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CURRENT STATUS OF ASSISTANCE POLICIES FOR THE HOMELESS IN SEOUL, HONG KONG, AND TAIPEI

East Asia Homeless Assistance Survey Team

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1. Introduction

As part of a research project running for three years from 2001 through 2003, and for another three years beginning in 2004, our team conducted field surveys four times in Hong Kong, three times in Taipei, and twice in Seoul (<http://ucrc.lit.osaka-cu.ac.jp/homeless/>). In these three cities beginning in 1998, without any coordination between them, similar assistance policies aimed at the homeless emerged at about the same time. Although they include elements that had already been developed through the activities begun by NGOs and private organizations, this was the beginning of a system publicly recognized as a matter of policy. We would like to introduce in detail the aid policies for the homeless in these three cities. The main intention of our team is, by introducing to Japan the newly-formed public measures in Hong Kong, Taipei, and Seoul, to provide previous examples for the improvement of homeless assistance measures in Japan and the adoption of new measures. We hope this will become useful material for investigating the validity of adapting the newly-formed public policies to Japan and offer concrete possibilities. Different team members have written different sections of this monograph, and their individuality is reflected in the narration's concerns. There is also a lack of uniformity in some terms (rough sleepers, homeless, etc.) that reflects the differing contexts of each location, and occasional overlap in the contents. We hope our readers will forgive us for this.

Table 1 shows the structure of homeless assistance system in these three regions. Following the process of moving from living on the street through transitional housing facilities to settled housing, we look in turn at Seoul, Hong Kong, and Taipei, including the systems, plans, and management which form the background. Although we are not necessarily aware of the process of all the measures in the three cities, we have divided it into respective topics based on the measures that at present are confirmed. The letters 'S', 'H', and 'T' along the bottom row in **Table 1** refer to Seoul, Hong Kong, and Taipei; when one of the letters is missing it means either that the service does not exist, or that we were unable to verify it because of our survey's limitations.

Table 1. Structure of Homeless Aid Measures and Plan

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------|--------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|--|
| Outreach | Medical care on the street | Day centers Drop-in centers | Emergency or temporary shelters | Self-support aid centers | Other Holding Facilities | Low-cost SRO lodging | Simple Lodgings Consulting spots | Self-support homes, group homes | Follow-up | Public Assistance | Employment assistance | Overall organization | Related laws implementation plans, etc |
| Aid on the street | | | Shelter, Self-Support Aid Center, Interim Housing | | | | | | | System, Plans, Operation | | | |
| S,H,T | S,T | S,H,T | S,H,T | S,H,T | S | H | S,H | S,T | | S,H,T | T | S,H,T | S,H,T |

1-1. The Evolution of Publicly Formed Policy and Its Characteristics

First of all, regarding the breadth of the definition of the word 'homeless', in each of the three cities, users of transitional living facilities are included in the official published figures. This is a big difference compared to Japan. In Japan only those actually living on the street are counted in the figures, but if we go back to the original definition of 'homeless' used in Osaka, rough sleepers and those living under unstable conditions, then the definition in Japan's published figures should be revised. Using this definition, the number of homeless is shown in **Table 2**.

Table 2. Number and Trend of the Homeless in Seoul, Hong Kong, Taipei, and Osaka

| | Latest figures for total homeless | Total number in Shelters, etc. | Street Sleepers | Year of data | Peak numbers | Peak year |
|-----------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------|--------------|--------------|-----------|
| Seoul | 3,320 | 2,768 | 552 | 2003 | 5,000 | 1998 |
| Hong Kong | app. 1,600 | app. 1,200 | 407 | 2004 | 1,300 | 2000 |
| Taipei | app. 800 | app. 120 | 550-770 | 2004 | 2,000 | 1991 |
| Osaka | app. 8,600 | app. 2,000 | 6,603 | 2003 | 8,600 | 1998 |

In each case, the number of homeless shows a peak from the 1990s to 2000, and thereafter an adjustment downward due to the initiation of policies and a partial recovery of the economy. At the same time, the number of rough sleepers in Osaka is conspicuous.

Although the numbers of the homeless are different, the major common factor in official formulation of aid policies for the homeless in each place at roughly the same time was the economic recession of the late 1990s. In Korea and Hong Kong, the especially rapid increase in unemployed rough sleepers due to the 1997 IMF crisis led to an increased awareness of the homeless problem. In Taipei, the corresponding origin of the official formulation of homeless assistance measures goes back to 1991 when rough sleepers labeled as ‘vagabonds’ (*yumin*), who had been the object of police crackdowns, became instead the object of social welfare.

In each of the three cities, before the official formulation of aid measures, the burden of aid was borne voluntarily by NGOs and private civic groups. In Seoul, before the start of official measures in 1998, the core of aid activities were the cooking and provision of meals and night patrols by citizens’ groups and religious organizations. Separately, there was a system for placing vagabonds in holding facilities. In Hong Kong, the Salvation Army began aid activities in 1987 on the Kowloon side, and the St. James’ Settlement did so on the Hong Kong Island side in 1996. The official form of aid measures in Hong Kong began in 1998 by paying subsidies to these NGOs. In Taipei, beginning in 1991 the municipal *yumin* (vagabond) holding facility was transferred from police authority to the Dept. of Social Welfare’s authority, and about the same time the Ping’anju (Peace House) managed by a Christian organization began receiving subsidies. These were only first steps, but marked the start of official formulation of homeless assistance measures.

That the evolution of public policy formulation differs somewhat is due to differences in the social circumstances in which homelessness occurs in the respective places. In Japan, especially in Osaka’s classic case, based around the existence of Kamagasaki, a neighborhood of day laborers formed by the *Airin* system, there is a background of aging day laborers in the construction industry who have become rough sleepers. Consequently, measures directed towards rough sleepers are closely linked in structure to measures aimed at the *Airin* problem.

On the other hand, in Seoul and Hong Kong, while the noticeable rise in 30- to 50-year-old unemployed rough sleepers was a direct impetus for the formation of official measures, we cannot overlook the existence of an underlying base of rough sleepers and homeless people who have taken on a long-term, chronic lifestyle of living on the streets.

In Seoul especially, the districts where there are vagabond (*purangja*) holding facilities and some *jjogbang* (tiny rented sleeping rooms) have become receptacles of the homeless, hidden from the public view. Hong Kong has received masses of immigrants flooding in from the Chinese mainland, and had large numbers of people who were ‘homeless’ in the sense having no secure housing. The poor housing environments of squatter housing, bed space apartments, and cage houses have become the receptacles for these people, but until very recently there was no connection made between measures for improvement of poor housing and measures for aiding the homeless. In Hong Kong, measures have been limited, even within the narrow definition of the homeless as street sleepers, to drug addicts, alcoholics, and the handicapped, and the homeless assistance policy has been largely no policy at all.

In Taipei, traditional rough sleepers have concentrated in the Wan Hua district around the Lungshan Temple, and there were aging veteran ex-soldiers without families from the former Kuomintang army who had fled from the Chinese mainland, but the homeless problem was hidden from the public in the police-administered vagabond holding camps, a kind of isolating facility.

1-2. Relation to Policies in Other Areas and NGOs

These regional differences in the characteristics of the homeless also produced differences in the character of public formulations of policies and the civic and NGO organizations which carried them out. The newly-formed official policies for the homeless were also influenced by the evolution of a system of already advanced policies in related areas. **Table 3** shows the actors carrying out the measures in the respective localities and the NGO organizations related to them. Based on this **Table 3**, we would like to touch upon the historical evolution in each locality of the degree and kind of government intervention and its relation to NGO organizations.

Table 3. Chart of the Main Actors in Aid for the Homeless in the Respective Regions

| City | City government | Religious NGOs | Non-religious NGOs | Core Organization of NGO |
|-----------|--|-------------------------------------|--|---|
| Seoul | City Health and Welfare Bureau | <u>Christian</u> Buddhist | <u>Student movement</u> <u>Labor movement</u> | <u>National Unemployed Homeless Measures Religious and Civic Groups Association</u> |
| Hong Kong | <u>Social Welfare Dept.</u> Home Affairs Dept. Housing Authority | <u>Christian</u> | <u>Citizen's Movement</u> | <u>Society of Community Organization (SoCO)</u> |
| Taipei | <u>Dept. of Social Welfare</u> <u>Dept. of Labor</u> | <u>Buddhist</u> <u>Christian</u> | <u>Welfare Charity Foundations</u> | None (but there is in Taipei County) |
| Osaka | Dept. of Health and Welfare | Christian | Student Movement | NPO Kamagasaki Support Organization |

In Seoul, in preparation for the 1988 Olympics, large-scale evictions were carried out, mostly in squatter districts. Accompanying this, an active housing assistance movement arose. As a housing policy, the construction of permanent rental housing estates aimed at low-income people became a partially mitigating policy related to the evictions, and welfare halls were built in some localities jointly with the welfare bureau. In the midst of this process, a number of active NGOs appeared to help the 'housing-poor.' Centered around veterans of this movement, the National Council of Religion and Citizens' Movements for the Homeless (Korean acronym *Cheonshillohyeop*) was formed in 1998 and began work. The *Cheonshillohyeop* not only put forward a system for aiding the homeless, but afterwards offered management advice and carried out educational and practical activities. Its currently utilized *Tashiseogi* aid system has provided direction for the framework of an East Asian aid system for the homeless. Among the various NGOs, concerns about the fields of welfare policy and housing policy are closely joined together. On the other hand, existing in a completely separate system are the holding facilities for vagabonds (*purangja*) that are regulated by the social welfare works law.

Under British rule, the Hong Kong government's welfare policy relied as much as possible on private NGOs and pursued work through the self-initiated activities of subsidized NGOs. Even now, with the debut of official aid policies for the homeless, the government's social welfare office runs a budget surplus and pushes its measures by teaming together with a number of representative Christian NGOs. Among these NGOs, the Hong Kong Society for Community Organization (hereafter referred to as SoCO) plays a major role. SoCO saw the low public awareness about bed space apartments and cage houses as a problem, and beginning in the mid 1990s has appealed for aid measures. It was the first NGO to take up the homeless problem in its broad definition, and it

has made a major contribution in formulating and carrying out the 3-year action plan of homeless assistance measures that began in 2001. Hong Kong has traditionally been under strong pressure from migration from the Chinese mainland, and the living space area is very limited. Since the decade of the 1960s, the Hong Kong government has pushed a strong agenda of providing public housing, and government intervention in this sector continues to be strong. In a linkage with the homeless assistance measures, the Housing Authority, which corresponds to a public housing corporation, provides interim housing and shelters. Additionally, through the central office of the People's Government, the following are provided: shelters for evacuation during disasters or extreme heat and cold; low-cost dormitory-style lodging for the people evicted by the 1994 bed space apartment prohibition ordinance; and in linkage with the social welfare sector, 'Compassionate Rehousing' for people with extreme housing difficulties. It is important to note that in this way housing policies have been created which include homeless assistance measures, as separate from social welfare policies.

In Taipei, even compared to Seoul and Hong Kong, government intervention is fairly strong. Since 1991 the municipal Dept. of Social Welfare has directly managed the vagabond (*yumin*) facilities, and it has gradually instituted an aid system including reliance on private groups that evolved from the Dept. of Social Welfare. The front-line staff of the municipal Dept. of Social Welfare and Dept. of Labor work actively under fixed-term contracts. The bureaus trust their activities and give the individual staff substantial freedom and discretion in managing the policies. On the other hand, the number of homeless is relatively small, and compared to Seoul or Hong Kong, the active additional help of NGOs on a broad front is not as strong in homeless aid measures. However, it is noteworthy that the staff of the Dept. of Social Welfare and Dept. of Labor are active literally on the front line, and they have created a close network with the NGO organizations. In comparison again to Seoul and Hong Kong, in Taipei the linkages between homeless assistance measures and residential movements and housing policies is slight. In connection with evictions in the squatter districts of Taipei City, residential movements have attracted public attention, but they were limited to basically targeting the lower middle class. The quantity of public housing aimed at low-income people, known as 'low-rent public housing,' that has been provided is slight, and so its help in aiding the homeless has been limited.

1-3. Geographical Characteristics of Aid Services

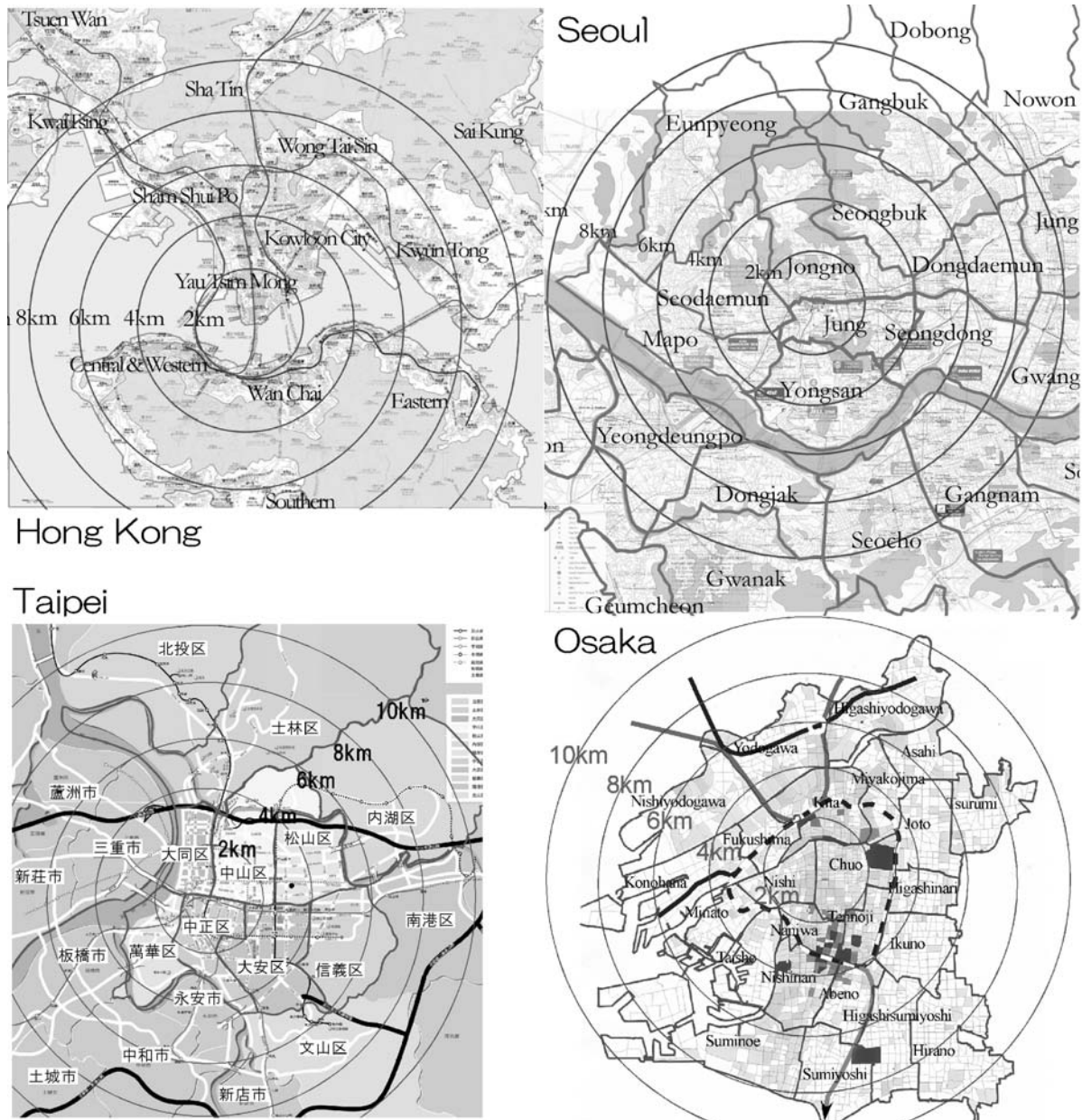
Map 1 show the four cities including Osaka. On each map are concentric circles of equal radius so the comparative size of the cities can be grasped. Deeply related to social welfare measures and the development of housing policy, homeless assistance measures are also related to the problem of locations where services are provided. It is difficult to explain in detail with the maps shown here, but as will be explained under each topic, in each of the cities, the locations where homeless assistance measures have been put in place correspond spatially to the districts in the cities' inner rings where physical laborers, mainly small factory laborers and construction workers, and workers in small-scale service industries largely live.

In the process of historical development of each of these cities, the inner ring where the low-income strata live and where cheap rental housing (substandard housing or lodgings) are concentrated, has expanded. Thereafter, accompanying the deterioration of the built environment in the inner ring, these are the districts where social welfare measures and social housing for low income people are relatively often put in place, and where there are many systemic and personal resources that support them.

The homeless or rough sleepers, because they have limited spatial mobility and need to be near the labor market for small factories and physical labor, have since the distant past chosen the inner ring as the most rational working and living space. Against this background, that the geographic distribution of homeless aid measures and provision of services largely overlaps the area of the inner ring is a common characteristic that can be observed in each of these cities. In

Seoul, this corresponds to the inner ring since the distant past, surrounding the historic core around the city hall (which is also the city center), from Seoul Station in the west to Tongdaemun in the east, and across the Han River to the southwest to the Yeongdeungpo district. In Hong Kong, the main parts of the inner ring are: Sai Ying Pun on the west and Wanchai on the east on Hong Kong Island, and on the Kowloon side, the outskirts of the urban center of Yau Tsim Mong District, and in the northwest area Shamshui Po and Cheung Sha Wan. In Taipei, this area corresponds to Taipei Station in the city center, Wan Hua District in the west, and Tatung District in the north. Needless to say, the living space where rough sleepers are concentrated in Osaka corresponds largely with the areas adjacent to the Osaka Loop Railway Line, which is itself the inner ring.

(Toshio MIZUUCHI)



Map 1. Maps of Seoul, Hong Kong, Taipei, and Osaka at the same scale

Concentric circles are drawn every two kilometers from the respective centers of the city hall in Seoul, the undersea subway tunnel on the Tsimshatsui side, Taipei Station, and Sakaisuji-Honmachi subway Station in Osaka. The base map for the Osaka map shows the 1998 distribution of rough sleepers by neighborhood and block.

2. Aid on the Street

2-1. Outreach

Outreach secures contact with the people living on the street and is the first step in later connecting them to facilities; it is the most important and indispensable service. If there is to be a support system, nothing can happen without first doing outreach. In the case of Osaka, official establishment of outreach measures began in 1999 when the Osaka City Welfare Facilities League was entrusted to provide mobile consulting rooms and consulting staff. Up to the present they have done outreach to nearly 10,000 cases and are the core intermediary channel of the assistance system connecting outreach with the self-sufficient aid centers. The problems for the future in Japan, based on the examples from East Asia, are how to improve the links with the nighttime outreach already being conducted by private groups, the fact that most of the information is not made public, the treatment of the staff, etc.

2-1-1. Seoul

According to the *Tashiseogi* Aid Center, the core of aid for the homeless consists of the chain from: Stage 1. Consultations on the street; to Stage 2. The Basic Solutions Center (intermediary facilities that do assessments); to Stage 3. 'Hope Houses' (dedicated model shelters, called *shimt'eo* in Korean); to Stage 4. 'Self-support Houses.' Since our research team did not actually participate in outreaches, most of our information about the outreach consulting on the street comes from interviews at the *Tashiseogi* Aid Center (**Photo 1, Photo 2**).

The *Tashiseogi* Aid Center's station front consulting spot, which is run by the Anglican Church, as its main work provides services to people who come by for consultations, and does outreach to those who do not (**Photo 3**). Under the official aid policy, people must pass through stages 1 and 2 before they can enter stage 3; so the consulting contact spots are the front-line facilities, the point that one must pass in order to enter the system from Stage 2 onward. There are two spots set up, one in front of Seoul Station and one at Yeongdeungpo Station. They are also facilities for supporting the homeless who do not enter the aid system from Stage 2 onward, and we want to stress that in Seoul official measures for supporting the homeless still on the street have begun with the work of the consulting spots.

The rough sleepers who visit the consulting spots are provided with advice on daily livelihood and medical treatment services (see the following section), and on a case-by-case basis are referred to the Basic Solutions Center of Stage 2. At the consulting spots on a busy day there are about 40 visitors, and on a slow day about 12. About 80% are asking about entering shelters so they can find work again, and the remaining 20% are looking for work or asking about legal matters. "The people who come here, first of all, hope to move in somewhere, so we ask them in detail about how and where they want to move in. For example, if they have a job, we ask them where the job site is. There are a lot of 'Hope Houses' so we try to refer them to a place near their work."

For the homeless who do not come to visit the consulting spots, they conduct night outreach in winter three times a week from 9 to 12 pm, and in summer every weekday from 8 to 11 pm. From time to time they set out consulting tables in the pedestrian underpasses, in cooperation with other groups they hand out lunch boxes at Chuseok (harvest festival) and New Year's, and put on film shows in spring and autumn at both stations. Covering the three locations where the most rough sleepers can be seen, at a. the waiting rooms, underpasses, and nearby park at Seoul Station, b. the waiting room and nearby park at Yeongdeungpo Station, and c. the underground street between the Seoul City Hall and Eulchiro St., the outreach is divided up among about 20-25 people, both staff and additional volunteers. Among these are included some paid volunteers with specialized concerns like graduate students.

Aside from these spots, a group called "People Working for the Welfare and Rights of the

Homeless” does outreach between the Hoehyeon subway station, near Namdaemun (South Gate), and Namsan Park. With about 80% coming through the *Tashiseogi* channel outreach and 20% via this other group, if the clients are judged to have needs or the wish to go to Stages 2 and 3, then they are either introduced to the consulting spots of Stage 1 or recommended to use the day center of Stage 2. “Usually we talk to about 20 homeless people. Among them about 5 will want to use the shelter services and become independent, and the remaining 15 say they just want to spend one night in a shelter, so we tell them about the one-day drop-in center, and after spending a day there they go back on the street.”

What is important in this are the consulting record forms where the results of the consultations and outreach are recorded, and from this starting point the information is entered into a database at *Tashiseogi* headquarters through an intranet, and until the clients leave the *Tashiseogi* system the information is shared and updated. However, concerning the use of this data, there has been some opposition from the clients. “When we constructed the intranet, the goal was to accurately count the numbers of clients who entered and left and continuously manage cases of the homeless moving. In August last year (2003) we started asking the clients, ‘Is it OK to keep records about you for this purpose?’ and received the clients’ assent. We are drawing up detailed guidelines for the information we get this way, such as which organizations can see it (information sharing) and how long should the information be stored.”

Concerning Seoul City’s official establishment of measures for street sleepers, which have set up the station front consulting spots and begun providing services for people who continue to sleep rough, the staff relate the following views: “In the present circumstances, there’s nothing that can be done. The shelters built in Korea are built without any specialized purpose or distinction and they don’t offer any kind of specialized assistance that considers whether the clients have any special skills or education, so we feel the homeless have no choice but to keep sleeping on the streets. For these people who chronically live on the streets, we are offering immediate aid in place, managing drop-in centers, and providing a program that as much as possible offers services to people living on the streets.”

These on-the-street measures also include consulting for *jjogbang* dwellers (*jjogbang* is Korean for ‘flop house’ or *doya* in Japanese. These are low-rent rooms, requiring no security deposit, just about large enough for one person to sleep in, and without kitchen or other facilities). “Some people from the *jjogbang* come to talk to us as well. The reason is, maybe they’re working but the work is diminishing and or ending, and they’re worried about what to do if they get evicted from the *jjogbang*. So we don’t arbitrarily separate the *jjogbang* dwellers from the homeless, since we recognize that if they can’t pay their rent they’ll turn into homeless. So we think about whether the *jjogbang* people can work or not, and we look for shelters for them.”

Finally, apart from the *Tashiseogi* system, there are derelict welfare facilities regulated under the Social Welfare Projects Law. The link to these facilities is only through the ward offices, the police, or the public hospitals, and the judgment of the outreach staff is, “For people like them, if we’re doing outreach and run into them, we don’t even call them over or ask them to come to the consulting spots. The reason is, the people who can enter shelters are people who can work. If we run into someone who we decide we can’t deal with at the consulting spots, we try as much as we can to connect them to the police so they can go to those facilities.” We will talk about these facilities in the next chapter 2 and 3.

(Toshio MIZUUCHI)

2-1-2. Hong Kong

Aid activities for street sleepers in Hong Kong consist of outreach patrols in the street sleepers’ locales, the provision of shelter facilities, and assistance in reestablishing residences. Here we will outline the outreach program which is the front line of these aid activities.

The present-day framework of aid activities for street sleepers in Hong Kong was formed

on the basis of the general strategy announced by the government's Social Welfare Department in 1993. In this strategy, a structure was set up of comprehensive aid services, run with close cooperation between the department and NGOs, which stresses the strengthening of outreach and counseling and the expansion of shelter facilities.

The SoCO, already mentioned, played an important role in the development of this aid system's form. Having launched aid for the homeless in 1999, SoCO carried out its own independent survey and aid activities, and has continued to make declarations and give input to the government. The results of those activities have appeared included in the Social Welfare Dept.'s 'Three-year Action Plan of Assistance for Street Sleepers' (April 2001- March 2004). Especially in regards to outreach, SoCO spotlighted the fact that previous efforts to reach the street sleepers who appear on the streets late at night were inadequate. Accepting this, the Social Welfare Dept. added the expansion of late night outreach to its action plan. Thus, under the current outreach, there is a division of labor. The Social Welfare Dept. deals with difficult cases such as mental patients during the day, and in close cooperation with three NGOs divides up late night patrols in their respective districts. Additionally, SoCO continues its own independent late night outreach. (Regarding this liaison, documents of two cases of correspondence between SoCO and the government are introduced in the Following URL: http://www.hwfb.gov.hk/hw/english/archive/legco/W_8_11/STREET.HTM, and http://www.hwfb.gov.hk/hw/english/archive/legco/W_020610a/st_sleeper.htm).

The basic goals of outreach are to make contact with the street sleepers, through consultation and assessment to connect them with emergency funds and services, and thus help them escape from life on the streets. Additionally, in Hong Kong outreach contact is utilized to carry out s Street Sleepers Registry. That is, with the aim of grasping the street sleepers' backgrounds, characteristics, and what aid and services they are receiving, data is collected and recorded in a standardized format on a four-page A4 size form. When the Social Welfare Dept. and the three affiliated NGOs do outreach, they ask the street sleepers to voluntarily provide information, and they are either newly registered or old information is updated. The data is managed by the Social Welfare Dept. and when someone leaves the street life, his information is deleted. In the Action Plan, importance is given to the Street Sleeper's Registry as an indicator for evaluating the effectiveness of aid activities. There are probably some street sleepers overlooked by the registry, but the registered numbers are published as the official statistics for the number of homeless in Hong Kong. Looking at the numbers, from 1,203 in April 2001, they declined to 1,027 in March 2002, to 785 in December 2002, and 529 in Dec. 2003. In the Action Plan Final Report (March 2004) these figures are cited as indicating an outstanding success. Further, in September 2004 when we visited the Social Welfare Dept. for an interview, we were told that the registered number had declined to 407 by July of that year.

