1. INTRODUCTION
The Transitional Housing Programme came about as a result of an initiative by the Inner City Shelter Forum of the Greater Johannesburg Transitional Metropolitan Council (GJTMC) to develop strategies for dealing with homelessness in Johannesburg. Gauteng is the only Province to have a formal programme for Transitional Housing and the Transitional Housing Implementation Team (TRHIT) was formed to facilitate and co-ordinate the pilot programme of five Transitional Housing facilities in Johannesburg.

During the implementation process it has become very clear that Transitional Housing plays a very important role in the delivery of housing to homeless persons. However, it has also become evident that there are gaps in delivery at both ends of where Transitional Housing fits into the broader housing programme. This has lead to two fundamental questions; firstly, what facilities are there for people who do not qualify for Transitional Housing and secondly, where do people move to after transitional housing? In addition, the role of other government departments such as welfare, health, education/training and employment need to be reviewed in terms of their contribution to the programme.

This paper aims to evaluate the Transitional Housing programme as an appropriate form of housing for the least empowered community in the city. The paper begins with the background to the Transitional Housing pilot programme and outlines the aims and objectives of the programme. This is followed by a brief description of the five established projects, and then discusses some of the achievements and problems encountered in the implementation of the pilot projects. Finally, the paper evaluates the projects and makes some recommendations for the future of the programme.

The information in the paper is obtained through participation in the Inner City Shelter Forum and Transitional Housing Implementation Team meetings over the last two years. In addition, there has been direct involvement with the programme and interaction with management and residents of all of the pilot projects. This interaction lead to the formulation of a proposal for a broader evaluation of the programme to motivate for Transitional Housing to be incorporated into national housing policy; involvement in the current development of a monitoring programme to be applied to the five pilot projects; and consultation on proposals for the implementation of new Transitional Housing projects.

Acknowledgement should also be given to students in the Department of Architecture at the University of the Witwatersrand who conducted pilot surveys in each of the Transitional Housing facilities as part of the `Home and Away= Studio on a project called :

A......a place between.......@

2. BACKGROUND TO THE TRANSITIONAL HOUSING PROGRAMME

After the first democratic elections in South Africa, there were a number organisations concerned with the plight of homeless persons in the inner city of Johannesburg. The Inner City Shelter Forum was formed in June 1995 as a partnership between local government and community organisations to address effective and efficient ways of dealing with homelessness.

The strategy for Transitional Housing grew out of the Inner City Shelter Forum and lead to the adoption of a `Policy on Inner City Transitional Housing= in July 1996 by the Greater Johannesburg Transitional Metropolitan Council (GJTMC). The Forum then focussed on the role of the Provincial and National Government Housing Departments in enabling Transitional Housing to be incorporated into the provisions for institutional housing subsidies.

In October 1997, the `Interim Guidelines for the Subsidisation of Temporary Shelters : Pilot Project : Gauteng= was adopted by the National Ministry of Housing and Housing MEC=s (MINMEC) in all Provinces as the basis for a pilot programme of Transitional Housing. The Interim Guidelines are an Annexure to the Provincial Housing Board document : Volume A, Housing Subsidy Scheme, Part Seven, Guidelines for Institutional Subsidies, November 1995, Vol A - P7 .This meant that the Provincial Housing Board (PHB) could grant subsidies to projects submitting proposals which met the criteria outlined in the guidelines.

Organisations need to demonstrate that the proposals are financially viable and that they have the
necessary managerial expertise to implement the project successfully. The organisation should either own
the property or have a registered lease of not less than twenty years on the property to be eligible for
approval of subsidies. The subsidy is in the form of an initial capital payment only; ongoing management
and maintenance is to be funded by the organisations themselves. The subsidy payouts are administered
as progress payments upon the completion of agreed milestones. Up to 70% of the subsidy can be paid
out prior to completion on condition that the beneficiaries have been identified, and the remaining 30% is
paid out on full occupation of the project.

