



SPRF

01.20

SHINAZ WITH LOVE

UNDERSTANDING URBAN HOMELESSNESS

SOUMYA PANCHOLI

DISCUSSION PAPER

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. ABSTRACT	1
2. INTRODUCTION	1
3. DEFINING HOMELESSNESS	3
4. PROBLEMS FACED BY HOMELESS IN THE INDIAN CONTEXT	5
5. GOVERNMENT INITIATIVES TO ERADICATE HOMELESSNESS	8
6. POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS	9
7. CONCLUSION	10
8. BIBLIOGRAPHY	12

*If you have any suggestions, or would like to contribute,
please write to us at contact@sprf.in.*

© Social and Political Research Foundation™

*Cover image by V. Singh and S. Alluri from Urban Assault - Part of the
SPRF Photoarchive Project*

ABSTRACT

With 1.82 million homeless people, India has one of the largest homeless populations in the world. There is no singular all-encompassing definition of homelessness. While it is essential to have some theoretical definition of homelessness in place for the purpose of both recognition and enumeration, its meaning remains fluid, subjective, and elusive. Employing an intersectional lens, this paper seeks to develop a finer and a holistic understanding of homelessness. It also puts forward some recommendations to address the issue of urban homelessness.

INTRODUCTION

Post-reform India has seen new paradigms of development, with high income growth being one of the prominent outcomes. However, rising incomes coupled with unequal distribution has meant that the gap between the rich and the poor is widening, making India one of the most unequal countries in the world. The presence of around 1.82 million homeless people in the country bears testimony to this fact (Kapoor and Dutta 2019).

However, the current discourse on 'development' has failed to include homelessness under its ambit. The sight of people sleeping on pavements, footpaths, temple stairs, railway platforms, under overbridges, among others, has become a part of 'the everyday'. These are the people most deprived of basic services, including shelter. As Dupont (2000) said, they are 'the unfortunate victims of diverse kinds of physical and social crisis among our rural and urban societies'. (99)

The conceptual limits in understanding homelessness further leads to a lack of effective policy intervention for the upliftment of the most vulnerable and penurious. The conventional understanding of 'homelessness', employed by both the policy-makers and the state, is limited to 'rooflessness'. However, the social dimension of homelessness is often overlooked. Homeless people constitute the most marginalised communities in our society such as women, children, the aged, persons with disabilities, dalits, adivasis, and religious and ethnic minorities, among others. In addition to being socially and economically disadvantaged, these marginalised communities are relegated to the margins due to the negative perceptions surrounding homelessness, thus making them 'doubly marginalized'. The negative perceptions about the homeless, labelling them as 'criminals', 'encroachers' of public spaces, 'polluters' of surroundings, and so on exacerbates the problem. These dominant views contribute to a spiraling effect that makes it increasingly harder for people to escape homelessness or find decent jobs for themselves (IGSSS 2018: 4). A study conducted in nine developing countries (including India, Bangladesh, Peru, Ghana, Zimbabwe, and others), highlighted some of these negative perceptions about homeless people in detail. Despite the fact that they play important economic roles in an urban setting (recyclers, rag-pickers, sweepers, etc.), they are considered as beggars, villains, mentally ill, loners, immoral or transient (Speak and Tipple 2006: 176). For an increasing number of city dwellers, the homeless are encroachers occupying pavements that have been built for and with the

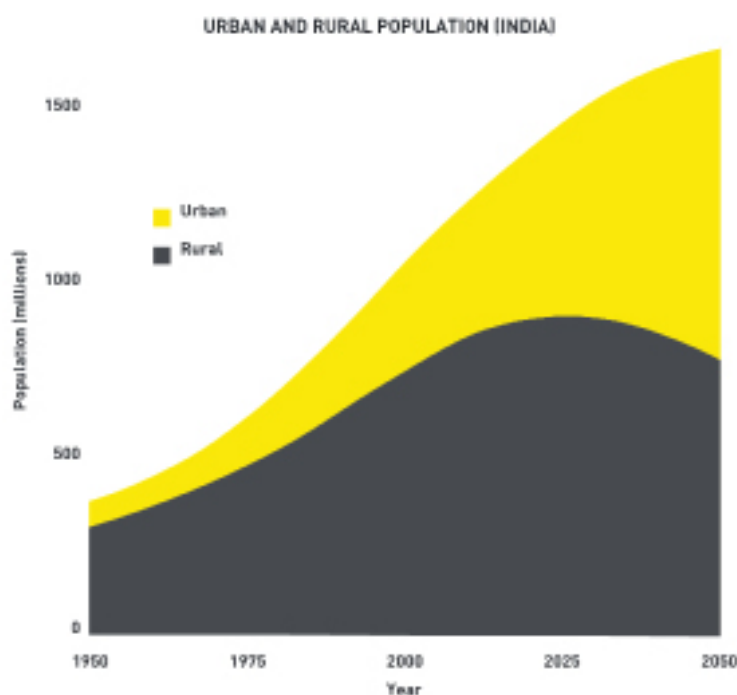
money of hard working taxpayers (IGSSS 2018:5). For the government, the homeless are an impediment to making a city 'global' or 'world class' as they are considered to dirty public spaces by their very existence. For the police, they are nothing more than criminals and drug addicts (ibid). For some, they are sources of cheap labour who will be willing to work for a pittance under inhuman conditions. Finally, for the majority of the middle class, they are a threat that must be contained (Taneja 2014).

