Earning a PhD in Street Philosophy

Assessing service delivery to the street community in Cape Town

Authors:
Marissa Bernard
Alden Graham
Cote Taylor
Nasjela Thodhoraqi

Advisors:
Nicola Bulled
Alexandrina Agloro

Sponsor:
Service Dining Rooms
The range of challenges faced by the homeless makes providing services to meet needs difficult. This project involved interactions with guests at Service Dining Rooms (SDR), Cape Town, South Africa, to gain insights on service provision. While services are available, there are significant barriers to access. In addition to feelings of discomfort and shame, the homeless indicated minimal awareness of the available resources in the area. To address this, we created a resource map to clearly indicate services available to the homeless to be posted at SDR and a flyer advertising SDR’s services for distribution. Through a continued process of self-reflection, we recognized that initial feelings of discomfort around the homeless were replaced by feelings of empathy, compassion, and humility.
Homelessness is a real and important issue throughout the world, and its many physical and mental aspects make it highly complex and multi-layered. Living on the streets involves enduring and overcoming many hardships and challenges. Additionally, it is difficult for many street people to resolve these challenges on their own due to their limited access to resources, social isolation, and consequent mental health issues. To exacerbate their situations, the street community is often misunderstood and marginalized by mainstream society. In order to help alleviate these challenges and meet the street community’s needs, organizations have implemented relevant services.

One of these non-profit organizations aiming to assist the street community is The Service Dining Rooms (SDR) located in the Central Business District of Cape Town, South Africa. SDR was founded in 1935 by Doris Syfret with the goal of providing meals and general care to Cape Town’s street population. Current manager Greg Andrews continues to strive for this goal, and has implemented additional services that assist the homeless with legal issues. SDR currently serves around 800 meals daily, Monday through Friday. A large portion of these meals are delivered to crèches, clinics, and church groups living in Cape Flats, while the rest are served on location in the dining room. Meals served in the dining room cost 1 South African Rand per plate; however, a token system is in place where guests can earn a token for utilizing shower or medical services at nearby NGOs that can be traded for a meal.

This project is intended to improve the living conditions of Cape Town’s street community by exploring approaches to expand and improve the services offered by Service Dining Rooms. To accomplish this, we intend to:

- Develop a rich understanding of the needs of the street community
- Document perspectives of the street community on the services that are available from SDR and other facilities within the area
- Provide direction on how those needs might best be served by SDR directly, through partnerships with other organizations, or through lobbying efforts

Throughout this process, we intend to carefully reflect upon the nature of our engagements and assess the impact of the relationships developed.

Deep hanging out was used as the means to develop relationships and obtain a deep understanding of the street community’s way of life. Engaging with the majority of SDR guests created a broad information pool where each individual’s unique experiences and backgrounds provided insight into the themes that the street community found most important. In addition, we recorded daily journal entries and weekly questionnaires in order to reflect on our experiences and record what we had learned. By acknowledging the connections and overlapping similarities our lives share, we were able to form strong relationships that fostered rich interactions with the street community.

The common themes among the street community included religion, relationships, employment, substance abuse, and shelter, while common themes we noted in ourselves ranged from feeling tense, to surprised, to uncomfortable, to relieved. In addition to obtaining the thoughts and perceptions of the homeless community, we obtained the per-
spectives of mainstream society. These interviews provided perceptions of homelessness from a non-stakeholder standpoint in order to gain insight from all angles. Interviews were conducted with mainstream society in two locations, Green Point and the Central Business District (CBD). Interview results showed that homelessness in Cape Town was viewed as a pressing issue, and that service provision to the street community is very important. Additionally, it was observed that perceptions about the homeless varied greatly by area. The more wealthy Green Point interviewees were more likely to perceive the homeless as unmotivated and bothersome, were less aware of services, and interacted less with the homeless when compared to the CBD interviewees.

While interviews with mainstream society helped us gain external perceptions regarding the homeless community, we conducted interviews with the SDR staff for a perspective more knowledgeable and engaged in service provision. These interview responses suggested that current services at SDR were very effective, but that there were additional services, such as shelter and mental health counseling that were either not effective or nonexistent throughout Cape Town.

After analyzing data from our multiple sources it was determined that a primary issue with service provision in Cape Town was that information about services was not easily attained. The conversations with the street community showed that their basic needs such as food, shelter, and bathing services, were not fully being met. In order to begin to address this issue, a flyer was created to be given out to the street community that contained information about SDR’s mealtimes, cost, location, and counseling opportunities. The flyer was also implemented in order to promote interaction between mainstream society and the homeless community by providing something other than money that can be given out to street people. In addition to the flyer, a resource map was created and implemented at SDR in order to inform the street community about all available services in the area and where to find them. By implementing the two in parallel it gave the street community the knowledge they needed to more effectively utilize all services in the area.
All persons who meet authorship criteria are listed as authors, and all authors certify that they have participated sufficiently in the work to take public responsibility for the content, including participation in the concept, design, analysis, writing, or revision of this proposal. In addition, all authors contributed equally to each section of this proposal.
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Introduction

Homelessness is an increasingly complex issue in both developing and developed countries (Tipple & Speak, 2005). Organizations, such as the Institute of Global Homelessness (IGH), are approaching this issue on a global scale by attempting to develop a uniform understanding applicable beyond national boundaries (Busch-Geertsema, Culhane, & Fitzpatrick, 2016). The Institute’s goal is to successfully assess homelessness and provide effective aid to vulnerable street communities universally (Busch-Geertsema et al., 2016). Although this concept of universal service provision successfully grasps the idea of homelessness as a global issue, the scope should be narrowed to identify the roots of homelessness. To address this issue more immediately, local efforts have manifested around the world through soup kitchens, skills workshops, family reunification programs, and rehabilitation services.

Organizations providing such services recognize the hardships that street people face and in order to understand the issues contributing to homelessness, one must gain insight about the homeless communities’ diverse set of challenges, needs, and situations such as lack of shelter, food, and human interaction (Iveson & Cornish, 2015). While homeless communities throughout the world share many of these needs, challenges, and situations, some are community specific. Cape Town has over 7,400 homeless, 65 percent of whom sleep on the street (Hendricks, 2015). Aside from inadequate living conditions, this community is also faced with physical, social, and psychological challenges (Mathebula & Ross, 2013).

Organizations are trying to address the varying needs that stem from challenges beyond the basic physical ones. In Cape Town, multiple organizations including our sponsor, Service Dining Rooms (SDR), and its partner, Street People’s Forum (SPF), were founded on the basis of alleviating these specific hardships by providing meals and offering counseling. However, the majority of the homeless do not fully utilize these services despite their availability throughout the community (Mathebula & Ross, 2013). Lack of, or limited use may indicate many things intimately related to the homeless condition, including individual issues such as psychological functioning. It may also be indicative of a mismatch between community needs and services provided.

Despite efforts from these organizations, another major reason for under-utilization is that the homeless are rarely involved in the creation and modification of these programs. Research evaluating homeless services through the eyes of the street community is limited. A study of homeless centers in London by Iveson and Cornish (2015) used a “bottom up” approach, asking the street community’s opinion on the value of services provided. While the approach valued the opinions of the homeless community, the evaluation considered their perspectives only after the implementation of the programs. The scope of this study did not encompass the idea of considering the street community’s needs as a foundation for the services that should be provided to them. Rather, the perspectives of the homeless merely served as an evaluation of existing services. Additionally, studies exploring homelessness often reuse past research and supplement the street community’s perceptions with this recycled information (Ravenhill, 2008). This approach fails to consider the user experience, or acknowledge that user experiences are varied and constantly shifting.

The purpose of this project was to provide Service Dining Rooms with valuable insight regarding the nature of their services. By engaging directly with the homeless, a deeper understanding of the factors that led to homelessness and the difficulties routinely faced on the streets was gained. Documenting these factors and positioning them next to existing services provided at Service Dining Rooms and related organizations in the vicinity provided insight on tailoring services to needs.
I did not sleep all night; the police were patrolling the streets and I was afraid they would take even the few blankets that I have left. At least it was trash collection day and I could start “mining” into people’s waste sooner than others. I found a few nice shirts that I could not believe someone actually threw away. So I collected those along with all the plastic bottles and cans, then headed for the recycling store to sell them and get the change I needed for my meal of the day.

Before I went to the soup kitchen to eat, I stopped at a community tap to wash up a little and refresh myself. Just like every day, the line for food was very long, but I was grateful for their service of cheap meals. I played a few rounds of dominoes with some of the guys that were there – I lost. Dominoes have never been my strength, but I definitely could have beaten them in cards. I was tired by the end of the game, so I headed to the Company Gardens to take a nap on the freshly cut grass. I could not help but watch all the families playing with their children and enjoying their time. After a while, I fell asleep for a few hours.

When I woke up it was dark. I started walking to my usual corner by the bus station to beg. A lot of pedestrians and cars pass this way. The dirty looks I got were nothing out of the ordinary, but a few nice folks spared some coins. None of them actually took the time to say “hi” or even acknowledge my existence as a human being, just throwing the money in my direction, so I left and went to the shack I built in an alleyway with cardboard boxes since shelters are too expensive. I am here now writing this entry as I do every night, alone, under a blanket crawling with lice, smelling stale and dirty, and reminding me of the indignity that is my existence.
Background

Prevalent throughout the world, homelessness is a real and important issue, but one that is highly complex. In Cape Town, a city with a population of 3.7 million, 7,400 people are classified as homeless (Hendricks, 2015). In 2015, Lynn Hendricks, a researcher working for the City of Cape Town’s Directorate of Social Development and Early Childhood Development, led a study to enumerate and understand the phenomenon of homelessness within the city. In her study, the homeless are synonymously referred to as “street people,” defined as individuals without permanent housing who may live on the streets, in a shelter, abandoned building or vehicle, or in any other unstable or temporary residence (Hendricks, 2015).