The projects are aimed at providing temporary accommodation to destitute and homeless people. The
subsidy is in the amount of R3750.00 per unit (bed) or R15000.00 per family (assumed to be the
equivalent of 4 beds) and is allocated according to the mix of persons and/or families to be accommodated
in the project. Qualifying beneficiaries are persons who less than R1250.00 per month; or families who
earn less than R2500.00 month. Eligible beneficiaries must be lawfully resident in South Africa; must be
over 18 years of age, except for children who are under parental guidance or adult care givers; and
excludes persons who are receiving an old age pensions or other grants.

The tenure arrangements are that the accommodation should remain available to persons in temporary
situations and not be permanent accommodation. Occupation is limited to a six month period and can only
be extended in special circumstances with the approval of the PHB. The organisations are required to
enter into lease agreements with the occupants based on established admission criteria, house rules and
monthly rental amounts.

The institutional arrangements for management of the project must include representation of the
occupants through a residents committee. The organisation is also required to keep books, present
audited financial statements to the PHB and institute mechanisms to monitor the success of the project.

3. IMPLEMENTATION OF THE TRANSITIONAL HOUSING PROGRAMME

The aims and objectives of the Transitional Housing programme is to provide temporary accommodation
to destitute and impoverished homeless people living in inner city areas. This is to be achieved through the
adaptation and upgrading of existing inner city buildings.

In addition, the programme attempts to bridge the gap between homelessness and the ability to reintegrate
with society. Firstly, through the provision of rental accommodation for persons earning between R400.00
and R1250.00 per month and ultimately aiming to link occupants to affordable permanent housing.
Secondly, through development and support initiatives that empower the homeless, such as, personal
upliftment programmes, establishing linkages to other training programmes, employment opportunities,
encouraging entrepreneurship and assisting people to develop viable business opportunities. Thirdly, by
facilitating access to education, health and welfare programmes; and fourthly, networking within the
Transitional Housing Programme for linkages to opportunities, and developing mutual and shared
experiences to inform other initiatives.

The Transitional Housing pilot programme has been in operation for a period of time now, and the
Transitional Housing Implementation Team has embarked on a process of monitoring the five facilities.
The monitoring programme being implemented is an essential and ongoing process to learn from, and to
inform new initiatives, as well as, to explore other options and alternatives. The identified successes and
problems can then be analysed and the PHB policy adapted as part of the process of motivating for
Transitional Housing to be recognised within the general housing delivery programme.

Although, the five facilities are all called Transitional Housing they are very different in the way in which
they function and manage their facilities; their location in the city; the services and support offered and; the
accommodation and living environments which they provide. What follows is a brief description of each of
the five Transitional Housing projects.

4. THE FIVE TRANSITIONAL HOUSING PILOT PROJECTS
The five facilities listed below are the five involved in the pilot programme for Transitional Housing:

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IMMACULATA HOUSE

Immaculata House is run by the Sisters of Mercy, an order of the Catholic Church, along religious principles but there is no required doctrine. The project is located adjacent to the catholic school, the Rosebank police station, the Rosebank Hotel and residential blocks of flats, in close proximity to the heart of the Rosebank shopping district. Immaculata House is thus quite visible in the area and has a good interactive relationship with the surrounding community. The project is managed by the Sisters and two managers, who live on the premises.

The project can accommodate 100 single persons, 80 male and 20 female. The residents range in age but are predominantly over 40 years old. Most people are unemployed and obtain work on a casual basis. The advanced age of the majority of the residents make it difficult for them to find permanent work in a highly competitive job market. The length of stay ranges from one month to five years. The rental charged is R2.00 per day or R60.00 per month. Residents are required to vacate the premises between 07:00 and 17:00 to look for work, and are only allowed to remain if they are unwell.

