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Give a Man a Fish: A Narrative Approach to a Case Study of Soup Kitchens in the Wentworth Community

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GIVE A MAN A FISH: A NARRATIVE APPROACH TO A CASE STUDY OF SOUP KITCHENS IN THE WENTWORTH COMMUNITY

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Abstract

This study uses a narrative approach to explore the role of soup kitchens in the predominantly Coloured and English-speaking Wentworth community. Many of the community's churches[1] and non-profit organizations host soup kitchens regularly, rotating so that there is a meal available each day of the week.

Qualitative data was gathered through volunteering with the soup kitchens as a participant observer and having conversations and open-ended interviews with soup kitchen guests and hosts. Institutional context was provided by interviews with the Convener of the War Room and the Ward Councillor, and representatives of three non-profits in the community. In order to explore other feeding schemes, interviews were conducted with representatives from three schools which provide meals for learners.

The data was combined to synthesize a multifaceted picture of the soup kitchen network in Wentworth—how it came to be, what it has become, and where it could go. Poverty and unemployment plague Wentworth, fueling an immediate need for the hunger relief the soup kitchens provide. There were stories of gratefulness and hope for a future where the soup kitchens are no longer needed, tinged with a desire to go beyond merely alleviating hunger by addressing underlying issues through empowerment via skills development.

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[1] These churches represent a variety of Christian denominations, including Catholic, Anglican, Methodist, Interfellowship, and Seventh Day Adventist, and will be referred to in this paper as "churches" for simplicity's sake. I understand there are nuances delineating each denomination, but the focus of this study is on the soup kitchens rather than the religious services of the churches.

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Explanation of Frequently Used Acronyms and Terms

NGO: Non-governmental Organization

WOW: Wentworth Organisation of Women is a township based community development non-profit organization established in 1993. Projects and programmes are initiated for the empowerment and upliftment of all residents in the broader community and surrounding townships (Wentworth Organisation of Women, n.d.).

WVFC: Wentworth Victim Friendly Centre is open seven days a week, 24 hours a day and supports "all victims of crime, from rape, robbery, suicide, domestic violence" through counselling services (Wentworth Victim Friendly Centre, n.d.).

DCW: Durban Child Welfare "commits itself to ensuring the well-being of children by protecting their rights and promoting their quality of life, as well as that of their families and communities" (Child Welfare Durban & District, n.d.).

SASSA: South African Social Security Agency

The War Room: a forum that is the confluence of various NGOs, every organ within the community that works towards assisting members of the community in terms of service delivery. It compels decision-making officials in government to come *to* the people. The community identifies what are burning issues are prevailing, and we try to resolve those issues. It convenes every two weeks (Earl Wilkinson, 2016).

Ward Councillor: Ward councillors are mandated as elected representatives to make decisions on behalf of their constituencies. They are expected to be in close contact with their constituencies 'on the ground' and to keep council informed of the real experiences and views of the residents within the municipality. They are also responsible for monitoring and providing feedback for provision of programs and services in the municipality (Role and responsibilities of your ward Councillor, 2016).

Give a man a fish

You feed him for a day

Teach a man to fish

You feed him for a lifetime

~Widely used Proverb

Introduction

This study aims to fill a gap in knowledge regarding soup kitchens in South Africa by exploring the role and importance of the soup kitchen network in the Wentworth community. When a Google Scholar search was conducted using the key words 'soup kitchen' and 'South Africa,' none of the results were specifically about soup kitchens in South Africa. Some results were about soup kitchens in other countries, and the majority focused on food security and nutrition, with soup kitchens only mentioned as one example of the broader issue investigated.

There were two ethnographic studies on soup kitchens that informed the framework of this study, but both take place in an American context. Miller, Creswell, and Olander (1998) conducted a four month long ethnographic study at St. Tabor Soup Kitchen, examining cultural themes that emerged during their time as participant observers at the soup kitchen. As part of their ethnography, they included the retelling of the tales they had originally heard, and how the tales changed and took on new meanings in the context of the retellings (Miller, Creswell, & Olander, 1998). Irene Glasser spent four years at the Tabernacle Soup Kitchen, using participant observation to "understand and describe the meaning of the soup kitchen for its guests" (Glasser, 1988, p. 34). Her book, entitled *More Than Bread*, covers the history of the soup kitchen in the American context and goes into depth with her observations and conversations with the people she met at the soup kitchen. Her approach was to view the soup kitchen as a culture in itself, which is created as guests interact with each other and with staff. Patterns of "reciprocal interaction" are created jointly by the guests and staff as they enact the numerous rituals of daily soup kitchen life (Glasser, 1988, p. 4).

I took a similar approach with my study situated in the peri-urban Wentworth community on the outskirts of the city of Durban in the KwaZulu-Natal province of South Africa, but brought multiple perspectives to the role of the soup kitchens by interviewing volunteers, guests, and institutional representatives, integrating their perspectives with my personal observations. Additionally, I looked at the network of soup kitchens in the community rather than focusing on a single soup kitchen. While I may not have gained as deep of an understanding of each soup kitchen as the two aforementioned ethnographic studies exhibited, my emphasis was on how the network of soup kitchens fits into the broader Wentworth community. I also brought in the perspectives of the Wentworth Victim Friendly Centre (WVFC), Durban Child Welfare (DCW), and Wentworth Organisation of Women (WOW) to provide institutional viewpoints on how the

soup kitchens function in the community. Two primary schools and a secondary school in the community functioned as another case that is similar to the primary case of the soup kitchens (Stake, 2005, p. 447) since the schools provide meals to children identified as being from poorer households.

There are many role players contributing to the feeding schemes in Wentworth. This project aims to synthesize a multifaceted picture of the soup kitchen network by drawing on the perspectives of the hosts of the different feeding schemes and integrating them with narratives of those who attend the feeding schemes. With everything situated within the broader Wentworth context, the study contributes to an understanding of the role the soup kitchens play in this specific community.

Context

Wentworth is a 'Coloured' suburb in Durban, in KwaZulu-Natal, and is part of the eThekwini municipality (Naidu, 2014, p. 19). As a result of the Group Areas Act in 1961, Coloured people from various parts of KwaZulu-Natal were forcibly removed from their homes and resettled in Wentworth (Naidu, 2014, p. 22). It has a population of approximately 80,000 people over an area of 212 hectares (Wentworth Organisation of Women, n.d.). There is a strong sense of community, which I personally experienced during my stay with a host family here for the duration of the study project as a part of my study abroad program with the School for International Training. Wentworth resident Neville Grimmet says Wentworth is a friendly neighbourhood; "Here you get a sense of community because you know who your neighbours are and they know who you are" (Life in Austerville, 2011). It has been said that Wentworth boasts the highest concentration of churches in the world (Gail Richards, Personal Communication, 2016). While this may not be the absolute truth, the plethora of churches dotting the streets certainly do contribute to the social cohesion of Wentworth, and are a major driving factor behind the creation of the soup kitchen network.

Despite the interconnectedness of the Wentworth population however, the community faces numerous social ills. Gang violence, drug use, HIV/AIDS, poor housing, unemployment, and poverty are all entangled in a vicious cycle in the community (Chari, 2006, pp. 428-429). The area is surrounded by artifices of heavy industry—the smokestacks from oil refineries and chemical factories can be seen bellowing smoke into the air. These industries provide employment, albeit temporary, for much of Wentworth, but are also major sources of pollution and contribute to many health problems in the community (Wentworth Organisation of Women, n.d.). This study aims to make a small contribution to addressing the social ills in the Wentworth community by making visible the in-visible problems of the Wentworth community driving the creation of and perpetuating the use of the soup kitchen network.

Literature Review

Poverty and Food Insecurity in South Africa

Poverty in South Africa is an unfortunate reality largely as a result of the oppressive system of apartheid economics under which African, Coloured, and Indian individuals were subject to vastly inferior education and labor market opportunities, creating poverty and inequality constructed along racial lines (Lilenstein, Woolard, & Leibbrandt, 2016, p. 1). Chronic poverty can be understood as "a household's or individual's inability, or lack of opportunity, to better its circumstances over time or to sustain itself through difficult times." Under this definition, poverty exists at the intersection of individual and environmental characteristics (Aliber, 2001, p. 2). The food poverty line, according to Statistics South Africa, is the "Rand value below which individuals are unable to purchase or consume enough food to supply them with minimum per-capita-per-day energy requirement for good health[5]" (Statistics South Africa, 2015, p. 1). By this determination, the food poverty line in 2011 for KwaZulu-Natal was R354 per capita, per month, the highest of all the provinces (Statistics South Africa, 2015, p. 12).

The danger in defining poverty numerically is that rather than identifying what individuals' actual needs are (e.g. food, housing, education, or jobs) and designing interventions to meet those, we consign poor people to poor standards of living, ignoring how their past choices have been determined by their poverty and lack of access to money (Studies in Poverty and Inequality Institute, 2007, p. 35). We must take into account structural inequities to eradicate poverty rather than focusing solely on individuals.

The human right to have enough food is declared in the South African Bill of Rights, which states in Section 27(1)(b) that every citizen has the right to have access to sufficient food and water (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996). The acquisition of food and the provision of adequate nutrition are among the most basic of human rights (Maxwell, 1996, p. 292). However, policy and implementation often do not go hand-in-hand, and although rights are declared by law, they are not always realized in practice. Food insecurity occurs when the sum of all food acquired is insufficient to meet the minimum consumption requirements of the individual or household, and is closely tied to poverty and vulnerability (Devereux, 2016, p. 53). While South Africa has been successful in reducing hunger at a national level, it is still

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[5] About 2 100 kilocalories

considered food insecure at the household level (Thornton, 2016, p. 2; Pereira & Drimie, 2016, p. 20). Food insecurity in South Africa is not due to a shortage of food but rather to insufficient access to food as a result of structural poverty and inequality created by apartheid policies. Therefore, efforts to address poverty also play an important role in addressing food insecurity (d'Agostino, Scarlato, & Napolitano, 2016, p. 2). Because food insecurity is often correlated with social exclusion and political marginalization, addressing these underlying determinants may be more effective and sustainable (Devereux, 2016, p. 58). Food insecurity is not a purely technical or economic issue, but rather a complex interdependence between a variety of societal actors. Dialogue between all stakeholders is necessary to identify problems and solutions and ensure policy responds to the needs of those actually affected (Pereira & Drimie, 2016, p. 27).