At the macro level, the presence and increase of the shelterless population in big cities has been analysed as 'an inevitable outcome of the urbanization process' (Dupont 2000: 99). As a consequence, rural depopulation is increasing, i.e. large numbers of people in the age of employment are migrating from the countryside to earn more money in the city, thus exerting pressure on both city land and housing (ibid). Hence, more recently, urban centres have started to expand spatially, while at the same time the problems of income inequalities, access to opportunities, marginalisation and ghettoisation remain unaddressed (Bhunja 2017).

Any research focusing on the development of an 'inclusive' urban space is incomplete without an attempt to understand the dynamics between people, power and place in contemporary urban life. A city offers the opportunity to have a plethora of human rights met, including the right to access food, health, housing, livelihood, sanitation, and clean drinking water. The need to have better access to these rights and the aspiration for an improved standard of living pushes many people out of villages to nearby towns, cities and other urban centres.

As per the Census of 2011, 31% (377 million) of the country's total population of 1,210.19 million was urban.

Comparatively, according to the United Nations World Urbanization Prospects Report (2018) about 34% of India's population resides in urban areas, marking an increase of 3% since the 2011 Census. The report also suggests that 35% of the growth in the world's urban population from 2018-2050, is expected to occur in just three countries - India, China and Nigeria. India is estimated to add more than 415 million to the urban population in this period.



SOURCE: World Urbanization Prospects (2018), United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs/Population Division

I DEFINING HOMELESSNESS

The UN Special Rapporteur on Adequate Housing defines homelessness “as the lack of even the most basic shelter” (UN Special Rapporteur 2005: 7). Homelessness differs from what is called being ‘inadequately housed’.¹ According to the United Nations, approximately 100 million people worldwide do not have a place to live, and more than 1 billion people are inadequately housed. In India, statistics distinguish between serviceable housing units (pucca, semi-pucca and kutcha categories), which are included in the housing stock, and non-serviceable kutcha housing units, which are not included. While the Government recognizes the need of housing for people in the non-serviceable kutcha housing category, it doesn’t include them in the homeless category (Tipple and Speak 2006: 58).

Policy analysts, especially in developing countries have pointed out the inadequacies in the existing definitions of homelessness. They argue that the narrow characterisation of homelessness in terms of shelter-, house-, habitation- or rooflessness, is inadequate as it fails to recognise the element of social exclusion and marginalisation (Tipple and Speak 2005: xx). They see homelessness as more than ‘having nowhere to sleep’, and include the sense of ‘belonging nowhere’ (ibid). In developing countries like India, the idea of “home” itself is analogous to a sense of identity, family and community. Our understanding of homelessness, mostly borrowed from the West, needs to be reworked in the Indian context, accounting for the greater heterogeneity in terms of age, occupation, gender, family background, etc.

The Census of India defines houseless people as those not living in ‘census houses’, a census house essentially being a structure with a roof. It does not consider people who live in slums, makeshift arrangements and other deplorable housing conditions within this category (Sattar 2014: 10). This points to the elusive distinction which policy analysts, census enumerators and governments make, between those who are completely homeless and those that are ‘inadequately housed’.

There is no single identifiable cause of homelessness. While migration and lack of employment opportunities are some of the reasons for homelessness, there could be many others such as poverty, failure of the housing supply system, violence, the erosion of family support, political, ethnic and social turmoil, natural calamity, physical disability and mental illness among others. Sometimes, social constraints like rigid caste hierarchies and religious discrimination push people out of villages. Distress migration² is thus an important cause of homelessness. Distress migration is particularly acute among rural youth, who migrate to cities because it is the only perceived option for improving their standard of living and employment prospects and realizing their aspirations (FAO 2016: 1). The social factors might have an effect on the economic ones and vice versa.

