostitution puts those who engage in them at risk of assault and abuse (Baron & Hartnagel, 2018). Potential offenders therefore consider perpetrating robberies or acts of violence against panhandlers, squeegees, and prostitutes because they know that the victim will most likely not involve the police.

It is not surprising that homeless people are far more likely to engage in illicit behaviours than the general public (Daly, 2016). This needs to be understood because homeless people are compelled to partake in legal and illegal activities in order to obtain money for survival and to satisfy their immediate requirement for food and shelter (Daly, 2016). However, this has the unavoidable effect that many homeless people get involved in the criminal justice system. For instance, Hagan (2020) found that homeless participants had engaged in a series of violent and non-violent activities that revealed a high prevalence of criminal behaviour. It is interesting to note that when it comes to violent behaviours, the homeless are more likely to admit to punching someone in self-defence than to admit that it occurred as a result of aggression. Prior engagement with law enforcement was also identified as a significant reason why homeless people tended not to report their experience of victimisation to the police, and they also feared being arrested for their use of illicit substances (Hermer, 2016).

An important question is why a group of people who are so vulnerable to criminal attacks against them are so unwilling to contact the police. McCarthy and Hagan (2017) conducted a survey to compare the attitude of homeless people and the general public towards the police. The data demonstrated that homeless people exhibited a significant level of alienation from the police and gave their performance a negative rating, which is very compelling when compared to the data from the general public. Although slightly more pessimistic than adults, young

people from the general public reported a positive attitude towards the police and believed they performed a decent job. A study by Pophaim (2019) reported that 29.4% of its participants had positive experiences with the SAPS when reporting cases of victimisation, whereas 41.2% reported negative experiences as they had been ill-treated by police officials and had been blamed for the victimisation they had experienced. Evidently, homeless people have little confidence in the work that the police do and in how the police treat them personally. This has a significant impact on how they perceive their personal level of safety, how they protect themselves, how they trust the South African judicial system, and how they deal with the police. This attitude also impacts whether, where, and how homeless people seek justice for crimes committed against them.

2.7.2 Secondary victimisation

Studies have suggested that homeless people encounter a wide range of difficulties when trying to report their experiences of violent victimisation to the police. When homeless people report a crime to the police, interact with criminal justice professionals, or seek medical attention after being injured, they are frequently labelled as 'criminals' and experience secondary victimisation or 'victim-blaming' (Newborn & Rock, 2014). Because the homeless victim is typically seen as someone who 'asked for it', there appears to be a perception among the homeless that the police will not act on crime reports submitted by them (Newburn & Rock, 2014; Scurfield et al., 2014). Secondary victimisation occurs when the victim sustains additional harm as a result of how institutions and people treat them as a direct result of the criminal act perpetrated against them. For instance, repeated exposure to the perpetrator, repeated questioning to confirm the same facts, and the use of inappropriate language or insensitive remarks by everyone who comes into contact with the homeless victim result in secondary victimisation.

In addition to their direct experiences of violent victimisation, homeless people are also exposed to insensitive, disrespectful, or harsh treatment by criminal justice officials, which results in additional distress for these victims (Bruce, 2013). The unfavourable treatment by SAPS officials, prosecutors, magistrates, or other authorities connected to the criminal justice system often leads to the severe secondary victimisation suffered by homeless people. Hence, the opinions of homeless victims regarding formal assistance measures are typically impacted by the likelihood of experiencing secondary victimisation (Pophaim, 2019). Most homeless people have little to no faith in the police and typically believe that the police discriminate

against those who are homeless. The negative and prejudicial attitude of criminal justice officials therefore play a role in the secondary victimisation of homeless victims. These decision-makers tend to undervalue hate victimisation, ignore these people's rights, and occasionally overtly discriminate against victims of hate crimes in the criminal justice system (Nel & Breen, 2013:247).

Additional to the considerable obstacles that homeless victims face when they attempt to report violent victimisation against them, there is a lack of legislative action implemented in South Africa with regard to homeless victimisation. This means that homeless people are not aware of their legal rights, are not willing to be identified as 'victims', cannot distinguish between occurrences that are classified as crimes, and often feel worthless and ignored. Many cannot produce witnesses and evidence, are exposed to cultural prohibitions against 'grassing', and have a general lack of faith in the criminal justice system (Sadiki, 2017). Despite various zero-tolerance laws that criminalise homelessness, such as the by-laws in eThekwini that prohibit begging and rough sleeping, victimisation against the homeless is not given priority. The fear of prosecution among homeless people is fuelled by the fact that they commit violations like loitering, disorderly conduct, and public intoxication, which are commonly criminalised in many societies (Scurfield et al., 2014). The prevalence of such behaviours not only exacerbates the stigma associated with homelessness, but also influences how the police, local governments, and the criminal justice system approach homeless people.

2.7.3 Lack of policy intervention to curb homeless victimisation in South Africa

Homeless people are at significant risk of being victimised, yet much of this victimisation is invisible. As indicated above, the violent victimisation of homeless individuals continues to receive little attention by policymakers and academics, despite the fact that numerous studies have shown that those who are homeless experience a disproportionate amount of victimisation (Newburn & Rock, 2014). The shortage of adequate housing in South Africa is evident in the continued prevalence of informal settlements, shacks, hostels, land-building invasions, and inner-city slums (Olufemi & Reeves, 2004). Moreover, economic and political forces continue to support this manifestation of the housing crisis by doing nothing. Instead of focusing on the needs of the homeless living on the streets, efforts by the South African government are being made to improve the conditions of shack dwellers in informal settlements by delivering houses and providing housing systems (Marutlulle, 2021). This ignores the plight of homeless people living on the streets and makes them more vulnerable to violent victimisation.

It is widely believed that the victimisation of homeless people is motivated by bias. Although South Africa has laws that specifically address discrimination, such as the Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act (PEPDUA) and Section 9 of the Constitution, experts contend that the current legal system is ineffective in combating crimes motivated by bias and prejudice (Nel & Breen, 2011). A key issue to be considered when developing bias crime law is which qualities, such as race, nationality, ethnicity, religion, and sexual orientation, must be protected (Shively, 2015). In various countries, these qualities are protected by specific bias or hate crime legislation. Al-Hakim (2015) notes that some regions in the United States have taken this a step further by adding homelessness to the list of situations covered by hate crime laws.

Homeless people should be treated the same as other vulnerable groups that already get protection by law. In South Africa, the victimisation of foreign nationals is one of the most recognised bias crime categories, thus current perceptions of the victimisation of foreign nationals should be equated to the situation of the homeless population (Nel & Breen, 2013:240). However, Pophaim (2019) contends that prior to even considering the inclusion of homeless people under bias crime legislation, a study on the nature of homeless victimisation in the South African context is still desperately needed because the majority of this argument is still based on speculation.

The following argument by Al-Hakim (2015) has influenced efforts to include homeless victimisation in international hate crime legislation, and it should also apply to the South African context:

> "It has been found that relatively little research has been done on the homeless, least of all research that was theoretically nuanced and methodologically compelling. Although more research is now surfacing, much of which confirms poor intuitions about the disproportionate victimisation of the homeless both in absolute and relative terms, less attention has been given to the relationship between hate crime legislation and the homeless."

The term 'disadvantaged' is also used by Al-Hakim (2015:114) as it refers to people who are "disproportionately vulnerable to a wide and serious range of socially and politically produced harms due to historical, systemic, group-based oppression". With its history of apartheid, South Africa has a lot of politically disadvantaged sub-groups, and adapting this word to the South African context is logical. People who are homeless can and should be viewed as 'disadvantaged' in terms of their standing in society. Additionally, international innovators in

bias crimes against the homeless have used the word ‘disadvantaged’ to support the inclusion of homelessness in its hate crime category (North, Smith & Spitznagel, 2014). Therefore, in order to advance a comparable movement and secure better protection for the homeless population in South Africa, it may be beneficial to start with the existing strategy that is employed by international jurisdictions.

Most studies widely agree that adequate housing can help alleviate the violent victimisation of homeless people (Cross, 2010). The right to adequate housing is commonly acknowledged as one of the most basic and significant human rights. Section 26 of the Constitutional Bill of Rights in South Africa affirms that everyone has the right to access decent housing (Sadiki, 2016). According to the Constitution, it is the responsibility of the state to use practicable legislative and other methods, within the limits of its resources, to bring about the progressive realization of this right (Sadiki, 2017). Therefore, the South African government has developed several policies to make sure that they achieve the implementation of this right for its citizens. Such policies include the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) of 1994, the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) initiative of 1994, the Housing Act No. 107 of 1997, and the Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative - South Africa (ASGI-SA) of 2005. Yet not all homeless people living on the streets have been attracted by efforts to provide access to housing (Cross & Seager, 2010). Nevertheless, it is believed that homeless people are not eligible for such assistance as they do not possess identity documents and a permanent or rental residential address.

2.8 Conclusion

Based on an intensive review of current relevant literature, it may be concluded that homeless people are at greater risk of experiencing violent victimisation compared to the general public. Furthermore, violent behaviours against homeless people are not only physical, but psychological as well. This means that there are verbal and relational behaviours that cannot be seen by the naked eye, but that can have severe effects on homeless victims. The review also has also affirmed that homeless people are at increased risk of secondary victimisation when reporting their cases of victimisation to the SAPS and also upon seeking medical assistance in hospitals and clinics. Homeless people are therefore reluctant to report incidences of victimisation against them to the SAPS. The lack of legislative policies that advocate for retribution and restitution due to homeless victimisation is a challenge that hinders the level of

understanding of the victimisation of the many homeless people in South Africa in general, and the homeless people in the study area in particular.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

According to Vinz and George (2022:54), a theoretical framework in scholarly research is “a foundational review of existing theories that guides the development of arguments in one's own work”. It explains the relevant theories supporting the research, demonstrates its relevance, and grounds it in established ideas. Grant and Osanloo (2014) add that a theoretical framework provides structure and support for the study's rationale, problem statement, purpose, significance, and research questions. It also serves as a grounding base for the literature review, the research methods, and the analysis process. Lysaght (2011) emphasises that the choice of a theoretical framework reflects the researcher's intention to obtain knowledge and guides the choice of tools he or she will employ in the work.

Theories of victimisation, namely the deviant place theory and the victim precipitation theory, were selected for this study to facilitate the processes of gaining deep insight and explaining how and why homeless people have a higher likelihood of becoming victims of violent behaviours in Durban inner city compared to the general public. Homeless people do not have fixed addresses and frequently change their locations; therefore, the deviant place theory was selected to explain the frequent exposure of the homeless to dangerous places and the risks they run of becoming victims of violent behaviours. Furthermore, the victim precipitation theory shifts the focus from group complicity to the fact that individuals themselves can cause the victimisation they suffer.

3.2 The Deviant Place Theory

3.2.1 Expose of the deviant place theory

The deviant place theory was first introduced by Rodney Stark in 1987 (Wiley, 2012). The deviant place theory states that an individual becomes a victim of crime because they live in socially disorganised areas with high crime levels where they are most likely to come into contact with their perpetrators (Siegel, 2006). The deviant place theory thus posits that people who become victims of crime neither actively nor passively encourage crime activities; however, they experience victimisation simply because they are in a bad area. The likelihood

of victimisation is therefore influenced by the characteristics of the neighbourhood rather than by the behaviour of the victim. According to Gabbard (2019), victims may unintentionally find themselves in dangerous settings where they have little to no chance of moving to a safe space where they can protect themselves against victimisation. According to the deviant place theory, the amount of time spent in unsafe public spaces, particularly during the night, is linked with personal victimisation (Siegel, 2006). This is because there is little to no guardianship in dangerous areas at night that can prevent victimisation from occurring. Additionally, this theory contends that implementing safety measures may not be very helpful because victimisation is more likely to be influenced by the neighbourhood one lives in than by residents' lifestyle choices (Brown, 2007).

3.2.2 Background of the deviant place theory

Stark (1987) conducted research on a neighbourhood in Seattle which had high crime rates to provide evidence that an environment matters more than people in terms of crime and victimisation. Only Italians originally lived in Seattle, but after the Italians had left the neighbourhood, Blacks moved in, and crime rates continued to increase in the area (Helle, 2014). In this example, it was initially believed that the Italians were the problem, but when more people moved in and crime rates remained high, it became clear that this was untrue. Therefore, exposure to a 'bad area' with high criminal ecological traits may increase the risk of victimisation for a particular individual (Ross, 2012). Thus, deviant place theory expands on the social disorganisation theory by outlining, through 30 propositions, how the characteristics of a place affect the people who live there (Stark, 1987). These characteristics of particular neighbourhoods and individuals, when combined, explain the likelihood of the occurrence of crime, deviance, and victimisation in those spaces. Below are the thirty propositions by Stark (1987: 893) on deviant places:

- *Proposition 1*: The greater the density of the neighbourhood, the more association between those most and least predisposed to deviance
- *Proposition 2*: The greater the density of a neighbourhood, the higher the level of moral cynicism.
- *Proposition 3*: To the extent that neighbourhoods are dense and poor, homes will be crowded.

- *Proposition 4*: Where homes are more crowded, there will be tendency to congregate outside the home in places and circumstances that raise levels of temptations and opportunity to deviate.
- *Proposition 5*: Where homes are more crowded, there will be lower levels of supervision of children.
- *Proposition 6*: Reduced levels of supervision will result in poor school achievement, with a consequent reduction in stakes in conformity and an increase in deviant behaviour.
- *Proposition 7*: Where homes are more crowded, there will be higher levels of conflict within families weakening attachments and thereby stakes in conformity.
- *Proposition 8*: Where homes are crowded, members will be much less able to shield creditable acts and information from another, further increasing moral cynicism.
- *Proposition 9*: Poor, dense neighbourhoods tend to be mixed use neighbourhoods.
- *Proposition 10*: Mixed use increase familiarity with and easy access to places offering the opportunity for deviance.
- *Proposition 11*: Mixed-use neighbourhoods offer increased opportunity for congregating outside the home in places conducive to deviance.
- *Proposition 12*: Poor, dense, mixed-use neighbourhoods have high transience rate.
- *Proposition 13*: Transience weakens extra-familial attachments.
- *Proposition 14*: Transience weakens voluntary organisations, thereby directly reducing both informal and formal sources of social control.
- *Proposition 15*: Transience reduces levels of community surveillance.
- *Proposition 16*: Dense, poor, mixed-use, transient neighbourhoods will also tend to be dilapidated.
- *Proposition 17*: Dilapidation is a social stigma for residents.
- *Proposition 18*: High rates of neighbourhood deviance are a social stigma for residents.
- *Proposition 19*: Living in stigmatised neighbourhoods causes a reduction in an individual's stake in conformity.
- *Proposition 20*: The more successful and potentially best role models will flee stigmatised neighbourhoods whenever possible.
- *Proposition 21*: More successful and conventional people will resist moving into a stigmatised neighbourhood.

- *Proposition 22*: Stigmatised neighbourhoods will tend to be overpopulated by the most demoralised kinds of people.
- *Proposition 23*: The larger the relative number of demoralised residents, the greater the number of available "victims".
- *Proposition 24*: The larger the relative number of demoralised residents, the lower will be the residents' perceptions of chances for success, and hence they will have lower perceived stakes in conformity.
- *Proposition 25*: Stigmatised neighbourhoods will suffer from more lenient law enforcement.
- *Proposition 26*: More lenient law enforcement increases moral cynicism.
- *Proposition 27*: More lenient law enforcement increases the incidence of crime and deviance.
- *Proposition 28*: More lenient law enforcement draws people on the neighbourhood on a basis of their involvement to crime and deviance.
- *Proposition 29*: When people are drawn to the neighbourhood on a basis of their participation in crime and deviance, the visibility of such activities and the opportunity to engage in them increases.
- *Proposition 30*: The higher the visibility of crime and deviance, the more it will appear to others that these activities are safe and rewarding.

The deviant place theory focuses on urban spaces and urban characteristics. According to Stark (1987), five urban factors influence crime and victimisation: density, poverty, mixed use, transience, and dilapidation. These five characteristics produce four individual traits: weakened control, greater motivation, moral cynicism, and possibilities for crime and victimisation. Helle (2014) states that the combination of the five place traits and the four individual traits results in a place that attracts deviant behaviours and crime-prone people, drives out the least deviant people, and lowers social control.

Most of Stark's (1987) propositions highlight density as one of the leading risk factors of crime and victimisation. In densely populated areas, many people come into contact with one another, and crime and victimisation are thus more likely to occur in such areas. The focus of the deviant place theory is on urban areas, and suburban and rural areas are only briefly mentioned. This is because it is argued that in such areas people are less likely to come into contact with others,

which makes crime less likely to occur and people less likely to be victimised in these sparsely populated areas (Truman, 2011). According to Stark (1987), suburban and rural areas do not offer as many possibilities for victimisation as centre city and other urban areas do. In other words, while the types of individuals may be the same in a given place, the risk factors associated with that location could impact the likelihood of becoming a victim of crime.

Stark (1987) points out that *density* is not solely dependent on neighbourhood qualities, as it also encompasses the issue of overcrowding inside individual homes (Hipp, 2013). Moreover, considering the characteristics of those who are impoverished, *poverty* can be a deceiving place attribute. Impoverished areas are appealing to individuals with limited financial resources as they provide the only feasible option for affordable living (Schmitt, 2013). According to Helle (2014), *mixed use* are locations characterised by a high concentration of various retail establishments and outlets. In these areas, there are increased opportunities for people to not only come into contact with others, but such areas also tend to encourage outdoor gatherings. According to Stark (1987), *transience* refers to the state in which populations undergo continual fluctuations and spaces where individuals who are not acquainted with one another frequently interact, leading to a scarcity of personal connections. Finally, *dilapidated* and *decaying* areas do not only draw criminal activities and victimisation, but also elicit negative perceptions about these areas (Helle, 2014).

3.2.3 Relevance of the deviant place theory to the study

The deviant place theory is a victimological theory that suggests that victimisation is influenced by the attributes of a specific place (Hipp, 2013). This theory was applicable to this study as it helped the researcher to explain how homeless people were exposed to the violent behaviours perpetrated against them. This theory further assisted in emphasising deviant places as a contributory factor to victimisation. The theory was selected based on information in the literature and observations that homeless individuals often face significant challenges related to their living conditions, including exposure to dangerous environments with high crime rates. The deviant place theory argues that homeless people are at increased risk of victimisation as they are most likely to reside in areas characterised by high levels of crime and disorder. Homeless people often congregate in certain urban areas where they are exposed to limited resources, inadequate security measures, and high rates of criminal activity. As a result, they

become more susceptible to various forms of violent behaviour such as theft, assault, and harassment.

Cities and urban areas are dangerous places due to their higher levels of crime compared to rural areas (Siegel, 2010), which is a point that the deviant place theory underscores. In this context, the city of Durban foots the bill, as it is a city with high population and crime rates and by-laws that seem to criminalise homeless people. According to Magubane (2022), there are approximately 6 000 homeless people living on the streets in the Durban inner-city area. Therefore, homeless people in this city are frequently residing in unsafe spaces such as abandoned buildings and streets where they are exposed to people who have negative attitudes towards them, and these factors increase the risk of them being violently victimised. The deviant place theory further argues that such high concentrations of people increase the chances of victimisation as they become hotspots for criminal activity and increase the visibility of and accessibility to victims (Siegel, 2010). Areas with a high population of homeless people have become attractive targets for perpetrators who see them as vulnerable and less likely to report their victimisation to the SAPS, or to seek assistance. Homeless people who live on the streets are also exposed to abuse such as things being thrown at them and being kicked or verbally abused by passers-by just because they are homeless. Sleeping on the streets with no barricade is an open invitation for abuse as this allows easy access to victims by people with nefarious intent. Moreover, homeless people have no safe space to retreat to when they are threatened and victimised.

3.2.4 Application of five place traits and propositions to the study

3.2.4.1 Density

The Durban CBD is a vibrant urban area characterised by high population density, various economic activities, and social challenges that include homelessness. The concentration of commercial, residential, and entertainment establishments in the Durban CBD often leads to crowded streets, busy public transportation, and a pulsating urban atmosphere. Unfortunately, this area also attracts homeless individuals and criminal elements who tend to spend a significant amount of time here. The homeless engage in daily activities such as panhandling and begging in an effort to survive. The ever-increasing presence of homeless people in the Durban CBD exposes them to potential risks, including becoming targets of violent behaviours.

This is because this area often harbours a larger number of potential offenders who also frequent this space. The close proximity between the homeless population and potential perpetrators in this densely populated urban zone increases the likelihood of encounters that may result in violent incidents.

Proposition 22: Stigmatised neighbourhoods will tend to be overpopulated by the most demoralised kinds of people (Stark, 1987). In the context of the Durban CBD, where homelessness and poverty intersect, certain areas may become stigmatized due to the concentration of homeless individuals and associated challenges. These areas may attract individuals facing various forms of demoralization, such as chronic homelessness, substance abuse issues, mental health disorders, or other challenges that contribute to their marginalized status. Consequently, these individuals may be more vulnerable to victimization due to their perceived vulnerability and the dynamics of the environment they inhabit.

3.2.4.2 Poverty

The deviant place theory posits that "high poverty areas attract poor people because that is the only place they can afford to live" (Helle, 2014:19). Homelessness and poverty are closely related because poor people often find it difficult to maintain permanent homes. Therefore, many become homeless and are forced to live on the streets as they do not have enough money to live elsewhere. Additionally, poverty can lead to homeless people engaging in survival strategies that can put them at risk of being violently victimised.

3.2.4.3 Mixed use

As explained by Stark (1987), mixed use areas are highly concentrated commercial and industrial spaces with stores and various outlets, and the Durban inner-city area is one such space. As in many urban areas around the world, the inner city of Durban has seen significant development and growth in these sectors over the years (Marx & Charlton, 2012). This has led to the establishment of numerous businesses, offices, factories, and warehouses in the area, making it a busy commercial and industrial hub. The development and growth of commercial and industrial sectors in an inner city often leads to the gentrification of the area. Gentrification can result in rising property prices, making housing unaffordable for low-income individuals and pushing them into homelessness. As a result, homeless individuals are forced to seek

shelter in public spaces or less desirable areas, which increases their vulnerability to victimisation. Furthermore, commercial and industrial areas are typically busy during the day but may become deserted and less secure during the night. Homeless individuals often seek shelter in these areas due to the lack of affordable housing options. However, the deserted nature of these spaces can expose them to various forms of violent victimisation, including assault, theft, and harassment. Additionally, the presence of a large homeless population in close proximity to commercial and industrial spaces may contribute to stigmatization and social exclusion (Mahlangu, 2021). Homeless individuals are often seen as undesirable or as a threat to the perceived safety and reputation of these areas. This social stigma can increase the likelihood of victimisation as homeless individuals may face discrimination, violence, or mistreatment from the general public, business owners, and even law enforcement agencies.

3.2.4.4 Transience

In terms of the deviant place theory, transience refers to population groups that undergo continuous change. In such situations unfamiliar individuals interact with one another but lack personal connections with those they encounter (King, 2013). The homeless population is typically deprived of permanent residences, which forces them to seek temporary accommodation such as shelters, public spaces, and even spaces in abandoned buildings. Furthermore, homeless people frequently move from one place to another, which can expose them to violence, theft, and assault. This is due to the fact that they may be unfamiliar with the local environment and lack information about high-crime areas. Henwood (2015) asserts that homeless people often lack strong interpersonal and social networks during their transience as they interact with people they are unfamiliar with. As a result, areas with weak social control mechanisms become more prone to criminal activities, thus increasing the risk for the victimisation of the homeless.

3.2.4.5 Dilapidation

Dilapidation refers to the state of something deteriorating or falling into a state of disrepair, usually in the context of infrastructure and buildings (Krieger, 2002). Dilapidated buildings tend to provide hidden spaces that are secluded and away from the public eye. Homeless people seek out these locations and use them as temporary shelters. They find protection from the

elements and remain relatively hidden. Unfortunately, these isolated or hidden spaces are also removed from protective systems, thus making the occupants susceptible to various forms of violent victimisation. Furthermore, dilapidated areas are often associated with neglect, and this creates environments that are unsafe or undesirable (Peterson, 2014), and if homeless people live in such spaces, the negative perception of the environment contributes to their stigmatisation. This in turn exacerbates their vulnerability to victimisation as they may be viewed as easy targets and marginalised individuals who are unlikely to receive help or support.

Proposition 16: Dense, poor, mixed-use, transient neighbourhoods will also tend to be dilapidated (Stark, 1987). In the context of the Durban CBD, areas with a high density of homeless individuals may also exhibit characteristics of dilapidation, such as poorly maintained infrastructure, abandoned buildings, and inadequate access to essential services. These environmental factors can contribute to an increased sense of insecurity and risk for homeless individuals, making them more susceptible to victimization. Additionally, the presence of dilapidated surroundings may further marginalize homeless individuals and exacerbate their vulnerabilities to exploitation and violence.

3.2.5 Critique and limitations of the deviant place theory

While the deviant place theory provides valuable insights into the victimisation of the homeless in the Durban inner-city area, it is not without limitations. Perhaps one of the major criticisms is that the deviant place theory tends to overlook the importance of individual characteristics and focuses solely on environmental factors (Bursik, 1988). This theory fails to consider the motivations, intentions, and personal characteristics of the individuals involved in criminal activities and those exposed to victimisation. The deviant place theory primarily explores the victimisation of the homeless, but provides limited insight into the dynamics of victim-offender interactions. For instance, it does not address the fact that homeless individuals may also engage in criminal activities as a means of survival or self-protection. Critics argue that this narrow focus may downplay the importance of other factors such as social control, poverty, inequality, and social disorganisation, which are known to contribute to criminal behaviour. Furthermore, Osgood and Chambers (2000) criticise the deviant place theory for focusing mainly on urban areas characterised by poverty, high density areas, transient populations, areas where commercial and residential areas coexist, as well as dilapidated areas, while disregarding rural and suburban areas.

3.3 The Victim Precipitation Theory

3.3.1 Expose of the victim precipitation theory

The victim precipitation theory was first introduced by Marvin Wolfgang (1957) in his work titled *Victim precipitated criminal homicide*. According to Wilcox (2010), this theory outlines victimisation as being prompted or caused either actively or passively by the victim him-/herself. Active precipitation suggests that the victim purposefully tries to provoke an attack, whereas passive precipitation suggests that the victim may unconsciously exhibit behaviours or characteristics that may lead to victimisation (Kennedy, 2017). The victim precipitation theory thus suggests that an individual who is a potential victim may contribute to their own victimisation through their own actions, behaviours, provocation, or even characteristics (Wilcox, 2010). While the deviant place theory emphasises the 'kinds of places' rather than the 'kinds of people' when explaining victimisation, this theory places a certain degree of responsibility on the victim for the crime committed against them. The concepts that underpin the victim precipitation theory are victim facilitation, victim proneness, and victim provocation (Cohn, 2016).

In essence, victim facilitation refers to the unintentional actions of a victim that inadvertently make it more convenient or feasible for an offender to carry out a criminal act (Lasky, 2019) and the victim thus unintentionally becomes a catalyst for their own victimisation. Victim facilitation elucidates understanding of why one individual might become a victim more readily than another, without implying fault or accountability. Victim facilitation centres on actions and their role in rendering individuals more vulnerable to becoming victims of criminal acts (McEvoy & Kirsten, 2013). This concept encompasses situations where the negligence and ineptitude of the victim contribute to the criminal behaviour/s perpetrated against them.

According to Myrstol and Chermak (2008), victim proneness depends on the characteristics that some people or groups have that make them more likely to be victimised than other people or organisations. Victim proneness refers to the susceptibility or tendency of an individual to become a victim of crime or harm. This concept suggests that certain individuals may possess characteristics, behaviours, or circumstances that make them more vulnerable to victimisation compared to others. Certain groups may be more susceptible to victimisation due to factors such as age, gender, race, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, or residential location. In this sense,

marginalised communities and individuals who face discrimination may be at higher risk of victimisation than their more secure counterparts in society. Furthermore, personal characteristics such as individuals with physical or mental disabilities, limited mobility, or diminished cognitive ability may be more prone to victimisation, as they may face challenges in defending themselves or recognising potential danger (Couldrey, 2010).

Victim provocation refers to the active role (often inadvertently) that the victim plays in their own victimisation. Victim provocation occurs when an individual engages in actions that may provoke another person to commit an unlawful act (Diagle & Muftić, 2016). Provocation implies that without the behaviour of the victim, the crime would not have taken place. This means that a victim contributes to the escalation or provocation that leads to a criminal act or harmful behaviour towards them. It suggests that the victim, through their words, actions, or demeanour, may have played a role in inciting or inviting the harmful behaviour directed at them (Grand Canyon, 2019). Provocation is associated with victim blame, suggesting that the offender bears no responsibility whatsoever.

3.3.2 Background of the victim precipitation theory

Victim precipitation is a term that was coined by Wolfgang to refer to situations where the victim was the initial aggressor in the action that caused their own harm or suffering (Petherick & Sinnamon, 2013). In his classic research of homicides occurring in Philadelphia during 1948 to 1957, Wolfgang studied approximately 558 homicide cases to explore the extent to which victims played a role in causing their own deaths (Diagle & Muftić, 2016). When the victim was directly and actively involved in initiating the fatal incident, Wolfgang (1957) classified it as a case of victim precipitation. For instance, the victim would be the one initiating the use of a weapon, delivering the first strike, and instigating physical violence. The research by Wolfgang (1957) revealed that 26% of all homicides in Philadelphia during that time frame were cases where the victim had precipitated the events leading to their own harm. However, the concept of victim precipitation was not only present in Wolfgang's research but also had similar prominence in the early typologies proposed by various scholars such as Benjamin Mendelsohn (1956), Hans von Hentig (1940), and Stephen Schafer (1968). The contributions of the already mentioned scholars to the victim precipitation theory are explained below.

3.3.2.1 Hans von Hentig

Hans von Hentig published a detailed expose of the relationship between the victim and the perpetrator as he believed that it was possible to gain deeper insights into criminals and the nature of their offenses (Petherick, Kannan & Brooks, 2020). In his work titled *The criminal and his victim*: *Studies in the sociobiology of crime* that was published in 1948, von Hentig acknowledges the significance of examining the factors that contribute to individuals becoming victims, similar to how criminology seeks to identify the factors behind criminal behaviour (Diagle & Muftić, 2016). Von Hentig (1948) refers to the relationship between the offender and the victim as 'the criminal-victim dyad'. He views some victims as active participants in the crime and emphasises the importance of studying the interaction between the offender and the victim before and during the criminal act to determine victim complicity (Cohn, 2016). Von Hentig suggests that victims' actions frequently play a role in their eventual victimisation. It is important to note that he does not imply that all victim contributions are intentional, but that many stem from personal attributes or societal factors beyond victims' control. He concludes that certain characteristics that contribute to criminality also contribute to victimisation.

Von Hentig developed a typology of victims by considering an array of biological, psychological, and social factors; hence he identified 13 categories of victims. Certain individuals may provoke their victimisation by specific personal characteristics such as being: (1) young, (2) female, (3) old, (4) mentally defective or deranged, (5) immigrants, (6) minorities,[1] and (7) dull normal (Dupont-Morales, 2009). Some individuals are at risk of victimisation because of psychological factors which may lead them to dangerous situations without recognising the risk. These are generally: (8) depressed individuals, or (9) the lonesome and heartbroken (Cohn, 2016). Furthermore, certain individuals may cause their own victimisation through their actions and behaviours. They are generally: (10) acquisitive victims who are driven by greed which makes them susceptible to swindlers and con artists, (11) wanton individuals, (12) tormentors (i.e., individuals who initiate violence that may lead to their victimisation), and (13) the blocked, exempted, and fighting (Eigenberg & Garland, 2008).

[1] Minorities are those who are regarded as vulnerable and are at risk due to their social standing, economic disadvantage, and the societal biases and discrimination they encounter (von Hentig, 1948).

3.3.2.2 Benjamin Mendelsohn

Benjamin Mendelsohn (1950) is known as the father of victimology. He was an attorney and developed an interest in the relationship between the victim and the perpetrator after his interviews with victims and witnesses. He realised that victims and perpetrators frequently knew one another and had an established connection. Mendelsohn based his typology classification on six victim categories according to the level of the victim's culpability or contribution to the crime. (1) The completely innocent victim who does not act in a way that could have encouraged or assisted the crime, and is not at fault for the victimisation. (2) The victim with minor guilt who unintentionally puts him-/herself in a dangerous situation out of ignorance rather than on purpose, but who might have avoided the danger or at least reduced the risk. (3) The victim who is as guilty as the offender and who is as responsible for the crime as the offender. (4) The more guilty victim who instigates his or her own victimisation by provoking someone else to commit the crime. (5) The most guilty victim who is considered to be primarily or completely responsible for his or her own victimisation. Usually, this type of victim is injured while perpetrating a crime or killed by another person in self-defence. (6) The imaginary victim, who is never victimised but fabricates events and falsely accuses another person of criminal behaviour (Cohn, 2016; Diagle & Muftić, 2016).

