

# Social Workers' and Homeless People's Understanding of Ways to Redress Homelessness

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## Abstract

Homeless people are arguably the most marginalised and vulnerable of communities. The marginalisation of homeless people not only occurs in economic and social terms, but also with respect to participation in the process of service delivery and decisions that affect them. Consequently, some researchers have identified the disjuncture between services offered to homeless people and their needs. In this article, using a qualitative, exploratory and descriptive approach, we explore the understanding of social workers and homeless people in redressing homelessness. We used face-to-face semi-structured interviews to generate data. The data were analysed thematically. The findings indicate that social workers' and homeless people's accounts of understanding and redressing homelessness are contradictory. Conversely, collaboration between social workers and homeless people could create an informed understanding of homelessness and the opportunity for the two parties to learn from each other.

**Keywords:** social worker; homeless people; homelessness; marginalisation; collaboration

## Introduction

The homeless community is arguably one of the most marginalised and vulnerable (Benjaminsen 2016; Wu and Karabanow 2020). Some researchers argue that this marginalisation does not happen only in economic and social terms, but also with respect to participation in the process of service delivery, particularly in relation to decisions that affect homeless people (Phillips and Kuyini 2018). Consequently, some researchers have identified the disjuncture between services offered to homeless people and their needs (Schneider et al. 2019, 318). Snodgrass (2014, 2) advises that service providers should appreciate the uniqueness of homeless people's experiences and respond to the actual rather than the stereotyped and misperceived needs of homeless individuals.

Homeless people can achieve more with the right opportunities and adequate support (Singh, Koiri, and Shukla 2018). As a point of departure, service providers and professionals should strive to understand the specific reasons for homelessness to provide a client-oriented service (Anthony 2014). Second, listening to the voice of homeless people is important to "humanising" them. This humanising of homeless people reflects their point of view on matters concerning their own lives (Shimei et al. 2016). Similarly, social work interventions are legitimised by collaboration with clients (Maesele, Bouverne-De Bie, and Roose 2015). Collaboration could therefore create an informed understanding and the opportunity for both homeless people and social workers to learn from each other.

The goal of the qualitative study, therefore, was to gain an in-depth understanding of the collaborative function of social workers and homeless people in redressing street homelessness. The study, which was undertaken by the second author under the mentorship of the first author in accordance with the requirements for the degree of Master of Social Work, explored several themes with the participants. However, this article is confined to the participants' understanding of the ways to redress homelessness with the aim of providing guidelines for improving social work services for homeless people.

Customarily, a qualitative inquiry calls for the formulation of research questions from the onset, and not to rely on hypotheses (Creswell 2016). The research study therefore responded to the following overarching question: In what way can social workers and homeless people collaborate in redressing homelessness?

In this article, we first review literature and this is woven into the discussion through the conceptualisation of homelessness. This is followed by a brief overview of homelessness in South Africa and globally. The third component provides a methodological discussion, which is immediately followed by a presentation of the biographical profiles. Subsequently, we submit a brief discussion to capture the essence of the key findings, and then proffer pertinent recommendations and conclusions.

## Conceptualising Homelessness

Homelessness is a complicated and complex phenomenon (Singh, Koiri, and Shukla 2018). It is often associated with a lack of stable and adequate housing (Sample and Ferguson 2020). However, the condition of homelessness goes beyond just the lack of a home (Ghosh 2020). It is also “about feeling at home, being connected, and belonging to something larger than oneself” (Oliver and Cheff 2014, 649).

There is not a single definition of homelessness (Daya and Wilkins 2012; Oliver and Cheff 2014; Sample and Ferguson 2020). For the purpose of this article, homelessness is understood as those individuals living on street pavements, in derelict buildings or doorways, in parks, under bridges and bushes, and at dumping sites, taxi ranks, bus or train stations in metropolitan cities with no form of conventional accommodation (De Beer and Vally 2015).