¹ The margins between homeless and inadequately housed are fuzzy and vary from country to country. “The most important criterion for differentiating between those who are merely inadequately housed and homeless people appears to be whether or not the place allows its occupants to be on an improving trajectory.” (Tipple and Speak 2006: 57)

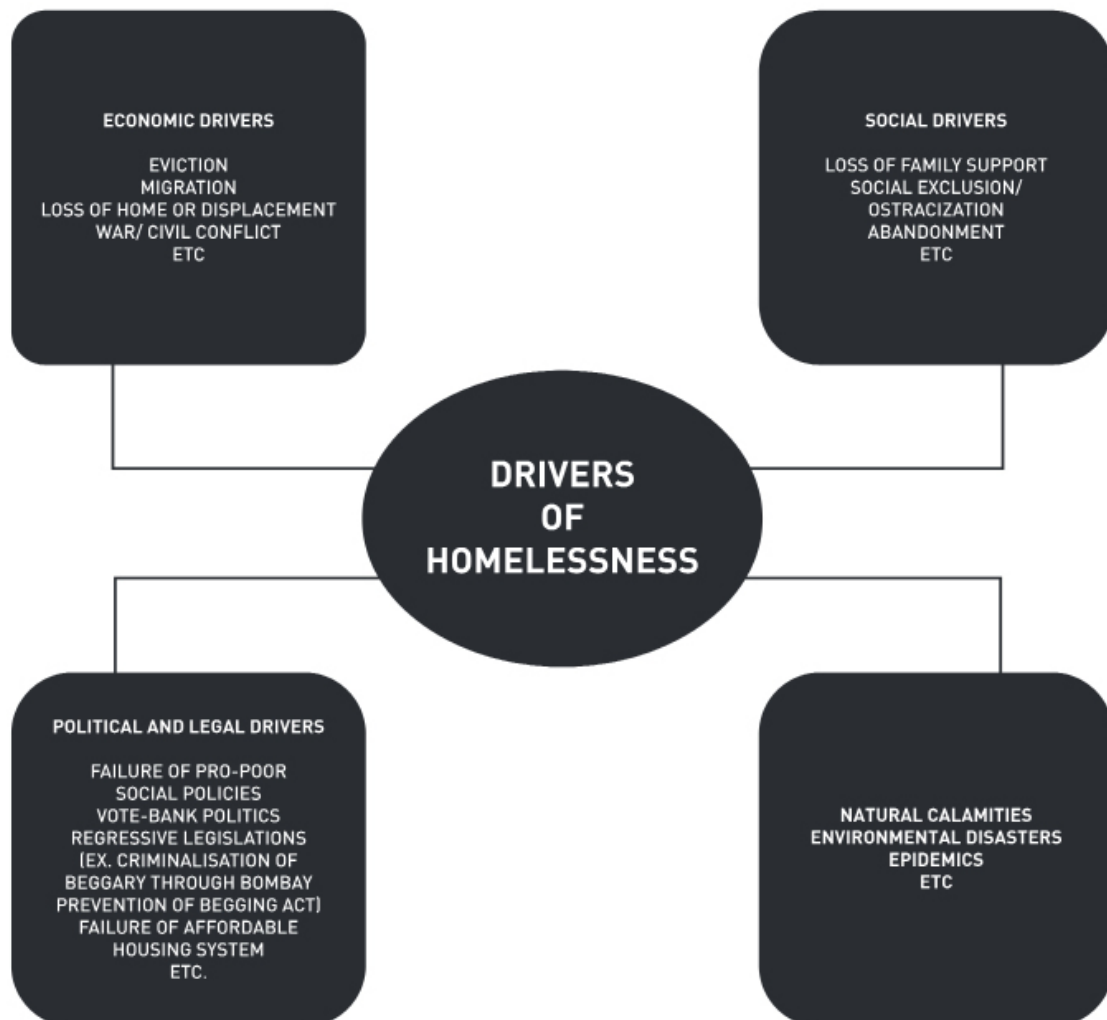
² Distress Migration may be defined as all migratory movements made in conditions where the individual and/or the household perceive that the only viable livelihood option for moving out of poverty is to migrate. Such distress is usually associated with lack of livelihood options, given the limited economic and employment opportunities, as well as drought, crop failure and food insecurity (FAO 2016: 1).

The Department of Economic and Social Affairs (DESA) at the United Nations states that ‘homeless’ people as being from:

households without a shelter that would fall within the scope of living quarters. They carry their few possessions with them sleeping in the streets, in doorways or on piers, or in any other space, on a more or less random basis (UN DESA 2004: 23).

The UN Special Rapporteur has pointed out that urban “gentrification” processes aligned with a sharp rise in property values for purchasing and renting have driven low-income families into abject poverty, resulting in homelessness (UN Special Rapporteur 2005: 2)

Figure 1:



| PROBLEMS FACED BY THE HOMELESS IN THE INDIAN CONTEXT

The issue of homelessness is not one-dimensional. It is imbued in crucial questions about livelihood, sanitation, food and clean drinking water. It further opens up questions of identity, belongingness and self-esteem.