Whether the homeless sleep on the streets, in shelters or any other facility, whether they have been influenced by systematic or more individual causes, the homeless are united by having no place to call home. As illustrated in the opening vignette, the meaning of this loss of home provides insight into its impact on those who experience it. Ravenhill’s (2008, p. 12) research defines a home as:

- a feeling of safety, trust, continuity and stability that permits the physical, emotional and psychological well-being necessary for experiencing friendships and relationships. It is a central point in our lives from which other activities like work, friendships and relationships can be experienced and developed. It is also a unique space, place or area through which individuals define themselves and allow themselves to be their true self. A space, or place, that allows them to feel anchored into their society and equal to or able to mix with their peers.

Ravenhill’s definition emphasizes the role and importance of a home beyond its physical structure, but the values, relationships, and self-expression it enables individuals to experience. The loss of a home is therefore much more impactful than lacking a roof over one’s head and it affects the well-being of that person. This definition highlights the complexity of the homeless situation.

While many ideas on homelessness group the homeless into one category, homelessness has many variations. As seen in Hendricks’ work there are three physical levels of homelessness in the Johannesburg inner city: those residing in city shelters, in temporary shelters, and dwelling on the pavements or streets (Hendricks, 2015). Researcher Megan Ravenhill (2008) provides a similar analysis of homelessness in her book, The Culture of Homelessness, an examination of homelessness in Britain. Her definition of homelessness concurs with that offered by Lynn Hendricks of South Africa’s street population, and is also broken into three subcategories that increase in severity from unstable, non-permanent housing, to no roof overhead at all. This progression begins with the “Precariously Housed” and moves to the “Houseless” then to the “Roofless” (Ravenhill, 2008). “Street Users” describe those who migrate between “Roofless” and “Precariously Housed” daily—living on the streets during the day and returning to shelters or hostels at night (Ravenhill, 2008). Despite the difference of location, Hendrick’s study investigated the Global South while Ravenhill’s analyzed the Global North, homelessness was defined by three correlating levels (see Figure 1).
Background

Homelessness: A complex issue

These categorizations within the homeless community are further verified by the Institute of Global Homelessness (IGH) which addresses homelessness in the global context, recognizing its worldwide significance and impact (Busch-Geertsema et al., 2016). To understand homelessness across the geographic, cultural, and countless other boundaries of the world, IGH established a framework that aims to create a uniform definition of homelessness (Busch-Geertsema et al., 2016). Much like Hendricks (2015) and Ravenhill (2008), researchers of the aforementioned framework, Volker Busch-Geertsema, Dennis Culhane, and Suzanne Fitzpatrick (2016) divide the homeless community into three categories—those living “in severely inadequate and/or insecure accommodation”, “in temporary or crisis accommodation,” and “without accommodation”.

Another distinction made within the homeless populations of Britain and South Africa are the physical, social and legal domains as seen in Figure 2 (Hendricks, 2015). The physical domain involves living on the streets, or having no adequate housing (Hendricks, 2015). The social domain relates to the effects of homelessness on interactions with others such as having no private and personal space for social relations (Hendricks, 2015). The legal domain includes no legal title to a space for exclusive possession as well as no security of tenure to a place (Hendricks, 2015).

These different breakdowns of the definitions and domains of homelessness are illustrated in the opening vignette, showing that homelessness is an intricate issue that is difficult to dissect and analyze. Homeless communities are often further defined by the individuals within these groups—their backgrounds, challenges, needs, and experiences trying to satisfy these needs. There is also a mobility of street people between the types of homelessness and there are links between each of the aspects of their lives to their current situation (see Figure 1). Each individual’s involvement with homelessness is just that, individual, adding to the complexity of effectively addressing this issue.

The roads to homelessness are equally as diverse, although they are often rooted in similar origins. Ravenhill’s (2008) overview of homelessness in Britain uncovers the pattern of “triggers” in which a series of certain circumstances or events lead an individual along the path to homelessness and furthermore to rooflessness, proving that homelessness is not explained by a singular cause. These triggers can include alcoholism, drug abuse, and violence. The individuals involved suffer mental impacts that shape their views on themselves and influence their ability to cope and make decisions to uphold their well-being (Ravenhill, 2008). Another factor that leads people down the path of homelessness is the economic structure of society. Homelessness in South Africa can be traced to the displacement caused by the competing demands for labor and land from both agriculture and mining, the early years of industrialization, and later the industrial manufacturing success (Hendricks, 2015). In addition, current high unemployment rates cause people to lose their income and their housing, leaving them in poverty and homeless.

Figure 2: Domains of homelessness

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<th>Physical</th>
<th>Social</th>
<th>Legal</th>
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<td>No adequate housing to live in</td>
<td>No private and personal space for social relations</td>
<td>No legal title to a space for exclusive possession</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>No security of tenure to a place</td>
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Background

Homelessness: A complex issue

Although the street community finds its roots in economic aspects, it is also caused by social "systemic inequalities" including racism, sexism, and discrimination (Lyon-Callo, 2001). Likewise, the political realm is also responsible for exacerbating a vulnerable individual’s condition, potentially leading to homelessness. Government policies, including failures of the housing system, limit the availability of affordable housing units (Lyon-Callo, 2001). In turn, this causes the street community to migrate and establish themselves in places of low-rent housing. Such is the case in Britain, where individuals migrate to cheaper neighborhoods near airports, prisons, teaching hospitals, and university towns (Ravenhill, 2008). Creating these clusters often can make it more difficult to improve their situation in life due to limited opportunities in these areas.

While systemic inequalities and ineffective government policies are aspects of homelessness, personal dynamics also contribute to the housing situations of individuals. Conflicts at school or work, seeking a lost relative, or family conflicts such as marital breakdown, often cause people to sacrifice the lives they once had, and forge a new life for themselves on the street (Mathebula & Ross, 2013). Physical and mental abuse forces many individuals to leave their homes in search of safety and freedom. Many mental illnesses such as depression, anxiety, and lack of self-esteem also contribute to the loss of jobs and income, which is detrimental in securing housing.

Lacking shelter, the street population is susceptible to many hardships. Harsh weather, limited access to services to manage hygiene, dirty clothing, decreased food and water intake, lack of sleep, general fatigue, and use of substances to dull feelings contribute to health problems. The streets are dangerous, and the risk of robbery, beating, rape or murder is high. Theft and the confiscation of belongings by law enforcement requires that belongings are minimal and transportable. In addition, little to no prolonged social interaction can lead to depression, feelings of worthlessness, and stress.

Struggles, needs, and misunderstandings of the homeless

The street community is often misunderstood and marginalized. As portrayed in the vignette that opens the chapter, life on the street creates many hardships and challenges. However, because of their situations, including limited access to resources, social isolation, and possible mental health issues, many street people are unable to resolve these challenges on their own. Lack of understanding or ignorance of the challenges and subsequent needs of the street community by society and organizations aiming to provide assistance, further contributes to the challenge.

Engaging with the street community of London to gain a better understanding of how they value educational and vocational programs available, UK researchers Mandie Iveson and Flora Cornish (2015) first established an understanding of the street community’s challenges. Their findings outlined the primary mental impacts from becoming homeless, which include feeling marginalized and stigmatized, alone, abnormal, hopeless, stressed, anxious, limited by the system, as if losing one’s self without any control over one’s own life, not useful in society, lacking self-confidence, and having “no structure or predictability” in their daily lives (Iveson & Cornish, 2015). In addition, Iveson and Cornish found that the loss of individual, human, and social assets, the latter two most linked to causing mental challenges, are inherent to the homeless population. Furthermore, the study discussed the link between the loss of these assets to social exclusion of street people from society and to the lack of important education or life skills among street community members. This may contribute to a loss of their self-esteem and hope for the future (Iveson & Cornish, 2015). While not all street people face these challenges, a study of the homeless in Canada concluded that nearly 93 percent of the homeless investigated met the criteria for at least one mental disorder (Krausz et al., 2013).

Mental challenges have a large effect on the lives of many street people; however, physical challenges also play a major role. Common physical challenges include finding food, shelter, and keeping individual assets, such as housing and financial security (Iveson & Cornish, 2015). The street community also lacks access to the internet and transportation, resources that greatly enhance the efficiency of completing tasks such as searching for employment and obtaining eve-
Background

Struggles, needs, and misunderstandings of the homeless

A major challenge faced by the homeless population is the lack of adequate centers for medical, psychiatric, and rehabilitation care. This exacerbates mental health effects by triggering loneliness and the sense of isolation in unfamiliar places (Ravenhill, 2008). Many organizations work with the homeless to provide services focused on reducing the impact of these challenges.

Unfortunately, some of the challenges rising from limited accessibility of centers of aid are related to the marginalization that is found between street people and society. Many of the views on homeless communities stem from the many stereotypes that have rooted themselves in human nature. According to researcher Vincent Lyon-Callo (2001), some communities find themselves thinking with a “not in my backyard” mentality in which the homeless are seen as dangerous, irresponsible, dirty, and are believed to reduce the success and the overall quality of life in the community. These stereotypes and perspectives negatively impact the choices made by the homeless to engage with certain services. With a portion of the general population having some level of discrimination towards street people, the street community is forced to expect and fear mistreatment. Richard Kenny, the manager at Jeremiah’s Inn, a halfway house in Worcester, Massachusetts for men in recovery from substance abuse, emphasized the marginalization of this vulnerable community from mainstream society. He also highlighted that the judgment and aversion that these men feel from society is disheartening and causes feelings of worthlessness within themselves and affects their views of the services offered.

