Homelessness and Street Homelessness in England: Trends, Causes and What Works

Stephen Aldridge and Chloe Enevoldsen

Department for Levelling Up, Housing and Communities, United Kingdom
Department for Business, Energy & Industrial Strategy, United Kingdom

Introduction

Homelessness is a major issue facing countries across the world, including the UK. Latest estimates from the United Nations suggest that, globally, over 100 million people don't have a home or shelter (OHCHR, 2009). In the context of ongoing economic uncertainties across the world, post-Covid19, this number is expected to grow in the absence of effective policy intervention (Speak, 2019). The impacts on individuals who experience homelessness are wide-ranging and factors that precede, and are associated with, an episode of homelessness are often exacerbated when someone becomes homeless.

There is no universal or consistent definition of what constitutes homelessness, with the term being used to refer to a broad range of individuals and circumstances from living in unsuitable or inadequate housing to experiencing street homelessness (Fitzpatrick et al., 2000; DLUHC, 2018a). In English legislation, homelessness means *"a person or a household does not have accommodation that is available for them to occupy, that they have a legal right to occupy and that is reasonable for them to continue to occupy"* (DLUHC, 2018a p.13). This includes people experiencing street homelessness, those living in hostels and refuges, and individuals experiencing hidden homelessness where they have to stay temporarily with friends or family, often in precarious circumstances.

The purpose of this article is to set out the policy context on homelessness and street homelessness in England and to provide an overview of how improvements to the available data and evidence have contributed to, and influenced, policy-making.

As a significant social problem that impacts thousands of individuals every year, preventing and relieving homelessness is a major priority for the Department of Levelling Up, Housing and Communities (DLUHC)[1], who are the Ministerial department responsible for homelessness in England. In Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland, it is the responsibility of the Devolved Administrations. Due to the transient nature of homelessness, enumeration is extremely challenging. Despite this, we do know that in England between April 2019 and 2020, 288 470 households approached and received help from Local Authorities[2] due to housing problems (DLUHC, 2020a). Of those, 148 670 households were initially assessed as 'threatened with homelessness' and 139 800 households as 'homeless' at the time of assessment (DLUHC, 2020a). In regard to street homelessness more specifically, according to the latest statistics, there were 2 688 people estimated to be experiencing street homelessness on a single night in Autumn 2020 (DLUHC, 2021a).

DLUHC has carried out and commissioned a number of rigorous policy and programme evaluations to explore the impacts of homelessness policies and interventions and developed new analytical tools and models to assess the impact of different interventions. However, there are numerous challenges associated with research in this space and as we look to the future, particularly in light of the potential impact of the Covid-19 pandemic for those at risk of homelessness, it is critical that we continue this work and adopt innovative approaches to strengthen our knowledge and understanding of this complex social problem.

Aims and Ambitions for Reducing Homelessness and Street Homelessness

Reducing homelessness and ending street homelessness in England are major priorities for the UK Government and over the last five years there has been significant investment and changes in homelessness legislation to achieve this aim.

In 2017, the Homelessness Reduction Act (HRA) was introduced, which expanded the provision of statutory prevention and relief duties owed to households by Local Authorities (Mackie et al., 2018). The HRA introduced a broader remit to Local Authorities to ensure that households, regardless of their priority need, are supported by statutory services. This has meant that more single people experiencing homelessness receive help and there are more routes into housing options.

---

[1] Formerly the Ministry of Housing Communities and Local Government (MHCLG)

[2] Local Authorities are organisations responsible for the provision of many local services in England including homelessness and housing policies.

For example, there has been a 15% increase in households owed the relief duty, of which 71% is attributable to single, adult households, suggesting that more single, adult households are approaching Local Authorities for help (DLUHC, 2020a).

Along with the rise in the number of people approaching and receiving assistance from Local Authorities, there has also been a rise in the number of households in temporary accommodation (a form of accommodation used until long term accommodation can be offered to end homelessness duties) arranged by Local Authorities under homeless legislation, as demonstrated in Figure 1. The number of households in temporary accommodation was 95 450 in March 2021 – an increase which may be partially attributed to the temporary accommodation placements organised to help protect people experiencing street-based homelessness during the Covid-19 pandemic (DLUHC, 2021b).