Finally, we would like to present some interview data from street sleepers taken when our survey team, in order to confirm our impressions of outreach activities in Hong Kong, accompanied SoCO during late night outreach (**Photos 4 and 5**). The place we went to, the Hong Kong International Cultural Centre next to the Tsimshatsui Star Ferry dock at the southern tip of Kowloon, is the chief focal point of SoCO's outreach. While this is also a tourist spot where one can view a panorama of high-rise buildings and neon advertisements on Hong Kong Island opposite to the south, late at night about 100 homeless people were lying about on spread-out cardboard. When we asked a street sleeper why he bivouacs here, he said it is because many people help him here. Passersby give him food handouts and outreach seems to be actively carried out. We also asked several street sleepers how long they have been on the streets. The answers were mostly for about a month. Through the outreach of SoCO and other NGOs, they had already applied for Comprehensive Social Security Assistance (CSSA) and were waiting for the results while living on the street. According to a SoCO social worker, it takes about 30 to 40 days to get the results of a CSSA application, and during that time the Social Welfare Dept., which has jurisdiction, does an

assessment of the applicant's needs and checks on the information at the time of the application. When the results come out, they are relayed to the applicant by SoCO or NGO social workers. In other words, at Hong Kong's street sleeper spots, assistance connecting the homeless to social welfare payments is proactively carried out by outreach social workers who play an important role in providing the first step for escaping the life on the street.

(Yusuke KAKITA)

2-1-3. Taipei

In Taipei City, the principal groups doing outreach are the city's Dept. of Social Welfare, the Dept. of Labor, the Salvation Army, House of Peace (Ping'anju) and Peace Station (Ping'anchan). The Salvation Army, which began providing a day service in 2003, has a paid staff member and several volunteers who do outreach about three times a week at night in the area around Taipei Station. House of Peace (Ping'anju) did daytime outreach along with introduction to their facilities, religious propaganda, and the handing out of necessities, but since they are widely known, nowadays they are not so zealous about outreach and put their energy into running a self-supporting aid center and its consulting projects. Peace Station (Ping'anchan) does some sporadic outreach in winter these days. It is the first two- the city's social and Dept. of Labors- that are important in outreach, and because their work has become substantial in recent years, the trend is for other groups to specialize in their main work while acting as subsidiary support.

Outreach by the city's Dept. of Social Welfare began in 1991 when jurisdiction over the vagrant holding facilities was transferred from the police to the Dept. of Social Welfare. The current vice director at the Dept. of Social Welfare, who was in charge at the time of the transfer and who proposed the 'Taipei City Vagrants Defense Law' (enacted in 1994), says, "At that time I too often went out on patrols. Even the head officials at the Dept. of Social Welfare would go out on night patrols, and for example pick up a man whose rotting feet could be smelled from meters away and carry him to the hospital." The fact that officials currently serving at the Dept. of Social Welfare have experience of doing outreach on the front line has great significance in the later development of homeless aid measures and understanding of the realities on the ground.

In 1997, Mr. Yang Yun-sheng was first hired as a contract employee for the Dept. of Social Welfare to be a specialized social worker doing outreach to the homeless. Mr. Yang was an extremely active and energetic person who by himself did outreach covering the whole area of Taipei, and he made great contributions to the building of a system of effective aid measures and network linkages. In 2002 the Dept. of Social Welfare's outreach was being done by two people, a contract worker hired to succeed Mr. Yang and a regular career employee, but right after that the SARS problem erupted. At that time, the newly hired contract worker was twice quarantined for having contact with sick street sleepers, so Mr. Yang was recalled and rehired as an indispensable resource person. Since then, outreach has been done by a three-person team, with Mr. Yang taking the Chungcheng district, the newer contract worker the Wan Hua district, and the career official taking Tatung and Chungshan districts. This allows even more hands-on support than before **(Photos 6 and 7)**.

The services that can be provided by the Dept. of Social Welfare's outreach go beyond the scope of this section. They can connect of course to day centers and interim lodging facilities, assistance in finding work through the Dept. of Labor, and other social resources. Also, if they can simply verify someone's identity card, they can provide support directly on the street. Such supports are mainly applications for identity cards, a range of aid from applications for low-income housing and public assistance to help in rent contracts, arrangements for public employment under the Dept. of Social Welfare's jurisdiction, public health insurance cards, applications for handicapped documents, or assistance in getting to hospitals from off the street. Personal data about the homeless contacted by the Dept. of Social Welfare's social workers is compiled and shared among the officials responsible at the Dept. of Social Welfare. A great deal of discretionary power for the

provision of all these services is entrusted to the social workers on the front line, and in the midst of a close network of aid groups, by operating flexibly, they respond effectively and quickly.

Additionally, at the city's Dept. of Labor, there was in 2004 an outreach-dedicated staff of ten, four of whom were former street sleepers hired under public employment. Under the slogan "Street Friends Helping Street Friends" ('street friends' is the word for the homeless used at the Dept. of Labor) the Dept. of Labor's staff do outreach all over Taipei, mainly at night, emphasizing job-seeking assistance. The Dept. of Labor, separately from the Dept. of Social Welfare, makes a database consisting of the personal information and needs of street sleepers and uses it for constantly updated job referrals. This database is linked to a GIS (Geographic Information System), and when they input not only identity card numbers and names but also the conditions of employers looking for workers, they can immediately access the personal information of prospective workers showing on a map where they sleep on the street.

(Yoshihisa MATSUMURA)

2-2. Medical Care on the Street

In Osaka, under the *Airin* system, the Osaka Social Medical Care Center (Inc.) has existed and has functioned for many years in the middle of Kamagasaki, but it hasn't been positioned as a homeless aid measure. And although there is a system for free or low cost treatment, it hasn't been developed proactively. It is no exaggeration to say it just barely serves in emergencies. Beginning last year (2003), medical staff have been sent out to roving consultation spots, and 'Medicines sans Frontiers' has begun mobile treatment with doctors themselves giving treatment on the street and examinations at shelters. But neither of these receives subsidies, they are not included in the framework of official measures, and it is a weak system. In the cases of Seoul and Taipei, they are one or two steps ahead of Osaka, and their current status is introduced below.

2-2-1. Seoul

Needless to say, the homeless life is one where the fundamental basis of human life is severely damaged. The homeless in Korea's Seoul do not pitch tents but make beds of cardboard or blankets in places like the pedestrian underpasses near Seoul Station, and there they pass the night. So there are many whose health is damaged. The health conditions of the homeless are characterized by weakened liver function due to alcohol, mental illness, a high incidence of tuberculosis (four times the normal rate), hepatitis B, and many other illnesses. We will discuss the medical assistance in the *Tashiseogi* aid system introduced in the outreach section, and the medical care assistance for the *jjogbang* dwellers who are closely related to the homeless.

First, we would like to give an outline of the medical aid given to the homeless on the street. Medical aid for the homeless unemployed who appeared during the IMF crisis began first with volunteer activities by the doctors of the 'Humanitarian Activities Doctors' Cooperative Association.' However, because they had day jobs and so their medical aid activities were necessarily limited, in 2001 they appealed to the government and under the qualification of 'public health doctors' they took on medical treatment activities at aid facilities as will be explained later. A total of six were put in place nationally, with three in Seoul (two internists and one practitioner of oriental medicine), and one each in Taejeon, Taegu, and Pusan. In Seoul, among the three, one was placed at the free clinic in front of Seoul Station, and two were placed at the Basic Solutions Center- Pohyeon House. Doctors can opt to do public interest work instead of military service, and the full-time doctor we interviewed at Pohyeon House was one of these.

In April 2002, as a medical care facility for the homeless on the street, the Seoul Station Front free clinic was set up under the management of the *Tashiseogi* aid center in a building owned by Seoul City (**Photo 8**). The staff is composed of a chief, one nurse, a doctor (on duty at night), a social worker, and one person working in lieu of military service for a total of five. Aside from the

doctor, they all belong to the *Tashiseogi* aid center. At this clinic, not only doctors but pharmacists, etc. from private medical groups come every day in rotation to voluntarily assist. Treatment is given from 7:30 pm until 10 pm. About 40 to 50 people utilize the service daily, and about 10 to 15 are taken to the hospital. Among the patients are people living in *jjogbang* near Seoul Station. The expenses for running this clinic are paid for by the Seoul City government. Every week on Thursdays and Fridays a treatment and examination team goes out into the underpasses and dispenses medical aid (**Photo 9**). Near Yeongdeungpo Station and elsewhere, separate medical teams do examinations on the street at the rate of once a week or once every two weeks. The doctor here is also involved in assistance activities around Yeongdeungpo Station and his jurisdiction is broad. The live-in facility which specializes in rehabilitation programs for the homeless who suffer from alcoholism or mental illness, called the 'Seoul Vision Training Center,' also does outreach once a week in the underpasses near Seoul Station and responds to the homeless who have such problems.

Then, appearing in 2002 when Seoul's aid system was changing from measures which stressed putting people into living facilities to the direction of giving aid to people living on the street, were the drop-in centers which will be dealt with in the next section. Among these drop-in centers are ones with a medical room where a full-time nurse is stationed who can give simple medical assistance when a doctor is not present such as first aid or medical consultations (**Photo 10**).

Next, as medical aid in live-in facilities, are the aid activities at the interim facility Pohyeon House (on the first floor the interim housing Basic Solutions Center does assessments. The second floor is 'Hope House'). People who want to enter Hope House (which resembles the self-supporting aid centers in Japan), having come to Pohyeon House via the consulting spots at Seoul and Yeongdeungpo Stations, after about a week of undergoing assessments at the interim living facility, then move on to shelters, etc. in response to their various needs. When they enter Pohyeon House, first they are examined by the medical team. The medical team is in residence there (the interim facility Freedom House was closed in January 2004 and the team there moved to Pohyeon House) and carries out medical activities. The medical team consists of two doctors ('public health doctors' as mentioned previously), two nurses, and one social worker. They do blood tests, urine tests, x-rays (these are done at a public health center), dispense medications and give treatment. When specialized treatment is thought necessary, a doctor will issue a request order and treatment can be given at municipal or public hospitals. In particular, tuberculosis and mental illness are dealt with at specialized hospitals either in Seoul or near the vagrant facility at Ongp'yeongch'on. The Health and Welfare Ministry pays for the operating expenses of the medical team such as doctors' and nurses' salaries, and the Seoul City government pays for medications.

About serving in the medical program at the vagrant facility, which is still the target of prejudice and discrimination, a female nurse says, "When they get their nurse's qualifications, most people go to work in a hospital. Almost none get jobs in aid facilities for the homeless like this one. As far as I know, there are only six in the whole country. I've always been a devout Christian, so I answered a help wanted ad on the Internet for Freedom House, which was sponsored by Anglican University. What made me keep at it, I guess, is my affection for the homeless old guys." The female social worker says, "The goal of social work is equality. I think the homeless people are the victims of the current economic system, so following my beliefs, I went to work aiding the homeless." According to a public health doctor, "The term of service is for three years, and after that I don't know. For me, this work is a substitute for military service, and I haven't necessarily done it with a sense of mission, but wanting to really work as a doctor, I've ended up in this job. As a medical worker, I've come to have a sense of mission towards the patients, and in loyalty to that I've remained until now."

Additionally, from October of this year, dental exams have begun for people at Hope House who are willing to look for jobs. The expenses are paid by private funds from Samsung and

the Social Welfare Joint Contribution Society.

Finally, we want to briefly mention the medical assistance for the *jjogbang* dwellers who are closely related to the homeless. One can see that there is a stratum that goes back and forth cyclically between rough sleeping, the homeless aid facilities, and the *jjogbang*, and that the *jjogbang* function as one dwelling receptacle for those escaping the homeless life. Since the IMF crisis, along with the appearance of aid measures directed at the unemployed homeless problem, measures for the *jjogbang* dwellers have also appeared. In March 2000, the very first ‘Chongno *Jjogbang* Information Kiosk’ (where the word *jjogbang* is not used, they are called ‘love shelters’) was established in Chongno ward by the Health and Welfare Ministry. At present there are twelve such places nationally, and they provide many services to the local residents. These information kiosks were not specified in last year’s revision to the Social Works Law, and so it is unclear how to view them even at the grassroots level, but they are noticeable as an aid organization directed at the low-income and impoverished strata that are closely related to the homeless. Just to mention the medical component, there is a monthly blood test (done at a health center) and a service connecting recipients to medical facilities they can use without charge. Because most of the residents in these neighborhoods cannot use hospitals, three Catholic hospitals and one general hospital provide treatment services without charge. At the information kiosks, people who need it are taken to medical facilities. More details about this will be given in the next chapter.

In this way, medical aid for the homeless on the street in Korea was officially incorporated into homeless aid measures from 2002 on, and the homeless on the street could receive medical aid. The fact that medical services can be directly accessed on the street is a feature that we evaluate highly in comparison to Japan where, aside from the Osaka Social Medical Center, in terms of free or low-cost treatment or emergency transport, direct access to the medical care system on the street is in reality very limited. However, in order to evaluate this in more detail, overall consideration is necessary of the medical and health system and the system of guarantees for citizens’ basic livelihood (**Photo 11**).

(Toru NAKAYAMA)

2-2-2. Taipei

(1) Current Status of Medical Aid by Volunteer Organizations

In Taipei, one type of medical assistance for the homeless is the free health exam and treatment called “*yizhen*”. These are conducted as part of a broad range of charitable works by a Buddhist volunteer group called the Buddhist Charitable Works Foundation Humanitarian Doctors’ Association. The parent organization, the Buddhist Charitable Works Foundation (called by its Chinese acronym *Cijihui*) was founded in 1966 in Hualien County by Master Zheng Gan (Cheng Kan) and has now grown into a large-scale organization that has members and branches not only in Taiwan but around the world. There is a branch in Tokyo’s Shinjuku, and they have been active in, for example, Osaka Castle Park, so many people have probably heard of them.

The *yizhen* free examinations have been conducted in Taipei three times a year since January 1998 at the lunar new year, the dragon boat festival in spring, and the mid-autumn festival (these are known in Taiwan as the ‘Three Big Festivals’). When the first *yizhen* examinations were held, they were moved each time, from riverbanks to parking lots to parks, in response to local residents’ opposition. However, for several years now they have been held in a borrowed elementary school near the Lungshan Temple in Wan Hua district where there are many homeless. Our research team observed the recent *yizhen* exams held at the autumn festival on September 25, 2004. On that occasion about 350 people were examined or treated (**Photos 12, 13, 14**). The total number of staff on that day were about 120, among whom about ten per cent were doctors, nurses, and other medical staff. Although elderly people living alone and the low-income strata were also included in the examinations, when one considers there are about 700 homeless people in Taipei,

we can infer that the proportion of homeless who came for the exams from off the street is very high.

The exams that day included body measurements, blood tests, urine tests, and chest x-rays. The aim of the blood tests is the early discovery of serious diseases such as AIDS and viral hepatitis as well as chronic diseases. Details of treatment can be divided into internal medicine, orthopedics, dentistry, ophthalmology, gynecology, skin problems, ear, nose and throat, and psychiatry. Medical charts were made up on the spot and medications were dispensed. Dentistry also dealt with false teeth. As it was one of the Three Big Festivals, candy and treats were handed out to the examinees and volunteer staff gave haircuts. Although Taipei City shoulders the cost of the x-ray van, all the other expenses of the *yizhen* exams are borne by the *Cijibui*. The doctors, nurses, and other volunteer staff at the exams all participate without pay. The fact that doctors and nurses give medical treatment at the *yizhen* exams is, strictly speaking, not really legal. However, since the content of the free exams for patients is officially reported to the appropriate city agencies, this is overlooked on humanitarian grounds.

Especially noteworthy about the *yizhen* exams is the fact that the medical charts are not only kept at the *Cijibui*, but also reported to city agencies. At the Dept. of Social Welfare, the information from these charts is combined with their own information on the homeless. Also, social workers from the city's Dept. of Social Welfare, staff of the Dept. of Labor, social workers from the city hospitals who deal with the homeless, and various aid organizations participate in the *yizhen* exams, and health information about the homeless examinees is accumulated and shared through their network in case someone with a chronic disease needs ongoing treatment or hospitalization, or if an emergency response to an infectious disease is necessary. One can point out that there are problems hard to overlook about personal privacy issues, but the fact is that the social environment in Taipei and the rest of Taiwan permits this. Rather, what we want to view favorably from the perspective of realizing effective medical care on the streets, is the fact that the sharing of health information on the homeless from the *yizhen* exams contributes to the system of their visiting hospitals as will be described below. The city agencies, with the Dept. of Social Welfare's social workers at the core, from a position of utilizing all society's resources in connection with aiding the homeless, have come to use the *yizhen* exams pragmatically.

Additionally, the *Cijibui* has a van outfitted with barber and simple medical equipment, and it periodically makes rounds giving services to the homeless. Also, apart from the *yizhen*, in everyday charity work, they make visits every Tuesday to the city's vagrant facility, and carry out consultations, an alcoholism recovery program, and cultural activities like calligraphy and flower arranging.

(Taichi HAMADA, Toru NAKAYAMA, Yoshihisa MATSUMURA)

(2) Current Status of Medical Aid at Municipal Hospitals

Everyday medical aid for the homeless in Taipei is administered at very ordinary municipal hospitals that accept regular outpatients. Many of the municipal hospitals in Taipei have a system in place for accepting homeless patients. Our research team visited the Municipal Chunghsing (Zhongxing) Hospital for interviews. Chunghsing Hospital is located near Taipei Station where there are many homeless and it has the most experience in giving medical care to the homeless in Taipei. Chunghsing Hospital is representative of general hospitals in Taipei, and it has two floors below ground, ten floors above, and an imposing exterior. As a special provision for the homeless, there is a shower room for getting cleaned up next to the outpatient emergency room, and a police post (**Photos 15, 16**). Chunghsing Hospital has four social workers, among whom one specializes in admitting and dealing with the homeless.

There are two main channels through which the homeless are admitted to Chunghsing Hospital. The first channel are cases of people who have collapsed on the street and have been brought to the emergency room. Of these, a large percentage are homeless people. At Chunghsing Hospital, about 50 people a month are treated through this channel. At the hospital, along with the

treatment, the aforementioned social worker responds, and in concert with social workers at the city's Dept. of Social Welfare attempts to verify the identity of the patient. The police officer at the police post makes a report of the circumstances in which the patient was brought to the hospital. Because proof of identity is obligatory for invoking the social assistance law, in cases where the social workers together cannot verify a person's identity, they will enlist the help of the police. The medical aid fees for this channel are basically paid for with resources within the framework of the social assistance law over which Taipei City's Dept. of Social Welfare has jurisdiction. In cases where this law cannot be applied, as when identity cannot be verified, they are paid for out of Chunghsing Hospital's medical assistance funds. The medical assistance fund is a system in place for dealing with patients who cannot pay medical fees, with the hospital itself putting aside about 10% of its profits. The other hospitals in Taipei have essentially similar funds.

The second channel are the cases where the homeless come to the hospital as regular outpatients. This channel can further be divided into two. The first is where entrants to public holding facilities like Taipei's vagrant facility or House of Peace come to the hospital. Hospital outpatients from the public holding facilities are mostly ones who have enrolled in the National Health Insurance Plan with the help of social workers at their facilities, and are recognized as low-income householders under the social assistance law. These patients basically pay nothing for medical care. The largest number of homeless receiving treatment at Chunghsing Hospital come through this route. There are on average about 70 such patients per month.

The other route is when, with an introduction by a city social worker, they come directly to the hospital as regular outpatients. When a city social worker doing outreach judges that medical aid is necessary, or when a homeless person on the street desires to receive medical care, the social worker fills in the necessary information on a one-page form, hands it to the homeless person on the street, and also informs the social worker at the hospital. This form is the equivalent of a one-time only health insurance card that the Dept. of Social Welfare itself issues, limited to a specific examination. The homeless person goes to a specified hospital, gives the form to the appropriate social worker, and then can be examined as a regular outpatient, can receive medication, and based on the examination results can revisit the hospital, all for free. At Chunghsing Hospital, about 30 cases per month come by this route. The hospital writes on these forms the history of the patient's visits, the examination, and whatever medications are dispensed, and then once a month submits these all together to the city's Dept. of Social Welfare for payment. The Dept. of Social Welfare pays with funds from within the social assistance law framework, either the Social Assistance Law, the Vagrancy Defense Law, or the Medical Subsidies Law. This system is called 'accounts receivable' and began in May 2004. Previously, when residents at the public holding facilities could not be covered by health insurance, this system was also used for their hospital visits. The Wang Wang Cultural and Educational Foundation in response to the SARS outbreak, starting in May 2003, has used essentially the same system for the hospital visit expenses of people off the street.

Whether they collapse and are transported, or come to the hospital from off the street or from holding facilities, we were impressed at the grasp of health information gleaned from events like the *yizhen* exams and the sharing of information in the social workers' network. The social workers at the city's Dept. of Social Welfare and at the municipal hospitals, at different levels, have a grasp of the personal information and health condition of many homeless people. What began as episodic medical aid on the street has blossomed into an everyday working system. Such a system is continuing to be built on a pragmatic foundation in Taipei.

(Yoshihisa MATSUMURA)

2-3. Day Centers and Drop-in Centers

If we try to grasp the homeless aid measures as a whole system, then the chief role of day centers and drop-in centers is to ameliorate at least temporarily the many everyday hardships of life

on the street. Because there is a need for services that address the daily and primary hardships of homeless life, the geographic proximity of these services to the areas where the homeless live has an important significance. Basically, the ideal is to provide a one-stop range of services in locations closely linked to outreach. In Osaka, this exists in Kamagasaki, but in the city at large this does not exist in an open accessible form or as part of officially constituted measures. The cases that follow shed valuable light on progressive examples.

2-3-1. Seoul

Drop-in centers are positioned within the *Tashiseogi* system of aid measures for the homeless which will be examined later in this series. In Seoul there are three main drop-in facilities that provide lodging, baths, and daily necessities for the homeless. In our survey we visited Haessal Pogeumchari ('Sunbeam Nest', afterwards referred to as Haessal) near Yeongdeungpo Station, and Ondalsaem ('Wellspring'). The area around Yeongdeungpo Station is a blue-collar neighborhood with small and medium-sized factories, and the Haessal Drop-in Center, as shown in **Photo 17**, stands surrounded by many domestic factories and workshops. Recently, with the demolition of *Jjogbang* neighborhoods and new construction at Seoul Station, life for the homeless has become difficult there, and they have been drifting to Yeongdeungpo. Here we will describe the management, services, and neighborhood relations of the drop-in center.

Haessal was opened in an abandoned factory building in Yeongdeungpo in November 2002 by an industrial missionary group. In a 40 square meter space on two floors, a staff of four including two social workers provide services round the clock on weekdays and at night only on weekends. Ondalsaem is not surrounded by factories but is located in an old downtown-like area as shown in **Photo 18**. In April 2003 a minister rented the building and opened it with his own money, and it similarly offers services round the clock with a staff of four plus two volunteers. On an average day Haessal has about 90 to 100 visitors, and it has sleeping room for 30. Ondalsaem gets an average of 50-70 visitors a day, and can lodge up to 40. For operating expenses, Haessal receives 90% in government subsidies (50% from Seoul City, 50% from the national government), and the other 10% is paid by assistance from the missionary group. The budget for 2005 was 158 million won. Ondalsaem also, as a social welfare facility, has its operating and personnel expenses paid for, and private contributions from church members help with its operation.

Concerning their services, we will focus on Haessal. The basic services provided are lodging, breakfast and dinner, showers, baths, laundry, and handouts of personal necessities. For those who wish it, there are legal and livelihood consultations, and once every two weeks barber services. Additionally, in May 2004 a medical room was opened on the floor where a nurse is stationed on weekdays providing first aid and medical consulting (**Photo 19**). However, as there is no doctor, medications cannot be dispensed. Aside from that, although there is no special program in place, visitors help the staff in preparing meals and cleaning. Previously, the rules for lodging were that one could only stay 10 days a month as it is an interim facility and not a place to live, but this did not seem to make much sense, and at present the conditions are that one must receive counseling twice a month and a health examination every three months. Consequently, the fact that ten to twenty per cent of the lodgers are long term has become a problem. Most of the clients are day laborers at construction sites or work as unskilled labor. Of those who are not handicapped, about 80 to 90% of them are working. Apart from the homeless, there are also cases of low-income *jjogbang* dwellers using the services.

Concerning friction with residents in the surrounding area over the location of the facilities, in the case of Ondalsaem there wasn't much strong opposition, but out of deference to the neighborhood there is no signboard posted on the building's front. At Haessal, where the opening was once cancelled because of local residents' opposition, they have worked very hard to gain the tolerance of residents and workers in the neighborhood by giving their clients lessons in proper behavior, doing neighborhood clean-ups, and setting up a place for exchanges with the local

residents. Nevertheless, there have been problems with clients begging or drinking without paying in the neighborhood, complaints from the new condominium next door that “our property values are falling,” and there have been crises where it seemed the center might have to be closed (**Photo 20**).

These are drop-in centers that have only been open for one or two years and we have high hopes of their operating smoothly, but we should mention some current problems and the outlook for the future. First, as interim facilities, because they have not really incorporated assessment functions, if someone wants to be admitted to a shelter (i.e. Hope House) they still must pass through the assessment center at Pohyeon House, and to enter a hospital they must contact the police and have a certificate issued. There are many such obstacles. Concerning their assessment function, at present the national Health and Welfare Ministry is negotiating with the Seoul City government over how much authority to give to drop-in centers. Also, Haessal is showing signs of developing local resources, and has a plan for linking together with other aid groups in Yeongdeungpo, job creation by local factory owners, and gathering volunteers through the churches. These two topics, the expansion of functions and networking with the surrounding area, are probably the key points for smooth operation of the drop-in centers in the future.

(Yusuke ABE)

2-3-2. Hong Kong

There are three day centers operating with subsidy funds paid under the already mentioned Three-year Action Plan: the St. James' Settlement on the Hong Kong Island side; the Salvation Army which deals with the Yau Tsim Mong area in Kowloon; and the Christian Concern for Homeless Association (CCHA) for Kowloon and the New Territories. St. James' Sai Ong Day Center occupies the lower floor of a typical old downtown apartment building in an area that includes a planned redevelopment zone of dense low-rise apartments, not far from Shangwan on the west side of Hong Kong Island's urban core (**Photo 21**). The Salvation Army's day center is on the second floor of a trash recycling facility in an outlying area near the Vegetable and Fruit Market west of the Yaumatei area along Nathan Road, Kowloon's north-south artery. It is next door to the Street Sleepers Shelter Society Trustees, Inc. (SSSSTI) temporary shelter (**Photo 22**). The CCHA day center is right in the middle of the mixed residential-commercial-industrial zone of Shamshuipo, corresponding to the New Territories' inner ring, and occupies the fourth floor of a mid-rise building (**Photo 23**). All three are in locations that provide easy access for the homeless.