While marginalization is an important issue on its own, it also creates other issues that are equally as significant. Researchers Mathebula and Ross (2013) state that in their study of homelessness, “the participants indicated they did not like going to the hospital because of the way the nurses treated them. They felt that they were not treated like other patients” (p. 462). Richard Kenny also indicated that the men at Jeremiah’s Inn do not feel any empathy from the general population. This lack of love, understanding, and equal treatment makes it difficult for the homeless to reach out for help and to desire integrating into mainstream society (Kenny, 2016). These examples highlight the barrier created by the negative stereotypes that have formed between society and the homeless. By making the street community feel unwelcome in hospitals, police stations, or other places where they may interact with the general population, people are unintentionally denying street people access to important services that may help alleviate the hardships from living on the streets.

These challenges help to outline the needs of the street community members that, when properly addressed, will enhance their physical and mental well-being. Iveson and Cornish’s (2015) study links the challenges the street community faces to the loss of self-efficacy and agency. Being able to control one’s life (self-efficacy), to make purposeful decisions (agency), to build on these choices and achieve coveted results (empowerment), is imperative for the street community to be able to overcome the challenges presented by homelessness (Iveson & Cornish, 2015). Psychologist Albert Bandura summarizes this idea, as quoted by Iveson and Cornish (2015, p. 255), “If people believe they have no power to produce results, they will not attempt to make things happen.” The marginalization and mental challenges plaguing homeless individuals makes it difficult for them to ease their current situation.
Addressing the needs of the homeless: A multitude of efforts

The street community’s diverse set of needs has resulted in many organizations offering a variety of aid services. Many of these services are similar throughout the world and geared towards satisfying both the physical and mental needs of the homeless community. The economic, social, political, and personal needs of South Africa’s street community are addressed through a multitude of efforts spanning from increased employment opportunities, to health and safety measures, to the creation of rights programs, to enhanced familial and cultural ties (Mathebula & Ross, 2013). In London’s homeless centers, programs focus on education and trade skills development (Iveson & Cornish, 2015). The intention is to address the need for self-empowerment, develop skills, and ultimately reduce homelessness.

In order to address a vital necessity—food—soup kitchens have become increasingly common. Among these facilities is the Service Dining Rooms (SDR), located in the Central Business District of Cape Town, South Africa. Doris Syfret founded SDR in 1935 to address the need for meals and general care of Cape Town South Africa’s street population. Program manager, Richard (Ricky) Marais, along with current director Greg Andrews, continue her passion with their commitment to increasing SDR’s appeal as a safe drop-in center that is open and inviting to the community. SDR currently serves around 800 meals daily, Monday through Friday, at the cost of 1 South African Rand each. A large portion of these meals are delivered to crèches, clinics, and church groups living in Cape Flats, while the rest are served on location in the dining room. In addition, each weekday morning, SDR serves coffee for 1 South African Rand per cup.
Addressing the needs of the homeless: A multitude of efforts

While soup kitchens may successfully meet one of the physical needs of the homeless, they generally do not help the homeless overcome their vast social and mental challenges. Ricky stated that meeting physical needs, such as food service, is similar to "laying a bunch peanuts on the road for [the] birds" (Marais, 2016). In this he suggested that the street community will take advantage of these services, but once these services expire, the situation—being homeless—will remain unchanged.

Unlike many soup kitchens, SDR addresses mental needs in their daily services, helping to create an environment beneficial to the street community beyond giving out food. Examples of the structure to improve self-esteem includes charging 1 South African Rand for meals in order to establish a sense of responsibility, as well as requiring guests to be on time and encouraging them to say please and thank you when receiving meals to emphasize proper social behavior needed to reintegrate into mainstream society.

SDR and The Carpenter’s Shop, a nearby non-governmental agency (NGO) that offers showers and laundry facilities as well as health check-ups for the street community, have established a token system that encourages the street community to create a daily structure for themselves. If guests take a shower or wash their clothes, they earn a blue token, which can be used to purchase a meal at SDR. Attending the weekly health clinic to get their blood pressure and sugar levels measured earns them a red token, and using the recycling facilities next door to SDR is worth a green token. This system offers the street community incentives for performing regular tasks in order to help them create a daily routine and practice self-accountability, while helping affiliated NGO’s track what services are being utilized.

In addition to meal services and workshops, SDR partners with the Street People’s Forum (SPF) to offer counseling services, as well as job skills and development training. SPF was established in 2011, and has been recognized as a non-profit organization since 2012. The forum coordinates its efforts with its member organizations, such as Khulisa Social Solutions and Cape Town Central City Improvement District, to alleviate the hardships the street community encounters daily. A key goal of the forum is to give street people a voice on social and economic issues and provide them with a debate platform.

Both SPF and SDR are currently looking into gathering information to better assess the needs of the street community they serve. Currently many services offered to the street community in South Africa are under-utilized, especially those involving mental health, family dynamics, and personal and professional growth (Mathebula & Ross, 2013). However, when the street population does engage in services of this nature, they gain benefits that provide them with the mental support and companionship they need. Thus, complications with existing programs may not necessarily lie in the programs themselves, but in the street community’s awareness of them and how these resources are used and valued by street people.

In addition to the services above, SDR offers creative skills workshops that are based around the harm reduction model. The harm reduction model focuses on finding ways to reduce potential harm, especially relating to drug use. However, the model places emphasis on not forcing change, instead focusing on putting services in place that can help reduce risks and promote the development of skills (Hunt et al., 2003). This harm reduction model provides greater opportunity for SDR’s services to be utilized by the street community. Other strategies that have an “all or nothing” mentality, discourage individuals who are unwilling to quit activities such as drug use altogether from the start (Henwood, Padgett, & Tiderington, 2014). Such strategies place too much pressure on an already struggling and marginalized population, making it unsuccessful at “engaging and retaining” these groups (Henwood et al., 2014). Instead, the harm reduction model places individuals in an environment where they can work toward resolving their issues on their own terms and at a pace they are comfortable with.

Ricky at SDR uses the harm reduction approach in his creative skills and self-empowerment workshops by offering assistance when street people ask for it. Individuals must approach Ricky with the desire to improve their situations, often through employment. Ricky then educates them on the work ethic and mindset needed to become self-sustainable and applies these ideas with a hands on approach. In recent workshops, street people have learned how to build the wooden frame of an ottoman, how to upholster it, and then sell the finished product in appropriate markets. Once they have gained these skills, they are better equipped to obtain employment or work independently to support themselves. The participant’s success is attributed to self-motivation and not others pushing change on the individual.

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Methods

Improve the living conditions of Cape Town’s street community by exploring approaches to expand and improve the services offered by Service Dining Rooms.

- Understand the needs of the street community
- Document perspectives on services offered
- Provide direction on how needs might best be served

Deep Hanging Out
Interviews
Diary Studies

Reflect upon the nature of our engagements and assess the impact of the relationships developed.

Figure 3: Mission statement, methodology and objectives
Deep hanging out with the SDR guests

In order to gain a broad understanding of the street community, an approach known as "deep hanging out" was utilized. Emphasizing the unique nature of ethnography, anthropologist Renato Rosaldo coined the term “deep hanging out,” an observation only method, involving integration of the researcher within the community of study (Clifford, 1996). Historian James Clifford (1996) alluded to the “deep hanging out” methodology when describing researcher Karen McCarthy Brown’s study of a vodou priestess residing in Brooklyn, New York. Clifford (1996, p. 511) elaborates on Brown’s approach and the evolution of field work in general: Brown’s ethnography is situated less by a discrete place, a field she enters and inhabits for a time, than by an interpersonal relationship - a mixture of observation, dialogue, apprenticeship, and friendship.... The injunction to dwell intensively, to use local languages, to produce a ‘deep’ interpretation is a difference that makes a difference.

Deep hanging out is an effective method for collecting data from communities that are difficult to access as it is unobtrusive and informal. A study done by anthropologist Irene Glasser (2010) focused on understanding the homeless community that attended the Tabernacle soup kitchen in Connecticut, utilized deep hanging out as the primary method of data collection. By utilizing this method to obtain data, the study was unobtrusive and protected the privacy of the guests (Glasser, 2010). Previous studies also suggest that the street population yearns for companionship and interested audiences to listen to their stories (Iveson & Cornish, 2015). Feelings of isolation and loneliness within the street community, and their desire to engage, suggest that deep hanging out was an appropriate approach to better understanding needs and service delivery.

Deep hanging out was used as the means to develop relationships and obtain a deep interpretation of the street community’s way of life. This method required simply lending a listening ear as they shared their past, their interests, their beliefs, and everything in between, without any prodding or structured questioning. In order for this method to be effective in gathering information, observations were guided by ten focus topics, shown in Figure 4. Focusing on each topic ensured that the three distinct researchers compiled similar information that could be used to identify data trends and common ideas. The diversity of these focal points allowed for a broad spectrum of information to be gathered that fostered a better understanding of the street people who find themselves at SDR. In addition, by using each focal point as a guideline when collecting data, it was insured that no topics were overlooked, even if they were not initially perceived as important.
Methods

Deep hanging out with the SDR guests

We engaged with the majority of SDR guests in order to obtain a broad information pool and learn from each individual’s unique experiences and backgrounds. By acknowledging the connections and overlapping similarities between the lives of the guests at SDR and the researchers, strong relationships formed which enabled rich interactions with the street community. These interactions were beneficial in understanding their perspectives and allowing for the assessment of their needs and how improvements to SDR’s services may be helpful. This focus on depth and how that depth inherently fosters stronger and deeper relationships, highlights the applicability of this method to the project.
Methods

Semi-structured interviews

While deep hanging out enabled a broad understanding of SDR clients, insight into specific topics was gained by conducting interviews with SDR staff and volunteers. This method allowed for a better understanding of the relationships between the service providers and the service recipients from the particular respondent’s perspective (Babbie, 1989; Hudson & Ozanne, 1988). Getting feedback from the SDR staff was vital in gaining an understanding of the needs of the street community, as many staff members have been working and interacting with the guests for years, and may have been guests themselves.

