



Evaluating Fulfilling Lives

Learning from a programme evaluation

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A report by CFE Research



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This report captures some of the key learning from conducting national and local evaluations of the Fulfilling Lives programme to help inform future similar research.

Between 2014 and 2022, the Fulfilling Lives programme supported more than 4,000 people experiencing multiple forms of disadvantage, including homelessness, alcohol and substance misuse, offending, mental ill-health, and domestic violence.

The report will be of interest to:

- those undertaking research or evaluations with and/or about people experiencing multiple disadvantage
- evaluators planning and undertaking evaluations of large, complex, multi-site programmes
- programme funders designing and commissioning evaluations, particularly of large and complex programmes.

Contents

Introduction and background	6
The Fulfilling Lives programme	7
The Fulfilling Lives evaluation	8
Overarching learning and recommendations	10
The Common Data Framework (CDF)	13
Sourcing administrative data	20
Beneficiary surveys	23
Creating a comparison group	26
Qualitative data collection	30
Communities of Practice	35
Communicating with impact	38
Method	43
Notes and references	44

Introduction and background

The Fulfilling Lives programme and the accompanying evaluation and learning programme broke new ground in funding and researching multiple disadvantage in England. Fulfilling Lives was an eight-year investment of over £112 million – we know of no previous programme to address multiple disadvantage of this size and scale. The programme comprised many interrelated strands of activity that were both operating in and trying to influence a complex system.

Commensurate with the scale and complexity of the programme, a substantial budget was dedicated to evaluation and learning. Like the programme itself, the evaluation was ambitious and often challenging. Evaluation and research at national and local level has made substantial contributions to the evidence base on this topic. We gathered longitudinal data on over 4,000 people experiencing multiple disadvantage, creating a unique research resource. We are proud of what we achieved with the evaluation, but we did not always get it right.

In this report, the national evaluation team, with input from The National Lottery Community Fund (the Fund) and the funded partnerships, have reflected on some of the key approaches and learning from evaluating a large, multi-site and complex programme. The report is not a comprehensive account of all the evaluation activities we undertook, but is organised by elements of the method where we faced the most challenges or learnt most. The report is not intended necessarily to be read cover to cover, but for evaluators and commissioners to dip into and to find out more about specific aspects of our approach.

The Fulfilling Lives programme

The Fulfilling Lives programme was one of a series of strategic investments made by the Fund that were intended to make progress on complex social issues by providing substantial funding over an extended period in targeted parts of the country. Multiple disadvantage was defined by the programme as experience of two or more of homelessness, substance misuse, offending and mental ill-health.

Fulfilling Lives had three intended programme outcomes:

- People experiencing multiple disadvantage manage their lives better through access to person centred and coordinated services.
- Services are tailored and better connected, with service users to fully take part in effective service design and delivery.
- Shared learning and the improved measurement of outcomes will demonstrate the impact of service models to key stakeholders and influence future programme design by local services.

This was later summarised as ‘change lives, change systems and involve beneficiaries’.

The programme was designed to test and learn. This means partnerships were encouraged to be innovative and trial new approaches without needing to achieve throughput targets. Partnerships were able to work flexibly to pilot initiatives without being tied to them if they did not work. The precise nature of the interventions to be delivered was not prescribed, but partnership work was required to embody the following principles:

- taking a whole person approach
- being asset-based: people can improve their own circumstances and life chances with the right support
- engaging service users
- providing a tailored, holistic and connected service
- better coordinating provision.

The Fulfilling Lives evaluation

Evaluation and learning has been integral to Fulfilling Lives. The Fund commissioned CFE Research (CFE) and The University of Sheffield in early 2013 to carry out a national evaluation of the programme. Partnerships were also asked to do their own local evaluation.

The national evaluation as originally commissioned comprised elements of impact, process and economic evaluation. Specifically, it aimed to:

- track and assess the achievements of the programme and to estimate the extent to which these are attributable to the projects and interventions delivered
- calculate the value of benefits to the exchequer and wider society
- identify what interventions and approaches work well, for which people and in what circumstances
- assess the extent to which the Fund's principles (such as coproduction and partnership working) are incorporated into project design and delivery and to work out the degree to which these principles influence success
- explore how projects are delivered, understand problems faced and help identify solutions and lessons learned.

The Fund's brief (set out in the invitation to tender) included requirements for:

- a common measurement framework and tools to ensure the collection of comparable data on people supported by all partnerships (see pages 13 to 19), with quantitative analysis of the results of interventions
- counterfactual analysis to attribute any impact observed to the intervention and the Fund principles (see pages 26 to 29)
- qualitative research to find out causal factors and provide deeper and more vivid information about both individuals' journey and how interventions are delivered (see pages 30 to 34)

- involvement of people with current or previous experience of multiple disadvantage. The evaluation team worked closely with the National Expert Citizens Group (NECG, a group representing people with lived experience of multiple disadvantage from across the 12 partnerships) to gain insights from people with lived experience.

The evaluation contract also included a comprehensive learning programme. This aimed to support partnerships to engage in the evaluation, share their learning and communicate key findings to a wide audience. The learning programme comprised:

- regular meetings of two Communities of Practice (CoP) – one focusing on systems change (SCAN) and one focusing on learning and evaluation
- a programme of seminars and webinars and two national conferences
- an evaluation website (www.fulfillinglivesevaluation.org) that housed national and local reports and other resources, with regular blogs and newsletters.

As a long-term test and learn programme, Fulfilling Lives evolved and changed over time and so the evaluation had to adapt in response. We also modified our approach in light of our own learning to ensure we continued to provide evidence useful to key audiences. We moved away from carrying out a traditional impact evaluation. This was due to both challenges with establishing the counterfactual (see pages 26 to 29) and also to growing recognition that a test and learn programme operating in a complex environment lacked the tightly defined and standardised intervention necessary for a quasi-experimental evaluation.

Overarching learning and recommendations

Recommendations for those undertaking evaluations with and/or about people experiencing multiple disadvantage:

Ensure adequate expertise and resource for coproducing research, including training and supporting peer researchers. Working with people with lived experience adds great value. But it requires skill, time and money to do it properly and ensure people are supported throughout.

Appropriate incentives are necessary to engage people experiencing multiple disadvantage in research activities. Alongside this, it is important to consider how financial incentives might impact benefits; work with local staff and volunteers to offer the most appropriate recompense for those engaging with the research.

Make use of existing lived experience groups. Group coordinator(s) know participants well and are aware of the needs of individuals so are well placed to support people's participation in the research. Make participants comfortable in a familiar setting by meeting in their own environment for research activities.

Be trauma-informed in all methods. There is a great deal of expertise in the field to draw upon when designing research to be as trauma-informed as possible; this includes avoiding asking people to repeat information that has already been provided to services and keeping surveys as short as possible.

