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Not Just Another Giraffe: The Collaborative Development of a Homeless Walking Tour in Cape Town, South Africa

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degree of Bachelor of Science

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We would like to acknowledge several individuals for their contributions to this project, including:

Authorship

All persons who are listed as authors of this report meet authorship criteria and all contributed to the report and participated in project work sufficiently to take public responsibility for the content and receive recognition for their work. In addition, all authors contributed equally to the introduction and background sections. Authorship for the Findings and Methods sections on evaluation suggestions belongs to Hope Clairmont. Authorship for the rest of the Findings and Methods sections belongs to Colin Coutts, Kyle Suchanek and Masha Nikulina.

Back row from left to right: Colin Coutts, Kyle Suchanek
Front row from left to right: Masha Nikulina, Hope Clairmont

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Abstract

Homelessness is a result of inadequate housing and limited economic opportunities. This project aimed to expand the work skill offerings of Khulisa Social Solutions by developing a homeless walking tour in collaboration with homeless individuals involved in Khulisa's Streetscapes program to serve as an employment opportunity and awareness raising tool. The tour was informed by our observations and interviews of tour guides and our daily interactions and collaborations with the participants. The pilot tour implemented our findings related to duration, distance, timing, number of stops, as well as the deep personal stories the participants shared with us. We also offered suggestions for an evaluation tool that considers skills such as communication, self-confidence, and reliability.

"You are helpless. It's like being thrown off the deep end. You have to find your own way to survive. It's survival of the fittest, that is all I can say."

~

"Life on the street is very, very, very, very difficult. Imagine now sleeping with your eyes wide open. Your ears wide open. Its like sleeping, but at the same time not sleeping, because anything at any time can happen. It's like being hunted."
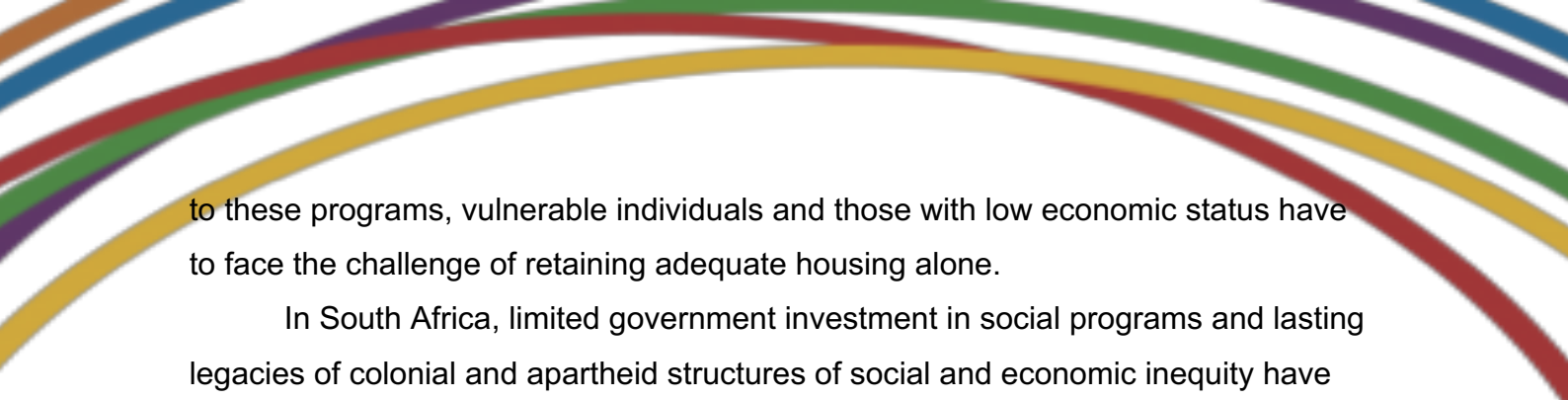
- Streetscapes Participants, 2018

Introduction

Homelessness directly affects millions of people around the world and indirectly affects us all. Globally, estimates suggest that nearly 150 million people, 2% of the global population, are homeless, and 1.6 billion people, 20% of the global population, are considered to have inadequate housing (Chamie, 2017). Despite assumptions that homelessness is a greater problem in low-resource countries, wealthy countries such as New Zealand, Canada, and the US have high numbers of homeless citizens. New Zealand is considered to have the highest percentage of homeless citizens; Canada is ranked fourth, and the US ranked eleventh in the world for proportions of populations that are homeless (Chamie, 2017). Based on a cost analysis done in Canada in 2013 homelessness has cost the Canadian economy and taxpayers seven billion dollars annually (Homeless Hub, 2018). This number shows the impact of homelessness impacts, not only the people living on the streets of the city, but each citizen thereof.
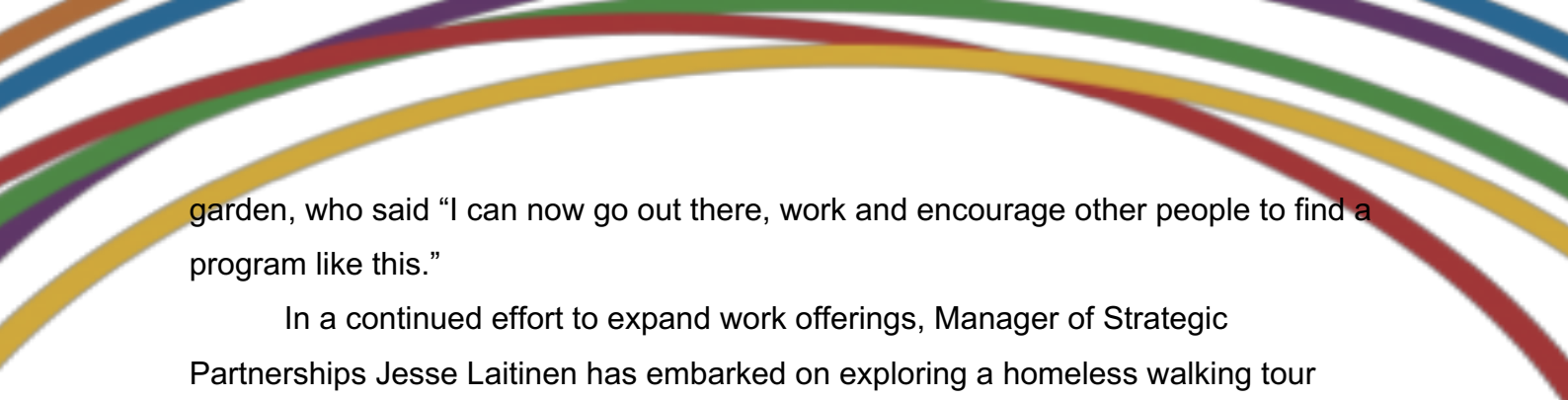
While homelessness is associated with the mental health and socioeconomic status of an individual (Kuruvilla et al, 2007), homelessness is not an individual failing. Rather, homelessness is a consequence of societal structures that create and sustain inequities and limit access to social safety nets. Through working alongside the participants this became more clear as we heard multiple explanations of their paths into homelessness stemming from poor parental guidance and domestic abuse to being pressured into gang life. In the US, a study exploring predictors of homelessness determined that the limited availability of low-cost housing and the insufficient provision of mental health care are the greatest predictors of high levels of homelessness in metropolitan areas (Elliot et al, 1998). These problems have only been compounded by the global trend towards austerity and cuts to government programs that would otherwise help individuals avoid homelessness. Stephen Gaetz, director of the Canadian Observatory on Homelessness, noted that in Canada "shifts in government policy have led to a cut in support for low-income individuals and families, and a reduction in the affordable housing stock….with insufficient investment in preventive programs or strategies to support people to move quickly out of homelessness" (Gaetz, 2010). Without access

to these programs, vulnerable individuals and those with low economic status have to face the challenge of retaining adequate housing alone.

In South Africa, limited government investment in social programs and lasting legacies of colonial and apartheid structures of social and economic inequity have contributed to a significant national burden of homelessness. Apartheid policies prevented Black and Coloured South Africans from owning land or property outside designated homelands (Britannica, 2018), significantly limiting the amount of affordable housing stock. Despite post-apartheid government programs to increase the amount of housing stock, there remains a significant gap in affordable housing (IRIN News, 2007). Recent estimates indicate that fifteen percent of the South African population are homeless, this includes individuals with some amount of informal shelter such as shacks (IRIN News, 2007). The majority of homeless individuals in South Africa are Black men (80%) (Cross et al., 2010). This demographic also has a high percentage of cross-border migrants (Kok et al., 2010), suggesting that after relocating they were unable to find employment or housing or both which resulted in them finding themselves on the streets.

Addressing the problem of homelessness requires not just supplying enough housing stock, but also tackling structures that limit people from being able to afford housing. Among the most pressing of these is the difficulty of obtaining and maintaining employment. A survey of homeless people in Cape Town, South Africa indicated that the most important thing they need, even before stable housing, is employment (Du Toit, 2010). Khulisa Social Solutions is one of the largest organizations offering employment opportunities to the homeless in South Africa. In 2015, the Streetscapes program was implemented by Khulisa Social Solutions in Cape Town, offering employment opportunities to the homeless (Khulisa Social Solutions, 2018; Nzula, 2017). Specifically Streetscapes consists of five social enterprises including three gardens that produce affordable and organic food, an artisan soap enterprise, and the sale of compost created from organic waste (Khulisa Social Solutions, 2018). Streetscapes believes that giving the homeless a hand-up opportunity to improve their own lives, rather than a hand-out of aid without strings attached, helps to regain a sense of dignity and provides a valuable social support system. The success of the program's approach can be best represented in the words of John Morley, a former participant of Streetscapes who has since "graduated" from the pilot garden project to start farming commercially in a city

garden, who said "I can now go out there, work and encourage other people to find a program like this."

In a continued effort to expand work offerings, Manager of Strategic Partnerships Jesse Laitinen has embarked on exploring a homeless walking tour initiative. This approach of expanding employment opportunities for the homeless has been pioneered by nonprofits in Western Europe (Pati, 2010). On these tours, homeless individuals guide tourists through a section of the city, offering details about the local history and culture, as well as presenting personal perspectives and stories of life on the streets (Unseen Tours, 2015). Anectotal evidence of the walking tours suggests their popularity (Unseen Tours, 2015) and homeless walking tour programs now exist in most major cities across Europe, with a few offered in other regions of the world (Willett, 2013; Yellow House KL, 2017). However, no homeless walking tour program has ever been implemented in South Africa.
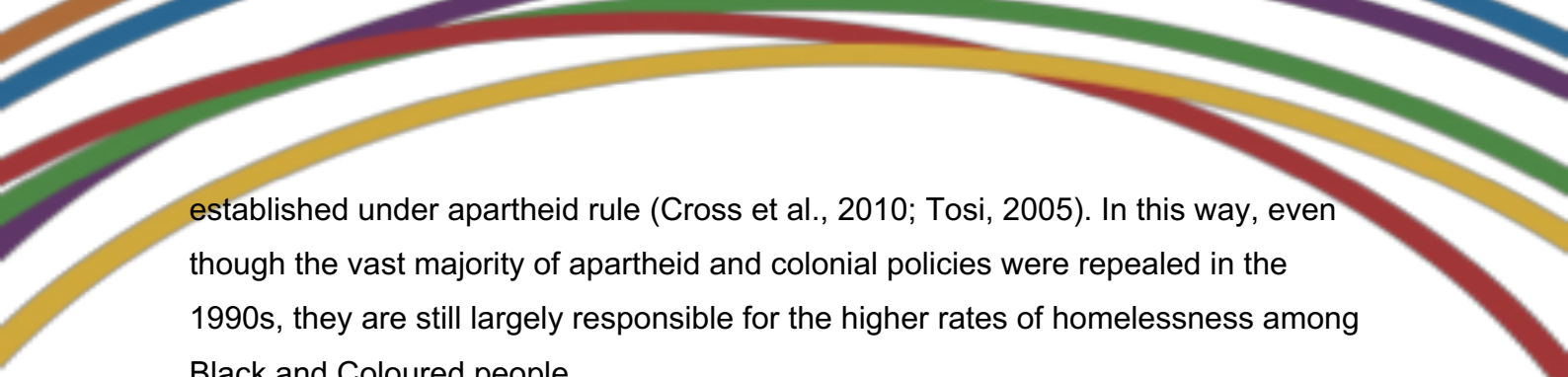
Our goal was to collaboratively develop a homeless working tour of Cape Town to add to the employment programming offered by the Streetscapes program. In the large metropolitan city of Cape Town there are an estimated 4,900 homeless people, 700 of which live in the central business district (Western Cape Government, 2018). In order to develop the tour with the homeless Streetscapes program participants, we initially invested time developing rapport and establishing relationships, working alongside the participants at the garden and the Greenmarket Square. Once we had identified individuals interested in developing a walking tour, we observed three walking tours in the city and a township tour of Langa. Based on observations made during these tours, information collected from interviews with tour guides, and published literature, we worked with participants to design a walking tour that presented relevant themes on homelessness in Cape Town narrated with personal stories. In an effort to ensure that the walking tour proved valuable to the homeless guides, we also investigated several evaluation strategies.

Background

Homelessness in Cape Town, South Africa: A legacy of colonial and apartheid policies

Homelessness in South Africa is uniquely defined as lacking access to adequate permanent shelter. Homelessness in South Africa is therefore a gradient issue; while people might have shelter and a roof over their heads they are still deemed homeless. People living in shacks or structures built on the back of formal housing are considered homeless, although better off than pavement dwellers (individuals living without a structure of any kind, aside from cardboard walls and roofs and blankets on pavement or in parks and parking lots in the city) as they are often employed or receiving some kind of income or government aid (Tipple, 2005).

This unique definition of homelessness in South Africa is a result of its history of colonial and apartheid rule, under which policies of segregation established a legacy of inequity, inadequacy, and limited social support structures that puts Black and Coloured people at greater risk of homelessness even to this day. Following a global trend of colonial rulers displacing native residents, beginning in the 17th century the Coloured and Black citizens of Cape Town were gradually pushed out of the city's most desirable and profitable land through legislation and policy. For example, in 1863, under the guise of concern for the health of all populations groups, Public Health Act No. 4 was established, forcing non-White residents out of the city center for fear of disease contagion from the White population. Under the Apartheid government, the Group Areas Act of 1950 prohibited non-citizens from owning land in South Africa, designating all non-Whites as citizens of homeland territories, not South Africa. This act was the catalyst behind the forced removal of Black and Coloured people from Cape Town's District Six area (Britannica, 2018). The Bantu Education Act of 1953 further entrenched racial inequities by limiting access to quality formal education based on racial category, and consequently reducing the ability of Black and Coloured people to obtain high-income jobs or save money for investment in housing. As a result of this systematic discrimination, many Black and Coloured families were forced into poverty, and denied access to necessary supportive resources. A case study conducted in 2007 indicated that a substantial portion of homeless individuals in South Africa inherited poverty, poverty that was

established under apartheid rule (Cross et al., 2010; Tosi, 2005). In this way, even though the vast majority of apartheid and colonial policies were repealed in the 1990s, they are still largely responsible for the higher rates of homelessness among Black and Coloured people.