## Brief Overview of Homelessness in South Africa and Globally

Depending on how homelessness is defined in a particular country, it is estimated that internationally there are 100 million to one billion homeless people (Yuen 2009, 4). It has also been observed that, as a global phenomenon, homelessness affects poor people in both developing and developed countries (Busch-Geertsena, Gilhane, and Fitzpatrick 2016). For instance, in the United States of America, an estimated 553 742 people experience homelessness on any given night (National Alliance to End Homelessness 2022). In Zimbabwe, 1.2 to 1.5 million people living in informal residential settlements are estimated to be homeless (Chitekwe-Biti 2009). An estimated 24.4 million people, both rough sleepers and internally displaced people, are homeless in Nigeria (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees 2008). Egypt has 12 million homeless people, including rough sleepers, and individuals living in unsuitable housing such as shacks and kiosks and in public institutions (United Nations, Habitat 2015). In Ghana, 100 000 people are estimated to be roofless people (Komla 2013). In South Africa, the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC 2010) estimated that there are about 100 000 to 200 000 homeless people.

## Theoretical Framework

In this study, we were guided by the collaboration theory (Gray and Wood 1991) to explore the roles of social workers and homeless people in redressing homelessness. Emery and Trist (1965) propose this theory as the only viable response to confronting the myriad of complex problems faced by society. This theory has been developed and applied by scholars such as Trist (1977), Gray (1985), Gray and Wood (1991), and Colbry, Hurwitz and Adair (2014) in seeking to understand the way in which common goals could be achieved through collaboration. Gray and Wood (1991, 4) define the collaboration theory as a “process through which parties who see defined aspects of a

problem can constructively explore their differences and search for solutions that go beyond their own limited vision of what is possible”.

Collaboration is possible as long as the parties engage in a process intend to reach consensus in action and decision (Wood and Gray 1991). Collaboration helps parties tackle social problems which cannot be dealt with by any single party acting alone (Savage et al. 2010). Based on the submissions made by the aforementioned scholars, the purpose of collaboration theory is to deal with a shared problem. The two preconditions of collaboration are: (a) the parties must share at least one common interest; and (b) collaboration must be fostered by an awareness of the need to achieve a shared understanding of a problem and collective responses to the conundrum (Gray and Wood 1991). In an age where organisations offering social work services are underfunded and social problems are complex, the collaboration between service providers and service users is essential when redressing inequalities and injustices (Gajda 2004). Lasker and Weiss (2003) assert that without an adequately broad-based collaborative effort between service providers and users, it remains challenging for communities to understand and develop local solutions that redress the root causes and consequences of social problems.

## Methodology

In the study, we used a qualitative approach that allowed for the identification and elaboration of the breadth and depth of the participants’ subjective experiences (Funk and Kobayashi 2014). The population of this study comprised all homeless people living on the streets of the City of Tshwane (CoT) in Gauteng, South Africa, and all social workers employed by non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in the CoT to provide services to homeless people. The CoT as site and context was selected from the observation that most homeless people are concentrated in metropolitan cities (Renkin 2015). Du Toit (2010) contends that in South Africa the concentration of homeless people is more evident on the streets of metropolitan cities than in rural towns. Consequently, many homeless people have migrated from rural areas to metropolitan cities, ironically to escape poverty. Some authors caution that with the upsurge of urbanisation, migration and unemployment, a larger number of underprivileged individuals are at risk of becoming homeless than ever before (Schenck et al. 2017).

Purposive sampling was used to draw samples from these populations. The inclusion criteria for the study are set out in Table 1.

**Table 1:** Inclusion criteria for homeless people and social workers

<b>Homeless people</b>	<b>Social workers</b>
Aged 18 or older at the time of the study Homeless for two years and longer Residing in the CoT during the process of collecting data	Registered with the South African Council for Social Service Professions and providing a service to homeless people Employed by, volunteering at or affiliated to a governmental organisation, community-based organisation, faith-based organisation or NGO in the CoT

An exploratory design was employed to investigate homelessness while the descriptive design provided an accurate account of the participants' lived experiences (Grove, Burns, and Gray 2012). Owing to stigmatisation and the labelling of homeless people, studying street homelessness reinforces the value of using organisations as key points of contact and can further facilitate access to other organisations involved (Chamberlain and Hodgetts 2018, 677). It was therefore important to identify key agencies mandated to redress homelessness in the CoT and to seek permission to conduct the study. Human service organisations such as NGOs and outreach workers in the CoT were gatekeepers regulating the researchers' access to both the homeless people and the social workers.