The building was originally a church hall with its ancillary spaces, which has been adapted for use as a transitional housing project. Each resident is allocated an armchair which converts into a bed at night and a locker for personal belongings. The main hall, where the men sleep, has the chairs and lockers arranged along the walls and in rows in the centre. The stage is allocated to the youths and the basement under the stage is reserved, as a quieter space, for the elderly men. The women are accommodated in a similar way in another large room which is also used as the laundry sorting room. There are communal male and female ablutions off the foyer to the main hall, which are also accessible from the street for use, at a small fee, by other homeless persons not accommodated in the project. A laundry service is operated for residents and non-residents at a small cost per item of clothing. The kitchen staff cook two meals a day, breakfast and supper, for residents and non-residents. The communal dining room doubles as a TV room. A largish room off the main hall serves as a lounge and has a small library area. Other facilities include a sick room, a staff meeting/tea room and an office space. Public pay phones are located in the foyer.

Although, the buildings are quite old they have a generally good standard of finish. This makes the spaces easy to maintain and keep clean because of appropriate materials and a management system which requires that residents and non-residents clean up after themselves. The main problem expressed by residents was a lack of privacy and some minor racial tensions.

The project provides assistance with problems related to ID documents and pensions, basic first aid and access to medical facilities eg. Johannesburg General Hospital. Employment is obtained through casual jobs in the neighbouring community and a car guard scheme developed in conjunction with the Rosebank police station. Immaculata House is a well managed and compassionate facility. The project and the surrounding area is perceived to be safe and secure.

CORNELIUS HOUSE
Cornelius House is run by the Johannesburg Trust for the Homeless, a partnership between the Central Johannesburg Partnership, the Central Methodist Mission and the St. George's United Church. The project is located in Marshalltown, an industrial area on the southern edge of the Johannesburg CBD. The surroundings are predominantly industrial and warehouse buildings. The project is therefore, quite isolated from other residential facilities but within walking distance of job and recreational opportunities in the inner city of Johannesburg. The project is managed by a co-ordinator employed by the Johannesburg Trust for the Homeless, a day manager and a night manager who live on the premises. The project has strict security access control and the comings and goings are monitored.

The project can accommodate around 200 people made up of single persons, couples and families. There are 67 units: 34 family units for four persons; 23 units for two persons sharing and 10 units for three persons sharing. The residents are mad up of both genders and a range of age groups. There is also a mixture of people with regular/permanent employment and others who have temporary casual jobs. The rentals depend on the accommodation: family rooms R250.00 per month, couples R200.00 per month and singles sharing R100.00 per person per month. There is currently a rental increased proposed which has lead to some conflict and a need for mediation.

The building is a four storey warehouse which has been renovated and adapted for transitional housing. The large open plan spaces of the warehouse have been subdivided into rooms along the edges and in the centre. The internal rooms tend to be dark and natural ventilation is provided through a gap between the walls and the roof slab. Communal male and female ablutions are located on each floor. The first floor of the building is given over to a communal kitchen, dining area and recreational area. The kitchen area is being fitted out for a bakery course which is to run from the facility as a training initiative. A communal laundry is located on the top floor of the building with a large open but indoor drying area. Residents do their own cooking and laundry in the communal spaces. There is a shop selling second hand goods, meeting rooms and public phones on the first floor. On the ground floor is a spaza shop run by one of the residents which sells to the street and a large workshop which is to be used for job creation initiatives eg. welding and fixing of cars. Generally the spaces provided are good and adequate, but the finishes are not of a high quality and will require extensive maintenance in the long run. There is a problem of cleanliness in the shared facilities with residents not cleaning up after themselves and perhaps also related to the choice of materials. The building occupies the whole stand and there is no outside space except for the street for the residents or children to recreate in.

The project has a number of empowerment and training programmes in house and linked to other organisations. The Trust runs a personal upliftment programme and encourages entrepreneurship from the residents themselves. There is a sewing initiative and a micro-bakery project being established in the communal kitchen which will train people from Cornelius House and other Transitional Housing projects. Linkages to other organisations have included a hospitality programme run by Quantas Airlines cabin crew and day-care training at the Metropolitan Council.