3.3.2.3 Stephen Schafer

In the 1960s, Stephen Schafer returned to the concept of victim typologies and classified victims based on their responsibility for the crime. In his publication titled *The victim and his criminal: A study in functional responsibility*, Schafer (1968) suggests that victims have a functional responsibility to avoid provoking others into victimising them and to prevent their own victimisation. The typology by Schafer combines elements from both von Hentig (personal characteristics) and Mendelsohn (victim behaviour). Schafer classifies victims into seven categories and identifies the level of responsibility of each category, arguing that the behaviour of the victim, provocation, or negligence can contribute to their own victimisation (Cohn, 2016; Diagle & Muftić, 2016). These are: (1) Unrelated victims have no responsibility for their victimisation, while (2) provocative victims share some responsibility for the crime, as the offender is reacting to the victim's behaviour. (3) Precipitative victims put themselves in dangerous situations, perhaps by saying the wrong thing or wearing inappropriate clothing,

and therefore share some level of responsibility. (4) Biologically weak victims and (5) socially weak victims who have no responsibility for their own victimisation. (6) Self-victimising victims include victims who engage in various types of crimes that involve working with the offender and are seen as responsible for their victimisation. (7) Political victims, who are victimised by those in power and bear no victim responsibility (Cohn, 2016; Diagle & Muftić, 2016).

3.3.3 Relevance of the victim precipitation theory to the study

The victim precipitation theory was relevant to the study as it explains how homeless people may be more prone to victimisation than their housed counterparts. Unlike the deviant place theory that focuses on deviant places as factors that contributory to victimisation, the victim precipitation theory suggests that certain behaviours and characteristics of homeless individuals may contribute to their increased vulnerability to victimisation. While the theory has been criticised for blaming victims and ignoring the role of the offender (Baron, 2017), it was effective in this study as a framework to examine which factors contributed to homeless individuals becoming victims of violent behaviours.

3.3.3.1 Victim facilitation

Homeless people may unintentionally contribute to their own victimisation. Without proper financial stability, homeless people are frequently quite likely to engage in desperate measures as a means of sustaining their daily living. Such desperate measures that homeless people engage in include panhandling, sex work, or even drug dealing, all of which are regarded as homeless survival strategies. However, these may paradoxically increase their chances of victimisation (Dietz & Wright, 2005). Pophaim (2019) cites the example of a homeless person who engages in survival sex, but the potential perpetrator interprets the actions of the sex worker as encouraging or welcoming and demands sexual acts without providing payment. Any further sexual engagement from this moment onward can be considered non-consensual, or rape. In this context, Conklin (1986) suggests that the initial act of offering sexual services in exchange for money, which initially facilitates such behaviour, can potentially encourage aggressive sexual behaviour and thus be seen as a contributing or facilitating factor for victimisation. Furthermore, as suggested by von Hentig (1948), victim facilitation allows the consideration of the personal characteristics of homeless people such as being mentally

deranged (4) and being part of a minority group (6). Many homeless people suffer from mental health issues, which can make them more vulnerable to victimisation. For instance, a homeless individual with untreated schizophrenia may have difficulty discerning potentially dangerous situations or accurately assessing the intentions of others. This lack of awareness or impaired judgment could expose this person to exploitation or abuse by individuals who recognise and then exploit their vulnerability.

3.3.3.2 Victim proneness

Homeless people are a marginalised group in society and have characteristics and behaviours that may make them passively vulnerable to victimisation compared to the general public. Homeless individuals often face societal stigma and discrimination, which can lead to their exclusion from mainstream society. This social exclusion can increase their vulnerability to victimisation as they may be targeted and then ignored when seeking help. Furthermore, the increased visibility characterised by the absence of a stable place to live can leave individuals more exposed to dangerous situations on the streets. As a result, homeless individuals are highly susceptible to various forms of exploitation such as theft, assault, or trafficking due to their vulnerability and lack of protection and guardianship. Moreover, substance abuse also makes homeless individuals susceptible to violent victimisation as it impairs their decision-making abilities, increases risk-taking behaviours, and makes individuals more vulnerable to exploitation and/or abuse (Kempotich, 2015).

3.3.3.3 Victim provocation

The victim precipitation theory suggests that homeless people actively precipitate their victimisation through provocation. In line with victim provocation are some of the victim categories that Mendelsohn (the more guilty victim) and Schafer (the provocative victim) propose. Both these terminologies suggest that victims provoke the perpetrator to react in a way that may lead to victimisation. Homeless people may therefore exhibit behaviours that can lead to conflict or aggression, and this makes them likely targets for violent behaviours (Margo, 2013). Some homeless individuals may exhibit aggressive or violent behaviours due to various factors such as mental health issues, substance abuse problems, or previous traumatic experiences. This behaviour can lead to confrontations with others and potentially result in their victimisation. Moreover, some homeless individuals may engage in property-related

offenses such as theft, trespassing, or vandalism. These actions can lead to negative interactions with property owners or law enforcement agencies, which potentially increases the risk of victimisation. Furthermore, homeless people may engage in survival strategies, such as panhandling, that can also lead to negative interactions. An example of such a scenario is when a homeless individual asks a member of the public to spare some change, but the person does not have any change, and then the homeless person insults the person by calling him stingy. The other person then retaliates by punching or slapping the homeless person. The physical reaction of the insulted individual would not have occurred had the homeless individual not insulted him. Therefore, in relation to the victim precipitation theory, the initial insult by the homeless person directly influenced the act of victimisation.

3.3.4 Criticisms and limitations of the victim precipitation theory

Prior research that has examined the applications of the victim precipitation theory is critical as it insinuates that a victim is somehow complicit in his or her own victimisation. A major criticism of this theory is the assumption that the victim and the offender enter into an interaction as equals, thus dismissing any power imbalances or other dynamics in the conflict (Scott, 2016). This perspective seems to disregard the responsibility of the offender and shifts the blame onto the victim, which potentially perpetuates the victim-blaming attitude that is prevalent in society. Furthermore, critics argue that the victim precipitation theory lacks substantial empirical evidence to support its claims (Sparks, 1991). While there are some individual cases where victim behaviour may influence the occurrence or outcome of a crime, it is challenging to generalise these findings to all cases of victimisation. The victim precipitation theory thus tends to focus solely on individual characteristics and behaviours, thus disregarding larger structural factors that contribute to crime, such as socioeconomic status, inequality, and systemic discrimination (Thornberry, 1997). By neglecting these factors, this theory fails to provide a comprehensive understanding of victimisation.

Additionally, this theory is primarily applicable to certain types of crime such as interpersonal violence and contact crimes, and may therefore not adequately explain other forms of victimisation, such as property crimes or white-collar offences where victim's behaviour is less relevant or even irrelevant (Pearson & Neil, 1995). The theory thus assumes a straightforward cause-and-effect relationship between victim behaviour and the occurrence of a crime. This oversimplification neglects the complex interplay of multiple factors that contribute to criminal

behaviour, including offender motivation, social dynamics, and situational factors (Sampson & Lauritsen, 1990). Moreover, this theory raises ethical concerns by suggesting that victims are to be blamed, to a certain extent, for their victimisation. This perspective can undermine the rights and experiences of victims and potentially lead to reduced support and empathy for those who have been victimised.

3.4 Conclusion

Based on the information provided in this chapter, it is evident that the experiences of victimisation among the homeless are influenced by the way they live their lives and interact with potential offenders. The experiences are also closely related to various risks that prevail in their immediate surroundings. The primary focus of this study revolved around two prominent theories: the deviant place theory and the victim precipitation theory. The application of these theories played a crucial role in gaining insight into the victimisation of the homeless and assisted in shedding light on the key factors that contribute to their vulnerability to violent victimisation.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This study was conceptualised based on anecdotal and media information that instances of victimisation of the homeless population in the Durban inner-city area were escalating. To understand this problem comprehensively, the researcher needed to develop a rigorous scientific approach that would yield extensive and meaningful data for thorough analysis and evaluation so that it would ultimately lead to the generation of scholarly insights into this challenging social phenomenon. According to Maxfield and Babbie (2009, cited in Hadebe, 2017), it is essential for every research project to have a well-defined research design that outlines the approach for data collection and analysis. By clearly outlining the chosen methods and explaining their appropriateness in relation to the research objectives, this chapter aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of how the study was conducted and how the results were obtained.

4.2 Research Approach

According to Creswell and Creswell (2017:3), a research approach is "a plan [of the procedures] for research that [spans] the steps from broad assumptions to detailed methods of data collection, analysis, and interpretation". Creswell and Creswell (2017) further state that the selection of a research approach should be based on the nature of the research problem or the issue that is being addressed by the study, the personal experiences of the researcher and the participants, and the audiences of the study. To address these requirements, the current study adopted the qualitative research approach. The qualitative approach is a scientific research approach for exploring and understanding the meaning that individuals or groups assign to a social or human issue (Mack, Woodsong, MacQueen, Guest & Namey, 2005). The qualitative approach was deemed suitable for achieving the aims of this study as it allows the researcher "to understand the research problem or topic from the perspectives of the local population it involves" (Mack et al., 2005:145). The qualitative approach was therefore effective as it facilitated the gathering of qualitative information about the lived experiences, values, opinions, and behaviours of homeless people in the identified study area.

The qualitative data that were generated played a crucial role in exploring the phenomenon of the violent victimisation of homeless people as in-depth insights and understandings of the experiences, perspectives, and subjective realities of individuals who experienced homelessness were elicited. The literature posits that the victimisation of the homeless is associated with multifaceted experiences, and this phenomenon is influenced by various social, economic, and environmental factors (Guest & Namey, 2005). Qualitative research methods, namely interviews and ethnographic observations, allowed the researcher to capture the complexity of the homeless participants' narratives. This approach facilitated understanding of the nuanced meanings attached to their victimisation, the context in which it occurred, and the diverse factors that contributed to the vulnerability of the participants.

Qualitative research allows the researcher to listen to the voices of marginalised individuals and groups (Sutton, 2015). Homeless individuals are often stigmatised and marginalised, and these behaviours can limit their participation in research and policy discussions. However, the qualitative approach of the current study enabled the researcher to actively engage with such participants. The researcher listened intently and without judgement to the narratives of their experiences, thus providing a platform for them to share their perspectives. This elevated the voices of these homeless individuals and generated knowledge that was grounded in authentic lived realities.

4.3 Research Paradigm

4.3.1 Defining the research paradigm

According to Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004), a research paradigm refers to a set of beliefs, assumptions, and methodologies that guide the approach that is used to conduct research within a particular field or discipline. In simple terms, the research paradigm encompasses the researcher's worldview, a theoretical framework, and the methods employed to investigate and answer research questions. Lather (1986) explains that a research paradigm fundamentally emulates the beliefs of researchers about the world they live in and the world they want to live in. A paradigm thus consists of the underlying ideas and principles that guide how researchers view the world and how they interpret that world and act within it (Kuyini & Kivunja, 2017). A paradigm thus serves as the perspective through which a researcher observes the world, and acts as the conceptual lens that guides the evaluation of the methodological aspects of a research project. It is also instrumental in determining the research methods and the approach

that should best be used to analyse the gathered data (Kuyini & Kivunja, 2017). Guba and Lincoln (1994:26) define a paradigm as a "basic set of beliefs or worldview that guides research action or an investigation". Similarly, Denzin and Lincoln (2000:26) define paradigms as "human constructions, which deal with first principles or ultimately indicate where the researcher is coming from so as to construct meaning embedded in data". Therefore, adopting a particular paradigm is significant as it will offer guiding principles that will shape the perspectives of the scholar who works within a specific field. These principles influence the selection of a research topic, the methodology employed in studying it, and the interpretation of the findings of the study. In light of the above arguments, the researcher adopted the interpretive research paradigm to bring this study to fruition.

4.3.2 Interpretive research paradigm

The interpretive research paradigm is often used in the social sciences and humanities as it focuses on understanding and interpreting human behaviour, actions, and social phenomena by guiding the researcher to illuminate subjective meanings and understand the social context in which they occur (Weber, 1949). According to Guba and Lincoln (1989), the primary objective of the interpretive paradigm is to understand the personal and subjective world of human experiences. The interpretive paradigm allows a researcher to explore deep into the mind-set of the participants being studied and to understand and interpret their thoughts and the meanings they attach to a given context (Mackenzie & Knipe, 2006). The primary focus is placed on comprehending the perspective of the subject being observed rather than prioritising the viewpoint of the observer. The aim of the current study was to gain in-depth insight into the violent behaviours directed against homeless people. By adopting the interpretive paradigm, the researcher was able to listen to the narratives of homeless people and to view this phenomenon from their perspectives.

This paradigm assumes a *subjectivist epistemology*, a *relativist ontology*, a *naturalist methodology*, and a *balanced axiology* (Mackenzie & Knipe, 2006). Assuming a subjectivist epistemology means that the researcher interprets the findings using his/her own reasoning and cognitive processing, which are processes that are influenced by interactions with participants (Punch, 2005). Because it is assumed that a researcher will socially construct knowledge based on his/her personal experiences of real-life situations within the natural setting being investigated, Chalmers, Manley and Wasserman (2005) argue that the assumption of a *relativist*

ontology entails recognising the existence of multiple realities within the studied situation. Moreover, these realities can be explored, understood, and reconstructed through the interactions between the researcher and the research subjects, as well as among the participants themselves. Carr and Kemmis (1986) note that *naturalist methodology* allows the researcher to collect data through various means such as interviews, discourses, text messages, and reflective sessions in which the researcher assumes the role of participant observer. A *balanced axiology* allows the research outcomes to mirror the values of the researcher who then presents a fair and unbiased report of the findings (Morgan, 2007).

The interpretive paradigm emphasises the importance of understanding the subjective experiences, perspectives, and meanings that knowledgeable individuals express in narratives about a particular phenomenon (Scotland, 2012). Therefore, by adopting this paradigm for this study, the researcher was able to explore the lived experiences of homeless individuals who had been the victims of various forms of violence. This approach elicited a deep comprehension of the motives, attitudes, and beliefs that underpinned the violent behaviours the participants had been exposed to.

Furthermore, interpretive research emphasises the significance of context in shaping social phenomena (Searle, 2015), and by adopting an interpretive paradigm the researcher was able to analyse and understand the broader contextual factors that contribute to violence against homeless people. This included examining societal attitudes towards homelessness, stigmatisation, discrimination, and the impact of the Durban inner-city environment on interpersonal dynamics. Interpretivism recognises that social realities are socially constructed through shared meanings and interactions. Applying this paradigm allowed the researcher to explore how societal perceptions, media representations, and cultural narratives contributed to the normalisation, and even legitimisation, of violence against homeless individuals. In essence, it illuminated a deep understanding of how discourses and social processes currently shape and reinforce violent behaviours against homeless people.

4.4 Research Design

According to Creswell and Clark (2007:58), a research design is the "procedures for collecting, analysing, interpreting and reporting data in research studies". Research design refers to the comprehensive strategy that links conceptual research issues to practical and attainable

empirical research (Boru, 2018). In simple terms, the research design outlines the step-by-step process for obtaining the necessary data. This process entails the methodologies that are employed for data collection and analysis, and determines how all of these components will collectively address the research questions. Therefore, it is crucial for the researcher to develop a study design that creates a comprehensive blueprint of the methods to be employed to achieve the aim and objectives of the study.

According to Robson (2002), there are three types of research design: exploratory, descriptive, and explanatory. This categorisation is based on the intended purpose of the research, as each design serves a distinct purpose. With that said, the purpose of this study was to explore the lived experiences of homeless people and to understand their perspectives on the violent behaviours perpetrated against them in the Durban CBD, and an exploratory research design was suitable for this investigation. Saunders (2007) contends that an exploratory design is utilised when little information is known about a phenomenon and when the problem has not been clearly defined. Boru (2018) adds that the aim of an exploratory design is not to offer definitive and conclusive responses to the research inquiry, but to investigate the research topic at varying degrees of depth.

In the current study, the exploratory research approach allowed the researcher to delve into a relatively understudied phenomenon, namely the violent behaviours perpetrated against homeless individuals in Durban, South Africa. The researcher was able to gain a deep understanding of the subject and generated initial insights from the viewpoint of the participants. Furthermore, exploratory research often involves qualitative data collection methods such as interviews or observations. When correctly applied, these methods can generate rich, contextual data. In this study, the researcher was able to capture the experiences and perspectives of homeless individuals to the point of saturation. The data uncovered nuanced aspects of the violent behaviours the homeless participants experienced as well as their causes, and the participants were able to offer potential solutions for their plight.

4.5 Sampling Methods

Neuman (2014:246) defines a sample as “a small set of cases a researcher selects from a large pool and generalizes to the population.” Sampling involves the process of carefully choosing specific cases for detailed examination, and subsequently utilising the insights gained from

these cases to comprehend a significantly broader collection of instances (Neuman, 2014). Furthermore, Neuman (2014) states that sampling in qualitative research allows the researcher to carefully choose individual cases or units and to regard them as representative of various aspects or features of the social world. A selected sample of cases or units acts as a substitute or representation of the much larger population of cases or units. Thus, the researcher selected a small number of potential participants to represent the larger population of homeless people in the study area. Of the two types of sampling methods (probability and non-probability sampling) available (Wilson, 2010), non-probability sampling was used while a purposive sampling approach was utilised.

4.5.1 Non-probability sampling

According to Babbie (2016), non-probability sampling is a sampling technique in which the selection of individuals from a population is based on subjective judgment rather than random selection. Unlike probability sampling, non-probability sampling does not allow researchers to estimate the probability of each element being included in the sample, which limits the generalisability of the findings. Of the common types of non-probability sampling techniques available, the current study employed the purposive or judgmental sampling method. The researcher found this technique suitable because, according to Babbie (2016), purposive sampling involves selecting participants who possess specific characteristics or knowledge that will address the research objectives. Purposive sampling allowed the researcher to use her judgment to select individuals who would provide valuable insights and present important perspectives. The researcher thus purposively selected participants who had the knowledge and lived experiences to comply with the need to address the research questions and achieve the objectives of the study.

According to Creswell and Creswell (2017), the primary goal of purposive sampling is to ensure that the selected participants or cases are informative and representative of the population. The researcher thus deliberately selected homeless participants who had first-hand experience of violent behaviours directed against homeless individuals. This allowed the generation of rich data that elicited in-depth insights into the experiences of both victims and witnesses of violent behaviours against the homeless. Furthermore, the researcher made sure to select participants within the study area to ensure the credibility of the study.

4.5.2 Sample size

In qualitative research, in-depth exploration to understand a specific phenomenon often requires only a small number of cases rather than a large body of qualitative data that can be generalised to the population (Fusch & Ness, 2015). The sample size in qualitative research is typically smaller compared to that of quantitative studies, and can typically range from 5 to 30 individuals (Dworkin, 2012). The researcher initially aimed to interview ten participants from the Haven of Hope shelter, but due to participant withdrawal (as was their right) only seven participants from this facility and ten homeless participants from the streets around The Workshop, Berea, and English Market areas were interviewed. Participants of all races, both genders, and from the age of 18 years and older were recruited, provided they had experienced violent victimisation as homeless citizens. Table 4.1 below depicts the demographics of the participants and where the participants resided.

Table 4.1: Participants demographics

Pseudonym	Race	Location	Age
P1	Black	The Workshop	22
P2	Black	The Workshop	35
P3	Black	The Workshop	38
P4	Black	The Workshop	24
P5	Black	Berea	27
P6	Black	Berea	36
P7	Black	Berea	26
P8	Black	English Market	21
P9	Black	English Market	36
P10	White	English Market	42
P11	White	Homeless shelter	55
P12	White	Homeless shelter	28
P13	Indian	Homeless shelter	59
P14	White	Homeless shelter	33
P15	Coloured	Homeless shelter	26
P16	Coloured	Homeless shelter	26
P17	Coloured	Homeless shelter	30

Source: Researcher's summary

4.6 Profile of the Durban Inner-City Area

The study was conducted in specific areas in the larger inner-city area of Durban in the eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality. The eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality stands as the largest urban centre within the KwaZulu-Natal province and ranks as the third-largest city nationally, situated along the eastern coastline (District Economic Profile, 2021). As per the 2020/21 Metropolitan SDF, the eThekwini Municipality has been segmented into five distinct municipal planning regions (MPRs), which include the North, Central, South, and Outer West MPRs, with the study focusing on the Central region. In this study, the focus was solely on Ward 28 in the Durban CBD. Two well-known business centres (The Workshop and English Market) and a mixed residential and business area (Berea) are located in this Ward. The Ward Councillor at the time was Councillor Ntando Khuzwayo. The Haven of Hope homeless shelter is also situated in Ward 28 at the Workshop. This particular area was selected due to the increasing number of homeless individuals who had flocked to it and were currently residing there. The researcher observed a rise in homelessness in the area and attributed it to two main factors: (1) the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic, and (2) recent devastating floods that displaced thousands of people from informal settlements in the Durban area. The homeless population in this area is diverse and representative of people of different races and origins. It includes people of Black, Indian, White, and Coloured ethnicity who have no stable housing.

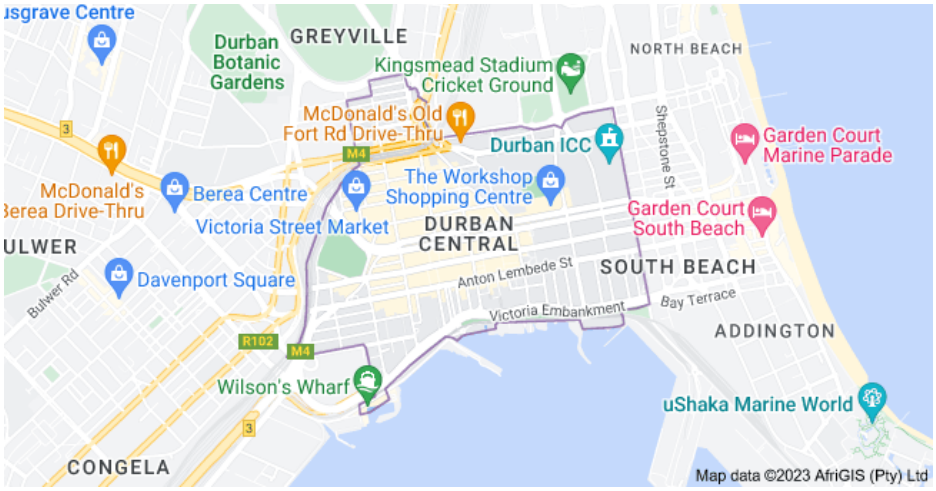


Figure 4.1: Map of the Durban CBD

Source: https://www.google.com/search?client=firefox-b-d&q=durban+inner+city

4.7 Data Collection: Research Instruments

Franklin and Smith (2016:147) define data collection as "the systematic process of gathering, organising, and recording information for analysis and decision-making purposes". Data

collection involves collecting relevant data from various sources or directly from individuals or entities. Creswell (2009) notes that qualitative research allows the researcher to gather data in the natural setting where participants encounter the specific issue or problem being studied. This permits the researcher to directly engage with individuals and to observe their behaviour and interactions within their own context. This hands-on approach, involving face-to-face interactions over a period of time, is a key aspect of qualitative research that is conducted in a natural setting. Data can be divided into primary and secondary data. The researcher used a combination of secondary and primary data to gain in-depth insight into the experiences of violent behaviours among homeless people and to enhance the trustworthiness of the research findings.

4.7.1 Secondary data

Secondary data are data that were previously collected by other authors and researchers, usually for a purpose other than the one currently being studied (Dudovskiy, 2022). This is a method of data collection that involves using existing data sources rather than collecting new data through primary research methods. For this study, secondary data sources provide a wealth of information that was drawn from earlier research dissertations and theses and peer-reviewed articles on the victimisation of homeless people. A large body of data was collected during the literature review phase from academic journals, media reports, books, and published articles, and then synthesised. This comprehensive review helped the researcher to gain a holistic understanding of the topic and to identify gaps in the knowledge of the homeless phenomenon.

4.7.2 Primary data

Primary data are data that are collected directly from original sources for a specific research purpose or investigation (Dudovskiy, 2022). Primary data differ from secondary data in that the information is gathered by the researcher directly from sources. Primary data contain information that is tailored to specific research objectives and can elicit accurate and detailed insights about a specific topic in a specific area of interest. Following Creswell's (2009) advice, the researcher generated primary data by conducting interviews with knowledgeable participants and making pertinent observations by visiting the sites where the participants resided in the study area.

4.7.3 Recruitment of the participants

Manohar, MacMillan, Steiner and Arora (2018) note that the successful recruitment and retention of study participants play a crucial role in ensuring the overall success of a research study. The process of recruitment entails identifying prospective participants for the study and furnishing them with pertinent details to ascertain their willingness to become part of the proposed research project. However, Emmanuel, Wendler and Grady (2010) argue that obtaining ethical approval from the institution before commencing a study involving human participants is a critical step that ensures the ethical conduct of research and the protection of the rights and welfare of the participants. The researcher therefore applied for and was granted ethical clearance by the UKZN (see annexure C) to conduct the study.

4.7.3.1 Recruiting participants at the Haven of Hope homeless shelter

To recruit participants residing in the Haven of Hope homeless shelter, the researcher approached the Director of the shelter. The nature of the study was explained, and the Director agreed to help recruit suitable participants. Once they had been identified, a meeting was arranged for the researcher to meet the potential participants. This was done in order to make both the researcher and participants comfortable with each other before commencing with the interviews. Ten participants were initially recruited, but three withdrew and seven eventually participated in the study. The Director provided with an office to conduct the interviews where participants would feel comfortable and safe.

4.7.3.2 Recruiting participants from the streets

To recruit homeless participants from the streets, the researcher approached business owners, taxi rank managers, and street vendors around The Workshop, Berea, and the English Market areas who guided the researcher to hotspots frequented by homeless people. Once the researcher had identified suitable participants, they were escorted to a designated gazebo offered to the researcher by the Dennis Hurley Centre (DHC), located within the Durban CBD, for the duration of the study. The structure itself was equipped with seating arrangements consisting of a chair for the participant, researcher, and the social worker, ensuring a comfortable and conducive environment for interviews. In addition to selecting a safe location, several security measures were put in place to mitigate potential risks. The presence of a security guard from the DHC contributed to increased safety. Furthermore, the researcher

maintained constant vigilance and awareness of the surroundings throughout the process, ensuring a secure environment for all involved.

4.7.4 Semi-structured in-depth interviews

Rubin and Rubin (2011) define interviews as a methodological approach that is used to gather information directly from individuals or groups of people. Interviews involve asking a series of structured or semi-structured questions to elicit responses that can provide insights into a particular research topic or area of interest. The researcher used an interview schedule that contained pre-designed, open-ended questions to conduct semi-structured in-depth individual interviews with the participants (Annexure A). Dejonckheere and Vaughn (2019) assert that a semi-structured interview is a data gathering method involving participants to whom a series of open-ended questions is posed. The researcher may also pose probing questions to explore the responses of participants more deeply. Barrett and Twycross (2018) propose that semi-structured interviews should be designed to ensure that important data are collected in key areas of interest, but that participants should still have the freedom to express their own thoughts and perspectives during the discussion. This approach is flexible compared to structured interviews and enables the discovery or elaboration of information that might be significant to participants but that is not initially considered relevant by the researcher.

The researcher prepared a set of core questions in advance. However, using semi-structured interviews also allowed the flexibility to delve into additional topics or probe further for more in-depth responses. This adaptability facilitated a comprehensive exploration of the viewpoints of the participants. As the conversations progressed, the interviewer (researcher) adjusted the interview trajectory to dig deeper into specific areas of interest, and this enabled a rich understanding of the subject matter. Because the aim of the study was to explore the experiences and viewpoints of homeless people who had been exposed to violent behaviours, the sensitive nature of the investigation could have prevented open and frank answers. However, by being allowed to probe sensitively for more in-depth responses, the researcher found the semi-structured interview approach highly suitable for this study.

Mack et al. (2011:29) define an in-depth interview as “a technique designed to elicit a vivid picture of the participant’s perspectives on the research topic”. During the individual in-depth interviews, the interviewee assumed the role of the expert, while the interviewer adopted the

role of the student, as proposed by Kvale (1996). The researcher's interviewing strategies were driven by the aspiration to acquire a comprehensive understanding of everything the participants could contribute regarding the topic under investigation. In-depth interviews were considered suitable for this study as they were a valuable tool to elicit data that allowed the researcher to understand the viewpoints of individuals, in contrast to group norms within a community, which are better explored through focus group discussions (Mack et al., 2011:30). The interview technique was a powerful qualitative approach for encouraging individuals to openly express their personal emotions and viewpoints and share their experiences. Moreover, it provided an opportunity to gain a deep understanding of how homeless people perceived and structured the world around them (Rubin & Rubin, 1995). This was achieved as the researcher paid careful attention to the participants' causal explanations of their experiences and beliefs, while they were also carefully probed about the connections and associations they perceived among specific events, phenomena, and beliefs.

The researcher used a semi-structured interview schedule that addressed the objectives and research questions of the current study. The interviews were conducted individually to accommodate participants who were reluctant to share sensitive information in a group setting. Each interview, both with those residing in the shelter and on the streets of Durban inner city, lasted approximately 15 minutes and were tape recorded with the permission of some of the participants. Where the participants were reluctant to be recorded, field notes were taken during the interviews. In terms of recordings, Mack et al. (2011:43) state:

> "Interviewers must take notes during the interview, regardless of whether it is being tape-recorded. These notes serve as a backup when recording fails and to capture nonverbal information. They are also valuable when a participant asks the interviewer to turn off the tape recorder during discussion of particularly confidential information."

4.7.5 Observations

In the context of data collection, Babbie (2016) states that observations refer to the act of systematically gathering information about a specific phenomenon or subject of study. Bogdewic (2012) states that observation is a qualitative methodology that is deeply rooted in traditional ethnographic investigations and aims to facilitate researchers' understanding of the viewpoints held by the populations under study. Using the observation method allowed the researcher to obtain first-hand data and gather information that would not have been accessible through other means. Observation included recording non-verbal cues, such as facial

expressions, behaviour, and the body language of the participants during the interviews that the voice-recorder could not capture.

The data that were acquired through participant observation verified and complemented the participants' subjective accounts of their beliefs and actions (DeWalt, DeWalt & Wayland, 2018). Additionally, participant observation proved valuable in comprehending the environmental, societal, cultural, and economic circumstances within which the study participants resided. Observing the participants and the environment provided insights into the interconnectedness among these individuals, the context in which they lived, their behaviours and activities, and how they engaged with others (Handwerker, 2011). Moreover, this method allowed the researcher to establish a deep familiarity with the cultural environment of the participants, and proved to be highly valuable throughout the duration of the study. The observation method offered a nuanced understanding of the context that could only be acquired through personal experience.

To ensure systematic recording of observational data, the researcher engaged in multiple observations using an observational instrument to document information while actively observing the environment and the people in it. This protocol involved utilising a single-page format divided by a central line. On one side, descriptive notes were recorded such as participant profiles, reconstructed dialogues, descriptions of the physical environment, accounts of significant events or activities, and other relevant details. On the other side, reflective notes were recorded that reflected of the researcher's personal thoughts, speculations, feelings, problems, ideas, hunches, impressions, and prejudices, as suggested by Bogdan and Biklen (1992:121). Additionally, demographic information such as time, place, and date was recorded.

4.8 Data Analysis

Data analysis is the process of inspecting, cleaning, transforming, and modelling raw data to discover useful information, draw conclusions, and support decision-making (Creswell, 2009). Data analysis involves examining data sets to uncover patterns, relationships, and insights that can be used to understand trends, make predictions, and derive meaningful interpretations. According to Starks and Trinidad (2007), during the process of data analysis the researcher takes on the role of the analytical instrument and makes judgements regarding coding, theming,

extracting information from the original context, and then reintegrating the data. Every qualitative research approach has distinct methods for conducting, documenting, and assessing the processes of data analysis. However, it is ultimately the responsibility of the researcher to ensure the integrity and credibility of the analysis (Norris, White & Moules, 2017). In the current study, the researcher analysed the data using thematic analysis.

