‘More than a roof’ – addressing homelessness with people experiencing multiple disadvantage

Evaluation of Fulfilling Lives:
Supporting people experiencing multiple disadvantage

February 2022

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Acknowledgements

We would like to thank members of the National Expert Citizens Group for giving up their time and sharing their expertise with us – your contribution is central to this report and it would not have been possible without your input. We would also like to thank colleagues at Revolving Doors, The National Lottery Community Fund and the evaluation steering group for reviewing and commenting on drafts of the report.

This report explores the experiences of homelessness and rough sleeping of people affected by multiple forms of disadvantage. It draws on data collected as part of the Fulfilling Lives programme evaluation and the lived experiences of members of the National Expert Citizens Group (NECG). It looks at some of the reasons why many continue to experience homelessness and the types of support that people experiencing multiple disadvantage find most useful.

Since 2014, the Fulfilling Lives programme has supported over 4,000 people experiencing multiple forms of disadvantage, including homelessness, alcohol and substance misuse, offending, mental ill-health, and domestic violence. The statistics in this report are based on data collected up to March 2020 only and are, therefore, not affected by the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic, lockdowns and 'Everyone In' schemes.

The report will be of interest to:

- Central and local government analysts and policy staff working in the areas of homelessness, rough sleeping, housing and public health.
- Managers of services designed to support people who are rough-sleeping and homeless.
- Fulfilling Lives partnerships who may wish to use the findings as part of local systems change and influencing activity.

Key messages

Homelessness is both a cause and consequence of multiple disadvantage. There is a high degree of overlap between experience of homelessness and poor physical health, mental ill-health, substance misuse, offending and childhood trauma. Over half of people supported by the Fulfilling Lives programme are homeless at least some of the time during their first three months with the programme. Addressing homelessness is a crucial element in tackling multiple disadvantage – stable accommodation can form a foundation for working through other needs and give the opportunity for people to (re)build their lives.

There are overall reductions in levels of homelessness and rough sleeping among people getting help from the Fulfilling Lives programme. However, progress from homelessness to being housed is not straightforward. Change can be particularly difficult for those with the most acute experiences of homelessness and rough sleeping and in some cases, people return to homelessness after staying in accommodation for only a short period.

People with lived experience highlight a number of reasons why efforts to address homelessness fail and help to identify solutions.

Environment matters. Accommodation must be of a decent standard and appropriate to people's needs. Poor-quality housing, high rents and insecure tenancies can all be problematic. The rapid growth of unregulated 'exempt accommodation' is a particular concern.

Intensive, psychologically informed and person-centred support is needed to help people transition to being housed and maintain their accommodation. To facilitate this, staff need small caseloads. Housing First is a proven solution to addressing homelessness and Fulfilling Lives partnerships that have used this approach have found it to be successful.

For many, addressing rough sleeping and homelessness will take time. Those who experienced little change in their levels of homelessness or rough sleeping tended to leave the programme within the first five quarters. Therefore, it is important that support is ongoing and does not end abruptly when people are housed.

Practical support is important too, including help with developing the necessary skills to manage a tenancy, such as paying bills. Personal budgets can help to cover the costs of essentials to make empty accommodation feel homely; they also play a role in helping people to feel valued and trusted.

Feelings of isolation are often a significant difficulty for people with experience of homelessness when they move into independent accommodation. Boredom can play a role in people returning to former negative behaviours. Peer mentors play an important role in overcoming isolation and supporting people to participate in social and other meaningful activities to reduce the risk of boredom.

Women face particular risks when it comes to homelessness and rough sleeping but can be overlooked. Women are likely to be 'hidden' rough sleepers in an attempt to avoid potential harm and less likely to reveal to services that they are rough sleeping. There is a need for more and better services to address the particular experiences and specific needs of women. Support services need to be discreet and available from multiple locations to be accessible to women at risk. Female staff, particularly those with lived experience, are needed.

Recommendations

Based on the findings of this research and their lived experience of homelessness and multiple disadvantage, the National Expert Citizens Group (NECG) offer the following recommendations. These recommendations are the collective view of the NECG members and not of CFE Research, The University of Sheffield or The National Lottery Community Fund.

Ensuring appropriate accommodation

1. **Address the problem of poor-quality housing.**

- Local authorities need to be able to take responsibility for the quality of housing to which they refer people (whether in the private sector, social housing or their own stock).
- Individuals should never be made intentionally homeless as a result of leaving or refusing inadequate accommodation.
- Temporary accommodation needs to be in a location that allows people to access their support network to ensure placements do not exacerbate disadvantage.

2. **Organisations providing supported accommodation must be held to high standards.**

- Regulation is needed, including clear quality standards for housing and landlord responsibility, with sanctions if quality standards are not met. Local authorities should only refer people to quality-assured accommodation.
- All supported accommodation providers must sign up to local authority quality standards and the support they provide must be continually monitored. Funding will be required for local authorities to be able to manage this.
- Tenants must know about the standards and be aware of their right to complain.

3. **Alternatives to large hostels are required.**

- Beyond emergency provision, large hostels are often not appropriate for people experiencing multiple disadvantage. There needs to be small, supported, shared living spaces where there is a balance between independence and community for those who may not be ready for independent living.
- Semi-independent flats with support should be part of the transition to fully independent accommodation.

Helping people access and maintain stable accommodation

4. **Fund more workers to support people living in independent accommodation.**

- Tenancy support workers are needed to provide the support required when moving into independent accommodation, particularly after long periods away from this. Without support, people feel abandoned and set up to fail.
- Support must be for a duration appropriate to the individual, and they should be involved in the decision as to how long support should last. Ideally, this should be a minimum of six months.
- Support for life skills – budgeting, cooking, cleaning, etc. – is essential.
- Workers should have small caseloads to allow for intensive support during the transition into independent accommodation.

5. **Personal budgets should be available to help sustain tenancies and enable a good life.**

- People need personal budgets both for practical needs (e.g. to buy kitchen appliances) and to enable community interaction (e.g. for travel to community groups or buying equipment for hobbies).

- Support staff should have the flexibility with this to focus on what people can do and support them to develop a good life.

6. **Peer support workers should be integrated into the tenancy support system.**

- People with lived experience can offer essential peer support that is vital for the transition into independent accommodation.
- People need to belong to a community; relationships, meaningful activities, positive connections and longer-term support are central to combatting isolation and moving away from homelessness. Peer supporters can help people link into the community.
- Peer support workers must be paid. However, additional volunteering roles can be a steppingstone into paid peer support roles.

7. **Housing First should continue to be funded to support people with experience of multiple disadvantage. Housing First programmes must adhere to the principles.**

- Housing First offers a solution that combines independent accommodation and wraparound support. This has been shown to work to support people to maintain their own tenancies, but only if it is done properly.
- Housing First requires excellent, genuinely person-centred, wraparound support, with peer support workers, navigators with small caseloads, and personal budgets.

8. **Local authorities and partners need proactive strategies to ensure their housing/homeless services are fully inclusive and reflect the communities they serve.**

- People with lived experience and community groups must be central to the creation and delivery of these strategies.
- Services must ensure their workforce reflects the diversity of the communities they serve.

- There should be a person-centred approach where ethnicity and culture are taken into account, to reduce the risk of cultural isolation.

Supporting women out of homelessness

9. **Homeless women and those who are living in vulnerable or high-risk situations should be a priority for action and support, not just those identified as sleeping on the streets.**

- Patterns of homelessness are different for men and women. Women will hide due to fears of violence and can be in dangerous, exploitative situations. However, they may still be under a roof, and therefore not able to access rough-sleeper support or be engaged by street outreach teams.

10. **Local authorities and partners should develop specific pathways, services and strategies for women experiencing multiple disadvantage. The ideal approach should include:**

- Female peer support workers and navigators with lived experience, with outreach services developed to engage with this more hidden group of women.
- Smaller women-only supported accommodation, which is trauma-informed and includes options for women with children.
- Independent accommodation options close to amenities (schools, shops, etc.) to help embed women in the community.
- Discreet women-only services in multiple sites across the community (easily accessible but not known to the wider male community using services).
- Workers must have a good understanding of domestic violence and abuse in the context of multiple disadvantage. They should have expertise around assertive outreach and innovative engagement with women experiencing domestic violence and abuse, who are likely to often be in the presence of their perpetrator.

Homelessness and multiple disadvantage

Over a quarter of people are sleeping rough when they join Fulfilling Lives

> Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services...
>
> Article 25, Universal Declaration of Human Rights

Homelessness is both a cause and consequence of multiple disadvantage. In the decade prior to the 2020 COVID-19 pandemic, the number of people seeking help for homelessness has remained relatively stable in England,[1] while levels of rough sleeping have been increasing.[2] There is a high degree of overlap between experience of homelessness and poor physical health, mental ill-health, substance misuse, offending and childhood trauma.[3,4] The average age at death for homeless people* (46 for men and 43 for women in 2019) is much lower than for the general population.[5]

More than half (58 per cent) of people supported by the Fulfilling Lives programme are homeless at least some of the time during their first three months with the programme.[6] More may be in unsuitable or insecure accommodation or threatened with homelessness, with 68 per cent of people recorded as having a need relating to homelessness when they join the programme. Over a quarter (26 per cent) of people supported by Fulfilling Lives spend at least some time sleeping rough during the first three months on the programme. (See Tables 1 and 2 on page 50.)

Defining homelessness: In this report we adopt a broad definition of homelessness that includes rough sleeping, staying temporarily with friends or family ('sofa surfing'), and spending time in hostels, night shelters or other temporary accommodation. At times we focus in on rough sleeping specifically as this is a current policy priority.[7] Rough sleeping is the most visible and extreme form of homelessness.

* These data mainly relate to people sleeping rough or using emergency accommodation such as homeless shelters and direct access hostels.

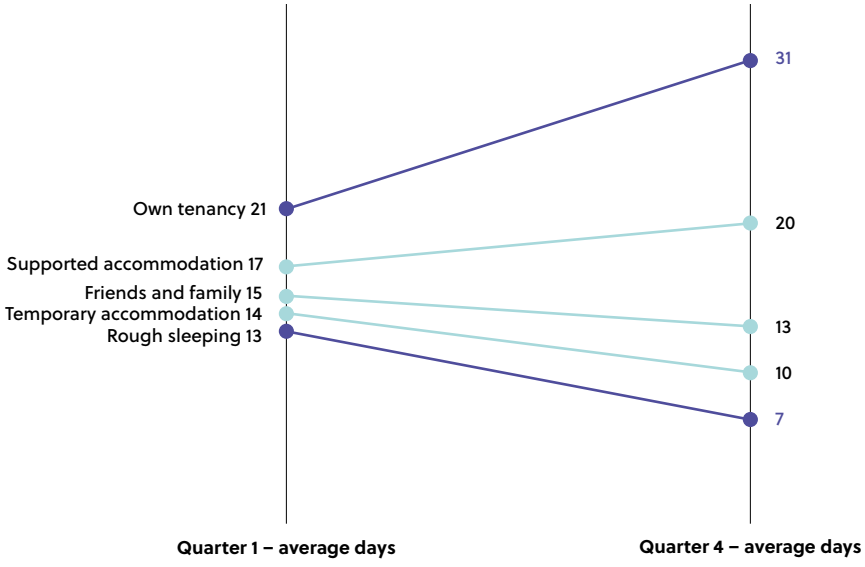
Patterns of accommodation among people experiencing multiple disadvantage are often chaotic. Over a third (36 per cent) of people supported by the programme move between two or more different types of accommodation during their first three months on the programme. Ten per cent spend time in three or more types of accommodation (see Table 3 on page 51). Our data potentially mask further complexity as people may move between addresses within the same type of accommodation – for example, staying with different friends or moving between different temporary accommodation.