In terms of space, all three are apartments that were rented or bought and aren't all that large, but they are positioned effectively as one function in the aid chain that begins with outreach in the respective service areas of the three NGOs. The associated staff are not divided up vertically, but work together with the clients of their services throughout the process from life on the street to settled housing. Because the number of homeless on the street is only one tenth that of Osaka, the fact is they can take a very detailed position. For example, at the Salvation Army's Yaumatei Day Center, the two social workers and two personal care workers, based on operating hours of 10 am to 10 pm, leave the visitors to use the facilities themselves, and do outreach on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays from 10 pm to 2 am, and at the same time do counseling for drugs, alcohol, mental hygiene, and gambling. And then, depending on the cases, they will connect clients to the Salvation Army's temporary shelter or the low-cost SRO lodging of the 'urban hostels', and finally provide care when clients move into private flats.

St. James' Settlement also has a system integrated with outreach. At the day center, they do outreach in the daytime to the difficult cases of people who live outside round the clock, and then late night outreach from 10 pm to 2 am is designed to target the comparatively young homeless people who only live outside at night. Their approach is not to separate the roles of outreach and the day center, but to create a holistic integrated service plan that continues to relate to clients until they have left the system.

At the CCHA in the New Territories, the day center is called an 'activity center' and they also manage two low-cost dormitory-style lodging sites, one on an upper floor of the same building, and one within close walking distance. The day center is subsidized 40%, and the lodgings are managed with their own funds. Paired together with outreach, this center was opened by a group that included former cage house residents. The center's leader talks about its function: "We're used by 30-40 people a day, about 400 per year. There are some people who come back every day. We go out and tell people sleeping on the street about this place. There are people sleeping rough who refuse to live with their families. The thing we must do is give cash assistance using emergency funds from the government. We try hard to help people who can work to find jobs. Some people have personal problems like gambling or drinking, and we give them counseling and do whatever we can to help them improve. We try to get them to participate in the work that we do. That becomes one type of after-care." This particular center has put in dental care facilities, and treatment can be had on Tuesdays and Fridays until 7 pm. The religious tone is quite strong, and obligatory bible readings are held. The clients include ones off the street, residents of CCHA's lodgings, and residents of private apartments. 70% of them are receiving public assistance.

In relations with the neighborhood, there was rather strong opposition, saying that nearby real estate values would fall. Because the building is old, they negotiated with the building's coop and promised to make repairs, and so the coop decided maybe it would be a good thing to rent to a homeless assistance group. With this understanding, they were able to move in. Lodgers at the low-income lodging sister facility must do clean-ups in the neighborhood, and have come to receive contributions from the local residents for this. They have added activities like film screenings and museum visits, and both the staff and former clients participate as volunteers. And to overcome the prejudice against the homeless, they put on public education and awareness activities and go to city offices and schools to talk about what services they offer and what conditions the homeless are living in. They talk about the experiences of the homeless or their own personal experiences, and plan projects like visits to cage houses. Feedback has appeared through this in that people who now understand the situation have volunteered and assisted in their activities.

(Toshio MIZUUCHI)

2-3-3. Taipei

In Taipei, there are three sites where drop-in style day centers for homeless aid are operating. At present, there are two near Lungshan Temple in the Wan Hua district, and one in Tatung north of Taipei Station in the Chungcheng district. They provide services for many of the homeless such as free showers, laundry, and meals, and with the cooperation of the city's Dept. of Social Welfare, give assistance in the issuance of health insurance cards and job referrals. All of these day centers are operated by religious groups or charities, but in recent years, through gaining the trust and receiving subsidies from the city government, are solidifying their cooperative relations and strengthening the network of homeless assistance.

(1) Creation Welfare Foundation's 'Peace Station'

The Creation Welfare Foundation's 'Peace Station' (Ping'an Chen) established a humanitarian fund just for aiding the homeless and low-income people, and carries out aid work at nine branches across Taiwan. Among them, the Peace Station in Wan Hua was the earliest to be set up. It opened in 1992, and in 1997 moved to its present location near Lungshan Temple (**Photo 24**). The main services at Peace Station, besides providing meals, are providing showers, laundry, and barber services for maintaining personal appearances, assistance in applying for health insurance cards, medical consulting, and handing out clothing in winter. Additionally, in winter they open up part of the facility for temporary lodging. Starting this year, they have bought an upper floor of the building where the facility is housed and are in the process of converting it to lodging space.

For homeless people to use these services, they must have a membership ID card. At the time when these cards are issued various criteria are in place to prevent trouble before it starts, and only people who meet these criteria are permitted to have cards. In spite of this, there is a lot of trouble about drinking alcohol, and not a few homeless have had their privileges stopped. At present there are slightly less than 100 clients, and about 50-70 are newly registered each year. The characteristic of Peace Station is that the homeless themselves are involved in its operation. At the Peace Station, in addition to the one staff member and ten volunteers, the homeless themselves participate in cleaning, cooking meals, etc.

(2) Houshuich'uan ('Wellspring')

Houshuich'uan or 'Wellspring' is a Christian church that began activities in an alley near Lungshan Temple in 1988 for the purpose of missionary work. It has a very simple exterior, and aside from a plain crucifix on the wall, nothing in its appearance suggests a church (**Photo 25**). It began homeless assistance in 1991, and at meetings and worship services several times a week it provides showers and meals. At present, for about 200 visitors a month, a core of three missionaries (one man and two women) provides the services. Aside from these drop-in services, they help in applying for health insurance cards, accompany clients to medical facilities, and make support visits to those who are working and have become self-supporting. They have a close relationship with their clients. This is because the Lungshan Temple area where Wellspring is located has many homeless people with problems of mental illness, alcoholism, or drug addiction, what are called 'social type cases' in Taipei, and so the stress is put on psychological and spiritual support.

(3) Salvation Army

The Salvation Army's day center was established in 2003 and is the newest spot in Taipei. It started when, seeing the Salvation Army's activities in other countries, they judged homeless assistance to be also necessary here. As in the Wan Hua district where Peace Station and Wellspring are located, there are many homeless in the Chungcheng and Tatung districts, especially focused around Taipei Station and 2.28 Park, so they chose a spot conveniently near Taipei Station and opened there. The basic aid services at the Salvation Army are showers, laundry, and haircuts, and twice a week a meal service (**Photo 26**). For the meal service, they make up 120 to 130 lunch boxes twice a week and hand them out to the homeless in the lobby of Taipei Station. At that time, employees of the city's Dept. of Labor and social workers from the Dept. of Social Welfare come along and verify identity cards and make job referrals. Additionally, for the sick or elderly who need to rest their bodies, they will make referrals to lodging facilities run by other groups, and for all of the homeless, judging from their condition, they will offer appropriate aid.

Each of these three places, when they opened and during the SARS outbreak, experienced a lot of difficulties such as evictions or opposition movements in the neighborhoods, but through their continuing persistence in their activities they have conveyed the significance and success of aid to the localities, and at present have built a relationship of positive trust.

In Taipei, through day centers, aid aimed at returning the homeless to society and good health is being actively carried out. By taking on the homeless neighborhoods, a flexible response that matches the situation is possible, and detailed assistance is put into practice. However, on the other hand, although a rudimentary legal system exists for the homeless, the practical work of aid is limited to the level of private groups and individuals, against a background where no integrated or officially endorsed system of aid has yet been created. Concerning this point, the social workers of the city's Dept. of Social Welfare have taken on the burden of connecting these groups, the homeless themselves, and the city, and are performing an important task in building a network and organizing to use all of society's resources as they proactively engage all of the entities. In Taipei, based on the network formed by these city social workers who are entrusted with much authority,

the city agencies are planning, together with real subsidies for the public services which can easily fail through an inadequate legal underpinning, to revise the legal system by endorsing the groups or giving them official recognition. The actual formation of homeless aid measures is proceeding.

(Nanami INADA)

2-4. Simple Lodging Blocks and Consulting Centers in Seoul

In South Korea, *jjogbang* serve as simple lodging for low-income earners. '*jjogbang*' in Korean means a small room, in the government's definition, "a dwelling just about big enough for one person to stretch out and sleep in, without a kitchen," and they are living spaces of about 2 to 3 mats in size. In considering the housing-poor in South Korea, these *jjogbang* have a very close association with the homeless, and they are receptacles for the poor on the brink of homelessness. They are one pole of the cycle of homelessness, and since the IMF crisis, with the attention on measures for the homeless, the awareness of problems concerning *jjogbang* has also increased. Here we will report on our visits to the *jjogbang* areas in front of Seoul Station (in February 2004) and Chongno in the city center (August 2004) and our inquiries at KOCER (Korean Center for City and Environment Research) which has surveyed all the *jjogbang* areas nationally.

(1) About *Jjogbang*

According to figures from the end of 2003, there are at least 10,000 *jjogbang* throughout all of South Korea. With a monthly rent of 150,000 to 250,000 won and no security deposit, they are occupied by day laborers and other poor people, the elderly, and even some families who cannot move into public housing or other private dwellings. However, for recipients of basic living guarantee payments (which guarantee an income up to a maximum 324,000 won) or for other low-income people, the cost of housing occupies a very large proportion of their income, and while this is about the cheapest living environment, the burden is still heavy.

At KOCER, considering these problems, they are advocating a housing subsidy system and a rent system based on ability to pay. Housing subsidies are included in the basic livelihood guarantee, but because of this, those whose income exceeds the level qualifying for the guarantee (360,000 won per month) cannot receive housing subsidies. KOCER also stress that the payments for housing are inadequate, and it is important to create a separate housing subsidy system. Their advocacy of an ability-to-pay rent system is based on the fact that the high cost of entering public housing (a security deposit of 2-4 million won and monthly rent including maintenance fees of 100,000 won) prevents the housing-poor from moving to higher quality housing. Moreover, in recent years the government is promoting the demolition and redevelopment of *jjogbang* because they do not meet 'minimum housing standards' and one can predict that with the reduction in affordable housing stock, the *jjogbang* dwellers will be pushed into even worse circumstances. At KOCER they are saying that some sort of housing in between *jjogbang* and private rental housing should be provided, that instead of being torn down, *jjogbang* should be left as housing for low-income people, and money should be invested in improving the environment around them.

(2) *Jjogbang* Areas at Seoul Station and Chongno and *Jjogbang* Consulting Centers

There are some *jjogbang* areas that have consulting centers, a total of 12 nationally (or eleven according to some accounts). Here we will take a brief look at the *jjogbang* areas in front of Seoul Station and in Chongno, and then describe the services at the centers. Near Seoul Station there are about 500 homeless people and about 1800 *jjogbang* units. Dilapidated old five-storey buildings with from about 20 to 80 *jjogbang* units each stand in a line with alleys running in between (**Photo 27**, exterior; **Photo 28**, street of flophouses; **Photo 29**, corridor). There are also many elderly people over 80, handicapped people, and domestic violence victims with children living here.

In Chongno there are 96 buildings with 697 *jjogbang* units, and 571 people live here. Among these, about 30-40% are elderly, and about 100 people are 'cyclers.' Here one could see many rooms and low-rise two-storey *jjogbang* buildings hidden by high-rise buildings (**Photos 30 and 31**).

The *jjogbang* consulting centers were set up under the guidance of the Health and Welfare Ministry, but they are mainly operated by various religious foundations, non-profit organizations, and individuals. In Seoul, an individual Catholic follower runs the center in Chongno with a commission from a welfare foundation. At the Seoul Station Front center, according to what we were told, besides subsidies from the local Catholic church, they get no subsidies from either the city or national governments, and with little capital, they rely on material donations from people. At the Chongno center, they pay the operating and personnel costs with 100 million won in subsidies, paid 50:50 by the city and national governments, and about 17 million won in contributions. Because these *jjogbang* consulting centers do not have official status within the legal or policy framework, we got the impression that they are very different from place to place.

The two *jjogbang* consulting centers at Seoul Station and at Chongno both offer three basic types of service: consulting (employment, medical, and government); material aid; and baths, laundry, and haircuts. In the consulting services, they give support in accessing employment, medical, and government services. In employment, we heard that government aid is necessary because there are so few opportunities for being rehired. At Chongno, they help clients in job hunting through liaison with a shelter. For medical consultations, in order to connect clients with hospitals, they make up exam forms, at the consulting center at Seoul Station they provide free exams once a week, and mediate and make visits when someone is hospitalized, and at Chongno they have in place a system linked to four hospitals where one can be examined for free. As for government services, they will help in the paper work for receiving basic public assistance, residency registration, and restoring of family registers. At Seoul Station they do outreach to the homeless in the underpasses, and once they move into *jjogbang*, help them get basic livelihood guarantees, and at Chongno they will even loan people the money needed for the residency registration application.

Material assistance is a service provided because, as we have explained, the people who live in *jjogbang* areas must use most of their income for housing costs and have little left over. The most important kind of material assistance is food aid. At Seoul Station, they deliver *kimch'i* and other dishes, rice, and vegetables two or three times a week, and pass out about 2000 meals' worth of food per month. For this delivery, they use volunteers from among the homeless who have just entered *jjogbang*. At Chongno, to people who have no money to buy rice, if they come to the center they will give them 2 kg per person. They also prepare *kimch'i* cheaply in large quantities and every Friday distribute 75 portions of 1 kg each. At the Seoul Station front, they also provide donated recycled goods such as refrigerators, cooking utensils, fans, bedding, and clothing.

Other services are: loaning out books and fire prevention drills (Chongno); a bazaar (Chongno); and home visits (Seoul Station). At the Seoul Station consulting center, there are only two regular staff members, so the home visits are done by volunteers who give out water, underwear, and socks, etc.

As one can see, there are two conflicting trends regarding *jjogbang* areas, the policy of demolishing and redeveloping the *jjogbang* dwellings that don't meet 'minimum housing standards,' and on the other hand improving the environment by subsidizing *jjogbang* consulting centers. However, the *jjogbang* consulting centers have no legal or policy status, and apparently no firm ground on which to be strongly encouraged. In thinking about the future of the housing-poor in Seoul, we will have to watch the trend of policies regarding *jjogbang*.

(Yusuke ABE, Islam Mohammad NAZRUL, Geerhardt KORNATOWSKI)

2-5. Bed Houses, Cage Houses, and Low-cost SRO Lodgings in Hong Kong

Table 4. List of Support Services run by Non-governmental Organizations (June, 2002)

| Name of Service Unit | Subvented (S) / Self-financing (SF) / Lotteries Fund (LF) /Singleton hostel of Home Affairs Department (HAD) | No. of Places | |
|---|---|---------------|--------|
| | | Male | Female |
| 1. Caritas – Hong Kong | | | |
| (a) Cable and Wireless Caritas Temporary Shelter | (S) | 30 | - |
| (b) Caritas Hung Hom Hostel | (SF) | 40 | - |
| 2. Street Sleepers Shelter Society Trustees Incorporated | | | |
| (a) Wan Chai Shelter | SF | 72 | 18 |
| (b) Yau Ma Tei Shelter | SF | 70 | - |
| (c) Sham Shui Po Shelter | SF | 46 | 30 |
| 3. Missionary of Charity | | | |
| (a) Home of Love | (SF) | 50 | 20 |
| 4. St. Barnabas' Society & Home | | | |
| (a) Drop in Centre for Street Sleepers | (SF) | - | - |
| 5. Pok Oi Hospital | | | |
| (a) Pok Oi Hospital Jockey Club Hostel for Single Persons | (S) | 40 | - |
| 6. Neighbourhood Advice-Action Council | | | |
| (a) Jockey Club Lok Fu Hostel for Single Persons | (S) | 24 | 18 |
| (b) High Street House | (HAD) | 162 | 108 |
| 7. Yan Chai Hospital | | | |
| (a) Yan Chai Hospital Urban Hostel for Single Persons | SF | 28 | 12 |
| 8. St. James' Settlement | | | |
| (a) Day Relief Centre for Street Sleepers | (S) | - | - |
| (b) Li Chit Street Single Persons Hostel | (S) | 40 | - |
| (c) Emergency Shelter in Wan Chai | (LF) | 10 | - |
| 9. Salvation Army | | | |
| (a) Day Relief Centre for Street Sleepers | (S) | - | - |
| (b) Nam Ming Haven for Women | (S) | - | 42 |
| (c) Yee On Hostel | (S) | 40 | - |
| (d) Shun On Hostel | (SF) | 14 | - |
| (e) Sunrise House | (HAD) | 238 | 72 |
| 10. Christian Concern for the Homeless Association | | | |
| (a) Activity Centre | (SF) | - | - |
| (b) Yan Chack Hostel | (SF) | 21 | - |
| (c) Yan Lam Hostel | (SF) | - | 10 |
| 11. Light of Yung Shu Tau Christian Society Limited | | | |
| (a) Kei Lok (Temporary) Hostel | (SF) | 10 | - |
| | Total: | 935 | 330 |
| | Grand Total: | 1,265 | |

http://www.hwfb.gov.hk/hw/english/archive/legco/W_020610a/st_sleeper.htm

The Hong Kong Social Welfare Dept. lists 23 facilities as homeless shelters (see **Table 4**). Among these are the various establishments we have already mentioned operated by the Salvation Army, the NAAC, and St. James, which provide services that are focused on in the Three-year Action Plan. Here we will introduce the only two large scale shelters that are under the jurisdiction of the Home Affairs Dept., Sun Rise House (SRH), opened in 1998 and operated by the Salvation Army, and High Street House (HSH), opened in 2001 and operated by the NAAC. These facilities are low-cost SRO lodgings or low-cost dormitory-style lodgings subsidized by the government that

are aimed at people who were unavoidably evicted under the 1994 Bed Space Apartment Ordinance's restrictions on 'Bed Space Apartment Houses (BSAs) and cage houses. In the last two or three years, they have come to accept some of the increasing numbers of homeless also, but we should point out that they were not opened originally as facilities for the homeless.

First we should explain a little of the background of the low-cost SRO lodgings. In 1996 SoCO (the Hong Kong social organization association) carried out an interview survey with a sampling of 208 residents from the 137 confirmed BSAs (SoCO ed., "Hong Kong Bedhouse Survey Report," 1997). Of the BSA residents, 88% were male, more than 60% were single, 60% were unemployed, and about half were receiving CSSA public assistance payments. About three quarters had income from work slightly less than 50,000 yen per month, and of those working nearly 60% were physical day laborers, 20% worked on construction sites, and 10% were guardmen. Half were in their forties to sixties, with an average age of 53, and their education level was low. 40% were long-term residents of 15 years or more, and the average monthly rent was 12,000 yen. About a third were married, and two thirds of these had dependents on the Chinese mainland. A little less than 10% had mental problems, 20% were former drug addicts, and a quarter had criminal records. More than 80% wanted to enter public housing, but more than 40% had been waiting for an average of three years.

In these deplorable circumstances, in 1994 and 1996 the UNESCO rights committee strongly criticized the lack of measures for dealing with cage house dwellers and urged measures to rehouse them, but the Hong Kong government refused. Instead, the government enacted an ordinance in 1994 requiring licensing standards for cage house operators. It applied to BSAs with more than 12 beds, and gave them permission to operate if they could meet fire prevention and architectural standards. However, places with fewer than 12 beds were shut down, and there were also many loopholes in the administration of the ordinance. Residents of BSAs that couldn't receive permission and closed were forced to leave, and they ended up stuck with a heavier rent burden. Meanwhile, although the Hong Kong Housing Authority opened up public housing to single males in 1985, the waiting period was nine years. Eventually the government decided to provide urban hostels, short-term living facilities for single males up to age 60 who had been evicted from BSAs under the Home Affairs Dept.'s authority.

Originally, the Home Affairs Dept. had opened community halls under its authority for sufferers from typhoons or 'extreme' hot or cold weather (that being above 30°C or below 12°C), and free temporary shelters in various locations for people in extremely inadequate housing environments. On the other hand, the urban hostels began positioned as low-cost SRO lodgings for singles and the homeless. However, while these facilities have been promoted for some years now, the fact remains that about 10,000 people are still living in BSAs, 1000 in licensed BSAs, 3,000-5,000 in unlicensed BSAs, and about 5,000 in unregistered BSAs (information from High Street House staff).

Now let us look at the actual services of the Sun Rise House and High Street House, the two facilities for the evictees from BSAs introduced above. SRH is in a typical downtown area near the MRT Cheung Sha Wan Station that is representative of Kowloon's newer inner ring. It occupies 14 floors of a 16-storey building, and there are 310 individual rooms, of which a quarter are for women (**Photos 32 and 33**).

High Street House, on the other hand is in Sai Ying Pun, representative of the inner ring, west of Hong Kong Island's urban center of Chung Wan, on a bench of the steep slope just where it divides the downtown from the high-rise condominium area. It occupies three floors of a comprehensive welfare center under the Social Welfare Dept.'s authority. The building was originally a hospital built in the 1930s. Part of it has been preserved as architectural heritage, and the rest rebuilt into an 8-storey building. High Street House has a capacity of 270. Here there are semi-open style bed spaces within 8 square meters instead of individual rooms (**Photos 34 and 35**).

The monthly rent is about HK\$1,000 (13,000 yen) without meals, and HK\$1,300 (17,000

yen) with meals. A deposit of one month's rent and a month's rent in advance must be paid. If entrants are brought here through social workers, there is a one-month limit on residency. At HSH one can enjoy a magnificent view of Hong Kong from the rooms, and there are different prices for the beds depending on whether they are near the windows (HK\$1,100), in the center (HK\$900) or near the entrance doors (HK\$700). The staff tell of times when the beds near the windows with a view are all occupied by livelihood guarantee recipients (who get a maximum housing payment of HK\$1,500 and a livelihood payment of a maximum HK\$1,805), and the beds near the entrance are all occupied by laborers.

At first, the service was opened as temporary lodging for single males up to age 60 who had been evicted under the bed space apartment ordinance, but after that not only BSA people, but bachelors with monthly incomes below HK\$9,900 living in low-standard housing less than 5.5 square meters could be admitted. At SRH, which was opened in 1998, they started accepting females also in 2000, and in the second half of that year, in the social welfare realm, they began a lodging service through social workers for people needing short-term and emergency referrals, including domestic violence victims and mental patients. Thus there are two main routes of entry (proof is needed that one is not suffering from infectious tuberculosis). These circumstances can be seen in the case of HSH in **Table 5**, where 34% of the entrants were evictees of tiny dwellings, and the other 66% are social worker cases. Also, because of the entry rules, we should point out that only 12% of the entrants were homeless.

Table 5. Circumstances at High Street House (as of Sept. 21, 2004 with 222 entrants)

| Route of Entry | Met Qualifications (small dwellings) 75 people, 34% | | Individual Cases Handled by Social Worker | |
|-------------------|--|--|---|---|
| Previous Dwelling | Homeless 26 people, 12% | Bed Houses 19 people, 9% | From tiny one-room apartments 33 people, 15% | Through other social worker routes Various housing circumstances |
| Work Status | Unemployed 15 people, 68% | Steady Employment 32 people, 14% | Day Laborers 17 people, 8% | Others 22 people, 10% |
| Age | 123 males median age in late 40s | 15-30 yrs 5% 41-50 yrs 18% (largest) above 60 yrs 12% | 99 women median age in late 30s | 15-30 yrs 7% 31-40 yrs 14% (largest) above 60 yrs 5% |

Concerning work status, more than two thirds are unemployed, 14% are regularly employed earning less than HK\$9,900 per month and receive public assistance, and 8% are day laborers. The men are mainly in their late 40s, and the women mainly in their late 30s, comparatively young. The staff at HSH point out five main types of entrants: "We can say that there are a lot of homeless. Also there are evictees, and people who came from really awful apartments or cage houses. There are people introduced here from hospitals, and a lot of mental cases. There are people who may be getting well and can live communally at these kinds of facilities and take care of themselves, but for some reason can't be accepted at home by their families. And finally, the last type are cases brought in by social workers who have very bad relations with their families, to the point of violence, and just cannot continue living at home."

Those who, while living here, have handicaps or become sick can receive public assistance payments called illness benefits. The term limit for residency is one year through the social worker route, and a maximum of two years for those from the BSAs. Having found work but being unable to live by oneself or to rent a stable dwelling, rather than leaving when they find work, more than half end up entering public housing, which has an average three-year waiting list. There are cases where because of family relations people can return home and they withdraw from the facility, but

there are very few cases of so-called ‘working, apartment self-support’ where they have found a job and moved into a normal apartment. Some leave under warnings for breaking the rules, and some leave voluntarily after a week’s notice. But it is possible to apply for a residence extension, and one can also re-enter the facility.

The staff say, “The stance of the Home Affairs Dept. is to provide a good living environment and to improve the living environment. On the other hand, at the Social Welfare Dept., they support people who couldn’t rent elsewhere without receiving assistance or subsidies, or one may say couldn’t live at all. That’s where the roles differ.”

At the Social Welfare Dept., there is a strong sense of rehabilitation, or helping someone through the period of adapting to society, and they believe that social workers should play a central role, whereas at the Home Affairs Dept., they began with the idea that these facilities were necessary for eliminating the poverty problem in the district as a whole. So the problems they are both dealing with are the same, but we can see a division of responsibility in their approaching it from different angles based on their respective missions (there is a system of ‘compassionate rehousing’ by the housing committee and the Social Welfare Dept. in collaboration which will be discussed in the next chapter). We can think of these facilities as operating model apartments with attached services. As for the care programs, they do what they can to help, but neither facility has special programs, and that is left up to the social workers in the area. The staff themselves recognize that this is one of the limitations of NGO management financed through the clients’ rent payments rather than direct operation by the government.

(Toshio MIZUUCHI)

3. Shelter, Self-support Aid Center, Interim Housing, and Halfway Houses

In this chapter we want to focus on the various shelters and self-supporting aid centers that are part of aid measures in the three regions. Our plan was to deal with short-term shelters and assessment centers, mid-term shelters and self-supporting aid centers, basic lodgings and consulting spots, miscellaneous shelters, and private group homes, but because of space limitations, miscellaneous shelters, group homes, and mid-term shelters will appear in the next section.

3-1. Short-term Shelters and Assessment Centers

3-1-1. Seoul

(1) The Basic Solutions Center as an Assessment Center (Pohyeon House)

As explained in the previous chapter, the core of homeless aid in Seoul is formed by the chain from: 1. consultation booths on the street, to: 2. assessment centers called ‘halfway houses,’ to: 3. model or specially recognized shelters called ‘Hope Houses,’ to: 4. self-support homes

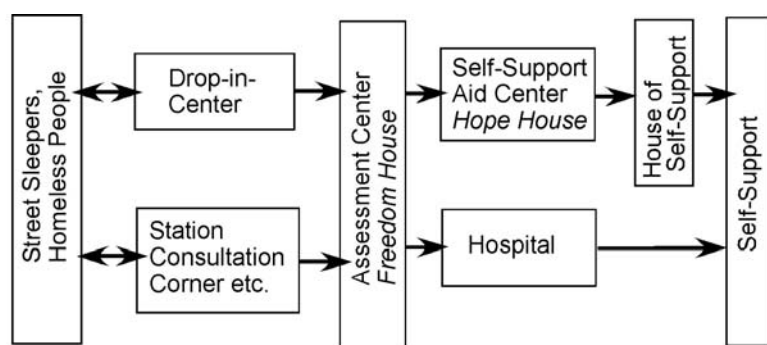


Figure 1. Seoul's Homeless Self-Support Aid System

(Partially based on Figure 4 of the pamphlet in Japanese distributed by the Tashiseogi Aid Center)

(Figure. 1). In Seoul, unless one passes through a halfway house, one cannot use the shelters.