4.8.1 Thematic analysis

As this study was qualitative in nature, the researcher used thematic analysis. According to Braun and Clarke (2006), this process involves identifying patterns, themes, and meanings within the collected data, and this helped the researcher to gain deep understanding of the data and to derive meaningful insights from the data set. Thematic analysis allowed the exploration of the data in a logical manner to make sense of complex and diverse qualitative information that had been gathered through in-depth interview transcripts. A systematic approach was therefore followed to organise, categorise, and interpret the data that were rich in detail and nuances (Guest, MacQueen & Namey, 2012). Thematic analysis also allowed the researcher to gain insights into the subjective experiences and viewpoints of the participants as their thoughts, feelings, and beliefs regarding being victims of violent behaviours were logically and systematically explored. Thematic analysis therefore focused on "the perspectives of the participants, [their] experiences, and the meanings [they] attributed to the particular phenomenon or topic" under investigation (Guest et al., 2012:22). Common patterns and themes were identified across the data elicited from the different participants, and the researcher was able to identify shared experiences, attitudes, and opinions as well as variations and discrepancies within the information shared by the participants.

Six steps were followed to analyse the qualitative data using thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). After the researcher had gathered data directly from the homeless people through the use of interviews, the following steps were followed:

4.8.2 Becoming familiar with the data

Braun and Clarke (2006) stress that the researcher should be immersed in the data that have been collected in order to become familiar with the depth and breadth of the content. As suggested by Braun and Clarke (2006), the researcher transcribed the data, translated the narratives verbatim into English where the participants had responded in IsiZulu, and read and

reread the transcriptions to identify recurring meanings and patterns in order to gain a comprehensive understanding of all aspects of the data. The researcher also recorded key initial thoughts and impressions during the data collection and analysis processes. Additionally, the researcher remained truthful, honest, and subjective throughout this process as, according to Starks and Trinidad (2007:5), "researchers should engage with the analysis as a faithful witness to the accounts in the data, [and] be honest and vigilant about their own perspectives, pre-existing thoughts and beliefs, and developing theories."

4.8.3 Generating initial codes

Once the researcher had read and familiarised herself with the data and had a sound idea of what the data entailed, the next phase was to generate initial codes (Nowel et al., 2017). In this process the researcher "identified important sections of text and attach[ed] labels to index them as they relate[d] to a theme or issue in the data" (King, 2004:6). The researcher started the coding process by systematically labelling and categorising meaningful units within the data. According to Creswell (2014), a systematic procedure for coding data involves analysing and grouping particular statements into themes that best capture pertinent areas of interest. The researcher only coded data that would achieve the objectives of the study, following Boyatzis's (1998:1) suggestion that a "good code is the one that captures the richness of the phenomenon being studied". This was done using a coding framework, such as an existing theory or set of predefined codes, and by allowing new codes to emerge directly from the data. The researcher applied both descriptive codes (what the data revealed) and interpretive codes (analysis and interpretation of the data) to capture the nuances of the homeless participants' experiences of victimisation.

4.8.4 Identifying themes

Once all the data had been coded and categorised and a list of distinct codes found throughout the data set had been created, the researcher then commenced to search for and identify themes. DeSantis and Ugarriza (2000:326) define such a theme as "an abstract entity that brings meaning and identity to a recurrent experience and its variant manifestations. As such, a theme captures and unifies the nature or basis of the experience into a meaningful whole". The researcher therefore began to identify common patterns, themes, or topics that emerged across the data set. The researcher looked for recurring ideas, experiences, or perspectives related to the victimisation of homeless individuals. Subsequently, the researcher organised the codes

into potential themes, ensuring they captured the essence of the data while being relevant to the research questions and objectives. The researcher made use of diagrams in order to explore and display the relationships among the emerging themes.

4.8.5 Reviewing themes

In this phase the researcher examined the coded data extracts associated with each theme to assess whether they showed a consistent and meaningful pattern. Braun and Clarke (2006) state that the validity of each theme should be evaluated during this phase to see if it truly captures the meanings present in the data set as a whole. The researcher reviewed and refined the identified themes by considering the relationships among them, and looked for any overlaps or contradictions. Themes were merged and split where necessary, ensuring they accurately represented the data and provided meaningful insights into homeless victimisation. It was important to maintain transparency and rigor throughout this process by documenting decisions and justifications for theme selection. At the end of this phase, the researcher was able to clearly demonstrate by which process each theme had been derived from the data set. To ensure referential adequacy, the researcher verified the selections by going back to the original data and comparing the information with the established themes to ensure that all were firmly rooted in the data, as proposed by Lincoln and Guba (1985).

4.8.6 Defining and naming themes

According to Braun and Stark (2006), this is the phase in which the researcher identifies the specific aspects of the data that each theme captures and determines what makes them interesting and significant. Braun and Stark (2006) further state that the researcher should engage in a comprehensive analysis and compose a detailed report for each individual theme by unveiling the narrative that conveys each theme. During this phase, the researcher analysed the themes in relation to the research objectives as well as relevant literature. This means that the researcher had to explore the meanings, implications, and contextual factors associated with each theme while considering how the themes related to one another and what broader conclusions or insights they revealed about homeless victimisation as revealed in the literature. The names assigned to the themes were concise and impactful, and will provide the reader with an immediate understanding of the essence of each theme.

4.8.7 Producing the report

Once the researcher had successfully established the themes, she was ready to initiate the final analysis and to begin producing the report (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The written presentation of the thematic analysis is a concise, coherent, logical, non-repetitive, and engaging narrative of the data both within and across the identified themes, as urged by Nowell et al. (2017). The researcher set out to present the findings in a clear and coherent manner by producing an authentic narrative that supports each identified theme. Illustrative verbatim quotes and examples are provided from the data. The interpretations are presented and discussed according to their significance in the context of homeless victimisation. Participant confidentiality and anonymity are maintained in this dissertation by allocating a code to each respondent and presenting only the code in conjunction with a quote.

4.9 Measures to Ensure Trustworthiness

Shenton (2003) argues that when discussing the credibility of qualitative research, the main objective of the researcher is to establish the authenticity of the portrayed phenomenon. This involves offering comprehensive information about the research context and taking measures to prove that the findings are derived from the collected data rather than influenced by the researcher's personal biases. According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), researchers can enhance the credibility of their research findings by demonstrating trustworthiness. Trustworthiness serves as a means for researchers to convince themselves and their readers that their findings are deserving of attention. Lincoln and Guba (1985) advance the notion of trustworthiness by introducing a set of criteria that mirror the traditional quantitative assessment standards of validity and reliability. These criteria, namely credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability, are currently used in qualitative research to refine understanding of trustworthiness. These criteria, that the researcher used to ensure trustworthiness in the current study, are briefly discussed below.

4.9.1 Credibility

According to Guba and Lincoln (1989), the credibility of a study is established when co-researchers and readers can identify and acknowledge the experiences presented in the research. Credibility focuses on the alignment between the perspectives of the participants and how the researcher portrayed them. Tobin and Begley (2004) further emphasise that credibility involves ensuring that the representations of the researcher accurately reflect the views

expressed by the respondents. The credibility of the current study is ensured as the researcher employed diverse data collection methods such as interviews, observations, and an in-depth literature review to provide a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon under study. The researcher also followed Lincoln and Guba's (1985) suggestion to address credibility by triangulating the data. The researcher also established rapport with the participants which fostered openness and mutual trust. This was achieved through transparent communication, empathy, and maintaining the participants' confidentiality.

4.9.2 Dependability

Dependability, as defined by Long and Johnson (2000), refers to the extent to which a study can be replicated by different researchers. Dependability involves evaluating the consistency of the findings with those of other researchers. Therefore, to effectively address the concern of dependability, it is crucial to provide comprehensive reporting of the processes employed in the study (Sandelowski, 1986). This approach enables future researchers to replicate the work, even if they may not necessarily obtain identical results. To ensure the dependability of the current study, the researcher maintained an audit trail by keeping a record of changes made during the research process, including any modifications to the research questions, the data collection instruments, and the analysis procedures. This approach was used to underscore the transparency of the investigation as all changes can be tracked and emulated, if necessary, as proposed by Koch (1994).

4.9.3 Transferability

Transferability, as discussed by Struwig and Stead (2013), evaluates the extent to which the findings of a study can be applicable and valuable in a context that is similar to that of the original study. Transferability assesses the potential usefulness and relevance of the findings in similar situations. To ensure transferability, the researcher clearly described the study context by providing a detailed description of the research setting, participant selection criteria, and demographic information. This will allow readers and future researchers to assess the relevance and transferability of the study findings to other contexts. This study transparently reported the methods used to select participants and included information on the characteristics of the sample to help readers evaluate the applicability of the findings to similar populations.

4.9.4 Confirmability

As emphasised by Tobin and Begley (2004), confirmability involves the task of ensuring that the interpretations and findings of the researcher are directly derived from the collected data. This suggests that the findings of the study should be exclusively derived from the responses of the participants and not the opinions of the researcher. The emphasis is on the responsibility of the researcher to avoid any potential bias while presenting the findings, and ensuring that the interpretations of the participants' responses are not influenced by any preconceived narratives or personal motivations (Long & Johnson, 2000). Confirmability requires the researcher to explicitly demonstrate the process through which conclusions and interpretations have been reached. Guba and Lincoln (1989) propose that confirmability is attained when credibility, transferability, and dependability are successfully accomplished. In other words, confirmability is achieved when the research findings demonstrate credibility, can be applicable to other contexts, and are replicable by different researchers. The confirmability of the current study is ensured as the researcher established an audit trail by maintaining a clear and transparent record of the research processes of data collection, analysis, and interpretation. This will allow independent verification of the findings. Furthermore, the researcher shared the findings with participants to validate the accuracy of the data and the interpretation of the findings. This iterative process enhanced the confirmability of the study.

4.10 Ethical Considerations

Research is a vital component of scientific and academic progress and contributes to advancements in various fields to benefit society as a whole. However, research must be conducted ethically by ensuring the protection of the rights and welfare of all participants (Neuman, 2014). Ethics, as a discipline within philosophy, refers to the acceptable behaviour of individuals and provides principles that direct the accepted norms and standards of conduct in personal and social relationships (Kovacs, 1985). According to Neuman (2014), ethics establishes the boundaries of acceptable conduct and outlines the principles and practices that govern morally acceptable research procedures. Therefore, it is the responsibility of the researcher not only to employ an appropriate methodology, but also to carry out research in a responsible and ethically justifiable manner. Neuman (2014:147) states:

> "The law and codes of ethics recognize a few clear prohibitions: Never cause unnecessary or irreversible harm to participants, secure prior voluntary consent when possible, and never

unnecessarily humiliate, degrade, or release harmful information about specific individuals that was collected for research purposes."

Ethical considerations in research include a wide range of principles and guidelines that researchers must adhere to, such as informed consent, confidentiality, minimising harm, and ensuring beneficence (Neuman, 2014). In this study, the researcher ensured compliance with all ethical considerations and took proactive measures to identify and eliminate any unfavourable consequences for the participants involved.

4.10.1 Approval letters

Approval letters are an important ethical consideration when human participants are involved because they play a crucial role in protecting the rights, welfare, and privacy of individuals who participate in a research study (Cilliers & Viljoen, 2020). In this context, the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) mandates that any study involving human participants must receive authorisation from the UKZN Research Ethics Committee (Hadebe, 2017). An ethical clearance application was forwarded by the researcher to the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (HSSREC), and the researcher was granted permission to conduct the study (Annexure C).

The researcher also obtained gatekeepers' permission before commencing with the current study. According to Roulston and Martinez (2015), gatekeepers are individuals who hold administrative roles or possess extensive knowledge about a specific setting, and can play a vital role in facilitating entry into a particular community or setting. They offer valuable assistance and are often essential in the process of accessing participants. Therefore, the researcher requested and obtained gatekeepers' permission letters from the eThekwini Municipality Ward 28 Councillor (Annexure D1) and from the Director of Haven of Hope homeless shelter (Annexure D2).

4.10.2 Informed consent

One crucial ethical guideline state that it is imperative to avoid pressuring individuals to take part in research project as their participation should always be voluntary. Neuman (2014:151) defines informed consent as "a statement, usually written, that explains aspects of a study to participants and asks for their voluntary agreement to participate before the study begins".

However, merely obtaining permission is insufficient; individuals must be fully informed about the nature of their involvement in the study, and only then can they make an informed decision (Neuman, 2014). Therefore, the researcher met with the participants and issued forms that contained the necessary information and requested their informed consent (Annexure B). The researcher also explained the nature of the study to the participants in the language that they understood best. Furthermore, the researcher explained that their participation in the study would be voluntary and that they had the right to withdraw at any time should they wish to do so, as was also indicated in the informed consent form. By reading and signing the informed consent statement, the participants were fully aware of their rights and understood the nature of their participation.

4.10.3 Avoidance of harm

Neuman (2014) states that it is the responsibility of the researcher to take precautions to minimise physical, psychological, and emotional harm to participants throughout the research process. Although no physical harm resulted from this study, the sensitive nature of the study potentially placed the participants at risk of stressful, anxiety-producing, or unpleasant situations. Vulnerable participants require additional safeguards to protect their well-being. Therefore, a social worker was recruited who voluntarily facilitated the psychological and emotional well-being of the participants (Annexure E). After each interview, participants were provided with the contact details of a social worker who could offer assistance if they experienced any psychological distress as a result of their involvement in the study. This proactive step aimed to ensure the well-being of participants beyond the research interaction. The familiarity of homeless participants with the organization where the social worker is based proved beneficial, facilitating easier access to support services, as the organisation is also located within the Durban CBD. Additionally, participants were informed of the specific days and time slots during which the social worker would be available, in accordance with the agreed-upon schedule established with the social worker.

4.10.4 Anonymity and confidentiality

Anonymity and confidentiality are critical aspects of ethical research. According to Mugenda (2013), anonymity involves maintaining confidentiality by avoiding the disclosure of participants' ethnic or cultural backgrounds, abstaining from using their names, and refraining from sharing any other confidential details about them. Therefore, the researcher had an

obligation to protect the participants' personal information and ensure that their identities and responses would be kept confidential. Anonymity was and will be maintained as the data and results will always be presented in a manner that prevents the identification of individual participants. For instance, pseudonyms are used in this dissertation to protect the identity and maintain the anonymity of the participants.

According to Neuman (2014: 155), confidentiality is "the ethical protection for those who are studied by holding research data in confidence or keeping them secret from the public; [thus] not releasing information in a way that permits linking specific individuals to specific responses." Wiles's (2008:418) definition of confidentiality states that "researchers have a duty of care to ensure that they do not openly discuss or disclose observations or discussions that involve participants in their research studies". The researcher assured the participants that the information that they would share would be strictly confidential and that no one but the researcher and the supervisor would have access to the data as it would be stored in a safe place at the UKZN and be disposed of once the study was completed. The dissemination of data will also always be protected in ways that minimise the exposure of participants to potential scrutiny or harm.

4.11 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the essential components of the study procedures that were employed to explore homeless people's experiences of and views on violent victimisation. The research objectives and research questions were formulated to guide the study, while a qualitative research design was adopted to explore the lived experiences and narratives of homeless individuals. The selection of participants was carefully considered, and purposive sampling was employed to ensure that data reflecting diverse perspectives and experiences were captured. Ethical considerations were paramount throughout the study, and informed consent was obtained, and measures were put in place to protect the confidentiality and anonymity of the participants. The data collection methods, including in-depth interviews and participant observation, provided rich and nuanced insights into the multifaceted nature of homeless victimisation. Thematic analysis was employed to identify recurring patterns, themes, and meanings within the data, and this approach promoted a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon under investigation.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

5.1 Introduction

The discourse in Chapter two has revealed that homeless people are frequently exposed to various forms of violent behaviours that are perpetrated against them, and that they are therefore at considerably higher risk of falling victim to violence than people in the general public. In the Durban CBD, homeless people do not only face the harsh realities of life on the streets and in shelters, but they are also constantly exposed to the looming threat of violence. Alder (2021) states that homeless individuals are often vulnerable to violence, both as victims and perpetrators, due to their living conditions and lack of access to support services. However, it was imperative to conduct this study in light of the dearth of scholarly literature on the plight of homeless people and their exposure as victims to various forms of violence. A pivotal part of the investigation was to determine whether it is justified to commonly view homeless people as the perpetrators of violence, or whether the tables are sometimes turned, and they are in fact the victims.

This chapter is the heart of the study, as the data that were collected during the interview phase are synthesised thematically and analysed in order to shed light on the disturbing phenomenon of violent behaviours perpetrated against homeless people. To address this issue in depth, the data analysis and interpretations that are presented strive to incorporate both consistent and conflicting findings of the current study into research findings derived from a range of studies and theories in the same field. As suggested by Pophaim (2019), it is important to provide individual narratives detailing the experiences of victimisation by homeless individuals to gain a clear picture of this phenomenon.

To achieve the aim and objectives, this study was guided by the following research questions:

- What types of violent behaviours do homeless people experience?
- What are the root causes of violent behaviours against homeless people?
- What effects do violent behaviours have on homeless people?
- What is the nature of the interaction between homeless individuals and South African law enforcement agencies in response to the victimisation they experience?

In response to these questions, this chapter unpacks the data that were collected during the interviews with the homeless individuals that were recruited for this study. The data analysis process adhered to qualitative data analysis principles as outlined by Braun and Clarke (2006). Initially, codes were created in alignment with the objectives of the study to maintain research focus and gather pertinent information related to the subject. Subsequently, these codes were organised, leading to the formulation of thematic patterns. Where applicable, the key themes were scrutinised in conjunction with the existing body of literature to augment our scholarly understandings of the issues that homeless individuals face who are subjected to violence and abusive behaviours. Overall, seventeen (n=17) participants were interviewed, and they are referred to by pseudonyms (P1 to P17) to ensure their anonymity. It is also important to note that, of the 17 participants who were interviewed, only 12 had experienced violent victimisation as homeless individuals. It is also noteworthy that the majority of the participants who reported experiences of victimisation were from the streets, and not from the shelter. The participants' narratives and comments are presented verbatim to ensure the authentic reporting of their voices in this study.

5.2 Pathways into Homelessness

Numerous myths and misunderstandings exist concerning homelessness. Many believe that being homeless is a matter of choice, and many more assume that those experiencing homelessness could easily improve their situation if they wished to do so (Parsell & Parsell, 2012). Some mistakenly think that homelessness results solely from laziness or occurs as a consequence of individuals fleeing their homes. It is therefore crucial to emphasise that homelessness is not always a matter of choice. Previous studies, such as the one by Gaetz, Donaldson, Richter and Gulliver (2013), have revealed various concerning factors regarding pathways into homelessness, while Echenberg and Jensen (2012), Larney, Conroy and Mills (2009), and Hyde (2015) specifically refer to the fact that experiencing maltreatment within the family increases the likelihood of an individual becoming homeless.

5.2.1 Childhood adversity

The following narratives that were shared by the participants offered a vivid depiction of how childhood adversity can serve as a route leading to homelessness. P1 stated:

"I do not get along with my stepmother. I was suffering a lot in that house."

P4 said:

> *"I don't have parents. I don't have an adult who could protect me if I get into trouble because if people were at a loss, and because I smoke drugs, they would come and do anything to me because I don't have anyone to protect me. It forced me to leave my home and come to Durban."*

P6 shared the following:

> *"My parents died. I lived with my aunt and then me and my aunt did not get along well, and I thought it was better to just leave."*

P8 stated:

> *"I was being sexually abused by my stepfather. He abused me to a point where I ended up pregnant. I ran away from home to be away from that man."*

5.2.2 Poverty

Speak (2019) argues that poverty is a major contributor to homelessness across the world, particularly as it is due to deprived rural livelihoods and the lack of services and opportunities in rural settings which are, in turn, linked to people's desire to access opportunities provided by expanding urban environments. Many individuals are pushed by poverty to leave their underdeveloped and poverty-stricken home environments, at least temporarily, in search of better economic and social prospects in developed cities or towns. If they earn an income in these spaces, they are able to send remittances home to support the family (Speak, 2019).

The participants, who all hailed from poverty-stricken and deprived circumstances, sketched a picture of struggle and adversity. For instance, P2 stated:

> *"I lived with my grandmother, and I realized that I will be a burden if I keep asking her for things whereas I don't work, and she is struggling as it is...I decided to come to Durban to try my luck."*

According to the literature, unemployment typically exacerbates poverty and its impacts, causing individuals to struggle to gain access to money to pay for their essential living expenses (Shildrick & MacDonald, 2012). This often results in their incapacity to secure suitable housing and, in severe instances, it results in homelessness. These arguments were confirmed by P11, P12, and P14 who shared how losing their jobs and becoming unemployed had caused their homelessness.

P11 said:

> "*The reason why I am homeless is that I lost my job, and I couldn't pay rent. Living in a shelter is a much better option currently."*

Similarly, P12 shared the following:

> *"I lost my job and struggled to meet my financial requirements. No one was willing to assist me, and as a result, I was evicted."*

P14 stated:

> *"I was struggling to get work in Cape Town, so I came to Durban, and Durban is the first place where I have stayed in a shelter."*

5.2.3 Substance abuse

The literature also identifies substance abuse as one of the major contributors to homelessness, arguing that a link exists between homelessness and substance abuse (Shelton, 2019; Nooe & Patterson, 2010; Johnson & Fendrich, 2017). Most of the participants in the current study identified substance and drug use as a major contributing factor to their sustained homelessness. This finding corroborated a statement made by Shelton (2019), which is that addictive disorders disrupt family and friendship relations and often result in people losing employment.

P9 stated:

> *"Let's just say, I befriended the wrong crowd, found myself being addicted to drugs and now, here I am."*

P3 shared stated:

> *"Where I was, I was selling drugs for someone, and they shot the person and killed him. Now people think that I am responsible for him being shot because I was with him during the incident. Then I thought it was better to go and suffer, even if I sleep outside it is okay. Everything will be okay."*

P5 also referred to drug abuse:

> *"My own reason for being like this is the drugs I smoke. I used to get out of hand and you would find that there were things I was taking in a way that was not right. So that made me find myself running away from my hometown to Durban."*

P7 had similar experiences which were described as follows:

> *"After the loss of my employment, that is where it all started. I tried to use a drug because it made me feel better, without knowing that this drug will want to control me at the end of the day, because when it is wanted, it is wanted by force."*

The above narratives underscored the complex nature of the interconnected factors that contributed to the homeless status of the study participants, and it was evident that family conflicts and strained relationships played a significant role in their respective journeys to homelessness. P1, P4, P6 and P8 shared personal experiences of familial issues, abuse, and the need to escape difficult circumstances that made life in their households untenable. This finding aligned with those of other studies that also found a relationship between poverty and homelessness (Speak, 2019: Shildrick & MacDonald, 2012). Participants such as P2 expressed concern about burdening their families due to their inability to contribute financially to the household, and this drove them to seek opportunities to earn a living in urban areas. Furthermore, easy access to drugs and substance abuse led to unemployment, which was experienced by P11, P12 and P14 who explained how losing their jobs led to financial instability and, ultimately, to homelessness. Substance abuse clearly emerged as a key theme in both the findings and the existing literature. Many participants acknowledged that addiction was a key feature of their homeless condition, and there is much corroborating evidence in the literature that suggests that substance misuse can disrupt relationships and lead to unemployment (Nooe & Patterson, 2010; Shelton, 2019; Johnson & Fendrich, 2017). In the current study, P9, P3, P5 and P7 alluded to the impact of drug abuse on the trajectory of their lives, with some noting that addiction had compelled them to leave their hometowns in search of a fresh start.

5.3 The Types of Violent Behaviours Experienced by Homeless People

The participants referred to distressing experiences of violent behaviours being perpetrated against them and described the various forms of violence they had experienced, and were still experiencing, while being homeless. Table 5.1 below lists the sub-themes that emerged from the data, showing that the majority of the participants (58%) indicated that they had been on the receiving end of physical violence as homeless individuals. As the findings correlated with those of earlier researchers, it was accepted that the most prevalent forms of violent

victimisation that homeless people experience are both physical and verbal (Novac, 2006; Sadiki, 2016; Pophaim, 2019).

Table 5.1: Violent behaviours the participants commonly experienced

Sub-theme	Number	Percentage (%)
Extreme physical abuse and violence	7	58%
Verbal harassment	5	29%
Property theft and damage	4	24%
Sexual harassment	2	12%

Source: Researcher's summary

Some participants had been exposed to more than one form of violence. It was mostly the participants living on the streets who provided multiple examples, as compared to those living in the shelter.

5.3.1 Extreme physical abuse

Studies have shown that homeless people are at higher risk of falling victim to violence compared to people who are housed (Whitbeck, 2019). This statement by Whitbeck (2019) was corroborated by the current participants, who revealed that physical abuse was the most common form of violent victimisation that they had experienced. Newburn and Rock (2005) state that homeless people are highly likely to encounter anti-social behaviour and hate crimes against them when they mingle with the general public. The fear of being exposed to physical abuse and violence was an alarming and deeply distressing dimension of the homeless participants' daily lives, as their fear exacerbated the already profound hardships they encountered as homeless individuals. The findings of the current research corroborated the literature as they underscored the widespread nature of the plight of these homeless individuals who experienced various forms of violence amidst their homeless condition. These distressing statistics are a stark reminder of the vulnerability of the homeless and the danger of physical harm that they are often exposed to, as exemplified by the participants' narratives.[2]

[2] It is important to emphasise that the responses of the participants are unaltered and presented exactly as provided to maintain authenticity.

P1 stated:

> "*The way we sleep on the street, the Metro Police come and take our blankets and chase us away while we are sleeping...they beat us when we tell them that we don't have another place to sleep.*"

P2 narrated the following experience:

> "*I was sleeping in this terminal when people came who were on strike with the EFF and all my teeth came out. As you can see, I have no teeth. I was beaten and it was said that there was a boy who was robbed while we were sleeping, but I never robbed anyone*."

P5 also shared a similar experience of physical abuse:

> "*…being beaten and poured with water while sleeping… just like the other day we were poured with water while sleeping with our last blankets...Another thing, you be just sleeping, and someone passes by and kicks you because we are sleeping on the street, and you hear of someone stomping on your feet and even on your head*."

According to the literature, the homeless are at high risk of physical assault in the form of beatings, stabbings, kicks, or objects being thrown at them (Lebow & Brennan, 2017). This elevated risk is primarily linked to their exposure to the public and their deprived circumstances, and the violence and intolerance they experience are generally perpetrated by prejudiced individuals with stable housing.

P6 stated:

> "*The community is bothering us, and not a little...they beat us on the back with a stick and when you ask why you are being beaten, they say it is because we are stealing from them*."

On a similar note, P7 said:

> "*People don't hesitate to just slap you because you are smoking, whereas you have done nothing wrong. We are in a struggle and fighting a war."*

What further stood out was the nature of the people who perpetrated acts of violence against the homeless. In some instances, law enforcement officials used excessive force when interacting with homeless individuals, and the brutal nature of the physical assault they subjected homeless people to resulted in mild to severe injuries, and even in fatalities. Most assaults by law enforcement officials and the general public occurred as beatings, the use of

Tasers, kicking, slapping, and pouring water over the homeless, depriving them of any protection against the elements, and ignoring their pleas for assistance. In this context, P1 stated:

> *"The Metro Police take our blankets away and put them in their huge van or even in dust bins if we refuse to move from a particular place…although there are some members of the public that treat us good and some bad, but we are mostly assaulted by strangers, even for just passing by."*

P5 mentioned the following:

> "*Although not often, the police sometimes harass us because when they lack arrests, they pick us up to fill out their arrests."*

The homeless participants admitted that they were often exposed to violent behaviours at the hands of the general public. Empirical data provided by earlier research suggest that men are more frequently associated with a higher likelihood of engaging in physical altercations or violent behaviours compared to women. This pattern has been observed across various contexts and is often attributed to a combination of biological, social, and cultural factors. When considering the public's interactions with homeless individuals, this historical pattern of male involvement in physical altercations or violence has persisted to this day (Archer, 2022). However, factors such as economic stress, substance abuse, and mental health issues also contribute to aggressive behaviour aimed at homeless individuals, irrespective of their gender.

P5 stated the following:

> "*Men who are drunk always kick us when we are sleeping. They kick us on our feet and even on our heads*."

P2 highlighted the intolerance of the public for homeless people:

> "*Society treats us bad, very bad, as if we are nothing but animals…men usually are the ones who beat us."*

The narratives of the participants were a poignant testimony to the harsh and perilous existence these homeless individuals faced. The stories of their experiences painted a distressing picture of life on the streets, as individuals who were compelled to live in this manner were confronted by a multitude of challenges that were both environmental and societal. First and foremost, their accounts highlighted the profound vulnerability of homeless people, especially of those who were exposed to the threat of physical dangers lurking in public spaces. These individuals

lacked the security and protection that stable housing typically provides. The absence of a safe and stable environment exposed them not only to the elements such as extreme weather conditions, but also to the unpredictability of violent and intolerant human behaviour.

The very act of sleeping in public spaces, as described by P1, P2 and P5, was described as an ordeal that was exacerbated by constant insecurity. The revelation that the Metro Police tended to take away their only blankets and assault them at will revealed that the basic necessities of these people, like warmth and rest, were disrupted by external forces. The vulnerability of these homeless individuals was further accentuated by the fact that, for some, sleeping in a terminal or on the street was a harrowing experience as they risked being physically harmed by strangers and even law enforcement officers. Moreover, these narratives illustrated how these homeless individuals lived in a constant state of alertness as they always needed to be on guard against potential threats. The need to sleep is basic for all human beings, but it was a perilous activity for the homeless participants living on the streets as they faced the risk of being kicked, drenched with water, or physically assaulted, as recounted by P5. This heightened state of vulnerability and fear undeniably exacerbated the already considerable hardships associated with their homelessness.

Moreover, the narratives also reflected the concept of victim precipitation, which is a theory in Criminology that suggests that victims may initiate, either actively or passively, confrontations that lead to their victimisation. In the case of the homeless participants, their mere presence in public spaces, driven by the necessity to find shelter, food, or fulfil other basic needs, was a form of passive victim precipitation. This theory explains how their fundamental need to survive positioned them in situations where they were highly likely to encounter crime and victimisation. Their lack of stable housing and constant exposure to public spaces made them easy accessible targets, and their basic survival instincts inadvertently put them in situations where they were subjected to violence and danger.

5.3.2 Verbal harassment

Scurfield (2014) highlights that verbal harassment is frequently disregarded as it is deemed the least significant kind of victimisation that homeless people encounter. This perspective reflects a common tendency to underestimate the importance of verbal abuse against homeless individuals, implying that it is often not taken as seriously as physical violence or other forms

of victimisation. Contrary to this perspective, the participants of the current study shared that the most common form of violent victimisation they encountered daily, aside from physical abuse, was verbal harassment. The current study made the disconcerting revelation that the homeless people under study were extraordinarily susceptible to verbal abuse, as the participants admitted to enduring a barrage of offensive language, threats, and insults from various members of the general public and even law enforcement officers. This unfortunate pattern of offensive speech and mistreatment aligned with previous research by Merrill (2012), who also documented instances of homeless individuals being targeted with derogatory comments, harmful threats, and hurtful insults.

The participants' responses were in line with findings by Casey, Goudie and Reeve (2008), who assert that homeless individuals spend a considerable amount of time in public areas where they often come into contact with pedestrians and motorists who verbally harass them. This harassment may take the form of shouting derogatory remarks or using discriminatory language based on homeless people's appearance, life circumstances, or the stereotypes commonly associated with homelessness.

This abuse was evident in a response by P9:

> "*This is exactly what I experience every day. I spend a lot of time in public places because I have nowhere else to go. People passing by around here at The Workshop often shout hurtful things at me, making me feel even more humiliated and hopeless. They judge me based on how I look and assume things about my life. It's tough out here, and this kind of verbal abuse just adds to the struggles of what I'm already going through, which is being homeless."*

Similarly, P2 stated:

> *"We are used to being insulted; they call us anything they like. They call us all different kinds of insults."*

P3 provided another example of a personal experience of verbal abuse:

> *"Insults exist, especially if you go to pick up something like scrap metal without asking for it, and maybe someone else was using it and you don't know it's theirs... I get insulted and removed violently when I pick up a metal that I see as if it doesn't work, they [possible owners] get angry and I find myself being insulted."*

Casey et al. (2008) and Farha (2015) emphasise the distressing aspect of verbal abuse directed at homeless individuals on the streets through the use of dehumanising language. Farha (2015) states that this occurs when people refer to homeless people using derogatory terms, slurs, or insults that reduce them to stereotypes or objects. By not acknowledging their humanity, such language strips away their identity and reduces them to nothing due to their homeless status. Amongst others, terms like 'bum', 'addict', or 'junkie' are used instead of addressing individuals by their names or as fellow human beings. Such derogatory terms devalue their worth and reinforce the negative stigma associated with homelessness.