Addressing homelessness and supporting people to maintain stable and appropriate accommodation is an important element of tackling multiple disadvantage. Those whose levels of rough sleeping and/or homelessness decrease (and those who remain housed) during their time with Fulfilling Lives are more likely to leave the programme for a positive destination than those whose homelessness or rough sleeping shows no change or gets worse. (See Tables 15 and 16 on pages 76 to 78.)

Not having a stable address can negatively affect access to and engagement with support in other areas of people's lives, such as healthcare and welfare benefits. Stable accommodation can form a foundation for working through other needs and give the opportunity for people to (re)build their lives.[8]

Overall, there are reductions in levels of homelessness and rough sleeping among people getting help from Fulfilling Lives. This is in the context of persistent levels of homelessness[9] and increasing levels of rough sleeping[10] across England over the same period. Over the course of people's first year with Fulfilling Lives, there are significant reductions in the amount of time people spend homeless and rough sleeping, and an increase in time spent in more stable forms of accommodation, including supported accommodation and their own tenancies. The positive trend of reducing homelessness (people staying in temporary accommodation in particular) and increases in people spending time in their own tenancies continue for those who stay on the programme for two years. (See Tables 5 and 6 on page 52.)

After a year on the programme there is a significant reduction in rough sleeping with people spending more time in their own tenancy.



Comparing people's housing status between their first and last quarter on the programme, we see that most (64 per cent) either show a reduction in homelessness or maintain their housed status. 88 per cent either reduce their rough sleeping or continue to avoid rough sleeping. (See Table 7 and Table 8 on pages 54 to 55.)

However, tackling homelessness is not easy and patterns of progress from homelessness to being housed are not straightforward. 11 per cent of people getting support from Fulfilling Lives show no change or an increase in their levels of rough sleeping between their first and final quarter with the programme. 36 per cent left with either an increase or no change in their levels of homelessness.

Looking at change from quarter to quarter, while a substantial proportion of people show improvements in their accommodation status, many remain stuck in homelessness or rough sleeping. On average, half of people who spend some time rough sleeping will not be rough sleeping in the next

quarter. But this means that half will continue spending a similar amount of time rough sleeping or even increase their levels of rough sleeping the following quarter. (See Table 9 and Table 10 on page 56.) **Change can be particularly difficult for those with the most acute experiences of homelessness and rough sleeping.** Only one in three who spend most or all of their time rough sleeping in a particular quarter reduce this substantially the following quarter.

People with lived experience of homelessness and rough sleeping highlighted a number of reasons why efforts to address homelessness fail and why people may remain in accommodation for only a short period of time. They also helped identify solutions. These are explored in detail in the following sections with insights from staff working in frontline and management roles and supporting evidence from the Fulfilling Lives programme.

The challenge of finding appropriate accommodation

> **Houses are diabolical, council see you have a roof over your head – 'not our problem now'.**
>
> Expert by experience

People with experience of multiple disadvantage face many challenges in accessing accommodation that is suitable and appropriate for their needs. Some may not be able to access housing through their local authority if they are not in a priority need group (households with dependent children, pregnant women, people threatened with homelessness due to an emergency (such as a flood), and those who are vulnerable) that would require the council to secure them accommodation.[11] The legal definition of 'vulnerable' includes mental illness or disability, spending time in prison and being under the threat of violence.[12] It could be argued that anyone who is rough sleeping is vulnerable to the risks associated with this and yet they may not be eligible for accommodation.

> **Pre-COVID, we would've looked at whether people were in priority need... most rough sleepers wouldn't have fallen into that category, so we wouldn't have owed them a duty to provide them temporary accommodation. Obviously, we'd have tried to work with them, but it's unlikely we'd have put them into bed and breakfast accommodation.**
>
> Local authority manager

Homeless people with no recourse to public funds present a particular challenge. Immigration status can mean some people are ineligible for local authority support. There are few options to support those who are ineligible for benefits or housing support. They may also be unwilling to engage with outreach workers due to fear of the authorities.

> **The other challenge is people that do not have any income because they are destitute and they are not entitled to benefits. Accommodation is impossible.**
>
> Voluntary sector service manager

Substance misuse can be a barrier to accessing and maintaining accommodation

Substance misuse is common among people facing multiple disadvantage and this can present additional challenges when it comes to securing appropriate housing. Among people getting support from Fulfilling Lives, those with a substance misuse need are also more likely to be rough sleeping (see Table 11 on page 59). (However, we did not find an increased risk of homelessness among those with a substance misuse need.) People with lived experience told us that zero tolerance policies on drugs and alcohol in hostels and other accommodation can lead to people with addictions being evicted. We also found that being evicted from a tenancy reduces the likelihood that someone will improve their levels of homelessness or rough sleeping while working with Fulfilling Lives. Once someone has been evicted or excluded from accommodation, they are less likely to be offered alternative accommodation and therefore have fewer options to avoid returning to the streets.

People with a history of substance misuse can also find it difficult to abstain if they are offered temporary accommodation with other drug users or in areas where they have been part of a community of drug users. If they remove themselves from this situation to protect or aid their recovery, this can affect the support they receive.

> I was in recovery, and I was sent to a drug house with loads of people using and I ended up using again and also being involved with the drug trade when I was trying to get clean... So, I left the house, but I was then deemed to be intentionally homeless.
>
> Expert by experience

Accommodation offered may not be appropriate

Environment matters. Inappropriate accommodation and failings of the private rented sector often set people up to fail. The system often assumes 'any roof will do' when it comes to people in desperate need. However, it is important that people are listened to and their circumstances taken into account to avoid people being placed in housing that threatens their wellbeing.

> Where you're rehoused matters... If you're interacting with people involved in criminality and drugs, that's going to drag you down... the environment is so important.
>
> Expert by experience

Private-sector rented accommodation can be particularly problematic for people experiencing multiple disadvantage. Social housing is often preferable but with the level of local authority-run accommodation not matching the need in many areas, private rented accommodation may be the only option. Poor-quality housing, insecure tenancies and a lack of support can mean people feel they are being abandoned once in private accommodation.

> There's lots of these Community Interest Companies opening up with accommodation. And some of it's just not good. And then you have the choice between that and someone sleeping rough... you want to give people a fighting chance of somewhere decent to stay.
>
> Voluntary sector service manager

A particular concern highlighted by Fulfilling Lives partnerships is the growth of largely unregulated shared accommodation that is exempt from restrictions on the rent that can be covered by housing benefit. This 'exempt accommodation' should provide vulnerable people with additional support but, as recent reports[13] indicate, often means people are abandoned in squalid and dangerous conditions.

The growth of unregulated 'exempt accommodation' is a concern

Intentional homelessness

The Homelessness Reduction Act (2017)[14] placed new legal duties on local housing authorities to prevent or relieve homelessness. This was seen by some campaigners[15] as a positive move to open up support to more people, with new prevention and relief duties offered to all eligible (based on immigration status) applicants who are homeless or threatened with homelessness, regardless of whether this is deemed 'intentional' or not.

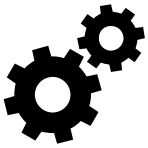
However, 'intentional homelessness' can still affect the level of support available. Support ends if an applicant deliberately and unreasonably refuses to cooperate or refuses a suitable offer of accommodation, and guidance[16] states that:

> Applicants who have a priority need, and whose homelessness has not been successfully relieved, are owed a lesser [legal] duty if they have become homeless intentionally than would be owed to them if they were homeless unintentionally. This reflects the general expectation that, wherever possible, people should take responsibility for their own accommodation needs and not behave in a way which might lead to the loss of their accommodation.

People with lived experience of homelessness discussed how being deemed to be 'intentionally homeless' had previously affected their access to accommodation. What housing authorities consider 'suitable accommodation' can be unsuitable for a number of reasons as outlined above.

Supporting access to appropriate accommodation

Outreach support and advocacy



Support workers play an important role in challenging system failures

Being able to access appropriate accommodation requires support from a worker with knowledge of the system. This is particularly the case for those who do not meet priority criteria or are otherwise ineligible for statutory assistance. As well as helping to navigate the system, workers can challenge decisions on behalf of their clients and advocate for their rights.

> If [clients] get referred to somewhere like [large hostel] ... if they refuse it and [the council] dropped [their case], then we campaign and we work against it. It's trying to challenge the system quite a lot.
>
> Support worker

Support workers need good knowledge of how the homelessness system works and people's legal entitlements in order to challenge decisions, such as being considered intentionally homeless or having no local connection.

Flexible assessment and allocation processes

Assessments of housing needs undertaken by local authorities are felt by experts and support staff alike to be too clinical, bureaucratic and lengthy and undertaken in a way that does not encourage some people to be honest about their needs. An alternative is for assessments to be carried out by a support worker who already has a relationship with the client. Assessments can also be done informally, based on conversations rather than a checklist of questions.

> **You make that person as comfortable, as welcome as possible and then you'd start doing very subtle assessments, having conversations with people. And then you can link people in with what they need... There are some services that just have too many layers of paperwork or lengthy assessments.**
>
> Voluntary sector service manager

Similarly, flexibility around the allocation process is needed to avoid people feeling that they have to accept something that is inappropriate or unsuitable. People with lived experience felt that this could be a sticking point within the system, but in one Fulfilling Lives area it was reported that there is some flexibility.

> **[With] our allocations policy, if you're in [the urgent need category] you're only really allowed one offer because you need urgent accommodation, but the reality is that if people turn it down we almost certainly won't discharge our duty and we'll continue to look for something.**
>
> Local authority manager

Choice of accommodation is important not just in terms of quality, but also location. While some may wish to move away from places associated with difficult periods of their life, others may want to be close to people and places they know. A person-centred approach with choice allows for this flexibility.

The importance of community

J first became homeless in her early 20s and spent several years in hostels, sofa surfing, on the streets and in other temporary accommodation. She also spent time in prison and in hospitals under the Mental Health Act and has experience of substance misuse and domestic violence. She has been supported by Fulfilling Lives for the last five years.

For the last ten years, J has been living in the same one-bed flat on the estate where she grew up. The early days of having her own tenancy came with challenges after spending so long in temporary accommodation and she admits to struggling to keep on top of bills. However, she has maintained her tenancy, and she attributes this to the community. Having the choice over where she lived, being able to return to a place she knew and being around family and friends meant that she not only had a support network but was also living in a community where she felt happy and comfortable.