Figure 1: Number of households in temporary accommodation in England, by household type
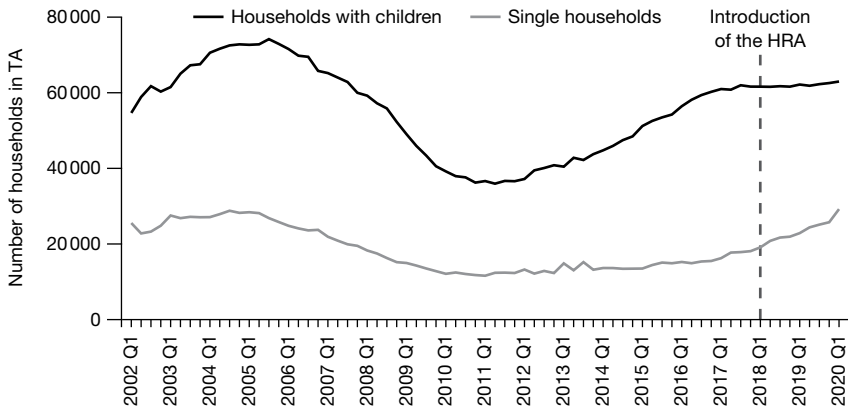
Following the implementation of the HRA, in 2018 DLUHC moved to a case-level system to collect data on individuals who presented to a Local Authority as homeless. This replaced what was known as the P1E aggregate return which Local Authorities had previously provided and captures information on all households who are homeless or at risk of homelessness rather than just those who are considered priority need. This case level information has already provided better data on the characteristics of people who experience homelessness and how outcomes vary between groups. As this data collection system becomes more embedded, it will facilitate a much better understanding of the effectiveness of different interventions and people's journeys into and out of homelessness.

There have also been improvements in the data collected on street homelessness. Due to the concealed nature of street homelessness, accurately estimating the number of people who experience street homelessness is inherently challenging (DLUHC, 2021a; Office for National Statistics, 2021; Speak, 2019). Working with Local Authorities and the homelessness sector, DLUHC has developed a consistent – and independently verified – time-series which provides a single night snapshot of the number of individuals experiencing street homelessness in each Local Authority at a given point in time each year, as a measure of the stock of people who are experiencing street homelessness (DLUHC, 2021a). As demonstrated in Figure 2, 2 688 individuals were estimated to be experiencing street homelessness on a single night in the most recent snapshot (DLUHC, 2021a).[3]

Figure 2: Estimated number of people who are street homeless on a single night in the autumn in England[4]

---
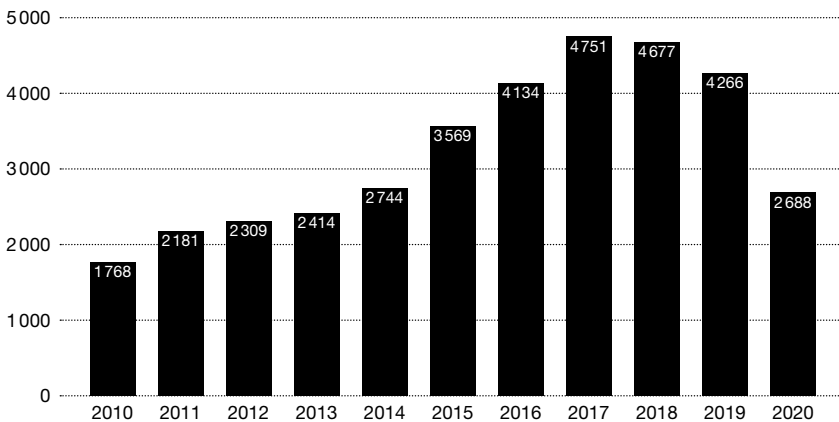
[3]   Local Authorities decide which approach to use for their snapshot of rough sleeping – they either use a count-based estimate, an evidence-based estimate meeting with local agencies, or an evidence-based estimate meeting including a spotlight count. Fewer Local Authorities used a count-based estimate for the 2020 rough sleeping snapshot compared to 2019 which in some cases was due to areas changing approaches following the announcement of a national lockdown during the COVID-19 pandemic. The 2020 rough sleeping snapshot coincided with a national lockdown throughout November and tier restrictions were in place in October, which is likely to have impacted people's risk of rough sleeping. The 'Everyone In' scheme, launched in March 2020, was also providing ongoing support to protect thousands of people at risk of street homelessness during the pandemic. These factors are likely to have impacted people's risk of rough sleeping and need to be taken into consideration when comparing the 2020 rough sleeping snapshot count with previous years.