P7 shared the following experience:

> "*They call us names. The word 'para' is an insult in itself. Sometimes people take advantage of the fact that you are a para and task you to do a difficult job, only to give you a small amount of money to exploit you. We are just being exploited".*

By closely observing the environment the homeless participants lived in, the researcher found that verbal abuse directed at homeless individuals were frequently accompanied by negative facial expressions as passers-by openly displayed their disapproval or discomfort. This involved contorting their faces into expressions of disdain, disgust, or even anger when encountering a homeless person. Common non-verbal cues used by the public included raised eyebrows, scowls, wrinkled noses, or curled lips, all of which conveyed their negative feelings when they glanced at homeless individuals or groups. Fiske (2011) suggests that members of the public may take their expressions of contempt a step further by sneering at homeless people, which was a habit that the researcher also observed. Sneering entails curling the lip in a mocking or condescending manner, often accompanied by a derisive gaze.

P4 shared an expression that was hurled at him and that is commonly used to reject homeless people:

> *"If you're just looking out for yourself, you'll hear people yelling at you, 'Hey, para, piss off, get out of here, you're dirty and smelly'."*

The homeless participants faced numerous challenges on a daily basis, and one of the most basic yet critical needs they struggled with was maintaining personal hygiene and sanitation. Public restrooms were often their only refuge for addressing these fundamental human requirements. The homeless individuals already grappled with issues such as lack of shelter,

limited access to nutritious food, and inadequate healthcare, and for them access to public restrooms served as a lifeline where they were accorded momentary respite from the harsh realities of living on the streets. Here they could wash their hands and faces, use the toilet, and try to maintain a semblance of personal hygiene, which were basic but crucial activities for their physical and mental well-being. However, Pauly (2014) states that the unfortunate reality is that accessing these facilities is not without challenges, as homeless individuals often encounter verbal abuse and discriminatory behaviour by other users of these facilities who are uncomfortable sharing the space with them.

P8 narrated such an experience as follows:

> *"I cannot even go to the public toilets without being told how dirty and stinking I am. I mean, I am not bothering anyone, I am not even asking them for money or for food. I just want to use the bathroom!"*

P2 also stated:

> *"To avoid the insults, the best way to do so is to go clean ourselves at the beach, because we are not welcome here [in public toilets]."*

These and other similar responses by the participants provided a deeply unsettling and sobering glimpse into the lives of homeless individuals who had to endure the brutal reality of verbal victimisation on a daily basis. These narratives exposed a distressing picture of life on the streets where individuals who were already grappling with a myriad challenges associated with homelessness were subjected to the additional and weighty burden of relentless verbal abuse. It was within these accounts by the participants that the harshness of their existence became painfully apparent. As conveyed through their personal narratives, the homeless individuals navigated a hostile environment where they were constantly confronted with the harshness of words. These words, laden with derogatory intent, targeted their very identities and cast them into a cycle of dehumanisation that exacerbated their already dire circumstances. Casey et al. (2008) illuminate the systemic nature of this issue, underscoring that homelessness frequently forces individuals into public spaces where they become unwitting targets of scorn and discrimination. This societal phenomenon is further corroborated by the insights of Farha (2015) and Pauly (2014), who emphasise the deeply distressing nature of the verbal abuse directed at homeless individuals.

The narratives presented above are closely aligned with the victim precipitation theory which explains the impact of relentless verbal victimisation on homeless individuals. The victim precipitation theory posits that victims, through their actions, may initiate or escalate the victimisation process. In the context of homelessness, this theory suggests that these individuals, by virtue of being visibly present in public spaces, inadvertently become targets of verbal abuse due to their appearance and lack of general hygiene. However, most homeless individuals, like those participating in the study, are essentially passive victims who do not actively provoke confrontation or verbal abuse. Instead, their mere presence in public spaces, driven by their lack of housing and the need to survive, makes them vulnerable targets. In this situation, they become victims due to their status and location. The derogatory words and dehumanising language used against them become a form of victim precipitation, as the victims are subjected to verbal abuse simply because of their visible homelessness.

Additionally, the study also exposed elements of the deviant place theory, which is a theory that suggests that crime and victimisation are likely to occur in certain spaces that are associated with certain characteristics. In the case of homeless individuals, public spaces become their de facto dwelling locations, as was the case for the study participants. These spaces, while essential for their survival, also exposed them to a high risk of victimisation. The means that public areas, that were often devoid of guardianship and security measures, became breeding grounds for the verbal victimisation of these homeless people. However, these individuals, who were placed in deviant or high-risk locations, were not there by choice but by circumstance, and this made them susceptible to verbal abuse simply because they were present in these spaces.

5.3.3 Property theft and damage

When the participants were asked about the various forms of violent behaviours they had experienced while homeless, only four (24%) mentioned property theft and damage. This finding thus challenges the prevailing belief that theft is the most common form of victimisation that homeless individuals are subjected to (Novac, 2016). While theft is often considered a non-violent crime, the participants emphasised the use of force and threats by perpetrators in a number of instances. For instance, P10 stated:

> "*In my experience, I definitely had my things being stolen when I was homeless. When I talk about theft, it's not just about someone quietly taking my things while I slept. It*

was often a terrifying experience. I've had people forcefully grabbing my belongings, and some even threatened to slap me if I didn't give them what they wanted. So, while it might not seem like your typical 'violent' act, the use of force and threats during these thefts made me feel physically unsafe and vulnerable. It's not just about losing your stuff, it's about the fear and intimidation that comes with it. So, in my opinion, property theft can absolutely be a form of violence when you consider the circumstances."

This observation elicited a nuanced perspective on the understanding of property theft within homeless communities. The prevailing notion that theft and physical aggression are the most common forms of victimisation among homeless individuals has been based on legitimate concerns (Novac, 2016). Generally, homeless people tend to carry all their possessions with them, which makes them highly vulnerable to theft, especially when they inadvertently fall asleep in public places. In such instances, the experience of physical victimisation is often motivated by theft, as Sadiki (2016:44) highlights.

P16 stated:

"*I've experienced situations where my belongings were stolen, and it wasn't just about losing stuff. It was about feeling exposed and violated. But what's interesting is that some of these thefts were driven by desperation. Some people around me were also struggling to make it through each day. It's like we were all stuck in this cycle of need, and it led to conflicts and, at times, confrontations."*

The study also revealed that some perpetrators of violence against homeless people were sometimes homeless individuals themselves. While it is essential to admit that not all homeless individuals engage in criminal activities, Tyler (2016) asserts that some homeless people may resort to theft and property damage due to their own desperate circumstances or substance abuse issues. In the harsh environment that the homeless live and where resources are scarce, competition for survival can lead to conflict and, in some cases, criminal behaviour among homeless peers.

P17 shared such an experience as follows:

"*In my experience of being homeless, I've come to realise that it's not always 'outsiders' who steal from us. Surprisingly, it's sometimes those of us within the homeless*

community who resort to such behaviours. You might think just because a person sees you struggling like them, they will understand. Unfortunately, they don't."

Participants P16 and P17 also illustrated that property theft by the homeless from other homeless individuals was driven by desperation and the intense competition for limited resources. This internal dynamic highlighted the complexity of homelessness and revealed how even those within the homeless community would engage in criminal behaviours due to their dire circumstances. According to the participants, the harsh environment of homelessness, where resources were scarce and survival a daily struggle, led to conflicts and even criminal behaviour by homeless individuals or groups.

5.3.4 Sexual harassment

Only a few of the participants (12%) indicated that they had experienced sexual harassment. An apt definition of sexual harassment in the context of the study is that it is "any form of unwanted verbal, nonverbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature … with the purpose or effect of violating the dignity of a person, in particular when creating an intimidating, hostile, degrading, humiliating or offensive environment" (Parudi & Barickman, 2021:125). Incidences of sexual harassment were identified by Cynthia (2019), who found that sexual harassment of homeless people included name calling of a sexual nature; intrusive, sexually explicit remarks or jokes about their revealing torn clothing, body, or sexual activities; and sexual innuendo. Only two women in the current study admitted to being sexually harassed.

P9 stated:

"*There was this one time when I was collecting cans from the dustbin near the taxi rank right there. There was a group of taxi drivers, and I heard one shouting that if only I was not this dirty or smelly, he would have slept with me, but now he was scared I will make his private parts dirty. What I am trying to tell you is that it is not uncommon for us to hear such comments considering our situation.*"

Similarly, P10 said:

"*I have been using these clothes for a while now. As you can see, there are holes in between my thighs. Imagine picking up something and you hear: 'Hey para, close those legs, we don't want you stinking the whole place with your dirty privates!' Humiliating, right? But such is life."*

The above narratives correlated with a finding by Tyler and Beal (2011), who argue that exposure of parts of the body is a key factor in the sexual harassment of homeless people, particularly women. Tyler and Beal (2011) further state that homeless individuals who engage in certain survival strategies in public are at great risk of being sexually harassed. The current study affirmed this notion, considering that both P9 and P10 were in the process of picking up cans to sell when they experienced sexual harassment and solicitation based on their appearance and torn clothing. This finding suggests that even simple survival strategies may expose homeless individuals to those who will exploit their physical vulnerability with the threat of sexual assault.

Tyler and Beal (2011) also suggest that homeless individuals with limited physical appeal are at high risk of sexual victimisation as perpetrators perceive them as vulnerable targets who are unlikely to have support and whose victimisation will not result in adverse repercussions. Furthermore, the literature indicates that female homeless individuals are more prone to encountering elevated levels of sexual victimisation compared to their male counterparts (Couldrey, 2010; Kushel et al., 2003). The data generated in the current study affirmed this notion, as it was female participants who reported incidences of sexual victimisation and not their male counterparts.

5.4 The Situational Context of Homeless Victimisation

The victimisation vulnerability of an individual or a group can be evaluated by determining their ability to avoid or prevent being victimised (Fischer, 2012). Due to lack of adequate shelter and the fact that they occupy the streets at all hours of the day and night, homeless people lack control over the environment in which they live. There is a dire absence of personal space and even a door to close and lock at night. These factors exacerbate their vulnerability, and they therefore attract victimisation (Garland, 2014). This theme that emerged from the data responded to the second objective of the study, which was to understand the underlying factors that cause homelessness in the Durban inner-city area. The sub-themes that were related to this main theme exposed the specific circumstances or conditions in which the violent behaviours that the participants experienced occurred. These are summarised in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2: Factors contributing to homeless victimisation

Sub-theme	Number	Percentage (%)
Collective punishment	6	50%
Stigma based on appearance	4	33%
Visibility and vulnerability	3	25%
Impaired judgement due to substance use	2	17%

Source: Researcher's summary

The data revealed significant diversity among the experiences of the study participants related to the causes of their victimisation as homeless individuals. The summary in the above table does not represent a 100% total because the participants could identify multiple potential factors that amplified their vulnerability to victimisation. It is noteworthy that certain factors highlighted in the literature were not mentioned, while new ones were introduced by the participants.

5.4.1 Collective punishment

When asked to identify the possible causes leading to their victimisation, half of the participants (50%) identified collective punishment as the most prevalent reason why they were victimised. According to Aitchison and Meckled-Garcia's (2021:15), collective punishment can be defined as follows:

> "[It is] a punitive action or treatment imposed on a group or individuals, often in response to the actions or behaviour of a few members within that group or population. Such action involves holding all members of the group responsible, regardless of their individual involvement or guilt, based on the actions of a few."

The findings of the current study were in line with this definition, as the majority of the respondents attributed their victimisation to the fact that they were collectively punished. This means that they felt that they were targeted or harmed due to the actions of a few individuals within the homeless population. They argued that they had been violently victimised because of their affiliation with or the characteristics that they shared with other homeless people who tended to commit criminal acts for survival. For instance, P1 stated:

"It's because there are others like us who are bad. Since they do bad things, we end up getting bounded into one category and all become bad in the eyes of others, making it hard to separate even the good ones from the bad."

P3 said:

"I think the reason we suffer is because of those we pick up trash with, as many of them also steal. That's what I think. Because when you pick up something, someone will ask why you didn't ask for permission to pick it up, even when you see that that thing was not in use. Most of the time that is the reason. When they [those who steal] start doing their thing of stealing, they ruin things for us. Now, even if you are good, you are the same as those who steal to the people because a rotten potato spoils the whole bag."

Similarly, P5 stated:

"They charge us with crimes we do not commit. You'd find that a person had been robbed before by someone who sleep on the streets like me. So, when he sees someone like me, he becomes angry and be like, 'These are the people who take our phones'. We are bound by the same belt."

The narratives presented above shed light on a complex and often misunderstood aspect of homelessness, which is the link between homelessness and criminal behaviour as a means of survival. It is crucial to understand that, within the homeless community, just like in any other group, there is a spectrum of individuals with diverse backgrounds, circumstances, and choices that are made daily. This means that some homeless people may precipitate homeless victimisation that is not only aimed at them, but also at other homeless individuals who do not engage in criminal behaviours. When a few homeless individuals engage in criminal behaviour or other negative actions, these actions elicit the perception that all homeless people share these traits, and this leads to collective punishment (Meckled-Garcia, 2021). In this context, P4 stated:

"When living on the streets, people judge you by how you behave. If you are a good person, they don't hurt you, if you are the one bothering them, then they hurt you. I, for one, have never been beaten because I don't bother people."

P6 shared the following:

"Others who make us end up suffering are the ones who are homeless like us, who commit robbery. We end up not being able to enter other places like ranks so that we could try and make a living because we end up being beaten and they say that we are the one committing robberies."

P4 added the following insight:

> *"Another thing are the ways of hustling we engage in, like picking up trash for recycling. But then, we are not all the same. There are those who do bad things, maybe like robbing. But because we all live on the streets, we end up being one thing to the people."*

These findings confirm the notion held by the victim precipitation theory that, in some cases, victims may play a role, consciously or unconsciously, in causing their victimisation. Victim precipitation reveals a complex interplay between individual behaviours and the collective experiences of the homeless population. Some homeless individuals may, regrettably, engage in disruptive or criminal behaviours which, under the lens of the victim precipitation theory, can be seen as contributing to their own vulnerability to victimisation. However, the repercussions of these actions extend beyond the individual level as they can trigger a ripple effect that will result in what has been described as collective punishment. When a subset of homeless individuals exhibits behaviours that raise concerns or draw negative attention, authorities or society at large may respond not by addressing the underlying issues, but by implementing measures and attitudes that impact the entire homeless community (Truman, 2011). This collective punishment serves as a stark example of how the actions of a few can precipitate consequences affecting the entire group (Helle, 2014), which further compounds the challenges faced by homeless individuals.

5.4.2 Stigma based on appearance

People who are homeless are typically labelled because of their social standing that is reflected in their attire, and homeless individuals often have limited access to clean and appropriate clothing. According to Dennis (2017), homeless people wear worn-out, tattered, or mismatched clothing due to poverty and their circumstances. This can lead to judgement by others who might associate their appearance with negative stereotypes. Homeless individuals typically have a limited wardrobe because they may not have access to laundry facilities or the means to purchase new clothing. As a result, they often wear the same clothes repeatedly, which can lead to clothing becoming worn-out, torn, or dirty. P2 confirmed this as follows:

> *"Maybe it's the condition we're in, maybe it's because we live on the streets which is why we get dirty. After all, we take some things from the bins and sometimes we carry them with our hands and take them with us to put them where we put them, so obviously*

we're going to get dirty. We don't even have a wardrobe in the street so that maybe we can put clothes in. We don't even have a bathtub to bathe in."

The participants acknowledged that one of the contributory factors to their victimisation was the visible signs of their homelessness, arguing that this made them easy targets for victimisation. This finding corroborated the assertion by Ellickson (2015) that carrying their belongings in bags, pushing shopping carts filled with possessions, and sleeping in public spaces are often visible signs of homelessness. People who display these behaviours are stigmatised because they are seen as 'different' or 'disruptive'. In this context, P8 stated:

"As you can see around you, most of us are carrying cardboards and plastic bags. You can easily see that this is a person living on the streets. You become an easy target for discrimination and harassment because people think that you are going to bother them, even just by walking around and not bothering anyone."

Homeless individuals are often stereotyped and stigmatised by society. This theme that emerged from the data related to the definition of bias-motivated behaviour by Garafolo and Martin (2013:162), which states that such behaviour is "an act in which the perpetrator appears to be motivated by a characteristic(s), such as race, colour, national religion, sexual orientation, or social status, of the victim that identifies the victim as a member of some group toward which the perpetrator feels animosity". It can be argued that the attitude of the general public towards the homeless is not always negative. However, stereotyping and misconceptions about homeless individuals are the drivers of persistent negative attitudes and people then tend to falsely believe that all homeless individuals are lazy, addicted to drugs, or prone to criminal behaviour solely based on their appearance (Garafolo & Martin, 2013). These perceptions foster feelings of animosity and prejudice against homeless people. The following statement made by P7 confirmed the aforementioned:

"The fact that we are dirty leads to people taking us for granted."

The responses related to this theme implied that the participants believed that there was a connection between their physical appearance and how they were treated by others in society. The finding that the participants felt that their dirty appearance made them vulnerable to victimisation and that people therefore did not treat them with respect or consideration thus affirmed Garafolo and Martin's (2013) definition of bias-motivated behaviours. The participants highlighted that their dirty and unkempt appearance made others perceive them as

not deserving of basic respect and dignity. They felt that this perception resulted in their rejection and the fact that they were overlooked when they needed assistance or empathy from others. These findings confirmed Grattet and Jenness's (2011) argument that a perpetrator's violent behaviour towards a homeless victim is motivated by animus, hatred, or hostility towards homeless people.

The responses cited above also underscored the impact of visible markers of homelessness, such as pushing trolleys, and carrying cardboard signs and plastic bags, as P8 argued that these made homeless individuals easily identifiable to the public. The participants acknowledged that this visibility could lead to discrimination and harassment. In general, people often assume that homeless individuals are a nuisance or a potential threat, even if they are simply going about their business without bothering anyone (Vitelli, 2021). This assumption can result in negative treatment and victimisation based solely on appearance and stereotyping associated with homelessness.

The accounts the participants shared that related to this theme were closely aligned with the victim precipitation theory and the tenets of the deviant place theory. The analysis of these data shed light on the experiences of homeless individuals who faced biased-motivated behaviours due to their physical appearance and the visible markers of homelessness they carried. The victim precipitation theory clearly underscores the participants' experiences, as they were victimised due to their visible characteristics—particularly their dirty and unkempt appearance—and this inadvertently made them vulnerable to mistreatment, as described by the passive victim precipitation theory. By simply being visibly dirty, they became targets of biased-motivated behaviours, hence they experienced disrespect and discrimination. Their victimisation therefore did not occur as a result of their actions, but rather as a consequence of societal bias and prejudice against unkempt individuals who are homeless.

Secondly, the deviant place theory was pertinent concerning the visible markers of homelessness mentioned by the participants, such as carrying cardboard signs and plastic bags in public spaces. According to this theory, certain places attract crime and victimisation, and the visible markers the homeless participants carried were recognisable symbols of their homelessness. They were therefore designated and judged as part of the unwanted marginalised group (i.e., the homeless) that frequents public spaces. As a result, they were readily subjected to discrimination and harassment simply because they were present in these spaces even if they

were not causing any trouble. Their visibility in public areas was thus a factor that caused their victimisation, and this finding highlighted the impact of location on the safety of the homeless.

5.4.3 Visibility and vulnerability

The literature suggests that homeless people suffer from residential and spatial marginality as they do not have stable housing, which is an important source of protection (Snow & Mulcahy, 2011). Most homeless people carry their belongings with them and, as marginalised individuals, they are then perceived as 'outsiders' who are not worthy members of society. In this regard, P9 stated:

> *"I believe I experience victimisation because of my unstable housing situation and the fact that I don't have a place to call home. We have to carry our belongings with us, and that makes us visible and deemed 'outsiders' by other people. When you are like us, you're often seen as not fully belonging to the community. People may not understand our struggles, and they abuse us just because we are 'different'."*

Grattet and Jenness's (2011) argument of discriminatory selection asserts that the perpetrator intentionally chooses the victim because of a certain characteristic which, in this case, was the homelessness of the victim. The perpetrator in this instance was not driven by hate or hostility towards the homeless person, but targeted the victim in the belief that his homeless status made him more vulnerable and thus an easy target for victimisation. Pagan (2021) argues that homeless individuals are often perceived as easy targets for victimisation because they do not have secure places to store their belongings or protect themselves from harm. P2, P4 and P5 shared experiences of how perpetrators intentionally chose homeless individuals as victims not out of hate or hostility, but because they perceived them as vulnerable and easy targets.

P2 shared the following experience:

> *"We are sleeping on cardboards in bus terminals. They see that we are sleeping but they say that we have robbed someone and then they beat us."*

P4 stated:

> *"We live on the streets; this makes us to be taken for granted."*

P5 also shared:

> *"We sleep on the streets. You'll be sleeping then you feel a kick. You wake up, only to find that a passer-by was kicking you."*

The implication of the above responses can, to some extent, be linked to the theory of deviant place that was introduced by Rodney Stark (1987). This theory posits that victims experience victimisation simply because they are in a 'bad area'. The account shared by P2 of sleeping on cardboard sheets in a bus terminal affirmed that perpetrators would intentionally choose homeless individuals as easy targets and not because of personal animosity, which underscored the notion that they are perceived as vulnerable in deviant spaces. Similarly, the experience shared by P4 acknowledged homelessness as a deviant 'place' where perpetrators would target victims due to their deprived living conditions. P5's experience of being kicked while sleeping on the street further demonstrated how the perpetrators exploited the vulnerability of the homeless, which also aligned with the tenets of the deviant place theory.

5.4.4 Impaired judgement due to substance use

Seventeen percent (17%) of the participants believed that using illicit substances, mostly drugs, contributed to their victimisation. This finding corresponded with Stein and Gelberg's (2015) explanation that homeless individuals who struggle with substance addiction may make risky choices or engage in behaviours that put them in dangerous situations. The participants revealed that their use of substances like marijuana and weed resulted in impulsive decisions that they often later regretted. This finding substantiated Whelan and Conrod's (2012) argument that substance use often reduces inhibitions and increases impulsivity. P15 stated:

> *"When you're homeless and dealing with addiction, it's a daily struggle. I remember this one time I was caught for shoplifting in one of the Indian shops around here. I was not stealing because I needed the item, but I was stealing so that I would go and sell it so that I could get money to feed my cravings. I regretted that decision after I was beaten up by the shop owner and his brothers. That was before I got into this shelter. When you need a fix, it's like a switch in your head gets turned off, and you become more impulsive."*

The above narrative revealed that substance abuse distorted the participant's perception of risk. This suggests that, while sober individuals may recognise dangerous situations and take precautions, those under the influence may underestimate or fail to recognise potential risks, which may lead to risky behaviours or situations that increase the likelihood of victimisation (Johnson & Fendrich, 2017). Furthermore, the desire to obtain and consume drugs or alcohol

can become overwhelmingly powerful in individuals who struggle with addiction, and this intense craving can lead them to prioritise substance acquisition over their personal safety (Johnson & Fendrich, 2017; Nooe & Patterson, 2010). Such individuals are thus highly likely to engage in risky behaviours or interact with potentially dangerous individuals.

When under the influence, individuals may have limited awareness of their surroundings. They are then vulnerable to threats as they may not notice signs of danger or may be unable to react appropriately in a dangerous situation (Tarr, 2018). In this context, P7 stated the following:

> *"Maybe the reason for our victimisation is because of the things we smoke. We end up being easily taken for granted."*

P7's narrative highlighted the link between substance use and vulnerability and suggested that the substances homeless people in the environment ingested and/or smoked likely contributed to their altered state of consciousness, thus impairing their ability to navigate their environment safely and protect themselves from harm. This vulnerability, stemming from their limited awareness under the influence, made the affected participants more susceptible to exploitation and victimisation, and the homeless individuals thus struggled to accurately assess the risks in situations where danger was imminent.

5.5 The Impact of Violent Behaviours on the Homeless Community

The fact that violent behaviours are perpetrated against homeless people is very concerning, as such behaviour not only endangers lives, but also perpetuates a cycle of suffering and vulnerability within this already marginalised population. This theme emerged in response to the third objective of this study, which was to explore the effects that violent victimisation had on the homeless people under investigation. The participants were asked to comment on how they were affected by the violent victimisation they had experienced. As the theme emerged from the data, sub-themes were also identified based on the participants' specific circumstances or conditions and the manner in which violent behaviours affected them.

Table 5.3: Impacts of violent victimisation on homeless participants

Sub-theme	Number	Percentage (%)
Emotional distress	6	50%
Physical effects	4	33%
Prolonging substance use	4	33%
Social marginalisation	3	25%

Source: Researcher's summary

Again, the responses do not total 100% because the participants could identify multiple factors, thereby amplifying the impact that victimisation had on them. Additionally, certain effects that are highlighted in the literature were not mentioned, while new ones were introduced by the participants.

5.5.1 Emotional distress

The majority of the participants who had experienced victimisation as homeless individuals admitted to the impact of emotional distress on them. According to Cornell's (2021:121) definition of emotional distress, it is an "emotional response to an experience that arises from the effect or memory of a particular event, occurrence, pattern of events, or a condition". Although emotional distress can result from any of the aforementioned forms of violent behaviours experienced by the participants (see section 5.3), the literature emphasises that verbally violent behaviour is the most common and results in a victim questioning his/her own self-worth and abilities (Jones, 2013). Verbally violent behaviours usually include derogatory terms and swearing that may be damaging to the target's self-confidence. To illustrate, P1 stated:

> "*It's not nice, but there is nothing I can do. I no longer wish to live this life anymore. I just live it, but I don't like it anymore."*

P3 similarly shared:

> *"I feel sad because if I didn't live this life, they wouldn't have the chance to do this to us".*

P6 also expressed their emotions:

> "*It hurts, my sister, I don't want to lie. It hurts."*

These narratives revealed poignantly that emotional distress was a pervasive and profound aspect of the experiences of the participating homeless individuals. Collectively, the participants' responses reflected significant emotional distress in their current life situations. Most expressed a deep sense of unhappiness and hopelessness, and many stated the desire to escape their current situation and a general dissatisfaction with it, which is supported by the literature that states that homeless victimisation can lead to feelings of hopelessness and a sense that there is no way out of the situation (Jones, 2013). Participant P3, whose response resonated with a sense of vulnerability, conveyed sadness and the belief that not living that current life would prevent harm to himself and others. Participant P6 directly expressed deep emotional pain and distress, emphasising the intensity of the suffering through the expression of authentic emotions.

The participants also referred to the fact that the criminal behaviours of other homeless individuals had a negative impact on their emotional well-being. They explained how these negative experiences created a pervasive sense of distrust, anger, and unease within the homeless community itself. The participants felt that the actions of a few individuals cast a shadow over everyone. P4 stated:

> *"We don't all do the same thing. Now it's hard being crucified for other people's sins which you did not commit. But since we are all living on the streets, people treat you the way they want to treat you."*

P5 was resentful for being punished because of the stigma attached to homelessness and the criminal behaviour of other homeless people:

> *"As for me, I feel as if I could just wake up the next day and commit robbery, you know, the way I get so irritated...I find myself getting so irritated and angry for being punished for other people's sins. I get so sad...so it is better that I get punished for something that I know I did."*

As the experiences of the victims of violent behaviours were not similar, the way they responded to violent victimisation also varied greatly depending on their characteristics, which is a notion that Verdun-Jones and Rossiter (2010) supports. They argue that, no matter how it manifests, violent victimisation can cause victims to experience both short- and long-term psychological or emotional distress. The latter argument by Verdun-Jones and Rossiter (2010) was affirmed by P2, who stated the following:

"I try so hard not to be affected, even though I do have issues. You would find that I have anger. Sometimes when maybe I am talking to my friend, I would scold him or insult him. But I try to deal with it because I would see my mistake, and apologize."

The emotional distress that the homeless participants experienced was significantly influenced by the criminal behaviours of other homeless individuals, and this manifested in pervasive feelings of distrust, anger, unease, and sadness within the homeless community. These negative experiences created an environment in which the participants felt unfairly targeted and stigmatised for actions they had not committed, resulting in chronic stress and emotional discomfort. The constant fear of being associated with or affected by the actions of others eroded trust and security within the community. While some participants attempted to cope with these emotions, their struggles to manage their anger and not to be affected highlighted the ongoing emotional distress they experienced. These emotions underscored the profound impact of violent victimisation and stigma on the homeless population.

5.5.2 Physical effects

According to the literature, physical effects are common and visible results of the violent victimisation suffered by homeless people (Wallace, 2018; Basile et al., 2021). Such effects due to violent victimisation have been studied more extensively compared to psychological effects, which have only become more intense over the past two or three decades. Thirty-three percent (33%) of the participants indicated suffering from physical injuries after an incident of victimisation. Wallace (2018) argues that the victimisation of homeless people tends to by physical, and also sometimes sexual. In this context, P2 stated:

"…I lost all my teeth, as you can see. I don't have teeth. This was after I was accused of robbery…After 30 minutes, the guys who committed the robbery were found while we had already been beaten and hurt."

P10 explained:

"See this scar right here? I got it trying to defend myself from one of the taxi drivers who wanted to have their way with me. Sexually, that is. I bit him hard, and he used a knife to make this scar. He said it should be a reminder that I must never fight him again and make my useless self useful for once."

Novac (2016) highlights the fact that homeless people frequently endure a wide range of physical injuries, including bruises, cuts, broken bones, and internal injuries that may not be visually apparent without advanced medical diagnostics such as scans, X-rays, or medical tests. The prevalence of these injuries among homeless individuals underscored the perilous conditions they confronted while living on the streets or in the homeless shelter. Bruises and cuts are often visible manifestations of the violence and physical abuse that homeless people are subjected to, and such injuries result from altercations with other homeless individuals, criminal victimisation, or even confrontations with law enforcement (Modi et al., 2014). P5 reported witnessing such physical injuries caused by violence and abuse:

> *"I have seen some of our brothers injured, even to a point of bending over, some even with broken arms."*

P5's compassion when he offered this response reflected a sense of kinship and solidarity among the homeless population, emphasising the interconnectedness within this marginalised community. This connection highlighted that the issue of violent victimisation was not isolated as it affected multiple deprived individuals who were bonded in their shared struggle for survival. This narrative also underscored the brutal nature of the violence inflicted upon some members of the homeless community. A Centre for Disease Control and Prevention (2015) article argues that severe physical violence often results in fractures and broken bones, stating that such injuries are especially debilitating for homeless individuals who struggle to access medical care and rehabilitation services.

The experience of physical victimisation by the homeless is a deeply concerning and pervasive issue that has been extensively documented by various studies and reports. One significant motivation for this type of victimisation, as highlighted by Sadiki (2016), is theft. This means that homeless individuals often find themselves subjected to various forms of violence, harassment, and aggression with the primary goal of stealing their possessions or any valuable items they may possess. The homeless population is particularly vulnerable to theft-related victimisation due to their precarious living conditions and the lack of secure housing. In support of Sadiki's (2016) assertion, P9 stated:

> *"I've had my stuff stolen multiple times, and it's not just about losing material things; it's about losing whatever little sense of security or dignity you have left. And the stress from constantly watching your back, not getting proper rest, and living in harsh*

conditions…it takes a physical toll on you. I've developed health problems I never had before, and it's no surprise given the circumstances."

This narrative revealed that the physical impacts of victimisation on the homeless participants were both prevalent and severe. Homeless people commonly experience physical injuries, including bruises, cuts, broken bones, and internal injuries as a result of violent victimisation, and it is argued that such injuries are not isolated incidents but visible manifestations of the violence and physical abuse that homeless individuals face (Delara, 2017). The narratives of the homeless participants revealed injuries such as the loss of teeth, scars, bruises, and broken arms due to the violent encounters they witnessed or experienced, and the participants provided concrete examples of the physical toll these forms of victimisation took on them. The literature also emphasises that physical injuries have been a primary focus of research in this field (Delara, 2017; Modi et al., 2014), and this affirms the gravity of the issue.

5.5.3 Prolonged substance use

In response to the question of how they coped with experiences of violent victimisation, some of the participants indicated the use of substances as a coping mechanism. Hwang, Wilkins, Chambers, Estrabillo, Berends and MacDonalds (2011) argue that homeless people encounter traumatic experiences that can exacerbate mental health issues such as post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and depression. The latter study also affirms that, to cope with emotional pain and distress, many homeless individuals turn to substance use and they self-medicate to numb their feelings. Substance use can temporarily alleviate symptoms of anxiety and distress, and this makes it an appealing coping mechanism. According to Hwang et al. (2011), as substance use continues, it can lead to physical and psychological dependence, thus reinforcing the need for more substances to avoid or ease withdrawal symptoms. This statement by Hwang et al. (2011) aligns with established research findings on substance use and addiction by Koob and Le Moal (2022), who state that substance use disorders, whether related to drugs or alcohol, often lead to physical and psychological dependence and create a cycle that reinforces the need for more substances to avoid withdrawal symptoms. As an example of this sub-theme, P6 commented as follows:

"…I am being abused by people; I am being abused again by the same drug that I smoke. If I don't have money to buy it, I would get sick, I would crave for it so badly [suffering from 'arosta'] and I am not even able to eat, or I vomit."