Consider the impact of research and evaluation on people with lived experience. It is imperative to have robust policies and procedures in place to safeguard participants. Although this is no different from any research with human participants, extra consideration needs to be given to how to both involve and protect vulnerable people.

Engage services to support accessing and engaging potential participants. Ensure that in return services benefit from the research too: show how the data is being used, allow them to feed into analysis and provide networking opportunities through the research.

Recommendations for evaluators planning and undertaking evaluations of large, complex, multi-site programmes:

Select a methodology that is appropriate for complexity. The Fulfilling Lives programme was a complex programme with many interrelated strands. These operate in and try to influence a complex system that is often unpredictable; small changes can lead to unexpected results. Context is also important, particularly in a programme such as this that is operating in and responding to different geographical locations with their own systems and cultures.

Be flexible. With such a long and complex programme, things were always going to change. It was important to be able to change direction, try different approaches and stop doing some evaluation activities that were not working out. Build in space for review and reflection at regular intervals.

Ensure evaluations at different levels will complement each other. Partnerships were asked to undertake their own local-level evaluations in addition to the national evaluation. While this produced a wealth of evidence, in the early stage of the programme in particular there was some confusion about where local evaluations could best focus their attention to complement the national evaluation, and avoid duplication of activity.

Involve services being evaluated. The support and buy-in of partnerships was essential, particularly given their role in collecting evaluation data. Getting involved in communities of practice and attending events organised by partnerships helped to deepen our understanding of work at the local level and build relationships between local and national teams.

Build in regular reporting and feedback loops. Make sure that those involved in collecting and providing data can see and benefit from the results – this helps drive support for evaluation. The national evaluation worked best when it provided timely insights and evidence that could be used by partnerships, in conjunction with local evidence, as part of their work to influence systems.

Take care not to overburden with requests. Where possible, spread fieldwork out to avoid asking for too much input in a short space of time. Consider how data on multiple topics could be collected at the same time rather than repeatedly interviewing the same people. For long-term projects and toward the end of funding, expect staff turnover and consider how to mitigate the resulting loss of knowledge.

Recommendations for programme funders designing and commissioning evaluations, particularly of large and complex programmes:

Ring-fence funding for evaluation and learning. Evaluation should be proportionate and take account of the existing evidence base. Whilst it may not be necessary to prove that something works and light-touch monitoring may be appropriate¹, a ground-breaking test and learn programme such as Fulfilling Lives required an ambitious evaluation. The Fund indicated that partnerships should set aside a proportion of their budget for evaluation, signalling the importance of this. This resource enabled partnerships to engage fully with the national evaluation, collect and manage substantial amounts of data locally, and undertake their own in-house research and analysis.

Allow sufficient time to see impact. Some types of change, such as systems change, can take time to realise. For short programmes, be realistic about what might be achieved and evidenced within the time available.

Commission evaluation early. The national evaluation was contracted by the Fund before the final 12 partnerships were announced. This meant that the evaluation could be integrated thoroughly within the programme. Data collection was designed with input from partnerships and people with lived experience, and could be launched at the same time people were joining the programme rather than trying to gather data retrospectively.

Consider the appropriateness of counterfactual approaches to evaluation. This will involve reviewing the purpose of the evaluation, the intervention and context, and the availability of expertise, time and funding. It may not always be worthwhile to include this.

The Common Data Framework (CDF)

In order to understand the reach of Fulfilling Lives and changes experienced by those receiving direct support from the programme, it was necessary to gather consistent information from all partnerships. This was achieved through a Common Data Framework (CDF).

What we did

The CDF (as well as other evaluation tools and approaches) was developed in consultation with a wide range of stakeholders, including staff from lead organisations (partnerships were still in the early stages of recruiting their teams), the Fund, the evaluation steering group, people with lived experience and representatives of relevant government departments including the Department for Work and Pensions (DWP) and the Ministry of Justice (MoJ). The CDF comprised four key elements.

The **service user record**: covering key demographics, start and end dates, destination and which types of support people were accessing, such as advice and guidance or counselling and therapies

Service use data: frequency of use of key public services, such as presentations at A&E, arrests, evictions from a tenancy, and hospital episodes. As well as ongoing data, partnerships were asked to source data for the 12 months prior to people joining the programme. Partnerships could collect service use data from one of three different sources:

- administrative sources (see the following section for more detail on this)
- informal reporting by project workers – staff work closely with beneficiaries and are well-placed to provide information on ongoing levels of service use
- self-report by beneficiary.

Homelessness Outcomes Star: a tool for supporting and measuring change in people experiencing homelessness and related forms of multiple disadvantage. The Star was completed by beneficiaries with support from their support workers, who agree on a score from one to ten in each of ten areas, such as physical health, meaningful use of time and managing money. A total score is also calculated, with an increase in the score indicating progress towards self-reliance.



Further information is available from: www.outcomesstar.org.uk/homelessness/

New Directions Team Assessment (NTA): a tool for assessing beneficiary need, risk and involvement with other services. It is completed by the support worker and covers ten areas, such as social effectiveness, self-harm and housing. Each item in the assessment is rated on a five-point scale.



For more information see: www.meam.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2010/05/NTA-Assessment-process-summary-April-2008.pdf

The CDF was designed to minimise the need for beneficiaries to retell their stories. With their consent, information already collected and held by partnerships was shared with the evaluators. In selecting outcome measures, we reviewed partnership plans for monitoring progress and key work support – many were already planning to make use of either the Homelessness Outcomes Star or the NTA. This made it easier to adopt these measures across the partnerships. Although there was some early disagreement, buy-in was built over time and evaluation and learning leads reported finding the two measures generally useful.

Data was recorded by support workers, then compiled into an Excel template and shared through a secure data send system with the national evaluation team on a quarterly basis. Seminars and webinars on data collection were held with partnerships and dedicated training on using the Outcomes Star was provided by Homeless Link and Triangle (who developed the Star).

Gaining beneficiary consent

Ensuring voluntary, informed consent for data collection and sharing is an important ethical consideration and was a vital part of building trust with people. The team coproduced text for an information booklet about the evaluation with people with lived experience. This text could then be customised by local partnerships adding their own name and logo.

There were two consent options: to share only anonymous data with the evaluation team, or to also share personal identifiers that could be used for matching their records with administrative data (see page 20 for further information). Where people did not consent to sharing any data, we received only their start and end date on the programme so we could compile total beneficiary numbers. 87 per cent of beneficiaries agreed to one of the consent options.

The consent materials were reviewed by data sharing experts (CFE's own consultant and specialist staff employed by organisations with whom we sought to share data, such as DWP) and updated at intervals throughout the programme, in particular after the introduction of the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) in 2016. We knew early on that we wanted to archive an anonymised version of the data for re-use by others, so we included this in the consent materials.