Similarly, the significant damage these policies inflicted on the economy, society, and even physical structure of South Africa has not fully healed, creating an unfair system that contributes to homelessness. The lasting impact of apartheid and colonial policies has been a limited housing supply, a low-skilled work force, and a high unemployment rate, currently at 27% (Nqandeka and Xabadiya, 2018). A four-year study on street homelessness conducted by Cross and colleagues (2010) indicated that high unemployment across the country perpetuates processes of exclusion, resulting in more people ending up homeless on the street. In addition, a lack of institutional aid not only contributes to people becoming homeless, but also prevents them from moving out of homelessness (Cross et al., 2010). As noted by Major Carin Holes, Public Relations Secretary of the Salvation Army's Southern Africa region, and recognized by government officials, conditions that fall outside an individual's control, such as a lack of low-cost housing, low-skill employment, and social dependency, are the primary causes of homelessness in Cape Town (Salvation Army Southern Africa Territory, 2017; Bernardo, 2015; Du Toit, 2010).

These structural problems further contribute to alcoholism and drug abuse that are known to be associated with homelessness (Western Cape Government, 2018; Tosi, 2005). There are an estimated 15,000 heroin users and 300,000 people that meet criteria for alcohol dependence in Cape Town (Myers et al., 2010). In combination with other illicit drug users, 13% of the general population has a substance abuse disorder (Myers et al., 2010). While drug use can lead to homelessness, many homeless begin using drugs and alcohol as a way to ease the stress and pain of being on the streets (Moyo et al., 2015), something we found to be true in the case of the homeless individuals we interacted with on a daily basis. However, in Cape Town, treatment for drug addiction remains relatively limited, as existing services can only treat about 3,500 people every year (Myers et al., 2010).

Strategies to address homelessness in Cape Town reveal the value of employment

Cape Town has historically employed hostile strategies in an effort to combat homelessness and its negative consequences. Prior to the 2010 World Cup hosted by South Africa, hundreds of homeless people were arrested around the Green Point Stadium in Cape Town (Kelto, 2010). The arrested individuals were transported to temporary housing in Blikkies Dorp, Afrikaans for "Tin Can City," 45 minutes outside of Cape Town (Kelto, 2010).

In addition to the forced removal of homeless from certain areas, formal efforts have been made to make spaces physically unwelcoming to the homeless. Considerations are often made to the architectural design of public spaces to makes these spaces uncomfortable for prolonged use, a process termed "hostile architecture" (Petty, 2016). The most infamous examples of hostile architecture are the anti-homeless spikes that were installed in London and Montreal in mid-2014 (Petty, 2016). These spikes are present in major highway underpasses in Cape Town (N1/N2/Sommerset Blvd). There are other less noticeable examples of hostile architecture including benches in parks and bus stations that are designed in such a way as to restrict or prohibit sleeping with railings that separate every individual seat, as seen in Cape Town's Company's Garden, or oversized armrests, as seen in Salt Lake City, Utah as well as Green Point Park in Cape Town (Rosenberger, 2014).

In order to find more permanent solutions for homelessness, South African municipalities are implementing housing programs and social grants to increase the affordable housing stock (Du Toit, 2010). To complement these efforts, local governments are coordinating civil society responses and awareness campaigns, promoting social justice and community engagement, while also strengthening relationships with private and public partners (Du Toit, 2010). Modest impacts of these housing programs have been acknowledged by Cross (2010) and his colleagues. However, interviews with dozens of community leaders and government officials indicate that free housing and basic water, sanitation, electricity, and transportation infrastructure are not a sufficient singular solution for reducing the number of people living in inadequate housing or on the streets (Cross et al., 2010; Tipple, 2005). A survey of a homeless sample in Cape Town found that 54% identified employment was the most important thing that government should provide, with housing second (34%) and social support third (7%) (Du Toit, 2010).
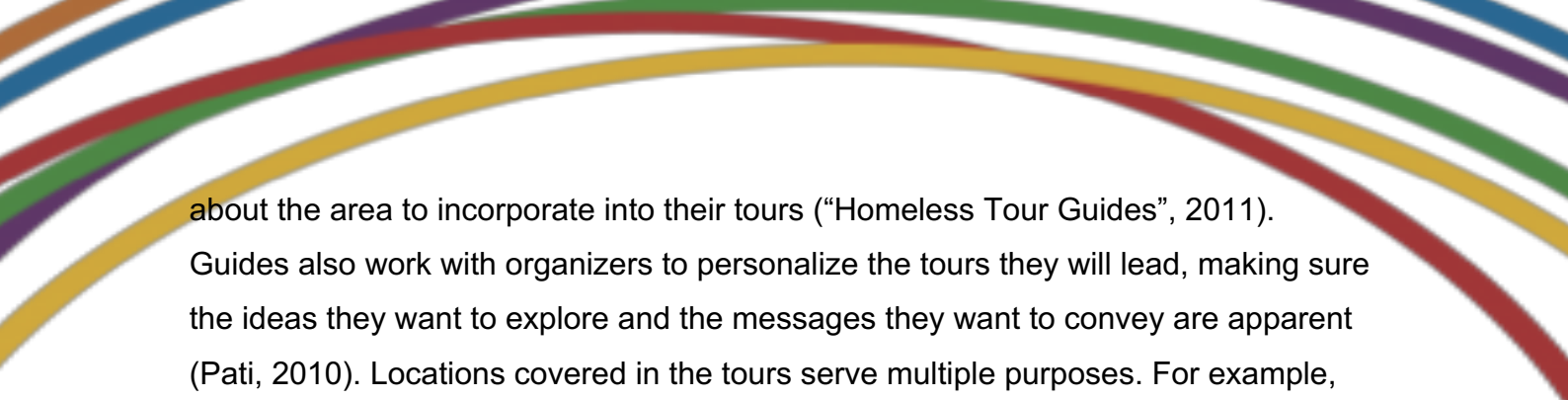
To address these other needs, efforts are being made to provide programming that offers resources and support including job training, childcare, community-based counseling services, and legal aid (NCH, 2018). Recognizing the need for employment in Cape Town, the South African non-government organization (NGO) Khulisa Social Solutions strives to address homelessness through a multidimensional approach. Khulisa has partnered with the South African government along with over 180 NGOs in an effort to address a broad range of social issues (Nzula, 2017). The international NGO offers a wide variety of programs, but most notably, Khulisa strives to help homeless people through its Streetscapes program by providing a support network, structure, and work opportunities in a variety of enterprises such as gardening and public works maintenance (Khulisa Social Solutions, 2018; Nzula, 2017).

Walking tour programs advance homeless employment

Over the past decade, walking tours led by homeless or previously homeless guides have emerged as a strategy to engage the homeless in employment opportunities. Such tours have become increasingly popular both as a professional program for the guides and as a method of sensitizing tourists to the problems causing homelessness in the cities. Among the first homeless walking tour organizations was Unseen Tours, an initiative launched by the London-based social enterprise, The Sock Mob, in 2010 (Willett, 2013). According to Lidija Marva, one of The Sock Mob's organizers, the intent of the tours was twofold: to "present [homeless people] in a very different light so that people can see them as having something to offer," as well as to give the homeless guides themselves a sense of ownership over their lives and a path back to employment (Pati, 2010). Inspired by these tours, other homeless walking tour initiatives developed in cities across Western Europe, including Dublin, Amsterdam, Prague (Pati, 2010). For the moment, the trend appears to largely be confined to Western Europe, but a few programs have launched in other world regions, including San Francisco (Pati, 2010) and Kuala Lumpur (Yellow House KL, 2017).
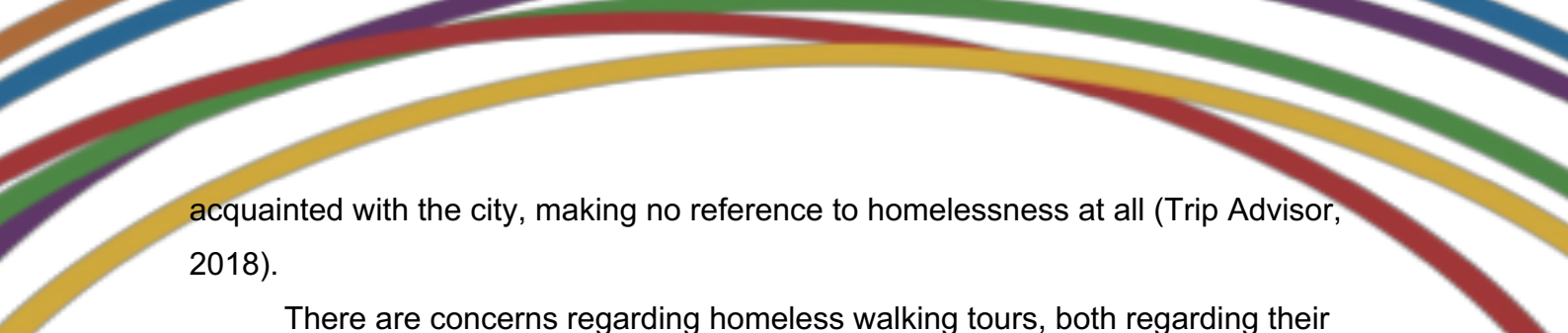
The operating homeless tours employ practices that appear consistent regardless of city. Guides, who are either homeless or precariously housed, receive some amount of training, in which guides learn relevant skills including public speaking, sometimes with the aid of unspecified theater classes, and historical facts

about the area to incorporate into their tours ("Homeless Tour Guides", 2011). Guides also work with organizers to personalize the tours they will lead, making sure the ideas they want to explore and the messages they want to convey are apparent (Pati, 2010). Locations covered in the tours serve multiple purposes. For example, Unseen Tours' guides will stop at locations for their significance to the guides, such as local soup kitchens, or the street corner where they once slept (Pati, 2010). This allows them to not only share their personal story in a way they find comfortable but draws attention to locations that otherwise might go unnoticed. The guides also tend to focus on the darker side of the city's history, telling the stories of disadvantaged people from years past (Willett, 2013).

A review of relevant literature as well as internet searches reveal that no similar walking tours exist in Cape Town. In addition, we found no published studies evaluating the effect of these programs on the homeless guides or their intended audience(s). Anecdotal assessments by the guides reveals that the programs assist in developing focus and opening up new opportunities. Liz Veiner, a homeless guide working with Unseen Tours, indicated that running tours has "given her new opportunities and a greater focus in life," and after three months on the job she was able to start renting an apartment ("Homeless Tour Guides", 2011). Karim, a former drug addict and sex worker who is now a tour guide with the Prague-based organization Pragulic, said the opportunity "turned his life around," with his situation improving "in terms of accommodation, lifestyle, in terms of the fact that I am, in brackets, a 'celebrity'" (Allen, 2016). He also finds sharing the traumatic experiences he endured while homeless with an audience therapeutic (Allen, 2016). This same sentiment was expressed by the Streetscapes participants during our conversations about their lives and experiences, referring to the discussions as therapeutic and brightening their day.

Anecdotal reviews left by people taking the Pragulic tour suggests that the program was generally successful in humanizing the homeless in cities. An assessment of the London Unseen Tours Trip Advisor page found that over 650 reviews of the organization's various tours that were written as of September 20, 2018 were almost uniformly positive; 37 of the 50 most recent reviewers expressing admiration for the guides as people (Trip Advisor, 2018). However, 72% of reviewers only spoke of the tour as being a fun experience that helped them become better

acquainted with the city, making no reference to homelessness at all (Trip Advisor, 2018).

There are concerns regarding homeless walking tours, both regarding their ability to sensitize audiences to the homeless condition, and to address the needs of the homeless. Simon Teasdale (2016), professor of Public Policy and Organizations, who studies how social enterprises can most effectively combat homelessness indicates that to become a tour guide, a homeless person must already have a certain set of skills: the ability to show up to work on time, to arrive sober and in reasonably good hygiene, to work with organizers to plan a tour, and to interact effectively with tour attendees (Allen, 2016). This means the tours are not likely to benefit the most needy members of the homeless community (Allen, 2016). Some homeless guides have expressed discomfort at sharing what are often intensely personal stories of hardship with audiences who may be rude, flippant, or dismissive of their struggles. Karim, the same Pragulic tour guide who found the tours to be a largely therapeutic experience, also confessed that when he is treated disrespectfully it felt "like shock therapy" (Allen, 2016).

Informal settlement and township tours are a controversial tool for raising awareness about social inequities

While there are currently no homeless walking tours in Cape Town, over the past few decades the phenomenon of informal settlement and township tours has been gaining popularity in South Africa. According to Manfred Rolfes (2010), a professor of human geography at the University of Potsdam in Germany, the first township tours in South Africa were run by the Apartheid government in Soweto in the 1990s, and used to convince foreigners that there was nothing wrong with the policies of forced racial segregation. While informal settlement and township tours originated as propaganda tools used by the Apartheid government to justify their actions, they then shifted to being a method of highlighting the injustice and abuse suffered by the Black and Coloured communities. After the first democratic elections of 1994, the tours began to be operated by locals and became popular with politically active tourists aiming to experience the enduring legacies of segregation policies and the venues of civil rights struggles (Rolfes, 2010).

Like homeless walking tours in Europe, informal settlement and township tours in Cape Town have enjoyed great popularity. As the South African government
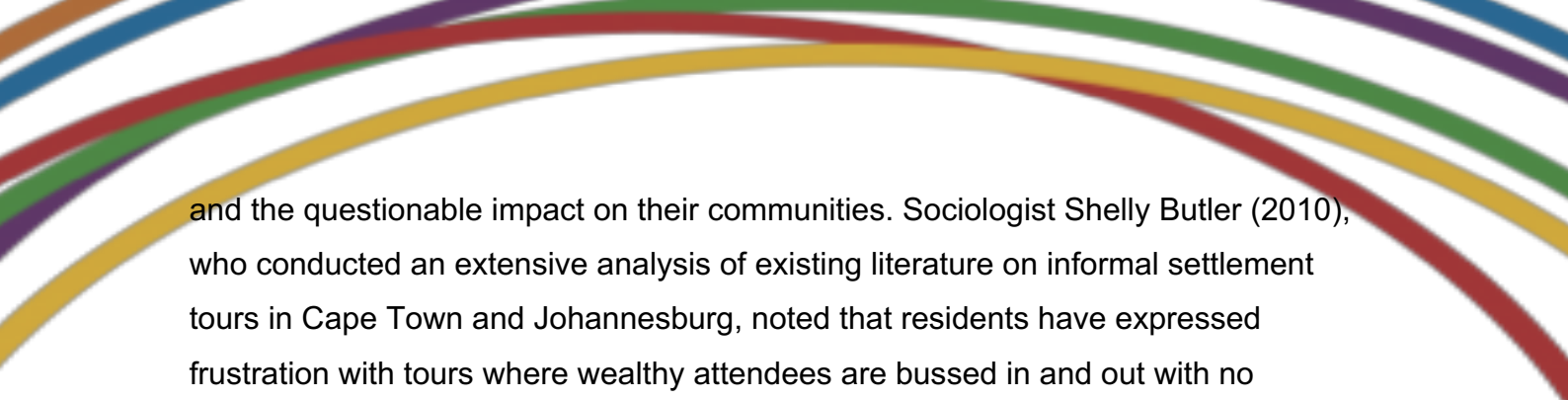
began emphasizing cultural tourism, informal settlement and township tours further grew in popularity among more mainstream tourists (Rolfes, 2010). According to the estimates offered by Rolfes (2010), these tours drew over 300,000 tourists a year, predominantly wealthy international tourists. Tourists frequently cite a desire to have a "chance to encounter local residents" as a primary motivation for wanting to go on an informal settlement or township tour, as well as a desire to visit what they view as a hotbed of South Africa's blend of cultures (Rolfes, 2010).