P2 stated:

> *"It's worse now. I want to stop these drugs but now the place where we are supposed to get help, we encounter challenges and have been put on hold for maybe months, years even."*

P1 explained:

> *"Otherwise, we end up smoking too...just to forget many things, we end up smoking too. It's not because we like to smoke, it's because of the situations we face. You cannot face these situations without smoking or drinking, it is very difficult."*

According to these narratives, the homeless people turned to substance use as it served as a means to avoid dealing with traumatic experiences and their associated emotions. Instead of seeking therapy or counselling to address the root causes of their trauma, the homeless individuals continued to use these substances to escape painful memories and emotions, which is a tendency that is corroborated by Nooe and Patterson (2020). With continued substance use, the body becomes physically dependent on the substance, which means that the individual experiences withdrawal symptoms when trying to reduce intake or to quit using (Nooe & Patterson, 2010). The researcher observed that P6 showed the following withdrawal symptoms as identified by Shelton (2019): anxiety, agitation, sweating, and intense craving. These symptoms were confirmed by P6 who also stated that it had been two days since the last 'fix' as he was trying to reduce intake.

Over time, individuals may develop tolerance to a substance, which means they need increasingly more of it to achieve the desired effects. According to Nooe and Patterson (2020), this leads to increased substance use and a higher risk of overdose. The cycle of substance use is often reinforced by the temporary relief or pleasure that the substance provides. This reinforcement makes it difficult for individuals to break free from the cycle because they fear losing the sense of relief or pleasure that the substance offers, even as it causes harm in the long term. P9 commented:

> *"I use drugs. I know it's not good for me, and I've seen friends overdose or get really sick from it. But it's like I can't stop because for that brief moment, it takes away all the pain and stress of that abuse. It's a way to escape even though I know it's not permanent, which is why I keep coming back for more."*

P10 explained:

> *"...but then, it's like your body gets used to it, and you need more to feel the same way. It's like the only thing that makes this tough life on the streets bearable sometimes."*

These narratives underscored the significant link between homeless victimisation and the protracted use of substances by homeless individuals. Several critical insights were deduced from these findings. For instance, in response to stress and traumatic experiences caused by homeless victimisation, many of the homeless participants turned to substance use as a form of self-medication to numb their emotional pain and distress. These substances offered a fleeting sense of relief and escapism from the challenging circumstances of homelessness and victimisation, making them an attractive coping mechanism despite their detrimental consequences. Furthermore, prolonged substance use led to the development of tolerance, necessitating larger intakes to achieve the desired effects. This escalation admittedly resulted in both physical and psychological dependence, rendering it increasingly difficult to quit. It is important to note that the participants showed a persistent fear of losing the only source of relief they had even though they recognised the harm it caused, thereby perpetuating the cycle of substance use.

5.5.4 Social impact

In response to the question pertaining to how experiencing violent behaviours affected them, the participants agreed that being homeless made them vulnerable to victimisation and that this separated them from the rest of society. Vickery (2018) argues that homeless individuals are often some of the most vulnerable and marginalised members of society. The fact that the participants perceived themselves as excluded by the broader society is also reflected in the literature, which suggests that these individuals typically experience a sense of isolation, vulnerability, lack of support, and intimidation (Nel, 2007:59; Nel & Breen, 2013: 247). P8 stated:

> *"Already we are on the outskirts of society, like we don't quite belong. It's like we're invisible to most people, and that makes you an easy target for all sorts of bad things. Nobody cares, actually."*

The study revealed that one of the most distressing consequences of homeless victimisation was the systemic exclusion of these homeless individuals from public spaces. According to

Sampson (2013), homeless people are usually denied access to parks, libraries, transportation hubs, and other communal areas where they could seek respite or perform daily activities. This exclusion not only deepens their social isolation, but also perpetuates the stigmatisation and marginalisation they experience. It creates a vicious cycle where those who are already vulnerable are pushed further to the margins of society, and this exacerbates the challenges they face and their inability to find stability and support (Simpson, 2015). P1 commented:

> *"There are also places we cannot pass because we are told we cannot pass by; we will be beaten. Just by passing by and not doing anything wrong, but we are beaten…The Workshop is not the only place where this is done. As I am saying, that even just passing by, it is a problem if you are a person who lives on the street, and you do not know that particular area. You will be just passing by, and you will be beaten with a sjambok. There are many such places, not only at The Workshop. There are other places too."*

Similarly, P2 added:

> *"There are places where you are not allowed to go to, just like The Workshop. Picking up small things like bottles and cardboard, small things that you wouldn't be chased and beaten for, but we are beaten for them. You can't go inside The Workshop to pick up a bottle or cardboard because they will kill you. They will definitely kill you."*

These narratives revealed the harsh realities faced by the homeless individuals in various public spaces and highlighted the pervasive fear of physical harm and violence. Some homeless individuals also expressed fear of being beaten for merely being in certain areas or engaging in activities like collecting recyclables. References to such experiences underscored the exclusion of the homeless and the restrictions they encountered. P2 particularly described being barred from places like The Workshop, which highlighted the rejection of the homeless and their inability to gain access to essential resources. Most notably, the extreme threat mentioned by P2 implied potential physical harm for attempting to enter certain locations, and this underscored the severe vulnerability of the homeless population.

5.6 Homeless Individuals' Access to Assistance after Incidents of Violent Victimisation

Apart from experiencing direct victimisation, numerous crime victims encounter secondary victimisation when seeking healthcare or pursuing legal action through the criminal justice system (Bruce, 2020). The likelihood of experiencing secondary victimisation significantly

influences homeless individuals' attitudes toward formal assistance programs. The table below illustrates the interactions described by the participants who sought assistance.

Table 5.4: Access to assistance after victimisation

Sub-theme	Positive	Negative	No interaction
Interactions with law enforcement	0	7	5
Interactions with healthcare services	4	0	8
Assistance from the general public	2	2	8

Source: Researcher's summary

5.6.1 Interaction with law enforcement

The majority of the participants reported that their interactions with law enforcement, specifically the South African Police Service, had been negative. The literature also states that homeless people are likely not to tell anyone about their experiences of violent victimisation and that only a few will attempt to report such instances to the police (Hermer, 2016). Homeless people reportedly argue that the incident is nothing major to worry about, or that there is nothing that the police will do about it (Msimango, 2018). This argument was also offered by some of the participants in the current study who tended to refrain from engaging with the police. In this regard, P10 stated:

> *"I mean it was nothing much that they stole. Even if I went to report to the police, they would have told me that my belongings were not that valuable. They were really not, but they were mine, you know. I don't really bother reporting. Most of us don't."*

P9 commented:

> *"Report what? That someone insulted me and said I was dirty and smelly? But that's the truth, it's not like they were lying about that."*

P4 also added:

> *"Eh…my sister, there is nowhere that I report to others. I am just being silent and hope that God will answer for me. Even the police, it is not easy for them to help us because they don't like us paras. If ever they come across a para being beaten, they will just pass without paying any attention or assistance."*

P2 similarly shared the following:

> "*We don't have anywhere to report to. The police don't help us."*

P5 stated:

"No, I don't report to the police because they won't help me. The police don't really take or pay attention to anything that come from us seriously. Eish, we don't get help other than telling someone that is close to you and for them to comfort you, then let it pass."

The homeless people encountered a range of challenges and felt that reporting such incidences to the police was fruitless. When they tried to report a crime incident to the police, interacted with other criminal justice professionals, or sought medical attention after being injured, they were frequently labelled 'criminals' and were exposed to secondary victimisation or 'victim-blaming'. The literature argues that homeless victims are typically accused of having 'asked for it', hence the police will not act on crime reports (Newburn & Rock, 2014:2; Scurfield, et al., 2014). As a result, most homeless people have little or no faith in the police and typically believe that the police discriminate against those who are homeless. This was demonstrated by the majority of the participants who had attempted to report abuse experiences to the police.

P1 explained:

"In other cases, we are reluctant to file charges. But in some cases, when we think of going to the police station and actually do go, we don't get help because they see you as a 'para', as a person who lives on the street. Then you see that you are just irrelevant to these people. When we want to file charges with the police, we get kicked out. Or maybe when you get there and say someone hit me, they joke with your story and say, 'Hit them too', because they already know that you are a person who lives on the street."

When asked if homeless victims received assistance from the police after being victimised, P3 stated:

"No! They [victims] don't get help because they [police] see most of them as 'paras'."

P6 stated:

"The problem, my sister, is that even if you go and report to the police, the police will take their [perpetrators'] side, then you won't get any help."

P7 explained:

"There is nowhere to report, actually. We are supposed to be reporting to the police stations, but then we mostly don't have time since we wait for too long at those stations. And also, if the person did not beat you to a point of making you bleed, at the station

they just tell you to go to court and file for protection order. This then makes us reluctant to report and we tell ourselves that it's fine, we'll let it pass."

P17 also said:

"I remember this one time there was a taxi driver who slapped me. I rushed to the Metro Police there by the Market. That officer told me to stop wasting their time and the government resources because no one would just slap me unprovoked. They kicked me out like a dog."

These narratives shed light on the participants' profound disillusionment with the South African criminal justice system as a whole. The participants' encounters with the SAPS were characterised by what they perceived as inefficiency, insensitivity, and sometimes even misconduct, and eroded their trust and confidence in the broader criminal justice apparatus. This erosion of trust extended beyond just the police force to encompass the entire system, including legal processes, court proceedings, and the overall administration of justice. Clearly, the participants did not perceive the South African criminal justice system as a reliable or an equitable means of addressing their grievances or ensuring their safety, and this had significant implications for their individual well-being and their trust in the justice system. P2 explained this mistrust as follows:

"People living on the street are not taken care of because ever since 2008 I live on the street, I go to Point and go to Durban station, everywhere I go all over eThekwini, but I have never come across maybe a law enforcement or the police to help us."

P4 commented as follows:

"The law in South Africa does not care for us. In South Africa, if you are a 'para', you don't have rights, you don't have power, you are taken for granted because they don't care about you. If you try to report your problem, they won't take notice because you are a para."

P5 shared the following insight:

"We don't get justice because we don't get help. The police will help you if you are going to make that person pay you, you hear that. And then they [police] go with you because you are saying things like 'Ai, as he hit me, sir, I want money from him'. They will help you because they know that they will also get a 'drink' there. But if you say that you are going to arrest them, they will say, 'Wait a minute, you para, sit down and

we will take care of you'. Then you sit till late and are ignored until you finally give up and leave."

P7 stated:

"I would say we don't get any justice. I say this because I have never got assisted or got any justice. Maybe others do, but as for me, I have never."

The above narratives implied that law enforcement officials' negative attitudes and prejudice against the homeless were instrumental in their secondary victimisation. This finding corroborated Nel and Breen's (2013) argument that these decision-makers clearly undervalue hate victimisation, and that service providers tend to ignore and occasionally overtly discriminate against homeless victims of hate crimes in the criminal justice system.

5.6.2 Interactions with healthcare services

The manner in which homeless individuals are treated when they seek healthcare support is a matter of significant concern. In a limited number of cases, the homeless participants reported relatively positive experiences when seeking healthcare support for general health issues or even after experiencing victimisation. However, it is important to note that this positive scenario is not the norm, as indicated by Meinbriesse (2014). The current study vividly revealed varying encounters by the participants when they attempted to access healthcare services, and they provided a range of feedback regarding their interactions with staff at local hospitals and clinics. It is noteworthy that the only positive encounters were specifically associated with a single clinic, Usizo Lwethu Clinic, which is located in Cathedral Street. The participants generally referred to this facility as 'Cathedral'. P2 stated:

"The best hospital is the one by The Market near Victoria. There is a small hospital there for us homeless people. You see, if I am injured right now and full of bruises, the doctors won't even allow me to wait in line, they'll just take me inside and attend to me. They treat us well; we get food, we take a shower, we change and just be right, everything is right. But other hospitals like Addington and others, treat us like those who insult us on the street."

P6 commented:

"I do go to the hospital because there is a place called Cathedral that helps us who live on the streets. When you are hurt or injured, you can go there and be assisted."

P10 stated:

> *"We don't normally go to hospitals or clinics, but there is one there by Cathedral. When you are a person like me, you go there, and you get assisted without being told you are a para."*

P8 stated:

> *"My friend once went to Cathedral after he was badly beaten. We knew we would not get assisted as many clinics don't pay attention to us. But luckily, they assisted my friend without any hassle, and they even provided food."*

Unfortunately, most of the participants who had never accessed healthcare services assumed that healthcare workers had a negative attitude towards the homeless and that they would therefore not receive any assistance. This finding validated Fisher and Collins's (2021) argument that most homeless individuals who interact with healthcare providers are treated as if their health issues are their own fault or personal problem. The literature reveals that the mistreatment of homeless individuals by healthcare service providers and the difficulties they encounter when trying to access these services are rooted in the stereotypical perception that homeless people are unclean, unsanitary, and frequently under the influence of alcohol and therefore not worthy of access to a healthcare facility (Fisher & Collins, 2021). The homeless participants affirmed this dehumanising attitude. For instance, P7 stated:

> *"Most of the time, homeless people do not go to hospitals because of the fact that you wait for too long on the benches, and end up not getting assisted."*

P17 commented:

> *"I've never really tried to seek healthcare because I've heard stories from other homeless people like me. People talk, you know. They say healthcare workers look down on us, like it's our fault we're homeless and sick. So, I figured, what's the use? If they're going to treat me like it's my problem, I might as well tough it out on my own. It's like they don't see us as human beings who need help too."*

P1 stated:

> *"…other homeless people that I know are not likely to go to hospitals. Others say they are not treated well. Although I wouldn't really know because I have never faced a situation where I went to the hospital."*

These narratives illuminated the complex and varied experiences of homeless individuals in the context of seeking healthcare services. While there were instances of positive care, many encountered significant barriers, stigma, and mistreatment within the healthcare system. Anecdotal stories among a large body of homeless people also deterred many from seeking medical assistance. It is imperative to address these systemic issues to ensure equitable access to healthcare for all, regardless of their housing status.

5.6.3 Assistance from the general public

The literature also reveals that the general public is negative towards the homeless, which has also been identified as a factor that provokes homeless victimisation. According to Dovidio and Piliavin (2020), the general public may witness an incident of abuse but many fail to intervene or offer assistance due to a combination of factors, including the belief that someone else will help, or a lack of concern for the well-being of the homeless person. Some of the participants indicated that they had never received help from the general public during and after an incident of victimisation. For instance, P9 stated:

> *"I remember there were ladies who were throwing insults at me in one of the toilets here. They told me how smelly and dirty I am. Other people would just come in at the toilets and laugh at the situation, they never reprimand those ladies."*

P10 explained:

> *"Heee! When those people took my belongings, I cried for help, and did anyone bother themselves and help me? No. I guess they saw my belongings had no value."*

Although there had been some negative interactions with the public, some participants reported positive experiences, while the majority refrained from commenting about receiving help from the public. The findings thus suggested that the public's attitudes and behaviours towards these homeless individuals were varied, and that the experiences of the homeless individuals regarding the public had been diverse and multifaceted. Ozanne and Moscato (2022) corroborate this statement, arguing that researchers often delve into these nuances to gain a better understanding of the challenges faced by homeless populations and how they are perceived and treated by the broader society. The participants' insight underscored this observation. For instance, P1 stated:

> *"Some treat us good and others bad…if you are going to run, you can maybe get the help of a compassionate person who will take you to the hospital."*

P7 similarly shared:

> *"We don't get help, unless there will be someone who will shout and say, 'Aibo, leave the child alone, what did he do?'."*

Clearly, the homeless participants had encountered both supportive and unsupportive behaviours in society. As P1 and P7's accounts suggested, compassionate individuals among the public made a significant difference in the lives of homeless individuals. Such positive encounters highlight the potential for positive change within communities.

5.7 Participants' Recommendations

With reference to the findings, this study acknowledges the formidable obstacles that violent victimisation poses for the homeless, and it underscores the gravity of the issue. Homelessness exposed these vulnerable people to numerous challenges, and it was evident that the added risk of exposure to violence and abuse exacerbated their plight. The study participants authentically and honestly shared a range of suggestions that could be implemented to address the issue of homeless victimisation. These suggestions will contribute to a broader understanding of this pressing social issue, and the feasibility and effectiveness of these recommendations should be further explored in future studies and then implemented appropriately for the improvement of the safety and well-being of homeless individuals. The most pressing recommendations are presented below:

P1 suggested:

> *"I think…I think that the government can open places that take care of and protect the rights of the people who live on the street. Places that are open if there is a problem for these people who live on the street, and can report their problems there. And places that if there are people who smoke but don't like to smoke anymore, they can get help to stop smoking. Places that would work to help those who suffer from the problems of beatings and all the things that happen on the streets."*

P3 offered the following suggestions:

> *"The government can give them [homeless victims] a place where they can meet in the afternoons. Places where there would be teachings. And where they will get some incentives so that during the day, they can be able to fend for themselves, and in the afternoon, they know they have a place to sleep so that they don't get victimised. In the*

afternoon, they get to have sessions where they share things they have gone through. And also get jobs, that will probably help them."

P4 recommended the following:

"…If there would be someone who will stand up for our rights. A place for us to know that when we have a problem, we can report it to them because when you go to the police station, your case is not being taken care of because you are a 'para'. There must be a place that will know how to deal with those things, and we know that if we have a problem, we go to someone who will not take sides, who will know how to work in an equal way and not assume that because I am a para, so my story will be ignored. See, something like that."

Some participants made recommendations in relation to how the general public should view them. P2 stated:

"The only thing I can ask is that at least they [the public] don't look at us as perpetrators. They must not look at us as human beings who are not human or as animals. Yah, it's the way we are and the way we live, but we try because we don't forcefully take anything from anyone. We ask the shops for the cardboard they don't use, and they give it to us, and we pick up tin cans and bottles. There is nothing bad that we are doing, so if they can try to feel what we are feeling, connect with us and work together with us, maybe help us where they can, maybe with clothes…"

P4 recommended the following:

"You see, my sister, if it were up to me, we black people are good at hurting each other. Because there are foreigners in South Africa who treat each other better than the way we black people treat each other. This is because we black people take each other for granted. If black people don't treat each other the way they do, that would prevent us from treating each other so badly."

These suggestions provide valuable insights into the perspectives and experiences of the homeless as they are essentially associated with their well-being and the public's perceptions of homelessness. The suggestions also emphasise the essential role that local and national governments should play in creating safe and supportive spaces for homeless individuals. If P1's proposal for government-run centres is implemented, it will address various challenges the homeless experience, such as helping them to stop smoking and addressing violence. P3's recommendations for afternoon programs, teaching sessions, incentives for self-sufficiency,

and safe sleeping spaces demonstrate the need for a comprehensive approach to tackling the challenges faced by the homeless population. Furthermore, P4's statement highlights the need for advocacy and support for homeless individuals in dealing with the authorities. It emphasises the importance of having someone who can advocate for their rights and ensure that their concerns are taken seriously, especially when they face discrimination and prejudice due to their homeless status.

Additionally, the remarks offered by P2 and P4 shed light on the importance of changing the public's perception. The plea by P2 for understanding and cooperation by the public emphasises that homeless individuals often engage in resourceful, non-harmful activities to survive and that they should not be viewed as habitual perpetrators of crime, or as animals. P4's comment underscores the significance of community support and solidarity among marginalised groups, and urges black people to treat one another with respect and support. Overall, these recommendations expose a multifaceted understanding of the challenges faced by homeless individuals and the need for a holistic approach to ease their plight. The support they require presupposes active help by the government and not mere lip-service, advocacy for their rights, and changes in public perceptions of them to address the complex issue of homelessness and victimisation.

5.8 Conclusion

This chapter explored various outcomes pertaining to the interview responses of homeless individuals who had been purposively sampled for this study. Open-ended questions elicited responses that addressed the research objectives and the aim of the study. To examine how the findings related to the selected theories and the literature, the homeless individuals' experiences of victimisation were explored authentically by focusing on their verbatim narratives and the observations that had been made in the study field. Additionally, the chapter delved into findings that emerged independently of the predefined research objectives which, although not initially anticipated, were also relevant in achieving the aim of this study. The findings that emerged from the data as themes shed an illuminating light on how the homeless people perceived their experiences of victimisation. The analysis of the data revealed contextual elements that provoked the victimisation of homeless people by other homeless individuals, some members of the public, and even some police officers. These factors included being stigmatised due to an unkempt appearance, being punished for the sins of other homeless

people, homeless people's visibility and vulnerability, as well as their use of substances that tended to impair their judgement. The participants frankly shared how victimisation impacted their lives and painted a clear picture of their vulnerability due to the fact that law enforcement and health services paid little to no attention to their plight, resulting in a lack of trust in the South African criminal justice system in particular. On the only positive note, they commended the 'Cathedral' health facility for its service and attention to the homeless.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

The execution of the current study was prompted by the problem statement as presented in Chapter one. In brief, the research problem highlighted the plight of homeless people and the dearth of research on homeless victimisation. The fact that homeless people experience victimisation has not been given much attention by academia, local governments, and society as they have always been seen as the perpetrators and not the victims of crime and violence. Therefore, the researcher embarked on this study in the quest to contribute to a more balanced understanding of the seriousness of homeless victimisation. This chapter presents the conclusions that were derived from the findings and highlights the contributions of this study to the existing body of knowledge in the Criminology discipline. Furthermore, recommendations are offered in relation to the study aim and objectives, the limitations that impacted the study are discussed, and suggestions for future research are presented. The conclusions that are discussed in this chapter were drawn from the data that were analysed and discussed in Chapter five.

6.2 Overview of the Study

The first chapter introduced the background to the study and provided an overall view of the study problem statement and the aim and significance of the study. The researcher had devised four objectives that drove the study, which were to: (i) explore the types of violent behaviours perpetrated against homeless people; (ii) identify the root causes of violent behaviours against homeless people; (iii) determine the effects of violent behaviours against homeless people; and (iv) analyse how homeless victims interacted with South African law enforcement and health services in response to the homeless victimisation they had been subjected to. In Chapter two, relevant literature was reviewed in relation to the objectives of the study, and this provided in-depth understanding of the violent behaviours experienced by homeless people in general. The third chapter explored the theoretical framework in which the study was embedded by focusing on the two theories that assisted the researcher in understanding the homeless victimisation phenomenon. These theories were the deviant place theory and the victim precipitation theory. The deviant place theory was used to explain why homeless people experience violent

victimisation, and it focuses mainly on the environment or deviant places that expose homeless people to victimisation. The victim precipitation theory was used to explain why homeless people tend to experience victimisation, thus shifting the focus from the environment to the conditions and characteristics of homeless people. Chapter four focused on the methodology that assisted the researcher in achieving the study objectives. The discussion in this chapter explained the choice of the qualitative research approach that was situated within the interpretive research paradigm. In Chapter five, the data that had been obtained by means of semi-structured interviews were presented and analysed. These data had been authentically obtained from seventeen homeless participants. The information that was generated was further integrated with related literature and the theoretical framework as discussed in Chapter three.

6.3 Conclusions Related to the Findings

The first-hand accounts shared by the participants vividly illustrated the real-life occurrence of victimisation against homeless individuals in the inner city of Durban. These narratives served as substantial and credible evidence of their plight and their living conditions and highlighted the serious issues of the mistreatment, abuse, and discrimination the homeless participants experienced in the study area in Durban. The conclusions are discussed in relation to the emerging themes that responded to the objectives of the study.

6.3.1 The types of violent behaviours experienced by homeless people

The findings related to this theme addressed the research question regarding the types of violent behaviours experienced by homeless people. It was revealed that homeless people in the study area experienced the following forms of violent behaviours: extreme physical abuse and violence; verbal harassment; property theft and damage; and sexual harassment. The research findings underscored the heightened vulnerability of the homeless people under study, as it was revealed that they were at significant risk of becoming victims of violent acts. Whitbeck (2019) and Lebow and Brennan (2017) also revealed this reality as demonstrated by the findings of their respective studies. The conclusion that the current researcher reached was based on the narratives shared by the participants that vividly depicted the distressing experiences they endured and that revealed the violent behaviours perpetrated against ranging from beatings and assault to verbal abuse. Furthermore, the study revealed a troubling pattern of law enforcement officers and strangers engaging in violent behaviours against homeless individuals. It was clear that the lack of access to stable housing exposed the participants not only to the elements, but

to the unpredictability of human cruelty as well, with P1 stating that ""*The way we sleep on the street, the Metro Police come and take our blankets and chase us away while we are sleeping...they beat us when we tell them that we don't have another place to sleep.*". Basic activities like sleeping, which is a fundamental human need, were dangerous as they posed the risk of physical harm from various sources. The constant state of alertness and fear the participants experienced also exacerbated the already significant challenges associated with their homeless state.

The findings of the study provided a revealing perspective into the daily lives of homeless individuals and unveiled, amongst other issues, the pervasive and distressing reality of the verbal victimisation they had to endure. The findings highlighted a deeply troubling pattern of derogatory language, offensive remarks, and hurtful insults being unleashed upon these vulnerable individuals with alarming regularity. In support of the above, P4 stated *"If you're just looking out for yourself, you'll hear people yelling at you, 'Hey, para, piss off, get out of here, you're dirty and smelly'."* Contrary to the common perception that verbal harassment is of lesser significance in the abuse of the homeless, the narratives shared by the participants emphasised that it was, in fact, the most prevalent form of victimisation they experienced, second only to physical abuse. The experiences recounted by the participants aligned with existing research, as they underscored the systemic nature of this form of abuse. Homeless individuals, who often spent a substantial proportion of their time in public spaces, became involuntary targets of scorn and discrimination, as narrated by P8 "*"I cannot even go to the public toilets without being told how dirty and stinking I am. I mean, I am not bothering anyone, I am not even asking them for money or for food. I just want to use the bathroom!"*. The victim precipitation theory resonated strongly in this context, as it illuminated how these individuals, through their mere presence in public places, inadvertently invited verbal abuse. Their homelessness, which was an inherent aspect of their respective identities, rendered them passive victims who were subjected to relentless verbal victimisation solely due to their visibility in these spaces.

Additionally, the findings echoed the principles of the deviant place theory as they emphasised that public spaces, which are crucial for the survival of homeless individuals, were transformed in their presence into high-risk locations where verbal victimisation thrived. The lack of guardianship and security measures in these areas amplified their vulnerability and made them easy targets for verbal abuse. The participants' narratives depicted the harsh reality that even

basic activities such as using public restrooms exposed them to intense abuse and discrimination. Verbal victimisation, coupled with negative facial expressions and societal disdain, stripped away their humanity, reduced them to stereotypes, and reinforced the negative stigma associated with homelessness.

The findings also revealed the multifaceted nature of property theft that plagued the homeless participants, but the findings challenged the prevailing belief that it is the most common form of victimisation experienced by homeless individuals. Contrary to this stereotypical perception, only a quarter of the participants mentioned property theft and damage when asked about the violent behaviours they faced as homeless individuals. However, the accounts shared by the participants emphasised that these incidents were far from ordinary theft, as they involved the use of force and threats, making the victims feel physically unsafe and vulnerable. One striking aspect the participants brought to the study was their nuanced perspective on property theft, as for them it was not merely about losing their possessions, but also about the fear, intimidation, and violation that accompanied these incidents. Their accounts highlighted the psychological impact of property theft and illustrated that it can indeed be a form of violence when considered within the context of homelessness.

Moreover, the study explored the dynamics that prevailed within the homeless community under study, and revealed a complex interplay of desperation and competition for limited and basic resources. Some participants shared that property theft was not always orchestrated by outsiders, but that fellow homeless individuals sometimes resorted to these actions due to their own dire circumstances. The harsh reality of homelessness, where survival was a daily struggle, forced the homeless individuals into situations where conflicts and criminal behaviours emerged among peers. These internal dynamics underscored the intricate challenges faced by the homeless individuals, showcasing how even within their community they were not exempt from victimisation. The findings echoed assertions made by Tyler (2016), who emphasises that some resort to theft and property damage as a consequence of their desperate situation or substance abuse issues. The findings thus illuminated the harsh environment where resources were scarce, and illustrated how survival instincts could lead to conflict, confrontation, and criminal behaviour even among those enduring the same hardships.

The findings also exposed the upsetting reality of sexual harassment experienced by homeless individuals, challenging misconceptions and shedding light on a deeply concerning issue. Although a minority of the participants (12%) reported experiencing sexual harassment, their narratives vividly illustrated the demeaning and dehumanising nature of these incidents that were aligned with established definitions of sexual harassment. In light of the already mentioned, P10 shared "*I have been using these clothes for a while now. As you can see, there are holes in between my thighs. Imagine picking up something and you hear: 'Hey para, close those legs, we don't want you stinking the whole place with your dirty privates!' Humiliating, right? But such is life."* Such narratives echoed a definition provided by Parudi and Barickman (2021), which emphasises that sexual harassment encompasses a spectrum of unwanted behaviours of a sexual nature and innuendo. These behaviours, ranging from derogatory comments about personal hygiene to intrusive remarks about the victims' bodies, created an environment for the women that was intimidating, hostile, degrading, and offensive. The findings resonated with the research done by Tyler and Beal (2011), who emphasise that exposure to the general public increases the risk of sexual harassment for homeless individuals. Engaging in survival strategies such as collecting cans exposed these women to men with nefarious intent, simply because they were conspicuous and vulnerable targets. The concept proposed by Tyler and Beal (2011) was thus validated by the study, as it revealed that homeless individuals with unappealing physical appearance were perceived as easy targets by perpetrators. This disturbing finding highlighted the deeply entrenched prejudice faced by homeless individuals that their appearance is a basis for victimisation.

6.3.2 The causes of violent behaviours against homeless people

Four factors emerged as themes that identified the causes of homeless victimisation, namely (i) collective punishment; (ii) stigma based on appearance; (iii) visibility and vulnerability; and (iv) impaired judgement due to substance use/abuse. In contemplating the complex web of challenges faced by homeless individuals, it was evident that the saying "an injury to one is an injury to all" encapsulated the essence of these participants' experiences. A significant portion of the participants attributed their victimisation to collective punishment, as they emphasised that they had been targeted or harmed due to the actions of a few individuals within the homeless population who engaged in criminal activities for survival. As shared by P2, *"They charge us with crimes we do not commit. You'd find that a person had been robbed before by someone who sleep on the streets like me. So, when he sees someone like me, he becomes angry*

and be like, 'These are the people who take our phones'. We are bound by the same belt." This complex issue highlighted the intricate relationship between individual behaviours and the collective experiences of the homeless community. The narratives shared by the participants underscored the unfortunate reality that when a subset of homeless individuals engages in criminal or disruptive behaviours, the entire homeless community faces the repercussions. It may be argued that collective punishment is rooted in societal perceptions that categorise all homeless individuals according to the same traits and actions, regardless of their individual choices and values. In the context of this study, the findings revealing collective punishment vividly illustrated how the actions of a few individuals who engaged in criminal activities led to negative stereotyping that affected the entire homeless community. The interconnectedness of their lives on the streets amplified the impact of these actions, and this enhances the notion that all homeless individuals are vulnerable to victimisation. These findings were closely aligned with the victim precipitation theory, revealing the intricate dynamics at play. In essence, the findings underscored the tenet that homeless individuals, consciously or unconsciously, become participants in their own victimisation due to the actions of a few. In this context, the consequences of such actions extend beyond the individuals involved, resulting in collective punishment.

The study thus revealed an insight into one of the harshest realities of homelessness, which is that societal stigma based on appearance becomes a potent catalyst for victimisation. The homeless individuals faced discrimination, harassment, and violence simply because of their visible signs of homelessness such as worn-out clothes, makeshift belongings, and the absence of a permanent dwelling. The findings thus reveal the insidious impact of bias against an unkempt appearance, which prompts members of the public, law enforcement agents, and health care workers to judge the homeless not by their character or actions, but by their appearance. As highlighted by the participant P5, their limited access to clean clothing and lack of facilities often led to repeated wear, making them easy targets for prejudice. Therefore, it is clear that the negative perceptions of society, perpetuated by a tendency to stereotypical behaviour, strips homeless individuals of their dignity and humanity and leaves them vulnerable to mistreatment. Thus, the experiences recounted by the participants strongly validate the victim precipitation theory in the sense that their victimisation can be passive–that is, a consequence of societal prejudice–rather than resulting from their own actions. Furthermore, the accounts aligned with the deviant place theory suggest that public spaces that

are essential for the survival and dignity of the homeless have become sites of victimisation due to visible markers of homelessness.

