The Finnish National Programme to reduce long-term homelessness

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Introduction

In February 2008, the Finnish government adopted a programme aimed at halving long-term homelessness by 2011. Referring to the "Housing First" principle, which considers that appropriate permanent accommodation is a prerequisite for solving other social and health problems, the programme seeks to reduce and gradually abandon the use of conventional shelters and change them into supported rented accommodation units. Under the programme a total of 1,250 additional dwellings, supported housing units or places in care are to be created for long-term homeless people.

In order to enhance measures to prevent homelessness, the programme supports projects that procure supported housing for recently released prisoners and for young people at risk, and prevents evictions, e.g. by providing and expanding housing advisory services.

In the implementation of the programme, the Central Government cooperates closely with the country's ten largest cities with homeless populations, based on detailed letters of intent. The Central Government have set aside €80 million for covering the costs of creating new accommodation. The costs of additional personnel for support services (approx. €20.6m) are shared between central government and the municipalities. The Finnish Slot Machine Association (RAY) contributes to the programme costs with an additional €18-20 million.

This discussion paper provides an assessment of the programme within the European context of social policies aiming at tackling homelessness. In Part A, important policy developments regarding the issue at EU level are summarised, the potential contribution of the Finnish programme to this policy debate is assessed and European and international comparative aspects are discussed. Particular emphasis is placed on the debate on "Housing First", a principle which has attracted wide spread attention in several European countries in recent years. Part B presents the main elements of the programme, its background, goals, targets and measures, some first results and an assessment of the transferability and potential learning value of the programme for other Member States. In part C a series of potential topics for the Peer Review debate is suggested.

Part A The policy debate at European level

A.1 The policy framework at European level

The framework and important policy developments

The main instrument for the development and implementation of social policy at EU level is the Open Method of Coordination (OMC) on Social Protection and Social Inclusion. Since the Social OMC was launched in 2000, homelessness has been highlighted as an important issue for

policies against poverty and social exclusion. While "access to decent housing" and "ensuring good accommodation for all" as well as the prevention of homelessness were mentioned as important objectives in the first publications of the Commission on the social inclusion process (see Frazer et al, 2010; Frazer, 2009), it took some time until homelessness and housing exclusion reached a more prominent role in the debate on social policies at EU level and were defined as key priorities in the Social OMC (Spinnewijn, 2009 and Calandrino, 2010).

One of the key features of the Social OMC is the Joint Report on Social Protection and Social Inclusion, which is published annually by the European Commission in cooperation with the Social Protection Committee of the European Council. This report reviews important recent trends in social protection and social inclusion across the EU member states. In 2009 the Joint Report stated that "sustained work is required to tackle homelessness" (Council of Europe, 2009: 2) and in 2010 homelessness and housing exclusion were selected as a special focus of the Joint Report, and the national reports of EU Member States on which it is based. The 2010 Joint Report, adopted in March by the European Commission and the Council of Ministers, calls on Member States to develop "strategies to address housing exclusion and homelessness". The report mentions a number of important elements for effective strategies (Council of Europe, 2010: 8-9), such as

- effective governance (involving all relevant stakeholders),
- an evidence basis of thorough information and evaluation (including accurate and consistent data on homelessness),
- clearly formulated targets (such as on the prevention of homelessness, a reduction of its duration, targeting the most severe homelessness, improving the quality of services for homeless people or on increasing the supply of affordable housing),
- integrated policies (combining financial support to individuals, effective regulation and quality social services which are easily accessible for homeless people),
- the role of social and public housing as one of the main solutions for homelessness and
- the adaptation to new risk groups (including migrant and mobile workers).

In June 2010, the European Council adopted the new Europe 2020 strategy setting priorities for the next decade. The new EU poverty target is defined as "promoting social inclusion, in particular through the reduction of poverty, by aiming to lift at least 20 million people out of the risk of poverty and exclusion."[1] A specific target concerning homelessness has not been set, but the proposal by the Commission for Europe 2020 includes a European Platform against Poverty, which will "transform the open method of coordination on social exclusion and social protection into a platform for cooperation, Peer Review and exchange of good practice, and into an instrument to foster commitment by public and private players to reduce social exclusion, and take concrete action". One of the tasks for Member States mentioned in this context is „to define

[1] For the conclusions of the European Council see http://www.consilium.europa.eu/App/NewsRoom/loadDocument.aspx?id=339&lang=en&directory=en/ec/&fileName=115346.pdf

and implement measures addressing the specific circumstances of groups at particular risk". "The homeless" are explicitly mentioned as one of these groups.[2]

The EU Network of Independent Experts on Social Inclusion, produced a report on homelessness and housing exclusion in the EU Member States at the end of 2009 with "15 concrete suggestions for addressing the key barriers to making progress at both national and EU levels in the fight against homelessness and housing exclusion (HHE) – i.e., insufficient political commitment, lack of understanding of HHE and lack of agreement on definitions and appropriate indicators, absence of or inadequate data sources, and inadequate (if any) monitoring and reporting" (Frazer and Marlier, 2009: 2).[3] One of these suggestions relate to the development of integrated strategies to prevent and reduce homelessness and housing exclusion.