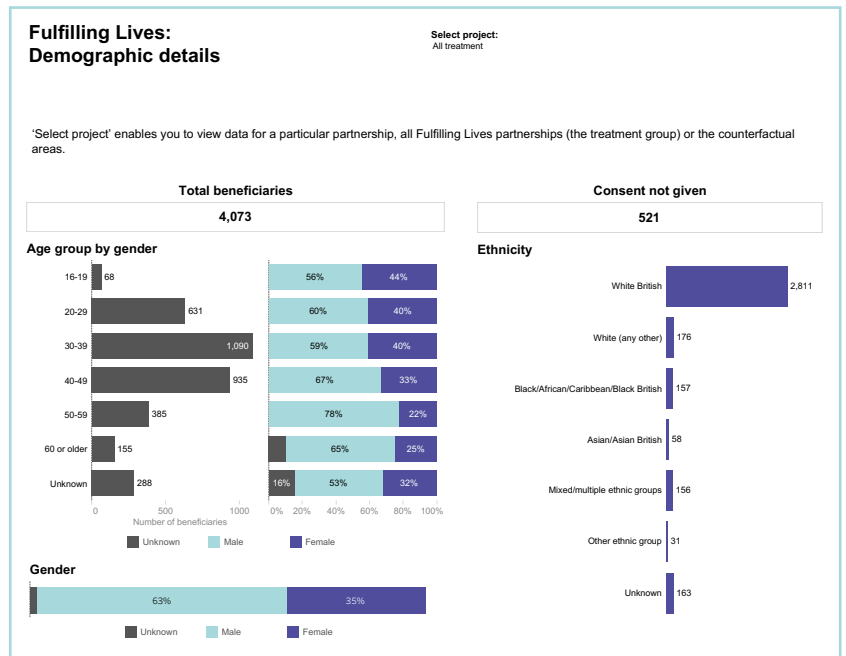
The evaluation team checked and cleaned the data and developed a longitudinal database of the quarterly returns. In total, data on over 120 variables for over 3,500 beneficiaries was gathered during the course of the programme. We conducted a review of the CDF with partnerships after several years. At this stage we added in and removed some variables.

A scaled-down version of the CDF was used by the MEAM Approach evaluation to allow comparisons to be made between the programmes.²

The national evaluation team produced a quarterly interactive dashboard using Tableau software. The link to this was shared with partnerships and colleagues at the Fund. This allowed partnerships and the Fund to get

an idea of the overarching trends in the data and benchmark their local data against the national picture.

Screenshot from the interactive dashboard



What were the challenges?

It took a long time (about three years) to gather sufficient data to do robust analysis on change over time. We needed to wait not only for sufficient beneficiaries to be recruited to the programme but also for them to remain engaged for long enough to see change. Data was also patchy in places so we needed a larger overall sample size. This was particularly the case for local evaluations working with only their own data. The fact that the programme was run over eight years was a distinct advantage in this regard. Some partnerships wished to gain access

to the full programme dataset in order to undertake comparative analysis between partnerships, but this was not possible as sharing data with other partnerships was not part of the consent statements beneficiaries signed.

In the early stages of the evaluation, there was concern from some partnerships that the data would be used for performance management and that this could result in frontline staff overstating progress. The evaluation team, the Fund and partnership staff all stressed that the data collection was for research and learning purposes and that staff should record an honest assessment of people's progress.

Data on use of public services was the most challenging to collect and was particularly patchy as a result. This limited the analysis that partnerships could undertake on the data locally, although at the national level we had sufficient to carry out overarching analysis. See the following section on administrative data for more information on this topic.

What did we learn?

Dedicated resource for data collection makes a difference. Gathering high quality data from people experiencing multiple disadvantage requires time and skill. There was substantial resource allocated for local evaluation from the start of the programme and this enabled many partnerships to have roles dedicated to managing the data processing. Without this, data collection on the scale achieved might not have been possible. Local resource for evaluation also allowed partnerships to do their own analysis of the data, which further built support for its collection.

Getting support staff to play a key role in recording data can be effective. They often have detailed knowledge of beneficiaries and the services they are using to be able to supply much of the required information and this method proved more effective than administering questionnaires with beneficiaries (see page 23).

However, **frontline staff buy-in is essential.** They need support to understand the role of data collection, training to ensure data collection is consistent, and time within their workloads to dedicate to this. Providing something back to staff so they can see how the data they collect is being used is important for sustaining buy-in.



Give people the opportunity to review and interpret quantitative data analysis

An interactive dashboard can be a useful engagement tool. The quarterly dashboard was eagerly awaited by learning and evaluation leads and was often used by them in local reports or to stimulate discussion and additional analysis. Seeing the data visualised helped to highlight unexpected patterns – partnerships often realised there was something wrong when they saw their data in the dashboard and could address this. In this way, the dashboard also helped to drive up data quality.

Give frontline staff and people with lived experience the opportunity to review and help interpret quantitative data analysis. We did not do this enough. When we did, they were interested and often able to provide insights into what the data was showing based on their experiences, particularly where unexpected patterns were identified.

Consider carefully how data collected will be used. The CDF was large with over 120 variables. Although we planned how all the variables would be used in our evaluation framework, some ended up being less useful than expected. In particular, we developed a detailed list of 38 different types of support – with hindsight, this was more detailed than need be and we often ended up aggregating categories to make them more manageable.

A review of the CDF at an earlier stage may have been more useful so omissions could be more easily addressed. There were also some pieces of information that, with hindsight, it would have been useful to collect: experience of domestic abuse and whether people have children would have allowed us to examine gendered experiences of multiple disadvantage further. The extent to which beneficiaries had 'no recourse to public funds' would also have allowed us to explore this issue, often raised by partnerships as a barrier to accessing support. However, there was also concern about adding to partnership data collection burden, particularly with highly sensitive topics.

Ideally, **outcome measures should be appropriate to different genders and cultures.** Partnership staff felt that the Homelessness Outcomes Star and NDTA did not adequately capture some of the specifics of women's experience of multiple disadvantage. A new version of the Homelessness Outcomes Star (renamed the Home Star™) has recently been released, which may address this to some extent, for example, replacing the category of 'offending' with 'safety and crime'.³

Couple quantitative data collection with qualitative research.

The CDF provided a unique and invaluable resource. However, qualitative research was essential to help interpret and add richness to the data, allowing us to understand why change was happening and what the barriers to progress were. Partnerships point out that the metrics used could be fairly blunt instruments when it came to measuring progress with this group – small changes in behaviour may be significant for an individual but too minor to be detected in the overall data.

Sourcing administrative data

The CDF included data on use of public services. We used this data to estimate costs to the public purse and track changes over time, for example, reductions in use of crisis or negative services.