From January 1999 until January 2004, the Seoul Freedom House filled the role of a halfway house. This facility was created in a building that was loaned to Seoul City. It had been a facility for the laborers at a bankrupted spinning factory, and for the

education of the employees at that factory. The operation of Freedom House was entrusted to the Anglican University Foundation (**Photo 36**).

Table 6. Entry and Exit Circumstances by Age (as of March 31, 2003)

(Units: upper numbers are people, lower ones are percentages)

| Category | Entry | | | Leaving | | | | | | | | |
|----------|--------|----------|--------|----------|----------|------------|---------------|-----------|--------|-------|-------|--------|
| | Entry | Re-entry | Total | Facility | Hospital | Hope House | Returned Home | Voluntary | Forced | Work | Other | Total |
| 1999 | 5,508 | 2,833 | 8,421 | 58 | 139 | 3,595 | 397 | 1,435 | 314 | 393 | 1,123 | 7,454 |
| | 66% | 34% | 100% | 1% | 2% | 48% | 5% | 19% | 4% | 5 | 15% | 100% |
| 2000 | 2,451 | 4,383 | 6,834 | 266 | 151 | 2,804 | 135 | 1,529 | 224 | 61 | 1,139 | 6,859 |
| | 36% | 64% | 100% | 4% | 2% | 41% | 2% | 22% | 3% | 9% | 17% | 100% |
| 2001 | 1,918 | 4,332 | 6,250 | 185 | 156 | 2,637 | 60 | 1,577 | 66 | 700 | 1,046 | 6,427 |
| | 31% | 69% | 100% | 3% | 2% | 41% | 1% | 25% | 1% | 11% | 16% | 100% |
| 2002 | 1,042 | 3,265 | 4,307 | 134 | 135 | 886 | 54 | 1,407 | 98 | 465 | 1,212 | 4,392 |
| | 24% | 76% | 100% | 3% | 3% | 20% | 1% | 32% | 2% | 11% | 28% | 100% |
| 2003 | 300 | 830 | 1,130 | 28 | 40 | 228 | 10 | 352 | 37 | 78 | 419 | 1,192 |
| | 27% | 73% | 100% | 2% | 3% | 19% | 1% | 30% | 3% | 7% | 35% | 100% |
| Total | 11,299 | 15,643 | 26,942 | 671 | 621 | 10,151 | 656 | 6,300 | 739 | 2,247 | 4,939 | 26,234 |
| | 42% | 58% | 100% | 3% | 2% | 39% | 3% | 24% | 3% | 9% | 19% | 100% |

Source: Seoul Freedom House Four Year Memorial Record (1999-2003) percentages inserted by author

The function of a halfway house is to assess the needs of each individual entrant and based on the results send them on to appropriate facilities and ‘Hope Houses.’ The assessment is divided into a physical and mental health exam (including alcohol problems), a psychological consultation, and a livelihood consultation. Freedom House, in addition to this, incorporated emergency protection, rehabilitation, and self-support functions. The period of stay ran from three months to one year. The facility’s capacity was not specified, but at peak times there were more than 2,000 people living there. Over a five-year period, 26,942 people passed through the facility (**Table 6**), but it did not fundamentally produce a basic strategy for solving the problem of the long-term homeless. Since it would be forced to relocate when the agreed period for the loan of the privately-owned land expired, it closed down on January 15, 2004. Actually, despite the year-to-year decline in numbers of entrants as shown in **Table 1**, the proportion of repeat entrants increased. Also, the number of those staying longer than four months rose to 12.2%, and especially with regard to people who were alcoholics, mentally ill, or handicapped, since there were no specialized facilities for their care, there was a problem getting people to leave when their terms ended. On the other hand, lacking specialized skills and holding capacity, the administration took the position of “letting the ones who are easy to deal with stay, and sending problem cases to Hope Houses.” As the *Cheonsillohyeop* (National Unemployed Homeless Measures Religious and Civic Groups Association) pointed out, “Freedom House concentrates too many functions together, and has lost its original purpose as an emergency shelter and consulting center for preparing people to move to the next stage.”

After the demise of Freedom House, the functions of halfway house and emergency protection moved to the Korean Buddhist Chogyae Sect Social Welfare Foundation’s Pohyeon House, and rehabilitation functions were continued at the newly opened Seoul Hope Center- Vision Training Center (**Photo 37**).

Pohyeon House is located near Yeongdeungpo Station, is a two-storey reinforced concrete

building owned by Seoul City, and is operated under a franchise from the city. The operating capital is supplied by the national and local governments in the ratio of 7:3, and the Buddhist foundation also contributes about 10% of the funds. This site is where, as will be described later, the foundation originally operated a Hope House, but with the closing of Freedom House, operations in a new format opened here urgently in January 2004. The Homeless Basic Solutions Center, which functions as a halfway house, opened on the first floor, and the already operating Hope House was consolidated on the second floor. Moving the halfway house here took into consideration that it was in a convenient location for the homeless to enter and leave.

The Basic Solutions Center, drawing on the past experience and mistakes of Freedom House, reduced the holding capacity to 60 people at a time, and reduced the term of stay to three days for the emergency protection program and one week for the assessment center. Also, since there were many entrants who repeatedly entered and left called 'cyclers' (about 20% of those who leave the Basic Solutions Center either voluntarily withdraw or are forced to withdraw), a rule was created that once someone leaves, he cannot use the facility again for one month. The Basic Solutions Center has its own specialized staff of eight, but medical treatment facilities, the provision of meals, and facility administration are shared with Hope House. There are four on the medical team, and about 20 staffers who are employed under public works. At the facility, there are consulting rooms, an administration room, a laundry room, a shower room, and a dining hall. The living areas are large *ondol*-equipped rooms where 10-15 people live together.

The route for entrance is mainly through the night time consultations by the patrols at Yeongdeungpo and Seoul Stations, but recently there are cases coming via many different routes, from counters at stations, the police, ward offices, drop-in centers, or people who want to enter and just show up on their own. There are about ten new entrants a day, or 20-30 during the winter season. When they enter, first they get a bath and get cleaned up and are issued clothing, and then they get a medical examination by the joint facilities medical team (including a blood test and x-ray). The clients get three meals a day and lodging provided, they relax from the fatigue of life on the street, undergo assessments, and within a week are sent to other facilities. The assessment is based mainly on the results of the medical exam, which come back four days later, and the consultations. The staff decides on the appropriate Hope House, taking the client's wishes into consideration, but in cases where the clients do not want to go to a Hope House, once the one week stay is over they are voluntarily discharged.

The number of clients was 60 when we inquired in February 2004, and 57 in August of the same year, so they are running at roughly full capacity. The average age of clients is in their 40s.

Since the new system has only recently started, we don't have enough evidence to say what results or issues the Basic Solutions Center has when compared to Freedom House, but by putting the halfway house together with Hope House, it has probably had the effect of deepening the halfway house's clients' understanding of Hope House, which is the next step in the self-support aid system. On the other hand, the Basic Solutions Center is the only place in Seoul City currently functioning as a halfway house, its capacity is very small compared to the total numbers of homeless, and there is room for doubt about whether an adequate assessment can be made in the period of one week. Especially in the case of clients with mental illness, at present there is no specialist physician, and it is difficult to make judgments in such a short period of time. In contrast with Seoul City's policy up until now, the national government's Health and Welfare Ministry wants to give the halfway house's assessment function to drop-in centers, and so it is possible that the halfway house's role as an assessment center will be reduced even more in the future.

(Myounghee SON, Michiko BANDO)

3-1-2. Hong Kong

(1) Short-term Shelters (SSSSTI and St. James')

In Hong Kong, aid in the form of providing lodgings for first the homeless and also the

housing-poor can be divided into shelters and low-cost SRO lodgings. Here we will describe the function of shelters and give some examples. Low-cost SRO lodgings will be dealt with in the next section.

According to the list of facilities under the jurisdiction of the Social Welfare Dept. (SWD) there were five shelters open, used by 276 people (258 men and 48 women) as of June, 2002. Characteristic of aid for the homeless in Hong Kong, as explained in Part 1 of this series, is that all of these shelters are operated by NGOs. We will try to describe the function and characteristics of Hong Kong's shelters with some concrete examples.

The first one is the shelter at Yaumatei operated by the Street Sleepers' Shelter Society Trustees, Inc. or SSSSTI (see **Photo 22**). This shelter is set up next door to the Salvation Army's day center described in Part 1 of this series. It is located just south of Kowloon's Mongkok commercial center, about a five-minute walk west of the MTR subway's Yaumatei Station. At night the surroundings are dark and dingy and there are no people on the street.

Our research team visited the shelter on a September night in 2004. The image of a large room, hot and muggy without air conditioning, with two-tier bunk beds crowded together sticks in our memory (**Photo 38**). We were able to talk with a number of the 44 people who were spending the night there. One can stay in the shelter at night for free, but in principle it is closed from 9 am to 5 pm. The beds were simply laid out sheets of plywood. Inside the facility did not look particularly clean, and according to the users they cannot get a good sleep at night because they are bitten by fleas.

The users of this shelter are not all necessarily homeless people. For example, one of the users we asked said that he was staying here in order to apply for public assistance money (CSSA: Comprehensive Social Security Assistance). Because in Hong Kong immigrants are restricted in receiving public assistance, one must have lived in Hong Kong for at least 309 days prior to making the application for public assistance. In his case, although he was originally from Hong Kong, until two months previous he had been out working on a job on the Chinese mainland, so he was staying in the shelter in order to meet the residency requirement. The system and operation of Hong Kong's public assistance will be taken up in Part 3 of this series.

Next, we want to look at the shelter in Shamshuipo operated by the same SSSSTI. In Shamshuipo are also located the day center and hostel of CCHA which appeared in Chapter 2, and it is one of the areas where resources for aiding the housing-poor are relatively concentrated. And it is the area where SoCO, also already described, has commenced outreach activities. We ourselves accompanied them in January 2003.

The shelter spreads across several floors of a dilapidated building, and here too two-tier bunk beds fill the space (**Photo 39**). When our research team visited in January 2003, there were 74 users, male and female, with an average age of about 50. The term of stay is limited to three months maximum, and to enter, an introduction from a social worker is necessary. Some of the users said that while being unemployed, they were sleeping rough at the Hong Kong International Cultural Center at Tsimshatsui at Kowloon's southern tip, when they were contacted by the Salvation Army's outreach and introduced to this place. Nevertheless, many of the users of this shelter seemed to not have experience of sleeping on the street, and only a few of those who had slept on the street have some form of mental illness. Incidentally, a social worker specializing in mental illness is stationed at this shelter.

At this shelter as well, its main function is to provide lodging at night. It is closed during the day and the users must go outside. During the day, while some visit the Labor Department's employment referral office, others pass the time in parks or libraries. According to one user, in Hong Kong once you are over 40 it is hard to be rehired, and even if you do find work, because it is unskilled or physical labor, the pay is inadequate. One of the staff who showed us around the shelter told us the turnover of users from the year before was only about 10%. Among these, some found work and left the shelter, but after a while, with a social worker's recommendation, they came

back again. There seem to be a lot who follow this cycle. In Hong Kong too, at the aid interface of providing lodging, the existence of this cycle, since there is no help in finding jobs, is a big issue.

Last, we want to describe the newest shelter. This emergency shelter with a capacity of ten, which was opened in June 2001 in Wanchai on Hong Kong Island, is operated by St. James' Settlement. In the Social Welfare Dept.'s 'Three-year Action Plan for Aiding the Homeless' already mentioned in this series, along with the strengthening of outreach and livelihood assistance for the homeless, the opening of shelters is specified with the aim of expanding the lodging facilities on Hong Kong Island.

According to the plan's Final Report (March 2004), since the opening of this emergency shelter it has been used by a total of 149 people. Also, in the plan's interim progress report (June 2002), it said that this facility was made known to rough sleepers contacted late at night on the streets, and in providing counseling and welfare services to users, had maintained a turnover with people staying for two week terms (according to the Final Report, the average period of stay was extended to six weeks). After clients left the shelter, along with referrals to low-cost SRO lodgings (hostels) or private rental apartments, there was six months of follow-up to prevent clients from returning to life on the streets.

When we visited the St. James' day center in Sai Ong in January 2003 (see Chapter 2) we were also able to ask about the emergency shelter. At St. James', they offer as the three pillars of their work the day center, outreach, and this emergency shelter. The main points of attraction for their shelter have been that there is no health check during the stay, one does not have to wait in line but can enter right away, and people with no ability to pay can use it for free. Also, they accept people who are on public assistance but can't keep their dwellings. When we asked about the results of the six-month follow-up after clients leave, they said that during that period some people move, as far as they can tell, about 30%. Thus, not only is it hard for the staff at the facilities to stay in contact, as for the people who leave, if they were to stay in contact with the shelter, then other people might know that they were once homeless, so there are some people who don't like the follow-up.

According to the staff at St. James', if a user exceeds the six-week term of stay, they are asked to leave. For dealing with these so-called 'repeaters' in the auxiliary ranks of the homeless who have left without jobs or places to live and who have broken off follow-up contact, the people at the shelter are trying to coordinate with the outreach team that works for the same St. James' organization.

(Yusuke KAKITA)

3-1-3. Taipei

(1) Taipei County's Street Friends' Halfway House transit shelter

Taipei County has the same relationship to Taipei City that Osaka Prefecture has to Osaka City, and it is made up of 29 cities, towns, and townships surrounding Taipei City. In Taiwan, the homeless are generally called *yumin* (vagabonds or vagrants), and as of August 2004 there were 380 *yumin* living on the street in Taipei County. Of these, 42% were age 45-55, about 20% were age 35-45, about 16% were age 55-65, about 13% were age 25-35, and the remaining approximately 7% were age 65-85. By locality, about 30% were in Sanchung City, about 25% in Panchiao City, and about 16% in Hsinchuang City. Those three cities straddle the Tanshui River and are adjacent to Taipei City's Wan Hua and Tatung districts.

Homeless aid measures in Taipei County lag quite a bit behind Taipei City's. In Taipei County, the non-profit organization Taipei County Volunteer Service Association (referred to hereafter as the VSA) has independently carried out an outreach service in the county and provided meals and clothing as part of a broad range of volunteer activities for about ten years. After that, in 2001 the Taipei County government entrusted the VSA with its outreach service for *yumin*. Until the Taipei County Street Friends' Halfway House, which we visited (and hereafter referred to as the

County Halfway House), was opened, there were no shelters such as the *Yumin* Halfway House in Taipei City (which will be described later).

The County Halfway House is in Taiwan County's Linkou Township at the tip of a promontory overlooking the Taiwan Strait, in a spot with a good view towards the mouth of the Tanshui River in the distance. It is about an hour by car from downtown Taipei, quite far from the center of Linkou, and there are no houses to be seen around the facility. If one applies for permission, he can go out without any problems, and will be taken to the nearest bus stop. The history of the County Halfway House is that it was urgently opened at the time of the SARS panic from spring through summer of 2003, in order to temporarily hold Taipei County's vagrants. During the SARS panic, 69 *yumin* were held here, but in reality none of the *yumin* were infected. However, because the media reported that *yumin* were SARS carriers, they had to be held for appearances' sake. The grounds of the County Halfway House had originally been land owned by the national government and occupied by army barracks. Having been abandoned by then, the buildings were quickly renovated and put to use. From the start of the SARS panic, they were entrusted to the VSA which had accumulated know-how from its outreach and other activities. After the SARS panic had subsided, the county government and the Ministry of Defense proposed that the facility should continue operation as the County Halfway House, and after competitive bidding, the Taipei County government officially awarded operation to the VSA. At the County Halfway House, the word *yumin* is thought to be discriminatory, and they use the words 'street friends,' the same as Taipei City's Dept. of Labor.

The County Halfway House has four buildings on extensive grounds, and at present three of these are utilized: one as an office, one for living facilities, and a dining hall/kitchen (**Photo 40**). In the bedrooms, there are from two to four single wooden beds, and the space is uncrowded and pleasant (**Photo 41**). The view from these well-ventilated bedrooms is splendid, and the clean, newly renovated living facilities have the appearance of a stylish pension. Additionally, on the grounds they grow vegetables and raise poultry, and a new agricultural area is being planned so they will be self-sufficient in food in the future (**Photos 42 and 43**). As of September 2004, the facility was operated by a staff of eight, including one supervisor, a director, one social worker, three administrators, one emergency medical staffer, and one security guard. In the summer of 2004, an inspection team made up of social welfare officials from across Taiwan came to Japan to observe the homeless conditions in Tokyo and Osaka, and visited Shinjuku's homeless aid groups and Osaka's Jikyo Hall (the biggest and oldest social welfare corporation in Japan which runs several relief facilities). The aforementioned supervisor and social worker participated in this group.

Table 7. Circumstances of Use of County Halfway House (July 2003-August 2004)

| | Males | Females | Total |
|---|-------|---------|-------|
| Total Numbers (quoted although there are discrepancies) | 82 | 8 | 90 |
| Entry from mental hospitals, the elderly, etc. to public welfare facilities | 25 | 2 | 27 |
| People under work guidance | 6 | 0 | 6 |
| People who have returned to families | 11 | 3 | 14 |
| People who have begun living alone in rented housing | 3 | 0 | 3 |
| Number of voluntary withdrawals | 13 | 2 | 15 |
| Current number of entrants | 12 | 1 | 13 |

The targets for the County Halfway House, according to the 'Guidelines for Holding and Dealing With *Yumin* in Taipei County,' are specified as people wandering on the streets with no identity cards, people who seem mentally or physically handicapped and requiring intervention, and those among the *yumin* who want to enter, throughout Taipei County. In other words, those responding to outreach on the east side of Taipei Bridge will go to Taipei City's *yumin* facility, and those encountered on the west side of the bridge in Sanchung City or who have wandered to the

south of Taipei City will be moved all the way out to the county facility. They also accept people discharged from hospitals who have no place to go. The capacity of the facility is 30 people. The period of stay can be extended up to three months, but compared to the two year period at the Taipei City Vagrant Holding Facility (which will be described later), this is a more short-term shelter. According to the statistics from July 2003 to August 2004, of the 90 total entrants, an overwhelming majority was male (see **Table 7**). At the time of our visit, there were 13 entrants. After leaving, many have gone on to public welfare facilities, have voluntarily withdrawn, or returned to their families. The number finding work through vocational guidance or now living on their own was small.

The way entrants to the County Halfway House are dealt with depends on whether their family registry is within Taipei County or not. If they are from outside the county, then if the staff can ascertain where the family lives they contact them, or contact the social welfare offices in the place of registry. If there is no family, then subsequent aid is left up to the local government where the entrant is registered. In the case of *yumin* registered in Taipei County, the response again differs if their identity cannot be established, if they have no family, or if they do have family. For people whose identity and place of registration are unknown, they will try to find the family with the help of mass media and the police. For those with no family, once that is confirmed, they will process the paper work for an identity card. This is because it will become necessary later in applying for livelihood assistance, etc. Finally, for those with families, they seek out the family and try to get them to take the entrant away. If the family refuses to take them, then subsequent aid is left up to the local government offices. Through this series of response steps, the social worker does separate consultations, and having grasped the entrants' respective circumstances and needs, moves the aid process along in stages.

The services provided to the entrants include, in addition to providing beds and living space necessary to support everyday life, emergency first aid and accompaniment to hospitals, applications for national health insurance and livelihood assistance, awareness of and applications for social welfare facilities, and psychological counseling. When processing the applications in the series of public welfare services, the social worker here has the same level of discretionary authority as the ones in the Taipei City Dept. of Social Welfare. They also make referrals, to those who wish, for public works employment doing tree planting, washing cars, or recycling, they have vocational technical training in shoe repair, etc., and will accompany entrants to interviews. In living at the County Halfway House, care is taken to respect personal freedom, privacy, and religious beliefs. In order to encourage the desire to work and the family atmosphere, they give commendations to those who are diligent in the poultry raising and vegetable growing activities on the grounds. On the other hand, the entrants are made to lead a healthy and orderly life, they are asked to work in cleaning the rooms and beautifying the environment, and drinking, quarreling, and gambling are forbidden. People who violate these rules get warnings, and if they do not improve after repeated warnings, they can be forced to leave.

VSA, which is entrusted with running the County Halfway House, is a large-scale organization with roots across Taipei County, and they are continuing their outreach activities as before. They have abundant manpower, and in addition to many volunteer participants, 16 public officials who were retired early have come to work for VSA on one-year contracts. They have four staffers specializing in outreach, and nearly 100 volunteers who assist them. VSA also gives assistance on the street, for its main services does first aid and free examinations, free haircuts on the street, and a periodic roving van rigged with showers (**Photo 44**). They pass out lunch boxes in Panchiao and Sanchung cities, and give out sleeping bags at the end of the year. Since the SARS outbreak, they also conduct periodic blood tests and give preventive flu shots. With personal information gained through outreach, they search for families, and help out in applications for entering public welfare facilities, national health insurance, and public assistance. All this is done from the street.

The funding that supports the many VSA activities comes from subsidies from the national government's Interior Ministry and from Taipei County. They also receive contributions. As for material resources, in addition to receiving mosquito nets and blankets from the Taiwanese Coast Guard, they receive cooperation from many other welfare organizations. VSA's relationship with various government bodies is close, and they say that this liaison is indispensable with the government office of records in finding family registrations, with the police for the issuance of identity cards, and the national tax office for public assistance applications. In addition, they have liaison with the sanitation bureau, the social welfare offices and public and private hospitals in the various districts of Taipei County, the county's old people's rest home, and many other entities. This network that ties together all the officials of state offices and organizations is characteristic of VSA. From outreach, to aid on the street, to operating the County Halfway House, the VSA seized on the SARS panic as an opportunity to energize its network and organizational strength, and is rapidly building an aid system for the homeless. With the aid system built in Taipei City by government leadership as a model, working authority in Taipei County was entrusted to an NPO organization with an established track record, and it is developing along nearly the same lines.

(Taichi HAMADA, Yoshihisa MATSUMURA)

3-2. Mid-term Shelters, Self-support Aid Centers

3-2-1. Seoul

(1) Pohyeon House as a Self-support Aid Center (Hope House)

As already described in the section on the Basic Solutions Center, Pohyeon House is a facility in a two-storey reinforced concrete building belonging to Seoul City located near Yeongdeungpo Station, and it is operated under a commission from the city by the Korean Buddhist Chogyae Sect Social Welfare Foundation. This foundation has four facilities for the homeless, three in Seoul and one in Pusan. During the economic crisis and intervention by the IMF, they thought about what they as a religious foundation could do for the homeless, and setting up a cooperative forum for sharing ideas with Christian groups, they have continued their aid activities until now. Such is their background.

Pohyeon House was opened in 1998 as one of the Hope Houses. At that time it was called 'Workers' Communal Lodging,' had a capacity of 300, and charged 1,000 won per night, but in January 2004 under a new format the capacity was reduced to 200 people and it became a free-use facility. From its inception it had a regular staff of twelve, but for managing the building and running the services that are operated jointly with the Basic Solutions Center, there is a medical team of four, and about 20 public works employee staffers (this is one of the government's employment programs. Targeting the low-income unemployed who increased during the economic crisis, it provides job opportunities for work in the public interest and pays living expenses).

To quote the vice director, this is "the best homeless facility. Transportation links are good, it's nicer than the other facilities and the environment is good, and we can provide work." Inside, the facility is equipped with a common workroom, a barbershop/beauty salon, and medical facilities (Photo 45). Also, the grounds are large and ample space is provided for recreation, the raising of rabbits, etc. In addition to an open area on the first floor that is a central assembly hall and also a dining hall, there are a computer room, a laundry room, and a shower room. The living rooms are *ondol*-equipped, and depending on the size of the room, from 10 to 20 people live there.

Generally the entrants have come via the station consulting booths and the Basic Solutions Center, but there are also infrequent cases that come from the local ward offices. After they enter, they may stay here during the daytime as well for the first three days, but from the fourth day on, they are told to look for work. Therefore, they are only given two meals a day, breakfast and dinner.

Regarding aid in finding work, since transportation and the location are convenient, there are many work opportunities including at other facilities. There is a signboard up saying 'The users of this facility can work,' and work offers do come in from the local and city governments and small and medium-sized enterprises, although there aren't so many. For the entrants who cannot find jobs, there are referrals to day labor, and they are told to use the money they earn there to look for jobs. Because jobs are fewer in the winter season, the common workroom is opened up and light tasks are assigned. An average of about 20 entrants work in the common workroom, and they earn an average of 5,000 to 6,000 won per day. Also, a computer class is held twice a week in the computer room.

A livelihood consultation and guidance session is held once each time at one month, three months, six months, and one year after entrance. The content of these sessions is about how they have been living in the facility, how they will live from now on, and about putting aside and managing savings. After six months have passed, their livelihood situation is ascertained, and if necessary they are allowed to extend their stay up to one year. Until 2002, there were programs in art, recreation, and meditation for psychological and physical recovery, but as the results were not seen as being that effective, the Health and Welfare Ministry cut the budget. At present, meditation and the playing of traditional musical instruments, etc., are done by the residents on their own.

As of February 2004, there were about 160 residents at Hope House, and of these about 140 were employed as day laborers. That same year in August there were 180 residents, and 60% of them were working. Of that number, 90% were day laborers, and 10% had managed to find some kind of job for themselves. However, at the time of discharge, fewer than 1% have steady jobs or return to their home towns, and the majority move to *jjogbang* or low-cost rental housing. There are also many cases of people who don't like the communal life in the big rooms dropping out.

From the vice director's description of the entrants, we could get an idea of the difficulty of helping them to be self-supporting. "Most of the entrants are people who became homeless when their families split up or their jobs collapsed, and about 50% of the total have been living in poverty since their parents' generation. There is a cycle of poverty, and they have no means to escape from homelessness. Having some purpose in their lives, and working and saving money for that dream, is something they can't do. Many of these people have never had families, or the families they had have split up and they have nowhere to go; some have had absolutely no contact with their parents, since childhood have been raised in foster care facilities, and have no relations. Most of them seem to think, "If I saved money, what would I do with it?"