Unemployment

Although apartheid ended more than two decades ago, high levels of racialized unemployment have persisted in South Africa. From 1994 to 2014, the unemployment rate increased from 22% to 25%, and the expanded unemployment rate[6] remained constant at 35% (Lehohla, 2014, pp. 29-30). Consequences of unemployment include poor health, children's poor academic performance, low self-esteem, worsening poverty and inequality, and social problems such as crime and poor nutrition. There have been multiple government interventions designed to achieve rapid job creation as a major component of the poverty reduction strategy, but progress has been slow and unemployment has grown faster than employment (Hendriks, 2016, p. 1; Lilenstein, Woolard, & Leibbrandt, 2016, p. 3; Lehohla, 2014, p. 31). One obstacle to job creation and economic growth is the shortage of skilled workers coupled with the increased demand for skilled workers due to technological changes that have occurred within firms and industries. People seeking to enter the labor force find it difficult to get employed because they lack the requisite skills and qualifications (Hendriks, 2016, pp. 22-23). This can be attributed in part to the labor system established under apartheid, which was geared towards producing a low-skilled, low-wage workforce (Lilenstein, Woolard, & Leibbrandt, 2016, p. 2). While there has been a shift towards skilled employment, semi-skilled and low-skilled workers made up 75% of the workforce in 2014 (Lehohla, 2014, p. 12). Skills development and education and training improvement have been identified as critical steps toward the attainment of the goal of eradicating poverty and decreasing unemployment (Lehohla, 2014, p. 41).

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[6] The expanded definition includes those who wish to work but are not currently actively seeking work

Although securing employment is often seen as a key means of escaping poverty, a significant proportion of those employed often find themselves unable to 'work themselves out' of poverty due to the reality of their circumstances (Lilenstein, Woolard, & Leibbrandt, 2016, p. 2). Factors including race and education level have been identified as markers contributing to poverty, with Coloured workers and those with low education levels among the groups at risk to suffer from poverty despite being employed (Lilenstein, Woolard, & Leibbrandt, 2016, p. 4). There is a strong and consistent relationship between higher levels of education obtained and increased employment and wages (Lilenstein, Woolard, & Leibbrandt, 2016, p. 12; Roberts, 2015, p. 4). Unemployment rates show a marked increase as level of education decreases, with 42% of those who have not obtained matric[7] unemployed compared to 14% of those with tertiary qualifications (Lehohla, 2014, p. 33).

Poverty Alleviation Efforts

Poverty alleviation was a key focus of the new economic policy upon the country's transition to democracy in 1994 (Lilenstein, Woolard, & Leibbrandt, 2016, p. 1).

Social Assistance Program

According to Section 27(1)(c) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, everyone has the right to have access to "social security, including, if they are unable to support themselves and their dependents, appropriate social assistance" (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996). The South African government's social security system of state-provided, cash social assistance covering more than a third of the population accounts for the largest anti-poverty expenditure and costs 3.2% of the country's gross domestic product (Aliber, 2001, p. iii; Plagerson & Patel, 2016, p. 14; Aguero, Carter, & Woolard, 2006, p. 4; Lilenstein, Woolard, & Leibbrandt, 2016, p. 4). The Social Assistance Act of 1992 targeted vulnerable groups outside the labor force, primarily children, the elderly, and people with disabilities. The Child Support Grant[8] and Old Age Pension[9] are the two largest social grants included in the program; these grants involve direct cash transfers not contingent on any kind of behavior change (Godfrey, et al., 2016, p. 2). Unfortunately, many of the government grants meant for poverty alleviation do not reach the intended target due to the complicated bureaucracy involved in accessing and

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[7] Qualification received on graduating from high school
[8] Monthly payments issued to primary care givers of eligible children based on a means test (SASSA, n.d.)
[9] Monthly payments issued to eligible persons over the age of 60 based on a means test (SASSA, n.d.)

receiving these grants (Mthembu, 2005, p. 11). Despite more than twenty years of implementing progressive social grant benefits intended to improve the well-being of vulnerable populations in the country, the legacy of apartheid policies remains (Godfrey, et al., 2016, p. 13).

Dr. Zola Skweyiya, the Minister for Social Development from 1999-2009, admitted in a budget vote speech to the National Assembly on April 3rd, 2001, that "'the Government recognizes that the current grant amounts are not sufficient to address large-scale poverty, deprivation and inequality in South Africa…'" (Aliber, 2001, p. 1). Making changes at the national or even the provincial level is a massive undertaking and will take time. Change must be effected starting with the municipality and community levels, and efforts should strike a balance between establishing a safety-net for those in poverty and development programs to empower people to lift themselves out of poverty (Aliber, 2001, p. 4).

Local Initiatives

The eThekwini municipality has a Poverty Alleviation Programme which "aims to relieve the impact of poverty and to assist people to escape the cycle of poverty and indigence." The needs of the unemployed are addressed by the Poverty Alleviation Programme, which includes social intervention in the form of a food security project comprised of fourteen soup kitchens within the municipality (Poverty Alleviation Programme, 2011). A research report investigating survival strategies of the unemployed in eThekwini identifies soup kitchens provided by religious organizations as one of the only ways through which they can access food (Mthembu, 2005, p. 14).

Churches and NGOs in the Wentworth community independently host the soup kitchens without any form of government support. These churches are representative of the general theme of Christian giving; Chetty and Maharaj found that the aim of most churches and Christian organizations is generally to provide food, clothing and support for the destitute (Chetty & Maharaj, 2011, p. 115). These feelings of generosity seem to be motivated by feelings of human solidarity— "We should give because the poor have nothing, or are suffering, or are in need, or deserve something from us" (Chetty & Maharaj, 2011, p. 131).

However, it is not only Christian organizations that participate in the spirit of philanthropy. There are a number of hunger relief and non-profit organizations in South Africa that aim to utilize food waste for people in need. Some of these organizations include food banks, shelters, and soup kitchens (Bruwer, 2012, p. 8). There are structures in place to alleviate

the problems of hunger and food insecurity, which indicates people recognize these needs and are taking action to address them. A favourable environment would enable the poor to be in a better position to fight "continuous and inhumane cycles of poverty" (Mthembu, 2005, p. 19).

Interventions to create an empowering environment giving agency to the poor need to occur at different levels. The Constitution guarantees it at the national level, the eThekwini Poverty Alleviation Programme addresses it at a municipality level, but it is the soup kitchens in the Wentworth community that are mobilizing local resources to address local needs (Kuljian, 2005, p. 26). It is at this local level that policies are put into practice after being adapted to the context at hand. Part of this study examines how the context of the Wentworth community influences and shapes the soup kitchens.

Soup Kitchens and Human Scale Development

> Soup kitchens: places where a meal is served on a regular basis (daily or weekly). Kitchens are typically located in churches, shelters for the homeless, or community centers. They are staffed by volunteers who plan, prepare, and serve a full meal at little or no cost to as many as several hundred people. (Citizens' Commission on Hunger in New England; Harvard School of Public Health, 1984, p. Glossary)

Soup kitchens fulfill the obvious and basic human need for food. According to Manfred Max-Neef's model of Human Scale Development, food is identified as a satisfier of the fundamental need for subsistence. His model delineates needs and satisfiers, where all human needs are interrelated and interactive rather than hierarchical or linear. There is no direct one-to-one relationship between needs and satisfiers; a satisfier may simultaneously satisfy different needs, or conversely, a need may require various satisfiers in order to be met (Max-Neef, 1991, p. 17). Max-Neef identifies nine axiological needs[10] and four existential needs[11] which exist as a matrix (see Appendix 4) with possible satisfiers existing at the intersection of axiological and existential needs (Max-Neef, 1991, pp. 32-33).

The traditional concept of poverty is a purely economic one that only refers to an income threshold, whereas within the Human Scale Development model poverty refers to any fundamental human need that is not adequately satisfied (Max-Neef, 1991, p. 18). People living in poverty are experiencing poverty on multiple levels, beyond a purely economic poverty. Statistics South Africa also recognizes that poverty is a "multidimensional phenomenon."

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[10] Subsistence, Protection, Affection, Understanding, Participation, Idleness, Creation, Identity, and Freedom
[11] Being, Having, Doing, and Interacting

Information on all dimensions is necessary for understanding the socioeconomic challenges people face and for designing responses to those challenges (Statistics South Africa, 2015, p. 3). One example of another dimension of poverty faced by the unemployed is that they oftentimes lose the respect of their family members and are regarded as "nothing" because they cannot meet their responsibilities or their families' needs (Mthembu, 2005, p. 12). The soup kitchen fulfills needs beyond that of purely subsistence in that it provides a space to build social networks and fulfill needs of affection and participation. Glasser observed that soup kitchens serve an overt nutritional function for their guests, but beyond that are the important underlying social functions they provide (Glasser, 1988, p. 8). Within the space of a soup kitchen, individuals are able to interact with others in similar situations, which helps form social bonds of solidarity. The soup kitchens in Wentworth would like to provide some form of empowerment in terms of skills development for employment but currently do not have the resources to do so.

Interestingly, Max-Neef deems charity to be a "pseudo-satisfier" of the need of subsistence in that it generates a false sense of satisfaction but may invalidate the possibility of satisfying the need it was originally aimed at fulfilling (Max-Neef, 1991, pp. 31, 35, Table 3). However, programs to provide food and housing are listed as examples of "singular satisfiers" because they satisfy the one particular need of subsistence but are neutral in regard to other needs (Max-Neef, 1991, pp. 34, 36, Table 5). Self-managed production, which may take the form of a food garden, is presented as an example of a "synergic satisfier" that satisfies the given need of subsistence while simultaneously stimulating and contributing to the fulfillment of the other needs of participation, creation, identity, freedom (Max-Neef, 1991, pp. 34, 36, Table 6).

Soup kitchens would be classified as singular satisfiers in this scheme if they are viewed only as a source of food; however, it is also imperative to consider what else soup kitchens have to offer to meet the multidimensional needs of their guests. The eThekwini survival strategies report found that the unemployed survive through the compassion of others, indicating that it is important to fulfill more than just the basic needs of food and shelter (Mthembu, 2005, p. 16). This study investigated the possibility of soup kitchens as synergic satisfiers that can satisfy the need of subsistence while fulfilling other needs of participation, identity, and freedom, to name a few. Ideally, we should take a systemic rather than linear view, in which needs are understood as both deprivations and potentials for action, generating synergic satisfiers and ultimately allowing for the "elimination of the vicious circle of poverty" (Max-Neef, 1991, p. 52).