Administrative data – that is, records kept by service providers such as local authorities and the NHS for purposes other than research – is the most accurate source of information on service use. Accessing administrative data would reduce the need to ask beneficiaries for this information. It would also provide historical trends in service use without having to rely on people's memory.

What we did

To maximise chances of securing administrative data, we adopted parallel approaches. We asked partnerships to source administrative data from local contacts while we pursued data at the national level.

As partnerships were made up of representatives of a wide range of services, this provided an opportunity to gain administrative data locally. Several partnerships had some success sourcing administrative data locally, for example from local police forces.

The national evaluation held early discussions with representatives of the NHS, DWP and MoJ to explore opportunities for accessing administrative data. Some conversations were more fruitful than others – for example, we eventually received agreement in principle to access DWP data on benefit claims. Health-related administrative data is available to purchase via NHS Digital. However, despite following various avenues for some time, we were unable to secure any administrative data at the national level. A decision was taken in 2019 that it was not a good use of resources to continue to pursue this.

What were the challenges?

- Data sharing between partners at the local level was often reliant on personal relationships; if someone moved to another role, data sharing could come to an end.
- Data provided by partnerships on use of services prior to people's engagement with the programme was particularly sparse and some partnerships provided no data for some variables.
- We did not obtain explicit permission from data owners to archive data from administrative sources. As a result, this useful data will not be available with the rest of the programme data for others to reuse.
- At the national level, progress with discussions with central government departments could stall when a civil servant we were liaising with moved on to another role. This happened on numerous occasions and we had to begin again the process of explaining the programme and our evaluation to a new contact.



Allow plenty of time to access administrative data

What did we learn?

Accessing administrative data is complex and difficult. **Allow plenty of time** for this and ensure you have the appropriate skills in the team. Since 2018, ADR UK (Administrative Data Research UK) have been working to improve the way researchers access administrative data – this includes linking together data from different parts of government and facilitating safe and secure access.⁴

Have a clear justification and purpose for the data you are seeking. Be specific and consider how you can minimise the data you are requesting.

Set out the benefits for the organisation from which you are seeking to access data. We made most progress where government departments were interested in the analysis we were planning to carry out as it would help further their strategic priorities.

For obtaining sensitive and personal data in particular, **robust data security measures are essential**. In June 2018 CFE Research gained ISO 27001 – the international standard on information security. This greatly helped us by demonstrating we took a rigorous approach to data protection.

Beneficiary surveys

As well as the CDF data (see page 13), we planned to conduct periodic surveys with programme beneficiaries, to gather people's perspectives on the accessibility and quality of services and to supplement the CDF with some additional data on wellbeing and how this changed over time.

What we did

A baseline survey was designed to be administered within the first four to six months of someone joining the programme. Follow-up surveys were planned to capture changes after one and two years. Survey instruments were designed with input from partnerships and people with lived experience, and cognitively tested and piloted.

Self-completion of surveys by beneficiaries was not appropriate given low levels of literacy and a desire to have someone on hand to encourage people to respond and monitor for signs of distress. However, we also felt that asking programme staff to administer surveys was not appropriate either – this would have meant beneficiaries being asked for their views on support by someone involved in providing that support. Some partnerships were uncomfortable at the prospect of external researchers interviewing beneficiaries at an early stage of their engagement with the programme. Therefore, our agreed approach was to provide training and support to groups of peer researchers with lived experience in each area to administer the surveys with local beneficiaries. Both peer researchers and respondents were given a voucher worth £5 for each survey they completed.

What were the challenges?

It proved very difficult to get good responses to the baseline and follow-up surveys. From the start of the programme until the survey was paused in June 2017, only 153 baseline and 26 one-year follow-up surveys had been completed (less than six per cent of the total beneficiaries engaged on the programme at that time).

Support from partnerships was essential to the success of the survey. The evaluation team held no contact details for beneficiaries and did not have permission to contact them directly. Partnership staff were building trusting relationships with people and it was important we did not disrupt this.

Engagement from partnerships with the survey varied. Some were very supportive, wanting to use the resulting data as part of their local monitoring and evaluation. Other areas had instigated their own beneficiary survey as part of their local evaluation and this duplicated effort and made it difficult to get responses to the national-level survey as well.

There was understandable concern not to endanger engagement with support by asking people to participate in research. We allowed partnerships to determine whether or not it was appropriate to survey beneficiaries during the first six months. In many cases, partnerships judged that it was too soon in beneficiaries' recovery journey to broach completing the survey with them.

While there was good interest in the peer researcher training and positive feedback, researchers often moved on (for example, into paid roles) more quickly than we anticipated. Recruiting and coordinating peer researchers locally created additional work for partnership staff, and staff turnover/ vacancies added to the challenge.

In early 2016 a shorter version of the survey was re-launched. Payments for peer researchers were increased to £10 per survey to reflect additional expenses they were incurring in travelling to meet with beneficiaries. Additional peer researcher training was delivered, with partnership staff invited to participate too so they could cascade training to new peer researchers in future.

Despite an initial increase in completed surveys, the overall response rate remained low. It continued to be difficult to retain peer researchers. Given the volume of data that was successfully being gathered via the CDF, it was agreed to discontinue the survey. However, this did mean we did not have adequate quantitative data on the extent to which services were accessible, flexible and offering choice and control. The data collected was analysed and results shared with partnerships but the small sample size meant the results were of limited wider value and were not published.

What did we learn?

Peer researchers can be a valuable resource in engaging people in research. They can gain useful skills through the process and often welcome the opportunity to be involved. However, they need training, ongoing support and to be properly reimbursed for their time and effort. Peer researchers should be paid for their time and all their expenses covered, even where they are unable to secure a survey response or interview.

Service buy-in to research with clients is essential for success. It is important that they have timely access to data or results. Survey results were not part of the regular dashboard (see page 16), partly because response levels were so low in many areas. Additional time and effort is needed by service staff to accommodate research activities, including recruiting and supporting peer researchers.

Appropriate incentives are necessary to engage people experiencing multiple disadvantage in research activities such as completing surveys. Although the survey was relatively short, the £5 offered was insufficient. One partnership supplemented the incentive with their own funds and this proved helpful in gaining more responses.

Expect low response rates. Peer researchers found they needed several appointments/attempts to reach beneficiaries. This was time-consuming for the researchers and needs to be built into plans and budget.

Surveys to be administered directly with beneficiaries must be trauma-informed and **avoid asking people to re-tell their stories** or repeat information that has already been provided to services. Keep surveys as short as possible and consider how else the same information could be sourced. Consider the timing of surveys; asking people to participate too soon could jeopardise their engagement with support.