> It's been my family, and my friends, and my support workers, everyone that's been in my life, helped me maintain this flat. My neighbours, they're like family... I love this place, I've been here all my life, this is my stomping ground. I don't want to leave, it's my friends, I love my neighbours.

Working with private sector landlords

Local authorities are looking for ways to work with private sector landlords to make renting privately a viable option for people who are homeless. Issues with the quality of accommodation on offer, high deposits and landlord reluctance to take on tenants reliant on benefits are particularly challenging. This is an area where local authorities could do more.

> **There's probably more we could do to work with the private rented sector. Other areas do things like insurance schemes and certainly some of the local authorities in London will pay quite substantial welcome payments to landlords, a one-off payment, to take a tenant. We don't do that at the moment but it might be something we need to think about in terms of broadening our offer.**
>
> Local authority manager

> You can still feel homeless with a house, a home is more than a roof over your head.
>
> Expert by experience

Difficulties maintaining accommodation can lead to a return to rough sleeping

People with lived experience argue that getting accommodation is only the first step to addressing homelessness – one that on its own, without longer-term support, may not succeed. Moving from the streets into accommodation is a significant transition and needs to be supported as such.

> When your life has been shaped by neglect, even when you get a home, you can neglect yourself and neglect your responsibilities and lose it all.
>
> Expert by experience

Practical challenges

Once someone is housed, the need for support does not just stop. Paying bills, organising benefits and managing budgets can, for some, feel overwhelming. Without support, some may end up being evicted or abandoning tenancies.

> Sometimes the calls that you need to make to set up and maintain a place feel intimidating to do on your own. Understanding the processes and all the things that you have to do is too much, it feels easier being homeless!
>
> Expert by experience

The new responsibilities of being housed can contribute to worsening mental health,[17] and all too often the necessary support is not in place to the degree needed by people who have long histories of homelessness.

Financial challenges

Managing the finances associated with an independent tenancy can be particularly challenging. Universal Credit, which includes an element to cover housing costs, is usually paid direct to claimants and they are responsible for paying rent themselves. Claimants or their landlords can apply for Alternative Payment Arrangements, where housing costs are paid direct to the landlord.[18] However this is not guaranteed. For some people experiencing multiple disadvantage, particularly those with addictions, managing money for rent can be an additional pressure.

> [With] Universal Credit – people get the housing money into their account. Organisations don't want that responsibility and they expect you, a drug addict, alcoholic [to manage it]... if you are not well that day, you end up spending your money.
>
> Expert by experience

People may not open bills or ask for help, leading to rent arrears and potential eviction. Benefit payments may not cover the full rent, resulting for some in the difficult choice of getting into debt or finding other ways to keep up with the rent.

> I'm using my child benefit to pay rent.
>
> Expert by experience

Loneliness and boredom are key reasons why tenancies break down

An isolating experience

Isolation can be a significant difficulty for people with experience of homelessness, and a major factor in tenancies or placements breaking down and a return to rough sleeping. A lack of meaningful activity can lead to boredom and potentially a return to negative behaviours.[19] Moving to an unfamiliar situation, particularly if this is in a new location, can be intimidating and involve breaking away from familiar locations and networks.

> **Isolation is a killer. If you are moved somewhere new, social anxiety can make it hard to meet new people. You go back to what you know.**
>
> Expert by experience

During the COVID-19 pandemic, and particularly during periods of lockdown, support and information have been offered digitally rather than face-to-face. This risks some people being digitally excluded from support.[20] Using digital services (such as paying bills and making benefit applications) requires not only having access to the internet and necessary equipment (smartphone, tablet or computer) but also having the skills and confidence to use the technology.

> **Without access to a smartphone, you can't do half the things you need to do. Everything's online, and if you do have access to the right technology after being on the street for a while you might not feel confident in how to use it.**
>
> Expert by experience

People with experience of multiple disadvantage are at particular risk from others. Cuckooing, where drug dealers and gangs take over the home of someone who is vulnerable, has been reported in several Fulfilling Lives areas.[21] This can lead to sanctions, or even eviction, being imposed on tenants as a result of the actions of others.

> **Maybe getting the flat makes them a target. Drug dealers [and] others take over their homes because they are vulnerable.**
>
> Expert by experience

Supporting the transition out of homelessness

Personal budgets

Personal budgets are provided by many Fulfilling Lives partnerships and offer a practical form of support that can help people settle into new accommodation. They can also play a role in helping people to feel valued. Staff in many Fulfilling Lives partnerships have access to personal budgets to support their clients with essentials. For those who have been homeless, the budgets can be used to help meet the cost of deposits or purchase essentials to make empty accommodation feel more homely. In addition, personal budgets can help beneficiaries feel better supported and trusted to manage their new home.

> **Personalised budgets enable a common-sense approach, shows value and shows trust.**
>
> Expert by experience

> **Accommodation will often be unsatisfactory but personalisation funds enable it to feel like a home.**
>
> Expert by experience

VOICES' personal budget model

Voices of Independence, Change & Empowerment in Stoke-on-Trent (VOICES) have a personal budget model designed to give those supported choice and control. Customers are allocated a personal budget of £1,000 per year. The budget is used flexibly when needed. Purchases are always made by staff members and spending must support achieving positive outcomes. A recent evaluation of the model demonstrates how personal budgets have been widely and successfully used to support people to access or maintain tenancies. Spending includes emergency accommodation, accessing private rented accommodation (e.g. deposits, agency fees), helping people manage temporary accommodation, managing moves and making a house a home. Read more about VOICES personal budgets here.

There is some evidence from the quantitative data analysis to suggest a link between getting a personal budget, life skills training (e.g. cooking, budgeting etc.) and advice on welfare rights and being more likely to experience a reduction in rough sleeping/homelessness. However, we only see these links in the early months of people's engagement with the Fulfilling Lives programme. (See Tables 13a and 13b on pages 65 to 69.)

Practical and emotional support from a 'navigator'

People experiencing multiple disadvantage need ongoing, sometimes intensive, support to guide them through the major transition of moving into settled accommodation. Fulfilling Lives 'navigators' provide ongoing practical and emotional support. Fulfilling Lives funding has enabled these support workers to manage smaller caseloads. This has made it possible for staff to provide the intensive and person-centred support people require. Navigators can also help advocate for and co-ordinate support. Support needs to be holistic and coordinated across different agencies to ensure that people get help with more than just housing.

> I started with [Fulfilling Lives] in the hostel. They help me in the move process to independence. They chase up a lot because it was slow and they were the liaison between me and the housing services.
>
> Expert by experience

Further information about what makes an effective multiple disadvantage navigator can be found in our report here.

Psychologically informed environments

Long-term support is needed to ensure the root causes of homelessness are addressed. This is essential to enable long-term recovery and will need to be personalised to the individual's needs and situation.

> People think that a flat is the answer, but are you dealing with the root causes as to why that person became homeless in the first place? This needs dealing with and those reasons will be unique and personal to that individual.
>
> Expert by experience

Psychologically informed environments (or PIEs) offer a promising approach by providing a framework for thinking about and addressing some of the underlying psychological factors that can prevent people from successfully transitioning to being housed.[22] One Fulfilling Lives partnership established a small accommodation and move-on service with a PIE approach to supporting homeless people with acute physical and mental health issues. The service provided flexible practical and emotional support that met the service users' needs rather than their having to fit with a rigid support model. This service had a higher positive move-on rate and lower abandonment and evictions than the wider city area.[23]

Fulfilling Lives partnerships have led workforce development programmes for organisations that come into contact with people experiencing multiple disadvantage – including housing associations and local authorities. As a result, staff have become more aware of the need to work in a psychologically and trauma-informed way and better understand behaviours and needs.

> [The Fulfilling Lives partnership] has really played a significant role in the city. Talking about psychologically informed environment and trauma-informed support. That's been really valuable in building up the skills base of all of the organisation we work with.
>
> Local authority manager

Peer support

Support from a peer can help with feelings of isolation. Someone who has been through similar experiences and understands the difficulties involved in moving into settled accommodation can mean people feel less alone. Peer mentors can also play an important role in supporting people to participate

in social and other activities to reduce the risk of boredom. Previous research has highlighted that being engaged in activities or groups is one of the most important factors in avoiding a return to homelessness.[24]

> **It would be great to have peer support – ex-homeless people that can support you when you first get into accommodation and [who] know about the difficult things you are facing.**
>
> Expert by experience

A peer mentor can help overcome loneliness and boredom

There is some quantitative evidence to support this – those who receive support from a peer are more likely to experience a reduction in rough sleeping and homelessness more broadly (see Tables 13a and 13b on pages 65 to 69). Again, this only appears to be the case in the early months of engagement with Fulfilling Lives.

Settling in can take time and having the same peer mentor offers some consistency and stability whilst other areas of life change. This also allows trusting relationships to be built.

The value of a peer mentor

N first became homeless as a teenager and has spent most of his life moving between different types of accommodation (social and privately rented), staying with friends, spending time in prison and sleeping on the streets. He has a long history of addiction and mental health issues as a result of childhood and adult trauma. Throughout this period he sought support from different substance misuse and housing services but felt that none were committed to helping him. In his 20s he met B, a peer mentor who came from the same area and understood N's background and behaviour.

Now in his 40s, N has not been homeless since he left prison five years ago. He gives B a large amount of credit for this, sticking by him through prison sentences and relapses, and checking in on him regularly over a period of almost 20 years. B was instrumental in securing accommodation throughout this time – helping with

applications, benefits and rent payments, and liaising with housing services and landlords – particularly on release from prison when N was not able to return to his flat.

B supported N with all aspects of his life, not just housing, and worked hard on his self-esteem, addiction and mental health. The life skills they worked on together helped him maintain accommodation too. N is mixed-race and talked about being offered housing in locations where he would be in a minority and not feel welcome, but had acquired the skills to deal with this:

> [The housing association] moved me into a bedsit on a long row of houses full of the football violence guys. I was in with skinheads again – I'd just come from prison [and was] homeless. I was like, 'Argh'... I dealt with it, opened my windows and doors. The black guy with dreads, you're going to have to live with me like I have to live with you... I ended up with friends there. I wouldn't have had the confidence or ability to do that if it weren't for [B] giving me life skills. Normally, if I'd been in that [situation], I'd have hidden myself in a bedsit and gone and bought crack or something.

N undertook peer mentor training through Fulfilling Lives and is now a mentor himself. He uses his own life experiences and the positive experience of having a mentor to help others experiencing homelessness and multiple disadvantage.

The importance of open-ended support

N's story above also demonstrates that for some, addressing rough sleeping and homelessness can take a long time. Those Fulfilling Lives beneficiaries who show no real change or even an increase in rough sleeping or homelessness during their time with the programme tend to be those who leave the programme within the first five quarters. People who stay on the programme longer are more likely to leave with lower levels of homelessness or rough sleeping. There is no 'quick fix' for people experiencing multiple disadvantage who are homeless. It is important there are no time limits on support and that it does not abruptly end when people are housed.