Methodologies

Design

The study was approached as an instrumental case study in which the soup kitchen was the unit of analysis. Although multiple soup kitchens comprised the entirety of the study, time constraints prevented each soup kitchen from being a case in itself, as that would have required a depth of analysis that was not possible given three weeks' time. An instrumental case study is ideal when there is intent to gain insight and understanding of a particular situation or phenomenon. The case itself plays a supportive role and facilitates understanding of an external interest (Baxter & Jack, 2008, p. 550; Stake, 2005). The external interest in this study lay in the broader issues of poverty alleviation and food security; the specific case of the soup kitchens in Wentworth allowed me to study one example of how these issues intersect in this context.

Primarily qualitative data was gathered to explore the significance of the services provided by the soup kitchens, guests' experiences at the soup kitchens, and opinions on the role soup kitchens are seen to play in the Wentworth community. Quantitative data such as number of guests served by the soup kitchens or budgetary allocations of the soup kitchens provided more details for the overall picture, but were not in and of themselves helpful in determining the importance of the soup kitchens to the Wentworth community. A narrative approach was taken in collecting qualitative data, using open-ended interview questions (see Appendix 1) to spark conversations that the participant was allowed to take wherever they chose. Analysis of these stories comprised the bulk of my data.

Sampling Plan

Wentworth is a primarily Coloured community, so the majority of participants were Coloured and fluent in English. The soup kitchens in Wentworth are hosted by churches and organizations in the community. Gail Richards, our community liaison, provided me with contact information of certain key members in the community involved with feeding schemes. All were very forthcoming with providing me with times to volunteer—with some, just to help serve the meals, and with others, to help both cook and serve. I was able to participate in eight different feeding schemes hosted by six churches and two community organizations, and gained insight through participant observation. I also had the privilege of being invited to attend two separate soup kitchen meetings, which showed me the logistics of running a soup kitchen. I took note of

the concerns voiced during the meeting, as they reflected the challenges faced by the soup kitchens, and how the group planned to address those concerns. I spoke with teachers at three different schools that provided meals for students they identified as being in need, and arranged interviews with the Ward Councillor and the Convener of the War Room.

The sample of churches were a mixture of denominations and were dependent upon accessibility and proximity to where I stayed. Walking was my primary mode of transportation, so churches and organizations that were closer were more feasible to include in the study. Not every church that hosts a feeding scheme in Wentworth was included, and there were also feeding schemes hosted by other religious organizations that were not included. This may have been a source of bias in the sample, and the sample was not representative of the entire Wentworth community. Additionally, I was not able to speak to every single guest that attended the soup kitchens; they spanned a wide demographic variety across gender and age. Of the guests that I was able to speak with, their views were only representative of their individual opinions and cannot be generalized to represent those of the entire population that attends the soup kitchens. Due to time and resource limitations, these exclusions were necessary. "Once you have determined what your case will be, you will have to consider what your case will NOT be" (Baxter & Jack, 2008, p. 546).

Data Collection

I had initially planned to focus on the narratives collected from the soup kitchen guests, but I quickly realized that my focus would have to shift for a number of reasons. I had envisioned an environment similar to American soup kitchen where guests are served a meal and are also provided a space to sit down and eat together. However, in Wentworth, soup kitchen guests are asked to bring their own containers, which I learned was because they were bringing food back to feed their families. This meant that guests would immediately disperse to go home after receiving the food. While I had planned to mingle with the guests as they ate their meals, I realized I would have to amend my approach to collecting their narratives, keeping in mind that I did not want to inconvenience any guests. Additionally, I found that speaking with the people who had started the different soup kitchens revealed more about the dynamics of the community and its needs than I had originally anticipated, and I decided to shift my focus to equally emphasize narratives from both the soup kitchen hosts and guests.

Data in this study was primarily qualitative, with some quantitative data as supporting evidence. Participant observation, one-on-one interviews, and conversations were the primary methods of data collection. Participant observation took place during my time volunteering with six church-hosted soup kitchens and two organization-based soup kitchens from November 1st to November 21st. I acquired knowledge about the social world of the soup kitchen by participating in serving the guests (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983, p. 106). Given the limited time frame, this was the most effective method to learn about the inner workings of a soup kitchen. Through participant observation, I began to bridge the gap from outsider to insider, allowing me to build rapport with the guests so they were more comfortable sharing their stories with me. I recorded my observations and experiences in a personal journal, which I drew on as primary data.

I spent the first week introducing myself to key players in the soup kitchen network around the Wentworth community and learning when each feeding occurred during the week. As I had anticipated, some of the same community members frequented multiple soup kitchens; by the end of the first week, many guests recognized me, and vice versa. Thus, I felt comfortable approaching them to begin casual conversations. During the second week, I returned to the same soup kitchens to continue building the relationships that I had initiated in the first week. I enlisted the help of the soup kitchen hosts, who had close relationships with the guests, to identify those who would be willing to speak with me.

According to Stake, qualitative case researchers gather data on the activity and functioning of the case, its historical background and physical setting, and situate it within economic, political, legal, and aesthetic contexts (Stake, 2005, p. 447). In order to fully contextualize the case, my personal observations and experiences in the soup kitchen were combined with conversations with the soup kitchen hosts and guests to provide a clearer picture of the soup kitchen from multiple perspectives. I guided the conversations with a few questions to ask the participant to clarify or expand upon something, but for the most part allowed the participant to have freedom in choosing the experiences they shared. In total, I conducted six formal interviews with soup kitchen hosts[12] and six informal interviews with soup kitchen guests. I developed a small set of questions beforehand to provide a structure for data collection, but

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[12] While all but one of the soup kitchens I volunteered with were run by teams, "host" in this context is used to refer to the individual I formally interviewed, with the understanding that other volunteers also play a role in hosting the soup kitchen. I had casual conversations with many team members besides the main "host," and I used those to further inform my understanding of how the soup kitchens function.

questions were intentionally left open-ended, allowing for follow-up questions to be asked as the conversation progressed. The interview guide can be found in Appendix 1. Follow-up questions that I asked are not included in the appendix, as they varied across participants. All the interviews were conducted in person at a location and time convenient for the participant. Some of the interviews took place in participants' homes, some took place at the churches, schools, or the building of the organization that the participant was based at. All interviews with soup kitchen guests took place at the site of the feeding to ensure maximum comfort and convenience for the participant. I recorded interviews on my recorder with the permission of all participants, and listened to them repeatedly for overall meaning and for specific quotations.

> We cannot observe feelings, thoughts, and intentions…We cannot observe how people have organized the world and the meanings they attach to what goes on in the world. We have to ask people questions about those things. The purpose of interviewing, then, is to allow us to enter into the other person's perspective. (Patton, 2002, pp. 340-341)

Interview should be treated as a "social medium for active construction of knowledge" (Bleakley, 2005, p. 537). Using the conversational interview as a method of data collection allowed me to best approach my research aim of exploring the importance of the soup kitchen in the Wentworth community.

To learn more about the nature of the case and its economic, political, and legal contexts, I conducted more formal interviews with representatives from the WVFC, WOW, and DCW, as well as the Convener of the War Room and the Ward Councillor.[13] I also spoke with teachers at two primary schools and a secondary school in the community. These schools provide meals for children on certain days of the week, allowing me to explore a case through which the primary case of the soup kitchen can be recognized since they present a similar situation of a feeding scheme at the local level (Stake, 2005, p. 447). The three community organizations regularly refer their clients to the soup kitchens in the community and also host feedings of their own when funds allow, providing another lens through which to view the role of the soup kitchens.

Taking a narrative approach made visible the often in-visible population attending the soup kitchens in Wentworth, which may help motivate government action to address the community's needs. "Narrative inquiry often seeks not only to personalize but also to engage proactively with its research population through deliberate intervention, as research with, not on,

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[13] See Explanation of Frequently Used Acronyms and Terms

people" (Bleakley, 2005, p. 535). "Facts described literally are unlikely to have the power to evoke in the reader what the reader needs to experience to know the person someone portrays" (Eisner, 1997, p. 8). Through this collection of qualitative data from a variety of primary sources, I constructed a picture of how the soup kitchens fit into the broader Wentworth community from the different facets of people's perspectives.

Primary data was supplemented with data from secondary sources, collected via searches through Google Scholar and the database of Washington University in St. Louis. Google's main search engine was also used to gather gray literature. I also read books and articles recommended by academic advisors pertaining to the study topic.

Data Analysis

As a case study, the primary aim of this project was not to establish generalizations, but rather to construct a multifaceted picture of the role of soup kitchens in Wentworth using rich description and varied perspectives. "What is required of case study researchers is not that they provide generalizations but rather, that they illustrate the case they have studied properly, in a way that captures its unique features" (Ruddin, 2006, p. 804). Utilizing the narrative approach allowed me to best capture the unique features of individual lived experiences in the Wentworth community. By integrating data gleaned from conversations and interviews with my personal learnings from participant observation, I explored how the soup kitchens intersect with the lives of the Wentworth population.

I analyzed the narratives elicited from the guests and hosts about their experiences with the soup kitchen and the perceived impact of the soup kitchens on the community. I used the interviews with the institutional and organizational representatives and my personal observations to provide further context. I also examined the narratives themselves, looking at the particular experiences hosts and guests chose to share.

After listening to each interview recording multiple times, I followed the "denaturalized transcription" process which is less concerned with accents and involuntary vocalization, but rather about the substance of the interview, the "meanings and perceptions created and shared during a conversation" (Oliver, Serovich, & Mason, 2005, p. 1276). Transcription is an important component of the reflection process in qualitative research and can contribute to the meaning-making process when analyzing multiple in-depth interviews (Oliver, Serovich, & Mason, 2005, p. 1285). After transcribing each interview, I reread the transcript and highlighted

key phrases I found meaningful. The focus was less on *how* the perceptions of the soup kitchens were communicated and more on the perceptions themselves (Oliver, Serovich, & Mason, 2005, pp. 1277-1278). I chose to present the qualitative data in a denaturalized format in an attempt to understand the soup kitchen culture from an insider's point of view, to understand what the soup kitchen *means* to those who participate in it (Oliver, Serovich, & Mason, 2005, p. 1278). The analysis was focused on the meanings contained in the interviews rather than the analysis of the speech patterns themselves, so the denaturalized transcription method was an appropriate one to answer this research question (Oliver, Serovich, & Mason, 2005, p. 1279). .