The co-ordinator dedicates an enormous amount of time and energy to Cornelius House. There have been a number of problems and some important learning experiences related to management, rental negotiations, job creation initiatives and linkages to other organisations. Although the project seems to be running well there are some questions about whether the project is really reaching those it was intended for as it seems that word is getting round that this project provides reasonable and cheap accommodation within a scarce residential rental market in the inner city.

Putaditjhaba House has been a problematic project in that it has been under several `managements` since it began and no one has taken full responsibility until the Learn and Earn Trust became involved during 1999. The project is located in Pageview/Vrededorp in the western part of the inner city of Johannesburg. This area was the subject of forced removals and some of the residents of Putaditjhaba were victims of the removals and remained in the area as `squatters`. Prior to their move into Putaditjhaba House many of the people lived in shacks inside a refuse dump in the area. The adjacent area is predominantly residential with single or semi-detached houses on very small stands, blocks of flats, old age homes and some commercial buildings. The neighbourhood is very racially mixed although, the races tend to live in
previously designated parts of the area. The relationship between Putaditjhaba and the surrounding neighbourhood has at times been tense and problematic. There are two vacant pieces of land on either side of building, one is used by the children to play in and the other is used by a number of shebeens, some run by residents of Putaditjhaba. These open spaces are not maintained and do not belong to the project.

The project is being run by a co-ordinator for the Learn and Earn Trust and two managers who were part of the homeless community living in the area, and who now live in the facility. Security is limited as access is through one gate which is not locked during the day and people come and go at will. Admission criteria have not strictly been adhered to due to the fact that this was a pre-existent community which moved into the project and the lack of consistent management. Although, there are house rules these in reality exist only on paper. The project is well located in terms of access to facilities, employment opportunities and transport within the city.

The project can accommodate 120 persons in 50 units (2m x 3m in size) with bunk beds and lockers in each room. There are a mixture of single males and females sharing rooms, couples and families. The age groups vary from young children to pensioners. The income levels are very low as most people are unemployed and rely on nonpermanent casual work for money. The rentals are R80.00 per person per month. There are many social problems in this facility including alcohol and drug abuse.

The building was an industrial building which has been converted into Transitional Housing. A second level has been inserted into the height of the shed which has been subdivided into rows of rooms with 2 metre high walls and a steel mesh ceiling to allow for light and ventilation. The one half of the lower level has similarly been subdivided into rows of rooms with 2.5 metre high walls and steel mesh ceilings. The rest of the lower level consists of communal male and female ablution facilities; a communal kitchen and dining room where residents cook and eat their own meals; and an office for the manager. A laundry with wash tubs is located in an outbuilding and washing lines are strung across the only open space on the property which is also the entrance space to the facility. As described earlier the two adjacent vacant stands are used by the residents for recreation purposes. Generally the accommodation is quite gloomy and the finishes are of a poor quality which will require extensive and costly maintenance. The building relies on windows in the external walls and ventilators in the roof for natural light and ventilation. Internal rooms rely on the open grid mesh ceilings for light and ventilation. There is a lack of privacy due to the low walls and open ceilings. Artificial lighting is communal and power points are located in the passages. There is a problem with cleanliness and hygiene, due both to the finishes and the fact that people do not clean up after themselves when using the communal facilities.

This project has and still is experiencing many problems. However, the issues are complex and relate not only to the project but to the past history of the area and the community, as well as a lack of management and support. Social problems and unemployment are also contributors. Although the conditions which people live in are by no means ideal, they are better than the squatter settlement which they lived in before and many residents treat Putaditjhaba as permanent accommodation. There has been a marked improvement since new management has taken over and the introduction of a number of programmes such as a creche, and aids awareness programme, home care and a proposal for a basket making project.

HI-LIFE CENTRE

The Hi-Life Centre is run by Operation Job Creation which is a Non-profit organisation. The project is located in the CBD of Roodepoort, opposite the town hall and adjacent to the fire station. It therefore, has good access to employment opportunities and other amenities. The project is run by a co-ordinator for Operation Job Creation, two managers and a security manager. There is a residents committee which meets with the residents one a month and with management once a week. The projects adheres firmly to the admission criteria and has a set of comprehensive house rules.