> **Support sometimes ends quite prematurely especially moving into independent accommodation. [There] should be a plan put in place until the person is ready. Often we go from lots of support to no support. I went from 24/7 support in a hostel to no one.**
>
> Expert by experience

Housing First

Fulfilling Lives partnerships that have adopted a Housing First approach have found it to be successful. Housing First is an evidence based, client-led approach to tackling homelessness that has been shown to be particularly effective for people experiencing multiple disadvantage.[25] Long-term support is provided and housing is not dependent on people addressing other needs first or proving themselves to be 'housing ready'. Due to the level of support offered, this approach is resource-intensive and so tends to be targeted at small numbers of people with entrenched histories of homelessness. It has been successful in several Fulfilling Lives areas[26] and there are ongoing government-funded pilots in three areas of England (Liverpool, Manchester and West Midlands).[27] The latest evaluation report on the pilots shows that 59 per cent of people recruited to the pilots have been housed, and participants compare the approach positively to previous experiences of homelessness services. However, sourcing suitable and affordable accommodation is a challenge for all pilots.[28]

The Inspiring Change Manchester Housing First pilot

Between 2016 and 2018, Inspiring Change Manchester (ICM) ran a Housing First programme for 21 of their clients, all of whom had a history of long-term or recurrent homelessness. Despite challenges finding suitable accommodation in the area, clients are given as much choice in accommodation as possible rather than being encouraged to accept their first offer – choice and control being one of the key principles of the Housing First approach.[29] 18 clients were housed, and at the time of the evaluation all had maintained their tenancies, with 11 having done so for 12 months or more.

Crucial to the success of the approach was the ongoing, wraparound support offered – characterised by choice and control, personalisation, co-production and a strength-based approach. Some clients had access to a peer mentor – this was said to be a positive experience, offering practical and emotional support and companionship, as well as encouraging involvement in social and community activities.

Read the final evaluation report for the pilot here.

Supporting women out of homelessness

Women face particular risks when it comes to homelessness and rough sleeping but can be overlooked. Analysis of the Fulfilling Lives data suggests that men are significantly more likely to be homeless and rough sleeping than women. The difference in the proportion who are rough sleeping during the first three months on the programme is particularly stark – 29 per cent of men and 20 per cent of women. (See Table 4 on page 51.)

> **Women are more hidden, but they can be found.**
>
> Voluntary sector service manager

Women and hidden homelessness

However, people with lived experience of multiple disadvantage questioned this finding, indicating that women are more likely to be 'hidden' rough sleepers due to the increased risk to them of harassment and abuse. Overall, women are twice as likely as men to experience interpersonal violence and abuse.[30] And one in five women who have experienced extensive physical and sexual violence have been homeless.[31] They take steps not to reveal their location to perpetrators or their associates. As a result, they are more likely to be 'hidden homeless'.[32]

> **There is a risk of being known amongst the homeless community. You get found again, so you hide.**
>
> Expert by experience

Women may stay with family or friends, use public transport or shelter in A&E waiting rooms, or simply keep moving around in an attempt to avoid the potential for exploitation when sleeping rough.[33] Being less visible on the streets can mean women are missed by services. And while some women may have a roof over their head, they can be just as vulnerable as if they were rough sleeping.

> **There are more women homeless or more women experiencing severe multiple disadvantage... Women sofa surfing, which is just as dangerous as rough sleeping... sofa surfing in crack dens, [women] rough sleeping who are hiding so that they can't be found and then are being missed by homeless services. People staying in hostel accommodation, they're constantly at risk of rough sleeping again because it's just not right for them.**
>
> Support worker

There are known issues that affect the accuracy of rough sleeping statistics that rely on street counts. Fulfilling Lives data are based on information held by support teams. However, those with lived experience highlighted that women are also less likely to reveal to services, including Fulfilling Lives support workers, that they are rough sleeping. Rough sleeping among women is said to still be perceived differently to male rough sleeping and support services can be more judgemental. Women with children are particularly fearful of revealing to services that they are rough sleeping because of the potential impact on care plans or access rights.

> **Statutory services are very judgemental. Social services? Run a mile.**
>
> Expert by experience

In addition, experts highlighted that women from Black, Asian and minority ethnic backgrounds may be even less likely to engage with support services if they feel services will not understand or meet their particular needs. A lack of support workers from different backgrounds and cultures can limit the extent to which Black, Asian and minority ethnic women feel comfortable seeking and accepting support.

> Cultural needs may prevent women from using services, such as Muslim women or Afro-Caribbean women who don't see their own people working in services.
>
> Expert by experience

Additional risks

Women with experience of homelessness expressed concern that the distinction between rough sleeping and homelessness, where rough sleepers are seen as a priority for support, may exclude women at risk. For example, homeless women are at particular risk of being forced into exploitative situations to keep accommodation.

> The prostitution side of it... some feel it's an expectation... prostitution for accommodation and not money.
>
> Expert by experience

Temporary accommodation still tends to be mixed-sex and staff may not have the skills required to support women with experience of domestic violence.[34] Mixed-sex hostels can at best make women feel vulnerable and at worst put them at risk of further abuse and exploitation.

One of the Fulfilling Lives partnerships pointed out that women often have particularly complex experiences of trauma and therefore equally complex and personal notions of safety. In order for accommodation to be sustainable, spaces are needed that respect a woman's personal definition of 'safe'. Accommodation which *feels* unsafe is unlikely to work.

If accommodation offered is in the form of a mixed-sex hostel, women may be, understandably, less likely to accept this, which can lead to a return to the streets or other dangerous accommodation.

Women may also be at particular risk of having their property taken over by current or ex-partners or other associates. Any damage caused is the responsibility of the tenant, which can lead to eviction or debt.

> [We had a] woman set up in her property, all sorted and then her ex-partner comes around and he trashes the place.
>
> Voluntary sector service manager

Women experiencing domestic violence and abuse may have to leave properties due to coercion and control but can find themselves subsequently labelled as intentionally homeless (see box on page 35). Their trajectories through homelessness can also be more complex. They may endure long periods of homelessness if they are discouraged from accessing accommodation by their perpetrators or feel a sense of guilt about moving into accommodation if their perpetrator remains homeless.

Women-specific services and approaches

> There's a fear of being attacked and of violence and sexual violence. Men target you and take advantage of you.
>
> Expert by experience

There is a need for more and better gender-specific, trauma-informed services to address the particular experiences and needs of women. As well as single-sex accommodation, the pathways offered to women must recognise that their journey and the risks they face differ from the male experience.

In one Fulfilling Lives area, a navigator works specifically with women who are rough sleeping. A women's drop-in centre has been set up because other centres open to all were not being used by women, despite there being women rough sleepers close by. A nurse attends, so the women have access to healthcare in a safe space.

Examples such as these demonstrate that women will access services if they are offered in a safe, unthreatening environment. Specialist women's workers who have knowledge of other services, such as sex-worker support services, can signpost their clients appropriately.

> [Women only spaces] enable you to do more intensive work with women on a one-to-one basis because they're not in an environment where everyone's watching their backs anyway, and if you're a woman you watch your back even more.
>
> Voluntary sector service manager

However, to reduce the risk of women with experience of domestic violence coming into contact with perpetrators or their peers, experts suggest services and accommodation need to be discreet and available in multiple sites in a community. Restricting support to one area could mean services are 'off-limits' if the area is perceived to be a high-risk area by women needing help.

> I would be more comfortable going to a service which is not advertised as much as others – when you go to these buildings which are advertised the kind of support they can give isn't discreet.
>
> Expert by experience

Single sex accommodation options

Women-specific services should encompass single-sex accommodation options, including for women with children, alongside the wraparound support needed.[35]

> [We need] women only services [and] separation from males. If there is an option many women would accept help, [and this would be] better for women and transsexuals.
>
> Expert by experience

The positive impact of a women-only hostel

U became homeless after getting into rent arrears and went initially to local temporary accommodation. She described this mixed-sex accommodation as 'unsavoury' and requested a move to a single-sex place. After three weeks she moved to a small, women-only hostel, which had up to eight beds. U felt this was much safer. During this time she received support to manage her rent arrears.

After moving out of the hostel, U lived in the community for five years until she needed to remove herself from a toxic relationship. After her positive previous experience at the women-only hostel and knowing it was a safe refuge, she self-referred and spent a further 18 months there. She credits the positive, safe environment of the hostel with giving her the time and support needed to move back into independent accommodation. During her time there she undertook daily activities, including crafts, swimming and gardening, and describes it as feeling more like a home than a hostel.

> It felt almost like a family, I think it helped that it was a small hostel. It just felt like home.

U spent the last six months of her time at the hostel living in move-on accommodation with four other women, which also suited her needs. Support was tapered off during this time and staff helped her to apply for a council flat, visited this with her, and then helped with moving in and getting the necessary white goods. For another three months she worked with the same worker to manage the transition out of supported accommodation and is still living in the same flat ten years later.

U says her positive experience of a small, women-only hostel was integral to her successfully moving out of homelessness. She compares this to her first experience of temporary accommodation many years earlier, which led to her returning to the place from which she was trying to seek refuge.

> When I was about 22 I was in a women's refuge and it was freezing. I had a newborn baby, and it was very cold. That was off-putting, so I went back where I had come from.

Specialist women's support workers

Women benefit from specialist outreach workers

Although women rough sleepers may be hidden, specialist women's outreach workers can build relationships with women on the streets and engage them. This can take time, but once a worker becomes known among the community and experiences success, others often come forward for support.

> I'd sit in a doorway with one of them all day... the first woman had been rough sleeping in the same spot for seven months, hadn't left to go for a shower, hadn't gone to any drug services or anything like that. I managed to build her trust and help her access those services. It must have been a couple of months. It was a long time. The more I built that rapport with her, other women were then beginning to self-refer. They were like 'if you managed to house her'.
>
> Support worker

This is intensive, time-consuming work and so a small caseload and flexible working pattern is essential.

> You've got to think of safeguarding, liaising with domestic violence, liaising with the police, liaising with social services. So it is extremely intensive so a small case load is just what's going to work best.
>
> Support worker

Where women have been supported by female navigators, these are regarded highly. If they also have lived experience of homelessness and therefore understand firsthand the risks that women face and the difficulties seeking support, this is also said to be helpful.

Given the potential extent of hidden homelessness, it is vital that women-specific workers are not constrained to working only with those rough sleepers who are visible on the streets. It has to be accepted that those who are sofa surfing or in other at-risk accommodation may be equally in need of support as those who are rough sleeping.

> With the street outreach team you've got to be seen [rough sleeping] but I'm like, 'If you're sofa surfing, if you're rough sleeping, if you're in squats or crack dens, whatever people call them, I'll work with you. If you're at severe risk of rough sleeping, I'll work with you. If you're being evicted from a refuge then I'll work with you.' I'm a lot more flexible.
>
> Support worker

> **Female navigators with lived experience are great, easier to speak to than a keyworker or social worker.**
>
> Expert by experience

Women-specific housing support at Fulfilling Lives Islington and Camden

Fulfilling Lives Islington and Camden worked with Solace Women's Aid and Islington Council to develop a Housing First project for women experiencing domestic abuse. This was in response to increasing recognition of the overlap between gender-based violence, homelessness and multiple disadvantage and a lack of support to address this issue and work with women holistically.