At the end of the first week, after volunteering at the different soup kitchens and interviewing a majority of the soup kitchen hosts, I noticed similar ideas across my conversations. I began looking at the interview transcripts in relation to each other to identify repeatedly occurring themes. During the second week, when I began interviews with soup kitchen guests, I used those interviews to provide another perspective on some of the issues the soup kitchen hosts had highlighted. I organized the qualitative data from personal observations, one-on-one interviews, and conversations thematically based upon similarities and differences identified in participants' responses regarding perceived needs of and impacts on the community. I analyzed these themes in relation to existing literature regarding human need fulfillment and social ills found through secondary source collection to ground the data analysis in a theoretical basis.

Ethics

Throughout this study, I made sure to comply with the SIT Study Abroad Statement of Ethics and SIT Human Subjects Research Policy. A local review board reviewed this independent study project for ethical concerns and found it to conform to all relevant and necessary ethical standards (see Appendix 2). Participants were asked to review and sign a consent form acknowledging their understanding of the study and their right to privacy, confidentiality, and anonymity. Interviews were only recorded with the express consent of the participant. Particular care was taken when interviewing the soup kitchen guests, who may be considered a vulnerable population since they live in poverty.

All interviews took place in a location familiar to and convenient for the participant to minimize any stress the participant may have felt. The conversational format of the interviews lent itself to minimizing any power hierarchy between the interviewee and myself, placing us on more equal footing. I approached each interview by expressing the desire to learn from the interviewee about what they knew about the soup kitchens, allowing them to freely share their knowledge and experiences without fear of saying something "wrong." I made sure the questions were not leading in any way to prevent the interviewee from feeling compelled to answer a certain way, and I also took care to avoid unintentional assumptions. For example, I asked "Are you able to take nutrition into account?" rather than "Do you take nutrition into account?" The latter ignores the likely financial constraints faced by the soup kitchen, as fresh fruits and vegetable are often more expensive than refined starches. I also adjusted the language of my questions to eliminate any "jargon" that may have been confusing for the interviewee; for example, rather than asking soup kitchen guests for their narratives, I opened the conversation by asking them to tell me a story about the soup kitchens.

Participants are divided into categories of NGO representatives, teachers, soup kitchen hosts, and soup kitchen guests for the purpose of presenting the data, but no names are included to ensure the privacy of the individuals other than those who explicitly gave permission to have their names included.[14] This was done to give the reader the necessary context without compromising the anonymity of the participants.

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[14] Gail Richards, Aubrey Snyman, Earl Wilkinson

Findings: A Recipe for a Soup Kitchen

Meal Preparation: Understanding Wentworth

The Wentworth community has mobilized in a unique way to respond to the needs of its community members. To address hunger, a multitude of soup kitchens have been created, none of which directly coordinate with each other, but all somehow working in tandem to provide free meals and bread to the impoverished people of Wentworth. "Each church has a turn to actually feed, and it is taking place on a daily basis from Monday to Sunday to try and prevent people from going to bed without meals" (Aubrey Snyman, Interview, 2016), and "If you really need a place for food in Wentworth, you can get one any day of the week. If you really want a meal badly, you will get a meal" (Host 1, Interview, 2016). A rough schedule of the feeding schedule in Wentworth has been included in Appendix 5, with names of religious institutions removed.

The South African government has an intricate system of social grants as part of their poverty alleviation efforts, but upon inquiring about government assistance for these soup kitchens, I found that the funds are "not from the government, it's strictly concerned members of the community" (Teacher 1, Interview, 2016). Upon further probing, I discovered that the lack of government support was perceived by many participants as being closely linked to their Coloured identities. Many people I spoke with drew a connection between the social ills plaguing Wentworth and the largely Coloured population in the community.

> Our South African government always said the Coloured communities are more advantaged than the Black communities, so the Black communities would get the funding for the soup kitchens, not the Coloured or Indian or White—we were seen as the more fortunate. (Representative 2, Interview, 2016)

This was explicitly attributed to the remnants of apartheid, which although no longer in place by law, continue to be felt by communities such as Wentworth, a community which was formed directly by the racialized policies of the apartheid era.

> People still feel that they're dispossessed while we're in a democracy. Most people will tell you that in the old dispensation of apartheid, we were not white enough to be white, and in the new dispensation, we're not black enough to be black. So as so-called "coloured" people, we're still on the margins and feel marginalized. (Earl Wilkinson, Interview, 2016)

While the South African government has measures in place to combat poverty, these policies have not had a concrete effect at the local level in Wentworth specifically. The soup kitchen

network that has been established in Wentworth is an example of a local response to poverty when national efforts fail to have a tangible impact on individual lives.

Who are the cooks in the kitchen? The Role Players

The feeding schemes in Wentworth are hosted by a variety of religious institutions[15] and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Additionally, many schools in the community provide meals for certain students identified as being from poorer families. These different feeding schemes all play a role in feeding the people of Wentworth.

CHURCH-BASED SOUP KITCHENS

I was able to volunteer with six different church-based soup kitchens during this study. At some, I participated in both cooking and serving the meal, and at others, I only attended the actual feeding and helped with dishing up. This was mostly because different soup kitchens had different methods of preparing the meals. Some groups would get together and spend the entire day cooking and serve the meal immediately after. Other groups divided meal preparation and cooking into separate days; they prepared the vegetables by peeling and chopping the day before, and cooked the actual soup, stew or curry the day of the feeding. Still other larger groups had different people in charge of grocery shopping, cooking, transporting the food to the feeding location, and serving the actual meal. Team members spanned the spectrum of ages, and both men and women were present, although women seemed to be in charge of many of the soup kitchens. In fact, all but one of the feeding schemes I volunteered at were headed by women. The teams varied in size, from an efficient one-woman show or a pair of teachers donating their time after a long day at school, to a well-oiled machine of seven or eight grannies. Two groups even had rosters with multiple teams that rotated between different roles, listing the responsibilities of each team for each week of the year.

I also had the exciting opportunity to attend two soup kitchen meetings with two different churches. One was a one-time meeting to discuss how the soup kitchens could be improved to better meet the needs of the community. The other meeting was one regularly held once a month, with an organized agenda detailing the statistics of how many individuals had been fed each week, reviewing the financial report, and checking in with members of the shopping, cooking, transporting, and serving teams to see if any concerns needed to be addressed.

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[15] This study focused on Christian religious institutions, but there are other churches and other religious institutions not of a Christian background that were not included in this study due to time and resource limitations.

While there were varying levels of organization, every volunteer I spoke with was personally invested in giving back to the community through the soup kitchen. "It's not like a duty, it's our *want* to do it, we want to do it. It takes a bit of time out of your day, but we enjoy doing it" (Host 5, Interview, 2016). This genuine sense of joy was reflected in the interactions I had with the soup kitchen teams; there was never any sense of displeasure or annoyance. Good-natured bantering and laughter characterized my time spent volunteering with them.

NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

The NGOs in Wentworth exist to address the needs of the population—including hunger. Each organization refers the population they serve to the different soup kitchens if the client is in need. "We know exactly when they feed, we know which days they feed, what times, so we refer people" (Representative 2, Interview, 2016). The WOW representative explained, "the churches will have their soup kitchens regularly because they have a good income from the church. But us NGOs, we strictly rely on donations. Only when we have a donation, then we have a soup kitchen" (Representative 2, Interview, 2016). The WVFC hosts a soup kitchen a few times a month "depending on the sponsors and the staff. Because we are so short-staffed, it's not as regular as we like it to be" (Representative 3, Interview, 2016). Feeding is just one element of the services these NGOs provide for people in Wentworth.

The NGOs included in this study were WOW, DCW, and WVFC.[16] DCW did not host a feeding during my time in Wentworth, so I spoke with a representative for information but was unable to participate in an actual feeding. WVFC had a feeding planned—I helped with cutting, peeling, and chopping the vegetables for the soup—but in the end, the staff was too busy to finish cooking, so the feeding was postponed. While WOW does not host a regular soup kitchen, it feeds the community by handing out loaves of bread three times a week at a quarter past six in the morning. About 80 loaves of bread are picked up from the Albany[17] factory early in the morning by a WOW staff member and driven to WOW to be distributed. I helped with the bread handout multiple times throughout the course of the study. When I showed up the first time, I arrived just as people were trickling out of the WOW parking lot carrying their loaves. A staff member informed me that people start queuing up before 6:00 am, so the next time I made sure to show up early. As soon as the car drove up, bread piled up in the backseat and trunk, everyone

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[16] See Explanation of Frequently Used Acronyms and Terms
[17] A South African bakery company which donates bread to WOW and other Wentworth organizations

surged forward to try and grab a loaf. The woman in charge of the handout tried to keep order by yelling at people to stay back in an effort to serve the women first, which I learned was because they are likely to be feeding children and families rather than just themselves. The crowd quickly dispersed after receiving their bread; a few extra loaves were stored in a room for any stragglers who might show up later in the day.

SCHOOLS

I spoke with teachers from two primary schools and a secondary school, but never participated in any school feedings. However, I did volunteer with one church that made over 250 sandwiches to be delivered to four different primary schools in the area twice a week. The two primary schools provide meals for certain students on a few days during the week. A couple of teachers at the secondary school originally made sandwiches for some students, but they no longer do so because one of the teachers moved away, and no one else has been willing to take her place. A lot of the learners are "from a very poor socioeconomic background" (Teacher 1, Interview, 2016), meaning that many families "don't have enough food to pack the lunch for the children" (Teacher 2, Interview, 2016). "The teachers identify the learners who are indigent, and then we draw up a list, and that is how we distribute the food to the children. The teachers know which children are really in need" (Teacher 1, Interview, 2016). The meals for the students are supplied by a variety of "concerned members of the community" because the schools "do not have funds" to provide meals for the children (Teacher 1, Interview, 2016). As with the churches, these meals are not funded by the government, but rather by community support mobilized by teachers who realize "there's a link between nutrition and academics" (Teacher 2, Interview, 2016) and have seen their students physically impacted by hunger.

> There are kids that will just stand out, and you can see that they can barely sit up straight in class because their energy levels are so low, they're so distracted, they're so not focused. And their academic results are very poor. You can see a difference when the child is full. And if you're full you're more alert, you're more focused. (Teacher 2, Interview, 2016)

With support from community members and teachers who are gracious enough to invest their own time and energy, the schools identify children in need and provide porridge, sandwiches, hot dogs, and even a hot meal at one school. Many learners are given some money by their parents to buy food, but spend it on "chips and pies, and that doesn't fill the child up." At this age, "a lot of the growing is being done, so they *need* that food, they need the nutrition" (Teacher 3, Interview, 2016).