The project can accommodate 104 people. The final building alterations have not been completed yet but the accommodation consists of varying room sizes for single males or females sharing, single mothers sharing and family rooms. The age and population race groups are very diverse. The education and skills levels are varied; and employment levels includes permanent jobs and casual workers. The rentals are
R150.00 per person per month and payment arrears are a problem.

The project consists of a group of buildings which were originally a police station and magistrates court with cells. They were later converted into a SANCA rehabilitation centre and are now in the process of being adapted to a Transitional Housing project. The smaller buildings on the main street are the visitors reception and lounge with TV, the administrative offices and public telephones. There is a separate controlled residents entrance gate off a side street which is locked after 20:00. The larger buildings consist of rooms of varying sizes which are allocated to groups of residents according to needs. There are shared ablution facilities scattered throughout the building and allocated to particular groups of residents. There is a communal kitchen and dining room where all the residents eat. The meals, washing up and cleaning of communal areas are done by the residents on a roster system. Residents are responsible for the cleanliness of their own rooms and no cooking is allowed in the rooms. There is a creche in the building and all children go to schools in the surrounding areas. The buildings are old but of a high quality of materials and finishes which are easy to keep clean and maintain. The buildings have internal courtyard spaces which allow for natural light and ventilation to all rooms. There are small garden spaces around the buildings and a large courtyard space between the buildings in which children and adults can recreate.

The project provides assistance to the residents in the form of help with legal aid eg. small claims, divorces, marriages; the industrial relations act is taught; bible studies; personal development course ‘who am I?’; access to baking and sewing courses and recycling initiatives. The project is well managed and the success record in helping people to move on is good. The residents appear to get on well and to like the place. There is a lack of personal privacy but the smaller rooms and bathrooms reduce the numbers sharing. Although there is easy access to all amenities, the surrounding area is perceived to be dangerous at night.

EKUTHULENI

Ekuthaleni is run by Mes-Aksie which is part of the NG Church group. The project is located in Joubert Park in the inner city of Johannesburg and thus has access to all of the opportunities and amenities of the inner city. The surrounding area includes commercial and high density residential uses. The project is managed by the Mes-Aksie co-ordinator and a manager who lives on the premises. There is one entrance onto the property and a security controlled entrance to the building adjacent to a visitors room. The project has a house committee which is elected and meets once a month. There are also regular meetings between management and the house committee. The project has a cleaning person for the communal spaces.

The project can accommodate 147 persons. There are 20 families and 70 single males and females who share 3 per room with double bunks and lockers. There are more females than males but a mix of all age groups. The education and skills levels vary from no schooling to technical education. Most residents are in semi-permanent jobs. The rentals are R100.00 deposit and R125.00 per person per month.

The building was designed by Sir Herbert Baker and built in 1930. It was originally a Catholic Convent before being converted into the Turkish Baths. It was later abandoned and left to ruin before being illegally occupied by homeless persons. In 1999 it was transformed into a Transitional Housing project. The building is laid out around a set of internal courtyards which provide natural light and ventilation. The spaces have been subdivided into groups of rooms for families, couples and single persons sharing. An existing large hall space has become a communal kitchen, where residents cook their own meals, and a communal dining room and TV room. There are communal bathrooms for males and females, and communal laundry facility off a courtyard space which is also used as a drying yard. There is also a creche run by one of the residents who has received child care training. Residents are responsible for the cleanliness of their own rooms and are also requested to pitch in with the cleaning of shared spaces. Although the buildings are old the standard and quality of finishes is good and fairly easy to maintain. Outdoor play and recreation takes place in the courtyard spaces.