Despite the great diversity of organizations offering informal settlement and township tours in Cape Town, logistics do not vary greatly from company to company. The tours are frequently either walking tours or coach tours (in which participants ride in a van or minibus), although a few companies do offer bicycle tours (Zijlma, 2017). Most tour companies begin at the District Six museum, then proceed to one of Cape Town's largest townships, including Khayelitsha, Langa, or Gugulethu (Rofles, 2010). While each tour varies slightly in its construction, Rolfes (2010) noted that nearly all of the tours offered by the 20 most popular tour companies included the same basic elements:

- Historical or cultural sights
- Visit to pre-school institutions (sometimes including singing or dancing performances by children)
- Visit to various residential areas and different types of housing
- Visit to a sangoma (traditional healer), including the possibility of consultation
- Visit to a shebeen (informal pub), where usually umqombothi (traditional beer) is offered
- Visits to private homes

Rolfes (2010) claims tour companies highlight these locations to give tourists the appearance they are not just glimpsing real life in the townships, but 'real African life,' emphasizing the history and culture of townships. Rolfes (2010) considers this focus the defining trait of informal settlement and township tours, setting them apart from other similar poverty tourism programs held in other regions of the world. Whether these tours actually provide a window into the true culture of the townships, or instead a carefully curated facsimile that caters to tourists' often classist and racist assumptions, is less clear.

The history of informal settlement and township tours as both a tool used to oppress and empower residents of townships illustrates the ambiguity of intentions

and the questionable impact on their communities. Sociologist Shelly Butler (2010), who conducted an extensive analysis of existing literature on informal settlement tours in Cape Town and Johannesburg, noted that residents have expressed frustration with tours where wealthy attendees are bussed in and out with no opportunity to interact with locals or have their opinions changed. As cited by Butler (2010), an article in the *Cape Argus*, a local newspaper, reported in 2000 that residents of the Cape Flats townships felt "tourists should stop treating townships like 'zoos.'" Butler (2010) also pointed out problematic attitudes still expressed by tour guides and attendees including an emphasis of the danger faced by White visitors to settlements (and an underlying sanctimonious congratulations to the tourists for daring to take the tour), and an emphasis on the authenticity of the tours despite much of the tour content being staged to cater to tourists. It is unclear whether tours have a positive impact on the residents, or even the guides. Residents who stand to benefit economically from informal settlement or township tours believe they are a force for good in their communities. When interviewed by researchers in 2009, shebeen owners, souvenir vendors, and other township residents whose businesses were supported by the tours consistently claimed the tours were supported by the general population of the townships, as they provided them with economic opportunity (Rofles, Steinbrink and Uhl, 2009). Tour guides also claimed the tours provided a platform to correct negative stereotypes about their home, and to improve race relations between township residents and tourists, especially with White South Africans (Bartlett, 2014). Butler (2010) agreed with this second point, arguing that informal settlement tours are "part of a larger post-apartheid project of re-imagining and remaking the townships and public discourses about them," led primarily by township residents themselves. However, many residents of informal settlements and townships in South Africa may argue that the remaking of these spaces has been slow and that walking tours are not a sufficient or practical approach to addressing the long standing inequities.

Methods

This project assisted Khulisa Social Solutions to advance their programing efforts and bring attention to the hardships of the homeless community in Cape Town by collaboratively developing a homeless walking tour with the current homeless participants of the Streetscapes program. We accomplished this by completing the following objectives:

Objective 1: Developing collaborative relationships with the beneficiaries of the Streetscapes program

Objective 2: Exploring strategies used by existing walking tours in Cape Town

Objective 3: Working with Streetscape beneficiaries to consider important dimensions in the development of a Homeless Walking Tour of Cape Town and its benefits as a program for the homeless

Objective 4: Develop an evaluation strategy to guide the future development of the walking tour program and consider its benefits as a program for the homeless

In order to successfully build trusting and collaborative relationships with the homeless participants in the Streetscapes program, we used the method of participant observation. This method provided us with opportunities for personal interactions with the participants, as well as the ability to ask questions, gauge interest, and collaborate effectively in an informal setting. To gain outside perspectives on homeless walking tours and analyze their effectiveness, our group engaged in natural observation of existing walking tours, followed by interviews with guides, which provided insight into the logistics of such tours, the skills needed to be a successful tour guide, and the typical content of a tour. We conducted unstructured interviews with Streetscapes participants and employed photovoice to identify locations and themes. Finally, we conducted semi-structured interviews with Streetscapes participants to understand how best to develop an evaluation to measure their growth over the course of the program, and to see how they would respond to different evaluation designs. We offer details on how we accomplished all of these tasks below.
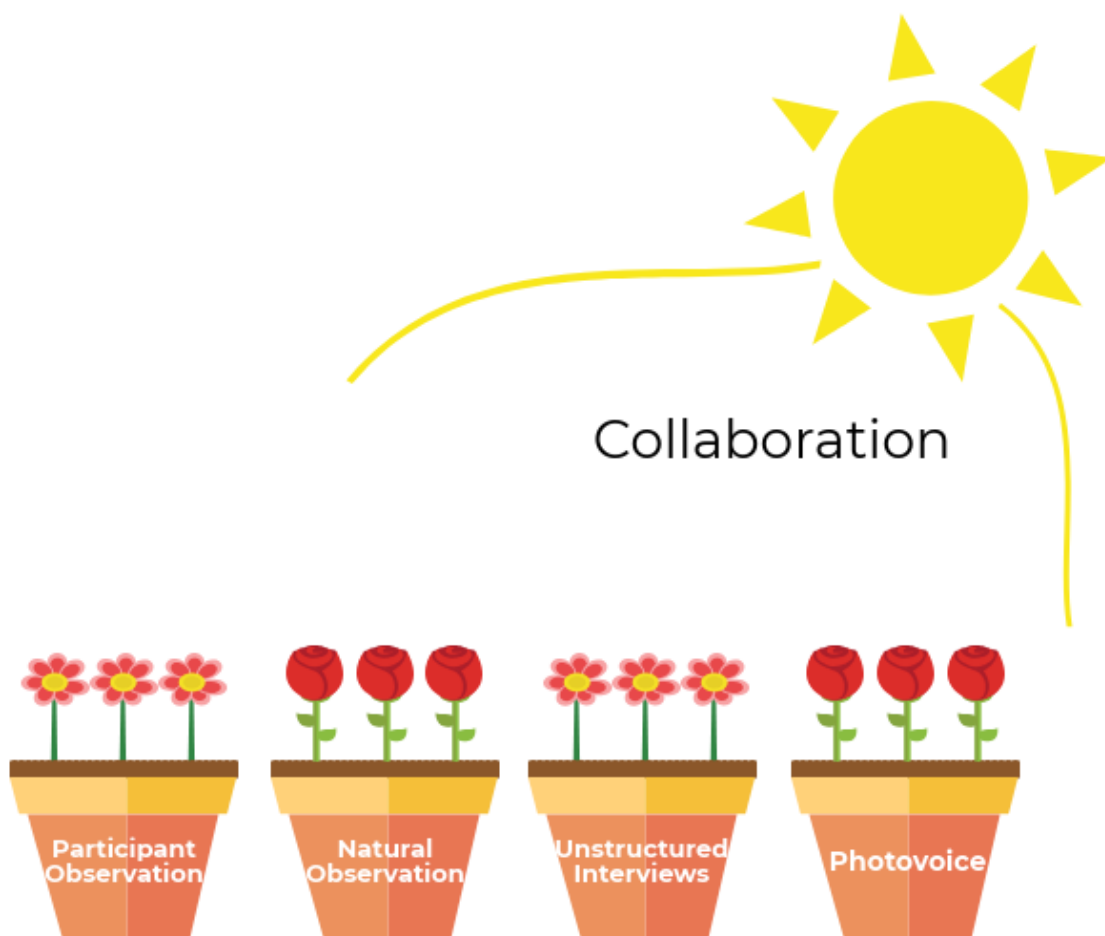
Figure 8- Methods Overview

Objective 1: Developing collaborative relationships with the beneficiaries of the Streetscapes program

Participant observation with Streetscapes beneficiaries

We spent time taking part in various activities with the Streetscapes participants. We helped the Streetscapes participants in their gardens, watering plants nearly every morning for a few weeks as well as weeding and planting seedlings. We also harvested, weighed, and bundled the crops for sale. In Greenmarket Square we walked around and talked to the participants giving them a brief break from sweeping and ensuring that we were getting to know everyone. We participated in the daily class. As class was the only time when all the participants from all the different locations were in the same place, this was the perfect time to

Figure 9- Hope and Wellington dig a hole for a greenhouse support post at Trafalgar Garden

see everyone, catch up and meet newcomers. While the gardens and Greenmarket Square were the locations where we met people for the first time and worked alongside them, class was where we were able to focus on building relationships. We contributed alongside the other class attendees to the discussions and debates that were led by whoever was running the class that day. We led discussion groups during the class in which Faizel, one of the Streetscapes supervisors, taught on the

importance and meaning of respect. In another one of the classes that was led by Kevin, an intern at Khulisa, we participated in the debate of whether men and women are equal, contributing our opinions and arguments. We led three classes, as suggested by our sponsor, using a similar discussion format. To start each class, we ask everyone how they were doing and how their day was going. After the check-in, we presented the theme the class would focus on, such as sharing, then used the theme as a gateway into a broader discussion. Opening with such a broad topic gave the class some direction and allowed everyone to feel comfortable when contributing, while also exploring nuances of different types of sharing and their

importance. For our second class, we discussed different ways in which people can share and discussed how on a walking tour, while each tour guide is sharing Cape Town, every person shares and takes away something different. On two occasions we brought in food for the class, both as a motivator for attendance and a way to thank the Streetscapes beneficiaries for their participation. The classes proved useful in determining the interest level and which specific individuals were keen on being a tour guide. For example, after discussing sharing and introducing a walking tour as a means of doing so, we were able to break up into discussion groups and discuss the positives and negatives of this idea. The participants were provided with a time and space to share their initial thoughts and concerns, as well as share their excitement, allowing us to understand how well this idea was being received. In the process of working and talking, we observed how the

Figure 10- Kyle and Colin help Sheldon fix netting at Roeland Garden

participants interacted with each other and with us. At the same time, we strived to make conversation, answer questions, and ask questions of our own, building connections that served as the foundation for trusting and collaborative relationships outside of this initially selected environment. In the gardens, we were able to work alongside them daily, proving ourselves dependable and hardworking counterparts and building feelings of mutual respect and camaraderie. These routine and repeated engagements were utilized to learn more about the participants, to understand their thoughts and feelings in reference to their experience with Khulisa Social Solutions, and build trusting and collaborative relationships. This rapport assisted our collaborative process and the relationships allowed for meaningful conversations throughout the process.

We engaged with as many of the Streetscapes participants as possible at their respective workplaces. The number ranged from two at the Roeland Garden to

12 at the Trafalgar Garden, and 20 in the class setting. We strived to include anyone interested in participating in our research and collaborating with us further.

    This method was chosen because it is informal. The approach also allowed for flexibility, an important aspect given the physical, mental, and emotional transience of the Streetscapes participants. We did make considerations regarding our intrusion into the Streetscapes space, being sure to not distract participants from their work and seeking invitations from participants, managers, counselors, and the director. We made sure not to make any promises or commitments that we personally would not be able to fulfill in our short stay in Cape Town. Finally, the privacy of the individuals we were observing and interacting was maintained. We informed every one of our intentions to create a homeless walking tour and our desires to collaborate with them through the process.

Figure 11- Fareed and Kyle working on the greenhouse at Trafalgar Garden

Objective 2: Explored strategies used by existing walking tours in Cape Town

Natural observation of existing walking tours and interviews with guides and participants

    Natural observation of existing tours helped us understand current walking and townships tours in Cape Town and consider how to evaluate the effectiveness of our walking tour as a program for the homeless and an awareness raising tool to be used by Khulisa Social Solutions. We identified tours through online sources and suggestions from our sponsor. Of the tours we identified, we took:
- Cape Town Free Walking Tours
  - Apartheid to Freedom tours
- Free City Sightseeing Walking Tours

- - Historical
  - BoKaap
- Vamos Township Tour of Langa

      We identified ourselves as students studying walking tours to the tour guide, observed the tour guides, the content of the tour, and our general impressions of the tour in order to gain insight on the functionality and logistics of the tours. During the tour we would count the number of stops the tour guides made and identified which of these were universal throughout the walking tours, as well as those that were unique. We then used this information for in consideration of the planning of the tour.

      We invited Streetscapes participants to join us on one of the free walking tours around Cape Town and the Township Tour of Langa . Four participants joined us on the "Apartheid to Freedom" free walking tour, however three of them were late by 15-20 minutes. We had considered postponing the tour but an enthusiastic participant told us to "take a leap of faith" and go on the tour anyways. One participant joined us in the Township Tour of Langa,

Figure 12- Chris, Petrus, Abu, Colin, and Hope listen to a tour guide outside the District Six Museum

suggested by our sponsor based on the ability to relay what was observed and learned back to the other participants. After the tour, we had conversations with the participants who joined us about what they observed on the tour, what they learned and what they identified as important aspects that made the tour successful in their eyes. Their personal experiences and observations were also shared with the rest of the participants in the program in a class setting, facilitating further interactions and brainstorming sessions.