[4]   https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/rough-sleeping-snapshot-in-england-autumn-2020

The number of individuals who flow in and out of street homelessness over time is greater than this. For example, according to the Combined Homelessness and Information Network (CHAIN) database, which records information about the total number of people seen by outreach teams in London, 3 307 individuals experienced street homelessness between October and December 2020 (DLUHC, 2021a; CHAIN, 2021). Whilst this provides an estimate of flows in and out of street homelessness, there is no equivalent data collection outside of London to estimate the national scale or change in the flow of street homelessness across England. However, as demonstrated in Figure 2, in the past three years there has been a reduction in the number of people recorded as street homeless on a single night. Following a peak in 2017, levels of street homelessness have been steadily reducing (DLUHC, 2021a). This is in part a result of the investment in tackling rough sleeping over the past three years (DLUHC, 2019).

In 2018, DLUHC published a rough sleeping strategy (DLUHC, 2018a) which outlined plans for reducing street homelessness in England. The strategy was part of the UK Government's ambition to end street homelessness and included over £100m of funding to help support people out of homelessness. Investment in street homelessness has continued to rise, and in March 2020, an emergency support scheme was established to help people into emergency accommodation during the Covid-19 pandemic. This provided an opportunity to collect more frequent monitoring information from Local Authorities across England to get a better picture of the number of people supported and flows in and out of street based homelessness. This data suggests that by January 2021 over 37 000 individuals were supported, with over 26 000 moved on into longer-term accommodation (DLUHC, 2021c). This data also shows that 1 461 people were experiencing street based homelessness across England at the end of January (DLUHC, 2021c). As recognised in the Rough Sleeping Strategy, it is essential that evidence is used to inform the design and delivery of interventions to ensure that they are effective and meet the needs of people experiencing homelessness (HM Treasury, 2020a; DLUHC, 2018a). The emphasis on evidence-based policy making is also acknowledged more widely across government, as exemplified in the 2020 Budget where it was acknowledged that *'in order to ensure government programmes deliver for the public, it is crucial that spending decisions are based on robust evidence and evaluation of their impact'* (HM Treasury, 2020b p.35).

Causes of Homelessness and Street Homelessness

Explanations of the drivers of homelessness are commonly split between two broad categories: individual and structural (Alma Economics, 2019; Busch-Geertsema et al., 2010; Fitzpatrick et al., 2000).

Individual explanations of homelessness typically focus on factors which comprise the personal circumstances of individuals experiencing homelessness, such as relationship breakdown, domestic abuse, trauma, mental health, and substance use (Alma Economics, 2019). Structural explanations of homelessness, on the other hand, emphasise the role of macro-economic and social forces (Alma Economics, 2019; Fitzpatrick et al., 2000). Structural factors which have been found to influence people's susceptibility to becoming homeless include poverty, housing supply and affordability, unemployment, and leaving institutions (Busch-Geertsema et al., 2010; Fitzpatrick et al., 2019; Johnsen and Watts, 2014). These factors are thought to impede opportunities, housing options, and resources (Alma Economics, 2019; Johnsen and Watts, 2014; Rugg, 2008). For example, gaining access to the private rented sector (PRS) can be challenging for individuals on a low income due to the difficulties faced in making advance payments for deposits and rent (Fitzpatrick et al., 2005). Using UK longitudinal survey data, researchers found that housing market conditions, followed by the labour market and poverty, were the most important explanatory drivers of someone becoming homeless (Alma Economics, 2019; Bramley and Fitzpatrick, 2017). However, different results are found in different studies suggesting the importance of structural factors may vary depending on individual, geographical, and temporal contexts (Alma Economics, 2019; Bramley and Fitzpatrick, 2017).

The current body of knowledge supports a so-called intersectional approach, whereby homelessness is caused by an interaction between structural and individual factors. In other words, structural factors create varying levels of risk and individual characteristics influence the resultant likelihood of becoming homeless (Alma Economics, 2019; Busch-Geertsema et al., 2010; Fitzpatrick et al., 2005). Individuals who become homeless are typically those who are vulnerable to structural factors because they face barriers or lack the social and human capital and resources to alleviate these external risk factors, characteristics which also could have developed from structural influences (Busch-Geertsema et al., 2010; Pleace, 2000; Fitzpatrick et al., 2019). This could help to explain the high proportion of individuals experiencing homelessness with support needs – 51% of households owed a homelessness duty between January to March 2021 had one or more support needs (Fitzpatrick, 2005; DLUHC, 2021b).