Semi-structured interviews followed an interview outline (see Appendix A) that guided conversations and allowed for the collection of certain information, but also for interviews “to unfold in a conversational manner offering the participants a chance to explore issues they feel are important” (Longhurst, 2003). This style allowed for the conversation to be flexible towards what the staff believed to be important information while also allowing probing questions to be asked when needed. Each member of the staff at SDR was interviewed in order to get the insights of every individual who frequently comes in contact with the SDR guests. This allowed for a more substantial and thorough data collection. All interview answers were documented in a notebook to avoid any misunderstandings or mistakes when analyzing the results. Conducting interviews in this style ensured a strong understanding of how services are delivered to the street community, as well as the common challenges SDR staff encounters while providing these services.

Semi-structured interviews were also conducted with mainstream society from multiple areas throughout Cape Town in order to obtain their perspective of the homeless, SDR, and the services provided to the street community. To identify community members to interview a random sampling approach was used where every three to five customers were asked to participate in a short interview. This ensured a diverse set of perspectives. Responses were recorded by hand in a notebook in order to collect data that represented the entire population. Interviews lasted between three to five minutes; however, if interviewees were willing to elaborate a set time limit was not enforced. Interviewees were not required to sit, as most interviews were short. Prior to the start of all interviews a consent statement was provided (see Appendix A). Data was transferred into a digital format in order to identify common themes. This approach allowed for an abundance of information to be obtained that provided SDR with a strong understanding of mainstream society’s perspectives on street people and the services provided to them.
Methods

Diary studies

From gaining a deep understanding of the feelings and needs of the community at SDR, emotions of our own were documented and assessed in a valuable way. Diary studies involve personal reports that aim to capture observations, interactions, moods, feelings, and events. Diary entries allow participants to share their emotions and encounters in their own words, which leads to a deeper understanding of their experiences. The diary can be unstructured with no specified format, leaving the writer with freedom to express him or herself in the easiest way he or she can (Baxter, Courage, & Caine, 2015). It can also be structured, providing the writer with a set of questions to respond to. If these diary entries are done regularly throughout a period of time, they can show differences between moods or feelings from the beginning of the study to the end and everything in between. A study conducted in the UK of students participating in a module for goal setting and self-development used diary studies to track each student’s thoughts and feelings regarding the program and its impact on them (Travers, Morisano, & Locke, 2015). Using this method, students were able to “engage in considerable cognitive processing (thinking) in both the short and long term and identify causal relationships between growth goals and their outcomes” (Travers et al., 2015, p. 253). These students’ self-reflection on the result of their efforts correlates to our reflection on the effectiveness of our engagements. This study, like ours, spanned over a time period allowing changes in perceptions to be revealed through continued interaction.

In order to observe the effect of interactions with the homeless in Cape Town, we recorded our feelings, thoughts, and observations as we felt or saw them. To obtain a broad spectrum of information two forms of data collection were utilized. One form of data collection was an online private blog. The blog allowed us to chronologically record our thoughts, feelings, and observations in an unstructured setting. By writing stream of consciousness entries, and by noting which group member wrote each, we had the freedom to be honest and open as well as read how our teammates were feeling. This ensured a broad perspective on how our thoughts and impressions on homelessness and the street community progressed throughout the project while also allowing us to observe our changing perception on what information was relevant. In addition, this form of documentation provided an outlet for us to process the rollercoaster of emotions inherent to interacting with street people and hearing and witnessing the hardships they face.

The other form of data collection was a more structured Google form with set topics that were addressed on a weekly basis as outlined in Appendix B. By regularly answering a set of predetermined questions as we progressed through the project, we gained insight into how our individual views on these topics changed. This allowed us to gain more quantitative data that made weekly changes more measurable and outlined where, when, and why these changes were experienced. We then organized the information we obtained in order to identify and analyze trends, their frequency, and importance.

Diary studies were also used to gain insight from the SDR guests. A small number of SDR guests who were willing to talk regularly became our key informants. These key informants were liaisons with the street community, introducing us to other street community members, showing us around Cape Town, and helping to be our cultural guides. In order to evaluate our impact on these key informants, we asked them about their perspectives on themselves, us, and the mainstream society during our time at SDR. There were no set questions, as everything was learned through general conversation, however we did ask their permission to include what we had learned in our findings.

While diary studies was an effective way to gather the information we needed, there were shortcomings to consider. Diary studies rely completely on the person recording the diary, hence gathered information may have been incomplete or biased. In order to mitigate this, we insured diary entries would not take a large amount of time to complete, hence minimizing changes to the subject’s normal routine which could alter the study (Baxter et al., 2015). Diary entries were completed as soon as possible after interactions in order to record as much of the information we could retain before forgetting it. However, characteristic of human abilities, not all information could be recalled from each conversation. As such, diary studies were supplemented with other forms of data collection, such as interviews and participant observation, in order to obtain a thorough understanding of the topic.
Modified grounded theory was used to structure this study due to initial uncertainty of the primary issues that could emerge from our investigation of service delivery to Cape Town’s street community. Grounded theory consists of systematic ways to obtain qualitative data and to formulate theories that are ‘grounded’ in the data, rather than searching to prove or disprove an established hypothesis (Charmaz, 2006). After completing daily diary entries, perspectives and insights of the guests were recorded and categorized into common themes that emerged from our conversations in a separate document. This strategy allowed findings to be tracked continuously through the progression of the project. These findings were then used to make recommendations regarding the delivery of services to street people in Cape Town.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Method</th>
<th>Target Population</th>
<th>Sampling Size</th>
<th>Sampling Strategy</th>
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<th>Data Analysis</th>
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<td>Interviews</td>
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Figure 5: Methods summary
The complex nature of homelessness creates multiple layers of understanding which affect the way people perceive and interact with the street community. By interacting with the guests at SDR, as well as interviewing mainstream society throughout multiple areas of Cape Town, we were able to gain well rounded insight into their lives as individuals, a community, and their relationships with the surrounding world. This insight helped to better understand the human networks of Cape Town in order to assess service delivery to street people with an inclusive approach that took all stakeholders and factors into consideration.

Figure 6: Iceberg analogy of homelessness
Results & Discussion

Mainstream society’s views on homelessness and services

One of the many lessons we learned from Ricky was that “You only see one seventh of an iceberg”. As an individual, there are many layers to a person: the personality that shines through the exterior, the actions that people remember, and the first education that people learn from their parents, such as the culture and upbringing that dictate their perceptions and decisions. The latter layer is one that is engraved much deeper than the surface; as the layers approach the core of a person, they are more and more quintessential of who that person is. With just one glance, only the layer above the surface is noticeable to others. In order to go deeper underwater, deeper under a person’s exterior, others must get to know that person well to understand where their actions come from. Mainstream society is mostly exposed to the layer above the surface of a street person (see Figure 6), and so the judgements about these homeless people are only made during short interactions, often when they skarrel or beg on the streets. As people get to know more about the street community by listening to their individual stories, some of those initial perceptions evolve to be based on truth as they shed the stigma developed by others.

Mainstream society only sees the tip of the iceberg, and so interviews were intended to obtain a broad perspective of the street community from the eyes of everyday people. These interviews were aimed at gaining insight as to why much of the street community feels ignored and misunderstood as previous research and personal interactions revealed. An equal number of people in both Green Point and in the Central Business District (CBD) of Cape Town were interviewed in order to determine if there was any variation in perspective by area. Though the interviewees may not necessarily reside in the areas that they were interviewed in, there was a correlation between these areas and their responses. It was suspected that those interviewed in Green Point spent more time there and were influenced by experiences in that area more than in the CBD and vice versa. Green Point is a wealthier area, whereas the CBD is located in a more urban setting, downtown with many businesses, restaurants, and shops. Even though street people are prevalent in both areas, the CBD is more frequented by them, and the behavior of the street community in these two locations is different. In addition, since Green Point is a more upscale neighborhood that demands order and peacefulness, police patrols are a much more common occurrence. The higher law enforcement presence, as well as the complaints from the people who live in Green Point, force the homeless to quietly beg and to be less disruptive or aggressive. In the CBD, the street community is much more open to approaching people, sometimes forcefully asking for money or belongings. Even though police patrols happen in the CBD as well, observations showed that the frequency of the homeless sleeping on the streets was much higher than in Green Point.

In Green Point it was determined that a larger percentage of people saw the street community as lazy, having no motivation to get off the street, using any money they obtain to buy substances. Many interviewees mentioned that these reasons were partly why they do not like to give out money, and prefer to give food. They also avoided looking at or greeting any street people because they felt guilty or because they did not feel as if it was beneficial to the street community. One woman told us that sometimes she smiled and waved then questioned herself asking, “Why did I do that? That won’t help them”. This inner conflict she expressed was reinforced by the answers shared by many of the other interviewees who felt sorry for the street people they saw, rarely greeting them in order to not flaunt the basic necessities that the street community lacks.