      At the end of each tour, we conducted semi-structured interviews with the tour guide, inquiring about their experiences, the skill set they believe to be necessary for tour guides, and their personal strategies for success (see questions in Appendix A). The interviews were then analyzed for common themes and coded in order to identify areas of saturation.
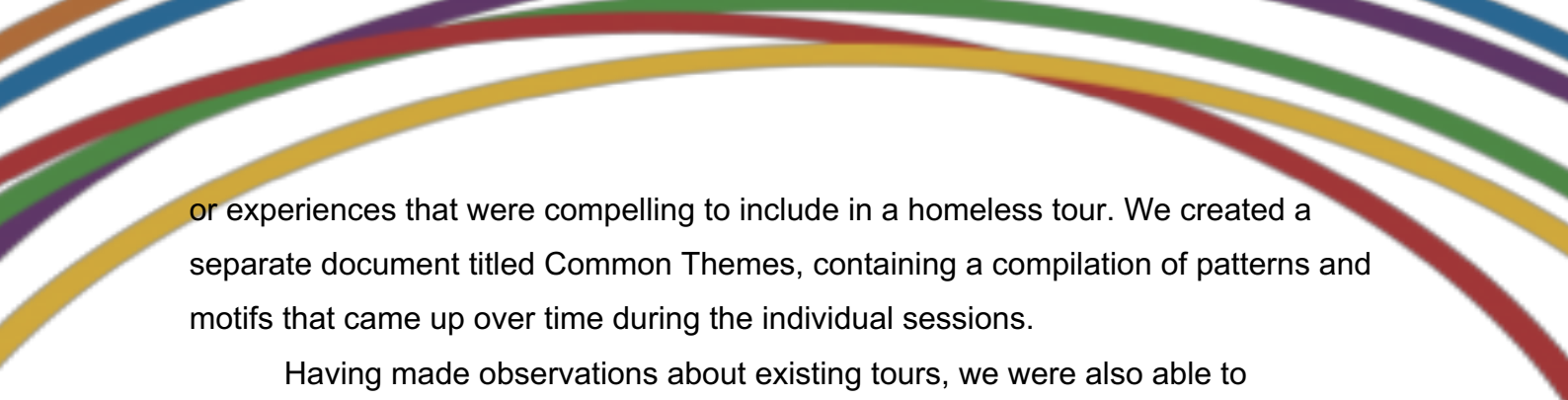
Figure 13- Us and the participants pose for a picture in front of Table Mountain while on the Apartheid to Freedom tour

Objective 3: Worked with Streetscape beneficiaries to consider important dimensions in the development of a Homeless Walking Tour of Cape Town

Unstructured Interviews of Streetscapes Participants

Through our repeated engagements with the Streetscapes participants, we identified six people interested in collaborating to create a homeless walking tour. In short but regular individual sessions, we conducted unstructured interviews that covered not only the specifics they would like to see included in the tour, but also what they hoped to gain from the experience of both creating the walking tour and being a tour guide.

After each unstructured interview, we identified themes and motifs that appeared in our notes. Patterns were organized using a list of coding questions. These codes were developed after the data was collected and formatted and the themes and patterns present in the data were identified. Themes related to skills that Streetscape participants had already, skills that they needed to develop, conditions
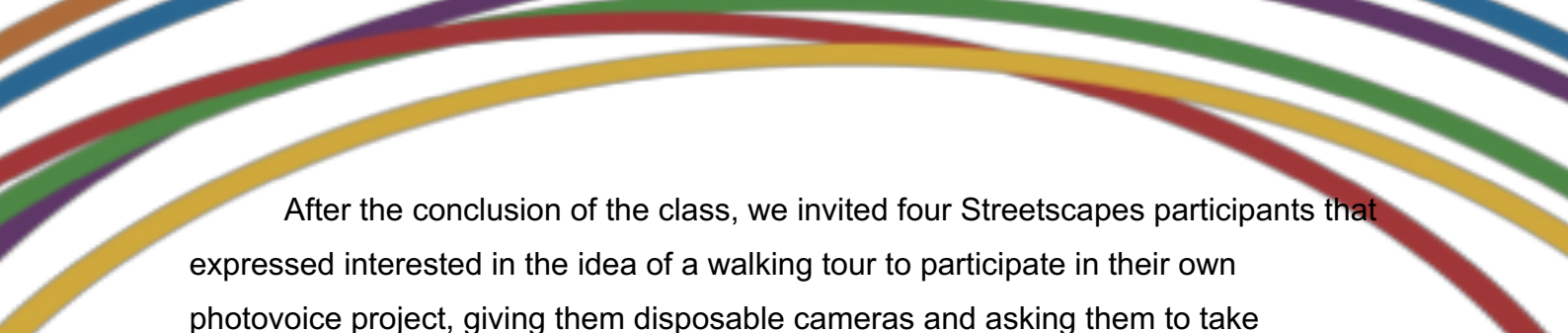
or experiences that were compelling to include in a homeless tour. We created a separate document titled Common Themes, containing a compilation of patterns and motifs that came up over time during the individual sessions.

Having made observations about existing tours, we were also able to interview participants about the skills that are needed for successful tour guiding. Such skills include crowd engagement, voice projection, and/or storytelling. Considerations for these unstructured interviews are listed in Appendix B.

Photovoice to identify areas and stories of importance

Streetscapes participants have had many unique experiences, and using the method of photovoice, we were able to present an opportunity to share these stories through a visual medium. Specifically, we aimed to use this approach to identify locations for the walking tour and the related stories.

To introduce this method and raise interest, Masha and Hope first ran a class showcasing a photovoice project that was previously done by six of the Streetscapes participants. Boards with pictures taken by different participants and the corresponding short captions were displayed and passed around for the entire class to observe and discuss. While engaging with the pictures, the class attendees discussed locations they recognized from the pictures and shared their own stories from those places. After all the class attendees had seen the pictures, we asked for volunteers from the people that participated in the previous photovoice project to come to the front of the class and share about the pictures they took. Nkosinathi was the only volunteer and since the pictures were not labeled, he first pointed out the pictures that were taken by him. He then explained what motivated him to take the pictures. When speaking about a picture of his broken leg titled "Don't Drink and Walk," he explained his desire to share that story in order to remind people about the dangers of walking on the streets while drunk and perhaps being able to spare someone the painful experience he himself went through. After he finished sharing, several of the class attendees asked him questions about his favorite picture and the experience in general, which Nkosinathi gladly answered. Following his presentation, Masha and Hope reiterated the importance of sharing, the theme of each class we led, and discussed different approaches that allow people to share both stories and knowledge. We then explained the relevance of the photovoice method to the walking tour project.
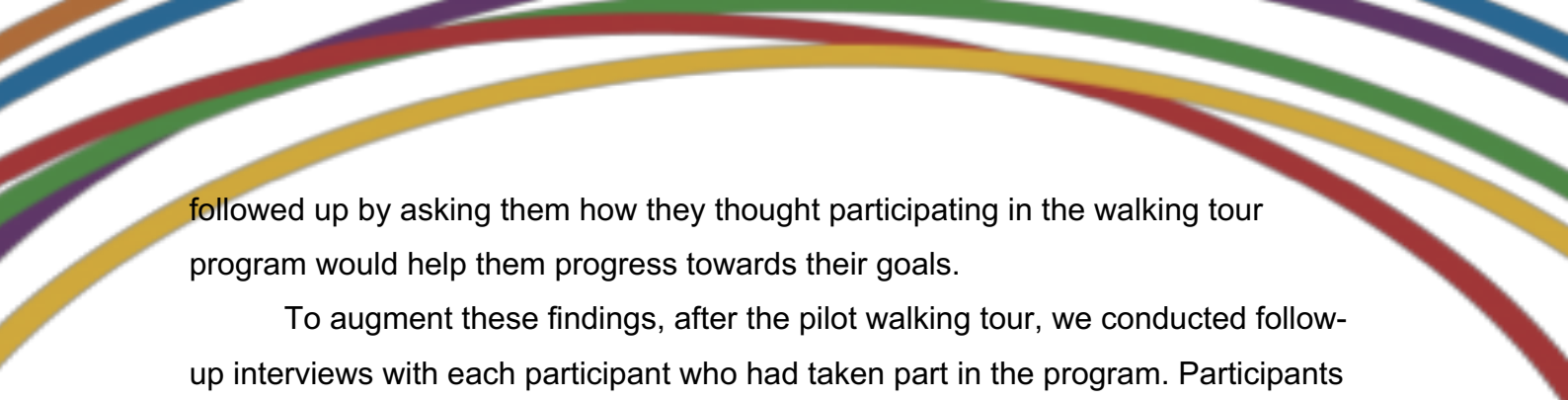
After the conclusion of the class, we invited four Streetscapes participants that expressed interested in the idea of a walking tour to participate in their own photovoice project, giving them disposable cameras and asking them to take pictures of places around Cape Town that were important to them. The four participants, Abu, Ismael, Runelle and Jerome, were given cameras capable of taking 27 photos each and were given 1-3 days to take the pictures based on individual needs and personal schedules. Once the cameras were returned and the film was developed, we met with each of the photographers individually to listen to the intentions and meanings of the captured image, and its relevance to the individual and the tour.

Using the findings from these interactions, we decided with the individual which of the locations pictured would be best to visit on the tour and what stories revealed through the photos would be the most valuable and powerful to share during the tour. These decisions also took into account the level of interest of each participant and their comfort in sharing certain personal stories from their past. We then looked over the entirety of the photos from all participants and chose which ones could be combined and built into a single tour led by three of the individuals. Through further explanations of the importance of the photos, the stories were refined to be concise while still relaying the important aspects.

Objective 4: Develop an evaluation strategy to guide the future development of the walking tour program and consider its benefits as a program for the homeless

Semi-structured interviews with Streetscapes Participants and Employees

In order to begin developing an evaluation to track whether the walking tour was succeeding in providing benefits to its participants' lives, we had to first define what those "benefits" were. In doing so, our most important consideration was understanding what participants themselves hoped to get out of the walking tour program. To that end, during our unstructured interviews with participants to determine what specifics they hoped to see in the tours, we also asked them what they were hoping to get out of the program. Many participants responded by instead talking about their hopes and dreams for life in general; when this occurred, we
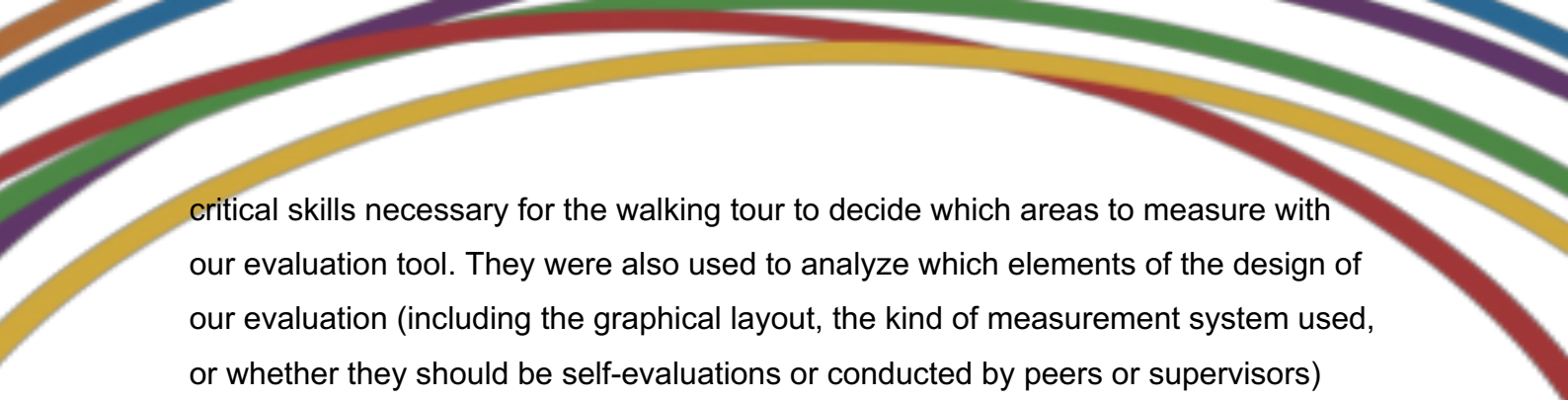
followed up by asking them how they thought participating in the walking tour program would help them progress towards their goals.

To augment these findings, after the pilot walking tour, we conducted follow-up interviews with each participant who had taken part in the program. Participants were asked nine questions chosen to help reveal the areas in which they had already grown over the course of the program, and where they still hoped to grow in the future (see Appendix C for a full list). As conceptualizing an answer to these questions required a good deal of higher-order thinking, rather than ask participants these questions directly, we asked them multiple questions that tackled the topic from a number of different angles. For example, participants were asked to imagine they were supervisors in charge of selecting new candidates to become tour guides. They were then asked what skills they would look for in their hypothetical hiring process. By thinking of what a third party would need to know, they were also revealing what skills they had found important to having success as a tour guide.

Participants were also shown rough sketches of three potential evaluation layouts. One is based on Poverty Stoplight, where participants can track their progress across a number of different evaluation criteria by rating them as red (denoting extreme poverty), yellow (denoting mild poverty), or green (denoting no poverty). Another is based on Wheel of Life, a self-help assessment in which each area of the evaluation is represented as a slice of a wheel; the more progress the participant has made in each area, the more of the corresponding slice of the wheel is filled in. The final assessment was one of our own invention, in which each area of evaluation is represented as showing a strip of road with a finish line at one end. Then, based on their progress, participants can then draw a walking tour guide on the road; the closer to the finish line they put their tour guide, the more progress they've made. These three designs were chosen because they each incorporate very different design features; for example, the Poverty Stoplight inspired evaluation has three discrete ratings participants can assign to themselves, while the walking tour uses a "sliding scale" with no discrete ratings. Participants were asked for their feedback on various aspects of these designs, and also for their suggestions for improvements to each of them.

The interviews (see Appendix C) were then analyzed for common themes and coded in order to identify areas of saturation. The results of these interviews were then used in conjunction with our own observations of what seemed to be the most

critical skills necessary for the walking tour to decide which areas to measure with our evaluation tool. They were also used to analyze which elements of the design of our evaluation (including the graphical layout, the kind of measurement system used, or whether they should be self-evaluations or conducted by peers or supervisors) were best received by the participants. Since the evaluation's purpose is to help the participants take ownership of their progress across the various areas identified as being important to the walking tour, it was considered most important to create a design that would engage them and inspire them to do better; accuracy and objectivity were not considered to be important design characteristics.

Findings

Objective 1: Developing collaborative relationships in order to co-develop a walking tour

Showing up to work on a daily basis and interacting with everyone established trust between us and the participants.

Building a trusting relationship is the foundation of any successful collaboration. The method we found to be most effective in building trust between four White foreigners and the non- White homeless individuals participating in Streetscapes was through daily attendance. The first indication of this was when Runelle, after sharing her rough and dark past, said, "I don't know if I want to share this with everyone. I am telling you because I know you, I trust you, I see you every day." A similar sentiment was later expressed by Abu during one of the collaborative sessions we held with him while planning the pilot tour. He expressed how he was hesitant about sharing his past on the tour, although he freely shared it with us over tea at Greenmarket Square saying, "I don't know if I want to tell other people that, I don't want strangers to see that side of me." He further expressed his trust in us while discussing the future of the tour program by saying, "I know you will be able to get this thing going, I know you guys will do your best" even after we explained that the future of the program is out of our control. Interactions with the participants outside of working on the walking tour program, such as coming to work every day and participating in class on a regular basis, were what created a space for continuous communication and led to a building of trust.

Demonstrating a strong work ethic is the surest way to gain respect.