While 'slum-dwellers' have been the focus because they occupy a commercially viable piece of land, the 'street-dwellers' have been invisible to policy-makers in India. As a result, these people effectively remain cut-off from the benefits of citizenship such welfare schemes, proper sanitation facilities, voter cards, public distribution system or Aadhaar card. The absence of a formal address makes them anonymous and unidentified.

Moreover, homeless people are victims of poverty and malnutrition, and their state renders them insecure and vulnerable to threats of violence. People with physical and mental illnesses, which comprise the majority of the homeless population, neither have access to healthcare facilities, nor can afford them. The state of living on the streets with multiple vulnerabilities exacerbates or even causes mental health problems to develop, often resulting in increasing dependence on drugs and alcohol. Many homeless people thus end up engaging in substance abuse.

Women are particularly more vulnerable when it comes to homelessness (UN Special Rapporteur 2005: 14). They are not only unsafe on the streets but also in the night shelters that the government provides. There have been multiple complaints by women, of molestation, sexual assault and harassment in these shelters, so much so that they often prefer to live on the streets than these night shelters. Moreover, when it comes to employment opportunities, they are either not preferred for hiring at all, or are paid significantly lower wages than their male counterparts. This shows the intersection of gender with homelessness. The same report finds that homelessness and even substandard housing are closely related to abuse and violence.

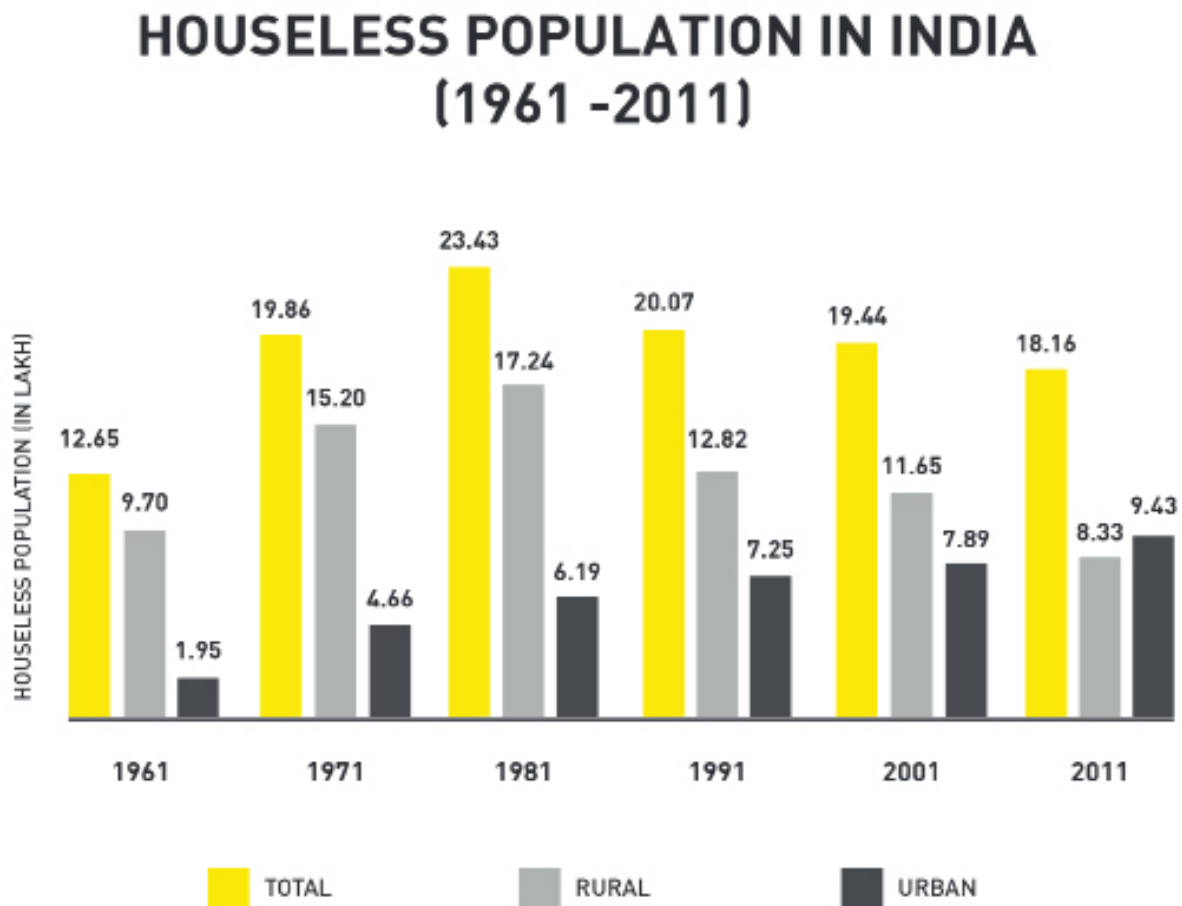
Empirical data from India also highlights that the growth, development, and security of children who are homeless or living in dismal conditions are seriously compromised (ibid). Homeless people living under subhuman conditions do not have access to water and sanitation services like proper sewage and garbage disposal systems, clean water, etc. and are thus highly vulnerable to infectious diseases. Along with this, homeless people lack community or social support which further isolates them. Finally, stigmatisation and social exclusion only adds to their vulnerable state (UNGA 2015: 3).