(Michiko BANDO)

(2) Shelters at Social Welfare Halls (Hope Houses)

In South Korea, social welfare halls resemble the social welfare facilities run by social welfare coops in Japan called "*rinpokan*", and they debuted in the 1980s. The government pays for the building and operating costs, and private foundations (social welfare foundations, school foundations, religious foundations) run them on commission. Social welfare halls fall into three categories based on their size. Those of medium size, 300-600 *pyeong* (one *pyeong* or *tsubo* in Japanese equals 3.31 square meters), and large size ones of more than 600 *pyeong*, are called 'Comprehensive Social Welfare Halls' and carry out a full range of social welfare activities in their localities, from working with children to the elderly. The smaller social welfare halls of less than 300 *pyeong* provide welfare services focused on a particular segment, such as the elderly, the handicapped, or children. Basically, one hall is supposed to be allocated for every 100,000 people, but circumstances vary depending on the size and fiscal situation of the local government. In areas of permanent rental housing where there are many low-income people and people receiving livelihood assistance, there is supposed to be one social welfare hall for every 2,000 households. In all of South Korea there are permanent rental housing estates in 155 locations, and there is always a social welfare hall set up at the center of the estate. There are a total of 365 social welfare halls throughout the country. In

recent years, almost no comprehensive social welfare centers targeting the poverty stratum have been constructed. The trend is to build single-purpose small social welfare halls aimed at serving the elderly in spots with easy access to downtowns.

In South Korea, aid work was promoted that focused on setting up shelters from 1998 on, and shelters were established in 160 places nationally, but because a lot of opposition to their construction was expected from the local residents, the government adopted a policy of using the social welfare halls to establish shelters (shelters recognized by the government are called 'Hope Houses.' All the shelters run by social welfare halls are recognized, so they are all Hope Houses. On the other hand, in Seoul and the Gyeonggi region, there are about 220 shelters that are not officially recognized. Run by churches, etc., many of these are small scale with capacities of from 2-3 up to 10 people). If the shelter receives recognition, the personnel costs of the staff, the operating expenses, and the food costs are subsidized by the government (in the ratio of 7:3 from the central and local governments), and lodging, food, and medical services are provided free to the users. The structures use existing buildings (**Photo 46**) or rent private housing, etc. In working to establish shelters at social welfare halls, the government offered sweeteners like budget increases, but on the other hand took measures like not giving funding to those that refused to open shelters, so the commissions for operating shelters were partly forced on the halls.

As a consequence, not all the social welfare halls were necessarily enthusiastic about these projects, and after they opened many problem areas appeared. For example, not having the necessary special knowledge and experience needed for dealing with self-support aid, they didn't take appropriate steps in dealing with the clients' alcoholism. Bureaucratic attitudes spilled over, and users' rights were violated, the shelters interfered with the original purpose of the social welfare halls so they couldn't provide local welfare services for children or the house-bound, and there was opposition from the local residents who used the welfare halls. In order to avoid friction with the local residents, there were cases where the entrance to the shelter was put in the rear of the building or the entrance was locked at night because it was said to be hard to supervise. Or, in spite of there being a splendid dining hall, shelter users could not eat there but had to eat in their own rooms. The shelter users were made to hide their existence from the local residents. Also, in accepting clients from other facilities, they would refuse the difficult cases and accept the ones easy to manage. All those circumstances had an adverse influence on the whole system of aid for self-support.

Consequently, now five years after the boom in promoting shelter construction, many of the social welfare halls have closed their shelters. In our interview survey in February 2004, there were 65 recognized shelters in Seoul, but when we asked again in August of the same year, the number had declined to 55. Of these 55 shelters, twenty were run by religious foundations, and 35 were operated by social welfare halls; most of the shelters that had closed had been operated by social welfare halls. At present, among those shelters run by the halls, 3-5 of the halls only deal with the elderly, 2-3 halls deal with general social welfare aside from the elderly, and the rest of the shelters are set up in comprehensive social welfare halls.

On the other hand, opening shelters in the social welfare halls has the following positive points: Unlike shelters run by religious foundations, at the social welfare halls they can use already existing resources. The welfare halls originally had many various programs aimed at the poverty stratum, so the shelter users could choose to use these programs. Also, at the welfare halls, they can group programs together within the budget limitations and create various linkages. For example, at social welfare halls that deal with child welfare, if the shelter users have children, then a share of the shelter's budget, and not the child welfare budget, can be allocated to them. In providing meals, they have flexibility in dealing with the food bank, etc.

Incidentally, recently the capacity of shelters has been legally set at over 30 people. Also, the period of stay of stay is a maximum of six months to one year, and there must be at least one staff member for every 20-30 shelter users. Because of these regulations, shelters smaller than a 30 person-capacity are being forced to close, and operation of shelters is entering an even more

difficult phase.

(Michiko BANDO)

(3) Hope Houses for Families (*Sallimt'eo*)

Among the homeless in Seoul after the IMF economic crisis of 1997, the vast majority were single males who had lost their jobs and unavoidably became homeless, but from about 1998 onwards there were confirmed cases of households that became homeless as family units. The *sallimt'eo* (which literally means 'living place') that we describe here is a special family shelter (*shimt'eo*) established for the purpose of harboring families that have become homeless.

The *sallimt'eo* was established in October 1998 in response to the urgent needs of two families that had become homeless in June of that year. It is operated by the Anglican Church with financial assistance from Seoul City (while the director is an Anglican minister, seven of the staff are civil servants, of whom three are social workers). Originally in a different location in Shillim-dong in Gwanag Ward south of the Han River, in 2003 it moved slightly to the east to a terrace on a steep hillside in Bongch'eon-dong, facing Seoul National University. At that time it began operation by moving quietly into a facility for the handicapped. The building where the *sallimt'eo* is housed contains specialized welfare services: the first two floors are for handicapped facilities, floors 3 and 4 are for the *sallimt'eo*, and the 5th floor is a shelter for underage youths and girls (Photo 47). The handicapped facility had been in operation before the *sallimt'eo* opened, the neighborhood was a low income area, and since anti-poverty and other social movements had been common, the local residents had a deep understanding of activities like the *sallimt'eo* and there were almost no conflicts with the neighborhood as had been feared in the beginning.

Because the *sallimt'eo* is first of all a shelter operated especially for families, in addition to harboring families that are living on the street, it admits poor families who cannot pay their rent and are almost on the street, poor mothers with children who are domestic violence victims and cannot enter female shelters, and fathers who because they are caring for young children cannot continue working normally and are in danger of becoming homeless. Consequently, in that families with a wide range of different problems are living together in the same building, the place has a character not seen in other facilities. In Japan there are neither any shelters operated especially for families receiving public assistance, nor are there any examples of women who are domestic violence victims living in the same shelter together with men who have alcohol problems. So it may be a bit difficult to picture the operating policy of the *sallimt'eo*. However, by having a number of different families with different kinds of problems live together, it creates a set of relationships where the respective families can discuss their problems with each other in the midst of daily life. At the *sallimt'eo* there is a strong belief that this kind of interaction process is important for the individual families in becoming self-supporting, and effort is put into aid directed towards self-support based on that belief. Let us give a brief description of the *sallimt'eo*.

Currently at the *sallimt'eo*, which has a capacity of 50, there are 14 families of 45 individuals (10 households of mothers with children, 1 household of father and child, two households of both parents with children, and one household of husband and wife only). There are a total of 17 adults and 28 children living together. From its opening until January 2004, there have been 230 families of about 660 individuals. Although most of the entrants were previously employed as casual day laborers in the city's poorest class, there were also some white-collar workers, reflecting the rising educational level of the homeless after 2001. As for routes of entry, some came through referrals by the *Tashiseogi* Aid Center, some through referrals by the domestic violence hotline, and some through various shelters. There were also cases where the entrants themselves called the *sallimt'eo* directly. Among these four routes of entry, the largest number phoned in directly themselves. The rules for admission are that if one is ill it must not be infectious, if one is an alcoholic then one must be able to work and receive treatment, and at least one family member must be employable. In addition, after entry they must file changes of address, and changes to residency registration and family registers.

Looking at the physical facilities, there is a total area of 447 square meters (**Photo 48**), a total of 16 individual rooms, and the space is equipped with two communal toilet and shower rooms each for both men and women. Families use one or two individual rooms depending on family size. Additionally, there are common spaces such as meeting rooms and computer rooms which the residents can use for a variety of purposes, and former residents who live nearby can also use them as gathering places. As a service provided for residents, there is evening baby-sitting (from 6:30 pm until 10:30 pm) and after school hours study halls (primary and middle school sections) so it is possible for parents to concentrate on their work. There is also participation in community chest campaign and a specialized treatment service for alcoholism in conjunction with the local hospital.

The residence period at the *sallimt'eo* is up to one year, but after the year expires one can extend the period by renewing the residence contract for three-month intervals. However, such renewals are limited to three times, and eventually the entrants themselves must rent their own rooms and become self-supporting. For that purpose, residents who are employed are required to save 50% or more of their household's monthly income towards self-support. A minimum required savings amount is set, and even those in difficult circumstances with debts to repay must save at least 200,000 won (about ¥22,000) every month. Families that fail to save this amount each month receive warnings, and if they get two warnings in a row or a total of three, they are evicted. However, at the first savings check after entry, the warning is withheld, and while in residence if one's means of earning income is unavoidably lost, the warnings can be withheld once. Consequently, within a month of entry and/or within a month of losing a job, one is required to find new employment. Thus, at the *sallimt'eo* there are very strict rules about saving towards self-support. This is because, in spite of there being a system where one can live in self-support housing for two years (with a possible two-year extension) while receiving assistance from Seoul City, there are only one or two households per year that actually receive this aid, and so as a result, most families have no choice but to rent their own *neolse* (month-to-month) apartments and support themselves.

In this way, at the *sallimt'eo* support efforts are concentrated on self-support, but various means are also devoted to follow-up after leaving the facility. These consist mainly of once a month consultations, dinner parties, etc. Because about 70% of the families that have left the *sallimt'eo* are living self-supportively in the neighborhood, they frequently walk over to the *sallimt'eo* to take advantage of the follow-up programs. Also, recent news about former residents who are distant is posted on the bulletin board of the *sallimt'eo*'s website (<http://www.salimter.org>) and the *sallimt'eo* itself regularly posts news of events in the facility. The connection with former residents is supported by active social interaction and information exchange.

Finally let us mention some issues regarding the *sallimt'eo*. At present, alcoholism among the males seems to be the most serious problem. Although their condition can improve through the pace of communal life at the *sallimt'eo* and linkage with treatment facilities, if it deteriorates there is the possibility of families splitting up. In aid for alcoholism, the cooperation of specialized groups is of course necessary, but since so much is related to the individual's will, it is hard to deal with. Thus, alcoholism cannot be completely dealt with within the limits of a shelter set up to aid families. And, as a *sallimt'eo* staff member says, "the focus of aid up until now on single homeless people and the focus on families are different, and one needs to be careful about that." One can't respond to the problems of homeless families using only the know-how developed up until now in aid for single male street sleepers. So a compound perspective is necessary for aid involving homeless families. Especially, increased emphasis should probably be placed on follow-up after families leave the facility.

(Nanami INADA, Myounghee SON)

(4) Specialized Hope Houses- The Vision Training Center

In Seoul, as aid measures evolved, it gradually became clear that it was necessary to systematically distinguish between those needing ‘self-support aid’ and those needing rehabilitation among the homeless. As the homeless problem became both chronic and structurally entrenched, limits emerged in what could be done with just temporary emergency care and unrestricted self-support aid. Specialized treatment for the increasing numbers needing rehabilitation became urgent, and since many of the homeless needing rehabilitation had complex problems that required treatment while they were living in shelters that served as housing, on February 1, 2004 Freedom House was closed, and the Vision Training Center, a shelter specializing in rehab for the homeless, was newly opened. By doing this, the emergency protection and assessment functions previously conducted at Freedom House were transferred to the Basic Solutions Center at Pohyeon House.

Table 8. Discharges from Freedom House by type and number (as of January 2004)

| (units: individuals/per cent) | | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|-----------|
| To Facilities and Hope Houses* | To Vision Training Center | Voluntary Withdrawals | Other** |
| 68 / 13.3% | 155 / 30.4% | 245 / 48% | 42 / 8.2% |

*Number includes welfare facilities, hospitals, and Hope Houses

**Includes forced withdrawals, people who found work, etc.

At Freedom House, before it was closed they surveyed the number of entrants and held consultations with all of them about where they would go once the facility closed. As a result, the majority wished to enter Hope Houses, but it was wintertime, there were almost no vacancies at Hope Houses, and there was a move by the Hope Houses to selectively control entrance, so not many could actually enter. The author, serving at the time on the front line of the transfer work, has memories of feeling powerless and frustrated to the point of tears. Unable to settle on new destinations for all those leaving Freedom House when it closed, I felt I had been saddled with the role of forcing the homeless back onto the streets, which was unbearably sad. The numbers leaving and their withdrawal patterns are shown in **Table 8**.

Table 9. Vision Training Center treatment capacity (unit: individuals)

| Division | Social psychology team | Alcohol dependency team | Mental health team | Social re-integration | Total |
|--------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|-------|
| Treatment capacity | 50-60 | 50-60 | 60-70 | 50-60 | 250 |

Among the ‘voluntary withdrawals,’ it is thought that except for 50 or 60 who entered Pohyeon House, the rest returned to the street. In fact, at this time the number of homeless around Yeongdeungp'o Station increased. When the transfers were made to the Vision Training Center (hereafter the Vision Center), there was opposition from the local residents, and in fact the actual day of transfer was concealed and people were moved quietly over a period of several days. The new place was in Yongdap-dong in Seoul's Seongdong Ward, a bit distant to the east from the city center, adjacent to sewage works in a rather bleak location with few houses (**Photo 49**). In the vicinity are used car dealerships and a market, and the subway passes through so it is not so inconvenient in terms of seeking a livelihood. There was opposition at first from the local residents, but the center exerted repeated efforts to allay the opposition, cleaning up around the facility, inviting the locals to PR meetings, etc., and as a result there were even local residents who promised to give active support. The Vision Center, having begun in this way, has adopted a Therapeutic Community (TC) model and operates through three divisions. These three are rehabilitation for 1.

alcoholism, 2. mental illness, and 3. social and psychological maladjustment. The center's total capacity is 250, and the details are set forth in **Table 9**.

Table 10. Entry and discharge trends at Vision Center for 2005 (unit: individuals)

| Year and month | Entries | | | Discharges | Current entrants |
|----------------|-------------|----------|-------|------------|------------------|
| | First entry | Re-entry | Total | | |
| 2005.1 | 52 | 24 | 76 | 54 | 209 |
| 2005.2 | 29 | 17 | 46 | 52 | 203 |
| 2005.3 | 37 | 20 | 57 | 82 | 178 |
| 2005.4 | 13 | 16 | 29 | 55 | 152 |
| 2005.5 | 36 | 15 | 51 | 63 | 140 |

As for the period of stay, there are differences depending on each community division and each individual, but there is a minimum of six months and a maximum of 12 months. The facility has a total of 26 *ondol*-floor rooms for living in, and a maximum of 10 people live together in one room. There are also program rooms, a combination computer room/library (residents can use the Internet freely, and computer classes are given by a volunteer group of Samsung employees), a bathroom, consulting rooms, a laundry room, and a lounge (**Photo 50**).

Table 10 shows entries and departures for 2005. The number of withdrawals includes those transferring to other facilities, entering hospitals, Hope Houses, voluntary drop-outs, and



Figure 2. Organization Chart of Vision Training Center

forced withdrawals. Looking at the total, the number of entrants is declining, but this can be interpreted as an increase in the homeless who want to go to work, leaving as the season grew warmer. The organizational system that runs this facility is shown in **Figure 2**.

Up to now, I have described the process of evolution from Freedom House to the Vision Center, but now I would like to briefly describe the programs that are actually

carried out at the Vision Center. Here, they manage a community program based on the American DAY-TOPTC model as a way of approaching the rehabilitation of the homeless. Solving the various compounded problems that appear among the homeless has to be accomplished by a total change in lifestyle and inertia. These two goals are the same as in other rehab treatment programs, but the unique approach of TC uses a community model of living together in order to pursue these goals. Currently the alcoholism team and the social psychology team have adapted the same model, but the mental health team has to find an approach different from the addiction perspective and is in the midst of formulating a different method.

Composition of the Community Program

Four Treatment Aspects of the Therapeutic Community

1. Behavior Formation and Control

Behavior is modified and positive behavior is reinforced through education and assistance.

2. Feeling and Emotional Development

Admitting internal problems, searching for feelings and thoughts about misbehavior, causing changes in perception.

3. Mental and Spiritual Development

4. Roles and Survival Skills

In TC, each person is given a role (this is their job within the community). These roles are fashioned

by the desires and by the environmental circumstances. The necessary attitude for the acquisition of skills is stressed, and all of the roles assigned provide opportunities to learn something about oneself, about others, and about functions. In accordance with the four aspects above, in each community steps from one to five are established, and roles are assigned according to each step. People who clear all the first four steps enter the 'return to society' course set up in each community and make preparations for re-entering society. Even after they have returned, they are supervised by the center.

The detailed contents of the program cannot be described in this essay. However, this model has produced results in America in dealing with substance addiction, and in Korea in many areas beginning with children's facilities, TC has been adapted and produced results. In the area of the homeless, it has only recently begun and it will require some time before it produces results. In this process, well-trained staff and a backup various resources for returning to society are indispensable. Consequently, the issues confronting Vision Center for the future are the upgrading of staff and how to locate resources and link them with the process of social re-integration.

(Myounghee SON)

(5) Hope House for Fathers and Sons

Since 2000, the development of specialized shelters has been promoted in Seoul to meet the needs of users. At the same time, self-support aid programs have been introduced into shelters. Shelters which until then had merely been places to sleep have been positioned as transition facilities that encourage self-support, and they have been firmly established in the chain of self-support aid through the *Tashiseogi* Aid Center.

The Hope House established at the Shindang Welfare Hall is a special shelter dedicated to fathers and sons. Including this one, there are four shelters in Seoul aimed at families. Shindang Welfare Hall is on the east side of Subway Line No. 3's Yaksu Station, within walking distance of the city core, in the middle of a residential area that has the flavor of the old inner city. This welfare hall opened in January 1995 when the Seoul Catholic Social Welfare Association was commissioned to run it. It is called a 'Local Comprehensive Social Welfare Hall' and provides three types of welfare services: for families, for the housebound elderly, and for the neighborhood in general. Family welfare includes youth and child welfare (medical treatment and preventive care for disadvantaged youth, after school study halls) and counseling for troubled families. Housebound welfare includes meal delivery service, bathing services, medical welfare services, and rehabilitation. For handicapped children there are music, art, and recreational therapy, etc. The hall also operates a nursery school, a day center, and a group home for elderly women.

This welfare hall became involved in homeless work beginning in 1997 with the opening of a migrant consulting center at Seoul Station. They opened a Hope House at the current location on November 1, 1998. In the beginning, this was done as an emergency measure and was not meant for long term operation, so they used shipping containers for the buildings, which are still in use at present (**Photo 51**). When first opened, it was meant only for single males, but they were asked by the *Tashiseogi* Aid Center to operate a Hope House for fathers and sons, and it has been used exclusively for that purpose since January 1, 2001.

The two-storey container building is set on a corner of the welfare hall's property and has five living units and a computer room which serves as a study room for the children (**Photo 52**). Two households live together in one room. When we inquired in August 2004, it was being used by 10 households of 22 people in total (ten adult men and 12 boys ranging from primary school first graders to first year high-schoolers). There are no cooking facilities in the container building- they go outside and through an entrance to another building to a dining hall downstairs. This dining hall is also open to clients of the welfare hall. When the shelter was meant for single males, the maximum length of stay was set at two years, but since it has been dedicated to fathers and sons no

time limit has been set.

Since the opening of the Hope House, there has been one male staff member assigned to it. Additionally, the female staff members of the welfare hall perform some of the role of mothers, and care is provided utilizing the personnel and services of the welfare hall. The salary equivalent for one staff member is paid by Seoul City. In the first year this was 880,000 won (900 US\$) per month, but now, five years later, it is 1.4 million won. Calculated as a yearly income, this leaves a gap of about one million won compared to regular employees of the welfare hall. Besides this personnel cost, they receive a subsidy of 600,000 won per month from Seoul City for operating expenses. If they exceed this, the welfare hall must pay the difference.

To enter a Hope House, usually one must have passed through Freedom House or now the Halfway House at the Basic Solutions Center, but children cannot enter the Halfway House. Therefore, the entrants to this facility either come through the station consulting centers or they are discovered and connected through information at the local neighborhood (dong) government offices. Homeless men with children often do not hang around near the stations but are in places out of sight, so someone who has found them makes a report and sends it in. However, among the entrants up till now, there has been only one household where the father and son were living homeless on the street together. In the other cases, the child had been with relatives or at a protective facility until the homeless parent took them and they entered the Hope House together. There is a simple interview for people who come to the facility, but unless there is something exceptional they are admitted. Once their entry is decided, they must transfer their residency registration to this place, and if they are not working, they must apply for medical care protection. They can also receive an emergency aid payment of 200,000 won, but this is limited to one time only. They can also receive assistance for the school fees for compulsory education. There are also gift certificates that are given out for the Chuseok holiday.

As for the character of these father and son families, as seen by a staff member: "A lot of the fathers are alcoholics. They're pretty rough. They have mental illnesses. For that reason, the mothers leave home, they get divorced, a lot of the families break up. Also, and this is another reason for the divorces, they have no ability to earn money. Even if they have the ability to work, they have no desire." And so, "That's why we have to provide homeless welfare services for father-and-son families. We perform this service so the poverty of the father's generation doesn't continue on to the child's."

Among the ten adult men living here at present, seven are working (three are day laborers, and four are employed regularly), and three are looking for work. From 2001 through August 2004, eight households have left the facility, but only one household managed to improve its circumstances after leaving. This household is now living in ordinary rental housing. The other seven households are much the same as before, or have gotten worse, with the children left at foster care facilities, etc. Two families were forced to leave the shelter. In both cases, there was severe alcoholism and they were mentally ill, and it was feared that they were a danger to others. At present, two of the four men who are regularly employed are said to have saved up enough money to leave, rent other housing, and support themselves, but because one of them has a child in the first year of primary school, he is worried about leaving the child all alone from early morning until late at night while he goes to work, so he will be staying at the facility for a while longer.

After leaving the Hope House, they can also utilize a 'self-support house' (in a system begun in 2000, the government will pay the deposit money necessary for *cheonse* type rental housing (a large initial deposit means little or no monthly rent). The current budget for this is for 30 million won per dwelling and the money can be used for housing deposit capital for up to four years. As of 2000, there were about 15 to 20 self-support houses in which 50 people could live). The welfare can potentially open up a total of three self-support houses. In the self-support houses, in the case of singles, two to three people must live together and this causes problems, so the other Hope Houses don't use them very much, but here they have opened up two self-support houses. In one of them,

a family that split up four years ago has come back to living together, and in the other, they moved in a year and a half ago when the boy became a middle school student.

Incidentally, everywhere shelters are opened there is big opposition from local residents, but here the relationship with the neighborhood is good. This situation has continued since before when the facility was for single adult males- they cleaned up the surrounding area and didn't cause many problems, and the efforts of the facility's staff and the entrants were rewarded. Since it has changed into a family shelter, children go in and out and its image as a shelter has been toned down, and there are even people who give food to the children. However, they don't want their own children playing with the children of the shelter dwellers, and there is still a bit of prejudice.

Issue for the future that the staff mention are assuring privacy by making individual rooms and developing more character in the functions of the facility. For example, adding character by dividing people by their occupations, or helping the residents bond together through recreational activities, etc. They told us that their ideal is for it not to be a homeless shelter, but to make it into a lodging where workers actually pay money and live normally.

(Michiko BANDO)

(6) 'Employed Self-Support' Style Hope House? the Chungjeongno *Sarangbang* operated by the Salvation Army

The 'self-support houses' within the chain of Seoul's self-help aid system are, as the name implies, aid facilities for promoting self-support. The Salvation Army's Chungjeongno *Sarangbang* that will be described here is a self-support house on Seoul's Chungjeongno Avenue and is one of three facilities for the homeless operated by the Salvation Army. This *sarangbang* (the original meaning of the word is a room for men in a traditional Korean house) was established in 1998 in order to help rebuild the livelihood of the large number of homeless who appeared due to the IMF crisis and help them return to society: "Based on the Christian spirit, we offer assistance for their rehabilitation as healthy members of society by providing them with a restful place to sleep, providing food for healthy bodies, guiding them in employment referrals, and in creating small scale enterprises." (from the 2003 operations summary).

Table 11. Staff Numbers at Chungjeongno *Sarangbang*

| Division | | Facility director | Office staff | Living support staff | Consulting staff | Cooks | Special counselors |
|----------------|--------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-------|--------------------|
| Gender | Male | 1 | 1 | 3 | | | |
| | Female | | | | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| Total | 9 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| Qualifications | | Social welfare degree | Social welfare degree | Social welfare degree | Social welfare degree | | |

Source: 2003 Operations Summary of

The facility is operated by the Salvation Army, but all of the operating costs are borne by the Seoul City government. The main contents of the aid are: providing a place to sleep, providing meals, livelihood counseling, employment assistance, money management, etc. The building formerly housed living quarters for Salvation Army ministers? it has a brick facade and presents a dilapidated appearance (**Photo 53**). There are a total of 16 rooms, all of which are *ondol*-equipped (**Photo 54**). Four to five men live together in the smaller rooms, and up to twelve to fifteen together in the larger rooms. Everyone shares the use of the dining hall, kitchen, shower room, and laundry room. The maximum capacity is 130 people, but usually there are slightly fewer than 100 residents (see **Table 11**).

As for the entry routes to the *Sarangbang* self-support house, the self-support houses occupy the final step in the chain of the self-help aid system, and so no one comes here directly off the streets. Also, the goal of this facility is self-help aid through employment, and its characteristic is that a desire to work is a major premise for being here. Therefore, in Seoul's aid system, one must come here through a consultation center, but once a person is verified by the consulting center's casework to have a desire to work they can quickly enter a self-support house. Up to about 70% of the entrants thus come here directly from consultation centers. The remaining 30% go from consulting centers first to other various facilities- Hope Houses for those needing treatment, shelters for the elderly, shelters for treating alcoholism, etc. After they have passed through those facilities, if they are confirmed to have a desire for self-support and a desire for work, they are admitted to the self-support house.

From 9 am until 5 pm the entrants go to work, or those without jobs look for work. For this reason, during the day almost no one is there and it is quiet. In looking for work, after consultations with staffers of an employment referral center who make visits, the entrants are connected to work opportunities through referrals. In general, if the entrants have any skills, they usually look for related jobs, and if they have no skills, they look for work at construction sites.

Additionally, a unique employment assistance program at this self-support house are the food carts for selling sea bream-shaped hotcakes filled with sweat bean jam (**Photo 55**). Besides sea bream hotcakes, they also sell udon noodles. These food carts, featuring a sea bream emblem, are all painted a uniform red color and were fabricated from scratch at this facility. Each person who participates in the sea bream hotcake selling work program is given a cart and goes out to sell during the day. The proceeds, after deduction for the cost of materials, are deposited on a daily basis in each individual's bank account. Saving this daily amount becomes capital for self-support. At the time of our visit, 12 of the entrants were participating in this program. For participants in the bream hotcake-selling program and for those who have found other work, their money including their wages are managed by the facility. The goal is to save a fixed amount of money in order to be self-supporting. If they can save from about 5 million to 10 million won, they can leave and support themselves.