Further important developments influencing the policy framework at EU level in recent years have been the following:

- The written declaration on ending street homelessness, which was adopted by the European Parliament in 2008. The declaration calls on the Council to agree on a EU-wide commitment to end street homelessness by 2015 and calls on the Commission to provide annual updates on action taken and progress made in EU Member States towards achieving this goal.[4]

- For the European Year for Combating Poverty and Social Exclusion 2010 addressing the needs of homeless people has been recognised as a priority policy area.

- A European Consensus Conference on Homelessness will be hosted by the Belgian Presidency and the European Commission on 9 and 10 December 2010 following the example of the national consensus conference on homelessness in France in 2007 (see Loison-Leruste 2008).

In addition, a wide range of activities at EU level in the field of research and information exchange can be listed which focused specifically on different aspects of homelessness and housing exclusion.

Transnational research networks, exchange projects and targeted studies

The European Commission has funded a number of transnational research networks and exchange projects focusing on different dimensions of homelessness. The first such project was the EUROHOME-project,[5] followed by EUROHOME-IMPACT (The Housing Dimension of Welfare Reforms).[6] In the CUPH project (Constructing Understanding of the Homeless Population) research teams from seven countries mainly focused on different theoretical and methodological approaches to analyse homelessness.[7] The COOP project focused on "Integrated

2 See http://ec.europa.eu/eu2020/pdf/COMPLET%20EN%20BARROSO%20%20%20007%20-%20Europe%202020%20-%20EN%20version.pdf, pp. 17-18

3 http://www.peer-review-social-inclusion.eu/network-of-independent-experts/2009/homelessness-and-housing-exclusion

4 http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?reference=P6_TA%282008%290163&language=EN

5 For results see Avramov (1999); this volume also contains a detailed analysis of the annual survey on homelessness in Finland, see Kärkkäinen (1999)

6 For results see http://www.iccr-international.org/impact/downloads.html

7 See http://www.cuhp.org/

forms of co-operation in housing stock policy - housing provision for risk groups".[8] A recent study on "*Housing Exclusion: Welfare Policies, Housing Provision and Labour Markets*", funded under the PROGRESS programme, analysed the interaction between welfare regimes and housing systems in six European countries, particularly with respect to the generation and amelioration of housing exclusion.[9] Another recent research project concentrates on homeless young people in four EU countries.[10]

The most important European research network on homelessness, which has been publishing and disseminating transnational research on a variety of aspects of homelessness since 1990, is the European Observatory on Homelessness (EOH). The EOH is organised by FEANTSA, the European Federation of National Organisations Working with the Homeless, and financed under the PROGRESS programme. It has published a wide range of transnational reports and studies, most of which are available from http://www.feantsaresearch.org. Since 2007 one of the regular annual outputs of the EOH has been a volume of the European Journal of Homelessness. From the beginning national homelessness strategies have been an important theme of articles and policy evaluations in this Journal. The 2009 edition also contains an analysis of the Finnish homeless strategy (Tainio and Fredriksson, 2009).

Defining and measuring homelessness and housing exclusion – approaches at EU level

Substantial progress has been made at EU level on defining homelessness. The European Typology on Homelessness and Housing Exclusion (ETHOS) was developed as part of the work of the European Observatory on Homelessness in close cooperation with FEANTSA members. Today this *conceptual framework* is widely accepted in almost all European countries, and has even been selected as the framework for a new definition of homelessness in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand 2009).

Not all European governments agree on all ETHOS categories or accept all the different groups mentioned in ETHOS as being part of the 'homeless' population. But almost everywhere national definitions are discussed in relation to ETHOS, and it can be clarified which of the subgroups mentioned in ETHOS are included in homelessness definitions on the national level and which are not.[11] In its most recent version, ETHOS defines and relates 13 different operational categories and 24 different living situations to the four conceptual categories "roofless", "houseless", "insecure housing" and "inadequate housing" (see Edgar, 2009 and Appendix 1).

A study on "*Measurement of Homelessness at European Union Level*" (Edgar et al, 2007), commissioned by DG Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities, reviewed the methods of data collection on homelessness in Europe. The report proposed a harmonised version of the definition of homelessness, mainly for data collection purposes, which is sometimes called "ETHOS light", because it contains less categories and omits some of the situations of housing exclusion classified in ETHOS as insecure and inadequate housing (see Appendix 2).

8 See http://www.srz-gmbh.com/coop/project/index.html

9 See http://www.york.ac.uk/inst/chp/Projects/euexclusion.htm and Stephens et al (2010)

10 "Combating social exclusion among young homeless populations (CSEYHP)", see www.movisie.nl/homelessyouth

11 For a comprehensive discussion of other approaches to define homelessness on the European level, including the INSEE study for EUROSTAT (Brousse, 2004) and the recommendations of the UNECE/Conference of European Statistician for the European wide census 2011 (UNECE/EUROSTAT, 2006), see Edgar et al (2007), chapter 3.