The project provides a life skills course called ‘Free to grow’, social worker counselling, business training through ‘games’, a savings scheme and a clothing bank. Generally the project is well managed and the running of the project is transparent to the residents so that they are made aware of the costs involved in
5. EVALUATION OF THE TRANSITIONAL HOUSING PILOT PROJECTS

From the brief description of the five pilot project above it can be seen that there are similarities and differences in the way in which they operate, the persons they cater for and the accommodation which is provided. The following evaluation is therefore done on the basis of three main areas of investigation as follows:

(i) the organisational structure and management
(ii) the profile of the beneficiaries
(iii) the living environment

The overall aim of the paper is to investigate the similarities and differences between the facilities in order to establish guidelines for future transitional housing projects, to make recommendations about the future of the transitional housing programme and to uncover the gaps in the programme of housing delivery to poor homeless persons.

(i) the organisational structure and management

All the projects have obtained capital funding through the Provincial Housing Board in the form of the institutional subsidies allocated in terms of the interim guidelines for transitional housing. However, all rely very heavily on outside funding and assistance for the daily running and maintenance of the facilities. All the projects have established admissions criteria and residents committees based on the requirements of the Provincial Housing Board, as well as, a set of house rules developed by each of the five projects depending on the facilities and management style. All the projects are run by dedicated and well intentioned organisations. The problems encountered relate to the funding of the projects and the implementation of effective management structures.

In terms of funding a distinction needs to be made between initial costs and long term sustainability costs. The PHB subsidy provides a once off capital payment based on the number of units to be provided. However, the subsidy funding is not enough to implement the project, acquire land and buildings and to cover the cost of construction and refurbishment, and additional funds need to be obtained from other sources. The amount of money raised often limits the extent to which buildings can be renovated and adapted for use as Transitional Housing. Some of the buildings which have been made available for this kind of housing are basically unsuitable, and require extensive adaptation and remodelling, which is more costly than simpler conversions of more suitable buildings. Thus, funds are often stretched very thinly to get as much as possible for the money available, but means that compromises are made in terms of finishes and choices of materials which then sets the project up for high maintenance costs in the longer term.

The day to day running costs are not subsidised in any way by government sources, and the managing organisations are therefore required to ensure ongoing fundraising to sustain the projects, as the rentals charged cannot cover all the costs. Some of the projects are located in areas where they are being charged commercial or industrial rates and tariffs, which are high compared to residentially zoned areas. Mechanism for reduction of service charges would greatly benefit the financial management of the ongoing monthly costs of running the projects.

Good management structures are crucial to the success of the project and much has been learned through some difficult experiences about this aspect of the implementation of Transitional Housing projects. Management relates to the general running and upkeep of the project, as well as, the relationship with residents through residents committees and on an individual basis. The establishment and adherence to admissions criteria and house rules is critical in order to ensure harmonious co-habitation. Communal living requires a respect for others rights, property and privacy.

Management interaction with the residents needs to be compassionate and understanding of peoples problems, but at the same time, firm and consistent in approach. The fact that residents are often in non-permanent employment means that they are unable to meet the regular payment of rentals. Thus, rental
collection and mechanisms for managing arrears becomes an important issue. Residents committees are important in communication and understanding issues from both management and residents points of view. An inclusive and transparent approach enables residents to see where costs occur and the consequences of non-payment.

Security aspects are important in terms of feelings of well being and safety of the residents. However, there needs to be a balance between the need for control and the need for freedom of movement.

Empowerment and support programmes are essential in preparing residents for reintegration into society. A regular routine is a stabilising factor and taking responsibility for ones life helps to reinstate a sense of dignity and self-esteem. However, the experience of the Transitional Housing programme is that six months is not long enough to get people on their feet and the occupation time frame has been extended to 18 months.

Problems have been experienced in the implementation and the management of all the projects but one of the most valuable outcomes of this programme is the sharing of these experiences which has enabled projects to learn from each other and assist each other in the resolution of problem areas.

(ii) profile of the beneficiaries

The beneficiaries vary from project to project and relates to the location and context in the city. It is clear that there is no typical profile as, the residents range from young to old, male and female, single persons, couples, single parents, families and extended families. This makes it difficult create typical models of support and facilitate efficient access to appropriate resources as the needs are very complex.