The responses lacked further depth and no one had specific memorable moments to share, showing less concern or empathy for the street community’s hardships due to their lack of personal interaction or awareness. One interviewee demonstrated this lack of understanding when she described her confusion over how to interact with street people. She stated that there was a difference between the homeless and beggars, suggesting that this difference would change her approach. She also described a white homeless man, carrying all of his belongings on a bike, who she passed everyday on her morning commute, questioning “What would he want?” without ever asking him. Those who did show a deeper understanding of homelessness were personally involved with services to help them, as demonstrated by one man whose

“Why did I do that? That won’t help them”

“What would he want?”
company hired the homeless. Out of the 200 street people he has hired, 10 qualified plumbers and 20 operators continued on their respective paths. This understanding of the resources that help those street members striving to get back on their feet was gained from this interviewee’s work experiences and not because of his relationship with Green Point.

As discussed earlier, mainstream society recognized that homelessness was a complex issue, yet they did not attempt to tackle it. Instead they limited their interactions with the street community and put little effort into understanding street people or the services they need. For example, less than half of the interviewees in Green Point were familiar with SDR or their services. Despite the lack of knowledge about SDR, all thought that homelessness was a major issue and that providing services to the street community was beneficial and important. One woman even commented that the street people ate better at soup kitchens than everyday people did in their homes. However, all stated that improvements and expansion of the services offered were needed.

Results from the (CBD) differed noticeably from the Green Point data. People tended to be more aware of the situation of the street community, and recognized that some were actively trying to get off the streets. This difference was attributed to their more frequent interaction and exposure to the street community. One interviewee described himself as numb to the issue of homelessness because he saw it so often; however, he provided ideas on how to involve street people in the community in a sustainable and beneficial manner. Other interviewees in this area also expressed a more thoughtful perception of homelessness and had specific encounters to share.

These encounters have had a lasting impact on the interviewees as shown in the interview with a woman who works in the CBD. She provided money for a bus ticket to a recently homeless woman from the Eastern Cape, where the worker is originally from as well, whose job offer fell through, leaving her without any money to return to her children. Though this happened a year and a half ago, the women keep in touch as they do not live far from each other in the Eastern Cape. She summarized the impact of this experience in the short statement, “When you help someone you feel much better.” Another woman had a lasting memory of a street person who shared the leftovers she gave him with another person living on the streets. This recognition of the impact on both a street person and oneself was a deeper understanding of homelessness exemplified by mainstream society in the CBD.

Interviewees in the CBD also had deeper concern and awareness of homelessness such as discrediting CEOs of large companies who tried to emulate homelessness by sleeping on their office floors, reading articles about street people specifically a woman on Long Street who chose street life, and understanding that street people resort to harassment because they have a greater chance of getting something out of it. They recognized the stigma around street people and though they may slip into that state of mind, they were able to remove themselves and understand why street people acted how they did. Due to this increased awareness and interaction with street people in the CBD, these interviewees were much more nervous about muggings and robberies, whereas in Green Point it was never mentioned. Specifically, one woman recounted an event when she returned to her car after eating at a restaurant and a street person jumped from a fence near her car and started banging on it. In addition, the majority, 80 percent, of these interviewees were familiar with SDR and its services. Furthermore, they expressed interest and were more open to volunteering at soup kitchens or with similar organizations who aim to fight poverty and help the homeless.

Despite the differences between the two areas as seen in Figure 7, both Green Point and CBD interviewees agreed that homelessness in Cape Town was a large issue that should be addressed. Although the homeless stigma of laziness, substance abuse, and lack of motivation existed everywhere, the majority of the mainstream society felt a sense of sadness for the homeless and their situation. Most of them also felt guilty of the difference in lifestyle that they had from the street people, such as having homes, family, and food that the street community lacked. Even though the awareness of services in the Green

“When you help someone you feel much better.”

“Give someone a fish, feed him for a day. Teach a man how to fish, feed him for a lifetime.”
Results & Discussion

Mainstream society’s views on homelessness and services

Point area was much lower than in the CBD, everyone interviewed acknowledged that services were important and should be available for the street community. Interviewees further expressed the need for expansion and improvement of these services, especially education. One man recited the Chinese proverb, "Give a man a fish, feed him for a day. Teach a man to fish, feed him for a lifetime." It was agreed among the interviewees that services should be geared more towards teaching skills on self-sufficiency in order for street people to work with society rather than be outsiders asking for help and not contributing. Interviewees thus recognized the larger picture of the relationship between society and homelessness. Many elaborated on the factors that led to homelessness, including family issues, unemployment, substance abuse, and other larger scale inequalities within the nation that set a foundation of disadvantage to the poor, especially as the gap widened.

**Homelessness is a huge issue**

**Homeless stigma**

**Sadness & Guilt**

**Services are important**

---

**CBD**

- Came onto hard times
- Motivated to do better
- More personal interactions
- Open to helping/volunteering
- More exposed to homelessness
- Aware of services
- More nervous of violence

**Green Point**

- No motivation to work
- Refuse to change
- Minimal interaction
- Do not give money
- No mention of violence
- Most not aware of services

Figure 7: Green Point and CBD comparison
As we pull up around the corner at 6:15am, the amount of street people we see multiplies; some are standing against walls, some are laying on the grass across the street, while others are sitting and chatting on the steps of SDR. While we walk into the dining room, we make sure to say good morning to those we pass and many smiling faces greet us back. We sit in Ricky’s office chatting about yesterday’s events and our feelings. He tries to clear up any confusions and answer any questions that we have until coffee is ready. Then, the doors open and about 50 people storm in and form a line, filling the room with energy and chatter. There is some pushing and shoving but most of them know they must behave to get the coffee they want. They pay their one rand and receive the steaming cup of coffee that they desperately need to warm up their bodies and get their day started. As they walk past us, coffee in hand, most of them say hello or nod their heads at us as a sign of appreciation. Some of them spark up conversations with us and sometimes we sit down together to talk more quietly with individuals or small groups. Some SDR guests put their heads down, looking shy, embarrassed or just really not in the mood to talk. Many of them sit quietly and drink by themselves while others have their little cliques or friends that they enjoy their warm coffee with. A lot of the guests return to the counter for a second cup to pour into an empty bottle that they can take with them for the day. After an hour, the doors close and the guests are required to leave the dining room, giving them a chance to continue their daily routine outside of SDR. We help the staff clean up the tables, put the chairs up, and sweep the floors. We then reconvene with Ricky to talk about anything that stood out to us during coffee morning.
A day at SDR

11 o'clock comes around very quickly and it is time to set up for lunch. We help the staff plate the food, where one of us scoops rice onto a plate, another scoops a vegetable and meat stew or a pasta dish, and the last person places two pieces of bread alongside the rest of the meal. As we line up the plates on the kitchen counter, the elderly SDR guests, the women, and the children line up outside the front door and the younger males line up at the back door. The front door is opened first, giving the elderly and the women a chance to get their food separately before the younger males who often push their way towards the front of the line. Once they all get their plates and have a seat, the dining room is nearly full with no other noise but that of chewing. The back door is then opened for the younger men who push each other so the line can move faster. They pay their rand or token quickly and take a plate, sometimes not even saying thank you. Everyone is very hungry and even though they greet us with a smile, not many start conversations. They want to finish their first plate of food quickly so they can return to the line for another. Many of them get seconds or thirds, scraping some of these meals into containers to take with them. Since utensils are not provided, they all eat with their hands unless they bring their own spoons or forks. We help the staff collect empty plates to return to the kitchen for washing as SDR only has a limited amount and they need to be reused many times.

Lunch is very loud and crowded, with many people coming in and leaving the dining room frequently. Most of the people we see are familiar faces that come to SDR every day, with exceptions to some new ones once in a while. There are a couple of kids who come frequently with their moms, and there is one dog that follows his owner into the dining room. Even though a lot of the guests shower in the morning, their clothes wear the remnants from sleeping on patches of grass or curbs along the street for many nights. Evidence of street life lingers on the appearance and smell of their clothes, belongings, and themselves. A lot of them are missing at least one tooth, and their hair is always messy. The majority are scrawny and look malnourished and tired. However, most of them are lively and brighten up the room when they enter. Even through their hardships, they find the inner strength to smile at us and share their stories. Once the food runs out, bread is given for free and a lot of them look very appreciative for the sustenance that it provides. As they start leaving, we say bye to everyone, wishing them a good day and many of them do the same to us. Once the doors are closed, the staff starts cleaning up, and we often help. It is crazy how fast the cleaning is completed because most of the staff just want to finish up their shifts and go home. Ricky takes some of his time again to answer any of our questions or listen to our venting and then we head out of SDR, saying bye again to the guests who stick around outside the dining room.
Results & Discussion

Main observations and interactions

During our time at SDR and through our regular routine there, we observed how the guests interacted with each other, the staff, and us. A gaze around at all the guests’ faces during lunch time showed the positive atmosphere that generally permeated both dining rooms. Many smiles and greetings met us as the guests entered for lunch and joked with each other, sometimes passing an extra bread roll or sharing rice left on their plates. The positive attitudes among the street community was our first glimpse of their resilience. Though many may have been under the influence of alcohol and substances, making them friendlier, their general positivity showed their choice to move forward and not dwell on their hardships. Their interactions with each other also showed their choice to form relationships with each other that fostered friendships and camaraderie. While some were more reserved and seemed to keep to themselves, most came to SDR and sat in the same place each day with a group of friends or family. These observations correlated with past studies which linked the atmosphere of many soup kitchens to a space where the street community felt safe and comfortable interacting.