The report sets out a methodology for developing homeless monitoring information systems (as part of homeless strategies) and makes recommendations to the EU level as well as the national level how to improve the measurement of homelessness. Most of the categories of homelessness listed in "ETHOS light" are included in the Finnish definition of homelessness as well, with the exception of people in transitional supported accommodation and those living in non-conventional dwellings due to lack of housing.[12] As in some other Nordic countries, persons sharing with friends and relatives make up a large proportion of homeless people in Finland.

Between 2007 and 2009 the MPHASIS project (Mutual Progress on Homelessness Through Advancing and Strengthening Information Systems) was funded under the EU PROGRESS initiative. The main objective of MPHASIS was to improve monitoring of homelessness and of homeless policies in 20 European countries in a coordinated manner on the basis of the recommendations of the earlier study on Measurement of Homelessness at European Union Level (see above). Finland was one of the participating countries and the documents provided at the national meeting in Helsinki as well as general conclusions and lessons learned from the project are available from the MPHASIS homepage.[13]

Previous and ongoing Peer Reviews

Homelessness has been the subject of five previous Peer Reviews between 2004 and 2010:

2004: UK - The Rough Sleepers Unit, England[14]
2005: Denmark - Preventing and Tackling Homelessness[15]
2006: Norway - National Strategy – Pathway to a Permanent Home[16]
2009: Austria – Counting the Homeless – Improving the Basis for Planning Assistance[17]
2010: Portugal – Building a Comprehensive and Participative Strategy on Homelessness[18]

The most relevant Peer Reviews in our context are probably those focusing on national strategies to prevent and reduce homelessness, namely the Danish, Norwegian and Portuguese Peer Reviews, though Denmark has developed and published a new Homelessness Strategy in 2009.[19]

The Norwegian Strategy is of particular interest, as it was one of the first national homelessness strategies with explicit performance targets. These targets included: a reduction of eviction cases by 50 percent and of actual evictions by 30 percent; the ambitious aim that nobody should have to seek temporary accommodation after release from prison or treatment institutions; and a limit

12 It is also unclear from the documents available to what extent women in women's shelter or refuge accommodation are counted as homeless in Finland.
13 http://www.trp.dundee.ac.uk/research/mphasis/
14 See http://www.peer-review-social-inclusion.eu/peer-reviews/2004/the-rough-sleepers-unit-england and Vranken (2004)
15 See http://www.peer-review-social-inclusion.eu/peer-reviews/2005/preventing-and-tackling-homelessness and Meert (2005)
16 See http://www.peer-review-social-inclusion.eu/peer-reviews/2006/national-strategy-to-prevent-and-tackle-homelessness and Edgar (2006)
17 http://www.peer-review-social-inclusion.eu/peer-reviews/2009/counting-the-homeless and Edgar (2010)
18 http://www.peer-review-social-inclusion.eu/peer-reviews/2010/building-a-comprehensive-and-participative-strategy-on-homelessness and Fitzpatrick (forthcoming)
19 See Hansen (2010). An English version of the Danish Homelessness Strategy is available from http://www.feantsa.org/files/freshstart/National_Strategies/Danish_strategy_Pjece%20om%20hjeml%C3%B8sestrategien_EN.pdf

of three months for stays in temporary accommodation. Another important aspect of the Norwegian Strategy concerns issues of governance. Local authorities in Norway – similar to those in Finland - have the primary responsibility for tackling homelessness and also have considerable autonomy on how to do this. Thus, the implementation of the strategy and the cooperation between central government and local authorities in Norway is relevant in informing practice in other European countries.

The development of the Portuguese homelessness strategy is of special relevance given that most of the national homelessness strategies adopted so far are found in the northern part of Europe. Portugal is the first country among the southern and eastern Member States of the European Union where a national homelessness strategy has been developed. Furthermore, Portugal's homelessness strategy, launched in March 2009, was not only designed by a large group of public and private stakeholders, it also involved them in the implementation, monitoring and evaluation phases. Although based upon a rather strict definition of homelessness, local networks were encouraged to develop their own homelessness diagnoses and action plans within a broad framework that includes prevention, intervention and follow-up measures.

A.2 The contribution of the Finnish programme to the policy debate at European level

Finland has been a pioneer in measuring and reducing homelessness for many years. As early as 1987, an annual survey of homelessness was introduced as part of the housing market survey (Kärkkäinen, 1999a) and is still in use providing an indicator of trends of homelessness in Finland. Although it relies in part on municipal estimates and there seems to be some variation in municipal enumeration methods, it is one of the early examples showing that the annual production of national data on homelessness is possible and also very helpful to evaluate the effects of targeted policies.

An interesting tool for ensuring access to housing for single homeless people in a country with a large owner-occupied stock is the Y-Foundation. This is a nationwide operating organisation which buys small apartments dispersed in the owner occupied housing stock and lets them to local authority social services, which in turn re-let them to people in need of accommodation, most of them being single homeless people.[20] Only in recent years Y-Foundation has also been involved in managing and building larger housing estates with a greater geographical concentration of apartments.