Consider whether a cross-sectional rather than longitudinal survey design would work. If the purpose is purely to gather 'customer satisfaction' type data this approach may be more appropriate.



Avoid asking people to re-tell their stories

Creating a comparison group

Gathering data over time on outcomes can tell us whether things have changed, but we cannot be certain the change is due to a particular intervention (in this case, the Fulfilling Lives programme). To attribute impact robustly it is necessary to identify what would have happened without the programme (the counterfactual).⁵ The original brief from the Fund included a requirement for counterfactual analysis but indicated that an experimental approach (where people are randomly allocated to receive support or not) would not be appropriate for the Fulfilling Lives programme. Instead, we attempted to measure the counterfactual using a well-matched comparison group.

Ultimately, this approach was not successful. We hope that learning from this will help inform future similar work but it is not intended as a 'how to' guide. As well as the practical challenges outlined below, a successful comparison group may still have failed to provide robust impact evidence. While there were underpinning programme principles (see page 7) the specific interventions delivered by partnerships were not prescribed. The programme was a complex intervention in a complex environment – the work of partnerships was constantly evolving, as was the context and involved a large number of actors and activities. Recent government guidance on handling complexity in policy evaluation highlights how the difficulties standardising an intervention and/or isolating a control group can make causality hard to prove.⁶ Different evaluation objectives and design may have been more appropriate to a programme of this nature.

What we did

We first identified six localities that were similar to Fulfilling Lives areas but had not received the funding. At the time, there was no good data on the prevalence of multiple disadvantage (the ground-breaking Hard Edges report⁷ was published in 2015, after the launch of the programme). We identified a range of relevant indicators of disadvantage where data was available at the local authority level – such as homelessness, contacts with mental health services, hospital admissions for alcohol-related conditions, people in drug treatment, and re-offending rate. We compiled information for local authorities and used this to identify

six areas that were broadly similar to the profile of Fulfilling Lives areas and gave a geographical spread and representation of the different types of programme areas (such as London boroughs, seaside towns, cities and former manufacturing towns). Desk research identified statutory and voluntary-sector services in the areas that were likely to come into contact with people experiencing multiple disadvantage, such as homelessness charities and drug and alcohol services. Participating organisations were asked to share a comparable set of data with the evaluation team, with their clients' informed consent. This would form the comparison group. As with the data gathered from Fulfilling Lives beneficiaries, our aim was to make use of data that organisations gathered for other purposes (such as providing support and monitoring progress) and reduce the need for people to retell their stories.

We contacted organisations by phone to gauge potential interest in participating in the research and then followed up with visits to those who expressed an interest. To encourage participation we offered a package of incentives:

- paid for licences for the Homelessness Outcomes Star
- training for staff in using the Homelessness Outcomes Star and gathering the other data
- access to the interactive programme data dashboard where they could see their data visualised alongside that of the Fulfilling Lives programme areas
- access to certain learning and networking events organised for Fulfilling Lives areas
- a small financial payment to acknowledge the additional administration required to collate and process the data. Amounts were stepped, with additional payments for gathering data on larger numbers of people
- vouchers for participants who completed the survey in line with those offered to programme beneficiaries.

Over the course of the programme we gathered longitudinal data on over 500 people from four comparison areas.

What were the challenges?

Persuading busy organisations to undertake additional data processing to support the evaluation of a programme they were not receiving funding from was a tough sell. Identifying and recruiting organisations was hard work and extremely resource intensive. We contacted an average of 30 organisations in each area in order to recruit just two of them. In some areas we were unable to recruit any organisations and so ended up with data from only four of the six comparison areas. It was particularly difficult to recruit organisations from London boroughs. Further, some organisations got as far as receiving the initial training in data collection and then dropped out. Others were recruited and trained but never provided any data.

The data that was collected was not comparable to the Fulfilling Lives cohort for the following reasons:

- Organisations taking part were mostly specialist housing and social care providers and homelessness charities. They were not necessarily representative of the full range of services providing support for people experiencing multiple disadvantage.
- Comparison group members were very different to Fulfilling Lives beneficiaries. Analysis showed that they were less likely to experience more than two of the four defining types of disadvantage, had lower levels of need and risk, and were more likely to be in employment. It was not possible to satisfactorily match individuals in the comparison group to Fulfilling Lives beneficiaries using propensity score matching.
- Individuals in the comparison group were different from those in the treatment group as they were already engaged with service. Fulfilling Lives aimed to reach those not otherwise getting support, so it is in some ways expected that the two groups were not directly comparable.
- Further, as data collection and sharing was based on informed consent, we suspect that participating organisations tended to ask those who were further along in their recovery journey and so perhaps more likely to agree to the data sharing.

What did we learn?

Although the data collected could not be used as planned to provide a counterfactual, it did offer some useful insights. Given the Fulfilling Lives programme aimed to reach people not otherwise being supported by services, it is perhaps unsurprising that it was difficult to recruit a comparable group of participants by working through services. The evidence we gathered added weight to the claim that Fulfilling Lives was engaging those affected by particularly severe forms of multiple disadvantage.

As evaluators, we also learnt a great deal from the experience, including:

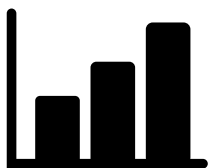
Particularly for complex interventions/environments, **consider the appropriateness of counterfactual approaches to evaluation**. This will involve considering the purpose of the evaluation, the intervention and context, and the availability of expertise, time and funding. In recent years more information has become available on handling complexity, including from The Centre for the Evaluation of Complexity Across the Nexus (www.cecan.ac.uk).

Do not under-estimate the amount of time required to identify, recruit and support organisations to participate in a comparison study. The team spent far more time on this aspect of the evaluation than originally anticipated.

When recruiting organisations, **involve staff at all levels**. In particular, it is important to have the buy-in of operational teams and their manager – without their agreement and understanding, data is unlikely to be forthcoming. However, the frontline staff responsible for gaining consent and collecting data from clients were equally essential to the process.

The **package of incentives was important** in getting services on board. Some of the participating organisations who took part were looking to improve the way they collected and used monitoring data – the offer of training, licences and an interactive dashboard aligned with and supported their organisational plans.

Make use of data already being collected. The fact the data collection requirements were centred on demographic data and measures of wellbeing that were in use by organisations outside of the Fulfilling Lives areas (the Homelessness Outcomes Star in particular) helped to engage areas and lessen the burden on them.



Use data already being collected where possible

Qualitative data collection

To complement the quantitative data collected, qualitative data was collected to add depth. This helped to add the 'how' and the 'why' to our understanding of individual outcomes. For some topics, such as coproduction, quantitative data was either not relevant or unavailable and so we were reliant on qualitative research to understand issues, how partnerships had addressed them and how successful they had been. Qualitative methods were particularly important for understanding the experiences of people receiving support from the programme. Evaluating changes to complex systems was also reliant on qualitative data to understand both changes and causal mechanisms.