In 2019, DLUHC commissioned a review with the UK Department for Work and Pensions (DWP) to assess the existing evidence base on the causes of homelessness in the UK. This review considered three forms of homelessness: statutory homelessness, single homelessness, and street homelessness (Alma Economics, 2019). Statutory homelessness refers to homeless households in priority need that apply to Local Authorities for temporary accommodation, whilst single homelessness incorporates individuals without dependent children who could be living in hostels or be part of the hidden homeless population.[5] The findings from the report suggest that structural factors were more important in explaining family homelessness while individual factors were more important in explaining street homelessness (Alma Economics, 2019). It could be argued that these individual factors may themselves be a result of structural factors, but further research is needed to understand how these causes interact and change over time.

Improvements to the statutory homelessness data system have allowed the gathering of more comprehensive data on the factors resulting in homelessness. The ending of assured shorthold tenancies (AST)[6] in the private rented sector has long been recognised as a reason for homelessness in the UK, especially in London and the South East of England, and the most recent data collected on statutory homelessness supports this (Alma Economics, 2019). For households who were owed a prevention duty, 29% were due to a termination of a private rented AST (DLUHC, 2020a). The second most common reason for loss of a person's last settled home was friends or family no longer being willing to accommodate households, which accounts for 24% of households owed a prevention duty (DLUHC, 2020a).

First developed by Kuhn and Culhane (1998) in the United States using cluster analysis, and since replicated in a number of countries, homelessness has been classified into three typologies constituting different durations of homelessness: "transitional, episodic and entrenched". Kuhn and Culhane classified 80% of individuals as episodic, whereby homelessness experiences are brief but occur more than once throughout a lifetime and 10% as entrenched, where individuals have long histories of homelessness (Kuhn and Culhane, 1998). Evidence suggests that those individuals classified as episodic and entrenched have high levels of support needs, which is partially supported by recent research carried out by DLUHC.

---

[5]   Under the HRA 2017, the definition of statutory homelessness has now been extended to include all people experiencing homelessness, including single homeless and hidden homeless, who apply to Local Authorities for assistance with housing problems.

[6]   Assured shorthold tenancies (ASTs) are the most common type of tenancy in the Private Rented Sector in the UK and were introduced by the Housing Act 1988.

In 2019, DLUHC conducted research with people who had experienced street homelessness to understand their support needs, vulnerabilities, and experiences and to better determine the costs associated with street homelessness. The study was one of the largest surveys of people experiencing street homelessness ever undertaken in England, interviewing over 900 people (DLUHC, 2020b). Published in 2020, it found that people who experience street homelessness often have multiple co-occurring vulnerabilities, strengthening the notion that homelessness needs to be considered within the broader realm of heterogeneous circumstances that affect individuals (DLUHC, 2020b; Williams, 2001). For example, of those interviewed, 91% had at least two support needs or vulnerabilities (DLUHC, 2020b).[7] The most frequently cited reasons for leaving long-term settled accommodation were related to financial difficulties, evictions, and relationship breakdowns, highlighting the multifaceted drivers in street homelessness (DLUHC, 2020b). It was also found that over a third of individuals who have problematic substance use and mental health issues develop these support needs before sleeping on the street, highlighting the importance of early interventions in preventing street homelessness (DLUHC, 2020b).

Research clearly demonstrates that pathways to homelessness are complex and often unique (Alma Economics, 2019; Pleace, 2000). This heterogeneity can present challenges in developing policy responses (Mackie et al., 2018). In the wake of the growing recognition of the multifaceted nature of homelessness, policy responses are increasingly focusing on cross-cutting programmes that address multiple outcomes with the aim of preventing and relieving homelessness. This presents its own challenges in designing robust evaluations, which will be explored in the remainder of this paper.

DLUHC Policy and Programme Evaluations – What Works?

DLUHC is committed to robust impact and process policy and programme evaluations to ensure an evidence-informed approach is adopted to reduce homelessness and street homelessness. Conducting research with individuals who experience homelessness presents particular challenges – services often struggle to engage with this transient cohort so recruiting and retaining individuals who are experiencing homelessness into research programmes can be difficult. This cohort often has multiple support needs, so safeguarding is paramount when household

---

7   The following were considered an indicator of need or vulnerability: a current mental health vulnerability, a current physical health need, a current problematic drug use need, a current problematic alcohol use need, if they had reported ever having been to prison, if they had been a victim of crime in the last 6 months, and if they had reported ever having been a victim of domestic abuse since the age of 16.

level impact evaluations are being carried out. Alongside these practical and ethical considerations, interventions are typically carried out in an environment where multiple initiatives are often being run simultaneously or where initiatives are funding different interventions in different areas. Conducting evaluations in this environment is challenging and requires a variety of approaches, including process and impact evaluations of specific initiatives.