While spending time at coffee mornings and lunches, interactions between the staff and the guests were observed. While a few workers rarely left the kitchen, the rest formed strong relationships with the guests. Shorty, the handyman at SDR, was frequently in contact with the guests, as he opened and closed the doors and took on other security related tasks including making sure the line for younger males ran smoothly without cutting in line, conflict, or fighting. Masooda, the kitchen manager, had very close relationships with some of the guests at SDR, especially those with children. She would often keep the babies with her to give the mothers or fathers a chance to eat quietly. However, she was also very adamant with them, not allowing any troubles to come to the kitchen staff or other guests. Regina was a sweet lady who served them their plates of food and had a very motherly presence, always smiling at the guests and expecting friendliness back. They had no choice but to be nice to her and behave well, as she was very positive to them. Most of the guests knew the staff members by name and would reach out to them when there was a problem. However, the staff also had to be strict with them so they would not take advantage of their friendliness. There was a very fine line between being nice and approachable enough that the guests felt welcomed and taken care of, and being serious enough that they did not manipulate their way into getting more food.

Aside from the guests’ interactions with each other and the staff, we observed an evolution of how they behaved toward us. During our first days at SDR, many were quiet and reserved, looking up hesitantly to nod or mumble hi. As with any group of people, some were more outgoing, and they also approached us more frequently as time went on or shared interactions of recognition, familiarity, and budding friendships. We started regularly shaking hands, high-fiving, and fist bumping as guests entered or left SDR. Many coffee mornings we would sit down at a table and multiple guests would join to talk and share stories. Sometimes we played cards with a few of them and we saw the comfort level rise for both parties. These relationships were also visible outside of SDR’s walls. On our walks over to SDR before lunch, we were greeted enthusiastically and waved to like friends. Most guests looked surprised to see us there every day, always asking why we were still there. However, they all looked very happy to have us constantly around.

Although we may have been outsiders on our first day, we were quickly accepted by the guests of SDR. One example was our relationship with Bradley, a guest at SDR who became more active in volunteering there. When we first met him, he smiled and softly greeted us, keeping his head down. We worked alongside him, collecting plates and jokingly competing to collect the most. He even asked us to play soccer with him. The warmth the guests have showed us opened up the opportunities to have valuable conversations with them for our project and for recognizing each other as people.
Religion: The need for hope and motivation

Although faith may be hard to find, street community members skarrel for it, put it in their pockets, and carry it with them, alongside, yet much more valuable than, the rand it costs for a meal at SDR. Common theme analysis identified religion to be the topic that was most mentioned by the street community. Although religion was a key topic, many different perspectives and mindsets regarding it were observed. One member of the street community stated, “Faith is hard when you are only given bad circumstances.” It is understandable that street living and the hardships it encompasses provide many reasons to not believe in a higher power, in positivity, or in hope. However, the resilience of the street community overcame this doubt in nearly every conversation. It was both a coping mechanism for life on the streets and a means to leave the streets. It was both hope that one would be saved from their hardships and motivation that one could achieve this on his or her own.

Many approached religion as a way to cope with their daily hardships because it instilled hope. One man, Clay, spoke of his active participation in a Bible studies group and every Friday night going to a church service of continual prayer from ten o’clock at night into the early hours of the morning. Dedicating this considerable amount of time and thought to faith may have given him the purpose he strove for. He was taking time to learn and understand religion in order to understand his path in life. A man who introduced himself as “Tarzan” similarly explained that God must have a plan for him. He has been on many types of fishing ships for work, nearly listing off the alphabet of species of fish. Holding up his hand, fingers outstretched, he emphasized remaining unscathed from the “Big 5” as he frequently traveled through Kruger Park on foot. He did not believe he should have survived these experiences, yet he did, proving
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Regardless of the perspective on religion, it was on their given. "We must give back and earn what we are take, take, take? We must give back and earn what we are handouts asking, "If we are all children of God, how can we came a volunteer, explained that no one should just take then sought more responsibility and involvement and be-
him to better his own life. Fahmah, a guest at SDR who

came a volunteer, explained that no one should just take

his greater purpose in life. While Tarzan justified his past survival with the intervention or plan of a higher power, Clay utilized the hours in his days and nights to better un-
derstand his position and how it played into the larger pic-
ture. This recognition of God’s plan demonstrated their hope for their futures and roots this hope in faith.

Furthermore, many viewed the role of religion and God’s plan for them passively, believing that He would come to them. Clay asked if we believed in God, and told us there was no right or wrong answer. The presence of God in indi-


guinal’s lives was unique to each one and He chose who was ready, who He would manifest to and provide guidance. Clay’s belief in the way in which God intervened demonstrated this passiveness, as a person could not initiate divine influence, only God could. Another example of this mindset was when one man, Jeffrey, asked, "Why are you going to school when God will provide you all the wisdom you need?" Another day he expressed his confusion, "I don’t understand why people ask others for advice. All you need to do is pray and ask God and he will give you everything you need. You just have to pray." These two men were just a few of the many street people who believed that God would one day lift them off the streets and give them all the knowledge and resources to be successful. Other street people ex-
plained that they are waiting for God and that they carry on a lifestyle of obtaining free things because God had not yet given them a sign as to what they should do with their lives.

However, some of the street community members demon-


strated a more proactive view of religion. For those with the goal to get off the streets, religion provided the means to achieve it amidst the world of self-doubt and helplessness many found themselves in due to their situation. Believing that "God is looking out for [them]" and that if they work to get off the street, God would help them along the way, street community members took their future in their own hands with religion as their motivation. Mohammed, one of the Streetscapes garden workers, told us about his progres-


sion off the streets. Mohammed credited faith with making him realize he could make a better life for himself. He ex-
plained, "Street people have a lot of good to offer and want to do good things, they just need a little push", and for Mo-
hammed, this push was religion. He pulled out a copy he had of Pastor T.D. Jake’s book, telling us he was his favorite pastor along with many others in America; these religious figures were one of the main reasons he wanted to travel there. Mohammed found inspiration in religion, faith to up-
hold, and people to look up to, and this was what pushed him to better his own life. Fahmah, a guest at SDR who then sought more responsibility and involvement and became a volunteer, explained that no one should just take handouts asking, "If we are all children of God, how can we take, take, take? We must give back and earn what we are given."

Regardless of the perspective on religion, it was on their minds. Nearly every person we talked to brought up God in some way, showing this prevalence of religion in their lives. The "bad circumstances" that one man explained separated him from faith was what brought religion to many others, helping them overcome these hardships. The street commu-
nity needed a source of hope so that they could envision a positive future, and one step further, so that they could find the motivation to pick themselves up and escape lives of hunger, poor health, and mistreatment.

Relationships: The need for human inter-

action

Another primary theme emerging from the data was relationships. The vast majority of people men-
tioned the lack or loss of relationships, whether it be relatives, friends, or spouses. Divorce was a common subject and many men-
tioned divorce as the reason for ending up on the streets. Gideon, one of the regular older guests at SDR, recounted that when his family came onto hard times after a bad business deal, his wife and kids left him, forcing him onto the streets. This story was shared by many of the street people, alt-

ough the reasons for the divorce differed. The loss of family did not only have financial and physical ramifications, but also influenced people emotionally and mentally. The feeling that people experienced when they lost the people they loved took a toll on their self-esteem, leaving them sad and broken. Gideon has not seen his chil-
dren in many years and the sadness in his voice when he spoke about them was apparent. Ahmed was another per-
son who was divorced from his wife and separated from his family. He said that he met his children and grandchildren once in a while at a park, but the interactions were cold. Even though he understood that his children did not want him around because of his situation, he was hurt that he was not wanted by people who shared his blood.

SDR has become a safe space for the street community to interact with their friends, hang out, and share a meal to-
gether. Even though they mostly came in for the food, the room filled up with chatter, as many of them had their own cliques that ate together and shared stories. They also cre-
ated relationships with some of the staff, even if it was not close and personal. The guests looked very comfortable at SDR with everyone around them. One of the guests said that SDR provided a place for the homeless people to come together; they all lived separately on the streets but gath-
ered at SDR. Another regular guest mentioned that he liked...
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coming for the friends and the people at SDR and someone else said, “You feel the love here.” Having these gathering places where they could interact with each other and with regular people meant a lot to them since they did not have their own place to go. These relationships and interactions were nearly nonexistent with mainstream society, who mostly ignored the street community. Many of the guests felt mistreated by mainstream society, saying that they have brought them down and made them feel worse about themselves.

Heinrich, another one of the guests at SDR, gave this theme another angle. He mentioned another street person that he liked, but that he was not going to try to be with, because he first needed to get his life on track. This showed how much the street community valued relationships and that they wanted to have good ones with people they loved. They recognized their own issues and in order to have a healthy relationship, they needed to be in a healthy state of mind. However, while some of the street community seemed to have functional relationships, others did not, and did not have the resources to help them resolve conflicts. Multiple fights broke out between friends and couples. One of the fights witnessed involved a couple that was seen interacting happily in SDR with their child. During one of the coffee mornings the man suddenly slapped his girlfriend’s face, grabbed her backpack, pulled out a knife, and started cutting up her clothes outside SDR. After the extreme show of anger and aggression, he walked into SDR like any other day to get a coffee. None of the guests or staff reacted, showing that this was either a normal occurrence or that they were trying not to further escalate the situation. The couple then returned to SDR a few days later together, showing that though a relationship like this was not healthy, they had a need for human relationships and interaction.