Given a general tendency among EU Member States (at least in the northern and western European countries) to develop national homeless strategies in recent years, the Finnish programme is a particularly ambitious example as it aims at a reduction of long-term homelessness by 50 percent between 2008 and 2011 and follows a vision of even eliminating long-term homelessness by 2015. It is in line with a general "change of paradigm" in tackling homelessness in large parts of Europe.

Edgar, in his contribution to a recent publication on "A Social Inclusion Roadmap for Europe 2020" (Frazer et al, 2010) provides an overview of the shifts in dominating approaches to homelessness in many European countries (see Figure A1 in Appendix 3).

[20] Tainio and Fredrikkson (2009: 184) estimate the number of flats acquired for this target group by Y-Foundation and other similar organizations in Finland at around 30,000 in 2009.

While the more traditional approaches focussed on interventions to address emergency situations, these where often followed by approaches aimed at alleviating the effects of homelessness through rehabilitation and stabilisation before the homeless person could be integrated into permanent housing. These approaches typically used emergency hostels, and shared transitional or temporary accommodation, with access to permanent housing seen as the end-point of the reintegration process. Such approaches are generally known as 'staircase' or 'continuum of care' models, In recent years, increased efforts have been made in a number of countries to reduce the time spent in any kind of temporary accommodation and to use a 'Housing First" approach, aimed at providing homeless persons with permanent housing as quickly as possible and the provision of additional support services if needed. The growing emphasis on prevention is another aspect of this policy shift.

The aim of the Finnish programme to gradually abandon shelters for long-term homeless people and replace them with permanent housing units is a particularly ambitious example of this policy shift. It reflects the wide spread critique of 'staircase approaches' in Europe and of the 'continuum of care' approaches in the USA. Discussing the Finnish programme may also provide a good opportunity for discussing in more detail what 'Housing First' means in different European contexts and which elements of such an approach are of essential importance for effective services.

A.3 European and international comparative aspects

Other national homeless strategies

In a recent overview of national homelessness strategies in Europe, Edgar (2009: 54) lists the strategic objectives and targets of ten such strategies in Europe. Most of the strategies have been developed recently in the Northern parts of Europe, in the social democratic welfare regimes (Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Finland) and the liberal welfare regimes (Ireland and the UK countries) according to the typology developed by Esping-Andersen (1990). Further southwards national homelessness strategies can only be found in the Netherlands (focussing on the four largest Dutch cities), in France and in Portugal. To-date, the Central and Eastern European countries have not developed national homelessness strategies. The reasons for this geographical distribution might be an interesting issue for the Peer Review debate.

Benjaminsen at al. (2009), when comparing national homelessness strategies in liberal and social democratic welfare regimes, found that the social democratic strategies are shorter than their liberal counterparts, and have fewer, but more focused targets and objectives. They single out Finland as the Nordic country with the strongest tradition of a housing-oriented approach to homelessness, which shows more parallels with the liberal countries than with the other social democratic countries. The same applies for using a rather broad definition of homelessness. However, all countries make reference to a Housing First approach, "albeit that the term 'Housing First' is utilised in a fairly elastic manner" (Benjaminsen at al, 2009: 45; we will come back to that further below). The authors point to a shift in the liberal strategies "towards viewing homelessness as not simply a housing problem but also a consequence of a wide range of individual und structural deficits" (ibid: 43) and perhaps this may also be said for the new Finnish strategy which emphasises to a greater extent than earlier national programmes for homeless people the need of the 'remaining' homeless persons for specialised social support (which underlines that

'Housing First' doesn't mean 'housing only'). But in contrast to the Danish strategy, no further reference is made in the Finnish strategy on specific social work methods to be applied.

Benjaminsen et al (2009) also point to the fact that in the social democratic regimes local authorities have a greater degree of autonomy and responsibility, so that the use of incentives (and formal agreements) is required rather than the implementation of strategies by imposing statutory duties at national government level (as in the UK). As Benjaminsen and Dyb (2008: 55) put it: "The Danish, Norwegian and Swedish strategies against homelessness represent a case where input (targets and funding) are established at a national level, while output (performance) and outcome (effects and results) are expected to be achieved at a local level. The Government has no sanctions towards municipalities which fail in their pursuit of plans funded by the state, or choose not to participate." The same is true for Finland, with the addition that new service personnel has to be co-financed by the municipalities and that, similar to Denmark, the details of the implementation of the homeless strategies have been agreed individually with every participating city. In both countries the national programme is implemented in a selected number of cities, with a heavy focus on the capital, where homelessness is concentrated to a large extent, as in many European countries. Rural homelessness is treated as almost incidental.

The focus on long-term homelessness

The special focus of the Finnish programme on reducing long-term homelessness is less common in the European context, if compared with targets such as the reduction of rough sleeping (as the most visible form of homelessness) or the prevention of evictions and of homelessness after release from institutions, which are found in a number of other national homeless strategies. While a significant proportion of rough sleepers may also be long-term homeless, and attempts (in other national homeless strategies) to reduce the time that people have to spend in temporary accommodation follows a similar aim, only the Irish strategy lists explicitly the elimination of long-term homelessness among the targets to be achieved.