Most residents are in need of some social guidance and upliftment programmes. Access to social welfare, pensions, rehabilitation assistance, education and training are all important structures to link up with and more could be done in this respect. Many families struggle to pay school fees and are unable to afford child care for young children and aftercare for school children which further limits the possibilities for obtaining work, or leaves the children to their own devices. Although there is a high percentage of persons with a low skills levels, there are others who are very skilled but are unable to find employment. A vicious cycle of poverty ensues, where there is a lack of confidence, low self esteem, limited work experience and high competition for jobs. Most people are in semi-permanent employment and are therefore, not in a stable situation and find it difficult to move on.

There are also many socialisation problems when people are sharing in minimal conditions. Sharing of facilities blurs the distinctions between communal and private activities. Responsibility towards oneself and the collective become difficult to manage when people are barely existing and living from hand to mouth. In a condition of transition it is difficult to establish a sense of ownership when relationships are temporary and there is an ongoing integration of new people.

(iii) the living environment

The quality of the accommodation varies a great deal from project to project which has both social and management implications. The intention of Transitional Housing is to enable large numbers of people to move through the projects. This means that the facilities are in constant and extensive use. The choice of materials, finishes and equipment is crucial. There is a direct relationship between maintenance and cleanliness to the initial investment in the buildings. Shared ablution facilities which have floor and ceiling tiles are both easier to clean and look hygienic, compared to bathrooms finished with applied surface treatments which are difficult to maintain and clean and thus end up being and looking grubby and unhygienic. The same principles apply to other areas of high usage such as kitchens and communal areas. Thus, there needs to be a balance between short term investment and long terms maintenance costs.

The quality of the buildings and the appropriateness of the built fabric of the Transitional Housing projects vary greatly. Spatial quality and spatial standards vary from project to project. The concern relates to how easy and comfortable it is for relative strangers to share accommodation, both at the level of sleeping
spaces and communal collective spaces. Questions of personal space and privacy become areas for conflict and/or engendering respect for fellow residents. In communal spaces it becomes difficult to establish who takes responsibility and who monitors who with regard to use and abuse.

Most of the projects have provided the bare minimum with regard to private and communal spaces; and compromises have been made within the constraints of the built fabric and the financial budget available. There has also, been very little regard for the importance of social spaces which serve the specific needs of children and adults, both indoors and outdoors.

Transitional Housing is caught in the very delicate dilemma between providing short term accommodation which is better than being on the street and/or other unacceptable living environments; and not being too comfortable to become permanent accommodation. Living environments which enable people to get their lives together but still feel a certain amount of discomfort to encourage them to move onto something better. The question becomes how does Transitional Housing provide comfort and human dignity at the most minimal level, and at the same time retain the intention of a place of transition to a better life.

5. EVALUATION OF THE TRANSITIONAL HOUSING PROGRAMME

The final section of the paper considers the Transitional Housing programme and makes some recommendations for the future.

A comprehensive evaluation of the Transitional Housing projects is needed which investigates much more carefully the relationship between management, the needs of people in transition and the quality of the spatial environment.

It would be useful to conduct a comparative evaluation of the pilot projects which establishes more detailed guidelines for the viability of implementing Transitional Housing projects through appropriate management structures; admissions procedures which evaluate peoples needs and facilitates referrals to suitable forms of accommodation and/or social service support; and sets spatial standards and amenity requirements for Transitional Housing.

The strong need for support other than just housing has become clear and the relationship to other government institutions and departments needs to be strengthened in order to set up effective linkages and referral mechanisms. These links include welfare, health, education, training and job creation.

The issue of initial funding versus long term financial costs needs to addressed at a number of levels. The type of buildings made available for Transitional Housing could reduce the cost of conversions, create better residential living environments and more social spaces. The investment in material finishes can substantially affect the ongoing running and maintenance costs. Subsidised or relief on the payment of rates and services tariffs would improve the financial viability of the projects. The National and Provincial subsidy policy for this form of housing should be reviewed to include some form of ongoing subsidy for management and maintenance. The institutional subsidy at present is limited to a once off capital payment but if Transitional Housing is to achieve its objectives then the allocation of a subsidy to one `unit= would over time benefit many `units= and, therefore, a form of operational subsidy would greatly improve the long term sustainability of the project.