Funding was secured for one Housing First worker to provide intensive, wraparound support to a caseload of five women for 18 months. The project successfully engaged women at high risk who were still in abusive relationships where other services had failed to do so. At the end of the initial funding, four of the women had accessed and maintained safe, independent accommodation, had been supported to claim benefits and connect with family or the community, and had accessed substance use support and physical and mental health services.

In having access to intensive support from a specialist worker, all four women opened up about their current and past experiences of trauma, with three feeling able to exit abusive relationships. The women valued having choice, the non-judgemental and unconditional support, and the trusting relationship developed with the Housing First worker. The project is now fully funded on an ongoing basis by London Borough of Islington.

Read more about the pilot here and here.

Concluding remarks

Support needs to be delivered with compassion and understanding

We have called this report 'More than a roof' based on a quote from one of the people with lived experience of homelessness who provided many of the insights in the report. This neatly encapsulates the need to address homelessness not just with housing, and not just *any* housing, but with ongoing, holistic support to help people settle into and maintain their tenancies. But while addressing homelessness is *more than* a roof, as the strong evidence on Housing First approaches and the testimony of experts demonstrate, it often has to *start with* a roof. Without a safe, stable and suitable home, addressing other aspects of disadvantage can be almost impossible.

Experts highlighted key elements of support that they found important in helping them make the transition from homelessness into a settled home. Yet strong links between particular support services (such as personal budgets) and reducing homelessness were not always evident in the quantitative data on people who received support from Fulfilling Lives. This is disappointing but perhaps points to a broader lesson. When we set up the data collection for the Fulfilling Lives evaluation, in consultation with partnerships and other experts, we came up with a list of different types of support that people might receive. The hope was that we would be able to demonstrate statistically which types of support make the most difference. However, as the programme has progressed, it has become clear that what is most important is not so much a prescribed set of services as it is the way these are delivered. Support needs to be long term, personalised, delivered with compassion and understanding and to take into account underlying trauma and people's psychological needs. What is right for one person might not work for someone else. Understanding individual needs, strengths and preferences is key.

> **If you can build a relationship of trust and be consistent with people, I think that really helps, so I think there is something about how you deliver the service. Not what the service should be but the personnel that you have and how they work with people.**
>
> Voluntary sector service manager

The overall picture from Fulfilling Lives of reducing levels of rough sleeping and homelessness among people experiencing multiple disadvantage is a positive one, particularly when set against a backdrop of austerity and increasing rough sleeping across the country. But it is clear that addressing homelessness is neither quick nor easy and requires more than just a particular type of support, but wider systemic change including more and better-quality accommodation and more person-centred, long-term, holistic support.

Useful resources and further information

Understanding homelessness and multiple disadvantage

Cause and Consequence: Mental Health and Homelessness in Manchester. *Shelter and Inspiring Change Manchester (2019)*

City Centre Rough Sleeping and Street Activity Project Report. *VOICES (2016)*

A Cuckoo in the Nest. *VOICES (2020)*

Fixing the hamster wheel of homelessness. *Opportunity Nottingham (2018)*

More Than A Roof – A way forward for services tackling homelessness in Stoke-on-Trent. *VOICES (no date)*

No Way Out: A Study of Persistent Rough Sleeping in Nottingham. *Nottingham Trent University and Opportunity Nottingham (2018)*

Out of Area Accommodation Placements: Looking at local practices in Brighton & Hove, Eastbourne and Hastings and the impact on people with multiple and complex needs. *Fulfilling Lives South East Partnership (2021)*

Housing First

Bristol Housing First: key learning. *Bristol Golden Key Programme (2021)*

An Evaluation of Basis Yorkshire's Housing First Pilot. *University of Leeds and West Yorkshire Finding Independence (WY-FI) (2018)*

Housing First: An evaluation of the FLIC model. *Fulfilling Lives in Islington & Camden (FLIC) (2016)*

Housing First for Female Sex Workers in Leeds. *WY-FI (2018)*

Housing First: Finding independence, moving forward and creating cultures – Key learning from the ICM Housing First project 2016–20. *Inspiring Change Manchester (2020)*

The Inspiring Change Manchester Housing First Pilot: Final Evaluation Report. *University of York and Inspiring Change Manchester (2018)*

Housing First pilot for homeless women experiencing domestic abuse and multiple disadvantage. *Fulfilling Lives in Islington & Camden (FLIC) (2019)*

Domestic violence and homelessness

COVID-19 Domestic abuse and sexual violence guidance for homelessness settings. *Fulfilling Lives Islington & Camden (FLIC) (2020)*

The Complexity of Housing for Domestic Abuse Victims Social Research Report. *University of Brighton and Fulfilling Lives South East Partnership (2020)*

Psychologically informed approaches

Liverpool Waves of Hope Accommodation Based Service: Lessons from a Psychologically Informed Approach.
Liverpool Waves of Hope (2018)

Telling the whole story: Summaries of ten psychologist-led research projects in homelessness services in Nottingham.
Opportunity Nottingham (2020)

Rough sleepers and the coronavirus pandemic

Keeping Everyone In: Rough sleepers and the Coronavirus emergency in Nottingham. *Nottingham Trent University and Opportunity Nottingham (2021)*

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Method notes and data tables

Method

Desk review of evidence

We reviewed local evaluation reports and case studies provided by Fulfilling Lives partnerships on the topic of homelessness and rough sleeping. We used this material to identify the different ways partnerships have sought to tackle homelessness and rough sleeping and the impact of these. The evidence also provided useful context on the experiences of homelessness and rough sleeping among people facing multiple disadvantage and barriers to maintaining more settled accommodation.

We also undertook a light-touch review of wider evidence and policy on homelessness, rough sleeping and multiple disadvantage. Sources were retrieved from the University of Sheffield library gateway, Google Scholar and Google using a combination of the following search terms: homeless, homelessness, rough sleeping, patterns, temporary, characteristics, multiple disadvantage. Given the nature of the topic and policy landscape, articles published before 2015 were excluded. A snowballing technique was then adopted, with additional resources found through the reference lists of those articles reviewed. UK-specific literature was prioritised, but wider literature was included at times, if appropriate.

NECG workshops and interviews

The National Expert Citizens Group (NECG) is the lived experience representative group for people using services funded by the Fulfilling Lives programme. Developing appropriate accommodation options for people who are experiencing multiple disadvantage is one of the group's strategic priorities. Members were asked to discuss the following questions across their local lived experience networks.

- What are the ingredients of support that Fulfilling Lives provides that help people move from homelessness to settled accommodation?

- What are the barriers that make it difficult for some people to move into and remain in settled accommodation? Why do some people end up back homeless again?

- How is the experience of homelessness different for women? What gender-specific support do they need with this?

The main themes from local areas were then shared at a series of regional meetings during May 2021, attended by CFE researchers. The key points were summarised and presented at a national meeting in June 2021. A follow-up series of workshops were held where members considered solutions to some of the challenges identified and developed the recommendations that accompany this report. At least 30 members of the NECG directly participated in this element of the research.

We undertook three additional in-depth interviews with selected NECG members to develop the individual case studies included in the report.

You can read more about the work of the NECG here.

Qualitative interviews were also undertaken with three staff members working in the homelessness sector: a frontline worker, a voluntary sector service manager and a local authority strategic manager. All worked in Fulfilling Lives areas but for funded partnerships. All interviews were recorded with participants, permission transcribed in full and coded to the themes identified through NECG engagement.

Limitations of qualitative research

While the NECG members directly involved in the research all have lived experience of multiple disadvantage, not all are current or recent beneficiaries of support provided by the Fulfilling Lives programme. While the qualitative research provides valuable insights into experiences of rough sleeping and homelessness, as well as approaches and support that people have found valuable, the results are not necessarily generalizable across the wider population of people experiencing multiple disadvantage. In particular, the sample of stakeholder interviews undertaken for this research was small.

Analysis of quantitative data

The following research questions guided our quantitative data analysis:

- What are the characteristics of those who are rough sleeping or homeless when they join Fulfilling Lives?
- What are the main patterns of homelessness and rough sleeping experienced by Fulfilling Lives beneficiaries after they join the programme?
- What are the factors (individual characteristics and support services) that are associated with people moving from homelessness/rough sleeping to more stable forms of accommodation?

About the quantitative data
A common data framework (CDF) was developed at the start of the Fulfilling Lives programme to ensure consistent data are collected by all 12 partnership areas. The CDF includes:

- Demographic information on beneficiaries and their dates of engagement with the programme
- Time spent in different types of accommodation each quarter
- Use of a range of statutory and other support services
- Destination/reason for leaving the programme
- Six monthly assessments of need and risk (Homelessness Outcomes Star™ and New Directions Team assessment).

Data are collected on time spent in the following types of accommodation:

- Rough sleeping
- Staying temporarily with friends or family (sofa surfing)
- Temporary accommodation such as hostels, night shelters, B&Bs or refuges

- Supported accommodation
- Beneficiary's own tenancy (social housing)
- Beneficiary's own tenancy (private rented)
- Shared property
- Prison
- Other type of accommodation.

A broader category of homelessness was created by aggregating rough sleeping, temporary accommodation and staying with friends and family.

The Homelessness Outcomes Star is a tool for supporting and measuring change in people with multiple needs and is completed by beneficiaries with support from keyworkers. People agree a score from 1–10 on each of ten areas. A total score is also calculated. An increase in the score indicates progress towards self-reliance (so high scores are good). For more information see here.

The New Directions Team assessment (or NDT assessment) is a tool for assessing beneficiary need, risk and involvement with other services. It is completed by the support worker. The NDT assessment covers ten areas. Each item in the assessment is rated on a five-point scale with zero being the lowest possible score and four being the highest. Risk to others and risk from others are double-weighted, with a high score of eight. The highest possible NDT score is 48 and the lowest zero. Low scores denote lower needs (so low NDT assessment scores are good). For more information see here.

Only those beneficiaries who consent to their data being collected by partnerships and shared with the national evaluation team are included in our analysis. Partnerships submit CDF data to us on a quarterly basis. The analysis carried out for this study is based on data collected up to March 2020 and therefore does not take into account the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic and associated lockdowns.

Results are based only on those beneficiaries who had complete accommodation records for the quarter(s) relevant to the analysis. Those beneficiaries with missing accommodation records (that is, where we do not

know their accommodation status at times) are excluded from this analysis. Approximately 43 percent of all observations are excluded from the analysis for this reason. The mean age, gender and ethnic profile of excluded records is not substantially different from the profile of beneficiaries overall.