In Europe there has been relatively little research on the duration of homelessness. The proportion of long-term homeless people among those, who experience homelessness at some point during a given period of time, is overestimated if numbers are available only from cross sectional analysis or snap-shot studies. American longitudinal research has shown that shelter users in the US can be distinguished according to the duration of their use of these facilities during an observation period of three years and that the characteristics of the different client groups show significant differences. While the vast majority of single homeless persons (about 80 percent) use shelters only for brief periods of time and then exit and don't return (transitional homelessness), a much smaller group (about 9 percent) consists of episodic users, who move repeatedly in and out of the shelter system (episodic homelessness). About 11 percent of all single homeless shelter users in the US have been found to be chronic shelter users, using shelter beds for long periods, sometimes even for several years (chronic homelessness).[21] Focusing on the number of bed days used in shelters, transitional users account for a third of the total days and episodic shelter users for 17 percent. Chronic homeless people, while only constituting 11 per cent of the shelter population used half of all shelter beds. The analysis also showed that transitional shelter users were younger, had fewer physical health problems and the lowest rates of mental health and substance use treatments. Chronic users were older and had

[21] Culhane and Mertraux (2008). Data given here are for Philadelphia, but the same analysis conducted in New York provided very similar patterns (see Kuhn and Culhane, 1998)

the highest rates of behavioural health treatment and physical health problems, while episodic shelter users scored somewhere in between the two other groups. In the US the results of these analyses together with economic considerations about the high costs of chronic homelessness and the encouraging results of "Housing First" evaluations (see below) have led to a specific emphasis of national recommendations and of municipal programmes on ending chronic homelessness.

We do not know if similar results and characteristics can be found in Finland, but long-term homeless persons in Finland are characterised similarly by a high proportion of people with severe mental health and addiction problems (Tainio and Fredriksson, 2010). The text of the strategy provides an estimate of the number of long-term homeless people (approx. 2,500) and a share of those counted on a specific day (around a third of the 7,500 people counted at one day in the housing market survey 2007).[22] Because of the methodological shortcomings of day counts, there are reasons to assume that over a period of a year or longer, the total number of people experiencing homelessness at some point during this period will be considerably higher[23] and the share of long-term homeless people among these may therefore be considerably lower.

The decision to refrain from any agreed duration of homelessness and to use instead a rather vague definition of long-term homelessness in the Finnish programme (see below) provides flexibility in choosing the clients for the programme, but will make it difficult to evidence whether the target has been met and to what extent the target group could profit from the measures implemented. As we can see from the background document, municipalities participating in the programme define very different shares of their homeless population on a given day as long-term homeless, percentages varying from 95 percent to 25 percent. The average share of long-term homeless persons on a given day measured in the programme cities in 2009 (45 percent) was considerably higher than expected when the programme was developed. No information is given on the share of women among long-term homeless people, but as in all other EU countries the majority of Finnish single homeless people are men (Tainio and Fredriksson, 2009).

The Finnish programme is not very clear about emergency provision for transitional homeless persons who would need shelter (though much less beds) for a few days only, including victims of force majeure, evicted households, persons leaving a household after escalating domestic conflicts etc. The existing shelters are obviously seen as serving mainly long-term homeless people because previous programmes have helped to house those homeless people who are easier to house and need less additional support.

The critique of staircase approaches and the „continuum of care"

The idea of a staircase of transition is that different types of accommodation based services with different levels of standard, autonomy and control (like low-standard shelters, temporary accommodation for particular subgroups, (shared) training flats or transitional flats) are organised like a ladder or a staircase, comprising a number of steps or rungs for the homeless client to

[22] Given that the housing survey for 2007 shows only 1,480 single homeless persons outdoors and in shelters and another 1,590 in institutions, a relevant share of long-term homeless persons seems to be sharing with relatives and friends, as this has almost been the largest group of homeless people in the Finnish homelessness statistics (see table 1 further below). In 2008 the ten municipalities participating in the programme defined 1,239 out of 4,133 homeless people sharing with friends or relatives as long-term homeless (31.3 percent among this subgroup, see Luomanen, 2010: 36).

[23] This effect also explains for example that Helsinki municipality has housed 887 homeless individuals during the course of the year 2009, but the stock number of homeless people in Helsinki had increased by 300 on the day of the 2009 housing survey compared to the year before (see Luomanen, 2010: 30).

climb up, ultimately exiting from homelessness through acquiring a self contained flat with regular leasehold and full tenancy rights. Meanwhile, the clients are expected to solve allegedly "underlying" problems (e.g. pay off old debts, stop abusing substances, start working) and obtain 'training in independent living' while being monitored by social workers. The assumption is that the clients gradually qualify for regular housing. There are variations in the number of steps involved and the exact types of accommodation based services provided, but the basic logic of staircase approaches in Europe (Sahlin 2005) and linear models or "continuum of care" models in the US (Ridgway and Zipple, 1990) is always the same, namely progressing through several physically separate, distinct, time-limited residential services towards independent living (Pleace, 2008).