Face-to-face semi-structured interviews were used to generate data and data saturation was reached at eight participants for social workers and at 14 participants for homeless people. All the interviews were conducted in Setswana and English, ranging between 30 and 45 minutes. The interviews that were conducted in indigenous languages other than English were translated by the second author and verified by the first author. As Makusha et al. (2013, 142) state, "the desired outcome of translation in this study was for meaning rather than literal equivalence." We relied on our knowledge and understanding of the participants' indigenous languages to provide a comparable translation and interpretation.

The data were analysed thematically using Tesch's approach as outlined in Creswell (2016). The credibility of the findings was achieved through the continual verification of findings, and engagement of the participants in the verification process, engagement between the first and second author, and the research and ethical committee. Confirmability was achieved through documenting ideas during data collection and analysis in a journal. To ensure dependability, the findings were validated through using an independent coder in the data analysis. In this study, the element of transferability was enhanced by providing thick descriptions of the findings with appropriate verbatim quotations.

The Social Work Departmental Research and Ethics Committee of the University of South Africa (Reference number: 2019-SWREC 49495259) provided ethical clearance

for the study. The participants were provided with a detailed explanation of the study purpose and their right to participate. All the participants affirmed their consent via a signed consent letter. The principle of confidentiality was explained to all the participants. To protect the participants from any harm, an agreement was reached with a qualified social worker to provide any debriefing should such a need arise, which did not occur. Ultimately, access to the data was restricted to us and the independent coder. In addition, the independent coder signed the confidentiality agreement.

### Description of the Sample

The biographical profile (Table 2) consolidates a few notable observations. First, the gender disparity within the homeless participants is expected because males are comparatively more prone to homelessness than females (Kok, Cross, and Roux 2010). Of particular interest was the educational attainment of the homeless people. Contrary to the general assumption that homeless people are illiterate (Ghosh 2020, 289), most participants are fairly literate with three having obtained Bachelor's degrees. With the second group of participants (social workers), it was evident that all of them had adequate experience in working with homeless people, although most of them received no specialised training on homelessness.

**Table 2:** Biographical profile of the participants

Homeless people					Social workers		
Code	Gender	Age	Education	Years of homelessness	Code	Experience	Further training
A	M	50	BA Degree	3	A	10 months	No
B	M	32	BA Degree	2	B	11 month	No
C	M	30	Diploma	2	C	2 years	No
D	M	63	Never attended school	3	D	6 months	No
E	M	34	Certificate	5	E	3 years	No
F	M	27	BA degree	2	F	3 years	Yes (attended workshop)
G	F	30	Grade 11	5	G	2 years, 8 months	No
H	F	46	Grade 8	19	H	3 years	No
I	M	42	Grade 12	26			
J	M	21	Grade 11	2			
K	M	31	Grade 11	6			
L	M	33	Grade 9	9			
N	M	42	Grade 7	21			
M	M	35	Grade 11	5			

## Presentation of the Findings

Three themes emerged from the data analysis: Theme 1 focused on the fractured family relations and family reunification; Theme 2 established the contradictory and complementary views on the provision of food and shelter; and Theme 3 established the participants' perceptions about their own intervention strategies and skills.

### Theme 1: Fractured Family Relations and Family Reunification

Families have an important function in the development of individuals. They provide not only “a roof over one’s head” but also serve as an important source of unconditional caring and love (Parker and Mayock 2019) and the individual’s sense of belonging (Nemiroff, Aubry, and Klodawsky 2011). However, when such familial care and support are not present, individuals are likely to become disillusioned, emotionally bruised, unwanted, rejected or unloved (Parker and Mayock 2019), as evidenced in the vignettes (Table 3).

**Table 3:** Theme 1: Fractured family relations and family reunification

Homeless people	Social workers
I think if there was a family that cares, then there would not be homelessness because they would do what they can to keep that person with them under a roof. (PL)	We do referrals, some of the homeless people we send them back to their home, do home visit to their home and try to reunify them with their families. (PD)
Okay, since I was born, I do not know my family. I grew up in orphanage homes since I was one year and six months until I turned eighteen years old. I never had contact even with a single family member. (PJ)	Some need family reunification . . . Then we try and contact their families and find out what made them leave home and reunite them with their families. (PB)
Nobody cares even to call, just to call and communicate. Imagine your own blood – rejecting you like that because of the perceptions that society have about people who live on the street. So that is the most painful . . . painful thing. (PA)	My role is to provide services that can reintegrate the person back into the community, to reintegrate the individual back into their families. (PF)

From the accounts above, three deductions could be derived. First, the experience of not having a family or having a family with low support could lead to homelessness. Castaños-Cervantes, Turnbull and Aguilar-Villalobos (2018) contend that primarily broken or weakened familial ties often force individuals away from their home, disrupting meaningful relationships. Some individuals chose to leave their homes to protect themselves from family conflicts, misunderstanding, dishonesty or abuse.