What we did

Throughout the evaluation we carried out qualitative interviews and focus groups with:

- frontline and other Fulfilling Lives operational staff and volunteers
- senior and strategic partnership staff
- beneficiaries and people with lived experience of multiple disadvantage. Initially we undertook one-to-one or paired interviews (with a support worker), but over time more opportunities emerged to attend and work with local expert groups and the NECG instead.
- local stakeholders from organisations outside of core partnerships, often representing agencies from the key sectors whose work affects people experiencing multiple disadvantage.

Before the COVID-19 pandemic, we used a mix of telephone and face-to-face interviews. Group discussions were always face-to-face. We undertook several visits to a partnership, spending time talking to a range of stakeholders. During and after the pandemic, most fieldwork was carried out via video call (Microsoft Teams or Zoom). Video calls often proved to be far more accessible for participants and could be more easily arranged around busy diaries but, for beneficiaries in particular, this likely also hindered some from taking part.

What were the challenges?

Although Fulfilling Lives partnerships were required to participate in the evaluation as a condition of their grant funding, they also recognised the value and importance of the national evaluation. **Fulfilling Lives staff** were generally happy and willing to take part in fieldwork and host visits to their partnership. The main challenge was sometimes finding time in a busy working day to participate, particularly towards the end of the programme when there were fewer staff available. As this was a longitudinal evaluation with repeat rounds of qualitative data gathering and multiple thematic studies, we worried about creating research fatigue, particularly among key staff members. The two programme Communities of Practice (see page 35) provided a useful opportunity to hold group discussions and workshops with programme leaders and evaluation and learning staff at a time when they were meeting anyway. As Fulfilling Lives was delivered across multiple sites throughout the country, we held focus groups that brought together staff from different partnerships. Frontline staff members in particular rarely had the opportunity to meet peers from other areas and welcomed the opportunity to do so and to share experiences. We could have made greater use of this type of approach.

Beneficiaries were more challenging to recruit to fieldwork. We were reliant on partnerships to set up interviews with those who they judged to be at a suitable stage in their recovery to participate. As a result, we were unlikely to hear from people who were unhappy with their support or not progressing. However, we also had to be careful of over-burdening those who were making good progress as they were also likely to be participating in local evaluation activity. Care was needed in designing topic guides and raising sensitive topics without triggering beneficiaries, and clear safeguarding procedures were vital. As with other methods, peer researchers can be very helpful in reaching out to beneficiaries who might not otherwise engage with the research team.

With **external stakeholders**, we were similarly reliant on partnership staff to broker introductions. As a result, we tended only to hear from stakeholders who were working closely with the Fulfilling Lives programme and were positive about its impact. Partnership staff were rightly concerned about overloading stakeholders with requests, particularly if their engagement was needed for local evaluations, systems change or communication activities.



Work with existing expert groups to engage people with lived experience

What did we learn?

Make use of existing groups. Working with established local and national expert groups made it much easier to engage people with lived experience on specific topic areas. This worked as group co-ordinator(s) knew participants well and were aware of the needs of individuals so were well placed to support people's participation in the research. Participants were also comfortable in a familiar setting. While group members themselves may not necessarily be representative of project beneficiaries or people experiencing multiple disadvantage more generally, they can help to reach a wider range of people. Members of the NECG were able to make use of their networks of contacts to gather insights on key research questions, which they then fed into the evaluation via regional and national meetings.

Incentivise and acknowledge people's contribution. Ensure participants' expenses are covered and they receive appropriate recompense for their contribution. We followed local partnership guidance and policies on financial rewards to ensure people's welfare benefits were not adversely affected. Be creative with incentives; shopping vouchers are easy to purchase and administer, but people may prefer learning and developmental opportunities for example. Ultimately, ask participants what they prefer when compensating their time and input.

Follow principles of coproduction. Include people with lived experience in every stage of the research process. Ensure that contributors get feedback at the end of the project and have the opportunity to review any reports or see the outcome of their contribution.

Make use of peer researchers where appropriate. Peer researchers can be very effective at engaging and building a rapport with hard-to-reach participants. Training is needed to ensure researchers are equipped to undertake the tasks asked of them and to provide a personal development opportunity. Peer researcher groups can be a support network for members and create a pool of expertise that could be drawn on as required for different projects. Make sure there is adequate resource to properly recruit, train, support and reward peer researchers.

Consider the potential impact of research on people. Be prepared for sensitive conversations to be a trigger for people with lived experience (and potentially researchers too) and have a plan in place to offer necessary

follow-up support. Do not assume this will always happen – those established in expert groups are generally used to talking about their experiences and will likely be as open as they feel comfortable with doing, but still be prepared for someone to be triggered unexpectedly.

Offer different options for engagement. Give people the chance to participate in research in a way in which they feel comfortable. Some may prefer phone to face-to-face and others may prefer an individual chat rather than being in a group. Consider joint interviews with support workers or peer mentors if appropriate.

Spread the load. Consider the frequency of requests to contribute to the evaluation and how these could be spread across different roles within an organisation, or how one interview could cover multiple topics to avoid repeated requests for time from the same person.

Create mutual benefit. Consider how participants can get something back from taking part in research. If appropriate, bring peers together from different organisations/areas to share learning on topics of mutual interest.

Share findings regularly. Interviewees will be more engaged where they can see the outcome and potential impact of the evaluation. Results can be useful to participants too – present these in the most accessible format, for example as a good practice guide or toolkit.

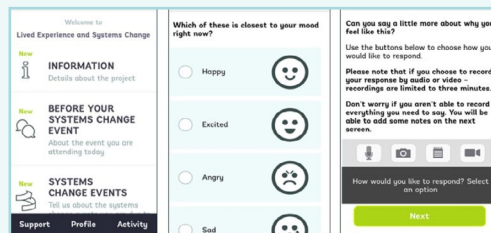
Explore the context. Relationships between stakeholders and partnerships varied and were very location/organisation specific. Taking time to understand stakeholders' role in a broader system before speaking with them makes engagement much easier and subsequent discussions more fruitful.

Ask for referrals to other informants. Snowball recruitment was particularly useful in engaging stakeholders. Once a relationship to one stakeholder has been established, they may be able to aid recruitment of others. This can help achieve a greater diversity of viewpoints.

Consider other ways of reaching stakeholders who are less engaged with the programme. We could have made more use of other networks in the sector, such as Homeless Link, to seek out stakeholders who may not be involved. This would however require significantly more time and require additional incentives to engage people with limited motivation to participate.