The question of who is benefiting from the Transitional Housing programme is an important one. In a context where there is a shortage of all forms of housing this is a complex question. Transitional Housing caters for those who earn between R400 and R1250 per month. This income bracket however, includes many persons who are not necessarily considered to be homeless or destitute but who are in informal or non-permanent employment. At the same time, the income criteria does not cater for those who earn below the lower limit, who are by implication excluded and therefore, what housing provisions are being made for them. At the other end of the period of transition there is very little affordable `formal= provision of housing for people from Transitional Housing to move to.

It is critical to develop an understanding of where Transitional Housing fits into the broader National and Provincial policy for the delivery of housing. Thus, there is a need to establish the extent of the need for
Transitional Housing which currently caters for a fairly small percentage of homeless destitute persons. Simultaneously, there is a need to make recommendations for other forms of housing and service provision eg. basic shelters, perhaps as assessment places which recommend persons for Transitional Housing and/or refer people to other forms of housing, rehabilitation centres etc. The most critical link in the housing provision chain however, is access to affordable housing after Transitional Housing. Current provision of social housing tends to be too expensive and the rental gap is too high for people to cope with whilst still in a relatively unstable employment situation. At present there are persons within Transitional Housing who could probably move on to better accommodations if it were affordable. Simultaneously, there are persons who are unable to cope with the costs of Transitional Housing and therefore, have to leave. Either way people at either end of the Transitional Housing spectrum may well fall back into a destitute homeless situation.

There can be little doubt that Transitional Housing is playing an important role in the provision of accommodation for destitute and homeless persons. However, unless there is serious consideration given to access to affordable housing to move onto the transitional housing programme will fail in its intentions of being a place of transition and people may instead re-enter an cycle of homelessness.

REFERENCES


INTERNET REFERENCES

South African Migration Project : http://www.queensu.ca/samp/publications
Homeless Talk : http://www.homelesstalk.org.za

GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENT DOCUMENTS

Annexure 7A of Part Seven of Volume A (VOL A - P7 - ANNEX 7A) APPLICATION BY INDIVIDUALS FOR PARTICIPATION IN INSTITUTIONAL SUBSIDY SCHEME (Nov. 1995)
Annexure A AMENDMENTS TO INSTITUTIONAL SUBSIDIES PART SEVEN OF VOLUME A
Annexure A INTERIM GUIDELINES FOR THE SUBSIDISATION OF TEMPORARY SHELTERS : GAUTENG : PILOT PROJECTS.

CONSULTATIONS AND INTERVIEWS
Participation in the committee meetings of:
THE INNER CITY COMMUNITY FORUM
THE INNER CITY SHELTER FORUM
THE TRANSITIONAL HOUSING IMPLEMENTATION TEAM
THE FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE TRANSITIONAL HOUSING PROJECT

Interviews and interactions with management, staff and residents of Transitional Housing Projects

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<tr>
<th>FACILITY</th>
<th>CORNELIUS HOUSE</th>
<th>HI-LIFE CENTRE</th>
<th>IMMUTULATA HOUSE</th>
<th>PUTADITJHABA HOUSE</th>
<th>EKUTHALENI</th>
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<td></td>
<td>Chris Lund, Theo Molobi</td>
<td>June van der Nat, Cindy Muthwa, Brian Kubheka</td>
<td>Sr, St. John Enright, Jacob Modise, Selby Dishaba</td>
<td>Toni Easton, Ebrahim Modimkwane, James Mkwane</td>
<td>Renier Erasmus, Lucky</td>
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Immaculata: Craig Dalziel, Pamela Gates, Mathew Wiggett
Phutaditjaba: Marcelle Booysen, Marco Cecilio, Relebohile Molomo, Dylan Pin Wei
Ekuthuleni: Ryan Astrap, Mark Jackson, Dale Scott, Philip Rutkiewicz, James Wylie