Respect must be earned and working hard is an effective way to do so. This became evident during the early stages of our project when Fareed and the participants that work at the Trafalgar garden asked us to help them fix the greenhouse. We gladly took on the task and completed it within a week. As a result, when Fareed needed to build another greenhouse at the third garden, he came to us and asked us for our input and advice on its construction, citing our previous success and the fact that we "get stuff done." Our contributions and work ethic was further acknowledged by one of the participants in class at the end of our second week at Streetscapes, when amid a discussion of how people don't work hard enough and as
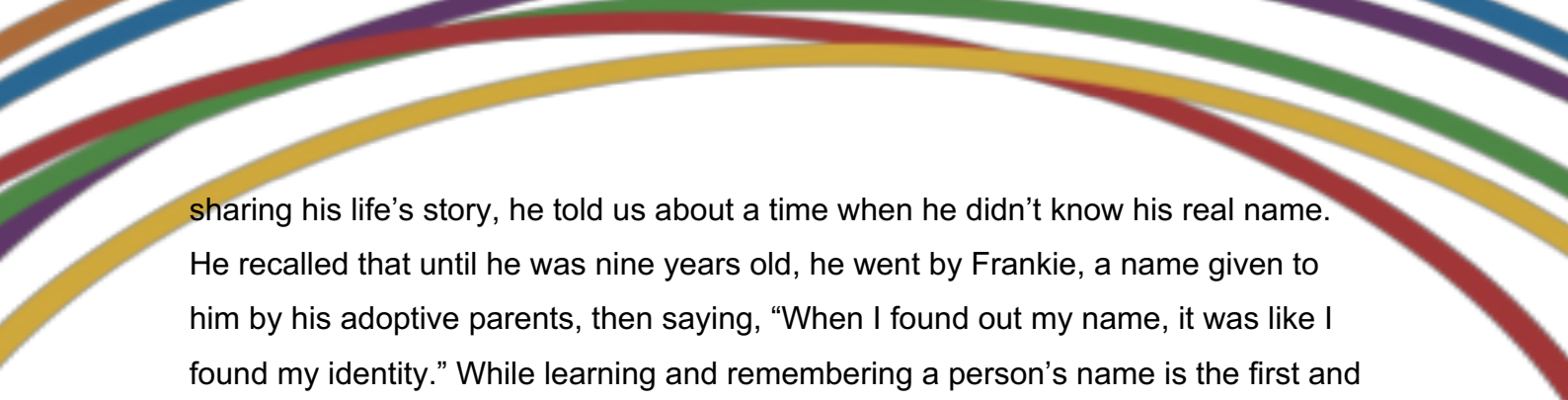
a result take too long to get stuff done, Andre said we were an exception, stating "The interns have been here for one week and they already fixed the greenhouse."

Work ethic is recognized and highly regarded among the Streetscapes participants. This was an observation we made from watching one of the participants, Jerome, who was regularly recognized for never missing work or shying away from additional projects and responsibilities. He is one the few people paid overtime at Khulisa, because he shows up on weekends at the garden to water plants and get necessary things done. It was clear that he had earned the respect from both his supervisors, who gave him additional tasks without hesitating, and his peers, who listened to him and did as he said. The importance of work ethic in earning respect was also clearly illustrated during one of the classes that happened during week six of our stay in Cape Town. Participants were asked by a supervisor to pick co-workers, "people they wanted to work alongside" in the gardens. The two participants that were chosen by the majority of their peers, Ismael and Sundalay, were recognized for doing their best on the job and taking on additional tasks when asked. This evidence suggests that the more hardworking an individual is the more likely they are to find willing collaborators and partners.

Learning and remembering names is the first and most important step in building relationships.

Remembering someone's name is a small gesture and yet it makes a great impact. This became evident from our first days in the field through insights provided to us by Kevin, an intern from Holland who had already worked with Khulisa for three months. His first and most important advice to us was, "Learn their names and they will risk their lives for you." Throughout our interactions it became clear how great of an emphasis the participants really did place on names. Naz, one of the Streetscapes participants working at Greenmarket Square, for the first few weeks before beginning any conversation with us would point to each one of us and say our names out loud. This was done to ensure she had them right and to show us that she remembered them correctly. The importance of names was further made obvious through our interactions with Jason, a participant, who also goes by Billy and Lucky. For the first few weeks after we met him, he would always introduce himself by all three names making sure we knew them all. The importance of names was most directly expressed by Aubrey during one of our sit-down sessions. While

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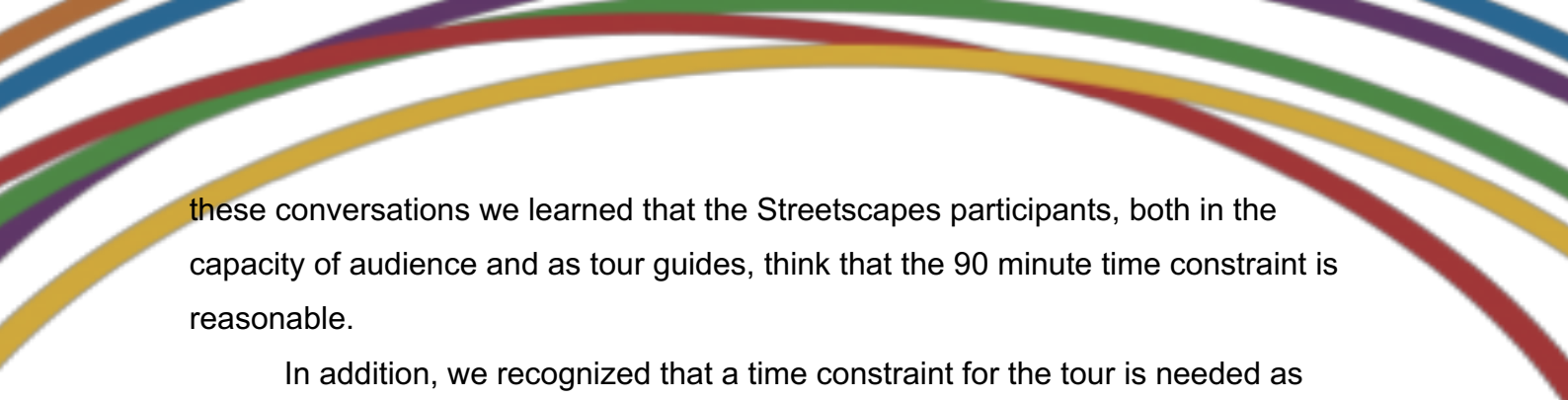
sharing his life's story, he told us about a time when he didn't know his real name. He recalled that until he was nine years old, he went by Frankie, a name given to him by his adoptive parents, then saying, "When I found out my name, it was like I found my identity." While learning and remembering a person's name is the first and most minor step towards making a connection, this evidence shows that when working with the Streetscapes participants it also might be the most important step in building collaborative relationships.

Objective 2: Exploring strategies used by existing walking tours in Cape Town

Tours should not exceed 90 minutes.

Time constraints are the most important consideration in any walking tour and the first one we investigated. During our first couple of weeks in Cape Town we went on three free walking tours. Specifically we attended Red Umbrella's Historical and Vibrant Bo-Kaap walking tours and the Apartheid to Freedom Tour conducted by the Green Umbrella company. Each of these three walking tours were explicitly designed by the respective tour guides to be 90 minutes or less. Sheldon, a guide with the Red Umbrella group stated that he had complete control over the content of his tour. However, the company that employed him required that the duration not exceed 90 minutes. The average length of the three tours we attended was 89 minutes, with the Red Umbrella's Historic tour lasting 102 minutes, the Vibrant Bo-Kaap tour being 80 minutes long, and the Apartheid to Freedom free walking tour being 86 minutes. This is evidence that the 90 minute standard is widely accepted and suggests that the time limit is recognized as effective by the walking tour industry.

Since the audience are the main stakeholders in any walking tour, understanding their impressions is vital. For this reason interviewing, Abu, Chris, Aubrey, and Petrus, the four Streetscapes participants that accompanied us on the Apartheid to Freedom walking tour, was of utmost importance. After the end of the tour we made sure to ask each their opinion on the tour and specifically the duration. When asked whether they thought the tour was too long, too short, or just right, each participant expressed that they thought the tour length was good. While collaborating later on the creation of the pilot homeless walking tour, Abu expressed that if the tour were any longer than 90 minutes he would be worried that, "people might get very tired" considering "an old or fat person might not be able to walk very far." From
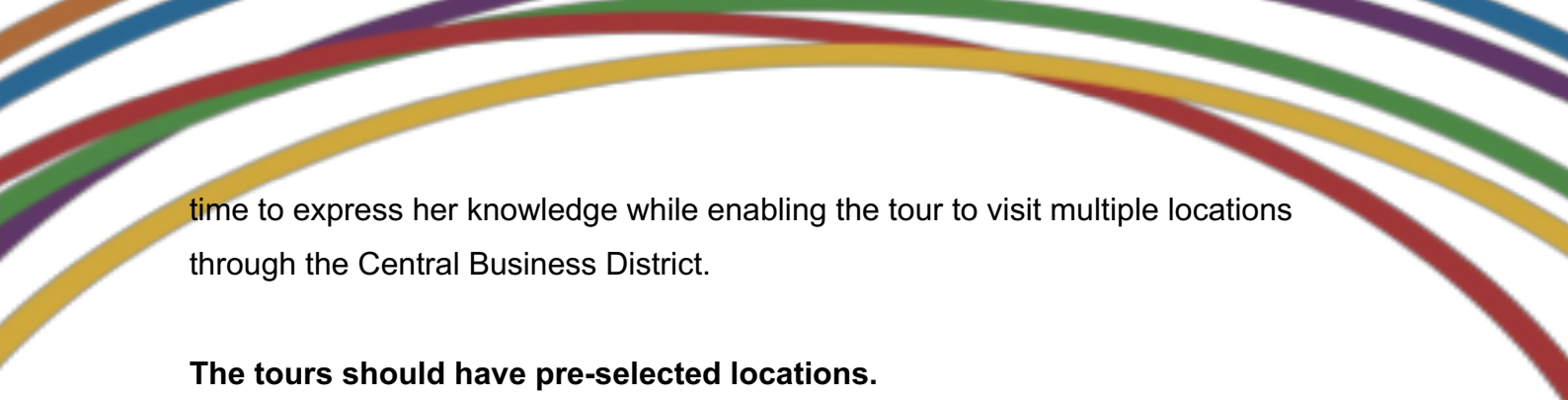
these conversations we learned that the Streetscapes participants, both in the capacity of audience and as tour guides, think that the 90 minute time constraint is reasonable.

In addition, we recognized that a time constraint for the tour is needed as throughout our collaborative process we noticed that asking participants to speak for a more extended period of time can be overwhelming and jeopardizes excitement. For example, we asked Nkosinathi to share his photovoice stories in class with the rest of participants. His excitement visibly dropped over the duration of his monologue. With every new picture and story he became less animated and less audible, and as his stories grew shorter. This same pattern was observed in our interviews with Jerome and Runelle, who grew noticeably less invested, less engaged, and more tired as the conversations progressed.

Tours should have 6-8 stops.

The most important component of each walking tour are the stops the tour includes as well as the content that correlates to each of the stops. For this reason, while doing our research on the existing free walking tours in Cape Town, paying careful attention to each individual stop was important. Of the three walking tours we attended around Cape Town's Central Business District, the Historic Tour was the longest, with a total of nine stops. The Apartheid to Freedom tour was the second longest with eight stops, followed by the Vibrant Bo-Kaap tour which had only six stops. On each of the tours the distances between the individual stops were roughly equal and no stops were visible from the previous stop. T

Being limited to six to eight stops allowed the tour guides we observed to cover the most amount of content while also covering a reasonable distance around the city. From our estimations made on Google Maps the length of the Red Umbrella's Historic tour was 3.1 kilometers, while the Vibrant Bo-Kaap tour was 2.7 kilometers and the Apartheid to Freedom free walking tour was 3.2 kilometers, making the average distance of the tours exactly 3 kilometers. This design and layout of the tour, as well as the walking around the city, balanced with the stops and historical content was much appreciated by the audience. Aubrey, a long time Streetscapes participant who joined us on the Apartheid to Freedom tour echoed the sentiment of multiple other tour attendees when he expressed his approval and stated that he liked the mix of walking and talking, as it gave the tour guide ample

time to express her knowledge while enabling the tour to visit multiple locations through the Central Business District.
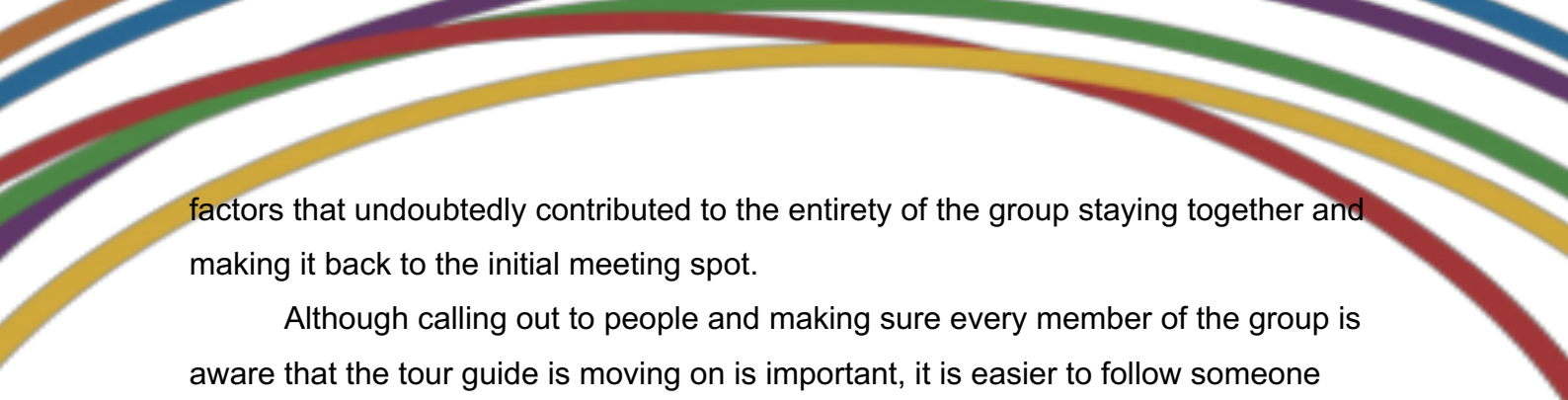
The tours should have pre-selected locations.

On the walking tours we attended we observed that having pre-selected locations allowed for better time management on the part of the tour guides and allowed them to move the tour along. Knowing what stops she still had to hit and how far she needed to go Marina, a tour guide with the Green Umbrella group, would say things like, "Let's walk and talk, we are only half way done, I want to make sure I show you everything." Pre-set locations also allowed tour guides to practice and refine what they want to say at each stop and how they want to say it. Sheldon, from the Red Umbrella company, was able to prepare and recite quotes from poetry, letters, and Mandela's address on the Grand Parade, as a result of knowing exactly what stops he would be visiting. In turn, this forethought and practice made the tour guides more familiar with each spot and area. This created room for more flexibility when guiding a group. An illustration of this was when Marina, as a result of being familiar with the area, was able to find a different location for viewing the benches in front of the old High Court when another group had stopped at her usual spot.