The findings further illuminated the disconcerting reality that some of the homeless individuals struggled with substance abuse. They were visibly in a vulnerable state that significantly increased their risk of victimisation. Seventeen percent of the participants admitted to habitual substance use, predominantly drugs, which contributed to their homelessness and victimisation. Stein and Gelberg (2015) also highlight that individuals experiencing homelessness and grappling with substance use often make risky decisions or engage in behaviours that expose them to dangerous situations, thereby heightening their vulnerability to victimisation. The narratives shared by the participants in the current study thus vividly illustrated that substance abuse can and will lead to impulsive decision-making and a distorted perception of risk. The findings exemplified how the intense craving for drugs could overpower rational judgment, leading individuals to prioritise access to substances over personal safety. Distorted prioritisation in the quest to access drugs thus leads to risky behaviours, as was illustrated by one of the participants who had been beaten up by a shop owner. This impaired awareness not only limits the users' ability to recognise danger, but also hampers their capacity to respond appropriately in hazardous situations, which further increases affected participants' vulnerability.

6.3.3 The effects of violent behaviours on homeless people

The profound emotional distress experienced by homeless individuals as a consequence of victimisation emerged as a prevalent and deeply concerning issue, as was evidenced by the narratives of at least half of the participants. The emotional distress they experienced reflected a wide range of negative emotions, including sadness, hopelessness, anger, and a sense of unease and distrust that permeated the homeless community as a whole. The participants admitted that these feelings were often triggered by various forms of violent victimisation, with verbal violence in particular playing a significant role in eroding these victims' self-worth and confidence, which is also highlighted in the literature (General Social Survey, 2014; Petroski et al., 2017; National Health Services; 2022). Participants' expressions of hopelessness and a desire to escape their current lives underscored the psychological toll of homelessness and victimisation. The emotional pain articulated by the participants also vividly portrayed the intensity of their suffering and the genuine nature of their distress. Moreover, the pervasive

sense of distrust and anger most harboured highlighted the damaging impact of the criminal behaviours of a few on the emotional well-being of all, and this created an environment of chronic stress and emotional discomfort.

The findings painted a picture that revealed a harrowing reality, as homelessness not only stripped these individuals of their basic necessities, but also subjected them to the heightened risk of physical harm. The severe injuries and trauma experienced by some homeless individuals often went beyond what was immediately visible, and affected their overall health and well-being. More significantly, the physical toll of victimisation was exacerbated by the lack of access to medical care and rehabilitation services, placing the homeless individuals in a vulnerable position where healing and recovery became increasingly challenging.

Furthermore, the findings highlighted the interconnectedness of people living within the homeless community. Acts of violence did not merely impact individuals, but resonated throughout the community, creating an atmosphere of fear but also of solidarity. The constant threat of theft-related victimisation added an additional layer of stress and eroded any sense of security and dignity left for these homeless individuals.

The findings further revealed the intricate relationship between homeless victimisation and prolonged substance abuse among homeless individuals. The narratives provided a deeply personal insight into the desperate coping mechanisms employed by those facing traumatic experiences on the streets. These findings corroborated existing research (Sadiki, 2016; Novac, 2016) as they highlighted that affected homeless individuals often resorted to substance use by self-medicating to temporarily alleviate the emotional distress caused by victimisation. This temporary relief became a powerful motivator but drove affected individuals deeper into the cycle of substance dependence. This finding underscores the detrimental impact of prolonged substance use, illustrating that it leads to physical and psychological dependence, substance tolerance and addiction, and increased risk of overdose. The participants admitted that the temporary reprieve such substances offered from the pain and stress of victimisation created a vicious cycle of dependency, making it incredibly challenging for individuals to break free. The fear of losing this coping mechanism, no matter how destructive, kept these individuals trapped in a vicious cycle and perpetuated their dependence on such substances. In one instance, an affected participant showed all the signs of dependence regardless of his intention to stay clean, particularly as he had not had a ‘fix’ for two days.

The findings also provided crucial insights into the social impact of violent victimisation on homeless individuals by highlighting the deeply entrenched cycle of exclusion, vulnerability, and marginalisation they experienced. These experiences clearly illustrated the pervasive sense of isolation and the systemic exclusion from public spaces that they endured, and these experiences undoubtedly exacerbated their already precarious situations. The findings suggest that homeless individuals face profound social exclusion and feel invisible in and unacknowledged by society. This sense of invisibility not only deepens their vulnerability, but also makes them easy targets for victimisation. The literature also emphasises that homeless individuals are among the most marginalised members of society as they face systemic discrimination and lack of support (Tarr, 2018).

6.3.4 The interaction of homeless individuals with support structures

The findings revealed the deeply troubling reality that homeless individuals were marginalised even by SAPS and other law enforcement agents such as security guards. There was clearly a pervasive lack of trust and confidence among the participants in the criminal justice system, and many highlighted systemic issues that exacerbated their vulnerability and victimisation. The homeless individuals had limited faith in the SAPS and their reported reluctance to report incidents of victimisation stemmed from a profound belief that their plight would not be taken seriously by law enforcement. Some participants were made to feel disregarded and insignificant when they attempted to seek assistance from the police, and the perceived indifference of law enforcement officials, coupled with their negative attitude and prejudice, reinforced the participants' conviction that they were viewed as inconsequential and unworthy of protection. The experiences of some participants with the SAPS illustrated a cycle of disempowerment and secondary victimisation. They admitted to feeling ignored, dismissed and, at times, ridiculed when attempting to report crimes, and they were disillusioned with the criminal justice system. Consequently, the homeless individuals had no legal recourse, which reinforced their vulnerability and the notion that they were invisible to the broader society.

Additionally, a diverse range of experiences prevented the homeless individuals from seeking medical assistance other than at a small clinic in the study area. One positive experiences some related was at the Usizo Lwethu Clinic in Cathedral Street, but the predominant theme remained one of significant challenges and mistreatment by the healthcare system. The

homeless individuals often faced stigma, discrimination, and attitudes that undermined their dignity and discouraged them from seeking medical care. The positive experiences some had had at the Usizo Lwethu Clinic highlights the importance of creating safe and supportive spaces for the homeless within the healthcare system. These positive instances demonstrate that respectful and empathetic treatment can lead to better outcomes and encourage homeless individuals to access healthcare services. However, these positive encounters were unfortunately not the norm and were limited to a specific location, leaving many homeless individuals underserved and reluctant to seek medical assistance. The negative encounters reported by some participants emphasise the urgent need for systemic changes within healthcare institutions.

Based on the interactions between homeless people and the general public, the findings revealed a spectrum of attitudes and behaviours ranging from indifference and neglect to compassion and assistance. The findings suggest that negative encounters reflect the harsh reality faced by many homeless individuals as their victimisation often goes unaddressed. For instance, bystanders refrain from intervening due to indifference or misconceptions about the value of the stolen possessions for the targeted homeless person.

All instances of victimisation emphasise the need for increased public awareness and empathy to challenge societal prejudice and encourage proactive intervention to support homeless individuals in distress. Moreover, instances of positive interactions highlight the potential for compassionate individuals to make a difference in the lives of homeless people. Acts of kindness, whether in the form of helping during emergencies or advocating against mistreatment, demonstrate the positive impact that supportive members of the public can have on homeless individuals.

6.4 Contribution of the Study to the Pool of Knowledge

This study will significantly contribute to scholarly understanding of the multifaceted challenges that homeless individuals face as it offers critical insights into their experiences of victimisation and their negative interactions with key institutions. By documenting their experiences of diverse forms of victimisation such as verbal abuse, physical violence, theft, and the denial of basic legal and health services, this research highlights the harsh realities endured by homeless people. Moreover, the study exposes the psychological impact of

victimisation and emphasises the profound emotional distress and trauma experienced by homeless individuals due to their suffering and rejection. The findings underscore the urgent need for support services to address the mental health needs of this vulnerable group. Additionally, the research sheds light on the physical consequences of victimisation, and hence emphasises the urgent need for medical attention and specialised healthcare services for homeless victims. By detailing both visible and hidden physical effects, the study underscores the importance of comprehensive healthcare interventions for homeless individuals.

The study explored the coping mechanisms adopted by homeless individuals, revealing the intricate link between trauma, coping strategies, and substance use. In this context, the research highlighted the challenges faced by homeless individuals in their interactions with crucial societal institutions such as law enforcement and healthcare services. By revealing these systemic issues, the study thus underscores the need for reforms to ensure fair treatment, support, and protection for homeless individuals. The duality of interactions between homeless individuals and the general public was also explored, and the findings emphasise the importance of fostering empathy and understanding for the plight of the homeless. Acts of kindness and compassion, as highlighted by the study, have the potential to bring about positive change and a more supportive community. Ultimately, the insights illuminated by the study should inform policymaking, promote societal empathy, and advocate for a more compassionate and supportive environment for homeless individuals. Holistically, the study urges the emergence of a society in which everyone is treated with dignity, regardless of their housing status.

6.5 Limitations of the Study

6.5.1 Geographical and sample size limitations

The geographic specificity and limited sample size of this study restrict the generalisability of the findings. The study focused on a specific geographic location, namely the Durban CBD, and involved a limited sample of homeless individuals. This geographical specificity and the relatively small number of participants raise important considerations about the generalisability of the findings to broader homeless populations. Homelessness is an issue that is influenced by various factors such as regional policies, socioeconomic conditions, and cultural dynamics. Therefore, the experiences and challenges faced by the homeless individuals in the Durban

CBD might not fully capture the complexities of homelessness in different cities, regions, or countries.

Homeless populations are incredibly diverse as they include individuals from various backgrounds, age groups, and cultural contexts. The findings that were derived from a specific group within the homeless population, namely those residing in the Durban CBD, may therefore not accurately reflect the experiences of homeless individuals in other urban areas, rural settings, or different cultural environments. Consequently, the conclusions drawn from this study need to be interpreted with caution when applied to homeless populations outside the specific context of this study. Furthermore, the research might not capture the nuances of homelessness experienced by specific subgroups, such as homeless families with children or individuals experiencing chronic homelessness. Each subgroup faces unique challenges and vulnerabilities, and a study limited to a particular area and sample size may not adequately explore these differences. Thus, while the findings offer valuable insights into the lives of a specific group of homeless individuals in the Durban CBD, their applicability to broader homeless populations or specific subgroups is subject to limitations.

6.5.2 Access to participants

The researcher initially intended to interview at least 20 participants: 10 from the streets and 10 from the homeless shelter, but only 17 eventually participated as three had decided to withdraw from the study due to its sensitive nature. A further limitation was that, of the 17 participants (n=17), only 12 had directly experienced violent victimisation during their homelessness.

Some of the participants were initially reluctant to share their experiences as they thought that the researcher was working with the authorities. However, after the researcher had explained the fact that this study was purely for scholarly purposes, the participants were more than willing to participate and share their experiences in the hope that their voices would be heard.

6.6 Recommendations

The purpose of the following recommendations is to address the challenges faced by homeless individuals, enhance their well-being, and promote social inclusion based on the findings of the study.

6.6.1 Public awareness and empathy with homelessness

The participants raised concerns about the negative attitude of the general public towards them. Therefore, community education may play a pivotal role in dismantling myths and stereotypes surrounding homelessness. Initiatives that provide accurate information about the complex causes of homelessness, including mental health issues, economic challenges, and systemic barriers, are essential in dispelling prevailing misconceptions. Educating the public about the root causes, such as lack of affordable housing, unemployment, and family breakdown, will foster understanding of and empathy with their plight. Real-life stories and experiences shared by homeless individuals that illuminate their struggles will cultivate empathy within the community. By highlighting the success stories of individuals who have transitioned from homelessness to stable living, communities can inspire others and showcase the resilience of homeless individuals. This recommendation underscores the significance of community support along homeless individuals' journey towards recovery and stability. Such community initiatives can create a compassionate perspective and encourage communities to actively engage in supporting homeless individuals, thus fostering a more empathetic and inclusive society.

Furthermore, the findings revealed a lack of empathy among the public for homeless victimisation. Sadly, most of the participants admitted that they had not received any assistance from the general public during or after victimisation. With that said, creating a more empathetic community may necessitate a multifaceted approach. First and foremost, forging an empathic community that understands the plight of the homeless is necessary to encourage community members to empathise with the daily challenges faced by homeless individuals. Active listening will play a crucial role, and this will require genuinely hearing the stories and concerns of homeless individuals without judgment. This will in turn instil a sense of validation and dignity in the hearts and minds of the homeless and reinforce their self-worth. Engaging community members in volunteerism, whether it is to serve meals at shelters or participate in outreach programs, will also ensure first-hand exposure to the hardships and resilience of homeless people, thus promoting empathy through direct involvement.

6.6.2 Accessible healthcare services

The participants shared that they tended to refrain from seeking medical attention following victimisation because they encountered stigmatisation, discrimination, and attitudes that

undermined their dignity and discouraged them from seeking the necessary medical care. To address this challenge, establishing mobile healthcare units that can reach different areas frequented by the homeless in the Durban inner-city area, such as parks, shelters, and street corners, can bridge this gap. These units should offer basic medical check-ups, vaccinations, and minor treatments, making healthcare more accessible to those who are unable to visit conventional healthcare facilities. Moreover, setting up low-barrier clinics that are specifically tailored for the homeless population should be implemented to address their immediate healthcare needs. These clinics should provide services beyond mere physical health, and they should provide mental health counselling, substance abuse support, and social services assistance.

Homeless shelters can serve as ideal locations for these clinics, as they will ensure a safe space where individuals are already seeking refuge. Additionally, healthcare providers need training in trauma-informed care to understand the psychological impact of homelessness and victimisation. Training should also be offered to enable medical professionals to interact with empathy and sensitivity and to recognise and address the specific needs and vulnerabilities of homeless patients.

6.6.3 Reforms in law enforcement

The participants indicated that they were exposed to unfair and unjust treatment by most law enforcement officers, and this prevented them from receiving any help when they reported cases of victimisation. The unfair treatment meted out by the SAPS in particular was based on the stigma associated with homelessness. In light of this finding, the reform of law enforcement practices concerning homeless individuals is imperative to ensure their safety, dignity, and fair treatment. To achieve this, comprehensive training programs that focus on empathy, cultural sensitivity, and de-escalation techniques should be mandatory for all law enforcement officers. These programs should include modules on understanding homelessness, mental health issues, and trauma-informed care. By enhancing SAPS officers' understanding of the complex challenges faced by homeless individuals, law enforcement should be able to respond with empathy and compassion to their plight and foster a more supportive environment for the homeless.

Furthermore, decriminalising non-violent offenses associated with homelessness, such as loitering or sleeping in public spaces, is a crucial step. Instead of punitive measures, law enforcement should prioritise practices that connect homeless individuals with social services, shelters, and healthcare resources. Diverting funds from punitive measures towards supportive services can create a more compassionate and effective approach to addressing homeless-related issues.

Moreover, legislation should also focus on protecting homeless individuals against hate crimes and victimisation. Stricter penalties for crimes against vulnerable populations, along with awareness campaigns, can deter potential perpetrators and ensure a safer environment for homeless individuals. Public awareness campaigns should also be conducted to emphasise the need for empathy. Educating the public about the challenges faced by homeless individuals and encouraging them to actively support and understand the plight of homeless people are also necessary.

6.6.4 Affordable housing initiatives

Affordable housing initiatives are pivotal in addressing the plight of homeless individuals. Dwellings and shelters that offer them stability, security, and a chance to rebuild their lives are pivotal in addressing the homeless phenomenon. First, governments and local authorities should invest in the construction of affordable housing units that are specifically designed for homeless individuals. These units should be equipped with essential amenities and should be in close proximity to support services such as counselling, job training, and healthcare facilities to address the diverse needs of homeless populations. Collaborations with non-profit organisations and private developers can expedite the construction process, ensuring that a high number of housing units are made available in a short period of time. Preserving and renovating abandoned or deteriorating buildings into affordable housing options can optimise resources and provide quick solutions. Tax incentives for property owners who convert their buildings into low-income housing can encourage private investment in affordable housing initiatives. Additionally, encouraging community land trusts, where land is owned collectively, can prevent gentrification and maintain affordable housing options in perpetuity. Additionally, innovative housing solutions such as tiny homes, modular housing, or repurposed shipping containers can provide cost-effective and quick alternatives. These structures can be rapidly

deployed to provide immediate shelter and safety for homeless individuals while long-term housing solutions are being developed.

6.6.5 Collaboration and public-private partnerships

To initiate comprehensive solutions to homelessness, public-private partnerships (PPPs) will play a pivotal role in addressing various facets of the issue. Through funding and resource mobilisation, private companies and philanthropic organisations can significantly contribute by directing funding towards essential needs like building shelters, healthcare facilities, vocational training centres, crèches, and affordable housing projects. Moreover, businesses can provide tangible support by donating goods and services such as clothing, blankets, food, and hygiene products that will aid homeless individuals directly. Skills development and employment initiatives involving collaboration among private businesses, non-profit organisations, and educational institutions can also be launched to great effect. These partnerships can create vocational training workshops, internships, and job placement services that will capacitate homeless individuals with skills and provide them with stable employment, thereby enhancing their self-sufficiency. Entrepreneurship and small business support programs within PPPs can offer mentorship, business coaching, and financial assistance that will enable homeless individuals to establish and sustain small businesses, thus fostering economic independence.

6.7 Suggestions for Future Research

The researcher offers the following suggestions for future research regarding homeless victimisation:

- Future research in this area should explore the intersectionality of homelessness by considering factors such as race, gender, age, and sexual orientation to gain a more nuanced understanding of how these variables intersect with experiences of victimisation and access to support services.
- Longitudinal studies that track homeless individuals over time should be conducted to provide valuable insights into the effectiveness of interventions and policies aimed at addressing homelessness and victimisation.
- Comparative studies across different geographic locations and cultural contexts could provide a broader perspective on the challenges faced by homeless populations

nationally and globally, while illuminating the varying impacts of societal attitudes and policies on the homeless.

- Research focusing on the perspectives of service providers, law enforcement officials, and healthcare professionals should be conducted to uncover institutional barriers in the delivery of effective support for homeless individuals.
- Studies should explore the role of social networks and community support in mitigating the impact of homelessness and victimisation. Such studies will provide valuable insights into the importance of social connections in enhancing the well-being of homeless individuals.

6.8 Summary and Concluding Remarks

This study delved into the complex experiences of homeless individuals in the Durban CBD and shed light on the various challenges faced by this vulnerable population group. The investigation explored the authentic experiences of homeless individuals and succeeded in providing a comprehensive understanding of their challenges and interactions within society. The study findings explicitly reinforce the overarching research objectives, which aimed to delve into the multifaceted dimensions of violent behaviours inflicted upon homeless individuals. Through rigorous exploration, it has been substantiated that homeless people endure a spectrum of victimization, ranging from verbal abuse to physical violence and theft. These adversities inflict profound emotional distress and trauma, aligning closely with the core focus of understanding the types and effects of violence on this vulnerable population. Coping mechanisms, that often involve substance use and theft, are adopted to deal with trauma, and both strategies generally create a cycle that is difficult to break. Homeless individuals also encounter significant obstacles when interacting with law enforcement and healthcare services, and most are exposed to discrimination, neglect, and disrespect.

The research noted some gender disparity in the homeless population, as more males than females were detected when sampling the participants. A disconcerting trend was also that a significant portion of the study participants, particularly those living on the streets, had been exposed to violent victimisation. It was observed that the majority of the homeless roaming the streets were black, which reflected a link with the South African history of apartheid and highlighted persistent social inequalities. The findings further underscored the disparity in

victimisation rates between those dwelling on the streets and those living in shelters, indicating the harsher realities faced by those without shelter.

In light of the above, this study emphasises the urgent need for targeted interventions and support systems, particularly for black homeless individuals in acknowledgement of the historical context that perpetuates their vulnerability. Addressing these disparities and providing tailored assistance can pave the way for a more inclusive and just society, where all individuals, regardless of their housing status or background, are treated with dignity and afforded equal opportunities for a better future. Ultimately, the research serves as a crucial foundation for future studies and interventions, as it will guide efforts to create a society where everyone is treated with dignity, regardless of their housing status.

This dissertation is concluded with the words:

"But now as for what is inside you, be generous to the poor, and everything will be clean for you." **-Luke 11:41-**

"The King will reply, 'Truly I tell you, whatever you did for one of the least of these brothers and sisters of mine, you did for me'." **-Matthew 25:40-**

REFERENCES

Adams, J. (2007). *Research methods for graduate business and social science students*. London: Sage Publications.

Addington, B. (2022). Barriers that disconnect homeless people and make homeless people difficult to interpret. *Development Southern Africa*. 19(04):455-466.

African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights (2017), Principles on the decriminalisation of petty offences in Africa, adopted at its 61st Ordinary Session, held from 1 to 15 November 2017 in Banjul, Gambia. Available at: https://www.achpr.org/legalinstruments/detail?id=2.

Alam, M.A. & Akter, M. (2015). Nature of victimisation and deviant behaviour among homeless adolescents: A study in Gazipur. *Asia Pacific Journal of Energy and Environment*, 2(2):93-102.

Al-Hakim, T.L. (2015). Criminal justice research methods: *Theory and practice*. Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press.

Angelo, J. (2018). Spirituality and Health: *The Importance of Home*. Retrieved from https://www.spiritualityhealth.com/articles/2016/02/15/importance-home

Arup, K. (2018). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology, 3*(2), 77-101.

Asibey, F. (2019). Right-wing authoritarianism and social dominance orientation and the dimensions of generalized prejudice: A longitudinal test. *European Journal of Personality*, 24(4), 324–340. https://doi. org/10.1002/per.746

Asmal, B. (2020). The other "authoritarian personality". In M. P. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 30, pp. 47–92). Academic Press.

Babbie, E. (2016). The Practice of Social Research, (14th ed). Boston: Cengage Learning.

Baglione, B. (2012). *Right-wing authoritarianism*. University of Manitoba Press.

Ballard, C., Edwards, L., Burton, P., Gossar, A. M., & Sali, C. (2021). Poverty is not a crime: decriminalising petty by laws in South Africa. [online] Available at https://apcof.org/wp-content/uploads/030-study-on-decriminalising-poverty-in-south-africa-clare-ballard-patrick-burton-louise-edwards-abdirahman-maalim-gossar-and-chumile-sali.pdf [Accessed 16 February 2024]

Barker, C.K. (2013). Domestic Violence and Housing Problems: A Contextual Analysis of Women's Help-Seeking, Received Informal Support, and Formal System Response, *Violence Against Women*, 9 (7): 754–783.

Baron, G.H. & Hartnagel, K.L. (2018). Victims of violence: The case of homeless youth. Australian & New Zealand *Journal of Criminology*, 24 (1), 1–14. https://doi.org/10.1177/000486589102400101

Barrett, D. & Twycross, A., (2018). Data collection in qualitative research. *Evidence-based nursing*, *21*(3), pp.63-64.

Basile, K., Jones, L.K. & Smith, N. (2021). The relationship between right-wing authoritarianism and attitudes toward violence: Further validation of the attitudes toward violence scale. *Social Behaviour and Personality*: An International Journal, 34(8), 923–926. https://doi.org/10.2224/sbp.2006.34.8.923

Bassuk, E. & Franklin, D. (1992). Homelessness Past and Present: The Case of the United States, 1890 – 1925, *New England Journal of Public Policy*, 8(1): 6785.

Benfer, K.L. (2021). *Deinstitutionalization at the beginning of the new millennium.* New Directions for Mental Health Services. 90: 3–20.

Bogdan, R. & Biklen, S.K., (1997). *Qualitative research for education*. Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon.

Bonner, A. & Van Den Bree, M., (2009). Risk factors for homelessness: Evidence from a population-based study. *Psychiatric Services*, *60*(4), pp.465-472.

Bontis, N., (2004). National intellectual capital index: a United Nations initiative for the Arab region. *Journal of intellectual capital*, *5*(1), pp.13-39.

Boyatzis, R.E., (1998). *Transforming qualitative information: Thematic analysis and code development*. New York: Sage Publications.

Bradpiece, M.N. (2021). *Writing a Research Paper in Political Science*. Thousand Oaks, California: CQ Press.

Brassard, R. & Cousineau, M.M., (2010). Victimisation et prise en charge des itinérants: entre aide et contrôle. *L'errance urbaine*, pp.361-376.

Braun, V. & Clarke, V., (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative research in psychology*, *3*(2), pp.77-101.

Bredenoord, J., Van Lindert, P. and Smets, P. eds., (2014). *Affordable housing in the urban global south: seeking sustainable solutions*. Routledge.

Brown, L. & Bassuk, E.L. (2017). *The Homelessness Problem*. Scientific American 251:40-45.

Bruce, D. (2013). Challenges of the criminal justice system in addressing the needs of victims and witnesses, (In: R. Peacock, ed. *Victimology in South Africa*). Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.

Burke, R. H. (2022). *An Introduction to Criminological Theory*. (3rd ed). Devon, UK: Willan Publishing

Bursik Jr, R.J., (1988). Social disorganization and theories of crime and delinquency: Problems and prospects. *Criminology*, *26*(4), pp.519-552.Cameron, Jelinek, Brown, Kelly & Little, 2011

Carton, B, (2000). Blood from Your Children: The Colonial Origins of Generational Conflict in South Africa. *University of Natal Press*, Pietermaritzburg.

Castor, T. (2015). (2015). *Accusatory Discourse*. The International Encyclopedia of Language and Social Interaction. pp. 1–5.

Caplow, T., Bahr, H.M., & Sternberg, D. (1968). Homelessness. In D. L. Sills (Ed.), *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 6 (pp. 494–98). New York: Free Press.

Centres for Disease Control and Prevention. (2015). *Intimate Partner Violence: Consequences*.

Clark D. M. (1986). A cognitive approach to panic. *Behaviour Research and Therapy*, 24(4), 461-470.

Clarke, V., Goddard, A., Wellings, K., Hirve, R., Casanovas, M., Bewley, S., Viner, R., Kramer, T. & Khadr, S., (2021). Medium-term health and social outcomes in adolescents following sexual assault: a prospective mixed-methods cohort study. *Social psychiatry and psychiatric epidemiology*, pp.1-17.)

Cohn, A. (2016). Update: interim guidance for health care providers caring for women of reproductive age with possible Zika virus exposure—United States, 2016. *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report*, *65*(12), pp.315-322.

Conklin, J.E. (1986). Criminology. (2nd ed). New York: *Macmillan Publishing Company*.

Cooper, B. (2015). Shadow people: the reality of homelessness in the 90's. gopher://csf.colorado.edu:70/00/hac/homeless/Geographical-Archive/reality-australia

Couldrey, C. (2010). *Violence within the lives of homeless people*. Unpublished thesis. (M.A). University of Southampton.

Creswell, J.W. & Creswell, J.D., (2017). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*. Sage Publications.

Creswell, J.W., & Plano Clark, L.V. (2007). Qualitative research designs: Selection and implementation. *The counseling psychologist*, *35*(2), pp.236-264.

Cross, C. & Seager, J. (2010). Skeletons of the feast: a review of street homelessness in South Africa and other world regions. *Development Southern Africa,* 27(1):5-20.

Cross, C., Kok, P., & Roux, N., (2010). Towards a demographic profile of the street homeless in South Africa. *Development Southern Africa*, 27(1), pp.21-37.

Culhane, D.P. (2010). Patterns and determinants of shelter utilisation among adults admitted to public shelters in Philadelphia and New York City. *Journal of policy Analysis and Management*, 26(2):207-32.

Daly, M. (2016). *The right to a home, the right to a future*. Brussels: FEANTSA.

Daskas, B., 2020. Picture and text: on the "iconography" of sacred spaces in middle-Byzantine ekphraseis. *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, *113*(1), pp.35-68.

Davenport, T.R. and Hunt, K.S., 1974. The right to the land. *(No Title)*.

Davies, R. (2023). Ethiopia: Flooding Continues in Several Regions, Displacing Thousands and Threatening Food Security. *Floodlist*.

Davis, L. (2014). Theoretical Approaches and perspectives in Victimology. (In: L. Davis & R. Snyman, eds. *Victimology in South Africa*). Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.

Delara, M. (2016). Mental Health Consequences and Risk Factors of Physical Intimate Partner Violence. *Mental Health in Family Medicine*; 12: 119-125.

DeJonckheere, M. & Vaughn, L.M., (2019). Methodological Progress Note: Group Level Assessment. *Journal of Hospital Medicine*, *14*(10), pp.627-629.

Dennis, D. (2017). Toward Understanding Homelessness: The 2007 National Symposium on Homelessness Research.

DePastino, T. (2013). *The Road*. Rutgers University Press.

DeSantis, L. and Ugarriza, D.N., 2000. The concept of theme as used in qualitative nursing research. *Western journal of nursing research*, *22*(3), pp.351-372.

Dewalt, K.M. & Dewalt, B.R., with Coral B. Wayland. (1998). "Participant Observation,". *Handbook of Methods in Cultural Anthropology*, pp.259-299.

Diagle, L.E. & Muftić, L.R. (2016). *Victimology*. New York: Sage Publications.

Dietz, T. & Wright, J. D. (2015). Victimisation of the Elderly Homeless, *Care Management Journals*, 6(1): 15-21.

Dobbins, A.B., (2012). *Are We Failing the Homeless and Uninsured Trauma Patient? An Exploration in the Nurse Practitioner Role in Trauma, and Identification of Disparity in Treatment and Barriers to Follow-up for the Acutely Injured* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Kansas).

Doherty, J., Ogbomnwan, Y., & Williams, B. (2018). *Immigration and Homelessness in England*. Bristol: Policy Press. Dupont-Morales, 2009.

Dudovskiy, J., (2022). Observation. *From Business Research Methodology: https://research-methodology. net/about-us/ebook*.

Du Plessis, A.H. (2008). *Exploring secondary school educator experiences of school violence*. Unpublished MA dissertation, University of Pretoria.

Dworkin, S.L., (2012). Sample size policy for qualitative studies using in-depth interviews. *Archives of sexual behavior*, *41*, pp.1319-1320.

Dyer, T.S., 2015. Race Discourse in Wuthering Heights. *European Scientific Journal*, *11*(8).

Echenberg, H. & Jensen, H., (2012). *Defining and enumerating homelessness in Canada*. Montreal: Library of Parliament.

Edgar, B. & Doherty, J. (2019). *Services for Homeless People: Innovation and Change in the European Union*. Bristol: The Policy Press.

Edgar, B & Meert (2015). Fourth Review of Statistics on Homelessness in Europe: the ETHOS of homelessness. *Brussels*: FEANTSA

Eigenberg, S. & Garland, C.S (2008). Bias in favour of the status quo. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, 6(3), 270–281. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1751-9004.2012.00427.x

Emmanuel, E.J., Wendler, D. & Grady, E.K. (2010). Evaluating the risks of clinical research. *Jama*, *304*(13), pp.1472-1479.

Evans, R.D. & Forsyth, C.J. (2004). Risk factors, endurance of victimisation, and survival strategies: The impact of the structural location of men and women on their experiences within the homeless milieus, *Sociological Spectrum*, 24: 479 – 505.

Fantz, A. (2017). Teen 'Sport Killings' of Homeless on the Rise, CNN, Feb. 20, 2017, http://www.cnn.com/2017/US/02/19/homeless.attacks/index.html.

Faragó, L., Kende, A., & Krekó, P. (2021). Justification of intergroup violence – The role of right-wing authoritarianism and propensity for radical action. *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict*, 12(2), 113–128. https://doi.org/10.1080/ 17467586.2019.1576916

Farha, L., (2015). Homeless people are not cockroaches or vermin–they are human and have rights. *The Guardian*.

Fattah, E.A. (2012). *Victimology today recent theoretical and applied developments*. Resource Material Series, 56: 60-70.

Fazel, S., Khosl, A. V., Doll, H., & Geddes, J. (2008). The prevalence of mental disorders among the homeless in Western countries: Systematic review and meta-regression analysis. *PLOS Med*, 5(12), e225.

Ferguson, K.M. (2015). Multiple victimisations before and after leaving home associated with PTSD, depression, and substance use disorder among homeless youth. *Child maltreatment*, *20*(2), pp.115-124.

Franklin, Z.C., Smith, N.C. & Fowler, N.E., (2016). A qualitative investigation of factors that matter to individuals in the pain management process. *Disability and rehabilitation*, *38*(19), pp.1934-1942.

Flannery, D.J., Vazsonyi, A.T., & Waldman, I.D. (2016). Violent behaviour and the science of prevention. *The Cambridge handbook of violent behavior and aggression.* Pg. 767–786. Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511816840.041

Fischer, P.J. (2012). The epidemiology of alcohol, drug, and mental disorders among homeless persons. *American Psychologist.* 46(11): 1115-28.

Fisher, M., Miller, N., Walter, L. & Selbin, J., (2015). California's new vagrancy laws: The growing enactment and enforcement of anti-homeless laws in the Golden State. *Available at SSRN 2558944*.