Despite these challenges, DLUHC has carried out an extensive programme of policy and programme evaluations. This section provides an overview of some of the key findings.

Prior to the introduction of the HRA, the Homelessness Prevention Trailblazer programme was launched which aimed to help local authorities implement innovative approaches, such as training work coaches to identify at risk individuals and providing mediation services for families and young adults to prevent homelessness (DLUHC, 2018b). Trailblazer areas adopted a variety of interventions; however, every area implemented interventions to identify groups that were at-risk or who required upstream early prevention and provided advice and information (DLUHC, 2018b). By comparing average rates of homelessness acceptances, decisions, use of temporary accommodation, and cases of prevention and relief in Trailblazer areas with a matched comparison group the evaluation found that the rate of homelessness acceptances in the Trailblazer areas was 13% lower than the comparison areas (DLUHC, 2018b). The impact evaluation suggests the programme had an attributable effect on the number of cases of homelessness prevention and relief (DLUHC, 2018b). The accompanying process evaluation suggested that a flexible approach grounded in collaboration between health partners, private landlords, and third sector organisations was crucial to the success of the programme (DLUHC, 2018b). Enhancing advice and support for households at risk of homelessness and mediation services were among the interventions that were identified as effective in case studies with Trailblazer areas (DLUHC, 2018b).

Following the introduction of the HRA, a post-implementation review was conducted to understand how the Act was working in practice and what outcomes had been achieved. Using a range of research techniques, the independent study found that the extended prevention duty from 28 days to 56 days was perceived to be the most positive outcome of the Act, with more people being supported out of homelessness (DLUHC, 2020c). Similar to the Prevention Trailblazer evaluation, the review stressed the importance of a flexible approach using the Duty to Refer (a duty to encourage public authorities to refer individuals at risk of, or, homeless to statutory services) to join up service delivery to meet multiple needs (DLUHC, 2020c).

In 2017, DLUHC published an evaluation of a Social Impact Bond (SIB) designed to encourage innovative approaches and new sources of funding to address street homelessness in London for a group of individuals with long histories of homelessness (DLUHC, 2017a). A Navigator approach was employed by areas, whereby key workers adopted a personalised approach to support individuals to access and engage with existing provision (DLUHC, 2017a; 2017b). The evaluation found that, when compared with a well-matched comparator group, the intervention significantly reduced street homelessness over a two year period (DLUHC, 2017a). Using propensity score matching, the impact evaluation found that on average the intervention group experienced significantly fewer episodes of street homelessness than the comparison group (DLUHC, 2017a). After two years, the mean number of episodes of street based sleeping was 9.2 for the intervention group and 13.9 for the comparison group (DLUHC, 2017a). Extrapolating from this, the evaluation estimated that across this period, 3 900 episodes of street homelessness were avoided as a result of the intervention (DLUHC, 2017a). Whilst this evaluation suggests that the SIB worked effectively, the programme only took place in London and the available data meant it was not possible to disentangle the effect of the intervention service from the social investment model (DLUHC, 2017a).

Whilst the payment by result structure adopted for the SIB was new to providers and complex to develop, the accompanying process evaluation found that the payment by result structure supported a flexible approach to the delivery of tailored, personalised interventions – delivering stable accommodation outcomes for 53% of the cohort. The evidence from the evaluation stresses the importance of support workers building long-term and trusting relationships with people who experience homelessness, which is responsive to their various needs (DLUHC, 2017b). This requires effective working between partners and a skilled and capable workforce (DLUHC, 2017b).

In March 2018, the Rough Sleeping Initiative (RSI) was launched which targeted 83 local areas in England with the highest levels of street homelessness to reduce the number of people sleeping out in these areas (DLUHC, 2018a). The RSI aims to support individuals who are experiencing street homelessness through delivering a series of interventions designed and delivered at Local Authority level, either through developing new services or expanding those already in existence (DLUHC, 2018a). Interventions delivered using RSI funding include outreach services, day-centre provision, specialist non-housing roles, and hiring rough sleeping coordinators who coordinate partnership working across local services. In its first year, the £30m fund provided over 1 750 new bed spaces and 500 staff (DLUHC, 2019). In 2019, an impact evaluation was conducted which demonstrated that the RSI was having a significant effect on reducing street homelessness in the areas that had received RSI funding compared to a counterfactual group (DLUHC, 2019). Using a

difference-in-difference design, the evaluation found that the actual number of people experiencing street homelessness was 32% lower than the predicted number had the initiative not been in place (DLUHC, 2019). This is equivalent to an overall net reduction of 1 321 people sleeping on the streets across the 83 RSI areas in 2018 compared to the counterfactual (DLUHC, 2019). The RSI is now in its fourth year and provides funding for over three quarters of Local Authorities in England.