The Census of 2011 estimates the homeless population to be about 1.82 million in the country. However, some studies have shown that the Census figure is grossly underreported due to the lacunae in enumeration. Most homeless people maintain a distance from enumerators and surveyors, or are daily-wage workers who are not available during the daytime when surveys are generally conducted. Some are also constantly on the move, in different parts of the city, or from city to city, in search of work or safety.

According to a study by Sattar (2011), there has been a steady rise in the number of homeless

people from 1961 to 2011 (Figure 2). As the figure shows, until 1981 homelessness continued to grow. It was only after 1981 that it saw a decline. In the most recent decade, i.e. between 2001 and 2011, urban homelessness has continued to be on the rise, whereas, it witnessed a marginal decline in rural areas.

Figure 2:



SOURCE: BASED ON DATA FROM CENSUS OF INDIA FOR THE RESPECTIVE POPULATION CENSUSES

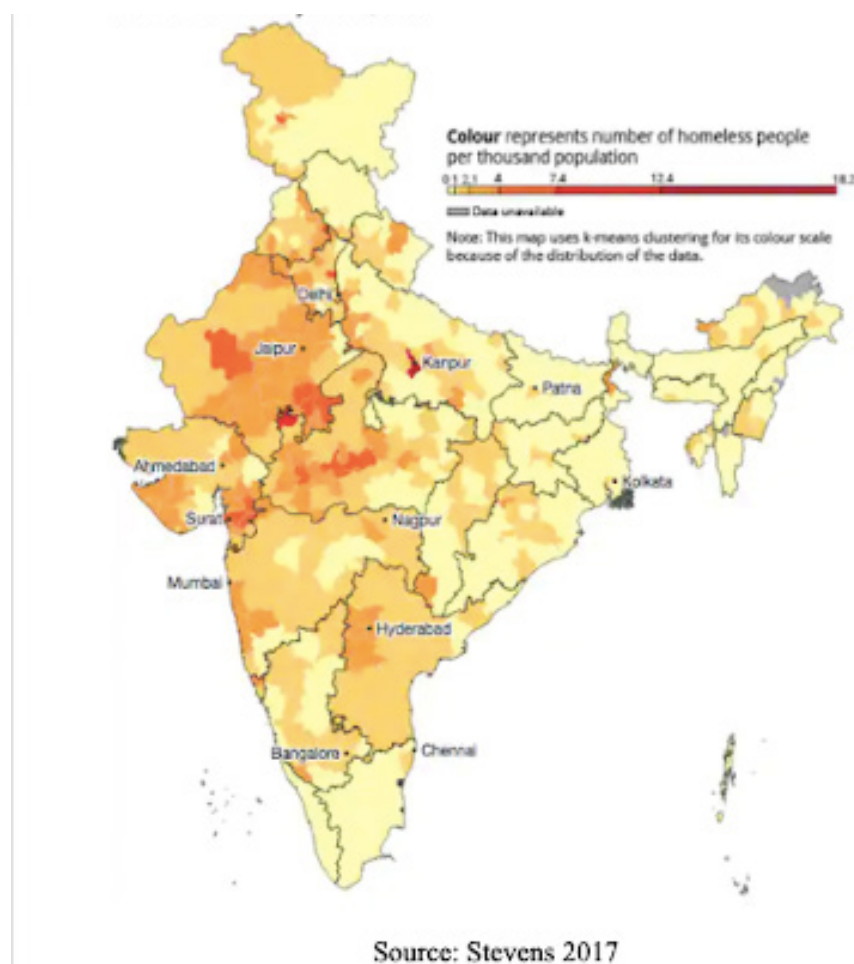
Till 2001, there were more homeless people in villages as compared to cities. However, in just a decade, rural homelessness fell sharply and urban homelessness saw an increase (Sattar 2014). Also, in 1981, the rural homeless population stood at 17.24 lakhs, whereas in 1991, the rural homelessness came down to 12.82 lakhs, a decrease of nearly 4.5 lakhs (see Figure 2).