However, the flip side of this system is that the individual who does not 'improve' is stuck on a rung, while the one who 'misbehaves' or fails to comply with treatment or support programmes is either degraded to a lower step or pushed down to the bottom floor, often a night shelter. A number of problematic elements of the staircase approach have been singled out (Tsemberis and Asmussen, 1999; Sahlin 2005; Busch-Geertsema and Sahlin 2007) and support systems relying on such approaches have been criticised for administering or managing homelessness instead of ending it (Burt and Spellman, 2007). Sahlin (2005) found that in those cities in Sweden with a staircase approach, homelessness increased rather than decreased as was originally intended.

The debate on "Housing First" and housing led policies in USA and Europe

In contrast to approaches, which assume that people experiencing homelessness must be somehow "repaired" or "made fit for housing" ("treatment first"), alternative strategies seek to move them into permanent housing as quickly as possible ("Housing First"). This approach generally considers housing as a fundamental right for all people. Support is provided to those homeless persons who need it, but maintaining sobriety or attending addiction treatment or showing motivation to change are not requirements for getting access to permanent housing, nor can a failure to comply with support services lead to an eviction. An essential element of this approach is that social service interventions can be more effective when provided to people in their own home. Choice and a feeling of security and stability regarding housing and support are important elements of this alternative strategy, although variations exist in practice regarding the type and duration of support and the type of long-term housing provided (see Johnsen and Teixeira, 2010, and further below).

There is now abundant evidence that homeless people prefer to live in mainstream self-contained housing, and that only for a very small minority shared housing or living in hostels is an alternative, which they would prefer (Busch-Geertsema, 2002 and 2005). The idea that homeless people should be placed as quickly as possible into ordinary housing and floating support should be provided for those in need has gained much influence in European countries in recent years. Furthermore the evidence available about such approaches in different European countries (Germany, Italy, Ireland and the UK) has confirmed, that services providing homeless people (even those with complex support needs) with mainstream, self-contained housing with floating support if required, can produce positive outcomes and low tenancy failure rates (Busch-Geertsema, 2002 and 2005; Tosi, 2005; Pleace, 1997; Dane 1998; Fitzpatrick et al, 2010). Similar positive results have been reported from a project in Canada (Toronto Shelter, Support & Housing Administration, 2007).

Research in the United States has shown that even for persons with severe mental health problems and "dual diagnoses" a "Housing First" approach works better than the Continuum of Care approach. In a longitudinal experimental study in New York, 225 homeless mentally ill individuals were randomly assinged to receive housing contingent on treatment and sobriety (the control group) or to be housed immediately and without treatment prerequisites in the Housing First model developed by the *Pathways to Housing* organisation in New York (the experimental group). After two years the experimental group had experienced approximately 80 percent of their time stably housed compared with only 30 percent for participants in traditional Continuum of Care services (Tsemberis et al, 2004). The great majority of participants in the Housing First group were demonstrably able to obtain and maintain independent housing, and even after 48 months no increases in substance use or psychiatric symptoms and no significant differences with the control group were found (Padget et al, 2006). Similar results were found in another study of long-term shelter dwellers with psychiatric problems in a suburban county (Stefancic and Tsemberis, 2007). The influence of these studies on the debate has been particularly strong because they provided evidence of greater housing stability (and lower costs) associated with the Housing First approach on the basis of long-term and randomized experimental studies comprising a large number of homeless mentally ill persons.

The prototype of Housing First developed by the *Pathways to Housing* project 1992 in New York contains a number of elements, which have to be kept in mind when discussing this model and the results (see Atherton and McNaughton Nichols, 2008; Tsemberis, 2010; Johnsen and Teixeira, 2010):

- Pathway to Housing focuses on a *harm-reduction approach*. Participation in mental health treatment and reductions in drugs and alcohol use are encouraged, but are not a condition for access to housing nor for maintaining residence and support. Treatment noncompliance or short-term hospitalisation cannot lead to evictions.

- Comprehensive support is provided, usually by an Assertive Community Treatment (ACT) team or an intensive-case management team. ACT teams include a variety of experts, such as drug use specialists, nurses, psychiatrists, social worker, peer support and employment specialists. The teams are located off-site but are available on call 24 hours a day, seven days a week. Use of these services is on a voluntary basis, but clients are encouraged to engage and they are required to meet staff at least once each week. Budgetting services are offered to help ensure that rent and other bills are paid.

- Housing is provided on basis of a standard lease without a time limit and service provision is available as long as it is needed.

- *Pathways to Housing* emphasises the importance of choice as a central element of the Housing First approach. Participants can choose the type, frequency and sequence of services. They can choose their neighbourhood and apartment as far as suitable units are available. Choice also relates to the selection of furniture and household items.

- *Pathways to Housing* (in contrast to other Housing First providers) also emphasises the need to use scattered housing to ensure that mentally ill people are integrated into the community and currently the programme limits leases to a maximum of 20 percent of the units in any single building (Tsemberis 2010: 45). *Pathways to Housing* projects have a housing

department that finds, secures and administers appropriate apartment units for the clients. The apartments are usually rented from private landlords.