Housing-led responses which focus on providing sustainable accommodation, alongside the provision of person-centred support, have been found to be an effective intervention for individuals who require support and who have previously experienced street homelessness (Busch-Geertsema et al., 2010; Mackie et al., 2018; Parsell and Watts, 2017). Housing First, which has been extensively evaluated in the US, has been found to be successful in improving housing retention and health outcomes, particularly for individuals who might benefit from high levels of support compared to other forms of accommodation-based responses (Padgett, 2007; Parsell and Watts, 2017).

In 2017, three Housing First Pilots were set up in England across Greater Manchester, Liverpool City Region, and the West Midlands combined authorities, accompanied by a before and after evaluation to assess the effectiveness of the Housing First model. Initial findings from the process evaluation suggest that Housing First can take time to set-up and that challenges in securing accommodation may pose a barrier for the Housing First principle of individuals having choice over their accom-modation (DLUHC, 2020d). Learning from early delivery of the programme supports previous findings that adequate time needs to be taken to build relationships with support workers, which is facilitated by the Housing First model of flexibility and lack of conditionality (DLUHC, 2020d).

There are several elements which feature throughout these evaluations that appear to be conducive to designing effective services that alleviate homeless-ness. As recognised by Mackie et al. (2018), the existing evidence base suggests that the heterogeneity of support needs and local housing markets need to be recognised when designing interventions, whilst person-centred support is crucial to successful service delivery.

Plans for the Future

Whilst the department's evidence base on what works to prevent and alleviate homelessness has grown, there is more to do. Indeed, the Centre for Homelessness Impact Evidence and Gap Map which reviews available evidence on homelessness interventions found that whilst there has been a rise of over 50% in the number of rigorous effectiveness studies carried out in the UK between 2018 and 2020, this only accounts for 7% of nearly 400 studies reviewed (White et al., 2020).

There is a paucity of evidence on longer-term outcomes due to the practical challenges of collecting this data from a mobile population. However, understanding the long-term effectiveness of interventions is crucial as individuals often return to the streets following an intervention (Fitzpatrick et al., 2019; Mackie et al., 2018).

DLUHC's evaluation of the Next Steps Accommodation Programme aims to follow individuals who were moved into settled accommodation, defined as accommodation intended to last for a minimum of six months, following the Covid-19 pandemic in order to better understand what factors are associated with tenancy sustainment and how outcomes vary for different groups of people. DLUHC has plans to use linked administrative data to develop a better understanding of a breadth of outcomes over time for this and other evaluations. As demonstrated in the latest research on the trends and causes of homelessness, tackling this social problem requires insight into a broad range of factors, characteristics, and outcomes across policy areas to understand whether and why interventions are effective. Work is currently underway to create a linked dataset of information about homelessness in England, by matching DLUHC's homelessness case level information system to data gathered from other government departments and agencies.[8] Administrative data linking will provide invaluable information about homelessness journeys and their impact on a range of outcomes, as well as enabling the exploration of the effectiveness and cost-benefit returns of different interventions aimed at reducing homelessness which will enable better-informed service design and policy intervention.

Alongside improvements to data linking, there is also a need for further research to understand why interventions are effective. For example, while the Trailblazers impact evaluation suggested that the prevention activity had a positive effect on the rate of acceptances and on the rate of cases of prevention and relief, the accompanying rapid evidence assessment found a lack of robust quantitative evidence on the impact of different types of preventative activity.

---

[8] Further information about this project can be found here: https://www.adruk.org/our-work/browse-all-projects/homelessness-data-england-linking-local-authority-data-to-evaluate-homelessness-policy-267/

These plans are not without challenges. Administrative data linking requires mecha-
nisms to be put in place for data sharing that take into account varying legal and
ethical considerations – these include legally binding agreements between data
controllers and data processors when sharing and processing personal data.[9]
Whilst this resource is time intensive, it will ultimately provide us with a much richer
source of data that has benefits beyond homelessness policy.