The most apparent reason for this is that urban India post 1991 reforms offered new opportunities and employment to the rural poor, who then migrated to cities in search of decent wages and improved living conditions.

While some were absorbed in the labour market, there were many who ended up with starvation wages¹ or were left unemployed. Expensive property and rental rates and lack of policies to tackle this, made it impossible for them to afford a place of residence and, as a result, rendered them homeless. Thus, post-reform urbanisation in India led to a phenomena called ‘urbanisation of poverty’ (IGSSS 2018: 6) based on the fact that a rapidly increasing proportion of the nation’s poor were now living in urban areas.

Upon studying Census data it was revealed that homelessness is not evenly distributed across all the states and districts in the country (Figure 3). Bigger states, both in terms of population as well as size such as UP and Rajasthan have a larger number of homeless people than the smaller ones (Sattar 2014: 11). Uttar Pradesh, the most populous state in the country, saw an increase in both urban as well as rural homelessness. In the national capital of Delhi, while the rural areas saw a decline, homelessness in urban areas was on the rise. Within Delhi, districts of the North and West have greater homelessness rates than South and East (Stevens 2017).

Figure 3



Source: Hindustan Times

¹ Merriam Webster defines starvation wages as ‘wages insufficient to provide the ordinary necessities of life’.

There are substantial studies to prove that despite larger budgetary allocations for schemes such as PMAY (Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana), the government's infrastructure-led development policy resulted in lakhs of people being forcibly evicted from their place of residence. A study conducted by Bhan and Shivanand showed that in about 220 demolition drives carried out in the capital between 1990 and 2008, a total of 65,000 families were forcibly ousted and more than half of them were not allocated plots in government resettlement colonies (Bhan and Shivanand 2013: 54). The idea of a 'smart cities', 'slum-free cities', 'world class city' and the beautification drives for urban centres has led to the displacement of about 2.6 lakh people from their homes in the year 2017 (HLRN 2018: 1). These forced displacements, without adequate resettlement, contribute to an increase in homelessness. The United Nations Commission on Human Rights in a resolution in 2004 on 'Prohibition of Forced Evictions' recognized that forced evictions are in violation of a broad range of international human rights standards, especially the right to adequate housing, life, land, livelihood, food, water and sanitation, information, participation, and freedom of movement (UNHRC 2004: 2). Moreover, forced evictions disproportionately affect marginalised, low-income groups, economically weaker sections (EWS), with women within these groups being even more vulnerable.

| GOVERNMENT INITIATIVES TO ERADICATE HOMELESSNESS

So far all the government initiatives to eradicate homelessness have failed to perform primarily because they do not address the structural causes of homelessness. The Government has built night shelters in almost all major cities across India. Not only are these shelters insufficient (in terms of number) and inadequate (in terms of resources); but are also unliveable (Ramani 2019).

The National Urban Livelihood Mission (NULM) was the first scheme which laid out specific provisions for the homeless. While there were schemes like JNNURM and policies such as the National Urban Housing and Habitat Policy 2007 for urban areas, and Indira Awas Yojana (IAY) and Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme (RLEGP) for rural areas, they were not explicitly addressed to the homeless.

It was in 2013 that MoHUA initiated the Scheme of Shelter for Urban Homeless (SUH) under the National Urban Livelihoods Mission (NULM). As per these guidelines, the cities were to "...(e)nsure availability and access of the urban homeless population to permanent shelters including the basic infrastructure facilities like water supply, sanitation, safety and security" (MoHUA 2013: 3). These all-weather shelters were to be well-ventilated, catering to 50-100 people, with sufficient bathing and toilet facilities, clean drinking water, standard lighting, pest control, clean and hygienic environment, among others.

Moreover, the guidelines also called for linking homeless people to social protection programs, such as the ICDS, Elector's Photo Identity Card (EPIC), the public food distribution system, etc. It specifically states, "(a)ll homeless persons, in shelters should be given priority under various schemes, and government programmes" (ibid).

However, the NULM policy is silent on how the working homeless can be brought under the ambit of existing labour policies, ensure minimum and fair wages, and grievance and redressal machinery in cases of maltreatment or discrimination.

I POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

By far the most crucial intervention on homelessness is to ensure that people do not become homeless in the first place. There should be concerted efforts to improve the housing available to people living in poverty. State interventions to reduce and prevent homelessness are not reflective of a ‘welfare-approach’ but rather a ‘rights-based approach’, as spelled out in international conventions.