Limitations of quantitative analysis

Collecting information from people experiencing multiple disadvantage can be challenging. As outlined above, the datasets are not always complete and base numbers for different analyses vary. There are limits to what we can infer about the wider group of Fulfilling Lives beneficiaries based on the data available. For example, those who consent to sharing their data may be more engaged with the programme than those who do not. Regression analysis provides a useful tool for identifying the characteristics and support services associated with changing levels of rough sleeping and/or homelessness. However, regression models should not be used as evidence of causal relationships or of the direction of influence. For example, problems with substance misuse may lead to homelessness and vice versa. Further, there are likely to be unobserved factors that influence both the explanatory variables and the outcome.

Summary statistics

Table 1: Experience of homelessness and rough sleeping during quarter one

	Homelessness		Rough sleeping	
	Beneficiaries	Per cent	Beneficiaries	Per cent
None of the time	890	42	1,578	74
Some of the time	304	14	292	14
Most of the time	932	44	256	12
Total	**2,126**		**2,126**	

'Some of the time' is defined as between 1 and 65 per cent of a particular quarter. 'Most of the time' is between 66 and 100 per cent of a quarter.

Table 2: Identified needs at point of entry onto Fulfilling Lives

	Number of beneficiaries	Per cent
Homelessness	1,444	68
History of offending	1,737	82
Mental ill health	1,946	92
Substance misuse	2,020	95
Total	**2,126**	

Table 3: Number of different types of accommodation people stay in during quarter one

Number of accommodation types	Number of beneficiaries	Per cent
1 type	1,362	64
2 types	558	26
3 types	167	8
4 or more types	39	2
Total	2,126	

See page 51 for a list of types of accommodation.

Table 4: Experience of homelessness and rough sleeping in quarter one by sex (base = 2,126)

Q1 experience	Male	Female	P value
Experienced homelessness*	60%	54%	0.0080
Experienced rough sleeping*	29%	20%	0.0000

* indicates a statistically significant difference at the 95% level between males and females calculated using test of proportions (prtest).

Table 5: Change in mean average days spent in different types of accommodation between quarter one and quarter four (base = 1,620, all values rounded)

Accommodation type	Q1 Mean days	Q4 Mean days	Change (days)	P value
Own tenancy*	21	31	+10	0.0000
Supported accommodation*	17	20	+3	0.0001
Friends and family*	15	13	-2	0.0042
Temporary accommodation*	14	10	-4	0.0000
Rough sleeping*	13	7	-6	0.0000
Prison	3	4	+1	0.0730
Shared property	1	1	-	0.1989
Other	7	6	-1	0.1163
Homeless*	43	29	-14	0.0000

Table 6: Change in mean average days spent in different types of accommodation between quarter four and quarter eight (base= 919)

Accommodation type	Q1 Mean days	Q4 Mean days	Change (days)	P value
Own tenancy*	29	36	+7	0.0000
Supported accommodation*	22	22	-	0.5029
Friends and family*	12	11	-1	0.2198
Temporary accommodation*	10	7	-3	0.0001
Rough sleeping*	7	5	-2	0.0546
Prison	5	5	-	0.3127
Shared property	1	1	-	0.1843
Other	6	5	-1	0.7045
Homeless*	29	23	-6	0.0000

* indicates a statistically significant difference at the 95% level between quarter 4 and quarter 8, calculated using paired sample t-test.

The aim of Tables 7 and 8 is to show the change in beneficiary rough sleeping and homelessness (respectively) between the first and final quarters on the programme. These tables include only those who left the programme within three years (12 quarters).

There are five categories:

- 'Positive no change' refers to those who experience no rough sleeping/homelessness in their first quarter and leave with this status.
- 'Negative no change' refers to those who experience rough sleeping/homelessness in their first quarter and have similar levels of rough sleeping/homelessness in their final quarter.
- 'Decrease in rough sleeping/homelessness' refers to those who leave the programme with a lower percentage of their time spent rough sleeping/homeless than their first quarter.
- 'Increase in rough sleeping/homelessness' refers to those who leave the programme with a higher percentage of their time spent rough sleeping/homeless than when they first joined the programme.

Table 7: Change in rough sleeping status between joining and leaving the programme

Quarters on the programme	Beneficiaries with positive no change (per cent)	Beneficiaries with negative no change (per cent)	Beneficiaries with a decrease in rough sleeping (per cent)	Beneficiaries with an increase in rough sleeping (per cent)	Total number of beneficiaries
2	67	9	15	9	230
3	73	5	14	8	221
4	68	6	17	10	176
5	67	2	23	7	132
6	78	1	17	4	103
7	88	0	9	3	74
8	70	0	25	5	63
9	68	0	26	5	38
10	66	3	26	6	35
11	61	0	33	6	33
12	56	0	31	13	32
n	799	47	208	83	1,137
Overall per cent	**70**	**4**	**18**	**7**	

Table 8: Change in homelessness status between joining and leaving the programme

Quarters on the programme	Beneficiaries with positive no change (per cent)	Beneficiaries with negative no change (per cent)	Beneficiaries with a decrease in rough sleeping (per cent)	Beneficiaries with an increase in rough sleeping (per cent)	Total number of beneficiaries
2	34	30	22	14	230
3	34	24	24	18	221
4	32	22	33	13	176
5	32	17	34	17	132
6	34	10	35	21	103
7	45	18	27	11	74
8	37	14	32	17	63
9	24	11	47	18	38
10	40	0	49	11	35
11	39	6	39	15	33
12	19	13	47	22	32
n	385	224	346	182	1,137
Overall per cent	**34**	**20**	**30**	**16**	

Tables 7 and 8 show that overall, most beneficiaries have left the programme with a positive outcome in relation to rough sleeping (88 per cent) and homelessness (64 per cent). It is generally the case that beneficiaries who have seen an increase in homelessness/rough sleeping are mostly those who leave the programme by quarter six. Those who stay on the programme longer are more likely to leave with a reduction in their levels of rough sleeping/ homelessness or to remain housed throughout (positive no change).

Table 9 and Table 10 show the transition rates across the first 12 quarters. These are the percentages of beneficiaries transitioning from one level of rough sleeping/homelessness to another in the following quarter. The table includes only those beneficiaries who had complete accommodation records that covered all of their quarters while still on the programme and excludes those who are still on the programme after quarter 12. Colour coding has been added to aid interpretation – green indicates a positive change (or remaining not rough sleeping or homeless), yellow those who remain with the same broad level of rough sleeping or homelessness and red those who move up a level.

Table 9: Transition rates for rough sleeping (%)

	To		
From	**None**	**Some**	**Most/ All**
None	95	4	1
Some	50	42	7
Most/ All	29	14	57
Total	**86**	**8**	**6**

Table 10: Transition rates for homelessness (%)

	To		
From	**None**	**Some**	**Most/ All**
None	88	5	7
Some	37	41	22
Most/ All	18	10	72
Total	**57**	**11**	**32**

Table 9 shows that 4 per cent of beneficiaries move from spending no time rough sleeping to spending some time rough sleeping in the next quarter; only 1 per cent move to spending all/most of their time rough sleeping, and 95 per cent continue to avoid rough sleeping. The table shows that 50 per cent of those who spend some of their time rough sleeping transition to spending no time rough sleeping, and 42 per cent continue spending some time rough sleeping, and 7 per cent move to spending most or all nights rough sleeping. Finally, 29 per cent of those who spend most/all of their time rough sleeping in a given quarter spend no time rough sleeping in the next quarter. The "Total" row of the table summarises the results in terms of beneficiary quarters. In total we have 5,656 beneficiary-quarters of data; 86 per cent of these observations are in the no rough sleeping category; 8 per cent are in the category of some rough sleeping; and 6 per cent are in the most/all rough sleeping category.

The equivalent transition rates for homelessness are reported in Table 10. In general, a smaller proportion of beneficiaries move to a better accommodation state for this measure, which is expected as the homelessness measure includes those in temporary accommodation or staying with friends and family as well as the rough sleeping beneficiaries.

Regression analysis

Baseline

Multivariate probit regression was used to explore the association between experience of homelessness/rough sleeping and the beneficiary characteristics at baseline. These characteristics are:

- age
- sex
- ethnicity
- three dummy variables representing the needs of the individual (offending, substance misuse, mental health)
- dummy variables for each partnership, where the omitted category is "West Yorkshire".

The Homelessness Outcomes Star scores (columns 1 and 3) and NDT assessment scores (columns 2 and 4) are also included separately in each regression.

The binary dependent variable is rough sleeping/homeless, which is one if the beneficiary spent some or most of his/her time in the first quarter of joining the project rough sleeping/homeless and zero otherwise. This analysis includes only those beneficiaries who had complete accommodation records that covered all of their first quarter on the programme (2,126 cases).

Results

The estimates in Table 11 show that: older beneficiaries are less likely to be homeless; women are also less likely to be rough sleeping and homeless; those with a substance misuse need are more likely to be rough sleeping; those with a mental health need are less likely to be homeless and rough sleeping; beneficiaries with high NDT scores are more likely to be homeless and rough sleeping; and those with a high Outcomes Star score are less likely to be homeless and rough sleeping. At baseline, a number of partnerships had a significantly higher incidence of rough sleeping and homelessness among their beneficiaries than West Yorkshire, whereas in Liverpool there was a significantly lower incidence of rough sleeping among programme beneficiaries. Overall, the results do not change if the partnership variables are removed from the analysis. Note that excluding the Outcomes Star and NDT scores from these models makes very little difference to the remaining coefficient estimates.

Table 11: Association between baseline characteristics and experience of homelessness and rough sleeping

Asterisks indicate level of significance: * 10% ** 5% and *** 1%.

	Rough sleeping		Homelessness	
	Association coefficients for each variable and, in parentheses, the respective standard error.			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Age	-0.004	-0.004	-0.012***	-0.012***
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Ethnicity (non-white British)	0.095	0.092	-0.008	-0.006
	(0.086)	(0.085)	(0.079)	(0.079)
Sex (female)	-0.303***	-0.340***	-0.145**	-0.169***
	(0.068)	(0.068)	(0.060)	(0.060)
Substance misuse	0.668***	0.712***	0.125	0.153
	(0.181)	(0.182)	(0.132)	(0.132)
Mental health	-0.424***	-0.436***	-0.190*	-0.200*
	(0.107)	(0.106)	(0.104)	(0.104)
Offending	0.024	0.006	-0.037	-0.039
	(0.085)	(0.085)	(0.075)	(0.075)
Partnerships				
Birmingham	0.017	0.094	0.442***	0.470***
	(0.127)	(0.132)	(0.115)	(0.121)
Blackpool	0.388***	0.317***	0.323***	0.273***
	(0.105)	(0.103)	(0.097)	(0.096)
Brighton & Hove, Eastbourne, Hastings	0.521***	0.597***	0.728***	0.770***
	(0.180)	(0.181)	(0.184)	(0.184)
Bristol	0.350*	0.284	0.564***	0.501***
	(0.207)	(0.206)	(0.192)	(0.192)

	Rough sleeping		Homelessness	
Camden and Islington	0.703***	0.718***	0.388**	0.388**
	(0.186)	(0.186)	(0.184)	(0.184)
Lambeth, Southwark & Lewisham	-0.016	0.022	-0.106	-0.105
	(0.167)	(0.173)	(0.143)	(0.149)
Liverpool	-0.352***	-0.384***	-0.055	-0.088
	(0.127)	(0.126)	(0.104)	(0.104)
Manchester	0.290**	0.339**	0.381***	0.407***
	(0.131)	(0.133)	(0.123)	(0.125)
Newcastle & Gateshead	-0.263	-0.321	0.154	0.092
	(0.223)	(0.221)	(0.175)	(0.175)
Nottingham	0.190	0.239**	0.412***	0.438***
	(0.116)	(0.117)	(0.108)	(0.109)
Stoke-on-Trent	0.115	0.022	0.373**	0.297*
	(0.188)	(0.186)	(0.169)	(0.168)
Outcomes Star scores	-0.016***		-0.010***	
	(0.002)		(0.002)	
NDT scores		0.020***		0.011***
		(0.005)		(0.004)
Constant	-0.300	-1.455***	0.933***	0.230
	(0.255)	(0.283)	(0.214)	(0.236)
Total beneficiaries	2,128	2,128	2,128	2,128

Change over time

Multivariate probit regression was used to explore the association between a set of factors and the probability of moving from rough sleeping (or homelessness) into more stable forms of accommodation after controlling for individual characteristics. The factors included in the regression are positive factors representing services that the beneficiary might have received while engaging in the programme. These include:

- Receiving advice and information on housing.
- Receiving advice and information on money and debt.
- Receiving advice and information on welfare rights.
- Receiving a personal budget.
- Receiving peer support.
- Receiving life skills training.