The second deduction is that dysfunctional families may cause individual members to leave their homes. This deduction is consistent with the assertion that family disintegration is also a major cause of homelessness for some homeless people (Phiri and Perron 2012) and that the support from families has an important function for the individuals in managing stress, improving health and building self-efficacy (Oliver and Cheff 2014).

Last, the homeless people's experience of being rejected by family is also an indication that family members may avoid any form of contact with their homeless relative, often leaving the homeless person with emotions of rejection. Similarly, other researchers argue that being homeless could indicate being looked down on, ignored or rejected, and even observed as less than a human being (Paradis et al. 2012). Consequently, the individuals are cast in devalued social positions, limiting their access to valued positions, such as that of a parent, neighbour or tenant (Donley and Jackson 2014).

On the other hand, the social workers' views emphasise the importance of family reunification. This social work intervention is employed to reconnect and restore family relations or reunite family members after a breakdown and is important for developing emotional well-being among homeless people (Thompson et al. 2010, 2017). It is therefore one of the most important strategies of redressing homelessness.

## **Theme 2: Contradictory and Complementary Views on the Provision of Shelter and Food**

Homeless people are overwhelmingly impoverished (Cowen 2017). It is therefore extremely difficult for them to find shelter in formal housing, primarily owing to the prohibitive cost for poor people. Moreover, the term "homeless" generally denotes lack of any basic shelter. Owing to the absence of shelter, homeless people spend most of their life on the street without basic amenities such as drinking water and sanitation (Ghosh 2020). However, social workers are often criticised for focusing on the immediate needs of homeless people and thereby ignoring related structural, systemic and community environments. Sample and Ferguson (2020) advise that service providers, including social workers, employ comprehensive and multilevel strategies to deal with all factors affecting homeless people. Contradictory views were expressed by the homeless participants regarding the need for shelter and the services provided by social workers (Table 4).

The excerpts from the homeless participants underpin the importance of shelters for the homeless community. Similarly, researchers have acknowledged the paramount importance of shelters as a resource for basic necessities and safety (Petrovich et al. 2017). Most shelters provide short-term facilities for persons experiencing homelessness who need a place to stay for a while. Some of the more sophisticated shelters may help homeless people to exit from homelessness through supportive programmes. However, some studies argue that providing shelters and meals should only be the first step in the process of providing holistic care to the homeless population



(Schwend, Cluskey, and Cordell 2015). To provide holistic care to homeless people, it is imperative that contextual social and personal issues be dealt with. Shelters are advised to adopt an empowerment philosophy, with an understanding that homeless people are self-determining, can identify their needs, and know what it takes to meet those needs (Gregory, Nnawulezi, and Sullivan 2017).

**Table 4:** Contradictory and complementary views on the provision of shelter and food

Homeless people	Social workers
<p>I do not think they can really help us. The life on the street is somehow [different] . . . I do wish to stay in a shelter but there are rules that I would not be able to adhere to like times of locking the gates, times for waking up . . . I want to be free and that is why I am on the street; I like being free. (PG)</p> <p>Social workers should stop feeding homeless people, they are making them lazy. I told them many years ago, they should stop feeding them . . . They are running from “phakaphaka” [feeding schemes or soup kitchens] to “phakaphaka” [from one centre to another to eat] on a daily basis, Monday to Sunday . . . no, they should look for money. You see this “phakaphaka”, these social workers and organisations do not want people to work, they should cut the “phakaphaka” out . . . You make them [homeless people] lazy . . . from here they run to the next centre on the other side, (PN)</p>	<p>As a social worker my role . . . [thinking] because we cannot provide homeless people with a shelter as we do not have. I help them with food because it is hard to get food when you are living on the street. It is hard to have toiletries. So, first I make sure that they have food and toiletries so that they can be like other people. (PC)</p> <p>We can only accommodate 32 people but . . . how many people are homeless? There are many and a key interesting issue is that most of the homeless people are males . . . how many shelters accommodate males? There is none. There are places where they can bath and go back on the street, so the services are fine but at this point I think male clients do not really have comprehensive service as compared to female clients . . . it is just a part. (PH)</p> <p>From my experience in the morning providing them with tea when we go to outreach and give them soup and bread and even also for me at my church, we do that, but it is still not enough, and it worries me. (PI)</p>