1. Differential Treatment to the Most Vulnerable:

It is evident from the various vulnerabilities of homeless people, their specific problems, and their socio-economic characteristics, that the responses must also be varied. There is a need to take into account people’s abilities, aspirations, needs, and to provide an appropriate response to homelessness. Thus, there is a need for very different types of responses to people who are ‘doubly marginalised’, or those who have ‘intersectional disadvantages’¹. Moreover, the government’s response to homelessness in high-income countries must be substantially different from that in a developing country such as India. Thus, homelessness cannot be tackled with a ‘one-size-fits-all’ approach.

2. Housing and ‘More’:

The initial steps in reaching out to homeless people are outreach, night shelters, supportive housing, ensuring access to affordable healthcare, access to quality education, and opportunities at securing a livelihood. Shelters should be well-equipped, fulfilling basic hygiene criteria, and regularly inspected to ensure these conditions are maintained. Furthermore, subsidised permanent accommodation should be encouraged, at least until the formerly homeless person achieves stable economic circumstances.

3. Well-Administered and Well-Equipped Shelters:

The Central Government launched the Shelters for the Urban Homeless scheme in 2013. The scheme currently covers 790 Indian cities. According to the rules, occupants of the shelter must have provisions of necessary facilities like toilets, bedding, first-aid kits, drinking water, blankets, lockers, and a kitchen. However, few of the shelters follow these guidelines, and they exist merely on paper and not in practice.

4. Access to Basic Services and Entitlements:

Concerted efforts are needed to remove barriers to homeless people receiving entitlements and services, and to avoid gaps and exclusion. There should be universal access to basic and essential services such as food, healthcare, clean drinking water, sanitation, etc. Duplication at the project level should be tackled in advance.

5. Creation of Economic Opportunities and Opportunities for Self-Development:

A more long-term effort to reduce homelessness is to provide opportunities for people’s

¹ When interconnected social categorizations or multiple forms of discrimination (such as race, class, and gender as they apply to a given individual or group) overlap, they become interdependent systems of discrimination or disadvantage, rather than isolated and distinct.

economic survival. Thus, there should be programmes aimed at human resource development and skills training. As many homeless people in developing countries are involved in low-paid work or are self-employed (like casual-labourers, daily wage-workers, domestic help and sweepers, street vendors, rickshaw pullers, etc.), improving their access to microfinance can be highly effective in improving their standard of living.

6. Coordination between State and Non-State Actors:

Local authorities have a pivotal role in eliminating all forms of exclusion and addressing homeless people's welfare as their problems arise at the municipal level. NGOs, civil society organisations, civil liberties groups, etc. should commit themselves at developing and delivering effective services and innovative approaches in partnership with each other and with governmental agencies. Indeed, they are currently critical in providing front-line services to homeless people.

7. Overall Rehabilitation and Integration within the Society:

Rehabilitation programmes should be prioritised, accompanied by educational provisions and psychological and legal support to these people. There should be concerted efforts at integrating the currently homeless back into mainstream society. There also needs to be change in the mainstream negative perceptions about homeless people. This could be achieved through sensitisation of law-enforcing agencies, as well as the common public.

| CONCLUSION

The issue of homelessness that is plaguing Indian society needs urgent attention and resources. There is also an impending need to re-evaluate and rework the existing policies to include a more holistic and pragmatic approach to tackle the problem of homelessness.

Moreover, in India, it is likely that homelessness has increased throughout the last decade owing to the adoption of a market-run economic system, continued urbanisation, the effects of structural adjustment programmes, communal riots, and natural disasters. The problem of homelessness is virtually impossible to solve without addressing these issues simultaneously.

It is vital to know the scale and impact of homelessness, and the characteristics and size of various sections of homeless people, so that all government interventions can be adequately targeted. Routine collection of data in censuses is thus useful. Moreover, sustained and concerted primary research on homelessness is essential to assess the needs and aspirations of these people.

Education, training and skill development services for homeless people and street children must be inclusive and relevant and built around their needs. Instead of stigmatising this section of population and treating them with disdain, homeless people, particularly street children, should be regarded as unutilised but potential assets rather than burdens to society.

Thus, there is a need for innovative, flexible and individualised problem-solving as far as homelessness is concerned. A more individualised approach requires a combination of interven-

tions across a variety of formal and informal organisations. This network is intended to encourage a shift from large-scale bureaucratic public agencies towards more collaborative organisational structures, involving private players, NGOs, civil society organisations, etc. An all-inclusive policy approach should be adopted which tends to the fulfilment of the individual's and family's needs, like healthcare, education, employment; transitional or rehabilitative services; and permanent or supportive housing arrangements for every homeless individual and family.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bhan, Gautam and Shiva Shivanand, (2013). “(Un)Settling the City: Analysing Displacement in Delhi from 1990 to 2007”, *Economic & Political Weekly* 48(13): 54-61.