Throw out the rotten food! Social Ills in Wentworth

The need for the soup kitchens stems from the plethora of social ills in Wentworth, including "the poverty that is in the area, the lack of employment, problems like alcohol, drug abuse, they are absolutely destroying our young people" (Host 2, Interview, 2016). One participant put it bluntly, "our community is the type to give you liquor, drugs, but won't give you food" (Representative 1, Interview, 2016).

> I believe that all the social ills and all the crime is because of poverty. Young people turn to selling drugs because they don't have any other alternative. It's easy money, and there are no other jobs. A lot of men take to alcohol, they drink because they feel helpless, they feel they can't provide for their family. (Representative 2, Interview, 2016)

Another participant described the reality of the "staggering unemployment in the area, rampant crime, serious battle of housing and overcrowding. People struggle to barely eke out an existence. There is unemployment, but it's carefully disguised, cloaked, and yet it still is" (Earl Wilkinson, Interview, 2016).

The soup kitchen guests also shared their personal experiences with these social ills described by—but not experienced by—the soup kitchen hosts. "I have been trying to look for a job, but it is hard getting a job" (Guest 3, Interview, 2016). One guest living in a poorer part of Wentworth described: "In my area where I'm living, other people say it's 'crime street.' There's crime every day, every weekend you will hear gunshots, come Monday there's somebody dead. We're a poor community, we try to survive" (Guest 4, Interview, 2016).

Even walking around, I could see the truth of these statements with my own eyes. Men were always clustered on street corners even in the middle of the day, and shards from beer bottles were strewn everywhere on the streets. At every soup kitchen I visited, there were always long lines of people waiting for food, with as many as 80 people attending a single feeding. "If *all* the churches are doing it, then that is telling us that there's a large number of people that are hungry in our area" (Teacher 3, Interview, 2016). Wentworth is clearly a community in need, but also a community willing to support and care for its members. The soup kitchens are one manifestation of the compassion demonstrated by the people of Wentworth in response to the social ills that plague the community.

Let's get cooking: Stories of the Soup Kitchens

Gathering the ingredients: What Makes a Wentworth Soup Kitchen?

One key difference of my experience with soup kitchens in America is that American soup kitchens tend to serve individual meals in a space where people have a chance to sit down and talk with other soup kitchen guests and interact with the hosts. However, in Wentworth, "we give family meals. They come with their containers, we fill their containers up for them and then they go home" (Host 4, Interview, 2016). I learned from another host that "at first we served people at the place, we had plates and all that, and then afterwards we saw the need for people to take home to their families, so we asked them to bring containers" (Host 5, Interview, 2016). People would bring an inventive assortment of containers to carry food in; empty ice cream and yogurt containers were common, as were battered containers of Tupperware. Some of the more creative containers I saw were plastic pencil boxes and 2-Liter soda bottles with the tops cut off. Most hosts would be armed with a small stash of extra containers which they would give to guests who had arrived without one, with a gentle admonition for them to bring their own next time—especially if the guest was a repeat-offender for showing up without a container.

One notable characteristic about the soup kitchens is that "there's always enough for everybody. We are *blessed*. There's never a week when we don't have food" (Host 4, Interview, 2016). The success of the soup kitchens over so many years was repeatedly attributed to God's blessings. Other soup kitchen hosts proudly stated that "I can't ever say that there was a Saturday or Sunday or Christmas Day that we don't feed, not in 16 years. There was always enough, if not more. So God is good" (Host 1, Interview, 2016). Another host thankfully said "we have no concerns of where the provision is coming from because He provides" (Host 3, Interview, 2016). And because God was so faithful in providing for the soup kitchens, the hosts seemed to want to transfer their blessings to provide their guests with love and food. There were never any qualifications guests had to meet in order to receive a meal; no one was ever turned away. Hosts firmly expressed the view that everybody deserves to eat. "Alcoholics also need to eat" (Host 1, Interview, 2016), and "even though people are doing drugs, that doesn't exclude them from a meal" (Aubrey Snyman, Interview, 2016).

First Ingredient: Hosts' Perspectives

The soup kitchen hosts are the incredible forces behind the creation of the soup kitchen network. They, along with their team of volunteers, are the ones who ensure that the soup

kitchens have continued to function smoothly and regularly, consistently showing up every week to make sure that people are fed. Throughout the course of this study, I was able to build close relationships with many of the soup kitchen teams during my time as a participant observer.

In my conversations with the soup kitchen hosts, all demonstrated a common motivation: they had seen the need in the community, and decided to do something about it. "We've always had a passion for the community, and we saw the need" (Host 5, Interview, 2016).

> The poverty in our area became so evident that we had to do something about it. We saw people searching in bins for food, and coming to the gate and asking for food, mothers with babies, and it's difficult to turn them away. That's when we decided, let's do something. We can't feed the whole community, but we can make a little difference. (Host 1, Interview, 2016)

Their urge to make a difference stemmed from a recognition of the harsh realities of those less fortunate in their community. One host recounted her own difficult circumstances when she and her husband decided to start a soup kitchen five years ago: "My husband said, "There are so many people who are hungry, is there any way we can do something about it?" And I'm like, 'Are you serious? We don't even have food in *our* house…but okay, let's do it.' We were newly married" (Host 3, Interview, 2016).

When I probed about the issue of dependency, I found most hosts recognized that people may be taking advantage of the free meal, with many taking the matter-of-fact attitude that:

> We give with a good heart. You'll get those that will just use it [the soup kitchen] because they are lazy and unmotivated, and you'll get those that are genuine. So we go with the policy that 80% are genuine, and the 20% that are not, karma comes for them as far as we're concerned, so we leave it. (Representative 1, Interview, 2016)

Some were more forgiving, recognizing the inability of many people to find jobs to lift themselves out of poverty. "What can they do? They don't have an option" (Host 4, Interview, 2016). "It's not a dependency thing for me, I don't see it that way. Because the way the situation is with the unemployment in South Africa, it can happen to anybody. It can happen to you, it can happen to me" (Representative 2, Interview, 2016).

Many hosts reported having to regularly deal with rude or misbehaving guests. During my time participating in the feedings, I observed how the crowd would often become rowdy and pushy once the food was brought out. One host related:

> The first time we did it was very, very hectic. It was traumatic because it was our first time. We were learning, and people came from all over. People weren't even underprivileged or needy, but you can't turn people away. So we were just giving out, people were pushing, and we ended up in tears because it was just the two of us. And the people went and sold the things [we had given them], and that was heartbreaking for us. (Host 5, Interview, 2016)

At every feeding, the host(s) had to raise their voice and ask people to line up nicely in a queue; only when they had the full attention of the crowd would the feeding then commence, often opened by a prayer of thanks led by the hosts. One host playfully described the crowd by saying, "I'd call it a mixed masala. You get a variety. You get the impatient ones, you get the patient ones. You get the loud ones, the rude, very vulgar ones. As time goes on, you learn to deal with them. By the grace of God you just deal with them" (Host 6, Interview, 2016). There were stories of guests arriving drunk and causing a scene: "People drink, we go to feed them and they abuse you, they swear [at] you, and ask 'Why you late,' but we're used to that now, we understand. We have our problems, but like I said, most of the people who are doing it, are not doing it for themselves" (Host 1, Interview, 2016). This underlying sense of having a greater purpose was seen consistently, and hosts drew on this idea of serving the community to carry on unfazed in the face of rude treatment.

> Sometimes it gets really hard because some people come in with a lot of attitude, as if 'they don't need you' type of a thing. But I cannot react to all of that because that's not the reason I'm here. I will always get those that are not pleased, but my aim here isn't to please everybody, my aim is to feed. (Host 3, Interview, 2016)

Second Ingredient: Guests' Perspectives

On the receiving end of the soup kitchens were the guests. Many guests began to recognize me after seeing me at different soup kitchens and would greet me by name. In my experience dishing up food for them, most were polite and I would occasionally get a "thank you" or a "God bless you." Overall, guests were extremely grateful for the support of the soup kitchens. Interestingly, many also expressed awareness of the uniqueness of the situation in Wentworth where there is a soup kitchen network, compared to other communities where people in need do not have access to the same kind of support.

> Here in Wentworth we're actually fortunate, not like all the other places, we got a lot of soup kitchens. And we actually appreciate it very much, because it actually helps us. And we thank the people that make the soup for us and give us the bread. We're thankful to God, at least we're getting something. (Guest 1, Interview, 2016)

Many explicitly addressed how the soup kitchens were meeting their immediate need for food. "The whole of Wentworth is happy about the soup kitchens. Because today when I left home I don't have a loaf of bread. So they do help us a lot and I'm very grateful for that" (Guest 2, Interview, 2016). Guests also expressed how the soup kitchens were providing food not just for themselves, but for their families as well.

See, I got kids going to school who need to eat, I got a wife at home that's a bit sick, she takes medication, and we get our food so she can take her medication. If I don't do it, who's gonna do it for them? My wife can't come because she's sick and my children can't come because they go to school. That's why I come. If I don't get there, my family won't eat. (Guest 4, Interview, 2016)

Guests were thankful not only for the food, but also for the hands that provided it. When I helped with serving the food, I heard the hosts gently chiding some guests and reminding them to say "thank you," but there were also many instances in which I received a very genuine, heartfelt thanks that did not need to be prompted.

People are doing a good job providing us with food. We are really grateful for the people here. They're even taking their time to cook, come stand here, pray, to be here for so many people. So we pray and say thank for you for the people that help us. And we want to say thank you to the people that provide. If it wasn't for them and their good hearts, oh man I don't know. I don't think my children would be going to school. (Guest 4, Interview, 2016)

By the end of the three weeks, I was on a first-name basis with many guests; I was surprised that they made the effort to remember my name and greeted me personally. I felt it showed that they wanted to reach out and express thanks through extending a hand of friendship. One guest expressed hope for a future in which he was no longer on the receiving end of the soup kitchen meal, but instead was able to provide for others.

As long as I can breathe, I can sleep and I can wake up the next morning breathing, there will be a way for me. *If I could find another way I would never come here.* Also one day I want to make a soup kitchen for the people, give back to the poor, give back to the community. (Guest 4, Interview, 2016)

Through my conversations with soup kitchen guests, it was evident that the soup kitchens were truly making an impact on the population they were meant to serve.