However, as the successful 'Housing First' model became adopted and promoted at Federal level in the US, and was also replicated in other countries the term "Housing First" has become more ambiguous, as it is now used to describe a broader variety of service types which can diverge significantly from the original model (Pearson at al, 2007; Pleace, 2008; Atherton and McNaughton Nichols, 2008; Johnsen and Teixeira, 2010).

Several US studies have also shown that the costs of "Housing First" projects are significantly lower when compared with Continuum of Care places or stays in prisons or psychiatric hospitals, which many of the clients had experienced before being re-housed by a Housing First or other supported housing project (Padgett et al, 2006, for an overview of further studies see Culhane et al, 2008 and Tsemberis, 2010).

There is clear evidence that a "Housing First" strategy does not result in increased health problems or substance abuse compared to "Continuum of Care" approaches. However, there is only limited evidence that this approach will lead to a reduction of substance abuse and a recovery from mental health problems. While some studies show a reduction of alcohol and drug use in Housing First projects in the first year already (Larimer et al, 2009; Toronto Shelter, Support & Housing Administration, 2007), others don't show any substantial improvements. In a recent review of Housing First studies it was even argued that the evidence is not sufficient to prove the applicability of Housing First programmes for people with severe and active addiction (Kertesz et al, 2009). The study by Pearson et al. (2007: 104) commissioned by the US Government concludes: "While the housing provided by the programmes increased housing stability and afforded the opportunity to receive treatment, substantial progress toward recovery and self-sufficiency often takes years and is no linear process, rather it is a series of ups and downs. " But it should also be noted that a harm reduction approach as followed by *Pathways to Housing*, while encouraging clients to reaching such goals as ending substance abuse and achieving independent living where possible, neither requires nor expects from all clients to do so (Pleace, 2008).

The "Housing First" approach has received much attention in the US media and among US politicians. It was a crucial element of the national strategy to end chronic homelessness in the US and hundreds of local communities have committed to following this strategy. "Housing First" projects targeting homeless people with mental health and addiction problems have been set up in a number of different countries, including Australia and Canada and are currently also tested in a number of European countries. [24]

While the evidence from the US and elsewhere has made it much more difficult to maintain the view (typical of a 'treatment first' approach) that people with complex support needs are incapable of sustaining an independent tenancy without prior intervention in special institutions, there are different opinions about the elements which are essential for an alternative Housing First

[24] Examples are the Turning Point Scotland Housing First Project in Glasgow (Scotland, UK, see Johnsen and Teixeira, 2010), the Discus Housing First Project in Amsterdam (see http://www.hvoquerido.nl/discus.html) and a Housing First project in Lisbon run by the Association for Psychosocial Integration and related Studies (AEIPS). Evaluations of these projects on the local level are planned or under way, but no results are available yet. Housing First Projects are also planned or in the implementation process in Ireland, Denmark, Sweden and other European countries.

approach.[25] While *Pathways to Housing* recommends using scattered site housing and emphasises that this is an essential factor of consumers' psychological well-being and social integration (Gulcur at al, 2007; Tsemberis, 2010), other projects use congregate supportive housing with support staff located on site or provide shared accommodation. Several research outcomes point to better results in projects which allow for greater choice in type of housing and do not show the characteristics of hostel accommodation (Pearson et al, 2007; Toronto Shelter, Support & Housing Administration, 2007, Atherton and McNaughton Nichols, 2008).[26]

If we look at the Finnish Housing First approach, parallels can be seen in seeking to secure permanent accommodation for long-term homeless persons with a tenancy agreement and providing services that can be organised according to the resident's needs. Conventional shelters are rejected and will gradually be abandoned, but their re-development – and some of the other construction projects under the programme - will create permanent supported accommodation ("serviced housing") with communal facilities, support staff located on site and a considerable degree of supervision. Some of the newly developed supported housing will contain a large number of units (in one of the projects, more than 120 apartments will be located in one complex).[27] In order to live in regular housing another move will be needed and it is unclear what happens, when support needs decrease and formerly homeless people want to stay on in "serviced housing" without using the service. There is little information available on the kind and intensity of support provided but it seems logical, that in countries with a well-developed system of regular social welfare and health services joint cooperation with these services will play a more important role.

Part B The main elements of the programme

B.1 Background

It is important to keep in mind that the current reduction programme was preceded by other programmes aiming at the reduction of homelessness in the 1990s, and again between 2001 and 2005. These programmes were successful in reducing homelessness from almost 20,000 in 1987 to less than 10,000 in the mid 1990s and – after a period of slight growth - further down to under 8,000 in the middle of the first decade after the millennium (Kärkkäinnen, 1999b and Luomanen, 2010, see table 1).

Table 1: Homelessness in Finland from 1987 – 2009

[25] *Pathways to Housing* is currently developing a Housing First Fidelity scale (see www.pathwaystohousing.org) and some studies have made differences from the original model responsible for lower rates of housing stability and client satisfaction in projects which have deviated from essential features of Housing First as developed by Pathways (Stefancic and Tsemberis, 2007; Gulcur et al, 2007).