The participants’ views and observations are consistent with the assertion that social work service provision creates dependence and fails to deal with the root causes of homelessness that must be challenged, such as food schemes. Some authors concede that social work interventions such as the provision of food parcels to the homeless people do not redress the root cause of food insecurity but only offer a short-term relief (Meiklejohn, Barbour, and Palermo 2017). Conversely, the fear of being identified as needy and dependent by other individuals may discourage homeless people from using social work food schemes. Such a negative perception often associated with receiving charity may contribute to further isolation and food insecurity among the homeless

people and lead towards employing illegal and unsafe food sources, such as scavenging in dustbins for leftovers. On the other hand, Page-Reeves (2012) maintains that individuals need to eat, and that should be prioritised.

### **Theme 3: Perceptions of Homeless People and Social Workers about Their Own Intervention Strategies and Skills**

Social workers' interventions, such as a supportive relationship with homeless people, appear to be a source of strength and resilience for the participants and assist them in keeping hope alive. Being homeless present individuals with a unique set of challenges, circumstances and pressures that require strong coping skills and a supportive network, such as with social workers (Knestaut, Devine, and Verlezza 2010). The participants' perceptions about their own intervention strategies and skills are reflected in the extracts in Table 5.

**Table 5:** Theme 3: Perceptions of homeless people and social workers about their own intervention strategies and skills

<b>Homeless people</b>	<b>Social workers</b>
<p>I can say the reason I am who I am today and doing what I am doing is because of that social worker. She was there for me 24/7 [throughout] even when my own mom was not there for me. Her counselling was effective, and even the way she used to guide me, you could feel the love and the care in that discipline and she really made it a point that I know she cares for me. (PB)</p> <p>Social workers help us with placement in relevant shelters around Tshwane and even in terms of us homeless guys, the provincial social workers if you want to go home, you go there to them and they will write a report and if you go to another office [of Social Development] with the report they will give you transport money. And the last time when we were invading another building, the social workers helped us in filling another form to go to the food bank Tshwane [in the CBD], so they gave us food. Social workers are helpful in referring us to relevant places [such as drop-in centres] because our problems are not the same. (PC)</p>	<p>Working in collaboration with homeless people allows me to hear their views on how they want to improve their lives or how they want things to be done because it is their life after all, and I cannot tell them what to do or not do. The advantages are that I can hear more of what they want. (PC)</p> <p>We are trying to bring those kinds of projects [such] that somebody from a proper background will not think these ones are homeless they cannot be part of this . . . like right now we have a book club that is running because we always think that book clubs must be joined by people who are smart, who are in universities, who are in colleges or working in libraries. We welcome people from the street and have debates because they have the capacity to do these things but we kind of exclude them because we think homeless people cannot be part of this. (PH)</p>

These scenarios corroborate the assertion that service users' trusting relationship with social workers is built on respect, attentive listening and empathy which often restores or enhances hope in their lives (Schrag and Schmidt-Tieszen 2014). Trust is a critical medium in relationship-based practice and must be cultivated in social work practice.

The quality of a social worker that homeless people value the most is their attitude towards their work (Kam 2019). The social workers' positive attitudes towards their work often increase homeless people's trust and hope in social work interventions and envisage whether they could be approached for assistance when necessary (Kegan 2016). Social workers are often approached for assistance because homeless people trust them; they are well-positioned to help them in redressing their homelessness.

However, some homeless participants were quick to share the frustrations they had with social workers. Others have become distrustful of social workers because of their past unpleasant experiences when visiting social work offices. On the other hand, social workers also expressed their frustration regarding homeless people's unreasonable expectations. These contradicting views are captured in Table 6.