We made the food—what now? The Future of the Soup Kitchens

While speaking with guests revealed the actual impact of the soup kitchens, I was curious about the perceived and desired impacts from the hosts' perspectives. When I asked each host about whether or not they had seen a difference in the community since starting the soup kitchen, I received mixed responses. Some cited the growing number of guests as evidence that the poverty in the community is worsening.

No, it's actually getting worse. The numbers are increasing. Before it used to be about 80-100, now it's over 200 people standing there. Because the children are learning from the parents, and they go the same way! Some of them started as children in that queue, and now they're adults, they're grown, they're grandfathers, but they still stand in that queue. The parents take the children along to stand in the queue to get an advantage, but they don't realize that the children learn from this scheming. (Host 4, Interview, 2016)

However, other hosts reported positive outcomes and told stories of guests who had stopped coming to the soup kitchen, and the joy they felt when they later found out that individual had managed to secure employment and no longer needed the free meals.

> And the good thing is if you hear someone's doing well and they're not coming back, I feel good about it. I really enjoy it. I thank God for this. And we just hope and pray that we have many, many more years to continue with this feeding scheme. We give to them, but they give so much more to us. (Host 5, Interview, 2016)

Many hosts told of relationships they had built with their "regulars" over the years, and of how they seek to use those relationships to impact individual lives on a deeper level.

> It's not just about the meals and the groceries, there's a relationship. We get to know some of their personal stories, we've tried to help out some and direct them to the correct places to go to. And the reward that we get is that smile, that greeting, the respect. (Host 5, Interview, 2016)

The soup kitchens were also seen as having a mental and emotional impact on guests by temporarily minimizing or relieving the stress of having to worry about where the next meal is coming from. "Those people were happy, they were laughing, they were talking, for that short space of time they weren't even thinking of their problems" (Representative 2, Interview, 2016).

Yet, many hosts expressed a desire to "teach a man to fish" rather than just "giving him a fish for a day," according to the old adage. Most of the soup kitchens currently lack the resources to provide this kind of empowerment beyond merely filling the stomach.

> Our only problem is resources for us to go deeper into our ministry, so that we could help people to change themselves, go to school, get an education, or go back to school. Ideally to improve their way of living, their standard of living, so they can aspire to better things than the situation they are in. That's our hope. We can see the need to go further, and it's what we would like to do. (Host 1, Interview, 2016)

The recognition of this need to address the underlying issues of unemployment and poverty through skills development and education is encouraging, because it indicates that soup kitchen hosts are not content with temporary hunger relief. Longer-term, more permanent forms of poverty alleviation are what many acknowledge need to happen, and perhaps the soup kitchens can provide the starting point for these initiatives, by somehow combining a feeding scheme and an empowerment scheme.

Analysis

Through my conversations with both soup kitchen hosts and guests and interviews with institutional representatives, interwoven with my personal observations from participating in some feedings, I was able to identify the themes of Dignity, Dependency, Crime and Education, Grant Day, and a desire to "teach them to fish." Synthesizing the multiple perspectives allowed for a multifaceted analysis.

Dignity

Many hosts noted the importance of preserving the dignity of the soup kitchen guests, reflecting an understanding of Max-Neef's model of Human Scale Development and the realization that hunger is only one of many needs to be satisfied.

> Because standing in line, it's about dignity and about building people's sense of self, their esteem. I don't think that people generally want to stand in line for their meal. I think it's demeaning. We must work towards empowering people so they become self-sustaining, and in the process, retain their dignity as people, because already we are a people who are demoralized. (Earl Wilkinson, Interview, 2016)

Hosts recognized the importance of respecting their guests, understanding that the people who come to the soup kitchens "are the people that need to be there. People are very proud, so they come if they have to come. It's not their fault that they're in this situation." With this knowledge, "we treat them with a lot of respect, and they know you don't look down on them or anything" (Host 5, Interview, 2016). One host recognized that soup kitchen hosts "need to restore their [guests'] dignity, because it's hard for a man to come and stand in the line" (Host 4, Interview, 2016). This is evidence that the soup kitchen hosts intend for the soup kitchen to be more than something that fills bellies, but also a place at which guests can keep their pride intact. There is an intentional effort to balance being able to maintain control and respect of the crowd while also showing the guests they are valued as individuals.

Max-Neef claims that "extended unemployment will totally upset a person's fundamental needs system" when their lack of income directly impacts their ability to secure food and shelter, which may indirectly engender feelings of marginalization and declining self-esteem (Max-Neef, 1991, p. 19). The representative from WOW explained that "A lot of men take to alcohol, they drink because they feel helpless, they feel they can't provide for their family" (Representative 2, Interview, 2016). Due to ethical implications, I did not directly probe guests about the effects of

attending a soup kitchen on their self-esteem to ensure participants did not feel embarrassed or ashamed. One guest, in the context of telling her story, revealed:

> There's a lot of homeless, and a lot of them don't come to the soup kitchens. I suppose most of them give up. There's a lot of people we see that they'll feel, "why must I go to the soup kitchen? What the people will think of me?" But ay, it's for my kids, I'm not going to worry about what you think. (Guest 1, Interview, 2016)

She demonstrated recognition of the shame that some feel in receiving handouts, but had personally decided that her dignity and what other people thought of her were less important than feeding her family. There does not appear to be a clear linear relationship between self-esteem and ability to secure food. While Max-Neef identifies declining self-esteem as a result of an *inability* to secure food, hosts seemed to view loss of dignity as being linked to the process of *securing* food from a soup kitchen. Most of the hosts recognize guests are in the situation where they have to choose to prioritize either food or dignity, and actively attempt to mitigate that by treating guests with respect so they can get a meal and retain their self-esteem.

Dependency

Max-Neef speaks of "needs" as bringing out the constant tension between depravation and potential in the sense that, although the lack of something is felt acutely, needs also "motivate and mobilize" people to do something to satisfy that need (Max-Neef, 1991, pp. 23-24). The issue of dependency on soup kitchens brought up by multiple hosts is a curious one when viewed through the lens of "needs" as a potential for action. It would seem as though the lack of employment, brought into harsh reality by the lack of food at home, would drive people to find work to have a source of income. However, "these guys unfortunately are sitting at home, and they know that at half past 11 she's feeding and she's giving bread, so they come, and then the next day they're by the next place and then the next place. So which day are you looking for work?" (Host 3, Interview, 2016). The knowledge that they can have food without having a job seems to have driven some soup kitchen guests into complacency regarding seeking employment.

> They become very demotivated to even go and look for any work, because everything is at their disposal. It creates a situation where people depend on these soup kitchens, and that shouldn't be the case, they should be looking out for work. If one tends to depend solely on the soup kitchens, then they lose sight of the importance of actually finding a job and fending for themselves. (Aubrey Snyman, Interview, 2016)

However, it is also important to analyze to what extent the environment represses opportunities (Max-Neef, 1991, p. 24). "We shouldn't even have soup kitchens in the area because we are *surrounded* by industry. Look at all the companies around you. We shouldn't have a poverty issue. There should be a lot of employment because of the factories around us" (Representative 2, Interview, 2016). But while on the surface it seems like there are many employment opportunities, underlying structural factors are affecting people's ability to find jobs. An important consideration is "how far are people able to influence the structures that affect their opportunities?" (Max-Neef, 1991, p. 24). One guest related how his age, a factor out of his control, was a barrier that limited his employment opportunities:

> Jobs are hard to come by now. As you see, I'm old now, I can't be working. The bosses won't take me; they'll take a younger man. I know I've got the experience, but it's too bad. I need the money to go to town to find work, but I can't get there [because] I've got no bus fare. (Guest 4, Interview, 2016)

It is likely that many others in Wentworth find themselves in a similar situation as this guest, and are not able to influence the structures that affect the opportunities available to them, getting stuck in a vicious "cycle of social abuse" (Earl Wilkinson, Interview, 2016) where they are forced to depend on the soup kitchens because "What can they do? They don't have an option" (Host 4, Interview, 2016).

However, there were other responses that indicated a way out of the cycle of social abuse. One soup kitchen guest had a greater sense of self-efficacy, saying that

> God helps those who help themselves. If they're not crippled, they're not lame, they've got two hands, I think they can do something to help themselves. You can sell newspapers, there's some guys that collect cardboards, they'll go to the scrapyard and they will sell and get something. (Guest 6, Interview, 2016)

This guest did not feel limited by his environment and felt that the responsibility for finding employment and getting out of poverty was incumbent on the individual, pending physical health. It was interesting to note these conflicting views about the extent to which people had the agency to actualize their needs through opportunities presented in their environment. But one idea that every participant agreed on was that rampant unemployment was at the root of the social ills faced by the community.

Crime and Education

In Wentworth, "the crime rates are going up, but the university rates are not so high" (Guest 4, Interview, 2016). High crime rates and low education rates are social ills that, upon

first glance, are unrelated to soup kitchens. When I spoke to the soup kitchen hosts about what kind of impact they were seeing the soup kitchens have in the community, most referred to immediate hunger alleviation but also expressed a desire to have a deeper, longer-lasting impact.

However, I asked soup kitchen guests about what they thought would happen if the soup kitchens did not exist, and many responses reflected that the soup kitchens may be having a greater impact than the hosts realize. Guests acknowledged the obvious fulfillment of their need for food, saying that without the soup kitchens, "people should be starving" (Guest 5, Interview, 2016) and have "nowhere else to go" (Guest 3, Interview, 2016). But interestingly, it seems the soup kitchens play a role in reducing the crime rates in the community as well. One guest explained that because meals are available from the soup kitchens, "you don't have to go and do wrong things to look for food" (Guest 5, Interview, 2016). Another exclaimed, "If soup kitchens are not here, oh man, in the community there'd be more crime. But now because we know we can get the meal, the crime rate is not so much, because we know we can go get a meal, instead of going to steal now" (Guest 4, Interview, 2016).

> I think if the soup kitchens weren't there, people would actually get in the shop and maybe steal something, just to eat something. They would get caught and end up in jail, because they're hungry, they want to eat something. Even the people that are bad that do crime, they also come [to the soup kitchen] to eat something. I think that makes them turn around from the wrong and do the right. (Guest 6, Interview, 2016)

So while crime rates were cited by participants as one of the many social ills Wentworth faces, some guests seem to be of the opinion that crime rates would be much worse if the soup kitchens did not exist and people were forced to resort to stealing to procure food for themselves and their families.