The tour guides should have some sort of identifier.

Professional walking tour companies all around the world employ strategies for their tour guides to be easily identified in a large crowd. For example, the Red Umbrella Free Walking Tour Company uses customized, bright red shirts and umbrellas. Unseen tour guides in London wear bright yellow shirts with the Unseen Tours logo. The Green Umbrella company tour guides in Cape Town have matching grey shirts with green text on them, as well as green customized umbrellas that they carry around. The fact that similar strategies can be observed across companies and countries suggests their effectiveness.

Such means of identification are a necessity as the city of Cape Town is often busy, which makes locating people difficult. When we were on his tour, Tsepo, a tour guide with the Red Umbrella company, repeatedly emphasized that, "[This group] is a family, we must stay close together," expressing his concerns of losing someone. His attention to the individuals on his tour and the easily identifiable red shirt were

factors that undoubtedly contributed to the entirety of the group staying together and making it back to the initial meeting spot.

Although calling out to people and making sure every member of the group is aware that the tour guide is moving on is important, it is easier to follow someone wearing a bright color in the front of the group than to hear them shouting directions since the city can be noisy. According to Anita, a current tour guide with the Red Umbrella company, this is one of the major challenges tour guides need to overcome on the job. She specifically stated, "The city is often busy and noisy, but you can't let that get in the way."
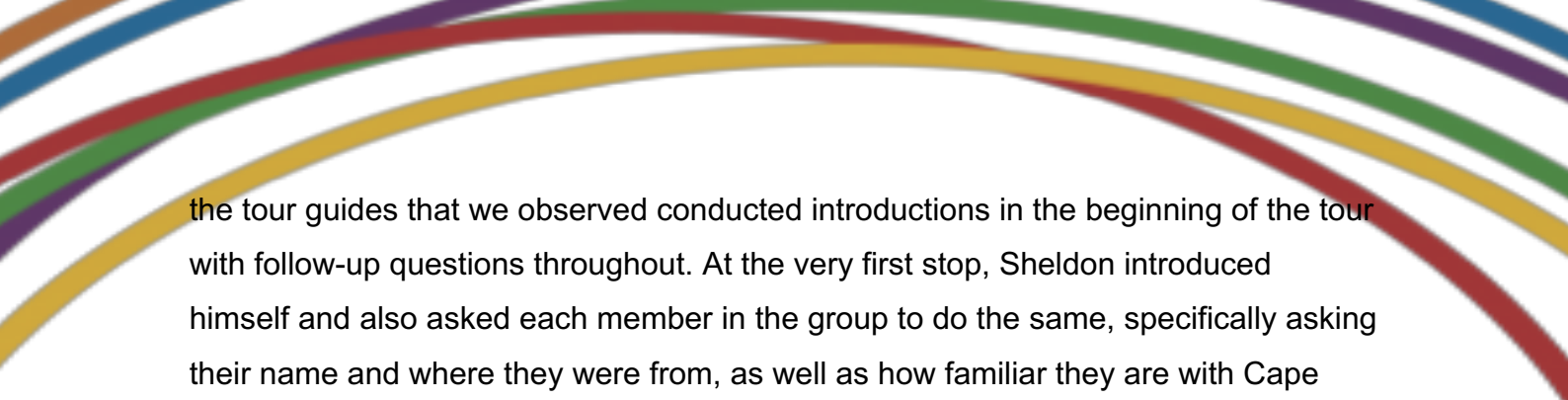
Each tour should have individualized content.

Personal and individualized content make for a richer and more interesting tour. The tour guides we observed on each of the free walking tours were noticeably more enthusiastic when discussing personal stories at stops. For example, Marina was the most animated and emphatic when telling the group about her extensive research into Dimitri Tsafendas and even acted out the stabbing of Hendrik Verwoerd for us. This same pattern was noticeable in our homeless walking tour guides during practice tours and the pilot tour. When practicing for the Streetscapes tour, participants were monotone and un-enthusiastic reading off the historical facts we provided them with, but became more passionate and spirited when telling their own stories.

The richer content and more animated story telling made the tour more enjoyable for the audience too. Andrew, an attendee of the pilot tour, noted, "When Abu was reading off the piece of paper he was good, but when he was just telling his stories he really came to life." After attending one of the practice tours guided by the Streetscapes participants, Alex Rus, a WPI student, said that his favorite part of the tour was learning the personal experiences that took place at each of the locations, rather than the historical facts.

Tour guides should not only educate, but engage their groups.

Tour guides stress the importance of engaging with the individuals on their group. In our interviews with the professional tour guides, two of four cited the importance of getting to know the people in the group. Anita specifically said, "It is important to understand who is in your group and their interests." To do so, each of

the tour guides that we observed conducted introductions in the beginning of the tour with follow-up questions throughout. At the very first stop, Sheldon introduced himself and also asked each member in the group to do the same, specifically asking their name and where they were from, as well as how familiar they are with Cape Town. Throughout the tour, the tour guides encouraged dialogue and asked for questions. Tsepo repeatedly asked if people had questions and when no one had any he would tease, "No questions? Wow, you are a boring group."

Tour guides can also engage the audience through effective storytelling. All of the tour guides we interviewed stressed the importance of being goo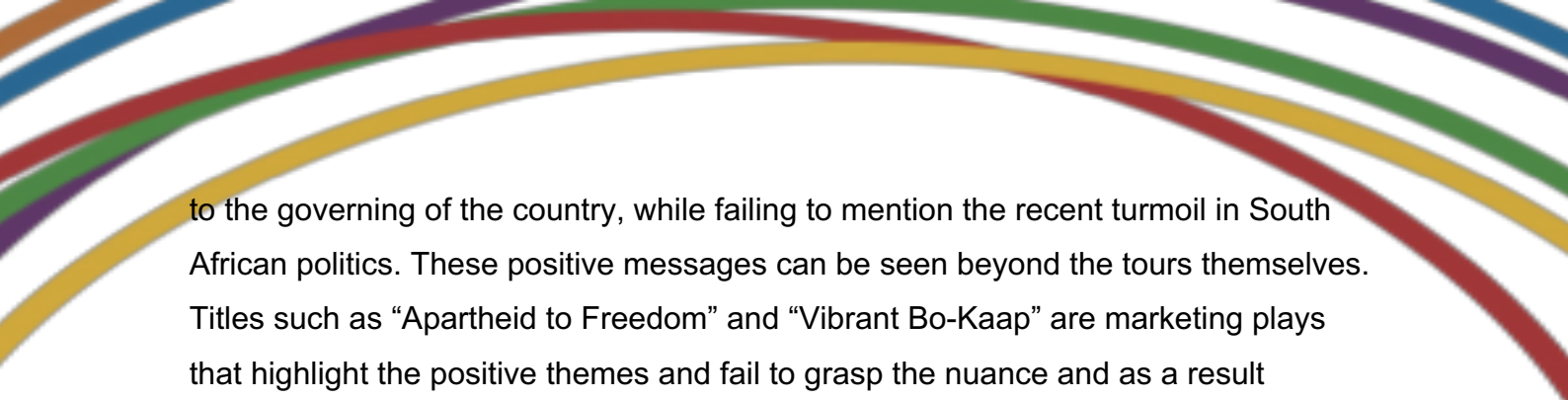d storytellers in order to make the information they present interesting. Anita said, "To be a good tour guide, you must be an entertainer, a story teller," while Sheldon shared, "You must know the information, but also tell it in a way to interest your group." Each of the tour guides was animated in their own way, be it hand movement or facial expressions or raising their voice when making a particularly important point. Marina acted out the racial classification test by placing a pen in her hair and jumping up and down. Sheldon would become particularly emphatic when quoting from Mandela's address on the Grand Parade or other pieces of literature. These examples indicate that while each tour guide may have their own way of engaging their audience.

Tours should be aware of their tendency to underplay current problems in favor of pushing optimistic outlooks that could result in being seen as inauthentic.

While happy endings are a staple of the narrative genre, they are very often not reflective of reality and thus should be very carefully employed in walking tours. Hearing a tour guide's optimistic perspectives while seeing other people in hardships or knowing of problems called into question the tour guide's motivations and sincerity. For example, while on the Langa township tour, the tour guide mentioned more than once how the people in the informal settlement and township can "make it," just like he had accomplished his goal of running a business and buying a BMW. However it was clear that the vast majority of people hadn't. This same tendency was noticeable on the Apartheid to Freedom tour, where the tour guide focused on the end of apartheid and consequent improvements with little mention of the apartheid's persisting legacy, making the tour guide seem ingenuine. This was most evident when she discussed how great of change President Nelson Mandela made

to the governing of the country, while failing to mention the recent turmoil in South African politics. These positive messages can be seen beyond the tours themselves. Titles such as "Apartheid to Freedom" and "Vibrant Bo-Kaap" are marketing plays that highlight the positive themes and fail to grasp the nuance and as a result misrepresenting the current conditions in South Africa and the current dangers of Bo-Kaap, respectively. While these strategies might be necessary to attract customers, they can be misleading.

On the Streetscapes pilot tour, both Abu and Runnelle explained that they felt a need to end their stories on a hopeful note for the sake of their audience. Abu said:
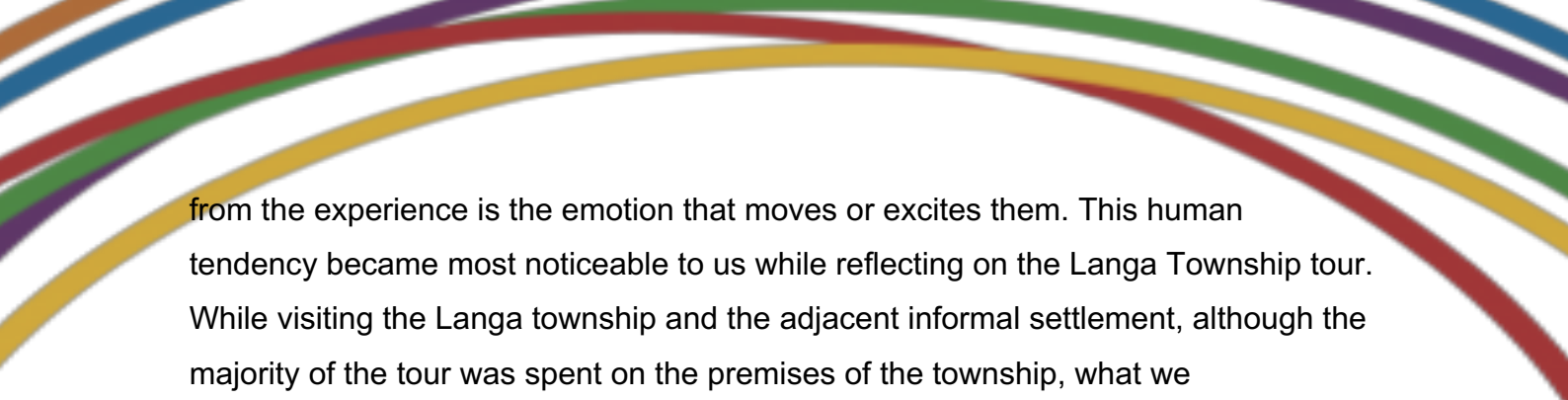
> I don't want to leave them just with the bad part. I also want to leave them with the happy ending, so that they can know that this guys standing in front of them, he is okay now, he's been through bad things, but doesn't look like it, but it is true so. But if they look at me now they can obviously see, yes, that I am good, so if I am going to end off with the part that yes, I am okay now and I am doing this thing now, so I am not on the streets anymore, I am not part of a gang any more, I am not doing crime anymore, so I am fine.

Runnelle echoed this sentiment by saying, "When you say something about yourself that was not good, you must leave them with something good, because they can't just walk away with that piece in mind, but [knowing] okay she at least changed her life, there did come a point when she did change her life." Ismael also made improvised additions to his previously practiced stories for the sake of the pilot tour audience. Instead of ending his story about being abused while living on the Grand Parade with his account of starting a gang, he instead concluded with praise for Streetscapes for changing his life, something he had never done before. He specifically thanked Jesse, Khulisa's Manager of Strategic Partnerships, and Mark, an outreach worker for the CCID, both of whom were in attendance.

Tours/tour guides should be aware that people remember stories and places that elicit a strong emotional response.

When trying to make their tour most memorable for their audience, each tour guide must remember that while history creates context, what people will take away

from the experience is the emotion that moves or excites them. This human tendency became most noticeable to us while reflecting on the Langa Township tour. While visiting the Langa township and the adjacent informal settlement, although the majority of the tour was spent on the premises of the township, what we remembered most was our short visit to the informal settlement, leading us to project the image of the disadvantages and hardships experienced by the residents of the informal settlement on to the entirety of Langa. When reflecting back on his experience on the tour, Jerome, the Streetscapes participant that joined us and who has experienced township and informal settlement life, described drinking in the shebeen as the most exciting part of the tour. Colin on the other hand recalled sitting inside a shipping container that had been converted into a home where 10 people slept. This is evidence that people remember new and emotionally evoking experiences disproportionally more than anything else.