Bhunia, Abhirup, (2017). “India’s Unplanned Urbanisation Is Far from ‘Smart’” *The Wire*, January 12 2013. <https://thewire.in/culture/india-urbanisation-smart-cities>

Ministry of Home Affairs, (2011). *Census of India 2011*. New Delhi, India: Ministry of Home Affairs. Government of India.

Dupont, Veronique, (2000). “Mobility Patterns and Economic Strategies of Houseless People in Old Delhi”. In *Delhi: Urban Space and Human Destinies*, edited by Dupont, Veronique, Tarlo, Emma and Denis Vidal, New Delhi: Manohar Publishers and Distributors, pp. 99-124.

FAO, (2016). *Addressing Rural Youth Migration at its Root Causes: A Conceptual Framework*. Rome: FAO

Government of India, (2013). *Scheme of Urban Shelters for Urban Homeless, National Urban Livelihoods Mission*. New Delhi, Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation (MoHUA), Government of India.

Housing and Land Rights Network, (2018). *Forced Evictions in India in 2017: An Alarming National Crisis*. New Delhi: Housing and Land Rights Network. https://www.hlrn.org.in/documents/Forced_Evictions_2017.pdf

IGSSS, (2012). *The Unsung City-Makers: A Study of the Homeless Residents of Delhi*. New Delhi: Indo-Global Social Service Society. <https://igsss.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/07/The-unsung-citymakers.pdf>

IGSSS, (2018). *Understanding Homelessness in Delhi: Rethinking Perspectives, Policy and Practice*. New Delhi: Indo-Global Social Service Society. <https://igsss.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/Homeless-in-Delhi-14.01.2019.pdf>

Kapoor, Amit and Aniruddh Duttaa, (2019). “More than half of world’s income went to top 10% of population; India has highest income inequality among major global economies” *Firstpost.com*, October 9 2019. <https://www.firstpost.com/business/more-than-half-of-worlds-income-went-to-top-10-of-population-india-has-highest-income-inequality-among-major-global-economies-7470341.html>

Ramani, Chitra, (2019). “Shelters for the city’s homeless are far from liveable”. *The Hindu*, October 12 2019. <https://www.thehindu.com/news/cities/bangalore/shelters-for-the-citys-homeless-are-far-from-liveable/article29668856.ece>

Sattar, Sanjukta, (2014) “Homelessness in India”. *Shelter: A HUDCO Publication*, 15(1): 9-15. https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Sanjukta_Sattar2/publication/316628224_Homelessness_In_India/links/59088fc6458515ebb4909821/Homelessness-In-India.pdf

Speak, Suzanne and Graham Tipple, (2006). “Perceptions, Persecution and Pity: The Limitations of

Interventions for Homelessness in Developing Countries”. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 30(1): 172-188.

Stevens, Harry, (2017). “Delhi is homelessness capital with three districts among India’s worst six”. *Hindustan Times*, March 24 2017.

<https://www.hindustantimes.com/delhi/homelessness-census-data-shows-three-of-india-s-worst-six-districts-in-delhi/story-xwTd5kI2R3eEFs4TJyLOoM.html>

Tipple, Graham and Suzanne Speak, (2005). “Definitions of Homeless in Developing Countries”. *Habitat Journal* 29(2): 337-352.

Tipple, Graham and Suzanne Speak, (2006). “Who is homeless in developing countries? Differentiating between inadequately housed and homeless people”. *International Development Planning Review* 28(1). https://www.researchgate.net/publication/250276607_Who_is_homeless_in_developing_countries_Differentiating_between_inadequately_housed_and_homeless_people

UN Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat), (2000). *Strategies to Combat Homelessness* Nairobi: UNCHS (Habitat). <http://mirror.unhabitat.org/documents/HS-599x.pdf>

UN Commission on Human Rights, (2004). *Commission on Human Rights Resolution 2004/28: Prohibition of Forced Evictions*. UNCHR. <http://www.refworld.org/docid/43f313669.html>

UN Department Of Economic And Social Affairs, (2004). *United Nations Demographic Yearbook Review: National reporting of household characteristics, living arrangements and homeless households: Implications for international recommendations*. Statistics Division, Demographic and Social Statistics Branch, UN DESA.

UN Department Of Economic And Social Affairs, (2018). *World Urbanization Prospects: The 2018 Revision*. UN DESA.

UN Economic and Social Council, (2005). *Report of the UN Special Rapporteur on Adequate Housing*. ECOSOC.

UN General Assembly, (2015). *Report of the Special Rapporteur on “Adequate housing as a component of the right to an adequate standard of living, and on the right to non-discrimination in this context*. UNGA.