In addition to their role in reducing the crime rate, the soup kitchens, along with the feeding schemes in the schools, seem to play a role in increasing, or at least maintaining, the education rate. "A lot of the children don't come to school or haven't eaten" either because parents leave too early in the morning to feed the child breakfast, or because there is not enough food in the house for the child to eat (Teacher 3, Interview, 2016). But because of the feeding schemes provided at the schools by the teachers, churches and community organizations, students "look forward to being at school and they look forward to the meals" (Teacher 1, Interview, 2016). In addition to encouraging learners to come to school, providing the students with meals at the schools also affects their ability to learn. "You can see a difference when the child is full. If you're full, you're more alert, you're more focused, and [the students] wouldn't

complain about coming for the extra lessons" (Teacher 2, Interview, 2016). These assertions were made more meaningful by hearing a guest's perspective:

> If I don't make it for the bread over here in the morning, my child is going without the breakfast to school. Sometimes I lose out, I come here for the bread and there's no bread, there's not enough. And that's the hard part, going back home, and what are you going to tell your family? What are you going to eat at home? Go to school, maybe your friend will give you two slices of bread. Maybe somebody can help you. *How are you going to learn if you never eat? You won't make it.* (Guest 4, Interview, 2016)

The soup kitchens address the need for food at home, and the meals provided at the schools provide another "line of defense," so to speak, in meeting the needs of the learners. Everyone recognizes that "you can't let a child go starving" (Representative 1, Interview, 2016). And while the soup kitchens may not be directly affecting education rates, they are clearly having an impact on the next generation. "Education is the key to their future. For them [my children], all the doors are open" (Guest 4, Interview, 2016).

Grant Day Trend

The South African Social Security Agency (SASSA), established to centralize the implementation of the grants system, has a mandate to "ensure the provision of comprehensive social security services against vulnerability and poverty within the constitutional and legislative framework" (SASSA, n.d.; Plagerson & Patel, 2016, p. 19). However, "if that individual is using the grant for the wrong purposes, then that grant will not really help the person" (Aubrey Snyman, Interview, 2016). The grant payouts generally occur the first week of the month, which coincidentally was the first week that I began conducting research for this project. As I helped serve meals that first week, every host explained that because it was "grant week," there were fewer guests. They further elaborated:

> What we've found over the years is—this is the negative part for me—now when it's grant time, pension time, we cook one pot only [instead of two]. Because they decided, they've got a little bit of money now, so they won't come. Instead of saving that bit of money to stretch over the month, they won't come. (Host 5, Interview, 2016)

Another host put it bluntly: "They blow their money. They're all on government support, the grants. But the week they get their grants, no one turns up. Very few people come. And I've told them, save your money! Come for the food, it's for free!" (Host 4, Interview, 2016). This pattern was seen repeatedly all over the community at the different soup kitchens I attended that first week. Hosts expressed disappointment that guests lack the financial acumen to save money.

> What do they do with that income? They have parties. They know their situation, but they have parties because now it's like Christmas has come. You need to take that money and save it for the rainy day, try and stretch it for as long as you can, for when your finances have been exhausted. Then you start seeking other means of addressing your issues. But because you're so in the habit of getting handouts, this money you're getting, you use it to have a party with your friends, and that is what we need to address in our community. (Aubrey Snyman, Interview, 2016)

This seems to have been one area identified as a method for empowering soup kitchen guests to bring themselves out of poverty. Using the soup kitchens as a metaphorical stepping stone would allow the guests to get by when they do not have income. When they do have income, they can continue to use the soup kitchens and save their money, and eventually invest that saved money in ways that would ideally result in better long-term opportunities for the individual or family.

It is interesting to contrast this phenomenon with hosts' attitude towards people who take advantage of the soup kitchens. In one situation, people are taking advantage of the free meal when they do not need to, and in the other situation, people are not taking advantage of the free meal, but are being encouraged to do so. The difference may lie in the idea of engineering enduring solutions rather than shortsighted immediate alleviation. Teaching people how to save money is one example of skills development that is straightforward but could have far-reaching impact in terms of long-term poverty alleviation, and would ensure that the national grant program has its intended effect.

Teaching Them to Fish

In several interviews, some version of the proverb, "Give a man a fish, you feed him for a day. But teach a man to fish, you feed him for a lifetime" was mentioned in relation to the desire for soup kitchens to provide *more* than hunger alleviation, and empower and strengthen the Wentworth community to address poverty and unemployment. Soup kitchens have been identified as an ideal starting point for programs and initiatives to tackle the social ills underlying hunger in the community.

> From these soup kitchens, some kind of educational programs should actually take place in the process of feeding people in the community, rather than just feeding them and not giving them messages of hope and encouragement and advice, and try to get them to understand that this cannot go on forever. *The whole idea of the soup kitchen is to get people back on their feet* and make them strong and able to think and do something about their lifestyle. (Aubrey Snyman, Interview, 2016)

The soup kitchens are an important step in that process of poverty alleviation because people still need that immediate hunger relief to have the strength to address other areas of their lives.

You know the adage, "don't give me a fish to eat, show me how to fish." In situations like this it becomes more of a philosophical quip. Teach me how to fish, but if I'm still hungry while I'm fishing, to what end? How can we provide opportunities and initiatives to help people standing in the line who are also hungry, in terms of skills empowerment? So that out of the soup kitchen initiative, other initiatives are born from that. (Earl Wilkinson, Interview, 2016)

Hosts recognized the need to "look at the overall well-being of the person, don't just give them food! Find out what's the problem, where you can help them, how you can help them" (Host 4, Interview, 2016). To get people out of the cycle of dependency, it was suggested that:

The organizations can teach rather than give the fish. They can give families the rod and teach them how to go out and catch many fish. But in the meantime we are only giving them a fish, which gets finished and the next day they are looking for another fish. (Representative 2, Interview, 2016)

Everyone I spoke with was in agreement that the soup kitchens are necessary, and are fulfilling a much-needed role in the community in terms of filling empty stomachs and preventing people from going to bed without a meal. However, many also acknowledged the transience of soup kitchen meals, and agree that steps must be taken to change lives more profoundly by empowering people through education and skills development.

I think that there's still a definite need for soup kitchens. But I do think that managers of soup kitchens need to present other opportunities. Sometimes it can perpetuate a dependence. And yet, if it is managed more efficiently, *I believe that it can become the catalyst* to several changes happening in those people's lives. Almost like a trampoline. (Earl Wilkinson, Interview, 2016)

Conclusions

Much of the poverty facing a significant portion of the South African population can be traced to the remnants of the institutional structures put in place during apartheid which persist today. Soup kitchens have been identified as one of the ways that local communities are mobilizing to alleviate poverty, but there is currently a lack of literature providing an in-depth analysis of soup kitchens in South Africa. This instrumental case study of the Wentworth soup kitchen network attempts to fill the gap by taking a narrative approach to collecting personal stories of the lived experiences at the soup kitchens in Wentworth from the perspectives of both hosts and guests. A multifaceted picture of the soup kitchen network was synthesized by integrating hosts' and guests' narratives with viewpoints from representatives of community organizations and supplemented with details obtained from participant observation.

The soup kitchens in Wentworth were created out of a recognition of the poverty and unemployment plaguing the community, and a desire to do something to address the social ills. All the participants agreed upon the need for the soup kitchens and the tangible impact they are having in terms of immediate hunger alleviation. Furthermore, hosts recognize the importance of creating a space to satisfy the need for hunger while maintaining the dignity and self-esteem of the guests, reflecting an understanding of Max-Neef's model of human scale development. Additionally, the soup kitchens also seem to play an indirect role in lowering crime rates and increasing education rates. However, many participants would like to see community initiatives addressing underlying issues of unemployment through skills development to empower people to lift themselves out of poverty, and some identified the soup kitchen as an avenue for implementing these programs.

The aim of this study is not to make generalizations about the function of soup kitchens, nor is it to make recommendations on policy initiatives that should be put in place. Rather, it aims to synthesize a focused picture of the Wentworth soup kitchens and the role they play in the community. Gathering and telling these narratives are a step toward shedding light on the invisible issues perpetuating the need for the soup kitchens. Storytelling involves knowledge production and shaping of experience, but no story has a single reading or meaning (Bleakley, 2005, p. 536). In the end, it is my responsibility to make these experiences known, but it is the responsibility of the reader to make meaning of the narratives that are presented in this study.

Recommendations for Further Study

Due to the time and resource limitations of this study, there was an inadequate amount of time for true immersion in the soup kitchen culture. Many issues were raised that I was unable to pursue in sufficient depth. Thus, only a cursory understanding of the soup kitchen network was sketched out in this study, and the following recommendations for further study were prompted by the findings and would contribute to a more in-depth look at the soup kitchens in Wentworth.

- **Examination of the network built among soup kitchen guests:** When I inquired about how soup kitchen guests heard about the soup kitchens, each one mentioned word-of-mouth, and a few also said they had introduced their friends to the soup kitchens and had made new friends with other guests. While the soup kitchens themselves form a network, the people who attend the soup kitchens have also formed a network, and it would be interesting to investigate how this network was created and how it has grown.

- **Investigation of nutritional content of food:** Reliance on donations limited the soup kitchen hosts' ability to fully take nutrition into as much consideration as many would have liked. The amount of vegetables varied across the soup kitchen meals in this sample. Starches were cheap and widely available and thus comprised the bulk of the meals. Fruit was only seen twice during the entire three-week period, once when oranges were donated and a second time when apples were donated. A study with a nutrition focus could perhaps find ways to include more nutrients to ensure guests receive wholesome and filling meals.

- **Exploration of different food sources:** All the soup kitchens either received donated food items, or used donated money to purchase food items from grocery stores. It would be interesting to examine the possibility of obtaining repurposed food waste from the grocery stores, or even local restaurants. Another avenue to be explored is the feasibility of starting food gardens as a sustainable and healthy source of fresh vegetables.

- **Consideration of religion in relation to the soup kitchens:** Many of the soup kitchens are hosted by churches, and the Islamic Centre and Hindu Temple also host feeding schemes during the week. However, I never observed any of the hosts actively trying to push faith onto the guests aside from the brief prayer at the beginning of some of the feedings. It would be interesting to probe the role that religion plays in the different feeding schemes.

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Organizational Representatives

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Representative 2, Wentworth Organisation of Women. Interview, 15 November 2016.

Representative 3, Wentworth Victim Friendly Centre. Interview, 18 November 2016.

School Representatives

Teacher 1, Wentworth Primary School. Interview, 3 November 2016.

Teacher 2, Umbilo Secondary School. Interview, 8 November 2016.

Teacher 3, Assegai Primary School. Interview, 16 November 2016.