This pattern arose in the reflections of the Streetscapes pilot tour as well. Andrew, one of the attendees on the pilot tour, stated that he was most captivated by the stories of each of the tour guides. He said, "Each story inspired me and I enjoyed the chats in between the stops." He also said that his favorite stop was *Die Kraal*, because the story that was shared by Abu at that stop was "so raw and is still being lived today." The emotional and touching part of the tour was not only preferred by the audience of the pilot tour, but by the tour guides as well. When reflecting on the pilot tour with the guides, both Abu and Runelle stated that they enjoyed sharing their personal stories with the audience more than reciting any historical facts. Runelle said, "I like to talk more about personal thingies, personal is better." Abu elaborated more by saying:

> I like sharing my personal stories [more] because that's the part, when I do that, I feel like excitement and I can also see the people, the look on their faces, is like they enjoy that part more so it makes me feel even more excited in order to tell my story even better each time I tell it. I think I enjoy that part more.
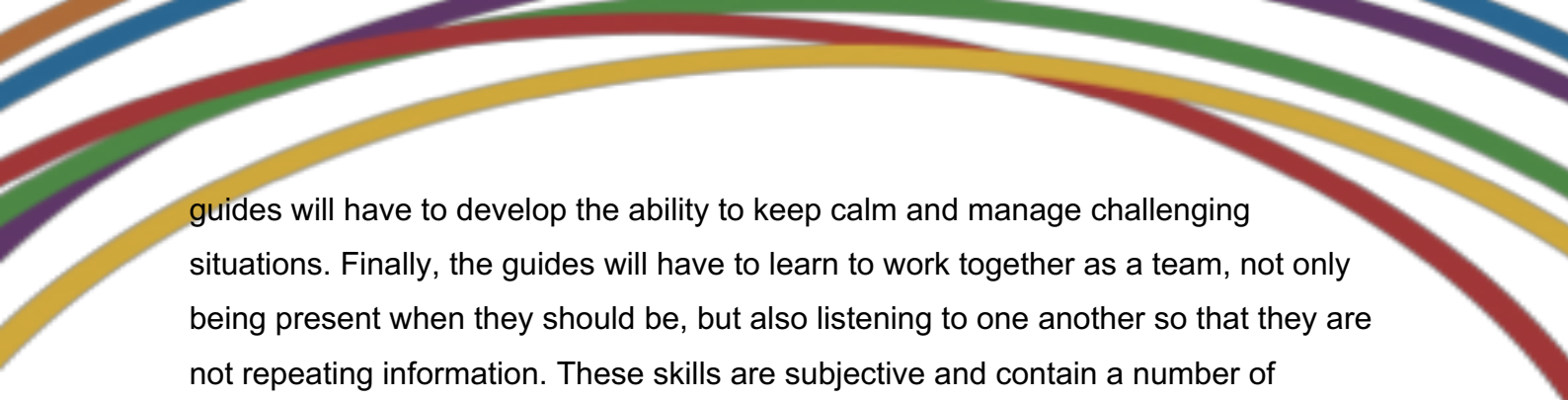
Objective 4: Develop an evaluation strategy to guide the future development of the walking tour program and consider its benefits as a program for the homeless

The tour develops a host of skills that should be effectively identified and tracked

In interviews and in their off-hand comments, pilot tour guides tended to focus on the broader skills necessary to be successful in the program. When asked in the follow-up interviews about the skills most necessary to be an effective tour guide, participants' most frequent responses were:

- self-confidence,
- communication skills,
- a willingness to share personal stories,
- the ability to stay focused and disciplined on the task of leading the tour,
- flexibility (the ability to adapt to sudden changes or unexpected difficulties)
- maintaining a positive attitude

In addition, from our observations we were able to notice several other skills that we deemed crucial to success. For example, the consideration of being on time, dependable, awareness of the city environment, respect, and the ability to work in teams with other guides. These align with the skills previously mentioned by Simon (Allen, 2016). During our interviews with participants, none mentioned timeliness as being an important component of being a tour guide, nor did they ever bring it up in conversations with us or otherwise indicate it was an important consideration to them. Yet, we frequently observed participants having difficulty arriving for our practice tours or even the final pilot tour on time. In addition, participants would occasionally not show up for scheduled meetings or practice tour runs. Participants did, however, possess an intimate knowledge of the city, and an awareness of risk, an important skill to ensure that people on the tour are kept safe and have a good experience. While they showed respect for one another, and towards us, we did witness a few moments when Streetscapes participants were verbally or physically aggressive towards one another. This is an important considerations for a guide, as sometimes individuals taking tours can be hostile, aggravating or just rude. The
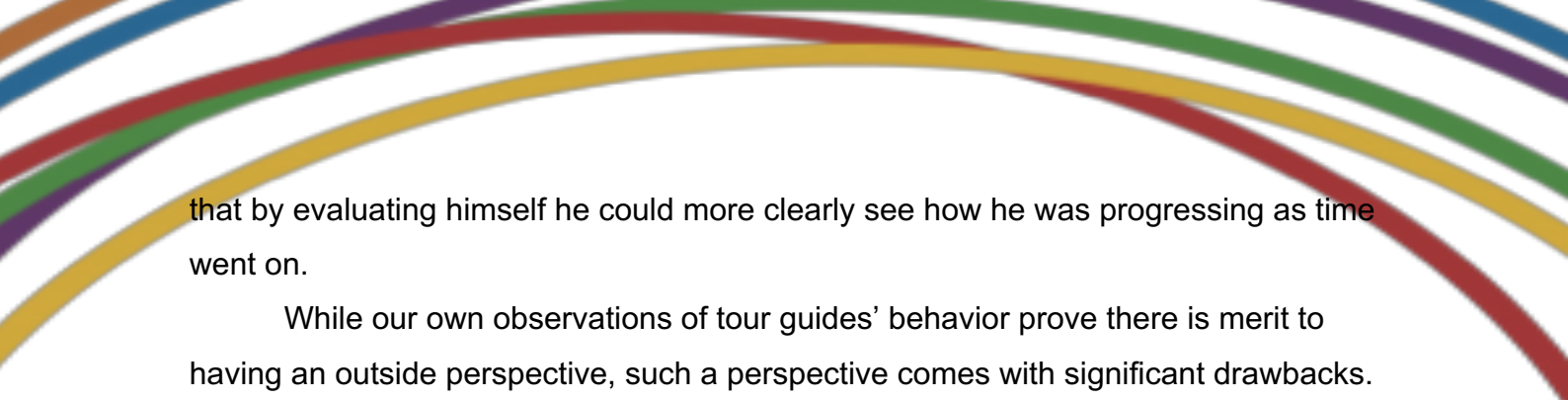
guides will have to develop the ability to keep calm and manage challenging situations. Finally, the guides will have to learn to work together as a team, not only being present when they should be, but also listening to one another so that they are not repeating information. These skills are subjective and contain a number of different facets. For example, communication skills includes fluency in English, the ability to clearly articulate ideas, the ability to share those ideas in an engaging manner that captures the audience's interest, and the ability to read the audience's reactions and adjust your material on the fly to accommodate them. However, for the sake of keeping the evaluation simple, we decided to keep these facets combined into one metric rather than break them down.

While all three of our pilot tour guides had at least a basic level of competency at these skills at the outset of the program, from both their comments and our observations there was noticeable progression across all of these areas, proving the tour development process is able to help them develop these skills further and that tracking their progress is a necessary and worthwhile endeavor. For example, all three participants repeatedly emphasized how helpful sharing their stories during the pilot tour was for helping them process more traumatic memories, and that being willing to be truly open and honest about your life experience was critical to the healing process. During our first few practice tours Runelle struggled with being an effective storyteller under pressure, losing the thread of her story and making factual mistakes due to the pressure. With practice, however, she was able to control her fears, ultimately delivering the information at her stops with no visible problems during the final pilot tour. This illustrated the program could help participants improve their self-confidence and communication skills, an insight Runelle herself only briefly alluded to in her follow-up interview. In addition, all guides for the pilot tour arrived on-time, prepared to engage, listened to one another during the tour, and treated everyone with respect.

Self-administered evaluations create a sense of ownership for participants

When asked, participants reacted strongly in favor of the idea of being able to evaluate themselves and their progress in the various areas of the walking tour, feeling it gave them more agency over their lives and progress. Ishmael felt that evaluating himself would help him "understand what *I* have to do to become better," an idea that seemed to excite him greatly. Abu expressed similar sentiments, feeling
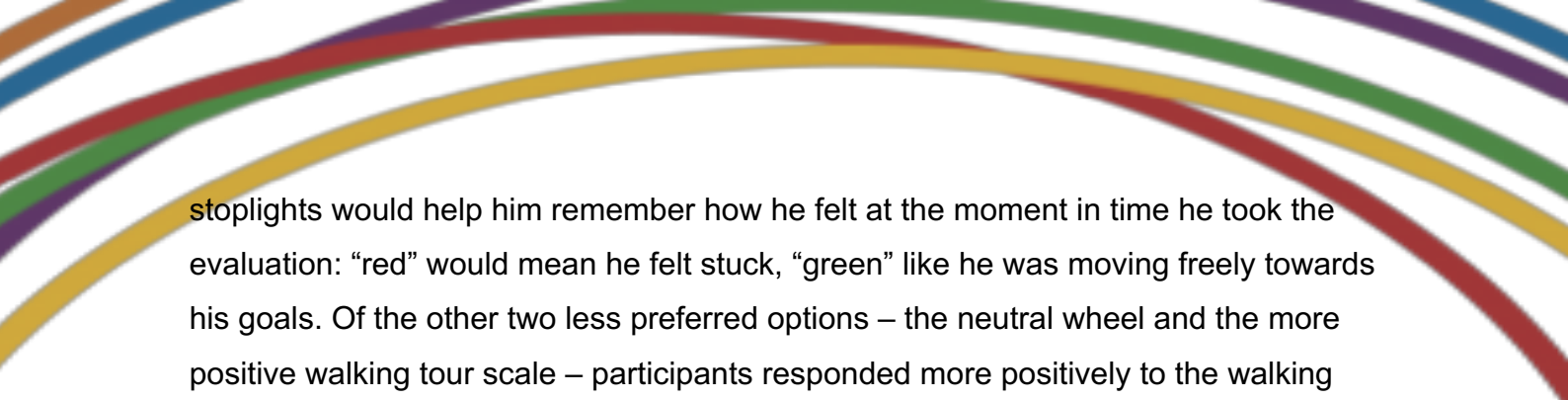
that by evaluating himself he could more clearly see how he was progressing as time went on.

While our own observations of tour guides' behavior prove there is merit to having an outside perspective, such a perspective comes with significant drawbacks. Ishmael expressed mistrust of any outside opinion, saying "it would be useless" to ask someone else to evaluate how much progress he had made in an area like being confident as that was a subjective and personal experience. Abu also expressed concern, saying he would not feel as motivated if someone else was telling him what to do instead of being able to see what he needed to do himself. Since the primary goal of the evaluation is to help participants feel motivated to improve, a self-evaluation process appears the best approach.

Creating an evaluation tool that is easily understandable may lead to a greater engagement with the tool

An easy-to-understand graphical interface makes the evaluation tool accessible. In interviews, participants were often confused by the concept of the evaluation due to lack of familiarity, and needed it to be explained to understand its use and purpose. As such, the less confusing the evaluation design, the easier it will be for participants to initially grasp the idea and to begin using it. Even once they were fully acquainted with the idea of the evaluation, participants repeatedly expressed a preference for "simple," clearer designs. Ishmael said he preferred the stoplight evaluation to the more complex wheel and sliding-scale evaluations, because "it is plain, straightforward, and easy to understand." He felt the other designs were needlessly complicated, "too much work" to try to understand and fill out. Abu also preferred the stoplight image, because the connotations of green meaning go and red meaning stop were immediately easy for him to understand, while the meaning of the other designs were more confusing to puzzle out. Participant also strongly indicated a preference for having a few fixed choices to pick from instead of rating themselves along a sliding scale, again because it was easier to use and to understand their results.

Associating the evaluation with imagery of change and progress helps motivate participants, and leads to greater engagement with the tool. Abu was particularly drawn to the symbolism of the stoplight, saying that it immediately made him think of progress and improvement. He also said that his ranking on the

stoplights would help him remember how he felt at the moment in time he took the evaluation: "red" would mean he felt stuck, "green" like he was moving freely towards his goals. Of the other two less preferred options – the neutral wheel and the more positive walking tour scale – participants responded more positively to the walking tour scale, again because they liked the design's ties to progress and improvement. The wheel was regarded as relatively bland, and provoked the most ambivalent reaction from the participants.

Evaluations should be administered at the program's start and then frequently enough to serve as a meaningful record of progress

It is standard procedure for Streetscapes to evaluate each participant when they enter the program on a host of areas from mental health to financial well-being, to establish a baseline that can be compared to future data to see if they are making progress in these areas over the course of the program. This same logic would dictate that tour guides should take their first evaluation upon beginning the program.

When asked how frequently they would like to take the evaluation, participants indicated a strong desire to take it as often as possible. Abu liked the idea of taking the evaluation once a day, because "it would help me remember how I felt at that specific moment." He liked the idea of being able to compare each day's evaluation to see how he improved from day to day. Ishmael did not specify a specific time frame, but said he'd also like more frequent evaluations so he too could see how he was improving. Their comments show another way that evaluations can also help participants: by serving as a record showing how far they have come, helping them see the progress they have already made and motivating them to keep trying to get better.

Streetscapes is currently moving to a model of having weekly or monthly check-ins with participants to assess their progress towards their overall goals, to provide as accurate a picture of their progress as possible without overwhelming them or taking up too much of their and the social workers' time. Perhaps the evaluations could be distributed to participants at these check-ins.

The Pilot Tour

Summary: On Wednesday December 5, 2018, the Streetscapes program in collaboration with our group of WPI students hosted the first ever homeless walking tour in Cape Town. The pilot tour was led by three Streetscapes participants: Runelle, Abu, and Ismael. The tour was attended by Jesse Laitinen, Manager of Strategic Partnerships at Khulisa, Professor Bulled, Professor Agloro, Christo Visser, several Khulisa interns, Andrew, Contract Facilitator for Streetscapes, and Mark from the CCID. Following the designed route illustrated below, the tour lasted 85 minutes and concluded at Roeland Garden.
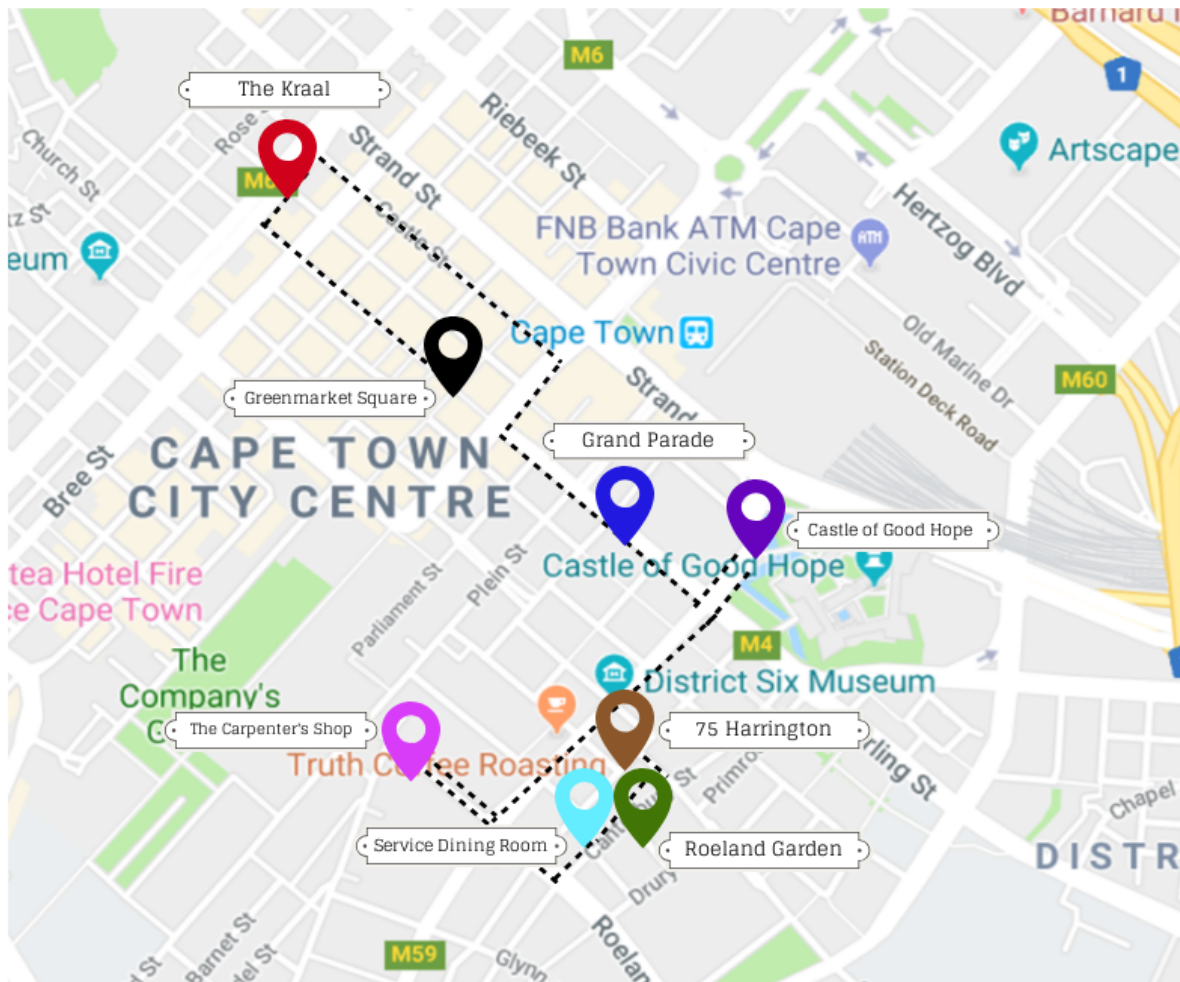
Figure 14- Map of pilot tour locations