Foscarinis, M., Cunningham-Bowers, K., & Brown, K. E. (1999). Out of sight—out of mind: The continuing trend toward the criminalization of homelessness. *Georgetown Journal on Poverty Law and Policy*, 6(2), 145–164. https://heinonline.org/HOL/LandingPage?handle=hein.journals/geojpovlp6&div=14&id=&page=

Fraser, K., (2014). Defeating the 'paradigm wars' in accounting: A mixed methods approach is needed in the education of PhD Scholars. *International Journal of Multiple Research Approaches*, 8(1), 49-62.

Hungary. (2018). *Fundamental Law of Hungary*. Retrieved July 23, 2023, from http://www.kormany.hu/download/f/3e/61000/

Fusch Ph D, P.I. & Ness, L.R., (2015). Are we there yet? Data saturation in qualitative research.

Gaetz, S. (2014). Safe Streets for Whom? Homeless Youth, Social Exclusion and Criminal Victimisation, Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice, 46(6): 423 – 455.

Gaetz, S. & O' Grady, B. (2020). Making Money: Exploring the Economy of Homeless Workers. *Work, Employment and Society*, 16 (3)

Gaetz, S., Donaldson, J., Richter, T & Gulliver, L.K. (2013). *The State of Homelessness in Canada 2013*. Canadian Homelessness Research Network Press.

Garafalo, J. & Martin, S., (1993). Bias-motivated crimes: Their characteristics and the law enforcement response. *Carbondale: Southern Illinois University*.

Garland, T.S. (2014). Victims hidden in plain sight: the reality of victimisation among the homeless, *Criminal Justice Studies*, 23 (4): 285 – 301.

Gabbard, D.F. (2019). Hate Crime. (In: J.K., Wilson, ed. *The Praeger Handbook of Victimology*). Santa Barbra: Praeger

General Social Survey. (2014). *The Encyclopedia of Research Methods in Criminology and Criminal Justice*, *1*, pp.54-59.

Goering, P.N. (2011). The At Home/Chez Soi trial protocol: a pragmatic, multi-site, randomised controlled trial of a Housing First intervention for homeless individuals with mental illness in five Canadian cities. *BMJ open*, *1*(2), p.e000323.

Georgiades, S., (2015). The dire straits of homelessness: Dramatic echoes and creative propositions from the field. *Journal of Human Behaviour in the Social Environment*, *25*(6), pp.630-642.

Goffman, I. (2016). *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*. New York: Simon and Schust.

Goodman, L., (2016). Pathways to homelessness among older homeless adults: Results from the HOPE HOME Study. *PloS one*, *11*(5), p.e0155065.

Gordon, E. (2022). *Strategic Interaction*. Oxford: Blackwell

Gowan, T. (2017). Hobos, Hustlers and Backsliders: Homeless in San Francisco. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Grant, C. & Osanloo, A., (2014). Understanding, selecting, and integrating a theoretical framework in dissertation research: Creating the blueprint for your "house". *Administrative issues journal*, *4*(2), p.4.

Grattet, R., (2011). Societal reactions to deviance. *Annual review of sociology*, *37*, pp.185-204.

Griffith, C. (2019). Crime Against Homeless People Continues to Rise. *Invisible People*.

Hadarics, M., & Kende, A. (2018). The dimensions of generalized prejudice within the dual-process model: The mediating role of moral foundations. *Current Psychology*, 37(4), 731–739. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12144-016-9544-x

Hagan, J. (2013). The Social Embeddedness of Crime and Unemployment. *Criminology*, Vol. 31 (4).

Hall, C., Meinbresse, M., Brinkley-Rubinstein, L., Grassette, A., Benson, J., Hamilton, R., Malott, M. & Jenkins, D., (2014). Exploring the experiences of violence among individuals who are homeless using a consumer-led approach. *Violence and victims*, *29*(1), pp.122-136.

Hardill, L.N. & Crowe, G.K. (2013). Literature review: Aging and homelessness. *Aging*.

Harriss-White, B., (2013). *India working: Essays on society and economy* (No. 8). Cambridge University Press.

Heerde, J. A., & Hemphill, S. A. (2014). A systematic review of associations between perpetration of physically violent behaviors and property offenses, victimisation and use of substances among homeless youth. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 44, 265–277.

Heinecken, L. (2020). *What's behind violence in South Africa: a sociologist's perspective*. The Conversation. Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology, Stellenbosch University.

Helle, K., (2014). *Significance of place and gender an Ohio violent crime victimisation study* (Doctoral dissertation).

Hendricks, P.S., (2015). Classic psychedelic use is associated with reduced psychological distress and suicidality in the United States adult population. *Journal of Psychopharmacology*, *29*(3), pp.280-288.

Henwood, B.F. (2015). Maslow and mental health recovery: A comparative study of homeless programs for adults with serious mental illness. *Administration and Policy in Mental Health and Mental Health Services Research*, *42*, pp.220-228.

Hermer, J. (2016). *Homelessness, Crime, Victimisation, and the Criminal Justice System. Toronto*: University of Toronto Press.

Hewitt, T. (2014). *Better Times than This: Youth Homelessness in Britain.* London: Pluto Press.

Hills, F., Meyer-Weitz, A. & Oppong Asante, K. (2017). The lived experience of street children in Durban, South Africa: violence, substance abuse and resilience. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies on Health and Well-being*. Available at http://dx.doi.org/10.3402/qhw.v11.30302

Hipp, G.H. (2013). Respect and Responsibility: Taking a Stand against Antisocial Behaviour *London: Home Office*.

Hoffman, D. (2017). *Institutional Mistreatment: Abuse and Neglect* (Report).

Holland, M.J.G. (2021). Improving outcomes in homeless young people: A feasibility study of the My Strengths Training for Life™(MST4Life™) Programme [manuscript in preparation]. *School of Sport, Exercise and Rehabilitation Sciences, University of Birmingham*.

Holness, W. (2020). eThekwini's discriminatory bylaws: Criminalising Homelessness. *Law, Democracy and Development, 24,* 468-511. https://dx.doi.org/10.17159/2077-4907/2020/ldd.v24.19

Homeless Hub, The. (2013). Canadian Observatory on Homelessness: Canadian Alliance to End Homelessness. Available at https://www.homelesshub.ca/SOHC2013

Hopkins, T. K. (2013). *The exercise of influence in small groups*. Totowa, NJ: Bedmister.

Hudson, L. (2019). *Surviving Sexual Violence*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Human Rights Watch/Helsinki (Organization, 1996. *Rights Denied: The Roma of Hungary* (Vol. 1245). Human Rights Watch.

Human Sciences Research Council. (2015). *More than just a roof: unpacking homelessness.* Retrieved 02 June 2020 from https://hsrc.ac.za/en/review/hsrc-review-march-2015/unpacking-homelessness

Hwang, S.M., Wilkins, P.O., Chambers, C., Estrabillo, F.G., Berends, M. & MacDonalds, E.J. (2011). Shelters for the Homeless: Learning from Research, (In: J. Hulchanski, D. Campsie, P. Chau, S. Hwang & E. Paradis, eds. *Finding Home: Policy Options for Addressing Homelessness in Canada, Toronto: Cities Centre*), University of Toronto. Available from: www.homelesshub.ca/FindingHome (Retrieved July 2023).

Hyde, J. (2005) From Home to Street: Understanding young people's transition into homelessness, Journal of Adolescence 28(2) pp.171-183.

Jeezera, S.M. (2020). Homelessness and health. *Canadian Medical Association*, 164 (2): 229-233.

Jewkes, Y., Bennett, J. (2013). *Dictionary of Prisons and Punishment*. doi:10.4324/9781843926009. ISBN 978-1-134-01183-4

Jin, S. (2019). Qualitative Research Method- Interviewing and Observation, *Journal of Basic and Clinical Pharmacy*, 5 (4): 87 – 88.

Joern, G. (2018). Homelessness and substance abuse: which comes first? *Australian Social Work*, 61 (4): 342 – 356.

Johnson, T.P. & Fendrich, M. (2017). Homelessness and Drug Use. Evidence from a Community Sample, *American Journal of Preventive Medicine*, 32 (60): 211 – 218.

Jones, J.L. (2013). The experiences of violence in the lives of homeless women: *a research report.* Washington, D.C; Department of Justice.

Kampamba, J. & Kachepa, S. (2018). Housing delivery to the low income in Botswana, International Journal of Housing. *Markets and Analysis*, Vol. 11 Issue: 2, pp.356-385

Kaye, A.J., & Erdley, C.A. (2011). Physical Aggression. In: Goldstein, S., Naglieri, J.A. (eds) Encyclopedia of Child Behaviour and Development. Springer, Boston, MA. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-0-387-79061-9_2156

Kempotich, J. (2015). Low self-esteem. *Chicago Defender*. p. 33. ISSN 0745-7014.

Kennedy, L. W. (2017). Disputatiousness, aggressiveness, and victimisation among street youths. *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice, 5*, 411–425. doi:10.1177/1541204077299582

Khan, N. (2021). Homelessness and begging: *A growing concern in Durban*. [Online]. Available from: https://www.iol.co.za/thepost/news/homelessness-and-begging-a-growing-concern-in-durban-79e591b7-6684-4ba4-8b06-555af3d3097e [Accessed 2023/03/22].

Killander, M., (2019). Criminalising homelessness and survival strategies through municipal by-laws: Colonial legacy and constitutionality. *South African Journal on Human Rights*, *35*(1), pp.70-93.

Kim, Y. (2013). The Pilot Study in Qualitative Inquiry: Identifying issues and learning lessons for culturally competent research, *Qualitative Social Work*, 10(2): 190–206.

Kim, N. J., Lin, J., Hiller, C., Hildebrand, C., & Auerswald, C. (2021). Analyzing U.S. tweets for stigma against people experiencing homelessness. Stigma and Health. Advance online publication. https://doi.org/10.1037/sah0000251

King, G. (2013). *Homeless: Policies, strategies and lives on the streets*. Routledge.

Kinsella, C. (2012). Re-locating Fear on the Streets: Homelessness, Victimisation and Fear of Crime. *European Journal of Homelessness.* Volume 6, No. 2.

Koegel, P., Burnam, M.A. & Baumohl, J., (2016). The causes of homelessness. *Homelessness in America*, *202*, pp.775-1322.

Kok, P. & Collinson, M. (2015). *Migration and urbanisation in South Africa*. Pretoria: Statistics South Africa.

Kok, P., Cross, C. & Rowe, N. (2010). Towards a demographic profile of the street homeless in South Africa. *Development Southern Africa*, 27(1):21-37.

Krieger, J. and Higgins, D.L., 2002. Housing and health: time again for public health action. *American journal of public health*, *92*(5), pp.758-768.

Kushel, M. (2022). *Violence Against People Who Are Homeless: The Hidden Epidemic*. Benioff Homelessness and Housing Initiative.

Kushel, M. B., Evans, J. L., Perry, S., Robertson, M. J., & Moss, A. R. (2013). No door to lock: *Victimisation among homeless and marginally housed persons*. Archives of Internal Medicine, 163(20), 2492-2499.

Kvale, P., (1996). Interviews and the philosophy of qualitative research.

Lawson, J.A. (2013). The Effect of Victimisation on Clinical Outcomes of Homeless Persons with Serious Mental Illness, *Psychiatric Services*, 49(5): 678-683.

Larney, S., Conroy, E. & Mills, K.L. (2009). Factors associated with violent victimisation among homeless adults in Sydney Australia, Australian and New Zealand. *Journal of Public Health*, 33 (4): 347 – 351.

Lasky, H.R. (2019). Deinstitutionalization at the beginning of the new millennium. *New Directions for Mental Health Services.* 90: 3–20

Lebow, J.M. & Brennan, T.A., (2017). Risk factors for death in homeless adults in Boston. *Archives of Internal Medicine*, *158*(13), pp.1454-1460.

Lee, B. A. & Schreck, C.J. (2015). Danger on the Streets: Marginality and Victimisation Among Homeless People, *American Behavioural Scientist*, 48 (8): 1055-1081.

Lee, B.A. & Price-Spratlen, D.W. (2014). Public beliefs about the causes of homelessness. *Social Forces*, 69(1), 253–265. https://doi.org/10.2307/2579617

Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). Naturalistic inquiry. *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 163-188). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Lippa, R., & Arad, S. (2019). Gender, personality, and prejudice: The display of authoritarianism and social dominance in interviews with college men and women. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 33(4), 463–493. https://doi.org/10.1006/jrpe.1999.2266

Locatelli, M. & Schoen, F. eds., (2013). *Global optimization: theory, algorithms, and applications*. Society for Industrial and Applied Mathematics.

Long, T. & Johnson, M., (2000). Rigour, reliability and validity in qualitative research. *Clinical effectiveness in nursing*, *4*(1), pp.30-37.

Lysaght, J.D. (2011). Occupational Victimisation. (In: Shoham, S.G., Knepper, P and Kett, M, eds. 2010. *International Handbook of Victimology*). Boca Raton: CRC Press.

Mack, N., Woodsong, C., Macqueen, K.M., Guest, G. & Namey, E., (2005). Qualitative Research Methods: A Data Collector Field Book.

Macollvie, J.L. (2016). HIV and the urban homeless in Johannesburg, *Southern African Journal of HIV Medicine*, 13 (4): 174 – 177.

Magakoe, P. (2022). Census 2022 starts with the homeless. [Online] Available from: https://www.enca.com/news/south-africas-census-starts-homeless-0 [Accessed 14 April 2023].

Magubane, Z., (2022). Whiteness and racial capitalism: to whom do the "wages of whiteness" accrue? *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, pp.1-19.

Maharaj, B. & Moodley I., (2010). Immigration to post-apartheid South Africa: Critical reflections. *Immigration worldwide: Policies, practices, and trends*, *363*.

Mahlangu, J. (2021). Homelessness. *Homeless Talk*, 7.

Manganyi, C., (2014). South African naval diplomacy since 1994.

Manohar, N., MacMillan, F., Steiner, G.Z. & Arora, A., (2018). Recruitment of research participants. *Handbook of research methods in health social sciences*, pp.71-98.

Maqhina, M. (2022). *Social Development Department has 5 654 homeless people on record nationwide*. Isolezwe Online.

Margo, R.A., (2013). A silver lining to white flight? White suburbanization and African American homeownership, 1940–1980. *Journal of Urban Economics*, *78*, pp.71-80.

Merriam-Webster, Inc, 1995. *Merriam-Webster's encyclopedia of literature*. Merriam-Webster.

Marshall, J. & Bhurga, D. (2016). Services for the mentally ill homeless, (In: D. Bhugra, ed. *Homelessness and Mental Health*). (2nd ed). London: Cambridge University Press.

Marutlulle, N.K., (2021). A critical analysis of housing inadequacy in South Africa and its ramifications. *Africa's Public Service Delivery & Performance Review*, *9*(1), p.16.

Marx, C. & Charlton, S., (2012). Durban, South Africa. *UN-HABITAT (Hg.): Global report on human settlements*, pp.195-223.

Masimba, J. (2018). Dengue fever in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania: clinical features and outcome in populations of black and non-black racial category. *BMC infectious diseases*, *18*, pp.1-10.

Mawela, K.L. (2019). Realizing or Relinquishing Rights? Homeless Youth, Their Life on the Streets and Their Knowledge and Experience of Health and Social Services in Hillbrow, South Africa, *Social Work and Health Services*, 52: 449-466.

Maxfield, M.G. & Babbie, E.R., (2014). *Research methods for criminal justice and criminology*. Cengage Learning.

Mayisela, M. (2022). *16 000 homeless recorded in Durban. Berea Mail.* [Online]. Available from: https://bereamail.co.za/297477/16-000-homeless-recorded-in-durban/ [Accessed 25/04/2023].

McCarthy, D. & Hagan, R.B. (2017). Alcoholism, Drug Abuse, and the Homeless, *American Psychologist,* 46 (11): 1139–1148.

McEvoy, K. & McConnachie, K., (2012). Victimology in transitional justice: Victimhood, innocence and hierarchy. *European Journal of Criminology*, *9*(5), pp.527-538.

McGrath, F.E. (2016). Experiences of homeless people in the health care delivery system: A descriptive phenomenological study, *Public Health Nursing*, 25 (5): 420–430.

McKenzie, D. & McCormack, D. (2012). *Homelessness and unemployment: understanding the connection and breaking the cycle*. Swinburne University: Swinburn Institute for Social Research.

Meinbresse, M., Brinkley-Rubinstein, L., Grassette, A., Benson, J., Hall, C., Hamilton, R., Malott, M. & Jenkins, D. (2014). Exploring the Experiences of Violence Among Individuals Who Are Homeless Using a Consumer-Led Approach, *Violence and Victims*, 29 (1): 122 –136.

Memeza, M. (2018). By-law enforcement in South African cities. Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (undated) available at http://www.csvr.org.za/docs/urbansafety/bylawenforcement.pdf

Mendelsohn, B. (1974). *The origin of the doctrine of victimology*. In I. Drapkin and E. Viano (Eds.), Victimology (pp. 3– 11). Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath.

Merriman, R.F. (2008). Multiple victimisation: evidence, theory, and future research. *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*: 1981; 72, 762- 778

Mertens, D. (2008). Research methods in education and psychology: *Integrating diversity with quantitative and qualitative approaches*. London: Sage Publications.

Mitchell, A.E. (2012). Relationship Among Adverse Childhood Experiences, History of Active Military Service, and Adult Outcomes: Homelessness, Mental Health, and Physical Health, *American Journal of Public Health*, 103 (S2): S262 – S269.

Mitchley, E. (2019). Approaches to Homelessness Policy in Europe, the United States, and Australia, *Journal of Social Issues*, 63(3): 641 – 655.

Mock, C.G. (2017). Incarceration and Homelessness. *National Symposium on Homelessness Research.*

Modi, M.N., Palmer, S., Armstrong, A. (2014). The Role of Violence Against Women Act in Addressing Intimate Partner Violence: A Public Health Issue. *Journal of Women's Health*; 23(3): 253-259.

Moiz, M. (2022). Homelessness in South Africa: Why and what can we do about it? *CAUF Society*.

Morgan, L.K. & Truman, K.A. (2017). The Effect of Early Maltreatment, Victimisation, and Partner Violence on HIV Risk Behaviour Among Homeless Young Adults, *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 47: 575–581.

Morrow, S. (2015). The homeless in historical context. *Development Southern Africa.* 52-70.

Mosse, J. (2012). *Homelessness comes to school*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin.

Moyer-Gusé, E., Giles, H. & Linz, D. (2018). "Communication Studies, Overview". *Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace, & Conflict*. pp. 368–379. doi:10.1016/b978-012373985-8.00032-5

Msimang, S. (2018). *The legacy of violence in the struggle for South Africa*. [Online]. Available from: https://africasacountry.com/2020/12/the-legacy-of-violence-in-the-struggle-for-freedom-in-south-africa [Accessed 2023/03/20].

Mugenda, A.G. (2013). Qualitative research methods. *Nairobi, Kenya*.

Myrstol, B.A. & Chermak, S.M. (2005). Victimology. (In: L. Glick, ed. Criminology). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Naeh, D. (2021). Ending Homelessness: Is Being Homeless a Crime? [Online]. Retrieved from: https://endhomelessness.org/blog/is-being-homeless-a-crime/

Naidoo, V. (2018). Government responses to street homelessness in South Africa. *Development Southern Africa, 27*(1):129-141.

National Coalition for the Homeless. (2014). Vulnerable to hate: A survey of hate crimes and violence committed against homeless people in 2013. Available at: http://national homeless.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/Hate-Crimes2013-1.pdf (Retrieved August 2023).

National Health Services. (2022). National Consumer Advisory Board. Retrieved from http://www.nhchc.org/resources/consumer/national-consumer-advisory-board/

Ndlovu, Z.T. (2019). *An Exploratory Study on Substance Abuse Among Homeless People: A case study of Durban City Centre*. Unpublished thesis. (M.A). School of Applied Human Science. University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban.

Nel, J.A. & Breen, D. (2013). Victims of hate crime. (In: R. Peacock, ed. *Victimology in South Africa*). Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.

Nel, J.A. & Judge, M. (2018). Exploring Homophobic Victimisation in Durban, South Africa: Issues, Impacts and Responses, *Acta Criminologica*, 21 (3): 19-36.

Neuman, W. L. (2014). Social research methods: *Qualitative and quantitative approaches*. 6th edition. Boston (Mass.): Pearson Education.

Newburn, T. & Rock, P. (2014). *Living in Fear: Violence and Victimisation in the Lives of Single Homeless People*. London: Crisis

Nooe, R. M., & Patterson, D. A. (2010). The ecology of homelessness. *Journal of Human Behaviour in the Social Environment*, 20(2), 105–152. https://doi.org/10.1080/10911350903269757

North, C.S., Smith, E.M. & Spitznagel, E.L. (2014). Violence and the homeless: an epidemiologic study of victimisation and aggression. *Journal of Traumatic Stress*, 7: 95-110.

Novac, S. (2006). *Homelessness, Crime, Victimisation, and the Criminal Justice System*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Novac, S., Hermer, J., Paradis, E. & Kellen, A., (2009). A revolving door? Homeless people and the justice system in Toronto. *Finding Home: Policy options for addressing homelessness in Canada*.

Nowell, L.S., Norris, J.M., White, D.E. & Moules, N.J., (2017). Thematic analysis: Striving to meet the trustworthiness criteria. *International journal of qualitative methods*, *16*(1), p.1609406917733847.

Nqopiso, B. (2017). *The prevalence and impact of secondary victimisation on the victims of Domestic Violence perpetrated by the South African Police Services in Durban, South Africa*. Unpublished thesis. (M.A). University of KwaZulu-Natal, Department of Criminology and Forensic Studies.

Ntseku, M. (2022). Homeless community suffers abuse under law enforcement. *Multimedia*. A Cape Argus Publication.

Olufemi, O. (1997). Health of the homeless street women in South Africa. *Habitat International*, 23:481-493.

Olufemi, O. & Reeves, J.K. (2004). Feminisation of poverty among the street homeless women in South Africa, *Development Southern Africa*, 17 (2): 221-234.

Osgood, D.W. & Chambers, J.M., (2000). Social disorganization outside the metropolis: An analysis of rural youth violence. *Criminology*, *38*(1), pp.81-116.

Pagán, D.K. (2021). There's no place sike (a) home: Ontological security among persons with serious mental illness in the United States. *Social Science and Medicine* 64: 1925–1936.

Park, R.A. (2018). Social norms and the law: An economic approach. The American Economic Review, 87(2), 365–369. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2950947

Parsell, C. & Parsell, M., 2012. Homelessness as a choice. *Housing, Theory and Society*, 29(4), pp.420-434.

Panter-Brick, C., (2002). Street children, human rights, and public health: A critique and future directions. *Annual review of anthropology*, *31*(1), pp.147-171.

Petherick, W.A. & Sinnamon, G.C.B. (2013). Motivations: Victim and Offender perspectives. In: Petherick WA, editor. 3rd ed. *Anderson Publishing*, USA. 2013;393–430.

Pearson, F.S. & Neil, A.W. (1995). *Toward an Integration of Criminological Theories*. Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology 76: 116-50.

Perron, B. E., Alexander-Eitzman, B., Gillespie, D. F., & Pollio, D. (2008). Modelling the mental health effects of victimisation among homeless persons. *Social Science & Medicine*, 67(9), 1475–1479

Petrosky, E., Blair, J.M., Betz, C.J., Fowler, K.A., Jack, S.P. & Lyons, B.H., (2017). Racial and ethnic differences in homicides of adult women and the role of intimate partner violence—United States, 2003–2014. *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report*, *66*(28), p.741.

Peterson, B.E. (2014). Authoritarianism and attitudes toward contemporary social issues. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 19(2), 174–184. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167293192006

Phiri, C.M. (2016). Health implications of chronic homelessness: lived experiences of adult men and women at a community in Gauteng Province, South Africa, *African Journal for Physical, Health Education, Recreation and Dance*, 18: 160-173.

Piat, M. (2015). Pathways into homelessness: Understanding how both individual and structural factors contribute to and sustain homelessness in Canada, *Urban Studies*, 52 (13): 2366–2382.

Piquero, A.R., Diamond, B., Jennings, W.G. & Reingle, J.M., (2013). Adolescence-limited offending. *Handbook of life-course criminology: Emerging trends and directions for future research*, pp.129-142.

Ponio, J. (2022). The stigma of homelessness: The impact of the label" homeless" on attitudes toward poor persons. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 60(4), 323–337. https://doi.org/10.2307/2787093

Pophaim, J.P. (2019). *Exploring the experiences of victimisation of the homeless*. Unpublished thesis (M.A). Department of Criminology. University of the Free State, Bloemfontein.

Prather, S. M. (2010). *The criminalization of homelessness*. Unpublished thesis. (M.A). University of Nevada Las Vegas.

Prevention and Combating of Hate Crimes and Hate Speech Bill, 2018. *Publication of explanatory summary of the prevention and combating of the Bill*.

Rattelade, S. (2014). The relationship between victimisation and mental health functioning in homeless youth and adults, *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 29 (9). 1606 – 1622.

Ravallion, M. (2012). A database on poverty and growth in Durban. *Development Research Group.*

Rivara, F., Adhia, A., Lyons, V., Massey, A., Mills, B., Morgan, E., Simckes, M. & Rowhani-Rahbar, A., (2019). The effects of violence on health. *Health Affairs*, *38*(10), pp.1622-1629.

Robinson, L., Smith, M. & Segal, J., (2021). Helping Children Cope with Traumatic Events. *Help Guide*.

Roebuck B. (2018). *Homelessness, Victimisation and Crime: Knowledge and Actionable Recommendations,* University of Ottawa.

Roets, L., Botha, A., Greeff, M., Human, S.P., Strydom, H., Watson, M.J. & Chigeza, S., (2016). A synthesis of homelessness in South Africa: A rapid critical appraisal. *Development Southern Africa*, *33*(5), pp.613-627.

Rosenthal, L.J, Byerly, A., Taylor, A.D. & Martinovich, Z. (2018). Impact and Prevalence of Physical and Verbal Violence Toward Healthcare Workers. P*sychosomatics*. 59 (6): 584–590.

Ross, A. (2012). Crime, police, and truth-in-sentencing: *The impact of state sentencing policy on local communities*. Regional Science and Urban Economics, 42(1-2), 144-152

Rossi, P.H. (2019). The Old Homeless and the New Homelessness in Historical Perspective, *American Psychologist*, 45 (8): 954-959.

Roulston, K. & Martinez, B., (2015). Recruitment and sampling in consumer research. In *Qualitative research methods in consumer psychology* (pp. 33-52). Psychology Press.

Roy, L., Crocker, A.G., Nicholls, L.T., Latimer, E.A. & Ayllon, A.R. (2012). Criminal Behavior and Victimisation Among Homeless Individuals with Severe Mental Illness: A Systematic Review. *Psychiatric Services*. Vol. 65. Pg 739-750.

Rubin, H.J. & Rubin, I.S., (2011). *Qualitative interviewing: The art of hearing data*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Sadiki, L. (2017). *The experiences of homeless people as victims of crime in urban and rural settings*. Unpublished thesis (M.A Criminology). Department of Social Work and Criminology. University of Pretoria.

Sampson, R.J. & Lauritsen, J.L. (1990). Deviant Lifestyles, Proximity to Crime, and the Offender-Victim Link in Personal Violence. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*. Pg: 27.

Saunders, M., (2007). Research methods. *Business Students 4th edition Pearson Education Limited, England*, *6*(3), pp.1-268.

Schacter, D.L., Gilbert, D.T., & Wegner, D.M. (2011). *Psychology* (2nd ed.). New York: Worth Publishers. p. 310

Schafer, D.O. (1968). College sophomores in the laboratory: Influences of a narrow data base on social psychology's view of human nature. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 51(3), 515–530. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.51. 3.515

Schmitt, M. (2013). International homelessness: Policy, socio-cultural, and individual perspectives. *Journal of Social Issues*, 63(3), 657–677. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.2007.00529.x

Scott, J. (2016). Laying the Foundations: Addressing Heroin Use among the 'Street Homeless'. *Drugs, Education, Prevention and Policy* 12(1) pp.47-59.

Scurfield, J. (2014). Criminal victimisation of the homeless: an investigation of Big Issue vendors in Leeds, *Radical Statistics*, 99: 3-11.

Shaw, C. R., & McKay, H. D. (1942). *Juvenile delinquency and urban areas*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Shange, S., (2019). *Progressive dystopia: Abolition, antiblackness, and schooling in San Francisco*. Duke University Press.

Shapcott, J.K. (2017). Understanding the meta-discourse driving homeless policies and programs in Toronto, Canada: The neoliberal management of social service delivery. *International Social Work*, *60*(6), pp.1443-1456.

Shelton, J. (2022). Experiences of discrimination among young adults experiencing homelessness: Relationship to mental health outcomes. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, *92*(1), p.58.

Sherman, L.W., Gartin, P.R. & Buerger, M.E., (1989). Hot spots of predatory crime: Routine activities and the criminology of place. *Criminology*, *27*(1), pp.27-56.

Shildrick, T. and MacDonald, R., 2012. Poverty and insecurity: *Life in low-pay, no-pay* Britain. Policy Press.

Shively, E. (2005). *Intimate Intrusions: Women's Experience of Male Violence*. London: Routledge.

Siegel, L.J. (2006). Criminology: *Theories, Patterns, and Typologies*. 9th ed. Belmont. CA: Thomson/Wadsworth.

Simbizi, M.C.D., Bennett, R.M. & Zevenbergen, J., (2014). Land tenure security: Revisiting and refining the concept for Sub-Saharan Africa's rural poor. *Land use policy*, *36*, pp.231-238.

Simpson, J., (2015). Police and homeless outreach worker partnerships: Policing of homeless individuals with mental illness in Washington, DC. *Human Organization*, *74*(2), pp.125-134.

Skosana, I. (2014). The streets where homelessness, abuse and mental illness meet. *Mail & Guardian,* 16 January 2014.

Snow, D.A. & Mulcahy, L. (2011). Criminality and homeless men: An empirical assessment. *Social Problems*, 36(5), 532–549. https://doi.org/10.2307/3096817

Soken-Huberty, E., (2021). What Does Social Justice Mean? *Human Rights Career*, *4*.

Somerville, P. (2012). Homelessness and the meaning of home: Rooflessness or rootlessness? *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 16(4), 529–539.

Sparks, F. (1991). "Multiple Victimisation: Evidence, Theory, and Future Research." *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 72, 762-778.

Speak, S. (2005). Definitions of homelessness in developing countries. *Habitat International*, *29*(2), pp.337-352.

Speak, S. (2019). Homelessness in developing countries. Newcastle upon Tyne, *Global Urban Research Unit*, University of Newcastle upon Tyne.

Stark, R. (1987). Deviant places: A theory of the ecology of crime. *Criminology*, 25(4), 893-910.

Statistics Canada. (2016). *Hidden homelessness in Canada*. Statistics Canada/Statistique Canada.

Statistics South Africa. (2007). *Basic Result Municipalities*. Retrieved 2008-03-23.

Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, 2022

Summer, J. (2019). Urban makeovers, homeless encampments, and the aesthetics of displacement. *Social & Cultural Geography*, *20*(4), pp.575-595.

Sundin, E.C. & Baguley, T. (2014). Prevalence of childhood abuse among people who are homeless in Western countries: A systematic review and metanalysis. *Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology*, 502: 183 – 194

Swenson, B.V. (2022). *Census of population and Housing: Estimating Homelessness*. Canberra: British Statistics. Catalogue No. 3094.0.

Tarr, H.S. (2018). Homelessness in the City of Toronto.

Takawira, W.M. (2015). Distributive politics at play in Harare, Zimbabwe: case for housing cooperatives. *Bandung*, *2*(1), pp.1-13.

The Crisis. (2019). *New research reveals the scale of violence against rough sleepers.* United Kingdom: London Press.

Thornberry, T.P. (1997). *Toward an Interactional Theory of Delinquency*. Criminology 25:863.

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

Tobin, G.A. & Begley, C.M., (2004). Methodological rigour within a qualitative framework. *Journal of advanced nursing*, *48*(4), pp.388-396.

True Colours Fund. (2019). The true colours remote symptom monitoring system: A decade of evolution. *Journal of Medical Internet Research*, *22*(1), p.e15188.

Truman, J. (2011). *Criminal victimisation*. Retrieved from http://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cv10.pdf

Turner, M.M., Funge, S.P. & Gabbard, W.J., (2018). Victimisation of the homeless: Public perceptions, public policies, and implications for social work practice. *Journal of Social Work in the Global Community*, *3*(1), p.1.

Turok, I., (2015). Informal settlements: poverty traps or ladders to work. *Econ3x3, available*.