Establishing the effectiveness of programmes is fraught with difficulties due to the
localised context of homelessness service delivery and that many individuals will
often be receiving multiple interventions at the same time. This is a complex policy
landscape and methodologies need to be adapted to take this into consideration.
As set out in the Magenta Book (HM Treasury, 2020a)[10], evaluating interventions in
a complex system where it is often inappropriate, ethically or logistically, to stand-
ardise an intervention means that an adaptive approach, drawing on theories of
change, and innovative counterfactuals needs to be adopted.

Building service and system capacity is also crucial in meeting ambitions for
improving the evidence base and reducing homelessness. This involves working
closely with the sector and Local Authorities to build our understanding of their
capacity and share good practice. A recent example of this is sharing the findings
from the Rough Sleeping Questionnaire in the form of local data reports for partici-
pating Local Authorities and posters for research participants (DLUHC, 2020b). As
we look forward, it is important that research is disseminated in a way that can help
services make decisions based on the most appropriate evidence.

However, as this paper has shown, the evidence base on understanding the drivers
and what works in ending homelessness and street based sleeping has made
tremendous progress in recent years.

---

[9]   In England, codes of practice for data sharing fall under the General Data Protection Regulation
       (GDPR) which was enacted under the Data Protection Act 2018 and which all organisations must
       abide by when using people's data. These require a lawful basis for any data sharing and
       promote accountability and transparency when using personal data.

[10] The Magenta Book provides central guidance and best practice on evaluation in government.

> **References**

Alma Economics (2019) *Causes of Homelessness and Rough Sleeping* (Rapid Evidence Assessment: Department for Levelling Up, Housing and Communities, Department for Work and Pensions). [online]. Available from: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/793471/Homelessness_-_REA.pdf.

Bramley, G. and Fitzpatrick, S. (2017) Homelessness in the UK: Who is Most at Risk?, *Housing Studies* 33 pp.96-116.

Busch-Geertsema, V., Edgar, W., O'Sullivan, E., and Pleace, N. (2010) *Homelessness and Homeless Policies in Europe: Lessons from Research* (European Consensus Conference on Homelessness). Available from: http://noticiaspsh.org/IMG/pdf/4099_Homeless_Policies_Europe_Lessons_Research_EN.pdf.

CHAIN (2021) *CHAIN Quarterly Report – Greater London: October – December 2020*. Available from: https://data.london.gov.uk/dataset/chain-reports

Department for Levelling Up, Housing and Communities (2017a) [11]*The Impact Evaluation of the London Homelessness Social Impact Bond.* [online]. Available from: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/658921/Qualitative_Evaluation_of_the_London_Homelessness_SIB.pdf

Department for Levelling Up, Housing and Communities (2017b) *Qualitative Evaluation of the London Homelessness Social Impact Bond* (SIB). [online]. Available from: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/658881/SIB_Impact_evaluation_report.pdf

Department for Levelling Up, Housing and Communities (2018a) *Rough Sleeping Strategy*. [online]. Available from: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/733421/Rough-Sleeping-Strategy_WEB.pdf.

Department for Levelling Up, Housing and Communities (2018b) *Evaluation of the Homelessness Prevention Trailblazers*. [online]. Available from: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/791585/Evaluation_of_Homelessness_Prevention_Trailblazers.pdf

---

[11] Formerly the Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government (MHCLG)

Department for Levelling Up, Housing and Communities (2019) *Impact Evaluation of the Rough Sleeping Initiative 2018.* [online]. Available from: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/831133/RSI_Impact_Evaluation.pdf

Department for Levelling Up, Housing and Communities (2020a) *Statutory Homelessness, Annual Report, 2019-20. England.* [online]. Available from: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/923123/Annual_Statutory_Homelessness_Release_2019-20.pdf

Department for Levelling Up, Housing and Communities (2020b) *Understanding the Multiple Vulnerabilities, Support Needs and Experiences of People who Sleep Rough in England. Initial findings from the Rough Sleeping Questionnaire.* [online]. Available from: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/944598/Initial_findings_from_the_rough_sleeping_questionnaire_access.pdf

Department for Levelling Up, Housing and Communities (2020c) *Evaluation of the Implementation of the Homelessness Reduction Act: Final Report.* [online]. Available from: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/919748/Evaluation_of_the_Implementation_of_the_Homelessness_Reduction_Act_Final_Report.pdf

Department for Levelling Up, Housing and Communities (2020d) *Evaluation of the Housing First Pilots: Interim Process Evaluation Report. Final Report.* [online]. Available from: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/946110/Housing_First_first_interim_process_report.pdf

Department for Levelling Up, Housing and Communities (2021a) *Rough Sleeping Snapshot in England: Autumn 2020*. [online] Available from: https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/rough-sleeping-snapshot-in-england-autumn-2020/rough-sleeping-snapshot-in-england-autumn-2020