Another set of factors are also included in the regression that might have a negative impact on the change in accommodation status. These are:

- Being excluded from a service due to conduct or behaviour.
- Being refused a service due to not meeting eligibility criteria.
- Interaction with the criminal justice system (measured as arrests).
- Experience of prison.
- Eviction from a tenancy.

The dependent variable in Table 12 is a dummy variable based on **the change in rough sleeping and homelessness status between the first quarter and the quarter in which the beneficiary leaves the programme**. Specifically, the variable equals one if the beneficiary has left the programme with a lower percentage of their time spent rough sleeping than when they started or recorded a 'positive no change' (i.e. they join the programme not rough sleeping and leave it with this status). The dependent variable equals zero if the beneficiary has a 'negative no change' (i.e. they join with a rough sleeping status and leave with this status) or leaves with an increase in rough sleeping. The dependent variable related to homelessness is constructed in the same way.

Tables 13 and 14 show the association between **changes in rough sleeping and homelessness status between first and second, third, fourth and eighth quarters respectively**. We include the same positive and negative factors as in Table 12. For each dependent variable (rough sleeping and homelessness) we ran two separate analyses in order to maximise the number of observations available. We include the positive factors in Table 13a (rough sleeping) and Table 13b (homelessness), whereas Table 14a (rough sleeping) and Table 14b (homelessness) include the negative factors.

The factors included in the regressions are defined using the following criteria: if there is at least one instance of someone using a service, the variable will equal one, even if they have missing data in other quarters. If a beneficiary has a combination of missing data and zeros the variable will equal zero.

We also ran the analysis including partnership dummies but this did not change the results.

Results

Table 12 shows that experiencing an eviction from a tenancy is associated with a decrease in the probability of moving into more stable accommodation. The results also show that older beneficiaries are more likely to experience a reduction in homelessness, whereas non-white beneficiaries, those with substance misuse needs and those who have been arrested are less likely to experience a reduction in homelessness.

Table 12: Change in rough sleeping and homelessness status between quarter one and the quarter the beneficiary left the programme

Asterisks indicate level of significance: * 10%, ** 5% and *** 1%.

	Less rough sleeping	Less homelessness
	Association coefficients for each variable and, in parentheses, the respective standard error.	
Age	0.008	0.012**
	(0.008)	(0.005)
Ethnicity (non-white British)	-0.302	-0.248*
	(0.200)	(0.145)
Sex (female)	0.242	-0.088
	(0.163)	(0.107)
Substance misuse	-0.325	-0.476*
	(0.413)	(0.281)
Mental health	0.161	0.041
	(0.247)	(0.178)
Offending	0.206	0.152
	(0.197)	(0.137)
Personal budget	0.184	0.161
	(0.160)	(0.110)
Advice/info on housing	-0.398	-0.050
	(0.286)	(0.176)

	Less rough sleeping	Less homelessness
Advice/info on money and debt	0.024	0.096
	(0.184)	(0.126)
Advice/info on welfare rights	0.190	0.110
	(0.168)	(0.116)
Peer support	0.077	0.007
	(0.194)	(0.126)
Life skills training	0.129	0.146
	(0.170)	(0.114)
Excluded from a service	0.070	0.077
	(0.191)	(0.133)
Refused a service	0.191	-0.073
	(0.211)	(0.135)
Eviction from a tenancy	-0.670***	-0.325***
	(0.164)	(0.119)
Being arrested	0.112	-0.236**
	(0.170)	(0.112)
Experience of prison	-0.134	0.146
	(0.196)	(0.141)
Constant	1.369**	0.328
	(0.600)	(0.410)
Total beneficiaries	717	717

Table 13a shows there is an association between reducing levels of rough sleeping and getting peer support, advice on housing and receiving life skills training, but only for change in the first three quarters. Table 13b shows that there is an association between reducing levels of homelessness and receiving a personal budget, getting support from a peer mentor and advice and information on welfare rights, but only for change in the first four quarters. These services have the expected impact only at the start of beneficiaries joining the programme.

Table 13a: Change in rough sleeping status between quarter one and quarters two, three, four and eight including positive support services used

Asterisks indicate level of significance: * 10%, ** 5% and *** 1%.

	Less rough sleeping Q1–Q2	Less rough sleeping Q1–Q3	Less rough sleeping Q1–Q4	Less rough sleeping Q1–Q8
	Association coefficients for each variable and, in parentheses, the respective standard error.			
Age	0.007*	0.002	0.003	0.032***
	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.012)
Ethnicity (non-white British)	-0.058	0.217	0.297*	0.133
	(0.112)	(0.157)	(0.176)	(0.342)
Sex (female)	0.233***	0.227**	0.207*	-0.302
	(0.090)	(0.114)	(0.123)	(0.227)
Substance misuse	-0.273	-0.106	-0.089	0.000
	(0.227)	(0.261)	(0.268)	(.)
Mental health	-0.236	-0.039	-0.017	-0.204
	(0.158)	(0.180)	(0.197)	(0.556)
Offending	-0.325***	-0.187	-0.151	-0.099
	(0.122)	(0.151)	(0.159)	(0.317)
Any personal budget in Q1	0.014			
	(0.096)			
Any advice/info on housing in Q1	0.183*			
	(0.096)			
Any advice/info on money & debt in Q1	-0.021			
	(0.104)			
Any advice/info on welfare rights in Q1	-0.066			
	(0.109)			
Any peer support in Q1	0.493**			
	(0.222)			

	Less rough sleeping Q1–Q2	Less rough sleeping Q1–Q3	Less rough sleeping Q1–Q4	Less rough sleeping Q1–Q8
Any life skills training in Q1	0.081			
	(0.129)			
Any personal budget in Q1–2		-0.071		
		(0.109)		
Any advice/info on housing in Q1–2		-0.029		
		(0.140)		
Any advice/info on money & debt in Q1–2		-0.048		
		(0.123)		
Any advice/info on welfare rights in Q1–2		0.151		
		(0.128)		
Any peer support in Q1–2		0.188		
		(0.186)		
Any life skills training in Q1–2		0.340**		
		(0.143)		
Any personal budget in Q1–3			0.084	
			(0.120)	
Any advice/info on housing in Q1–3			-0.185	
			(0.183)	
Any advice/info on money & debt in Q1–3			-0.080	
			(0.140)	
Any advice/info on welfare rights in Q1–3			0.215	
			(0.133)	
Any peer support in Q1–3			0.052	
			(0.166)	
Any life skills training in Q1–3			0.177	
			(0.139)	
Any personal budget in Q1–7				0.460
				(0.296)

	Less rough sleeping Q1–Q2	Less rough sleeping Q1–Q3	Less rough sleeping Q1–Q4	Less rough sleeping Q1–Q8
Any advice/info on housing in Q1–7				0.000
				(.)
Any advice/info on money & debt in Q1–7				-0.186
				(0.310)
Any advice/info on welfare rights in Q1–7				-0.039
				(0.264)
Any peer support in Q1–7				0.170
				(0.246)
Any life skills training in Q1–7				0.251
				(0.235)
Constant	1.404***	1.368***	0.356	0.356
	(0.337)	(0.445)	(0.839)	(0.839)
Total beneficiaries	1,582	1,021	357	357

Table 13b: Change in homelessness status between quarter one and two, three, four and eight including positive support services used

Asterisks indicate level of significance: * 10%, ** 5% and *** 1%.

	Less rough sleeping Q1–Q2	Less rough sleeping Q1–Q3	Less rough sleeping Q1–Q4	Less rough sleeping Q1–Q8
	Association coefficients for each variable and, in parentheses, the respective standard error.			
Age	0.015***	0.012***	0.014***	0.021***
	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.007)
Ethnicity (non-white British)	-0.040	0.059	0.179	-0.031
	(0.089)	(0.106)	(0.118)	(0.201)
Sex (female)	0.047	-0.040	-0.084	-0.062
	(0.069)	(0.080)	(0.088)	(0.148)
Substance misuse	-0.151	-0.118	-0.165	-0.333
	(0.161)	(0.180)	(0.190)	(0.312)

	Less rough sleeping Q1–Q2	Less rough sleeping Q1–Q3	Less rough sleeping Q1–Q4	Less rough sleeping Q1–Q8
Mental health	0.019	-0.024	0.065	-0.275
	(0.116)	(0.134)	(0.147)	(0.323)
Offending	0.062	-0.182*	-0.279**	-0.233
	(0.085)	(0.104)	(0.114)	(0.202)
Any personal budget in Q1	0.167**			
	(0.075)			
Any advice/info on housing in Q1	-0.077			
	(0.077)			
Any advice/info on money & debt in Q1	0.022			
	(0.081)			
Any advice/info on welfare rights in Q1	0.121			
	(0.086)			
Any peer support in Q1	0.416***			
	(0.147)			
Any life skills training in Q1	0.078			
	(0.098)			
Any personal budget in Q1–2		0.000		
		(0.080)		
Any advice/info on housing in Q1–2		-0.080		
		(0.106)		
Any advice/info on money & debt in Q1–2		-0.081		
		(0.092)		
Any advice/info on welfare rights in Q1–2		0.180**		
		(0.092)		
Any peer support in Q1–2		0.345***		
		(0.130)		
Any life skills training in Q1–2		0.002		
		(0.094)		

	Less rough sleeping Q1–Q2	Less rough sleeping Q1–Q3	Less rough sleeping Q1–Q4	Less rough sleeping Q1–Q8
Any personal budget in Q1–3			0.057	
			(0.089)	
Any advice/info on housing in Q1–3			-0.109	
			(0.135)	
Any advice/info on money & debt in Q1–3			-0.005	
			(0.104)	
Any advice/info on welfare rights in Q1–3			0.249**	
			(0.097)	
Any peer support in Q1–3			0.120	
			(0.118)	
Any life skills training in Q1–3			-0.005	
			(0.098)	
Any personal budget in Q1–7				0.049
				(0.222)
Any advice/info on housing in Q1–7				0.000
				(.)
Any advice/info on money & debt in Q1–7				-0.149
				(0.201)
Any advice/info on welfare rights in Q1–7				0.119
				(0.177)
Any peer support in Q1–7				0.166
				(0.162)
Any life skills training in Q1–7				0.211
				(0.156)
Constant	-0.262	0.307	0.222	0.356
	(0.248)	(0.289)	(0.320)	(0.839)
Total beneficiaries	1,582	1,237	1,021	357

Tables 14a and 14b also show an ongoing association between being evicted from a tenancy and reduced likelihood of improved housing status.