Tyler, K.A., Hoyt, D.R., Whitbeck, L.B. & Cauce, A.M. (2011). The impact of childhood abuse on later sexual victimisation among runaway youth, *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 11: 151 – 176.

United Nations Office of the Human Rights Commissioner (UNOHRC). (2011). *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. Geneva: UN.

Verdun-Jones, S.N. & Rossiter, K.R. (2010). The Psychological Impact of Victimisation: Mental Health Outcomes and Psychological, Legal and Restorative Interventions. (In: Shoham, S.G., Knepper, P & Kett, M, eds. 2010. *International Handbook of Victimology*). Boca Raton: CRC Press.

Viljoen, J.M.M. (2014). Economic and social aspects of street waste pickers in South Africa. Johannesburg: *University of Johannesburg*.

Vitelli, M. (2021). Health, access to health care, and health care use among homeless women with a history of intimate partner violence. *Journal of Community Health*, 37(5), 1032–1039.

Vinz, S & George, T. (2022). *What Is a Theoretical Framework? | Guide to Organizing*. Scribbr. Retrieved June 1, 2023, from https://www.scribbr.com/dissertation/theoretical-framework/

Vlaskamp, C. (2011). *Why the physical legacy of apartheid is still a challenge for South Africa's cities*. Unpublished dissertation (M.Ed.), School of Public Administration, University of South Africa.

Von Hentig, H. (1940). *The Criminal and His Victim: Studies in the Sociobiology of Crime*. New York: Schocken Books.

Wachholz, J.D. (2015). Poor people, poor health: The health status of the homeless. In P. W. Brickner, L. K. Scharer, B. A. Conanan, M. Savarese, & B. C. Scanlan (Eds.), *Under*

the safety net: The health and social welfare of the homeless in the United States (pp. 15–31). New York, NY: Norton.

Wallace, D. (2018). To house or not to house: *The effects of providing housing to homeless substance users in treatment*. American Journal of Public Health, 95, 12591265.Waterman, 2018

Watson, J. & Austerberry, J. (2016). Social exclusion, health and hidden homelessness, *Public Health*, 139: 96–102.

Weisberg, S.L. (2005). Physical violence against impoverished women: A longitudinal analysis of risk and protective factors. *Women's Health Issues*, 14, 144–154.

Whitbeck, L.B., Hoyt, D.R., Yoder, K.A. & Cauce, A.M. (2011). Deviant behaviour and victimisation among homeless and runaway adolescents. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*. 16(11):1175-1204.

World Health Organisation (WHO). (2014). *Food Security* [Online] Available: http://www.who.int/trade/glossary/story028/en/. [Accessed: 09/09/2023]

Wiley, J. (2012). Smoking among chronically homeless adults: Prevalence and correlates. *Psychiatric Services in Advance*, 63(6), 569–576.

Williams, F.P. & McShane, M.D. (2014). *Criminological theory*. (6th ed). Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Pearson Education, Inc.

Williams, J. & Stickley, T. (2016). Stories from the streets: People's experiences of homelessness. *Journal of Psychiatric and Mental Health Nursing, 18(5)*:432-439.

Wilcox, P. (2010) Victimisation, theories of. In B. S. Fisher & S. P. Lab (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of victimology and crime prevention* (pp. 978-986). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications. doi:10.4135/9781412979993.n334.

Wolfgang, M. (1957). Victim precipitated criminal homicide. *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, 48: 1– 11. DOI:10.2307/1140160

Woolley, M. (2021). Health, access to health care, and health care use among homeless women with a history of intimate partner violence. *Journal of Community Health*, 37(5), 1032–1039.

Wright, D. (2015). *The experiences of violence in the lives of homeless women: a research report.* Washington, D.C; Department of Justice. Yunus, Hairi & Choo, 2019

Zirkle, T.S. (2022). Homeless people's trust and interactions with police and paramedics. *Journal of Urban Health: Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine*, 81(4), 596–605.

ANNEXURE A1: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Title of the study: *An exploratory study of violent behaviour perpetrated against homeless people: A case study of Durban Central Business District*

Name/Pseudonym of Participant	
Age	
Gender (F/M)	
Race	

Questions to the participants

1. For how long have you been homeless?
2. What would you say are the contributory factors to your homelessness?
3. How has the society treated you since becoming homeless?
4. Have you ever experienced any form of violent behaviour perpetrated against you while being homeless? Could be physical, verbal, or even sexual.
5. What form of violent behaviour did you experience? Please explain what happened.
6. How often did you experience this form of behaviour?
7. From whom would you often experience this behaviour?
8. What do you think was the cause for you to be violently victimised?
9. How do you feel after experiencing this form of behaviour?
10. What are your coping strategies after being victimised?
11. How has the experience(s) of being violently victimised affected you? Please explain.
12. Where do you normally report after being victimised?
13. Do you receive assistance when reporting your victimisation?
14. Do you think the South African criminal justice system caters for homeless victims of violent behaviour as it does for the general public? Please explain.
15. What would you suggest the South African Criminal Justice System and the government at large do differently in terms of catering for the need of homeless victims of violent behaviour?

ANNEXURE A2: UHLELO LWENHLOLOKHONO

Igama/Igama elingamanga Lombambiqhaza	
Ubudala	
Ubulili (F/M)	
Uhlanga	

Imibuzo kubahlanganyeli

1. Unesikhathi esingakanani ungenakhaya?
2. Yini ongathi yimbangela yokungabi nakhaya kwakho?
3. Umphakathi ukuphathe kanjani kusukela ungenakhaya?
4. Uke wabhekana nanoma yiluphi uhlobo lokuziphatha okunodlame olwenziwa kuwena ungenakhaya?
5. Iluphi uhlobo lokuziphatha okunobudlova owake wabhekana nalo? Ngicela uchaze ukuthi kwenzekeni.
6. Kukangaki uhlangabezana nalolu hlobo lokuziphatha?
7. Uvame ukuzwa kubani lokhu kuziphatha?
8. Ucabanga ukuthi yini edala ukuthi uhlukunyezwe?
9. Uzizwa kanjani ngemva kokubhekana nalolu hlobo lokuziphatha?
10. Athini amasu akho okubhekana nawo ngemuva kokuhlukunyezwa?
11. Ingabe isimo sokuhlukunyezwa ngobudlova ikuthinte kanjani? Ngicela uchaze.
12. Uvame ukubika kuphi ngemva kokuhlukunyezwa?
13. Uyaluthola usizo uma ubika ngokuhlukunyezwa kwakho?
14. Ucabanga ukuthi uhlelo lwezobulungiswa bobugebengu eNingizimu Afrika lubhekelela izisulu ezingenamakhaya zokuziphatha okunodlame njengoba lenza kumphakathi jikelele? Ngicela uchaze.
15. Yini ongaphakamisa ukuthi uHlelo Lwezobulungiswa Bobugebengu eNingizimu Afrika kanye nohulumeni wonkana benze ngendlela ehlukile mayelana nokuhlinzeka izidingo zabangenamakhaya abaziphatha ngobudlova?

ANNEXURE B1: INFORMED CONSENT

UKZN HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (HSSREC)

APPLICATION FOR ETHICS APPROVAL
For research with human participants

INFORMED CONSENT RESOURCE TEMPLATE

Information Sheet and Consent to Participate in Research

Date:

My name is Nosipho Mthembu from the Department of Criminology and Forensic Studies at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College Campus. My contact details are as follows: 219019561@stu.ukzn.ac.za; 081 847 5929.

You are being invited to consider participating in a study that involves research exploring violent behaviour perpetrated against homeless people in Durban inner city. The aim and purpose of this research is to explore the experiences of violent behaviour that homeless people have had being perpetrated against them. This study is driven by the fact that there is not much knowledge about the victimisation that homeless people experience. Instead, much focus is placed on them being perpetrators of violence than being victims.

The study is expected to enroll 20 participants in total, with 10 participants being from Haven of Hope Homeless shelter, and 10 participants being from the streets of The Workshop (3), Berea (3), and English Market (4). It will involve the following procedures:

- As a participant, you will be required to sign an informed consent,
- The interviews will be conducted individually,
- The interviews will last for approximately 15 to 30 minutes, and
- Interviews will be recorded using a tape recorder and the records will only be accessible to me, as the researcher, and my supervisor.

The duration of your participation if you choose to enroll and remain in the study is expected to be one week. This study is not funded.

The study may involve the risks and/or discomforts of you having to relive the traumatic experiences of being violently victimized as a homeless individual. The study will provide no direct benefits to participants. However, the study will be beneficial in terms of addressing the issue that has been ignored, that is, homeless people are also victims of violent behaviour, and not always perpetrators.

This study has been ethically reviewed and approved by the UKZN Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (00021933).

In the event of any problems or concerns/questions you may contact the researcher at 081 847 5929 or the UKZN Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee, contact details as follows:

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION

Research Office, Westville Campus
Govan Mbeki Building
Private Bag X 54001
Durban
4000
KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA
Tel: 27 31 2604557- Fax: 27 31 2604609
Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Please note that the participation in this research is voluntary. Therefore, you have a right to withdraw at any time, and that in the event of refusal/withdrawal of participation, you will not incur penalty or loss of treatment or other benefit to which you are normally entitled. However, should you wish to withdraw, please alert the researcher ahead. The researcher will terminate your participation from the study should it happen that the participant is not comfortable in providing further information required for the purpose of the study.

As a token of appreciation for participating in the study, the researcher will provide with free meals for the day. This is due to the researcher understanding the challenges and struggles that homeless people go through to have something to eat for the day.

The data that will be collected will be entered into a password-protected computer. Upon completing the research, tape recordings of the interviews will be stored and locked in a safe place at the Supervisor's office, where only the researcher can access the data. After a minimum of 5 years, data will be destroyed and disposed of.

CONSENT

I …… have been informed about the study entitled *An Exploratory Study on Violent Behaviour Perpetrated Against Homeless People: A Case Study of Durban Central Business District* by ……..

I understand the purpose and procedures of the study.

I have been given an opportunity to answer questions about the study and have had answers to my satisfaction.

I declare that my participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time without affecting any of the benefits that I usually am entitled to.

If I have any further questions/concerns or queries related to the study I understand that I may contact the researcher at: 219019561@stu.ukzn.ac.za or 081 847 5929.

If I have any questions or concerns about my rights as a study participant, or if I am concerned about an aspect of the study or the researchers then I may contact:

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION
Research Office, Westville Campus

Govan Mbeki Building

Private Bag X 54001

Durban

4000

KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA

Tel: 27 31 2604557 - Fax: 27 31 2604609

Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

I hereby provide consent to:

Audio-record my interview YES / NO

_____ _____

Signature of Participant **Date**

_____ _____

Signature of Witness (Where applicable) **Date**

ANNEXURE B2: IFOMU LOKUVUMA

IKOMIDI LEZENQUBONHLE KWEZOCWANINGO LEKOLISHI LEZESINTU ESIKOLENI SEZIFUNDO NGENHLALO YOMPHAKATHI (HSSREC)

ISICELO SOKUGUNYAZWA NGOKWEZENQUBONHLE

Okocwaningo olusebenza ngabantu

OKUKULEKELELA EKWAKHIWENI KWEFOMU LOKUVUMA

Okumele kuqashelwe abacwaningi: Noma kubalulekile ukutholakala kwemiphumela enembayo ngokwesayensi futhi esemthethweni, kumele kwenziwe konke okusemandleni ukuze kukhiqizwe umbhalo wokuvuma oqondakalayo ngokolimi futhi ocacile kakhulu ngaphandle kokushiya imininingwane ebalulekile njengoba kubaliwe ngezansi. Izihumusho ezigunyaziwe zizodingeka uma sekugunyazwe umbhalo wesiNgisi.

Kunezimo ngqo lapho imvume ngomlomo efakazelwe yamukelekile, nalapho imvume yomuntu ingeke idingwe yi-HSSREC.

Umbhalo Wemininingwane Nokuvuma Ukubamba Iqhaza Ocwaningweni

Usuku:

Imikhonzo efudumele kongase abe iqhaza

Igama lami ngingu- Nosipho Mthembu, umfundi wase Nyuvesi yakwaZulu-Natal, Howard Campus, ngaphansi komnyango we Criminology and Forensic Studies. Imininingwane yezokuxhumana nami imi kanje: 219019561@stu.ukzn.ac.za ; 081 847 5929.

Uyamenywa ukuba ubambe iqhaza ocwaningweni olumayelana nokuhlola ukuziphatha kodlame okwenziwa kubantu abangenamakhaya enkabeni yedolobha laseThekwini. Inhloso nempokophelo yalolu cwaningo ukuhlola izigameko zokuziphatha kobudlova abantu abangenamakhaya abaye bebhekane nazo. Lolu cwaningo luqhutshwa yiqiniso lokuthi alukho ulwazi oluningi mayelana nokuhlukunyezwa okutholwa abantu abangenamakhaya. Kunalokho, kugxilwa kakhulu ekubeni babe abenzi bodlame kunokuba izisulu.

Lolu cwaningo kulindeleke ukuthi lubhalise abahlanganyeli abangu-20 sebebonke, ababambiqhaza abangu-10 bangabaseHaven of Hope Homeless shelter, kanti abahlanganyeli abangu-10 baphuma emigwaqweni yaseWorkshop (3), Berea (3), ne-English Market (4). Kuzobandakanya izinqubo ezilandelayo:

• Njengombambi qhaza, kuzodingeka ukuthi usayine imvume unolwazi,
• Inhlolokhono izokwenziwa ngazodwana,
• Inhlolokhono izothatha cishe imizuzu eyi-15 kuya kwengama-30, futhi
• Izingxoxo zizorekhodwa kusetshenziswa isiqophamazwi futhi amarekhodi azotholakala kimina kuphela, njengomcwaningi, kanye nomphathi wami.

Isikhathi sokubamba kwakho iqhaza uma ukhetha ukubhalisa nokuhlala ocwaningweni kulindeleke ukuthi sibe yisonto elilodwa. Lolu cwaningo aluxhasiwe.

Ucwaningo lungase lubandakanye ubungozi kanye/noma ukungaphatheki kahle kwakho kokuthi ukhumbule izigameko ezibuhlungu zokuhlukunyezwa njengomuntu ongenakhaya. Ucwaningo ngeke lunikeze izinzuzo eziqondile kubahlanganyeli. Kodwa-ke, lolu cwaningo luzoba nenzuzo ekubhekaneni nodaba olushaywe indiva, okungukuthi, abantu abangenamakhaya nabo bayizisulu zokuziphatha okunobudlova, hhayi njalo abenzi bobubi.

Lolu cwaningo luhloliwe ngokwenqubonhle lwagunyazwa i-UKZN Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (00021933).

Uma kunezinkinga noma imibuzo/ukukhathazeka ungaxhumana nomcwaningi lapha: 081 847 5929, noma i- UKZN Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee, kulemininingwane elandelayo:

EZOKUPHATHWA KWEZENQUBONHLE KWEZOCWANINGO EKOLISHI LEZESINTU ESIKOLENI SEZIFUNDO NGENHLALO YOMPHAKATHI

Ihhovisi LezoCwaningo, iKhempasi i-Westville
Govan Mbeki Building
Private Bag X 54001
Durban
4000
KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA
Ucingo: 27 31 2604557- Fax: 27 31 2604609
I-imeyili: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Sicela wazi ukuthi ukubamba iqhaza kulolu cwaningo kungokuzithandela. Ngakho-ke, unelungelo lokuhoxa nganoma yisiphi isikhathi, nokuthi uma kwenzeka wenqaba/uhoxiswa ukubamba iqhaza, angeke uze uthole isijeziso noma ukulahlekelwa ukwelashwa noma enye inzuzo ovame ukuba nelungelo layo. Nokho, uma ufisa ukuhoxa, sicela wazise umcwaningi kusengaphambili. Umcwaningi uzonqamula ukuhlanganyela kwakho ocwaningweni uma kwenzeka ukuthi umhlanganyeli akakhululekile ekunikezeni ulwazi olwengeziwe oludingekayo ngenjongo yocwaningo.

Njengophawu lokubonga ngokubamba iqhaza ocwaningweni, umcwaningi uzohlinzeka ngokudla kwamahhala kosuku. Lokhu kungenxa yokuthi umcwaningi

uziqonda kahle izinselelo kanye nobunzima abantu abangenamakhaya abadlula kubo ukuze bathole okuya ngasethunjini.

Idatha ezoqoqwa izofakwa kukhompuyutha evikelwe ngephasiwedi. Ngemva kokuphothula ucwaningo, amateyipu aqoshiwe ezingxoxo azogcinwa futhi avalelwe endaweni ephephile ehhovisi likaSupervisor, lapho umcwaningi kuphela ongafinyelela idatha. Ngemva kweminyaka emi-5, idatha izochithwa futhi ilahlwe.

UKUVUMA

Mina …… ngaziswe ngocwaningo olunesihloko esithi *An exploratory study on violent behavior perpetrated against homeless People: A case study of Durban Central Business District* ngu ……..

Ngiyayiqonda inhloso nezinqubo zocwaningo.

Nginikezwe ithuba lokuphendula imibuzo mayelana nocwaningo futhi ngibe nezimpendulo ngokwaneliseka kwami.

Ngiyazisa ukuthi ukuhlanganyela kwami kulolu cwaningo kungokuzithandela futhi ngingahoxa noma nini ngaphandle kokuphazamisa noma yiziphi izinzuzo engivame ukuba nelungelo lokuzithola.

Uma ngineminye imibuzo/okungikhathazayo noma imibuzo ephathelene nocwaningo ngiyaqonda ukuthi ngingathintana nomcwaningi kule nombolo: 219019561@stu.ukzn.ac.za noma 081 847 5929.

Uma nginemibuzo noma ukukhathazeka mayelana namalungelo ami njengomhlanganyeli wocwaningo, noma uma ngikhathazekile ngendawo ethize yocwaningo noma abacwaningi ngingathintana:

EZOKUPHATHWA KWEZENQUBONHLE KWEZOCWANINGO EKOLISHI LEZESINTU ESIKOLENI SEZIFUNDO NGENHLALO YOMPHAKATHI

Ihhovisi LezoCwaningo, iKhempasi i-Westville
Govan Mbeki Building
Private Bag X 54001
Durban
4000
KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA
Ucingo: 27 31 2604557 - iFeksi: 27 31 2604609
I-imeyili: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Ukuvuma okwengeziwe, lapho kudingeka khona

Ngiyavuma ukuthi kwenziwe lokhu:

Kuqoshwe ingxoxo yami YEBO/CHA

_____ _____

Ukusayina kobambe iqhaza Usuku

_____ _____

Ukusayina Kowufakazi Usuku (Uma kunesidingo)

ANNEXURE C: ETHICAL CLEARANCE LETTER

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL
INYUVESI YAKWAZULU-NATALI

26 September 2023

Nosipho Nombulelo Mthembu (219019561)
School Of Applied Human Sc
Howard College Campus

Dear NN Mthembu,

Protocol reference number: HSSREC/00005854/2023
Project title: An exploratory study of violent behaviour perpetrated against homeless people: A case study of Durban central business district
Degree: Masters

Approval Notification – Full Committee Reviewed Protocol

This letter serves to notify you that your response received on 18 September 2023 to our letter of 08 September 2023 in connection with the above, was reviewed by the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (HSSREC) and the protocol has been granted **FULL APPROVAL**

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number. PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

This approval is valid for one year until 26 September 2024
To ensure uninterrupted approval of this study beyond the approval expiry date, a progress report must be submitted to the Research Office on the appropriate form 2 - 3 months before the expiry date. A close-out report to be submitted when study is finished.

HSSREC is registered with the South African National Health Research Ethics Council (REC-040414-040).

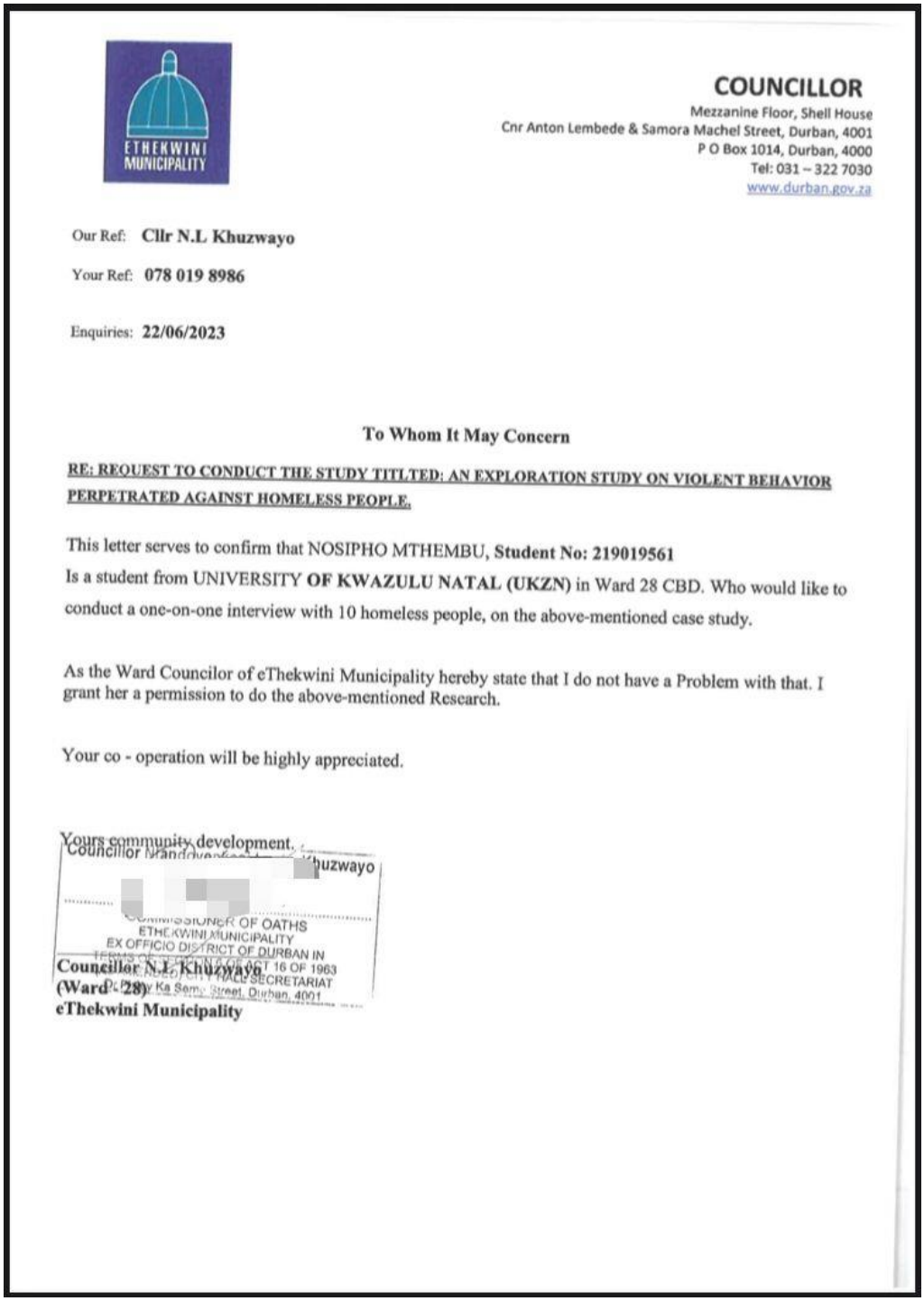
Yours faithfully

.....
Professor Dipane Hlalele (Chair)

/dd

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee
UKZN Research Ethics Office Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building
Postal Address: Private Bag X54001, Durban 4000
Tel: +27 31 260 8350 / 4557 / 3587
Website: http://research.ukzn.ac.za/Research-Ethics/

ANNEXURE D1: GATEKEEPER'S LETTER (ETHEKWINI MUNICIPALITY)



ETHEKWINI MUNICIPALITY

COUNCILLOR

Mezzanine Floor, Shell House
Cnr Anton Lembede & Samora Machel Street, Durban, 4001
P O Box 1014, Durban, 4000
Tel: 031 – 322 7030
www.durban.gov.za

Our Ref: **Cllr N.L Khuzwayo**

Your Ref: **078 019 8986**

Enquiries: **22/06/2023**

To Whom It May Concern

RE: REQUEST TO CONDUCT THE STUDY TITLTED: AN EXPLORATION STUDY ON VIOLENT BEHAVIOR PERPETRATED AGAINST HOMELESS PEOPLE.

This letter serves to confirm that NOSIPHO MTHEMBU, **Student No: 219019561**
Is a student from UNIVERSITY **OF KWAZULU NATAL (UKZN)** in Ward 28 CBD. Who would like to conduct a one-on-one interview with 10 homeless people, on the above-mentioned case study.

As the Ward Councilor of eThekwini Municipality hereby state that I do not have a Problem with that. I grant her a permission to do the above-mentioned Research.

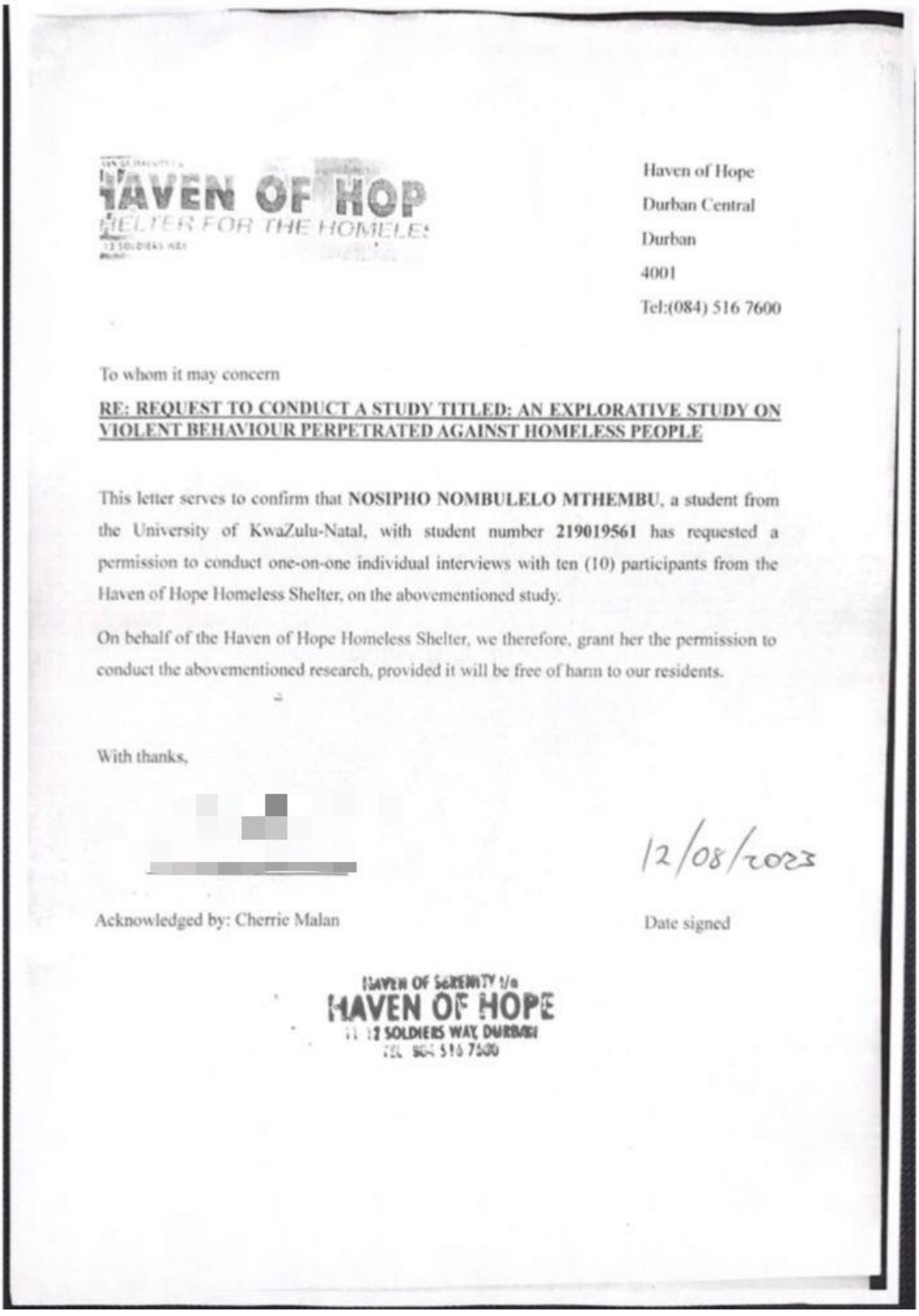
Your co - operation will be highly appreciated.

Yours community development.

Councillor N.L. Khuzwayo
(Ward 28)
eThekwini Municipality

COMMISSIONER OF OATHS
ETHEKWINI MUNICIPALITY
EX OFFICIO DISTRICT OF DURBAN IN
TERMS OF SECTION 6 ACT 16 OF 1963
COUNCIL SECRETARIAT

ANNEXURE D2: GATEKEEPER'S LETTER (HAVEN OF HOPE SHELTER)



HAVEN OF HOP
SHELTER FOR THE HOMELES
12 SOLDIERS WAY

Haven of Hope
Durban Central
Durban
4001
Tel:(084) 516 7600

To whom it may concern

RE: REQUEST TO CONDUCT A STUDY TITLED: AN EXPLORATIVE STUDY ON VIOLENT BEHAVIOUR PERPETRATED AGAINST HOMELESS PEOPLE

This letter serves to confirm that **NOSIPHO NOMBULELO MTHEMBU**, a student from the University of KwaZulu-Natal, with student number **219019561** has requested a permission to conduct one-on-one individual interviews with ten (10) participants from the Haven of Hope Homeless Shelter, on the abovementioned study.

On behalf of the Haven of Hope Homeless Shelter, we therefore, grant her the permission to conduct the abovementioned research, provided it will be free of harm to our residents.

With thanks,

12/08/2023

Acknowledged by: Cherrie Malan

Date signed

HAVEN OF SERENITY t/a
HAVEN OF HOPE
12 SOLDIERS WAY, DURBAN
TEL: 084 516 7600

ANNEXURE E: SOCIAL WORKER APPROVAL LETTER

DENIS HURLEY CENTRE

2 Cathedral Road
Durban 4001
031 301 2240
info@denishurleycentre.org
www.denishurleycentre.org

National Homeless Network

care · education · community

18th September 2023

To Whom It May Concern

Herewith as the Coordinator of the Nkosinathi Project at the Denis Hurley Centre, we are pleased to accept and willing to assist **Ms Nosipho Nombulelo Mthembu student number (219019561)** on her research study requirements by offering psychosocial support to her participants during the duration of her research. The research is based on "An Exploratory Study of Violent Behaviours Perpetrated Against Homeless People: A case study of Durban Central Business District".

Yours sincerely

DENIS HURLEY CENTRE
Emmanuel Cathedral, Denis Hurley St, Durban
Care · Education · Community

Sr. Cathy Murugan HFB
Nkosithi Project Co-ordinator/
Senior Social Worker

Tele: 031 301 2240
Email: cathy@denishurleycentre.org

ANNEXURE F: PROOF OF LANGUAGE EDITING

lindac@skytec.co.za | 083 344 0706

Research Skills Development Services CC

SARS Income Tax No. 9249355208; CC Founding Statement No. CK94/16841/23 SARS; Tax Clearance Certificate No. 1994/016841/23
SACE REGISTRATION NUMBER: N.D. COERTZE – 1082433 (2003)

DECLARATION OF PROOF-READING

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

I, Nicolina D. Coertze, declare that I meticulously perused the Master's dissertation referred to below for language editing and proof-reading purposes. I identified and corrected linguistic and stylistic inaccuracies to the best of my knowledge and ability. Using the *Word* Tracking system, I kept track of the changes that I made. I also offered additional annotations for consideration by the author should she deem it necessary to address areas that I considered might need attention. I declare that I adhered to the general principles that guide the work of a language editor and that I remained within my brief as had been agreed with the author of the manuscript. The editing service excluded perusal of the references and the appendices.

TITLE: An exploratory study of violent behaviours perpetrated against homeless people: A case study of Durban Central Business District

NAME OF CANDIDATE:	Nosipho Nombulelo Mthembu
PROPOSED QUALIFICATION:	Master of Social Science
DEPARTMENT:	Criminology and Forensic Studies in the Faculty of Applied Human Sciences
TERTIARY INSTITUTION	University of KwaZulu-Natal
Respectfully submitted on:	14 November 2023

[redacted]

(MRS) N.D. COERTZE
LANGUAGE EDITOR

DISCLAIMER: The Editor was not responsible for the final presentation of this manuscript. It was the author's/supervisor's prerogative to format the manuscript and to make additional changes after editing without referring the document back to the language editor.