Additionally, there are livelihood consultations and guidance. On this front, what is particularly emphasized are alcohol problems, and a lot of effort is put into these consultations. This is because so long as alcohol problems are not dealt with they affect both work and money management. There are some entrants who after the IMF crisis were barred from using banks and financial organs, etc., but there are not many with credit card debt problems, so there is not so much guidance about that. In the end, the entrants receive the necessary assistance to aim at independence, but the term of residence is in principle limited to one year. In the case of illness or some other special reason, or if a little more time is needed to become independent, after applying for an extension to the *Tashiseogi* Aid Center, an extension is possible for up to six months. Looking at the figures for where entrants go after they leave, from its opening until the end of 2003, 996 people have used the facility. Of these, 711 have become day laborers, 148 are otherwise employed, 83 have returned to their families, and 60 people have moved to other shelters, etc. Even considering that the people originally admitted had a strong desire to work, from the perspective of employment after discharge, these are very positive results.

Incidentally, when we visited we were given an explanation that utilized a resident's bankbook and their individual registration card from the *Tashiseogi* Aid Center. The *Sarangbang* is the final stage facility for practice in self-support, but rather than the independence of exercising one's own control in practicing self-support, it seemed that what was emphasized was only economic independence with a degree of control by the staff members. Alternatively, the employment aid program of selling grilled sea bream could be seen as creative and having grown from the residents' own ideas and desires, but it seems to be limited to acquiring simple skills and saving money for self-support. In this way, the goal is set at first becoming self-supporting, and at present there is no

particular follow-up for after leaving the facility. There is no grasp of whether any people have failed at becoming independent and returned to homelessness. If there is an issue for the future, it is the desirability of follow-up for those who have become self-supporting.

(Toshiko YOSHINAKA)

(7) Vagabond Holding Facility: Eunp'yeong Village (Additional Description)

In this section we want to describe a facility whose provenance is different from the mid-term shelters and self-help aid centers. Though it began its services well before the start of aid measures for the homeless, there are many factors that overlap with homeless aid measures and so we want to include it. Seoul City's vagabond holding facility, Eunp'yeong Village, is a vagabond holding facility as defined by Article 2 Section 1 of the Social Welfare Projects Law that holds and protects adult male vagabonds over the age of 18 who are found within Seoul's jurisdiction, and it carries out medical welfare and social rehabilitation services for the inmates. It is a large-scale holding facility with no clear counterpart in Taipei or Hong Kong. It resembles a giant version of the relief facilities that began with the special anti-poverty measures in Japan (though unlike in Japan, it has part-time doctor and provides treatment). This facility is located on the slopes of a mountain in the northern part of Eunp'yeong Ward, about an hour northwest of the city center by subway and bus. There is a gate at the foot of the mountain and the built up area of the city extends that far, but when one enters the property which runs along the hillside, although still inside Seoul's city limits, there is a splendid view and it is far removed from the clamor of the city center **(Photos 56-59)**.

The property has an area of 40,460 square meters and a building floor space of 19,173 square meters. There are four buildings: three living halls (one of which was being renovated during our visit) and a workshop. On the extensive grounds, they raise a number of kinds of animals like deer and ostriches in a menagerie. The staff told us, "Here we have shelter for the entrants and contact with their families. Additionally, within the facility we have clinical exams and treatment for patients, and do occupational therapy projects as social rehabilitation assistance." The residence halls have one floor below ground and five floors above, and in addition to living space are equipped with meeting rooms, a barber shop, a medical dispensary, rehabilitation rooms, and a laundry room. Many programs are conducted besides occupational rehabilitation. The facility was established in the Central Ward (Chung-ku) in 1961 as a correctional facility but soon moved to its present location. In 1981, operation was transferred from Seoul City to the Christian non-profit Maria Sisters Foundation, and in 1996 the name was changed to Municipal Eunp'yeong Village. The operating budget of 30.3 billion won is made up of subsidies of about 28 billion won (50% from the central government, 50% from Seoul City) and about 2.3 billion won that the facility pays.

In the figures as of June 2004, against a maximum capacity of 2,000, there were 1,781 entrants of whom most were in their 40s or 50s. Earlier, there had been somewhat more people in their 30s, but after the various homeless shelters opened there was a tendency for them to enter those **(Table 12)**.

Table 12. Age Distribution at Eunp'yeong Village (number of individuals in 2003)

| 18-20 yrs. | 21-30 yrs. | 31-40 yrs. | 41-50 yrs. | 51-60 yrs. | 61-65 yrs. | 66-70 yrs. | Above 70 yrs. |
|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|---------------|
| 7 | 104 | 290 | 499 | 470 | 176 | 128 | 128 |

Regarding the entrants' health condition, there were 1,691 with some form of illness (including 557 mentally ill and 214 mentally retarded) and only 90 in good health. Among the sick, about 450 had serious conditions requiring full care. Very many of the facility's 107 staff members (including 28 welfare workers, 26 counselors, 9 nurses, 12 cooks and three part-time doctors) are

care givers. Even so, as many as 1,000 volunteers a year supplement the staff, and even those entrants who are healthy or have lighter chronic illnesses help out with caring for the more seriously ill entrants. “The difference between this facility and others is the person to person contact. That’s why, it’s the nature of this place that it stresses a humanity which allows people to do what they can to help someone else who feels the same kind of pain. This has nothing to do with any government operating guidelines.” The numbers entering and leaving the facility each year are about 3,500 respectively a (Tables 13 and 14).

Table 13. Annual number of entrants by entry route at Eunp’yeong Village (2003)

| Ward offices | Police Stations | City Hospitals | Total |
|--------------|-----------------|----------------|-------|
| 1,337 | 575 | 1,543 | 3,456 |

Table 14. Annual number of discharges by reason at Eunp’yeong Village (2003)

| Consigned to relatives | Voluntary withdrawal | Entered hospitals | Died | Ran away | Transferred to other facilities | Other | Total |
|------------------------|----------------------|-------------------|------|----------|---------------------------------|-------|-------|
| 120 | 1,811 | 1,394 | 37 | 37 | 63 | 25 | 3,487 |

Exit and entrance to and from the vagabond holding facility are generally as follows: first, for admission, a local office or official from the area where the vagabond has appeared files an admission request. Upon receiving a request, the protective body makes a decision after examining whether the vagabond has any family, his potential for returning to society, the vagabond’s health condition, etc. This review is done by the admissions examining committee at the protective organ. The actual doorways for admission, as shown in the table, are three: the police, the hospitals, and the ward offices’ social welfare divisions. “As for admissions procedure, one way is that an individual goes to the social welfare division at the ward office and says, ‘I want to enter,’ or when they go for a consultation and say, ‘I have this kind of problem,’ the supervising official will send a request here. The second way is through the police. For example, if someone complains that there are a lot of drunks on the street, instead of calling an ambulance as in Japan, here they call the police. Then the police will check on the identities and circumstances, and if they have no family, or the family can’t be contacted, or if nothing else can be done, then they bring them here to the holding facility. In this case, it doesn’t go through the ward office, but the police make out an admissions request for the vagabond facility and admit them. Since in such cases the police don’t notify the ward office, you get divided management. In the case of the hospitals, the police or the ward office have decided to send them to a hospital, but when they are discharged from there they have nowhere to go, so they end up at Eunp’yeong Village. That’s why there are problems with the admissions request system itself. So in the future we’re thinking mainly that we should use the drop-in centers as assessment bodies for all the vagabonds and the homeless together. Also, admissions requests from other homeless shelters come here through the ward offices.” Discharges from the facility are processed if an entrant expresses a wish to leave in the regularly conducted consultations, or if someone is judged to be capable of returning to society. Concerning withdrawals, at Eunp’yeong Village entrants are discharged after an interview held in order to understand the situation, and no one is forced to stay who has a wish to leave.

According to Health and Welfare Ministry data for 2003, there are a total of 38 vagabond welfare facilities in South Korea. Cheolla Namdo Province has the most with six, followed by Seoul, Kyeongsang Namdo, and Cheolla Pukto with four each. The 38 facilities are spread throughout the country in every major jurisdiction except Ulsan City. The total capacity of the country’s 38 facilities is 11,361; the smallest has a capacity of 30, the largest 2,000. The average capacity is about 300. With its capacity of 2,000, Eunp’yeong Village is the largest-scale facility in South Korea.

The vagabond welfare facilities have existed since well before the urgent expansion of the

various aid systems for dealing with the large numbers of ‘homeless’ street sleepers who appeared in the wake of the IMF economic crisis. ‘Vagabonds’ (*purangja*) were previously a target for detention and custody, and are perceived differently from the ‘homeless’ who are seen as being the victims of social policies. This difference in perception of vagabonds and the homeless and the hasty erection of an aid system for the latter has encouraged what the Health and Welfare Ministry calls ‘the dichotomy in the aid system for vagabonds and the homeless.’ According to an analysis by the Health and Welfare Section of the Korean Health and Welfare Institute, this dichotomy has given rise to both overlaps and gaps in aid services, and to friction between aid groups within the system, and they propose reforming it. They point out that there is no clear basis for distinguishing between vagabonds and the homeless, and that a unified overall structure should be created. “If we are asked, what is the difference between vagabonds and the homeless, there isn’t any difference. Up until the IMF crisis, there were only vagabonds, but after the IMF crisis the word ‘homeless’ first came into use, and it seems that even people who had previously been called vagabonds, after the IMF, if they were healthy enough to work, were no longer called vagabonds but came to be called ‘homeless.’ That is why, if the homeless can come here, so can the vagabonds. There seems to be no real distinction, it’s just that in practice there are cases where the outreach staff in the field divide up pavement dwellers into ‘vagabonds’ or ‘homeless’ based on their own experiences and feelings.”

The proposal for the facility protection system is as follows: to make the specific particular functions of the existing vagabond welfare facilities and homeless shelters work as efficiently as possible, and to heighten their mutual effectiveness by transferring people who don’t match the execution of those functions to other bodies. This would mean being able to send entrants from the vagabond welfare facilities who have a high potential for self-support to the area’s homeless shelter, and transferring people from the homeless shelters whose self-support potential or motivation are weak or who have mental health problems to the vagabond facilities or other related social welfare bodies.

This strategy of dividing up functions in pursuit of efficiency has in reality already begun, but on the ground at the facilities there are some doubts: “Our policy here at Eunp’yeong Village, rather than dividing them up, could be called ‘reciprocal care,’ where for example a person who is mentally ill may help another who is physically handicapped, and we can do that here... But at this vagabond facility, vagabonds, people with illnesses, old people, etc. are all grouped together. Therefore the scale is so large, and we pack 20 people together in a large room, and we can’t effectively offer individualized services. So in order to provide appropriate management and services, they are dividing it up into vagabond facilities just for vagabonds, handicapped facilities, mental illness treatment facilities, old people’s facilities, etc. Our first project here will be to build a handicapped care facility with a standard of 10 square meters per person and four to a room.” So says Eunp’yeong Village’s director. We should keep an eye on the results of these actions.

(Naoko HORIE)

3-2-2. Hong Kong

(1) Self-support Aid Centers as ‘Low-cost Dormitory-style Lodgings’

In this section we will outline Hong Kong’s low-cost dormitory-style lodgings and describe actual aid measures. ‘Low-cost dormitory-style lodgings’ are short-term facilities that provide service programs for self-support together with temporary housing aimed at the housing-poor, including the homeless. At present, the 16 lodgings being operated in Hong Kong can be divided into two major categories: facilities under the jurisdiction of the Social Welfare Dept., and facilities under the jurisdiction of the Home Affairs Dept. Here we will describe the three low-cost dormitory-style lodgings under the Social Welfare Dept. that we visited in 2002 and 2003.

The low-cost dormitory-style lodgings overseen by the Social Welfare Dept. were opened

in turn beginning in the late 1980s, and they have provided housing for the housing-poor social stratum. At present, due to the multiplication of problems faced by the housing-poor, assistance does not stop at just providing housing, and livelihood aid as well is carried out by the social workers who work at the Social Welfare Dept. and at the various lodgings. Through the aid interventions of these social workers, energy is being poured into holistic aid which is not only aimed at employment assistance including vocational training and job referrals, but also includes physical and mental care and the improvement of communication skills. This is because at these low-cost dormitory-style lodging facilities, single males who are unemployed and forced to live on the streets are a minority, and the lodgings accept a broad spectrum of people who are housing-poor for a variety of reasons, including women suffering from domestic violence or other domestic problems, the mentally handicapped, and also the elderly who have problems with dementia or quarreling.

In the process of entering the lodgings, there are a few cases where people seeking sanctuary have themselves asked for assistance, but most of the entrants have come through the outreach of various aid groups or a social worker's introduction, or via the emergency shelters for the homeless. The cost per day is set low at roughly 50 HK\$ (about US\$5), the living rooms are shared with 5-15 people to a room and two-tier bunk beds or simply built cage-house style beds, and are not meant for long-term habitation. All of these lodgings have been opened on the ground floor of new high-rise condominiums in spaces intended for public use (operation of each facility is decided competitively) and they are located in places with good transportation and good conditions for maintaining livelihood or finding work. Having thus generally described the characteristics of these places, let us take a look at the aid programs operated by private NGOs in these places.

Caritas' (a Catholic association) Hung Hom lodging (**Photos 60, 61**) is on the ground floor of a redeveloped high-rise condominium in an old downtown section near Hung Hom Station, the terminus for the Kowloon-Canton (Guangzhou) Railway. Entry here is limited to males over the age of 18 who have no mental or physical disabilities, and the age of the entrants is concentrated in the 30s and 40s age cohorts. About 90% of the entrants are receiving CSSA public assistance, and they are in a program of vocational training that includes using computers. There is a certain percentage of residents here who will be able to find work through this program and transfer to private or public housing, but there are also many who will not advance as far as finding jobs. As one staff member relates, "They won't find work, they won't continue, that's the common worry for many of these people, but the number one problem is, they don't adapt well to society, they don't get along well with other people. That's why, while they're living here, we try to get them to work on that most of all." Here they are helped to polish their interpersonal skills and increase their adaptability to society, with the number one goal of finding a job.

The Lok Fu lodgings operated by the NAAC (Neighborhood Association Advisory Council) (**Photo 62**) is located in an area lined with high-rise residential buildings and large shopping centers fairly close to the MTR Lok Fu Station. At this lodging, apart from the homeless, they also take in long-term clients and people released from jail. They also have an emergency lodging facility for domestic violence victims and battered women, and the elderly suffering from dementia and other problems, so the spectrum of entrants is quite broad. For this reason, the aid program does not stop with assistance finding work and counseling, but as part of the aid for returning to society, they have instituted group circles with the entrants doing service work, and they are experimenting with types of aid that lead to empowerment of the residents. And for the elderly with problems of dementia or quarreling, they are proactive in making introductions and referrals to old people's homes and other facilities for when they leave the lodging. Their responses in this way to a broad and diverse stratum of the housing-poor are unique and constitute an experiment in aid-giving not seen elsewhere. Because of this, oversight by the Social Welfare Dept. is relatively strong, and there is a strong flavor to the aid of being handled 'from the top down' according to the directions of the officials in charge.

The Salvation Army's Yee Ong lodging is operated in a space in a high-rise condominium standing on a landfill near the airport line's Kowloon Station (**Photo 63**). Although the lodgings' capacity is 40, since the facilities are small for this number, 30 entrants are divided up from 6 to 14 people to a room, and they live in a rather cramped environment. Entrance is restricted to males, and the average age is 40. Apart from those who are both unemployed and housing-poor, there are also entrants suffering from mental illness or alcoholism. Because of this, psychiatric physicians and hospital social workers give specialized aid to the entrants with these problems. However, although through this means outside intervention aid is proactively introduced, as social worker Yik complains, "Since the social workers belong to different organizations, there is no opportunity for them to sit down together and discuss cases." So the tendency is for aid here to be limited to the individual separate cases, and at present they are not being tied together in an overall aid system.

This is an overview of the workings at three of the low-cost dormitory-style lodgings. The operations at these lodgings respond to the housing-poor with diverse backgrounds, and in this uniquely Hong Kong manner have created assistance that is connected to self-support and employment. With regards especially to the homeless, as Mr. Chan at the Social Welfare Dept. relates, "Because mental health care has been done very well, the connections between the homeless and society have become stronger. This has been shown in the result that half of the formerly homeless have found occupations." We can admit that there is impressive effectiveness to some extent in the aid for the homeless through the low-cost dormitory-style lodgings. On the other hand, there are still many problems and issues. Looking ahead, if the economy improves and the numbers of housing-poor decline, one can predict that the operation of these lodgings will become financially strained, and it is possible the quality of services for the entrants will be lowered. In the future, together with strengthening the liaison of all the social workers, an important issue will be the further expansion of aid and a flexible response to each case, even as the aid broadly covers the diverse housing-poor stratum in accordance with economic and social conditions.

(Nanami INADA)

3-2-3. Taipei

The shelters in Taipei City that have functions of self-support assistance are the Peace House and the Taipei City *Yumin* (vagabond) Holding Facility (hereafter referred to as the holding facility) which the Taipei City government's Dept. of Social Welfare established as a 'Yumin Halfway House.' The reason both facilities are called halfway houses is because they are not final living quarters for the homeless people who have entered. The entrants, after receiving counseling and aid from the social workers while they are here, will be divided up individually case by case and go to old people's homes or other rest centers, return to their homes, or go to work and be self-supporting. A brief introduction to these two facilities was given in "Homeless Aid Projects and Urban Space in Taipei" by T. Mizuuchi, Y. Matsumura, and R. Yamada in *Shelterless*, no. 13, July 2002 (in Japanese). We will try to repeat that report as little as possible and present basic information about the shelters and new developments learned from an interview survey in September 2004.

While the homeless fall under the Dept. of Social Welfare, the various aid measures for them are divided up for expedience into those for the 'socially homeless' and the 'economically homeless.' *Yumin* is the word for the homeless in common use in Taiwan, and with regards to shelters, the holding facility gets mainly the social *yumin* who are hindered in continuing their livelihood, and Peace House gets mainly the economic *yumin* who have the ability to work and take care of themselves. However, our impression is that the Dept. of Social Welfare adequately recognizes that it is difficult to clearly divide the socially homeless from the economically homeless, and since the social workers respond flexibly and in close cooperation, the distinction and the division of functions is at most an expedient.

(1) Taipei City's *Yumin* (Vagabond) Holding Facility

Taipei City's Homeless Holding Facility (or Taipei Homeless Shelter) is a publicly funded and operated facility and is located on Yuantong Road in Chungho City, Taiwan County, which is adjacent to Taipei City's southwestern boundaries. The facility's surroundings are a mixed zone of residential areas and commercial facilities as can be widely seen in Taiwan. At present they say there are no complaints from the nearby residents. The outside of the holding facility has been decorated with colorful tiles by entrants doing public works labor, and the interior is invisible, surrounded by a high wall. Many area residents are not aware that this is a holding facility (**Photo 64**). The entrance, with a steel gate and a security camera, fits more the image of a holding facility, but there is no restriction on the entrants going in and out every day, and if one applies and gives a reason, one can freely go far away and stay out overnight.

Table 15. *Yumin* Halfway House Age Structure of Entrants (2002)

| | up to 29 yrs | 30-39 yrs | 40-49 yrs | 50-59 yrs | 60-69 yrs | 70 yrs + |
|-------------------------------|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------|
| Peace House | 12% | 17% | 29% | 26% | 12% | 4% |
| <i>Yumin</i> Holding Facility | 6% | 16% | 32% | 22% | 12% | 12% |

Source: Taipei City Government Social Bureau "Year 91 *Yumin* Projects Report"

Lined up along the left inside the entrance are men's and women's isolation rooms left over from the SARS outbreak, a nursing room for the seriously ill, a recreation room, a library, etc. To the right inside the entrance is another entrance to a two-storey building, and inside it the first floor is used for the entrants' living space, and the second floor for staff members' offices and storage rooms. The entrants' living space is structured with one room for women, five for men, shower rooms, a guard room, an a nurse's room surrounding a central atrium-like communal space that is used for eating and recreation (**Photo 65**). Two-tier bunk beds are lined up in each room, and the capacity is a total of 84 entrants, 10 women and 74 men. As of September 29, 2004, there were 53 males and 9 females for a total of 62 entrants, but because ten of the men and three of the women had been hospitalized, there were actually 49 people staying at the facility. This facility, as already stated, mainly targets the socially homeless, and many entrants are taken from the facility to designated hospitals in Taipei City. There were also quite a few people in wheelchairs or who needed walkers, or people who seemed to have some physical or mental handicaps. One can see in **Table 15** that compared to Peace House, which will be described later, the proportion of the elderly here is somewhat higher. At both facilities the ratio of men to women is about 9:1, and there are many more males.

The holding facility's interior is set up in a way that makes surveillance easy. This is related to the history of this facility, which was constructed in 1968. Its earlier use was as a holding facility for deserters from the Kuomintang army, which had fled to Taiwan from the mainland. In Taipei, the deserters' holding facility was converted into a *yumin* holding facility under police jurisdiction in 1956, and from those circumstances the present facilities were built in Chungho City in 1968 and the deserters moved here. Until 1991 when this facility came under the Dept. of Social Welfare's jurisdiction, half of the homeless in Taipei City were held forcibly under police supervision based on the 'Taiwan Province *Yumin* Detention Law' put into effect on June 12, 1968 and the 'Taipei City *Yumin* Detention Law' put into effect on June 12, 1973. When the homeless officially changed from being targets for detention to targets for protection was only after the 'Taipei City *Yumin* Guidance Law' (Sept. 27, 1994) and the 'Taiwan Province *Yumin* Guidance Law' (Nov. 26, 1994) came into effect.

The main staff involved with aid measures as of September 2004 were a director, three social workers, and two nurses. In addition, there were six staff members working as the hospital van driver, cleaners, cooks, and maintenance workers. Of these, three were working here as a

substitute for military service. When we first visited in the spring of 2002, at the entrance to the living space there was a police officer on duty 24 hours a day, but from 2003 on this duty was entrusted to a private security company. Originally, the main purpose of the guard's job was not the surveillance of the inmates, but so that someone could admit the homeless late at night when no staff were present. They say the change came amidst the activation of the private sector and cost-cutting by the government. When jurisdiction moved from the police to the Dept. of Social Welfare, the status of the facility was vague at first, but this was one of the big changes that came when the facility's place in the Dept. of Social Welfare's organizational structure was clarified. At present the facility has been placed under the Taipei City Charity Institute of the Dept. of Social Welfare's Section 4, Elderly Welfare Division, and so the employees' positions and the budgeting process have become secure. However, this positioning is excessive, and big restructuring can be expected in the near future.

Next, let us describe the aid services provided at the holding facility. Naturally there are the everyday life services, providing three meals a day, showers, laundry, and clothing. There is a health assessment, and counseling and the setting up of a support plan by social workers. In cases of poor health where urgent treatment is needed, in parallel with free enrollment in the national health insurance and applications for livelihood assistance, steps are taken for either visiting or admittance to hospitals. At once every two weeks intervals, there is an exam by a doctor at the holding facility, and based on the results, medications are prescribed and dispensed. All these medical services are basically free. Apart from this, three days a week outside groups perform aid activities of a spiritual nature. On Tuesdays, it is the *Cijihui* (a Buddhist charity introduced previously); on Thursdays, a Protestant religious group; and on Saturdays, teachers and students of social work from Shihsin University. There are not many entrants here without health problems and who can work, but when they occasionally show up, there are job workshops in cooperation with the city's Dept. of Labor.

The thing emphasized most in the separate support plan proposals is to investigate the families who have support obligations and to identify the locales of the entrants' family registry. If the whereabouts of family with support obligations is learned, basically the cases are disposed of by sending the inmate back home. However, in these cases, often the inmate does not want to go home and the family does not want to accept them. Rather than automatically forcing them to go home, social workers and the social welfare agencies involved will step in and try to mediate a solution. In Chinese society family ties are very important, and because they are so important, one can assume that once they are broken, it is not so easy to mend them. Amidst the shift from 'detention and surveillance' under the police administration to 'protection and guidance' under the social welfare administration, the nature of these so-called 'home return dispositions' will probably be questioned in the future. In cases where the elderly have impairments and the family cannot be discovered or the family ties cannot be mended, they will be connected to some kind of public welfare facility, but then the locale of the family registry becomes a problem. If their registry is in Taipei City, there is no problem, but if it is somewhere else, the social welfare offices there will be contacted and asked to come and take the inmate away. That is why this holding facility is called a 'homeless halfway house,' because they stay here receiving everyday sustenance and medical services until they can find someplace to go where they can finally settle.

(Yoshihisa MATSUMURA)

(2) Peace House (Ping'anju)

The publicly-established, privately-operated shelter Peace House is in the Kueisui neighborhood of Tatung district near the center of Taipei City, and the surroundings are inner-city mixed commercial and residential. Although it is not large, it is near Taipei Bridge which is a gathering spot for construction day laborers. Because rental apartments that are cheap even for Taipei are concentrated here, it is an area where many former day laborers have come to reside (**Photo 66**). The Dept. of Social Welfare owns the Ping'anju building and its practical operation has

been entrusted to the Catholic Our Lady of the Sacred Heart Association since it opened in 1992. Our Lady of the Sacred Heart is a group originally organized around a priest from Belgium, and it is said that the shelter's operation draws on experience from Belgium. But inside the facility there is absolutely no proselytizing.

Peace House uses the fourth through eighth floors of an eight-storey building. On the fourth floor are the office, conference room, and counseling room, on the fifth floor two tier bunk beds are lined up in the women's quarters, likewise on the seventh floor for the men, and the eighth floor is used for storage, a laundry room, and a place for drying clothes (**Photo 67**). The holding capacity is 15 women and 40 men for a total of 55. There is a full-time staff of seven, of whom three have social worker credentials. There is no nursing staff as at the holding facility. The entrants are told to go out and look for work, so they may not stay inside the facility during the day without a special reason. In this, it differs greatly from the holding facility. Health assessments, free enrollment in the national health insurance, and applications for livelihood assistance are made through liaison with the Dept. of Social Welfare's social workers, so entrants requiring urgent medical attention can visit hospitals for free. In addition to providing necessities and services for everyday life, about once every two months they make small excursions, and often people who have already left the facility participate in these.

Proposing of individual support plans and disposition of cases is similar to the *Yumin* Holding Facility, but because at Peace House they accept mainly the economically homeless who have the ability to work and take care of themselves, in comparison with the holding facility the number of entrants receiving livelihood assistance payments or who are prospective entrants to public welfare facilities is very small. Because of this, how the entrants at Peace House are guided from finding jobs to self-support is a bigger issue, and the self-support aid functions are more strongly needed than at the holding facility. However, at Peace House, although they do make some job referrals themselves, they are not very proactive, and we were even mistakenly told that they privately take kickback referral fees from the entrants. What Peace House emphasizes towards finding jobs is raising the entrants' desire to work, posting help wanted information that comes in from the Taipei City Dept. of Labor's 'street friends' work station (to be introduced later) and various other sources, and encouraging the entrants to look for work on their own. In other words, Peace House itself does not create employment opportunities or do referrals, but connects the entrants to help wanted information and true to its halfway house role, continues providing spiritual guidance and living space during the process from finding a job to self-support.