Table 14a: Change in rough sleeping status between quarter one and quarters two, three, four and eight showing potential negative factors

Asterisks indicate level of significance: * 10%, ** 5% and *** 1%.

	Less rough sleeping Q1–Q2	Less rough sleeping Q1–Q3	Less rough sleeping Q1–Q4	Less rough sleeping Q1–Q8
	Association coefficients for each variable and, in parentheses, the respective standard error.			
Age	0.006	0.008	-0.003	0.039**
	(0.006)	(0.008)	(0.010)	(0.019)
Ethnicity (non-white British)	-0.076	0.324	0.797**	0.580
	(0.153)	(0.245)	(0.402)	(0.692)
Sex (female)	0.044	0.376**	0.703***	0.147
	(0.122)	(0.175)	(0.245)	(0.329)
Substance misuse	-0.397	-0.416	-0.417	0.000
	(0.321)	(0.440)	(0.479)	(.)
Mental health	0.135	0.287	0.039	0.351
	(0.222)	(0.270)	(0.334)	(0.503)
Offending	-0.138	0.251	0.701***	0.000
	(0.155)	(0.198)	(0.263)	(.)
No. of exclusions in Q1	-0.339*			
	(0.174)			
No. of refusals in Q1	0.296			
	(0.227)			
No. of evictions in Q1	-0.661***			
	(0.159)			
No. of arrests in Q1	0.137			
	(0.144)			

	Less rough sleeping Q1–Q2	Less rough sleeping Q1–Q3	Less rough sleeping Q1–Q4	Less rough sleeping Q1–Q8
No. of nights in prison in Q1	-0.176			
	(0.215)			
No. of exclusions in Q1–2		-0.246		
		(0.209)		
No. of refusals in Q1–2		-0.112		
		(0.222)		
No. of evictions in Q1–2		-0.377**		
		(0.182)		
No. of arrests in Q1–2		-0.254		
		(0.169)		
No. of nights in prison in Q1–2		0.410		
		(0.281)		
No. of exclusions in Q1–3			-0.457*	
			(0.252)	
No. of refusals in Q1–3			0.908***	
			(0.339)	
No. of evictions in Q1–3			-1.206***	
			(0.237)	
No. of arrests in Q1–3			-0.179	
			(0.244)	
No. of nights in prison in Q1–3			-0.132	
			(0.285)	
No. of exclusions in Q1–7				-0.304
				(0.455)
No. of refusals in Q1–7				0.112
				(0.395)
No. of evictions in Q1–7				-0.762*
				(0.454)

	Less rough sleeping Q1–Q2	Less rough sleeping Q1–Q3	Less rough sleeping Q1–Q4	Less rough sleeping Q1–Q8
No. of arrests in Q1–7				-0.484
				(0.607)
No. of nights in prison in Q1–7				0.362
				(0.356)
Constant	1.438***	1.041**	1.623**	0.129
	(0.440)	(0.525)	(0.659)	(1.125)
Total beneficiaries	848	583	421	108

Table 14b: Change in homelessness status between quarter one and quarters two, three, four and eight showing potential negative factors

Asterisks indicate level of significance: * 10%, ** 5% and *** 1%.

	Less rough sleeping Q1–Q2	Less rough sleeping Q1–Q3	Less rough sleeping Q1–Q4	Less rough sleeping Q1–Q8
	Association coefficients for each variable and, in parentheses, the respective standard error.			
Age	0.018***	0.021***	0.023***	0.020
	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.014)
Ethnicity (non-white British)	-0.008	0.063	0.174	0.323
	(0.122)	(0.154)	(0.185)	(0.413)
Sex (female)	0.039	0.015	0.101	-0.056
	(0.094)	(0.117)	(0.140)	(0.270)
Substance misuse	-0.097	-0.197	-0.223	0.000
	(0.214)	(0.272)	(0.295)	(.)
Mental health	0.114	0.092	0.103	-0.849*
	(0.173)	(0.208)	(0.239)	(0.495)
Offending	0.083	0.045	-0.043	-0.276
	(0.115)	(0.147)	(0.182)	(0.442)

	Less rough sleeping Q1–Q2	Less rough sleeping Q1–Q3	Less rough sleeping Q1–Q4	Less rough sleeping Q1–Q8
No. of exclusions in Q1	0.006			
	(0.148)			
No. of refusals in Q1	0.066			
	(0.170)			
No. of evictions in Q1	-0.520***			
	(0.140)			
No. of arrests in Q1	-0.050			
	(0.111)			
No. of nights in prison in Q1	0.059			
	(0.178)			
No. of exclusions in Q1–2		0.070		
		(0.165)		
No. of refusals in Q1–2		-0.263		
		(0.164)		
No. of evictions in Q1–2		-0.185		
		(0.141)		
No. of arrests in Q1–2		-0.161		
		(0.125)		
No. of nights in prison in Q1–2		0.007		
		(0.184)		
No. of exclusions in Q1–3			0.148	
			(0.179)	
No. of refusals in Q1–3			-0.090	
			(0.181)	
No. of evictions in Q1–3			-0.630***	
			(0.152)	
No. of arrests in Q1–3			-0.070	
			(0.151)	

	Less rough sleeping Q1–Q2	Less rough sleeping Q1–Q3	Less rough sleeping Q1–Q4	Less rough sleeping Q1–Q8
No. of nights in prison in Q1–3			-0.037	
			(0.196)	
No. of exclusions in Q1–7				-0.802**
				(0.367)
No. of refusals in Q1–7				0.202
				(0.331)
No. of evictions in Q1–7				-0.502
				(0.322)
No. of arrests in Q1–7				-0.512
				(0.391)
No. of nights in prison in Q1–7				0.878***
				(0.301)
Constant	-0.376	-0.150	-0.071	1.594*
	(0.312)	(0.379)	(0.448)	(0.941)
Total beneficiaries	848	583	421	124

Association between homelessness and destination

Tables 15 and 16 show the association between the last reported beneficiary destination and the change in rough sleeping or homelessness status between joining and leaving the programme. The dependent variables in each case are measures of a positive destination based on three different criteria, which we use due to the uncertainty of whether to classify 'still engaged with the project' as a positive or negative destination.

The first measure defines a positive destination as one of the following:

- "Moved to other support (not funded through this project)"
- "No longer requires support".

The positive destination dummy is equal to zero for the following destinations:

- "Client disengaged from project"
- "Prison"
- "Deceased"
- "Unknown".

Observations with the destinations: Hospital; Moved out of area; Other; Not applicable (still engaged with project) are not included in the analysis using this first measure.

The other two measures differ from the first measure in the way that, Not applicable (still engaged with project), is treated. The second measure treats 'still engaged' as a positive destination; the third measure treats it as a negative destination.

The variables of interest in Tables 15 and 16 have four categories, which are defined in the discussion of Tables 7 and 8 above.

Results

The analysis in Table 15 shows that having a 'positive no change' accommodation outcome is associated with an increase in the probability of the beneficiary moving to a positive destination compared to those who have

an increase in rough sleeping (the omitted category). On the other hand, those who have a 'negative no change' accommodation outcome have a lower probability of moving to a positive destination. Finally, those who show improvement in their accommodation status (less rough sleeping) have a higher probability of moving to a positive destination compared to the omitted category. This result is robust to the three different treatments of 'still engaged with the project'. The results in Table 16 show similar results for homelessness, which are also robust to three different specifications of the destination measure.

Table 15: The association between beneficiary destination and change in rough sleeping

Asterisks indicate level of significance: * 10%, ** 5% and *** 1%.

	Positive destination		
	First measure	**Second measure**	**Third measure**
	Association coefficients for each variable and, in parentheses, the respective standard error.		
Age	0.012***	0.009**	0.010***
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Ethnicity (non-white British)	0.088	0.163	-0.019
	(0.122)	(0.104)	(0.105)
Sex (female)	0.037	0.135*	-0.064
	(0.093)	(0.080)	(0.081)
Substance misuse	-0.274	-0.275	-0.171
	(0.195)	(0.173)	(0.164)
Mental health	0.178	0.261*	0.052
	(0.151)	(0.133)	(0.138)
Offending	-0.445***	-0.332***	-0.365***
	(0.110)	(0.098)	(0.094)

	Positive destination		
	First measure	**Second measure**	**Third measure**
Increase in rough sleeping is the omitted category			
Positive no change	0.662***	0.436***	0.590***
	(0.187)	(0.152)	(0.172)
Negative no change	-0.748**	-0.402	-0.648*
	(0.355)	(0.245)	(0.334)
Decrease in rough sleeping	0.527***	0.410**	0.407**
	(0.204)	(0.166)	(0.186)
Constant	-0.642*	-0.215	-0.799***
	(0.348)	(0.299)	(0.303)
Total beneficiaries	919	1,213	1,213

Table 16: The association between the last reported beneficiary destination and change in homelessness

Asterisks indicate level of significance: * 10%, ** 5% and *** 1%.

	Positive destination		
	First measure	**Second measure**	**Third measure**
	Association coefficients for each variable and, in parentheses, the respective standard error.		
Age	0.011**	0.008**	0.009**
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Ethnicity (non-white British)	0.119	0.167	-0.011
	(0.122)	(0.104)	(0.104)
Sex (female)	0.087	0.173**	-0.027
	(0.093)	(0.080)	(0.080)
Substance misuse	-0.288	-0.289*	-0.188
	(0.197)	(0.174)	(0.165)
Mental health	0.226	0.303**	0.105
	(0.148)	(0.132)	(0.135)
Offending	-0.442***	-0.326***	-0.365***
	(0.109)	(0.098)	(0.094)
Increase in rough sleeping is the omitted category			
Positive no change	0.345***	0.239**	0.306***
	(0.130)	(0.114)	(0.117)
Negative no change	-0.248*	-0.168	-0.205
	(0.149)	(0.126)	(0.135)
Decrease in rough sleeping	0.329**	0.290**	0.215*
	(0.132)	(0.114)	(0.117)
Constant	-0.273	0.010	-0.454
	(0.326)	(0.284)	(0.279)
Total beneficiaries	919	1,213	1,213

Evaluated by

The University Of Sheffield.