Collecting qualitative data using a smartphone app

In an attempt to engage beneficiaries and people with lived experience in the evaluation in a more creative way, we designed a smartphone app to be used as an online diary. This was used for one study by people with lived experience in a voluntary role at partnerships who were attending systems change activities. They could use the app to record their involvement in activities and their reflections.



There were many benefits to using this method:

- participants could choose to respond to questions in different ways (text, voice recording, image or video) which made the research more inclusive
- data could be collected in 'real time' rather than recalled afterwards, as is the case with interviews
- it was interactive and engaging, helping recruitment and retention
- the majority of people own a smartphone, so the study made use of existing equipment
- using a remote method the project could continue through the first COVID-19 lockdown. We used the app platform to get additional input from participants when face-to-face work was not possible.

Participants reflected positively on the project and using the app. Some felt it encouraged them to reflect on how they were contributing to systems change and recognise the importance of their involvement in the overall work in their area.

Learning from this method was published in an [academic journal](#) in 2022.

Communities of Practice

With such an ambitious and challenging programme, bringing staff together from the 12 partnerships, along with other key players such as the Fund and the evaluation team, provided invaluable opportunities to share experiences, challenges and learning. This was particularly valuable at the start of the programme when staff were new, delivery was just beginning and evaluators were still grappling with the best way to collect data.

What we did

We set up and supported two CoPs throughout the whole of the programme timeframe: SCAN and the Evaluation and Learning CoP. SCAN aimed to progress the programme's systems change objectives through collective action.

Initially, SCAN's core membership consisted of the programme leads for each area and the Evaluation and Learning CoP was made up of the evaluation and learning leads from each area. Both groups requested at the start that these groups should be a space away from their funders and evaluators where they could discuss issues openly. As the groups established their format and built relationships with us, representatives from the Fund and the national evaluation team started attending meetings.

Both groups met quarterly, although at the midway point of the programme SCAN moved to meeting every two months to give more focus to systems change priorities. All meetings were held face-to-face, apart from during the COVID-19 pandemic when only online meetings were possible. A dedicated learning associate employed by the University of Sheffield facilitated the groups and provided administrative support. Staff from the MEAM coalition provided additional support with facilitating SCAN.

Both groups started out using an Action Learning approach, whereby one member of the group brought an issue to the meeting and the others asked questions in order to help facilitate strategies for addressing the issue. Over time, these developed into spaces with a coproduced agenda where members shared updates on their work, discussed how local and national activity could complement each other and, in the case of SCAN, work on joint projects.

What were the challenges?

Both CoPs changed focus over time as the programme developed. Once the evaluation team were invited to attend as a group member, the CoPs became useful opportunities to share updates on the national evaluation, upcoming fieldwork and reports and get members' input into future plans.



We would all meet up; it was like, we have no idea what's going on, we don't know what we're doing. We were trying to find our way and it was basically a therapy session.

Evaluation and learning lead

Evaluation and Learning CoP members reflected that early meetings in particular were an opportunity to learn about other partnerships. As most had little experience of evaluation of this scale and complexity, meetings were most useful as a place to reflect on and share challenges rather than provide solutions. Additional specialist support with handling complexity and evaluating systems change would have been welcomed. All evaluation leads had slightly different job roles, descriptions and remits, and so it took time for the meetings to be shaped into a productive space.

Similarly, SCAN took some time to develop a way of working that was effective. Some members suggested stronger direction was needed from facilitators to ensure progress was made. External facilitators were used on occasion to help the group to agree priorities. Once a focused set of systems change priorities had been agreed, the group worked with the evaluators to shape thematic studies on these topics. The results of the studies then provided a focus for local and national influencing activities undertaken by members. In this way, SCAN provided a useful forum to drive the strategic focus of the programme, bringing together input from key stakeholders and linking together different activities and opportunities.

In recent years SCAN was regularly attended by one or two members of the NECG who provided an update on their priorities and activities and participated in the meeting. This worked well in building understanding between the two groups, with different representatives of the NECG attending each time. However, there was no sustained lived experience input to the Evaluation and Learning CoP.

What did we learn?

There was clear value in having spaces where staff from all partnerships could come together to share their experiences and pursue common goals. Both partnership and evaluation leads reflected that theirs could be a solitary role, and so meeting up with others in the same role in different areas was invaluable, particularly in the early stages of the programme. Key learning points include:



Allow time and space for updates and open discussion

Be clear about the purpose and role of the group but allow these to adapt as the programme develops. Once groups are ready, they can set their own agenda depending on their priorities. Early days of CoP may be less focused or efficient as people get to know each other and their roles. Support may be needed in the early stages to encourage these groups to shape their own agendas.

Allow time and space for general updates and less structured, open discussion. The CoPs played a valuable role as sources of mutual support, particularly given the length and challenge of the programme. This was at least as important as the more action focused aspects of the groups.

Have an independent chair or facilitator to drive meetings, keep discussions on track and handle administration such as setting the agenda, sharing minutes and following up on actions.

Combine face-to-face meetings with online to harness the benefits of both. Online meetings are convenient and can be easier for some people to attend, but feedback suggested that face-to-face was still valued at least some of the time as an opportunity for building relationships, particularly when new staff joined.

CoPs can be used as an evaluation opportunity, providing membership of a ready-made focus group or as a place to test and validate emerging findings and develop recommendations. Encourage members to use the group in the same way if needed, to test emerging findings or plan methodologies.

Communicating with impact

Effective communication of evaluation findings is crucial. This was particularly important given the systems change ambitions of Fulfilling Lives.

What we did

The national evaluation team initially produced annual reports, supplemented with practice guides or case studies that aligned with the focus of the programme at the time. Over time, we moved away from this more traditional approach; the annual reports were not as engaging as they might have been and did not have a clear purpose or audience beyond providing a general update.

Part way through the evaluation we undertook short interviews with key stakeholders to understand their evidence needs and how they preferred to consume information. This indicated that many preferred more focused but frequent outputs. In response, during 2019 we published a series of short briefings using CDF data. We also undertook a series of thematic studies (two or three per year) based around the programme's systems change priorities and other key areas where there was interest and demand for evidence. We also moved to working with a design agency to produce outputs that were eye-catching and had a consistent look and feel.

Each study was accompanied by recommendations for action that were developed in conjunction with SCAN, MEAM and/or the NECG. In this way, we ensured that recommendations were policy-focused and relevant as well as evidence-based and came from the experience of those embedded in the programme and multiple disadvantage rather than solely from an independent evaluator.

Regular webinars and seminars were held to share learning and evaluation findings. Initially, these were targeted at partnership staff with a focus on helping them engage in evaluation activity. Over time the focus grew to be more about sharing learning and good practice between areas. Once we had more findings to share, we targeted wider audiences. While we always held a combination of online and face-to-face events, all in-person seminars were moved online during COVID-19. Attendances increased during

this period as everyone became more familiar with online events. Over time we honed the format of webinars; they generally began with an overview presentation from the national evaluation team, with one or two partnerships, people with lived experience and/or external experts providing more detailed presentations on particular projects or case studies. Webinars were two hours long including time for questions and discussion, although there was always the option for members of the audience to stay online and ask any further questions of the evaluation team.