**Table 6:** Homeless people's and social workers' frustrations with each other

Homeless people	Social workers
<p>Social workers should not make promises that they cannot keep you know, and if you can offer a cold drink and you cannot give a champagne, you must make that person know . . . It is kind of weird lying to homeless people. (PF)</p> <p>It would be helpful if social workers keep to their promises. They should do what they are promising us, and no one will complain, they will not see anyone on the street. They must just do the honourable thing and give homeless people what they need. (PI)</p>	<p>It is challenging as they expect us to perform miracles, so to them we are like miracle performers. I am always expected to have all the answers. I must have whatever they need at that certain time they need it, so it is very challenging . . . they expect me to have solutions for them in a week or two-days' time. They expect us to have ready-made jobs for them. So those are some of the challenges I do face as a social worker addressing street homelessness. (PB)</p> <p>The challenges are when homeless people think you [social workers] are their personal saviour, and they end up asking for favours [cigarettes] that you cannot necessarily offer as a social worker. (PH)</p>

The homeless participants' experiences verified that some have become discouraged from using social work services because they experience the services as unresponsive to their needs. It is therefore common for those homeless participants who receive inadequate social work services to view them in a negative light (Maesele, Bouverne-De Bie, and Roose 2013). Consequently, homeless people are sensitive to the services they receive, and if their needs are not met, they develop negativity towards the services. Providing meaningful social work services is necessary for homeless people to realise their immediate and long-term needs (Parsell, Tomaszewski, and Phillip 2014). However, the social workers' accounts highlight the challenges that often confront them when redressing homelessness. Social workers often feel ill-equipped to respond to the scourge of homelessness and they are often frustrated by being regarded as "miracle

makers” performing beyond their capacities, resources or expertise (Clapton et al. 2014, 35).

## Discussion and Implications for Social Work Practice

In this article, we advocate a collaborative process that increases sharing of responsibility between homeless people and social workers. The underlying assumption is that when afforded adequate opportunities, homeless people represent a great resource in redressing the scourge of homelessness. We are convinced that partnership between the homeless people and social workers could certainly determine relevant actions and solutions to redress homelessness. Similarly, Hardin and Wille (2017) argue that a partnership between social workers and homeless people provides personalised support and resources necessary for the homeless people to exit homelessness. Social workers cannot legitimately claim to redress homelessness meaningfully if they have not genuinely considered the personal views of the homeless people.

## Recommendations for Social Work Practice

In this second to last section of the study, we highlight the implications for social work practice. We recommend that the following social work methods be incorporated in a rights-based approach to social work practice with homeless service users:

- Consistent with the basic proponents of collaboration theory outlined under the theoretical framework above, in particular the assumption that collaboration helps parties tackle social problems which cannot be dealt with by any single party acting alone, it is recommended that social workers engage homeless people in service planning and decision-making. Meaningful participation of homeless people calls for social workers to relinquish their power and the feeling of being all-knowing professionals. Instead, they should respect and promote homeless people's right to make their own choices and decisions.
- In view of homeless people's desire to be reunited with their families, it is recommended that social workers focus on the family-based interventions such as family reunification, facilitating the process of reuniting homeless people with their families.
- To understand and redress homelessness, social workers must go beyond providing shelters. For instance, the social work interventions should include programmes of skills development and training or apprenticeships, internships or an extension of grant support, or a combination of these.
- In addition to the second recommendation above, social workers should provide capacity building training to empower homeless people. This capacity building should be informed by a thorough needs assessment for genuine empowerment to be realised. Vulnerable individuals such as homeless people might not possess

adequate motivation to participate in initiatives that promote empowerment. Participation in empowering practices by individuals in a vulnerable position might be hindered by a lack of skills or resources.

## Conclusion

One of the key principles of the collaboration theory is that for collaboration to occur, two or more individuals should be involved in a shared relationship with a common interest; most importantly, the decision-making process in collaboration should consider the expertise of all the parties involved. However, the findings in this study highlighted converging and contrasting experiences of homeless people and views from social workers rendering services to them. Key among the findings was a strong belief by homeless people that the provision of food and shelter by social workers inadvertently perpetuates dependency and their stance is that social workers should refrain from providing such services. Some homeless participants are distrustful of social workers because of their past unpleasant experiences when they attempted to access their services. Social workers and homeless people should engage in a collaborative function willingly to redress street homelessness. Although the function of social workers and homeless people need not be equal, their functions must be interdependent to sufficiently contribute to redressing street homelessness.

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