Department for Levelling Up, Housing and Communities (2021b) *Statutory Homelessness in England, January to March 2021.* [online]. Available from: https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/statutory-homelessness-in-england-january-to-march-2021

Department for Levelling Up, Housing and Communities (2021c) *Coronavirus (COVID-19) Emergency Accommodation Survey Data: January 2021.* [online]. Available from: https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/coronavirus-covid-19-emergency-accommodation-survey-data-january-2021

Office for National Statistics (2021) *Rough Sleeping in the UK: 2002 to 2021*. [online]. Available from: https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/ housing/articles/roughsleepingintheuk/2002to2021

Fitzpatrick, S., Kemp, P., and Klinker, S. (2000) *Single Homelessness: An Overview of Research in Britain* (York, England: Joseph Rowntree Foundation).

Fitzpatrick, S. (2005) Explaining Homelessness: A Critical Realist Perspective, *Housing, Theory & Society* 22(1) pp.1-17.

Fitzpatrick, S., Pleace, N., and Bevan, M. (2005) *Final Evaluation of the Rough Sleepers Initiative* (Edinburgh: Scottish Government).

Fitzpatrick, S., Pawson, H., Bramley, G., Wood, J., Watts, B., Stephens, M., and Blenkinsopp, J. (2019) *The Homelessness Monitor: England 2019* (London: Crisis).

HM Treasury (2020a) *Magenta Book: Central Government guidance on evaluation*. [online]. Available from: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/ uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/877200/HMT_Magenta_Book.pdf

HM Treasury (2020b) *Budget 2020. Delivering on our promises to the British People.* [online]. Available from: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/ uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/871802/Budget_2020_Print.pdf

Johnsen, S. and Watts, B. (2014) *Homelessness and Poverty: Reviewing the Links* (Edinburgh: Heriot- Watt University).

Kuhn, R., and Culhane, D.P. (1998) Applying Cluster Analysis to Test a Typology of Homelessness by Pattern of Shelter Utilization: Results from the Analysis of Administrative Data, *Am J Community Psychol* 26 pp.207-232.

Mackie, P., Johnsen, S., and Wood, J. (2018) *Ending Rough Sleeping: What Works? An International Evidence Review* (London: CRISIS).

Office for National Statistics (2021) *Rough Sleeping in the UK: 2002 to 2021*. [online]. Available from: https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/ housing/articles/roughsleepingintheuk/2002to2021

Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR). (2009) *The Right to Adequate Housing. Fact Sheet No21/Rev.1* (Geneva: United Nations). [online]. Available from: https://unhabitat.org/sites/default/files/documents/2019-05/ fact_sheet_21_adequate_housing_final_2010.pdf

Padgett D.K. (2007) There's no place like (a) home: ontological security among persons with serious mental illness in the United States, *Social Science & Medicine* 64(9) pp.1925-1936.

Parsell, C. and Watts, B. (2017) Charity and Justice: A Reflection on New Forms of Homelessness Provision in Australia, *European Journal of Homelessness* 11(2) pp.65-76.

Pleace, N. (2000) The New Consensus, the Old Consensus and the Provision of Services for People Sleeping Rough, *Housing Studies* 15(4) pp.581-594.

Rugg, J. (2008) *Research Report: A Route to Homelessness? A Study of Why Private Sector Tenants Become Homeless.* Available from: https://england.shelter.org.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0004/68872/Route_to_ Homelessness_PRS.pdf.

Speak, S. (2019) *The State of Homelessness in Developing Countries*, presented to the Expert Group Meeting on "Affordable housing and protection systems for all to address homelessness" (United Nations Office at Nairobi). Available from: https://www.un.org/development/desa/dspd/wp-content/uploads/sites/22/2019/ 05/SPEAK_Suzanne_Paper.pdf

White, H., Saran, A., Fowler, B., Portes, A., Fitzpatrick, S., and Teixeira, L. (2020) The Effectiveness of Interventions to Improve the Welfare of those Experiencing and at Risk of Homelessness: An Updated Evidence and Gap Map. [online]. Available from: https://assets-global.website-files.com/59f07e67422cdf0001904c 14/5f880c9794d70282f3c13a88_CHI%20EGM3%202020.pdf

Williams, M. (2001) Complexity, Probability and Causation: Implications for Homelessness Research, *Journal of Social Issues*, Available from: http://whb.co.uk/ socialissues/mw.htm.