Soup Kitchen Hosts

Host 1, Interview. 2 November 2016. Wentworth.

Host 2, Interview. 3 November 2016. Wentworth.

Host 3, Interview. 8 November 2016. Wentworth.

Host 4, Interview. 10 November 2016. Wentworth.

Host 5, Interview. 11 November 2016. Wentworth.

Host 6, Interview. 7 November 2016. Wentworth.

Soup Kitchen Guests

Guest 1, Interview. 8 November 2016. Wentworth.

Guest 2, Interview. 8 November 2016. Wentworth.

Guest 3, Interview. 8 November 2016. Wentworth.

Guest 4, Interview. 10 November 2016. Wentworth.

Guest 5. Interview. 11 November 2016. Wentworth.

Guest 6. Interview. 14 November 2016. Wentworth.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Interview Guide

<u>Conversations with soup kitchen guests:</u>

These conversations were informal and open-ended. They took place during the meals to ensure a comfortable and familiar environment for the participant. I led with a few questions to begin the conversation, but allowed them to take the lead in deciding what they want to share with me. Based on the stories they shared, I asked further questions as needed to have them to clarify or expand upon something.

Questions to begin conversations:

- o What do you think of _____ soup kitchen?
- o What do you think of the people serving the food?
- o How did you come to hear about this place?
- o Have you made friends here at the soup kitchen?
- o Why do you come to the soup kitchen?
- o How does this soup kitchen meet your needs?
- o What is it like living in Wentworth?

<u>Conversations with soup kitchen hosts:</u>

Informal conversations took place during meal-prep and clean-up as time allowed without getting in the way of normal activities. These questions structured formal interviews that took place at a separate time. These were intended to elucidate motivations for starting the soup kitchen and perceptions of the impact the soup kitchen is having.

Questions included:

- o How long has the soup kitchen been running?
- o Why did you start this soup kitchen?
- o Why do you think the soup kitchen is needed? Have you seen the number of guests increasing?
- o Where does the food come from each week? If it is paid for, where does the money come from?
- o How many people are involved? Where do the volunteers come from?
- o What are some of the challenges you have faced with this soup kitchen?

- o Are you able to take nutrition into account when preparing the food?
- o About how many guests do you serve per meal?
- o Tell me about the community you serve.
- o Are most guests familiar faces, or do new people come each time?
- o Have you built long-term relationships with some of the guests?
- o Is volunteering here important to you? How? Do you think the soup kitchen is important to the guests? Why/how?
- o What role do you think the soup kitchen plays in the community as a whole?
- o What would you identify as the greatest needs in the community?

Interviews with the representatives from WVFC, DCW, and WOW:

These organizations refer clients to the soup kitchens in the community and occasionally host feedings of their own as funds allow. Interviews provided situational context for the role of the soup kitchens in the wider community.

Questions included:

- o What is the work that your organization does?
- o How would you characterize the clients that your organization serves? Tell me about the people you help.
- o In what situations do you recommend clients go to the soup kitchens?
- o Is there any soup kitchen in particular you recommend?
- o How is your organization connected with the soup kitchen network?
- o Have you ever been to one of these soup kitchens? If yes, what was your impression?
- o What role do the soup kitchens play in alleviating hunger in the community?
- o What would you identify as the greatest need in this community?

Interviews with the representatives from the primary and secondary schools:

These schools provide free meals for children on specific days. Interviews with them provided an example of another feeding scheme in the community similar to the soup kitchens, and act another case through which the primary case of the soup kitchens can be recognized.

Questions include:

- o How many days a week do you provide meals?
- o How many children do you normally provide meals for? What ages?

o Where does the food come from? If it is purchased, where does the money for the food come from?

o Are you able to provide them with a balanced diet? What does a balanced diet involve? Nutrition a consideration when preparing meals?

o How do you identify children who need a meal?

o Why do you think children at your school need meals?

o Are you aware of any of the familial contexts these children are coming from?

o How would you see your role in relation to the soup kitchens in the community?

Appendix 2: Ethical Clearance Forms

SIT Study Abroad
School for International Training

Human Subjects Review
LRB/IRB ACTION FORM

Name of Student: Evelyn Shen

ISP Title: Feeding the 5,000: A Narrative Approach to a case study of soup kitchens in the Wentworth community

Date Submitted: 31 October 2016

Program: Durban Community Health and

Social Policy- Fall 2016

Type of review:

Exempt ☐

Expedited ☑

Full ☐

Institution: World Learning Inc.
IRB organization number: IORG0004408
IRB registration number: IRB00005219
Expires: 9 December 2017

LRB members (print names):

John McGladdery

Clive Bruzas(PhD)

Francis O'Brian(PhD)

LRB REVIEW BOARD ACTION:

✓ Approved as submitted
_____ Approved pending changes
_____ Requires full IRB review in Vermont
_____ Disapproved

LRB Chair Signature:

Date: 31 October 2016

Form below for IRB Vermont use only:

Research requiring full IRB review. ACTION TAKEN:

___ approved as submitted ___ approved pending submission or revisions___ disapproved

IRB Chairperson's Signature

Date 31 October 2016

Appendix 3: Consent to Use of Independent Study Project (ISP)

SIT Study Abroad
School for International Training

Access, Use, and Publication of ISP/FSP

Student Name: Evelyn Shen

Email Address: eshen@wustl.edu

Title of ISP: Give a Man a Fish: A Narrative Approach to a Case Study of the Wentworth Soup Kitchens

Program and Term/Year: Community Health and Social Policy Fall 2017

Student research (Independent Study Project, Field Study Project) is a product of field work and as such students have an obligation to assess both the positive and negative consequences of their field study. Ethical field work, as stipulated in the SIT Policy on Ethics, results in products that are shared with local and academic communities; therefore copies of ISP/FSPs are returned to the sponsoring institutions and the host communities, at the discretion of the institution(s) and/or community involved.
By signing this form, I certify my understanding that:

1. I retain ALL ownership rights of my ISP/FSP project and that I retain the right to use all, or part, of my project in future works.

2. World Learning/SIT Study Abroad may publish the ISP/FSP in the SIT Digital Collections, housed on World Learning's public website.

3. World Learning/SIT Study Abroad may archive, copy, or convert the ISP/FSP for non-commercial use, for preservation purposes, and to ensure future accessibility.
   - World Learning/SIT Study Abroad archives my ISP/FSP in the permanent collection at the SIT Study Abroad local country program office and/or at any World Learning office.
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6. World Learning/SIT Study Abroad is not responsible for any unauthorized use of the ISP/FSP by any third party who might access it on the Internet or otherwise.

7. I have sought copyright permission for previously copyrighted content that is included in this ISP/FSP allowing distribution as specified above.

Evelyn Shen	November 22, 2016
Student Signature	Date

Appendix 4: Matrix of Needs and Satisfiers

Table 1: MATRIX OF NEEDS AND SATISFIERS*

Needs according to axiological categories \ Needs according to existential categories	BEING	HAVING	DOING	INTERACTING
SUBSISTENCE	1/ Phíasical health, mental health, equilibrium, sense of humor, adaptability	2/ Food, shelter, work	3/ Feed, procreate, rest, work	4/ Living environment, social setting
PROTECTION	5/ Care, adaptability, autonomía, equitibrium, solidarity	6/ insurance systems, savings, social securitía, health síastems, rights, family, work	7/ Cooperate, prevent, ptan, take care of, cure, help	8/ Living space, social environment, dwelling
AFFECTION	9/ Self-esteem, solidarity, respect, tolerance, generositía, receptiveness, passion, determination, sensuality, sense of humor	10/ Friendships, family, partnerships, relationships with nature	11/ Make love, caress, express emotions, share Cake care of, cultivate, appreciate	12/ Privacy, intimacy, home, space of togetherness
UNDERSTANDING	13/ Critical conscience, receptiveness, curiosity, astonishment, discipline, intuition, rationality	14/ Literature, teachers, method, educational policies, communication policies	15/ investigate, study, experiment, educate, analíaze, meditate	16/ Settings of formative interaction, schools, universities, academies, groups, communities, family
PARTICIPATIOÑ	17/ Adaptabilitía, receptiveness, solidaritía, witlingness, determination, dedication, respect, passion, sense of humor	18/ Rights, responsibilities, duties, privileges, work	19/ Become affiliated, cooperate, propose, share, dissent, obeía, interact, agree on, express opinions	20/ Settings of participative interaction, parties, associations, churches, communities, neighborhoods, family
IDLENESS	21/ Curiositía, receptiveness, imagination, recktessness, sense of humor, tranquility, sensuality	22/ Games, spectacles, dubs, parties, peace of mind	23/ Daydream, brood, dream, recall old times, give waía to fantasies, remember, relax, have fun, play	24/ Privacy, intimacy, spaces of closeness, free time, surroundings, landscapes.
CREATION	25/ Passion, determination, intuition, imagination, boldnoss, rationality, autonomy, ..	26/ Abilities, skilis, method, work	27/ Work, invent, build, design, compose, interpret	28/ Productive and feedback settings, workshops, cultural groups, audiences, spaces for expression, temporal freedom
IDENTITY	29/ Sense of belonging, consistency, differentiation, self-esteem, assertiveness	30/ Symbois, language, religion, habits, customs, reference groups, sexuality, values, norms, historical memory, work	31/ Commit oneself, integrate oneself, confront, decide on, get to know oneself, recognize onesetf, actualize oneself, grow	32/ Sociat rhythms, everyday settings, settings which one belongs to, maturation stages
FREEDOM	33/ Autonomía, self-esteem, determination, passion, assertiveness, openmindedness, boldness, rebelliousness, tolerance	34/ Equal rights	35/ Dissent, choose, be different from, run risks, develop awareness, commit oneself, disobey	36/ Temporal/spatial plasticity

Appendix 5: Soup Kitchen Schedule

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
12h00: different groups rotate providing meals at the Community Hall	**7h30:** Church A (sandwiches for primary schools)	**6h15**: bread at WOW	**6h15**: bread at WOW	**11h00**: Church B (bread and vegetable soup)	**6h15**: bread at WOW	**13h00**: Church E (dholl and rice) at Himes Street and Woodville Road
		11h00: Church B (bread and vegetable soup)	**7h30:** Church A (sandwiches for primary schools)	**15h00**: Church E (rice and stew or curry)	**16h30**: Church C (breyanie, dholl and rice, or samp and beans)	
		11h30: Church D (bread and dholl, curry, or samp and beans)		**16h00**: Church F (samp and beans)		