Employment: The need for work

A theme that was commonly present in the data collected from the street community was employment. Losing a job, being laid off, or having a company fail were some of the most common reasons why the guests ended up on the streets. Not being able to earn an income made them lose their cars, their houses, and even their families. Parents had kicked some guests out of their homes for not being able to bring enough money back to their families, wives had divorced husbands for not being able to provide a decent wage, and these people had no-

where to go but turn to the streets. Once they were on the streets, it was very hard to go out and find a job again. Poor hygiene and the stigma that mainstream society had on street people made employers fail to even take a second look at street people when they looked for a job, meaning that most of the time they could not even attain an application form. Even entry level jobs avoided employing homeless people as they were concerned about bad behavior or substance abuse. This issue was further exaggerated due to an unemployment rate of over 23 percent in Cape Town (Stats SA, 2011). Job openings were scarce to begin with for the whole population. It was much more likely that employers would accept people with better skills and living conditions.

The street community expressed two views on the usefulness of vocational and skills trainings for the street community. Some of the street community thought these services could be extremely beneficial. They realized the benefit that obtaining job skills could have, and voiced that they would gladly attend trainings if they were offered. However, there were also those that, while they acknowledged the potential benefit of such trainings, did not believe that they were beneficial enough to attend unless there was monetary compensation. This was further supported by the fact that Ricky offered a skills workshop where he showed people how to make furniture to sell, but over the several weeks we have been at SDR, only one person chose to attend the workshop. While this may have in part been due to the street community not knowing how to get involved, it also suggested that currently much of the street community may not put skills development as a priority.

Substance Abuse: The need for an escape

Substance abuse was a major theme among the street community, and was apparent in both the conversations and observations of the street community. Many of the guests came in regularly under the influence of one substance or another, and at multiple instances guests talked about substance abuse and why it was so prevalent on the streets. Data showed that substance abuse was sometimes the cause for people ending up on the street, but often because life on the street was so hard, people started abusing substances only after getting onto the streets. It was almost impossible to resist the temptation to abuse substances, "When it's
cold, alcohol can keep you warm, when you need to stay awake at night to guard your belongings and avoid the police, drugs can keep you awake. Sometimes being drunk or high is the only time you can be happy and are able to put a smile on your face.” Even the most put together people struggled to resist these temptations once on the street. One man who we talked to who had lost his job when the company he was working for was liquidated. He explained how he had managed to stay off drugs, but that it was nearly impossible and he had been close to giving in. He was now staying in a shelter and was working on getting his life on track, which he said would have been impossible if he had given into temptation. Life was hard on the street, especially for those who were unable to afford a shelter, and drugs were the only escape from a seemingly impossible life. However, this escape ended up being a trap, making the difficult task of getting off the street even harder. Some of the guests at SDR regularly abused substances to the point that they were unable to hold an understandable conversation, showing that they were in no state to try to get a job or to better their lives. In addition, any money they managed to make was spent on feeding these habits instead of food, clothing, or finding housing for themselves.

Another issue that many of the guests at SDR expressed themselves.

Shelter: The need for a safe and warm place

During conversations with both the homeless community and the SDR staff, shelters were mentioned frequently. More often than not shelters were regarded negatively, and some of the street community even said that they “feel like prisons” because there were curfews mandating when they were allowed to come and go. They needed to arrive sober and would not be let in if they were under the influence. This made the street community feel like they were not getting their money’s worth because if they were paying for these facilities, then they should be able to live how they wanted. They were not willing to live in a place where they did not feel like they could be themselves.

Law Enforcement: The need for safety

Street community members often spoke of law enforcement who further exacerbated their conditions. Gideon offered an overview of the role of law enforcement in life on the streets. With the responsibility of keeping the community safe, officers were usually linked to safety and justice. However, for the street community, law enforcement brought a sense of fear and loss as street people were either displaced from the public spots in which they were staying and separated from their belongings or their belongings were taken from them. Sometimes, they were arrested and fined, yet they did not have the money to pay. Dealing with a very vulnerable population, law enforcement removed them from public areas, yet failed to recognize their needs as people which did not help the city or the street community.

The negative view of law enforcement from the perspective of the street community demonstrated a need among them for trust and safety. In addition to being physically affected by the intervention of law enforcement in this way, this poor treatment led to mental health impacts as well. Gideon explained how no one was looking out for street people. They were viewed as pests who could just be shooed away. The marginalization of the street community manifesting in an aspect of society that was aimed to help all citizens made them feel helpless. This lack of recognition, compassion, and protection pushed street people to turn to substances and alcohol as a way to cope by helping them sleep and fight off fear at night. These avenues only temporarily addressed the need of the street community for better treatment by law enforcement. This demonstrated a greater need for safety and support for the street people.
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Health: The need for physical and mental well-being

Although there were contrasting perspectives on the subject, health was a common theme in many conversations with the street community. The living conditions of street people left them very prone to malaise and chronic diseases. The weather played a huge role in their health as they were mostly sleeping outside in the sun, cold or rain. Not having appropriate clothing or shelter left them soaked and very cold when it rained. This made them catch viral infections, and if they were not appropriately taken care of, a simple infection could turn into something more dangerous. This was a lot more common in the winter time, since most of them had to sleep outside in the cold, with no warm blankets or jackets. Having no health insurance made it impossible to be admitted to hospitals since they did not have money upfront to pay for services. Medication was hard for them to find and these diseases continued for a long time, sometimes even resulting in death.

Another major contributor to their health problems came from bad hygiene and unsanitary conditions. Sleeping outside on the dusty and muddy streets left them dirty as well, increasing the chances of bug infestation. There were not many places for them to shower, and so they often stayed unkempt for days, making it even harder on their wellbeing. Finding toiletries was hard as well, leaving them with nothing to clean themselves even when they did get access to showers. Laundry facilities were also scarce, leaving them with dirty clothes to wear even after they had washed themselves. Adding malnutrition and lack of food to their already poor health, added another element that made life a lot more troublesome.

Some street people seemed to have little thought of their own health and safety, even refusing to bathe and monitor their overall wellbeing. The token system between SDR and Carpenter's Shop had helped to motivate individuals to shower and come for weekly health checkups. This helped motivate some of the street community, who came for the free tokens even if they were not interested in the state of their health. At one of the Carpenter's Shop's health clinics, very few women showed up, suggesting that they may not view the checkups as useful. In addition, very few of the attendees looked interested in the checkup or the advice the nurse had for them.

A perspective from the SDR staff

Staff members' opinions on SDR’s service delivery was unanimously positive. Many said that there was no improvement needed, and those who saw opportunity for improvement only had a few small suggestions. One such suggestion was trying to get more food sponsors, as there was not enough food to fill up all the guests. In addition, it was suggested that there be more of a variety to the food.

The majority of the staff came to SDR after seeing job listings in the newspaper. After realizing that it was a soup kitchen for the homeless, they considered not taking the job. However, they decided to try it out. This showed that SDR was not well known to the community, and that even after doing research into the organization, it was still not apparent that SDR served the street community.

All of the staff said that once they became acclimated to the job, they started loving it. Many of them considered the street people as their children who they cared for and helped guide down the right path. The head cook, Masooda, emphasized this by saying “they are like children; you sometimes need to be firm with them. I teach them manners because some of them never learned from their parents, and in society you need to have manners”. This showed that the staff at SDR truly cared about the street community, and that the human interaction was what made the job more enjoyable.
After being routinely asked about different services it became apparent that a permanent form of communicating resources was needed. A flyer was created and distributed to the street community around Cape Town to raise awareness of the meals at SDR for those who asked for food. This flyer included a simple map, coffee and lunch schedules, and a voucher for a free meal to those who turned it in (Figure 8 and 9). Providing these flyers to mainstream society gave them something useful to hand out to the homeless, while opening up avenues for easier communication and interaction.
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Deliverables: Raising awareness of services

A resource map was also created and placed at SDR in order to display services in the area available to the street community. This map was designed to emphasize important streets and landmarks, making it easier to navigate and find needed resources. A key was put in place to provide details of the services at each location including visually appealing icons for those who cannot read (Figure 10). In order to ensure that the resource map was successful, insights into the services were gained from multiple people such as Greg, Ricky, and some of the guests at SDR.
Recommendations

Many service organizations were in place in Cape Town that were initiated to meet the needs of the homeless community. While some service organizations were very effective, some needs were not adequately met, or met at all. Service Dining Rooms, and other NGO’s in the area, wanted to create or modify services in order to alleviate some of the stresses of street living and to create a network to best assist street people. Our project worked towards gaining a better understanding of service provision in order to provide SDR with both additional resources to improve the street community’s knowledge of existing services, and offer recommendations on service provision based on the information gathered from members of the street community.

Our initial research suggested that mental needs were a key service that was often overlooked, and that providing direction to NGO’s about how best to serve these needs was a potential outcome for our project; however, it was discovered that this was not currently feasible. Feedback from both the homeless community and the SDR staff revealed that some of the most basic needs of the street community are currently not being met. During conversations with the street community, almost no one mentioned counseling services or job training workshops, and instead focused on the lack of basic services such as affordable shelter, shower and laundry facilities, and nutritious food. In addition, there was little interest in skills training unless monetary compensation was promised. Most of the street community **skarrel**, beg, during the day to make money for shelter, food, or substances that help them cope with their situation. People living on the street were not able to think beyond those basic needs and so were not willing to spend time going to a skills development workshop.
Recommendations

Currently available services did not effectively meet the needs of the street community partly because they were not known to the community. A resource map and flyer were created to raise awareness of existing services. The flyer will lead street people to SDR to get a meal and the resource map will help them navigate to other services available around the area such as showers, hospitals, shelters, churches, and job opportunities. By having this information in one place, it allowed the street community to be more self-sufficient, independent, and aware of all services. However, there are still further improvements that can be implemented to better provide these services. A calendar of events can be placed in SDR and maintained in order to inform SDR guests about nearby events, workshops, and trainings. This calendar will help raise awareness of events that may not occur on a daily or weekly basis, and may boost attendance at these services. Posting changes to services on this calendar, such as when SDR and other resource centers will be closed for the summer, will also keep people informed. Keeping SDR guests aware of the opportunities and changes around them opens a new window of communication between service providers and receivers and will hopefully increase service and program usage.