According to their records from January through December 2003, 635 people were served at Peace House, among whom 359 people received work guidance, and 258 of these found jobs; 99 were still looking for work. This is a success rate of 72%. The majority of those who found jobs looked for them on their own. Those who were employed through the 'street friends' workstation were surprisingly few, only about 50 people. The main job occupations were as cleaners, guard men, and construction laborers, and for all these the majority are day laborers. Many people continued to live at Peace House while they went to work until they could save enough money to pay rent. In some cases of spendthrifts, social workers would intervene and manage their money. They say that if someone is healthy and really wants to work, they can find work within a few days of entry and can leave after a few months. In Taipei City, the rent for a cheap 6-mat sized apartment is about 4,000 to 6,000 Taiwan dollars a month (one Taiwan dollar equals about 3 cents US), and the guarantee deposit money is at most two month's rent. Since they can earn at least 16,000 to 18,000 Taiwan dollars a month in such day laborer jobs, the barriers to self-support housing are lower than in Japan. However, this is unstable work, and there are cases where people after leaving Peace House repeatedly change jobs and then enter the facility once again. Nevertheless, it is a fact that a substantial stratum exists across Taiwan doing day labor and other unstable work, and the hurdles put in the way of self-support assistance are lower than in Japan.

85% of the operating funds for the publicly-established, privately-run Peace House are

subsidies from the Dept. of Social Welfare, and the remaining 15% are contributed as aid from Our Lady of the Sacred Heart. Since the Dept. of Social Welfare owns the building, they don't have to pay rent. The budget criteria for subsidies is 350 Taiwan dollars per person per day, and each month Peace House records the number of people served with the Dept. of Social Welfare, applies for, and receives the subsidy money. Peace House has always been run under Our Lady of the Sacred Heart since 1992, but beginning in 2001 competitive bids were solicited for its operation, and Sacred Heart continued after being voted on by government officials and interested parties. The operating contract is for three years and after that in their final evaluation if they get the highest rating they can continue for another three years, but after that there will again be competitive bidding. This kind of bidding for commissions to do social welfare work is not a special case, and this practice was introduced all over Taiwan from about the year 2000.

Table 16. Entry Routes to the *Yumin* Holding Facility and Peace House

| | | Police Route | Social Welfare | Medical Facility | Self-initiated | Other | Total |
|------------------------------------|------------------|--------------|----------------|------------------|----------------|-----------|-------------|
| July 1999 To August 2000 | Holding Facility | 146 52% | 76 27% | 45 16% | 14 5% | 0 0% | 281 100% |
| | Peace House | 90 26% | 136 39% | 30 9% | 90 26% | 0 0% | 346 100% |
| | Total | 236 | 212 | 75 | 104 | 0 | 627 |
| January 2002 To Nov. 2002 | Holding Facility | 308 62% | 117 23% | 54 11% | 13 3% | 7 1% | 499 100% |
| | Peace House | 27 9% | 62 21% | 39 13% | 91 31% | 76 26% | 295 100% |
| | Total | 335 | 179 | 93 | 104 | 83 | 794 |

Source: Taipei City Social Welfare Bureau "Year 88 Second Half and Year 89 Results of *Yumin* Guidance" (publ. 9.20.2000)

and Taipei City Government Social Bureau "Year 91 *Yumin* Projects Report" (publ. 1.10.2003)

Finally, we want to do a simple analysis of the channels of entrance and the exit destinations of the holding facility and Peace House from past data and recent interview information. From **Table 16** showing the entry routes to both facilities, we can see that the proportion coming via the police is high as it was previously. However, because of the expansion of the Dept. of Social Welfare's outreach staff and the increase in homeless assistance groups in Taipei City on the heels of the SARS problem in the spring of 2003, in our interviews at the holding facility we were told that the majority of entrants came through the social welfare channel, and about three quarters of the rest came via the police. Even in those cases recorded as coming via the police, apparently many of them began with reports to the police by local residents, and then on the way to investigate, the police officer contacted the Dept. of Social Welfare or social workers at local offices or the holding facility, and a social worker accompanied the entrant to the facility. At Peace House, the proportion of those who ask for help themselves is increasing, and those who come via the police are decreasing, but this is probably influenced by the fact that the existence of Peace House has penetrated to the homeless in Taipei and to the people who assist them.

As for exit destinations from the holding facility, while the number going to public welfare facilities is decreasing, the proportion of 'work guidance' or 'being returned home' is increasing rapidly (**Table 17**). According to a Dept. of Social Welfare social worker, the homeless who meet the conditions for acceptance at public welfare facilities is certainly decreasing, and because an administrative network related to social welfare has been built in recent years, 'work guidance' and 'being returned home' have increased. The increase in the proportion of 'work guidance' as the exit destination from Peace House is remarkable, and this trend was confirmed in our interview. In

Taipei, the stream flowing from ‘aid on the street’ to ‘interim housing facilities’ to the Dept. of Labor’s ‘work guidance’ (which will be described in the next chapter) is rapidly being improved, and we got the impression that a highly effective aid system is being built through close mutual networking and the clarification of the allocating of responsibilities.

Table 17. Exit Destinations for Holding Facility and Peace House Residents

| | | Old People's Homes, etc | Mental Health Care Fac. | Mentally Handi-capped Care Facilities, etc. | Yingmin House | Social Welfare Fac. outside Taipei | Work Guidance | Returned Home | Total |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|--|------------------|--|------------------|------------------|-------------|
| July 1999 To August 2000 | Holding Facility | 29 26% | 29 26% | 8 7% | 7 6% | 5 4% | 5 4% | 30 27% | 113 100% |
| | Peace House | 8 7% | 0 0% | 0 0% | 3 3% | 0 0% | 51 43% | 56 47% | 118 100% |
| | Total | 37 | 29 | 8 | 10 | 5 | 56 | 86 | 231 |
| January 2002 To Nov. 2002 | Holding Facility | 5 2% | 1 0% | 0 0% | 1 0% | 8 4% | 71 31% | 142 62% | 228 100% |
| | Peace House | 10 4% | 0 0% | 1 0% | 0 0% | 0 0% | 195 83% | 30 13% | 236 100% |
| | Total | 15 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 8 | 266 | 172 | 464 |

Source: Same as Table 16.

(Yoshihisa MATSUMURA, Toru NAKAYAMA)

3-3. Group Homes in Seoul

South Korea's homeless aid policy since the 1990s, through projects providing large capacity shelters, was seen as largely successful in providing short term lodging, but as late as 2004 there had been no change in the policies based on shelters, and loud complaints about the current homeless situation began to be heard. Also, in the 2003 revision of the Social Welfare Projects Law, the problem of constructing a system for the homeless appeared, but this systematization, rather than considering the needs of the homeless, actually mainly dealt with the concerns of the facilities and service providers. Some said that, as a result, the conflicts between shelters and other facilities worsened, and negative perceptions regarding the homeless increased. In other words, the present aid policies themselves are contributing to the social ostracism of the homeless.

In contrast to this situation, among private groups who provide aid to the homeless, there is a growing trend to promote measures adapted to the needs of the homeless themselves and not based around the government's shelter policy. Concretely, while they are lobbying the government to enact policies that respond to the needs of the homeless and the housing-insecure, private organizations themselves have begun operating NPO housing and group homes. In this section we will describe two private group homes that have been established in Seoul, the Noshilsa *Sarangbang* and the Han Ult'ari.

(1) Noshilsa *Sarangbang*

The Noshilsa *Sarangbang* is a facility opened in December 2002, mainly by the younger staff of the citizens' group Noshilsa, for the purpose of providing housing for those living alone and letting them live stably as local citizens of the neighborhood. One of the staff involved in its

opening had observed lodging houses in Osaka functioning as welfare housing in 2003 and wanted to introduce a similar system to South Korea. This facility resembles a ‘welfare mansion’ in Japan. Unlike in custodial public shelters, the ideal of the organization here is to give each person a separate room and build a base that allows them to support a lifestyle. They put their heart into this aid so the entrants can live more or less as neighborhood citizens.

The staff of the Noshilsa *Sarangbang* is made up of former shelter workers and others who have been involved with homeless problems. That is to say, people who were laid off due to the reduction in scale of the shelters afterwards joined the citizens’ group Noshilsa (whose name means people who promote the welfare and rights of the homeless), and in December 2002 opened this *sarangbang*. Incidentally, when the *sarangbang* opened, in order to avoid clashes with the community, the word ‘shelter’ was not used? Instead it was called a *basuk* or lodging house. Also, according to the staff, many of the entrants go to work, and local residents in the surrounding area don’t realize that this is a facility for the homeless.

The *sarangbang* facility is in a rented two-storey ferroconcrete building that was formerly a Chinese restaurant in a mixed residential-industrial zone near Yeongdeungp’o Station (facility exterior shown in **Photo 68**). There are seven private rooms (room interior in **Photo 69**), one toilet, a shower room, and a laundry room. To renovate the building cost 8.5 million won (about ¥850,000). Building maintenance money is made up of the entrants’ user fees. They don’t just provide housing, but also food and health and social services. Concerning the entrant’s meals, they require about 80 kilograms per month, and other food commodities are supplied by the Food Bank. Two staff members regularly live together with the entrants at the facility and provide livelihood assistance.

Regarding the route of entry to this facility, there is no outreach and it is mostly by word of mouth. There are only seven rooms so the facility cannot be utilized much, but if one’s timing is right he can enter as he wishes. In the roughly one year since it opened, seven people have left the facility and at present there are another seven living there (current as of January 2004). As for the employment status of those 14 total entrants, one is irregularly employed, one is a part-time worker, three are recipients of public assistance, and 9 are day laborers. Their monthly income ranges from 800,000 won at the high end to 320,000 won at the low end, with an average monthly income of 520,000 won. The average age of the entrants is 43, with a range in age structure from 22 to 56.

At present, the citizens’ group Noshilsa is more like an NGO than an NPO, and they receive no financial subsidies at all from the government. Therefore, the facility is run on the rent the entrants pay and the group’s membership fees. In principle, they collect 120,000 won per month (about ¥12,000) in rent from each entrant (this includes food, electricity, and gas charges), but if an entrant cannot pay the rent, they will set the rent at what he can pay based on his income. On the other hand, among the 130 members of Noshilsa, made up of ordinary people and students, 30 people are paying membership fees that range from 5,000 to 20,000 won. However, the reality is that this income is insufficient, and they are accumulating a deficit at the rate of 200,000 won every month. This especially affects the wages of the staff, each of whom should be receiving 700,000 won per month, but in fact they are only paid 300,000.

Even so, as a staff member says, “I work here believing that this is my calling.” The sense of responsibility of the staff towards the work is unusually high, and from our interviews we could sense their determination to overcome the various negative factors.

(Takuya MOTOOKA)

(2) Han Ult’ari

Han Ult’ari (which means ‘one enclosure’) was opened in 2002, operated by a former staff member at a public shelter that had been closed. The characteristic of this shelter is that it is a private aid facility aimed at employment and self-support, and that it is done on a small scale in the

form of a group home.

It too is near Yeongdeungp'o Station, but in contrast to Noshilsa it is to the east on a slightly raised terrace in a zone of mixed residential and commercial use. This facility (**Photo 70**), which is in a renovated one-story traditional dwelling in an area slated to be redeveloped in the near future, consists of four rooms for living space (**Photo 71**) and a dining room/communal space. At the time of this survey, eleven people were living here (it has a capacity of 12), whose ages ranged broadly from in their 20s to their 60s, with most in their 30s or 40s. Eight were day laborers, two worked in factories, and one was employed part-time, but the jobs of the entrants were unstable, especially for those in day labor in January and February when such work is reduced and many become unemployed. Even so, the residents who thus became unemployed were advised not to accept public assistance. In order to help the entrants to successfully become self-supporting after they return to society, the manager feels that even while they are here livelihood guarantees are unnecessary.

As for activities at the facility, once a month volunteer staff are sent from a church, but normally one manager provides meals, controls the money, and carries out other livelihood assistance. However, as the manager says, "I'm not alone, all the entrants living here help out together." In the cooking, doing laundry, and cleaning the communal space, the residents together with the manager follow the principle of 'mutual help.' Also, "Unlike other facilities, this place has an 'at home' atmosphere, so one feels like going to a job. The later entrants also get used to the psychological stability that this place's atmosphere creates, and they start wanting to work." As the manager explains, he had doubts about the management system of the shelter where he used to work, and is concerned about creating an atmosphere and environment that leads smoothly to employment, self-support, and a return to society through small scale and tailored services. The results after two years: about 40-50 people have left after an average stay of one and a half years (there is no residence time limit, they can stay until they return to society), and more than half of them have re-integrated into society.

Since this facility is not officially recognized and so receives no official subsidies or assistance, it survives on the contributions of supporters and the manager's own wages from part-time work. In order not to harm the workers' self-esteem, rent is set (at a maximum of 50,000 won), but the entrants are not receiving public assistance, and so very little rent is actually collected. On the other hand, with the goal of securing operating funds and in order to provide work opportunities for entrants who are unemployed or have physical problems, they operate a self-support project center. This project center, as its basic work, does neighborhood clean-ups, does cleaning and repairs of the rooms for old people who live alone in the surrounding area, and provides a portion of the food received from the Food Bank to old people in the neighborhood. In addition, twice a month they invite solitary old people to the home and the entrants give them haircuts, do needle treatments (a kind of acupuncture), etc. When it was first opened, the home had a very bad reputation in the neighborhood, but after continuing these activities for two years, there are some local people who say, "This facility is indispensable for our neighborhood."

The operation of the Noshilsa *Sarangbang* and Han Ult'ari described here depend greatly on the passion and dedication of their managers, but one has to say that these facilities are in really severe circumstances financially. As already stated, because such private assistance measures for the homeless are receiving no aid or subsidies from the government at present, these organizations and groups are working independently. We think that in the future it will be necessary for them to not just operate independently, but to link up in a partnership with government on an equal basis. For example, one possible scenario is for the government, in order to develop a privately operated housing aid plan for the homeless, to lease land or buy up vacant houses and open them up to private groups. Or, concerning housing improvements in *jjogbang* areas (areas where unauthorized lodgings that rent by the day or month without deposit money are concentrated), one can conceive of forming private aid projects in old and deteriorated housing. In whichever case, we need to pay

attention to what extent the government will recognize the role of private organizations and how they will position such small-scale private facilities.

(Takuya MOTOOKA)

4. The Homeless Aid Network in Taejon City

Taejon is a regional city about 150 km south of Seoul in the central part of South Korea with a population of about 1.44 million (in 2004, the fifth largest in the country). It is known as a science and technology city which held a Science EXPO in 1993, and is the home of the high-tech center Taedeok Research Park.

Aid for the homeless in Taejon began in 1998 when the Homeless Measures Association was organized, and since then, with the active participation of private groups, a comparatively well-organized system has been being built. Here we give an overview of Taejon's homeless aid network, and discuss its strong points and remaining issues.

(1)The Homeless Situation in Taejon

After the IMF crisis, partly due to the inadequacy of facilities, the situation was that there were about 200 to 300 people living on the streets around Taejon Station, but at present (as of June, 2004) through the construction of shelters and other facilities (even though their holding capacity is small), the number of homeless has dropped to 85. There are also about 500 people in the *jjogbang* area in Chung'ang-dong near Taejon Station living in tiny rooms of 2-3 mats in size.

(2) Homeless Measures Association

Homeless aid in Taejon was spearheaded by the sidewalk consulting centers begun by the Anglican Church and the Social Welfare Halls Association in response to the sudden increase of homeless people after the IMF crisis, and have developed centered around the Homeless Measures Association which was created by a gathering of private groups in 1998. The presence of municipal bodies is weak, and a structure can be seen wherein the private groups have worked proactively on their own.

The Homeless Measures Association is a place where the various groups involved with

homeless aid can exchange views, and while making adjustments to eliminate overlap and gaps in the services among groups, they have effectively distributed homeless consulting centers and the various specialized *shimt'eo* (shelters), food halls, clinics, and *jjogbang* consulting centers, and have built a system that broadly covers the homeless, the *jjogbang* dwellers, the elderly, and the handicapped (Figure 3). The current form of the system described below dates from the beginning of 2004.

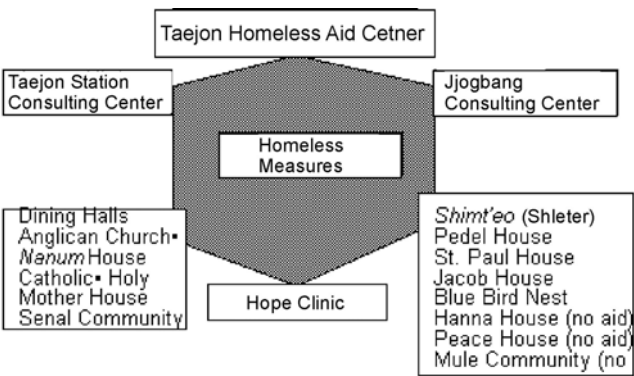


Figure 3. Organizational Chart of Homeless Measures Association

(3) The Flow of Homeless Aid (Figure 4)

The services the homeless receive at the first stage are meals at the dining halls in three locations in Taejon (Photo 72), free physical exams at the Hope Clinic (Photo 73) and emergency aid at the Homeless Consultation and Protection Center and the Taejon Station Consulting Center.

At Homeless Consultation and Protection Center that we visited, operated by the social welfare foundation Peace Village, they were delivering services from providing showers, clothing, and a temporary place to sleep, to assessments for getting connected to second-stage aid facilities. Emergency protection and assessments are also done at the Taejon Station Consulting Center.

For second-stage facilities, there are living facilities for the handicapped and elderly, seven *shimt'eo* (shelters), and a vagabond facility. The seven *shimt'eo* are clearly dedicated separately for self-help aid, self-support aid, alcohol dependency treatment (**Photo 74**), families, women, etc. Assessment is easy to do, and it is possible to select a facility that matches an individual's

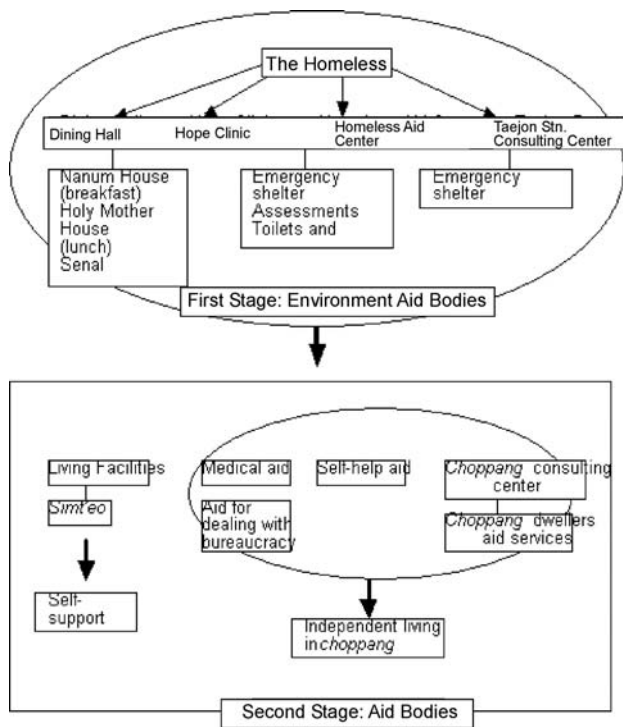


Figure 4. Structure of Taejon's Homeless Aid

circumstances. There is, however, no dedicated shelter for the mentally ill, so, with the mental patient's consent, they are often admitted to the vagabond facility. Also, at the stage-two aid facilities there is another assessment, and if they are judged to be capable of self-support, they are sent to live in self-support houses or *jjogbang* and are given livelihood assistance or self-support assistance. In the largest *jjogbang* area of Taejon in Chung'ang-dong (**Photos 75 and 76**) a *jjogbang* consulting center (as described in the Chapter 2) has been set up. At the *jjogbang* consulting center they provide information, counseling, and other livelihood assistance for *jjogbang* dwellers and the poor who are on the brink of homelessness. They give administrative aid such as in registration of residency and applications for basic livelihood assistance payments, and they try to solve the fundamental problems of homelessness by preventing people from becoming homeless.

(4) Problems with the Aid Structure

As mentioned above, the homeless aid system in Taejon, in comparison with Seoul, gives an impression of being structurally well organized, but in our interviews it became clear that it is still undergoing development.

First, there is the problem of command of the network. Although the groups involved do exchange information through the Homeless Measures Association and it serves as a place for coordination between the various groups, since there is no executive administrative organization, there is no commanding body that can arbitrate the differences of opinion of the various groups and can hammer out comprehensive policies that bind together all the participating groups. Even among these groups, there are voices that say it is necessary to strengthen the mediating power of the Homeless Measures Association and consolidate and control the homeless aid system.

Next is the budget problem. Compared to Seoul and other big cities, in Taejon the subsidies for the homeless from both the national and local governments are meager. Actually, there are shelters which were forced to close because of a lack of subsidies. There are also facilities which receive subsidies and ones that don't (see **Figure 4**). In the subsidies for medical expenses, some places have more than enough and some too little, and effective disbursement is a problem. In this sense as well, a unifying and mediating body is called for, as mentioned above.

They also are faced with the dilemma that Taejon's homeless aid system is so well organized that the homeless will flock here from elsewhere: "If you go to Taejon, you can get clothing, food, shelter, and medical care through their network."

However, even while admitting these problems, one can see that the foundation for a basic homeless aid system has been established. In the future development of the ‘Taejon System’ an important factor will be whether the Homeless Measures Association expands its functions and takes on the role of controlling the various aid organizations.

(Yusuke ABE, Geerhardt KORNATOWSKI)

5. Employment Assistance in Taipei

5-1. Employment Assistance through the Taipei Dept. of Labor’s Street Friends’ Work Station

In Taipei City, the homeless are divided for expediency into ‘social pattern’ and ‘economic pattern’ homeless, and a division of responsibility has been made so that the former are dealt with by the Dept. of Social Welfare which leads them to public assistance, housing protection, and entrance to public welfare facilities, and the latter are given employment assistance by the city’s Dept. of Labor. In recent years in Taipei there is a growing tendency to refer to the homeless as ‘street friends’ (*jieyou*) and not use the traditional expression *yumin* (nomads or vagabonds). The first official use of this term, which had been suggested by the Creation Welfare Foundation, was by the Dept. of Labor. In Taipei in the late 1990s, the sudden increase in ‘economic pattern street friends’, in other words, the out-of-work homeless drew attention as a new social problem, and beginning in 2001, substantial official measures aimed at the unemployed homeless have been hammered out by the Dept. of Labor. First, we want to briefly describe the conditions in Taiwan that form the background for that.

(1) Employment Conditions of Low-Wage Earner

From the late 1980s to the early 1990s when the Asian NIEs were booming, in Taiwan, which was numbered among the four Asian ‘little dragons,’ at the same time that a high economic growth rate

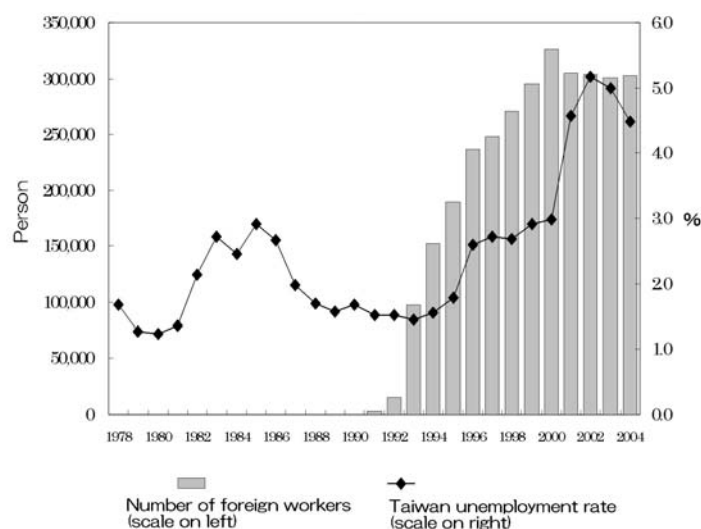


Figure 5. Taiwan Employment Conditions
Source: Office of Government Statistics ed. "Republic of China Taiwan District Human Resources Monthly Statistical Report No. 366," May, 2004, and Government Labor Committee ed. "Republic of China Taiwan District Human Resources Monthly Statistical Report No. 139," August 2004

of about 7% per annum was being recorded, nearly full employment conditions continued with the unemployment rate at about 1 to 2% (see **Figure 5**). Recently in Taiwan, as in Japan, with the population growth rate falling and the higher educational level of young people, the young are avoiding work in manufacturing and construction, and especially work of the ‘3 K’ type (*kitanai, kiken, kitsui* in Japanese, better expressed in English as the ‘3 D’s’: dirty, dangerous, and difficult) has developed serious labor shortages. These conditions combined with the rise of the labor movement caused a rise in the average monthly wage in manufacturing from NT\$15,356 in 1987 to NT\$30,797 in 1994 (the

exchange rate then was about NT\$1=¥12). On the other hand, following the lifting of the ban on family visits to the mainland in 1987, in 1990 the Taiwanese government allowed Taiwanese companies to invest in mainland China, and so many of the Taiwanese manufacturing firms suffering from labor shortages and high wages began shifting their production base to the Chinese

mainland. After that the restrictions on travel, communications, and trade with the mainland were gradually loosened and there was a vigorous move into China by Taiwanese firms wanting to maintain their international competitiveness by shifting the focus of production, and this resulted in a hastening of the hollowing out of industry, especially manufacturing, in Taiwan.

In these circumstances, in a strategy meant to solve labor shortages and restore the international competitiveness of domestic industries, in the late 1980s Taiwanese industrialists began asking the government to allow them to admit foreign workers. The Taiwanese government in 1991 partially lifted the ban on foreign workers, but only for about 3,000 and only for government-sponsored public works construction projects. But later the list of industries that could accept foreign workers was expanded to include general manufacturing, etc. The number of foreign workers in Taiwan exceeded 150,000 by 1994, and since 2000 has increased to over 300,000. Meanwhile, Taiwan's unemployment rate has increased (see **Figure 5**). As of the end of July 2004, there were (officially) 302,000 foreign laborers working in Taiwan. In terms of nationality, 102,000 were Thais, 87,000 were Filipinos, 75,000 were Vietnamese, and 38,000 were Indonesians. By industry, there were 167,000 in manufacturing, 123,000 worked as nurses, domestics, or in services, and slightly less than 10,000 in the construction industry. It is not easy to estimate the number of illegal foreign workers, but according to recent statistics from the Taiwan Police Bureau, nearly 20,000 are arrested annually for overstaying their visas, and one can assume that there are at least several tens of thousands of illegal workers, mostly in manufacturing and the construction industry.