We set up an evaluation website to house outputs from both the national and local evaluations, blogs and news articles (to publicise events and publications) as well as background information on the programme, the evaluation and the partnerships. There was a password protected area just for funded partnerships where they could access evaluation documents (such as consent materials) and an online forum. The use of this space dwindled over time and the forum never really took off as a platform for discussion, with partnerships preferring to use email and the CoPs to exchange information. Later in the programme Microsoft Teams channels were set up. These worked well for a time, but not every partner could access these due to different IT systems and policies.

We also used a dedicated social media account (Twitter) and a quarterly newsletter to share findings and information about events and publications from ourselves and partners.

Ensuring a lasting legacy from the wealth of evidence produced during the evaluation became more of a consideration as the programme drew to a close. We agreed with the Fund that the website would remain live for at least 12-months after the end of the programme. From our own experience of conducting literature reviews, we know that the first place many will look for evidence is in academic journals. We gained agreement from Housing, Care and Support, a journal on policy, research and practice, to create a special edition focusing on the evidence from Fulfilling Lives. Partnerships were invited to submit articles for consideration. The national evaluation team, with support from the journal, were guest editors, managing the submission and peer review process, as well as submitting our own article. All papers were peer-reviewed, which whilst adding valuable rigour and feedback, was a time-consuming process for the editorial team. The final special edition includes ten articles from eight partnerships, as well as a contribution from the national evaluation team and MEAM.

PechaKucha

PechaKucha is a presentation format where speakers show 20 slides and speak for just 20 seconds on each. We used this format at one of the face-to-face seminars. The format allowed all 12 partnerships to share information about their local evaluations but in a relatively short space of time. Staff valued opportunities to hear more about what other partnerships were doing.

Getting the right messages to the right people can be difficult. Multiple disadvantage covers a range of sectors and types of organisation, as well as different national and local government departments. Some key target audiences may be less aware of the issue of multiple disadvantage. Different people will want different types of information and different formats; some want key messages only while others want more detail or to scrutinise the underpinning evidence. We considered who the audiences for each output might be at the planning stage.

In 2016 we held a national conference to share evaluation findings to date. While highly successful, the 2016 conference largely attracted partnership staff and organisations already working closely with them. In order to reach a wider audience, we decided it would be more impactful to take findings to where target audiences would be gathered. We secured speaking slots at a wide range of other conferences and events including the annual Pathways from Homelessness Conference, Kings College London's mental health seminar series, and the Public Health England conference. The pandemic disrupted some of our plans to speak at conferences although this did open up new opportunities too. For example, after the Howard League for Penal Reform Crime, Justice and Social Harms conference was cancelled we had an article published in their academic network bulletin.

Many academic journals are behind paywalls and only accessible to those with subscriptions (mostly through universities and libraries). Given the practical focus of many of the special edition articles, access was an important consideration. Gold Open Access⁸ (making the articles free to all through the journal website) is very expensive, so most partnerships chose the alternative

self-deposit route that allows final accepted manuscripts to be published on authors' organisational websites.

What did we learn?

Don't expect lots of external interest right from the start. Audiences take time and effort to build. Use early dissemination activities as an opportunity to develop a format that works and then when audiences do grow, you will be better prepared to deliver effectively.

Don't expect your target audience to come to you. Instead, find ways to take your message directly to where they are, such as attending professional conferences or offering articles to newsletters.

Be timely with reporting. Rather than relying on annual or fixed reporting schedules, be flexible and respond to topics, issues or themes as they emerge throughout the programme. We redirected resource to provide rapid evidence and learning at the start of the pandemic on the impact this was having. Keep up a steady stream of communication, including Tweets, blogs, events and reports to build interest over time.

Thematic reports have a stronger appeal. It is clearer to people what a thematic report is about and they are more easily searchable in databases. Generic annual reports are continually superseded by new updates and this limits the relevance of earlier reports. If annual reports are used, give these a theme or focus that is in the title.

Find out what it is the people you are trying to influence want and use this information to **communicate findings in a variety of formats**. One size of reporting does not fit all. Our thematic studies generally comprised key messages and recommendations for action, a full report, a technical appendix with data tables, a Twitter campaign, and a webinar. Webinars were recorded with participants' permission and placed on YouTube so people could view them at their leisure.

Add human interest to outputs with case studies, individual stories or vignettes. Lived experience testimonials can be particularly powerful in galvanising people to action.



Take key messages
to your target audience

Consider having an evaluation website repository or database as a resource to keep outputs all in one place. This should be easily searchable by topic. However, bear in mind what will happen to this once the project comes to an end, and so consider in the very early stages gaining consent for different types of outputs. Consider how best to create a lasting legacy from the evaluation.

If possible, **have a budget for communication of findings**. Having a team member with dedicated time for updating websites, posting on social media and other communications and engagement activity ensures this important activity gets the attention it deserves.

Method

This report is mainly based around the experiences of the national evaluation team at CFE and the University of Sheffield. The team reviewed progress reports and other outputs throughout the programme to gather detail on how methods and approaches have changed over the last eight years. Current CFE staff (x6) working on the evaluation held a group discussion to reflect on challenges and learning from their time on the evaluation.

This was supplemented by three further group discussions with other stakeholders who played a key role in the evaluation. These were:

- relationship managers from the Fund (x3)
- members of the Evaluation Steering Group (x4)
- members of the Evaluation and Learning CoP (x5).

All feedback, learning and insight was organised under each theme covered in the report.

Notes and references

- 1 Government advice is available on designing evaluations – see HM Treasury (2020) [Magenta Book: Central Government guidance on evaluation](#).
- 2 See the [MEAM Approach website](#) for further information.
- 3 Triangle (2022) [The Home Star™](#) [Online]
- 4 ADR UK (2022) [About ADR UK](#) [Online]
- 5 Campbell, S. and Harper, G. (2012) [Quality in policy impact evaluation: understanding the effects of policy from other influences](#) (supplementary Magenta Book guidance). HM Treasury
- 6 Bicket, M. Christie, I. Gilbert, N. Hills, D. Penn, A. and Wilkinson, H. (2020) [Magenta Book 2020 Supplementary Guide: Handling Complexity in Policy Evaluation](#) HM Treasury
- 7 Bramley, G and Fitzpatrick, S (2016) [Hard Edges: Mapping severe and multiple disadvantage](#) Lankelly Chase Foundation
- 8 For more information see for example the [HM Treasury Magenta Book](#)

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