SDR guests greatly value religion. For example, one man attributed his recent transition out of homelessness to finding his faith, saying that he just needed a little motivation to improve his life. Consequently, motivational quotes (religious or secular) and a short prayer of grace posted on the dining room walls would help guests feel more thankful for what they have and appreciative of the services provided. Ricky emphasized the importance of requiring SDR guests to use manners to help them appropriately interact with others and reintegrate them into society. The saying of grace may help guests enter this mindset of gratitude and reflection to inspire constructive behavior. In addition, the motivational quotes may help SDR guests feel more driven to achieve their goals for that day, whether that be being kind to one’s self and others, finding a job, or walking to the library to read.

Finally, SDR should make a greater effort to raise awareness of its impactful work to potential volunteers. There are many people in the area interested in volunteering; however, they do not know what is available and how to get involved. By promoting volunteer opportunities at SDR through advertising at local business and universities, the number of volunteers at SDR could increase. In addition, current volunteers often work in the kitchen, rarely interacting or conversing with the street community. However, the street community values interaction, especially with new people. As such, volunteers should spend more of their time in the dining room interacting with the guests as much as possible so they can make a positive impact on each other.

This project set the foundation for creating or modifying services to more effectively meet the needs of the homeless community, both at SDR and at nearby NGO’s. Our results and deliverables provide opportunities for future analysis or application by other NGO’s, who can utilize our data or implement a similar resource map. An electronic copy of the map will be left at SDR for any updates of services in the future.

Post Grace prayer on walls to read or say before meals
Post inspirational quotes
Volunteers engaging with guests
Spread awareness of services and track attendance
Distribute flyers

Our project will have a lasting impact on each of us. We learned new and creative ways to think and approach problems, and tried our best to avoid making assumptions before gathering needed information. We took time to reflect about our own perspectives, and learned more about ourselves in the process through group conversations and journal entries. While the subject matter of this project does not directly relate to our engineering studies, it gave us the opportunity to apply everything we have learned in our university educations to analyze and better understand this real world problem and give recommendations with the hope of improving the quality of life of the street community in Cape Town.
Reflections

Our interactions with the street community at SDR have served a much greater purpose than solely setting the foundation for recommendations to improve service delivery. Being immersed in the setting, population, and culture of Cape Town has been impactful on its own, widening our perspectives. Speaking to the guests of SDR has specifically changed our view of the street community beyond our expectations. In our experience, homelessness is not as visible in the US as it is here. Our interactions with street people at home have been minimal and mostly limited to seeing people standing at traffic lights holding cardboard signs. However, in Cape Town, street people approach more often and with more persistence. Engagements of this nature elicit discomfort and the desire to avoid or escape, as making the decision to help is conflicting; providing money may buy them a meal to curb their hunger, or drugs and alcohol that may exacerbate their situation by acting as a “trigger” as previously discussed. Our time spent at SDR has given us an understanding of this vulnerable population by listening to their stories, struggles, successes, beliefs, and passions. Hearing all of these human experiences provided bridges of connection and relatability. They uncovered our similarities and taught us not to disregard our differences, but to look at them in a new light. Our differences in personality, ethnicity, culture, and lifestyle make us who we are; we are individuals, not less or more than each other, but equal as humans.

Interacting with the street community not only changed our views, but gave us first hand insight into the true complexity of homelessness. As previously discussed, there are different levels and factors of homelessness in both physical and mental aspects, and interacting with the guests at SDR broadened this understanding. The motivation, mental stability, personal desire, aspiration, and goal levels of each person make it impossible to define groups and strategies to meet the needs of each. The project was approached with the mindset that our research would show the needs of the street community more clearly and allow for ways to meet them. Instead, the research verified how interconnected and complex homelessness really is, where there is no distinct path to meet each need. This realization was the first loop in the rollercoaster of emotions we felt through our journey at SDR.

The welcoming and happy atmosphere in SDR was unlike anything we imagined from the guests. We were greeted with open arms and smiling faces and we were approached by many of the guests even the first day at the dining room. As time passed, we created many bonds and relationships with the regular guests, who would share their stories and ask us about our lives. The impact that our constant presence had at SDR was seen on their faces and changing attitudes as they laughed with us, played cards, taught us handshakes, and gave us nicknames. They often asked us how the project was coming along and were interested in how our traveling trips were going. These interactions made us very content with the relationships we were creating until some of them would start asking for money or clothes. Saying no was a very difficult decision but the hardest part of all was feeling as if that is all they wanted from us. Going back and forth between these interactions sometimes made it difficult to see the impact we had in their lives. However, us being there every day for seven weeks is arguably the most personal and sustained interaction they have with mainstream society and many of them were very grateful for our presence.
Losing one of our own team members, Alden, who was hospitalized two days after our project began, threw a curveball at all of us. The worry for him was always on our minds and his presence was very missed at the dining room and in our team meetings. Even the guests at SDR noticed his absence, though they only met him twice. He was given the nickname "John Cena" on the first day and they would always ask us where he was. Seeing the impact that he had in such a short time made us notice how perceptive to human interaction the guests really were. Knowing that he was remembered made such a difference for us, as Alden was a major contributor to our project and a great teammate and friend.

Journaling each day and completing the Google Form every week provided an outlet for us to process these interactions and emotions. The stream of consciousness writing allowed for us to be honest with our feelings and thoughts and provided a space to let it all out. This way, we were not forced to hold in our emotions, seeing that they built up each and every day from the different occurrences. No day at SDR was the same, all leaving a different lasting impression and impact on each one of us. The impact of these experiences on us is best measured through the way it has made us feel, across the spectrum, from feeling tears pool in our eyes to a wide smile across our faces. The act of reflecting on these feelings through journaling was therapeutic for us and beneficial to processing this information as data. The Google Form allowed us to see what stood out the most and the difference that a whole week made. It was interesting to see that each person answered these questions differently, showing that no person perceives a situation the same way. This way, we were all able to read different perspectives and learn new ways to analyze the interactions we experienced. The form also showed that throughout our time at SDR, we all steadily became more comfortable even when put in difficult positions.

Spending seven weeks at SDR and in Cape Town changed our perspective of homelessness and gave us a deeper appreciation of a different culture and way of living. In addition, this humbling experience made us realize how grateful we should be for all the opportunities we have had and the luxuries, big or small, that we often took for granted. Seeing how freely the street community lives, taking each day as it comes, allowed for us to be open minded to new perspectives. It allowed us to just learn from them instead of trying to impose our own views and ideas onto the street community. Each individual impacted us differently, making us all fall in love with their characters and charisma. They will forever remain in our hearts and our minds as this experience would not have been the same without their amazing personalities. Everyone has a unique story, and even though we are raised or live differently, we all need love and kindness. We are coming back to the United States with a new appreciation of the street community as we try to acknowledge and interact with the homeless as we would with anyone else.
Appendix A: Interviews with SDR staff

We are a group of students from Worcester Polytechnic Institute in Massachusetts who are conducting a study on the success of homeless services in Cape Town, South Africa. We strongly believe this kind of research will ultimately improve the effectiveness and the long-term success and sustainability of service provision to the homeless community.

Your participation in this interview is completely voluntary and you may withdraw at any time. Please remember that your answers will remain anonymous and you may choose not to answer any questions you do not feel comfortable with. No names or identifying information will appear in our notes or in any of the project reports or publications.

This is a collaborative project between Service Dining Rooms (SDR) and WPI, and your participation is greatly appreciated. If interested, a copy of our results can be provided at the conclusion of the study.

- What do you consider to be SDR’s most valuable services?
  - Are there any specific services that need improvement? In what way?
- What services do not seem to be effective?
  - If so, what is not effective about them?
  - Do you think these services can be improved or should they be removed?
- Why did you decide to work at SDR?
- Please describe a couple of your most memorable moments while working at SDR. Interactions that you may have had with guests that were either positive or negative.
- What do you think are the most important needs of SDR guests? And do you see any of these needs not being met?
  - Can SDR help meet these needs?
  - If so, what are some ways for SDR to get involved?
- What are some of your tips on how we should interact with the guests?
- What are your expectations of this project?

Appendix B: Interviews with mainstream society

Hello, my name is ______. I am a student at Worcester Polytechnic Institute and I am collecting information to help Service Dining Rooms (SDR) evaluate mainstream society’s view of the services they provide to the homeless. Could I take 5 minutes of your time to talk to you about your opinions of the homeless in Cape Town? Your identity will remain confidential.

- What is your initial reaction when you see a street person?
- How familiar are you with Service Dining Rooms and their services?
  (if time permits)
- Can you tell me about a time that you interacted with a street person?
  - Do you encounter the street community often?
  - Where do these encounters usually happen?
- What are your thoughts regarding providing services to the homeless?
- To what extent do you believe homelessness is an issue?
Appendix

Appendix C: Diary studies

*Google Form Questions*

Name: 

Week: 

- What surprised you the most? 
- What made you the most comfortable? 
- What made you the most uncomfortable/scared? 
- What stood out to you the most? 
- How are you feeling at this moment? (one-word description) 
- Comfort level (1-10).


Kenny, R. (2016). [Experience from Jeremiah’s Inn Interview].


Marais, R. (2016). [Sponsor Call].