Tour locations were selected through an array of collaborative means and considerations

Location 1: Greenmarket Square

- Highlights work opportunities provided by Khulisa
- Other walking tour companies start at this location
- Rich history and lively social hub
- Ismael lived in the bathrooms when he was younger with 20 other boys

Location 2: The Kraal

- Hotbed of gangs and drugs
- Located inside historic Bo-Kaap
- Hideout location from the police
- Abu lived here for almost a year

Location 3: Grand Parade

- Rich history and popular tourist attraction
- Highlights the failures of the system
- Ismael started a gang when he was 13 years old here

Location 4: Castle of Good Hope

- Conveniently located adjacent to the Grand Parade
- Can be used to highlight prison life as it functioned as a prison and held slaves
- Mentioned frequently amongst the participants

Location 5: The Carpenter Shop

- Highlights lack of sufficient programming and structures addressing homelessness
- Many participants frequently use its services including Abu who currently lives there
- Conveniently located in District Six near other locations

Location 6: The Service Dining Room

- Highlights lack of sufficient programming and structures addressing homelessness
- Under constant threat of being bought by the wealthy in order to push the homeless out of the neighborhood
- The first prison in Cape Town used this location for is dining services

Location 7: Roeland Garden

- Significant program for Khulisa
- People can tour the garden and talk to the workers
- Highlights work opportunities provided by Khulisa

Location 8: 75 Harrington

- Serves as alternative ending after which people may return to the garden for further conversations and purchases
- People can buy a beverage and talk to Moses, a now successful ex-Streetscapes participant

The individualized content was provided by the tour guides.

The tour began with Ismael's story at Greenmarket Square, followed by Abu's recollections at the Kraal and then Ismael's story at the Parade. Runnelle then proceeded to talk about the Castle of Good Hope and her time in prison, after which Abu showcased the Carpenter's Shop and shared his experiences there which was followed by Runnelle talking about the Service Dining Room. While we provided them with printed out historical facts about each place and things they mentioned on the previous practice tours, the guides decided what content to include and elaborate on and what to omit. All of the personal stories about each location came from them directly and their desire to share those with the audience of the tour, teaching them something about themselves and life on the streets.

Pilot Tour Reviews

"I definitely enjoyed guiding the first tour. The reason I enjoyed it was, I was nervous but, when I saw people enjoying it, that made me feel good. That was my plan. I wanted to make people feel good, I wanted them to listen to me and everybody was telling me 'That was good, that was good.' It raised my confidence level much more, because I always wanted to do this, but I had the stage fright. As soon as that was broken, everything was great."

- Abu
(Pilot Tour Guide)

"I loved the whole experience learning new things about my own city! Each story inspired me and I enjoyed the chats in between the stops. The one stop and story that stands out for me was the Bo-Kaap - Die Kraal. I found the story fascinating as it goes back so far in history, it's so raw and is still being lived today."

- Andrew Hepburn-Brown
(Contract Facilitator to Streetscapes)

"I found the walking tour to be very educational and insightful, especially since it was coming from people who have actually lived in the area and really know what is happening beneath the surface of what I might normally see.

-Alex Rus
(WPI Class of 2020)

"I found the tour to be immensely engaging. The stories of the tour guides lives - their hopes, dreams, fears and struggles of being homeless and making efforts to rise above their circumstances was inspiring. Learning about the locations we visited and why it is of importance to the tour guides provided me with new lenses with which to view spaces that I have grown so familiar with when going about my own life in the city. What the experience of the tour has done is to make the familiar strange to me. Pushing me to rethink my own position in the city in relation to those of the homeless."

- Christo Visser
(In-country consultant)

Pilot Tour Reflections

"I think this tour [program] can change many lives. I just want people that come on this tour to see the reality of life around here, because everything is not rosy, everything don't just look nice and everything is not fun. There is a lot of people struggling and suffering, a lot of good people. I hope that sharing personal stories will keep people thinking for a long time."

- Abu
(Pilot Tour Guide)

"I was left with more questions than answers as to the how and why of Streetscapes, the guides, and their attempts at creating awareness of the issue of homelessness in Cape Town. This is great because I'm left with a feeling of wanting to go back and engage some more. I'm sure people taking the tour will find it as enriching an experience of self-reflection and critical thought as I did."

"I also really enjoyed the roles taken on by participants as tour guides. Usually homeless individuals are being talked down to. Stared at, gawked, told off, not given any time or space as people to engage. With this tour I felt that this was not the case. We were being engaged so as not to speak, but to listen, to try and understand a different side to the lives of people we often think of as lesser humans or even invisible at times. I felt a sense of pride for the guides because of what they are attempting to do in order to break out of a system that has neglected them as people and has served to perpetuate their circumstances. I left feeling hopeful that the message being spread may just be enough to get people to ask questions and become more aware of the issues at hand."

- Christo Visser
(In-country consultant)

"This tour program has the potential to become sustainable and can be taken to other cities in South Africa and beyond. It can become a sustainable business giving people living on the streets employment opportunities. I hope that it changes the perception of visitors who do the walking tour by opening their eyes to new experiences and thinking about the city and the people who walk the tough road. I hope that it can grow the tour guides' confidence in themselves and their belief that they can participate equally in society and by doing so, start changing the way that society interacts with itself."

- Andrew Hepburn-Brown
(Contract Facilitator to Streetscapes)

Conclusion

In conclusion, we used a collaborative approach in order to design a homeless walking tour alongside the homeless individuals participating in the Streetscapes program. We were able to make connections and develop relationships with the participants through daily interactions and collaborative work on projects ranging from building greenhouses to conducting a photovoice project. We found that while there are multiple walking tour companies in the city of Cape Town there is room and interest in a tour that would highlight the often tough and unpleasant realities of life in the city, showcasing a more authentic Cape Town.

If we were not limited to a seven week period or possessed more expertise, we would have devoted more time to interacting with more participants and building deeper relationships that could inform further collaborations. A longer time period would also allow for more practice and preparation to go into the pilot tour. Due to time constraints we were not able to print out shirts for our tour guides, something we wish we could have done to make the pilot tour more official and the tour guides more recognizable.

While a seven week time period was not enough to create a sustainable program and ensure its successful future, it did allow us to engage in a learning and growing process alongside the Streetscapes participants that resulted in the pilot homeless walking tour with big potential. We conclude this project and leave with a fuller understanding of the problems facing the homeless community and society as a whole, as well as a new appreciation of relationships in our recognition of them as the main catalyst for change.

Appendices

Appendix A: Questions for Tour Guide Interviews

Consent Statement:

We are students at Worcester Polytechnic Institute, in the US. We are working with Khulisa Social Solutions and the Streetscapes Program to develop a homeless walking tour in Cape Town. We would like to ask you a few questions about your experience with this walking tour. This should not take more than 10-15 minutes.

Interviews with Current Tour Guides

Necessary Skill Set
What is the most important aspect of being a good tour guide?
What are different strategies you have attempted to get cross the information they are attempting to share?
What strategies have you used to get people to enjoy the tour, even when the subject matter can be depressing?

Means of Success
What should a tour guide wear?
How much money do you need to make in a week to consider it successful?
How many people tend to be on your tours?
What makes a tour successful?
How much should you react with a participant aside from regular tour aspects?

Personal Evaluation
How long did it take you to become comfortable as a tour guide?
Do you enjoy giving tours?
What is something you can take away from your experience as a tour guide?
How did you become a tour guide?
Do you think it is very important to be personable and how could someone develop skills to be more personable?

Appendix B: Coding for Tour Guide Interviews

Each listed below mention has been designated a unique color and when present in the interview document/transcript this mention is highlighted in the designated color.

Skills

- The importance of appropriate historical knowledge and appropriate research into the history of Cape Town and South Africa. <mark style="background:yellow">Color.</mark>
- The importance of understanding your group/audience, being able to recognize their different backgrounds and cater to their interest. <mark style="background:green">Color.</mark>
- The importance of flexibility. This includes, but is not limited to, working around other tour guides and their groups, different public events, rush hour and city noise. <mark style="background:cyan">Color.</mark>
- The importance of enthusiasm and passion not only to be possessed by the tour guide, but expressed to the group during the tour about the topic being discussed or history that is being highlighted. <mark style="background:magenta">Color.</mark>
- The importance of having a goal or dream by the tour guide for their tour and interactions that come along with it. <mark style="background:#b3a7e0">Color.</mark>
- The importance storytelling and the ability to engage and entertain the tour group, while showing them the city and sharing its history. <mark style="background:#f5b183">Color.</mark>
- The importance of being open and sharing personal interest, thoughts and emotions, as well as the ability to be honest and say "I don't know". <mark style="background:#a9c4a0">Color.</mark>
- The importance of perseverance, character building, learning from past experiences and not being discouraged by the ignorance or rudeness of people on the tour. <mark style="background:#6fa8dc">Color.</mark>

Challenges
- Financial challenges, be it people not understanding the importance of tipping and as a result not tipping the tour guide for their work or feeling that people are not tipping enough. Color.
- Having the tours being emotionally draining and the experience taxing. Color.
- Individual tourists or whole groups being difficult, reserved and disengaged. Color.
- Trying to guide a tour and tell stories in circumstances that are not ideal, busy corners and streets, loud traffic and etc. Color.
- Trying to find a balance between sharing the city and its neighborhoods with the tourists and protecting the privacy and comfort of its residents. Color.

Appendix C: Questions for Participant Follow-Up Interviews

Consent Statement: (Note: at this point participants were already aware of who we were and our intentions for the walking tour program. They had also already agreed to participate in the program itself.) We'd ask to like you a few questions about your experiences during the walking tour program, so we can figure out how to improve the walking tour for the future. This shouldn't take more than half an hour. Is that alright with you?

Interviews:

Why were you initially interested in participating in the tour guide program?

What thing that happened while you were a tour guide are you most proud of?
What can you do now that you couldn't do (or didn't think you could do) before participating in the tour guide program?
What have you learned so far from being a tour guide? This can be something specific, like a fact or a skill, or more broad, like confidence, organizational skills, or other things like that.

What parts of being a tour guide do you still have trouble with, or find hard to do?
What would you still like to learn, to help you become a better tour guide?
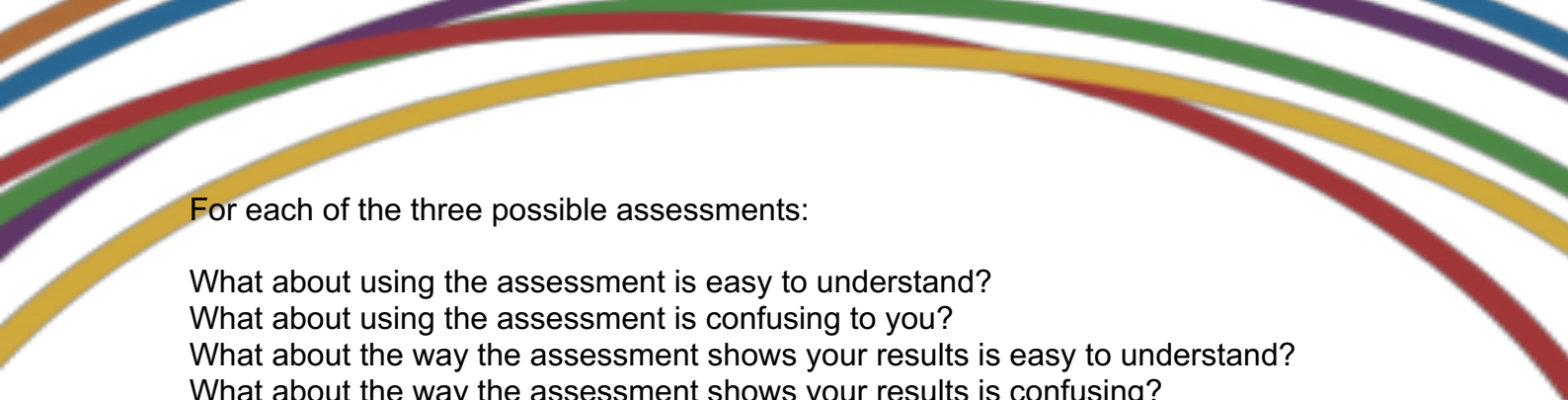Did you ever feel worried, or uncomfortable, or overwhelmed? What things made you feel that way?
What would you like to change about the tour guide program, if anything?

Do you have a particular goal you've been working to achieve? Again, this can be something specific like saving up for a house or learning skills for a better job, or less specific, like wanting to meet new people or becoming more confident.
How has being in the tour guide program helped you get closer to achieving this goal?

Let's say you were the supervisor of the tour guide program, and were looking to choose new people to be tour guides. What skills would you want them to have?
If a friend told you they were interested in being a tour guide, would you recommend it to them? Why or why not?

For each of the three possible assessments:

What about using the assessment is easy to understand?
What about using the assessment is confusing to you?
What about the way the assessment shows your results is easy to understand?
What about the way the assessment shows your results is confusing?
How does this assessment help you understand how to be a better tour guide, if at all?
What changes do you think could make this assessment better?

For all three:

Which assessment seems like it would be the easiest to use? Why?
Which assessment do you think would make it easiest for you to see how much progress you've made as a tour guide? Why?
Do you prefer assessments which give you a few choices to pick from (like the Stoplight), or give you a sliding scale (like the walking race)? Why?
Do you prefer evaluations where all your results are in one place (like the wheel), or your result for each different area is in a different place (like the stoplight or the walking race)? Why?

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