In Taiwan, it was explained to us, in the circumstances of active hiring of foreign workers, and the decline of work opportunities due to the hollowing out of industry, first of all the foreign workers came into competition with Taiwanese workers who were in insecure jobs, and from the late 1990s onward the rapid increase in out-of-work homeless became a social problem. For example, the daily wage for a construction work day laborer was formerly about NT\$2,500 to NT\$3,000, but because for foreign workers the minimum wage level was NT\$15,840 per month, or the equivalent of about NT\$500 per day, wage levels in the construction day labor market fell, and one could say that the most vulnerable layer of Taiwanese laborers had their jobs stolen from them. Against the total Taiwanese working population of about 10 million, this was a limited adoption of about 300,000 foreign workers. Overall, it could be seen as a plus, but for the vulnerable class of domestic laborers in both construction and manufacturing, the fact is there were considerable impacts. Taiwan's minimum wage, at NT\$6,900 in 1987, was raised in steps, but from 1997 until the present it has stayed at NT\$15,840.

Taipei City's Dept. of Labor Employment Service Center, the equivalent of Japan's 'Hello Work,' is on Changteh Road Sec.3, fairly close to the Confucius Temple in the northernmost part of Tatung Ward. There are Employment Service Stations under the jurisdiction of the Dept. of Labor in each ward in Taipei City, but the Employment Service Center is the largest of these and serves as the headquarters. A 'Street Friends' Station' specializing in employment assistance for economic-pattern street friends was established in 2001 on the 3rd floor of a building on this property. On the third floor there are an office space/reception area and interview rooms, a toilet and a shower that street friends can use before their interviews, and a storeroom of clothing that they are provided with just before their interviews. Ironically, on the second floor of the same building there is a Foreign Labor Work Station specializing in job introductions and supervision for foreign workers that was opened in the late 1990s. The first floor is used for job training classrooms (**Photo 77**).

Before the Street Friends' Work Station was opened in 2001, there were no particular budget measures for employment assistance aimed at the out-of-work homeless in Taipei, and such aid was carried out within the framework of general employment assistance based on Article 24 of the Employment Services Law enacted in May, 1992. In this law, the targets for employment assistance were defined as: 1. women supporting a family; 2. the middle aged (from 45 to 65 years old); 3. the mentally or physically handicapped; 4. aboriginal people; 5. households on public

assistance with a member capable of working; and 6. other persons for whom the central government considered it necessary. Homeless people were not listed in the law. In Taipei, because the problem of the unemployed homeless became apparent ahead of the rest of the country in the late 1990s, they recognized the need for a response and budget measures, and from about 1999 on the city's Dept. of Labor started dealing with the problem on its own. The Taipei Dept. of Labor's official measures were put into effect by establishing the office of Street Friends' Work Station and allocating a budget to it in parallel with the 'Continuing Employment Process' launched by the Government Institute Labor Committee in 2001. The 'Continuing Employment Process' of 2001 continued from 2002 to 2005 as the 'Plural Employment Development Proposal' and with just this name change, its measures have been continued by the central government. Whether or not to include the unemployed homeless among the targets for employment aid from now on is a big issue.

(2) Daily Services

Next, we will describe the everyday workings of the Street Friends' Work Station. First of all, when a homeless person comes to the window at the Work Station, their identity card is checked. Since having an identity card is a precondition for employment referral, if someone does not have one, they will apply for one by contacting a social worker at the Dept. of Social Welfare. If there is no problem with the identity card, they are asked to fill in a job-wanted registration form that asks about their work experience, what kind of job they are seeking, working conditions, etc. Then, while checking the help wanted information, they proceed to casework. If they find an appropriate help wanted listing, then the job applicant is given a new set of clothes and their appearance is cleaned up, and usually a staff member from the Street friends' Work Station will accompany them to an interview and help things along while making sure the job fits. In some cases, the applicants go alone to the interview, but in such cases they are given NT\$500 (15US\$) in transportation costs for each time (the current exchange rate is NT\$1=approx. 3.4 yen). Concerning the timing and method of paying wages, the Work Station staffer asks the preferences of the homeless person first and then negotiates with the employer. On the other hand, if an unemployed homeless person wants job training, he is connected to a free job-training program run by the Dept. of Labor. There are people who go to the Street friends' Work Station right off the street, but there are many who use Peace House, described in the chapter 2 of this monograph, as a shelter in going from securing a job to being self-supporting in their own housing.

Concerning follow-up, even after an unemployed homeless person finds a job, the Work Station does a follow-up survey for three months. If there are problems, they will try to mediate with the employer. If there are no problems, the case is closed. The details of their work assistance projects arise by year, but in 2001, in order to encourage the creation of job opportunities, there were subsidies paid out to firms that hired out-of-work homeless people. In 2004, from the Dept. of Social Welfare's funds, livelihood assistance payments of NT\$5,000 were made in installments to homeless people who had found jobs, and deposit money and one month's rent were provided for rental housing. The Street Friends' Work Station's own working budget, NT\$1.03 million in 2003 for 'Services Promoting Street Friends' Employment' and NT\$1.4 million in 2004 for 'Services Promoting Economic-Pattern Street Friends' Employment' certainly cannot be called ample, but by utilizing all the various social resources in close liaison with the aid network, they are developing effective activities aimed at from finding a job to living independently in dwellings.

Street Friends' Work Station in 2003 had a staff of eight outreach workers and eight office workers for a total of sixteen. In 2004, it operated with 30 temporary employees and three supervisors, of whom one was a social worker. In 2004, the temporary workers mainly did outreach. They were sent out in twos and threes to each of the work service stations in Taipei and were coordinated by the three supervisors. The number varies from year to year, but for the outreach staff they also use people employed under public works projects, and actively try to use people who

have homeless experience, including some who are on the current staff. Needless to say, the outreach workers play a big role in connecting the homeless from the street to the everyday office work of Street Friends' Work Station. There is a great advantage having outreach staff who have actually experienced and understand homelessness and can talk with the homeless on the same level. Most of the people they employ in this way are beginning to take the steps to living independently, and so this is a great idea that accomplishes two goals at once. Also, although this is unthinkable in Japan, the supervisors of the office, who correspond to the staffers at 'Hello Work,' help out with meal donations and *yizhen* free physical exams given by volunteers in Taipei City, they interact with the homeless who gather there, pass out help wanted information and fliers from Street Friends' Work Station, and are proactively developing publicity activities. The information on the homeless gathered on these occasions is compiled at the Work Station, and the place where each individual sleeps is shown on maps of each ward spread out on the walls. These are updated once every three months (**Photo 78**).

(3) Making Full Use of GIS

Since May 2003, based on this outreach information, a homeless geographic information system has been constructed, integrating a digital map of street friends' movements, a street friends database, and case management. Information on the homeless (including social-pattern homeless) that is gathered from outreach is first recorded on the street friends' digital map, the individual information filled in on employment wanted forms at the Work Station's reception is entered into the database, and from there it goes to case management. These three types of information are linked so that if, for example, there is a help wanted request from a firm asking for "healthy male 50-yr old, middle school graduate, who wants to be a night watchman," when the information is put into the computer, a likely candidate appears on the map on the screen, and an outreach worker can go to find the person (**Photo 79**). After a homeless person finds a job and the three-month follow-up survey period has passed, this personal information is removed from the system. About the time when this system was first developed, there was as movement to share the personal information on the homeless Street Friends' Work Station had collected with the Dept. of Social Welfare and the Police administration, but this was finally shelved, and use of the system is only permitted for employment purposes within the Street Friends' Work Station. The Dept. of Social Welfare has its own database, but the two have not been combined.

In the street friends database just described, there are normally records of personal information for about 50 unemployed homeless people, and these registered people are the object of job referrals. Although after a case is closed the registration is erased, new registrants and re-registrants are added together, and so there is always a turnover in registrations. **Table 18** shows the results of job referrals from January 2003 till June 2004. Whether by numbers of people or by number of referrals, the success rate of finding jobs in recent years shows some surprising figures. Looking at the numbers of people, in just one and a half years 456 people found jobs, but there were certainly more than a few repeaters among them, and this also includes public works jobs managed by the Dept. of Labor and the Dept. of Social Welfare. There is no comparable date from the past, but we were told that compared to the past there was little change in the ratio of males to females, but the proportions of those having graduated middle school or high school, and the age cohort younger than 45, had increased. Also, as to the type of jobs found, of a total of 485, 309 cases, or more than 60%, were in the cleaning business, followed by 48 in miscellaneous work, 36 in service work, 24 as watchmen, 17 fabricators, and 15 cooks. There were very few people looking for better work conditions through job training, and the overwhelming majority were working at jobs that didn't particular require any specialized abilities. Wages were all paid monthly, either per diem or per hour, and although some were making more than the minimum wage, there were extremely few cases who had succeeded in finding work at the average wage level. Whether or not they continued for a long time in the work they were referred to isn't traceable systematically, so a lot is

unclear about that, but there has certainly been an increase in the number of people who have set out on the path from finding work to being housed and self-supporting.

Table 18. Employment referrals for ‘economic’ street friends by the Street Friends’ Work Station in 2003 (1,910 individuals)

| Year/month | Employment referrals (by individuals) | | | By number of referrals | | |
|------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------|------------------------|----------------------|------------------|
| | Individuals referred | Individuals finding jobs | Success rate (%) | Number of referrals | Number of jobs found | Success rate (%) |
| 2003/01 | 29 | 5 | 17% | 45 | 6 | 13% |
| 2003/02 | 48 | 24 | 50% | 78 | 24 | 31% |
| 2003/03 | 45 | 20 | 44% | 71 | 20 | 28% |
| 2003/04 | 68 | 22 | 32% | 119 | 22 | 19% |
| 2003/05 | 30 | 12 | 40% | 62 | 14 | 23% |
| 2003/06 | 48 | 25 | 52% | 85 | 27 | 32% |
| 2003/07 | 42 | 39 | 93% | 76 | 40 | 53% |
| 2003/08 | 27 | 15 | 56% | 57 | 18 | 32% |
| 2003/09 | 23 | 11 | 48% | 28 | 11 | 39% |
| 2003/10 | 33 | 16 | 49% | 46 | 16 | 35% |
| 2003/11 | 46 | 26 | 57% | 72 | 26 | 36% |
| 2003/12 | 36 | 19 | 53% | 49 | 19 | 39% |
| 2004/01 | 31 | 21 | 68% | 54 | 23 | 43% |
| 2004/02 | 46 | 34 | 74% | 80 | 38 | 48% |
| 2004/03 | 58 | 40 | 69% | 101 | 45 | 45% |
| 2004/04 | 54 | 43 | 80% | 110 | 45 | 41% |
| 2004/05 | 66 | 41 | 62% | 100 | 47 | 47% |
| 2004/06 | 57 | 43 | 75% | 78 | 44 | 56% |
| Totals | 787 | 456 | 58% | 1,311 | 485 | 37% |

Source: From material provided by Street Friends’ Work Station: “Results of Executing Plan for Assisting Employment for Economic Street Friends”

(Yoshihisa MATSUMURA)

6. Housing Assistance in Hong Kong

(1) Compassionate Rehousing

In Hong Kong, where because of squatters, refugees, and sufferers from natural disasters, etc. the problems of the housing-poor and the homeless in the broadest sense have always arisen as big issues, the roles played by the Housing Authority and Housing Department, who provide more than half of public housing, are immense. Especially for the broadly-defined homeless, they provide transit shelters and mid-term interim housing for people who are not immediately qualified to move into public housing, such as people who have lost their dwellings from the government’s clearances and squatter evictions, people living in illegal flats, or migrants from the mainland who do not have Hong Kong citizenship. Interim housing in particular opens the door to people who are waiting for housing because they have not yet met the conditions qualifying them for entry into public housing, and various types of housing, from prefab dwellings, to old public housing buildings, to high-rise apartments are available. The transit shelters are only utilized by a few, but they admit unconditionally people who are in near-homeless circumstances. The transit shelter on Kwok Shui Road in Tsuen Wan District, shown in **Photo 80**, admits single men and women and married couples. At the time of our 2002 interview, of the 35 people staying there, two thirds were squatters who had been evicted.

In connection with housing assistance, we have described a number of interim housing facilities that are under the supervision of the Housing Department and the Home Affairs

Department. Where the Housing Authority and the Housing Department touch on the homeless is in the compassionate rehousing system run jointly with the Social Welfare Department. This is a system that offers public housing for individuals and families who have urgent housing problems that for social or medical reasons they are unable to solve by themselves. A social worker in the Social Welfare Department passes judgment on who is qualified. It is a system that has contrived a way to help people in divorce suits waiting for a verdict, victims of domestic violence, or the mentally ill who are trying to rebuild their families while in rehabilitation. At the time of entry, they are screened for their citizenship, income level, and assets, and based on that and consideration of the rent, it is decided whether the rent will be covered by CSSA public assistance payments or they will pay the rent themselves. In 1995, 1,853 cases were dealt with, and 1,036 in the year 2000. At present, more than 2,000 households under compassionate rehousing are distributed among public housing units across the city. If the homeless are able to meet the entrance qualifications, it is possible for them too to use compassionate rehousing as a type of self-support assistance, and there are in fact cases of the homeless actually using this system.

In the application procedure, the Social Welfare Dept.'s Family Service Center applies directly to the Social Assurance Works Section, or one applies through the social medicine section of a subsidized hospital, or through volunteer organizations or protective bodies recognized by the Social Welfare Dept. If the application passes a qualifying review and is accepted, the Social Welfare Dept. recommends the case to the Housing Department and asks for the allocation of a suitable apartment.

(Toshio MIZUUCHI)

7. Homelessness and Apartments in the Lungshan Temple Area of Taipei

(1) The Urban History of Wan Hua District

The Wan Hua District of Taipei City was formerly called Mankah, and as an old expression from the late Qing Dynasty about Taiwan's strong points, "First, the provincial capital (present-day Tainan), second, Lu (Lukang), and third, Mankah" shows, it was one of the oldest urbanized areas not only of Taipei but of Taiwan. The core of this urbanized area was formed by the commercial establishments and port facilities on the Tanshui River, and Lungshan Temple, built in the third year of Qian Long's reign (1738), and the market town around the temple. At present, the area in Wan Hua District from Lungshan Temple to the Huahsi Night Market is a well-known tourist area mentioned in every guidebook (see **Photos 81 and 82**). Additionally, as a retro area recalling old Taipei, Kweiyang Street, site of upscale restaurants during the Japanese colonial period, and the Hsimen commercial district centered around the renovated Honglou Theater, have become popular among both domestic and foreign tourists as a drinking spot where young people gather.

Wan Hua District also wears another face as expressed in the saying, 'the four drifters of Wan Hua,' meaning loose women, gamblers, vagabonds, and stray dogs. If one ventures into the back alleys off the main road along the well-worn tourist route, they are lined by old buildings jostled tightly together. Taipei's system of public brothels, which had existed since the Japanese colonial period, were after many twists and turns finally abolished at the end of March 2001, but the 'Red Line Area,' where the public brothels were concentrated and where gangsters loitered, was just a few minutes' walk from Lungshan Temple. Nowadays, most of the old public brothel buildings have been converted into restaurants with private rooms or karaoke bars. Among the neon signs saying 'tea house' or 'eating hall' on the many buildings in the night market area, more than a few are places meant for one-night encounters between men and women.

(2) Homeless People in Wan Hua

According to Taipei City's Dept. of Social Welfare's latest data (summer 2004), there are slightly more than 130 homeless in Wan Hua District, and among them more than 70 live within a one-kilometer radius of Lungshan Temple. Within Taipei City, this is an area with many elderly 'social-pattern' homeless who have been living out on the street for a long time. In the Lungshan



Illustration 1. A view of ch'ujent'ou

Drawn by yumin cartoonist Bo Kong from the February 2004 issue of Taipei Peace News, a newsletter for the homeless distributed by the Taipei City Social Bureau. Former yumin Bo Kong is paid to draw cartoons for this newsletter under public employment. He is currently renting an apartment and has started on the path to housing independence. The Taipei Peace News was begun as an experiment by the Dept. of Social Welfare's Yang Yun-sheng who got the idea for it from the Homeless Thoughts Journal of "Naniwa Rojo", he saw when investigating the homeless situation in Osaka. He obtained budget funds for it and began its publication.

Temple area in the old days there was a demand for day laborers in work like stevedoring for the port, there were lots of cheap apartments, and it was full of opportunities for drinking, gambling, and buying women, so it has grown into a regular life sphere for the men who come and go in day labor and homelessness. The biggest source of income for the homeless in the Lungshan Temple area has become the work called *ch'ujent'ou* (*chuzhenton*) or 'procession fronting.' This work consists of joining, for pay, the processions of birthday, wedding, and funeral ceremonies to make them look more splendid. In the case of joyous celebrations, these are called 'red *jent'ou*,' and for funeral mourning, 'black *jent'ou*' (see **Photo 83** and **Illustration 1**). Recently there has also been procession fronting work advertising for commercial

establishments or in election campaigns. Since the old days, brokers for procession fronting and ordinary citizens seeking to hire procession fronts came to the front of Lungshan Temple, and because the homeless living in the area would gather there during the day, it has become a special kind of gathering place in Taiwan. The pay for procession fronting varies depending on whether or not one has any talent for performing or playing a musical instrument like the bugle, but it is from about NT\$500 to NT\$2,000 per day. However, in recent years comparatively younger unemployed homeless have started hanging out around Taipei Station, so the procession fronting brokers have moved there, and the drawing power at the aging Lungshan Temple area has weakened considerably. Recycling is also an important income source for the homeless, and there is always a daily flea market set up in the Lungshan area (**Photo 84**). According to a Dept. of Social Welfare social worker who is in charge of the Lungshan Temple area, some of the homeless are lured into renting their identities to gangsters for a lot of money, to be used for cell phone contracts, opening bank accounts, or fake marriages with women from the mainland. Sometimes they get involved in big trouble as a result.

(3) Housing Situation

Next, we will briefly describe the housing situation in Wan Hua District. In the district, many areas of illegal building were formed. Since the 1980s, most of the clusters of illegal buildings have been redeveloped, but more than 300 such buildings remain along Changshun Street (site of the Nishi Honganji during the colonial period) not far from the Taiwan Governor-General's Headquarters (**Photo 85**). The monthly rent for apartments in these buildings is about NT\$3,000 (900US\$). A plan to demolish these buildings and convert the area into a commercial zone is already in place, but

among the more than 800 residents who live here, more than a few are vagabonds or former vagabonds.

Wan Hua District is also the part of Taipei with the most People's Housing Projects. People's Housing Projects are public housing sold or rented to families with fairly low incomes in order to promote stability and social welfare in the livelihood of Taiwan's citizens (**Photo 86**). From 1949 on, more than 600,000 soldiers are said to have fled from the mainland to Taiwan, and around Nanchichang (formerly an airport, now a night market) in southern Wan Hua District, they built a number of unique and characteristic 'dependents' villages,' communities made up of military dependents.

The decaying dependents' villages were rebuilt into People's Housing Projects, and even now in the zone from Nanchichang to Youth Park, a high proportion of the people are from outside Taiwan (**Photo 87**). The mass in-migration of military dependents from the mainland is not unrelated to the existence of clusters of illegal buildings or the People's Housing Projects in Wan Hua, or to the fact that there are many homeless people. Among the homeless in the area around Lungshan Temple about a decade ago, there were many old soldiers who had left their wives and children and fled alone to Taiwan. They still dreamed of returning, and had never put down roots. Since these former members of the Kuomintang Army, if they can prove their military background, can move into public welfare facilities called 'honor roll houses,' recently their numbers have noticeably decreased through the efforts of Dept. of Social Welfare's social workers.

Finally, we want to mention the project that the Dept. of Social Welfare's social workers have started aimed at housing self-help utilizing cheap apartments in the Lungshan area. Around Lungshan Temple, one month's rent for a cheap apartment is about NT\$3,000 to NT\$5,000. On the other hand, although the amount varies from year to year, the Dept. of Social Welfare's social workers have their own public employment scheme dedicated to the homeless, and they can assist in applying for livelihood guarantees. The maximum amount they could pay to a homeless person on public employment in 2004 was NT\$12,000 per person per month. Based on this initial condition, social workers negotiate with understanding landlords or owners, and so apartments are being opened up for the homeless people who want to get off the streets.

We visited an apartment building in a back alley just north of Lungshan Temple. On each floor of this building there were 5 or 6 rooms of 4.5 to 6 mats in size lined up on both sides of a corridor too narrow to extend one's arms (**Photo 88**). There was one communal toilet and shower on each floor, and a very simple kitchenette and a place to hang washing. The rooms were bleak, containing only a bed, and there was no common meeting room as in Japan's 'Supportive Houses' (**Photo 89**). The monthly rent here was NT\$4,500. The Dept. of Social Welfare's social workers give priority in managing public employment to people who meet the conditions for livelihood guarantees and have a high potential for escaping homelessness, and they guide them to moving into apartments while keeping them under close scrutiny. In parallel with this, they pursue the filing of livelihood guarantee applications, and with that settled, when the homeless person is on the road to entering housing self-help or public welfare facilities, they are cut off from the public employment and it passes to the next person. By repeating this routine, more than a few homeless people have been settled. In Wan Hua District, there is flat-rate people's housing under the Dept. of Social Welfare's jurisdiction meant for households with livelihood guarantees, and they say there are cases where they also use these (**Photo 90**). This is of course the Taipei system in which great discretionary power is given to the ground level social workers who really know the circumstances and needs of the homeless, but their success rate in moving people 'from the street to being settled' is high, and there are many things we can learn from them.

(Yoshihisa MATSUMURA)

Photos

Photo 1. Tashiseogi Aid Center Office (5th floor)

Photo 2. Tashiseogi Aid Center Office (room interior)

Photo 3. Container consulting center in front of Seoul Station

Photo 4. Late night outreach at the Hong Kong Culture Center in Tsimshatsui

Photo 5. Late night outreach at the Hong Kong Culture Center in Tsimshatsui

Photo 6. Outreach scene (photo courtesy of Mr. Yang Yunsheng)

Photo 7. Handing out 'lucky money' from the Wang Wang Fund during New Year outreach
(photo courtesy of Mr. Yang Yunsheng)

Photo 8. Examination on the street (from the *Tashiseogi* Center Webpage)

Photo 9. Free clinic in front of Seoul Station

Photo 10. Medical facilities at Pohyeon House

Photo 11. Underpass in front of Seoul Station (from the *Tashiseogi* Center Webpage)

Photo 12. X-ray van supplied by Taipei City

Photo 13. Scene at *yizhen* exams

Photo 14. Scene at *yizhen* exams

Photo 15. Outpatient emergency entrance at Municipal Chungshing Hospital

Photo 16. Next to the emergency entrance (inside are showers; to the right is the police post)

Photo 17. Exterior of Haessal Pogeumchari (on 2nd and 3rd floors)

Photo 18. Ondalsaem exterior (on 2nd floor)

Photo 19. Medical room at Haessal Pogeumchari

Photo 20. New condominium next door to Haessal

Photo 21. St. James' Settlement day center (Sai Ying Pun, Hong Kong)

Photo 22. Salvation Army day center (in Yaumatei, Kowloon. 2nd floor at the back is the Salvation Army, at the front is the SSSSTI shelter)

Photo 23. CCHA activity center (Shamshuipo in the New Territories. 3rd floor and top floor are the day center)

Photo 24. Entrance to Peace House

Photo 25. Wellspring (crucifix at rear)

Photo 26. Scene of lunch box preparation at Salvation Army day center

Photo 27. Seoul Station front *Jjogbang* exterior

Photo 28. Street of *Jjogbang* near Seoul Station

Photo 29. Former *Jjogbang* interior (corridor)

Photo 30. Chongno *Jjogbang* area

Photo 31. Chongno *Jjogbang* (rooms)

Photo 32. Sun Rise House exterior

Photo 33. Sun Rise House private room

Photo 34. High Street House exterior

Photo 35. Half-open style room (for women) **and view from the window**

Photo 36. Freedom House which operated until January, 2004

Photo 37. Pohyeon House (Basic Solutions Center on first floor)

Photo 38. SSSSTI's Yaumatei Shelter (Bedroom interior scene)

Photo 39. SSSSTI's Shamshuipo Shelter (Bedroom interior scene)

Photo 40. From the office roof (Building at front left is unused, planned for renovation. At front right is the cooking and dining hall. At center rear are the living facilities, and beyond is the Taiwan Strait)

Photo 41. Bedroom interior scene

Photo 42. Vegetable garden on the grounds

Photo 43. Poultry sheds

Photo 44. Exterior and interior of shower van (equipped with two showers and a hot water heater)

Photo 45. Attached facilities (medical room, common workroom, etc.)

Photo 46. Comprehensive Welfare Hall combined with permanent rental block in Kahoe-dong (shelter is already closed)

Photo 47. Exterior of new building opened in 2003 (the *sallim'teo* is operated on the 3rd and 4th floors)

Photo 48. Interior showing individual family rooms

Photo 49. Vision Training Center buildings

Photo 50. Lounge

Photo 51. Exterior of Hope House for fathers and sons. Containers are stacked on Welfare Hall property

Photo 52. Interior of room inside container

Photo 53. Exterior of building on Chungjeongno Road in Mapo-ku

Photo 54. Inside one of the *ondol* rooms

Photo 55. Sea bream hotcake selling stall (on the wagon is written 'self-support team')

Photo 56. Entrance to Eunp'yeong Village

Photo 57. There are many steep hills on the property

Photo 58. Ostrich-raising pen. The city can be seen in the background

Photo 59. A residency hall building

Photo 60. Hung Hom Center exterior

Photo 61. Hung Hom lodging interior

Photo 62. Lok Fu entrance and living room

Photo 63. High-rise condominium in which Yee Ong lodging is located

Photo 64. Taipei *Yumin* Holding Facility exterior

Photo 65. Interior scene at *Yumin* Holding Facility

Photo 66. Area surrounding *Ping'an ju* (Peace House)

Photo 67. *Ping'anju* (Peace House)

1st floor is the shelter; staff and other residents live on 2nd and 3rd floors

Photo 68. *Sarangbang* is on 2nd floor in mixed residential-industrial area; sign at entrance reads '*hasuk*' (lodging house)

Photo 69. Corridor inside the apartment building with rooms on both sides

Photo 70. Exterior of *Han Ult'ari*

Photo 71. Appearance of room interior

Photo 72. Dining hall

Photo 73. Hope Clinic exterior

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Photo 77. Building that houses Street Friends' Work Station

Photo 78. Maps showing locations of homeless ('economic' homeless and 'social' homeless are shown by different colored pins in each ward)

Photo 79. Homeless geographic information system

Photo 80. Family building at Kwok Shui Road Interim Housing Center

Photo 81. Lungshan Temple

Photo 82. Huahsi Night Market and vicinity

Photo 83. *Ch'ujent'ou* procession (photo courtesy of Mr. Yang Yun-sheng)

Photo 84. View of flea market in the Lungshan Temple area (photo courtesy of Mr. Yang Yun-sheng)

Photo 85. Illegal building cluster on Changshun St., Wan Hua District (photo courtesy of Mr. Yang Yun-sheng)

Photo 86. People's Housing Project in Wan Hua District

Photo 87. Nanchichang Night Market and a homeless man

Photo 88. Apartment house interior

Photo 89. Room interior view

Photo 90. Exterior view of People's Flat-rate Housing