[26] Other deviations from the original approach include greater selectivity in client recruitment (rejection of clients defined as "difficult to house" or not willing to engage with support), imposition of time limitations and setting goals which are not compatible with the harm reduction philosophy of *Pathways to Housing* (Stefancic and Tsemberis, 2007; Pearson et al, 2007; Toronto Shelter, Support & Housing Administration, 2007).

[27] In Sweden a tendency of municipalities to convert transitional housing provisions which had been part of a staircase model into permanent supported homes outside the regular housing market has met with harsh critique and is put in contrast to Housing First approaches which acquire housing from the regular housing market: "In transforming the special-housing units into a permanent living arrangement, the new model fails to provide a mechanism by which homeless clients can re-establish themselves on the *regular* housing market, offering no real pathway out of homelessness." (Hansen Löfstrand, 2010: 29).

Year	Outdoors/ shelters	Institutions	Relatives/ friends	Single	Families
1987	4,700	4,760	7,650	17,110	1,370
1988	4,400	4,000	7,600	16,000	1,200
1989	4,170	4,400	7,620	16,190	870
1990	3,610	3,690	7,950	15,250	800
1991	3,370	3,340	7,390	14,100	700
1992	3,030	3,030	6,820	12,880	570
1993	2,560	2,410	6,700	11,670	250
1994	1,760	2,170	6,630	10,560	380
1995	1710	2,110	6,610	10,430	560
1996	1,720	2,110	5,780	9,610	360
1997	1,720	2,450	5,650	9,820	600
1998	1,770	2,350	5,870	9,990	820
1999	1,750	2,390	5,850	9,990	780
2000	1,790	2,420	5,790	10,000	780
2001	2,160	2,080	5,720	10,000	780
2002	2,060	2,080	5,420	9,560	770
2003	1,990	1,640	4,560	8,190	420
2004	1,910	1,550	4,190	7,650	360
2005	1,620	1,560	4,250	7,430	360
2006	1,650	1,570	4,180	7,400	300
2007	1,480	1,590	4,460	7,530	300
2008	1,520	1,640	4,800	7,960	300
2009	1,460	1,490	5,200	8,150	320

Source: ARA, Local Authorities' housing market surveys, see Luomanen (2010: 45)

However, the earlier measures – focusing on increasing access to housing for those in greatest need – are not believed to have helped long-term homeless people who are seen as the 'hard-core' of homelessness in Finland with substantial mental health and addiction problems (Tainio and Fredriksson, 2009).

In 2007 a so-called Group of the Wise (consisting of the director of Helsinki's social services, the managing director of the Y-Foundation, a Member of Parliament and the Bishop of Helsinki) presented a report on behalf of the Ministry of Environment preparing for a programme to eliminate long-term homelessness by 2015. The Group of the Wise proposed a target of halving long-term homelessness by 2011 and eliminating it entirely by 2015, and proposed a series of measures based on the principle of 'Housing First'. On this basis, the details of such a programme were elaborated by another working group, and the main principles and measures of the current homelessness reduction programme were decided by the Finnish government in February 2008.

B.2 The goals, target groups and measures of the programme

Two broad objectives are mentioned in the programme:

- To halve long-term homelessness by 2011.
- More effective measures to prevent homelessness.

A quantitative target was set for creating 1250 "new dwellings, supported housing or care places" directed towards long-term homeless people between 2008 and 2011. Of these units 750 should be created in Helsinki, 125 each in Vantaa and Espoo and a total of 250 in Tampere, Turku, Lahti, Kuopio, Jensuu, Oulu and Jyväskyla.

The programme foresees that shelters and "residential homes" for long-term housing of homeless people will be "gradually to be abandoned in favour of residential units which allow for independent, subsidized and supervised living". Funds were set aside to provide grants "to eligible associations, organisations or foundations responsible for residential homes, for basic renovation work and for converting them into subsidized dwellings".

It was acknowledged by those responsible for elaborating the programme, that any sustainable effort at reducing long-term homelessness cannot rely solely on providing long-term homeless people with permanent housing and adequate support, but needs to be backed up by efforts to prevent new groups from becoming long-term homeless. Therefore, the target groups of the project include – in addition to long-term homeless persons – young people, people released from prison and people at imminent risk of eviction. The measures for these groups comprised a young people's subsidized housing project, the procurement of subsidized housing for recently released prisoners and the development of better services to prevent homelessness after release from prison and the development of national guidelines and local services for the prevention of evictions.

Long-term homeless people are defined in the programme as "a group of homeless people whose homelessness is classed as prolonged or chronic, or threatens to be that way because conventional housing solutions fail with this group and there is an inadequate supply of solutions which meet individual needs." As mentioned before this definition and the absence of any defined duration constituting long-term homelessness provides some room for interpretation when implementing projects for the target group and might create some problems in measuring the achievement of the goal.

For the period of 2008 – 2011 a total of €80m were set aside by the government for investment grants and another €10.3m for covering a maximum of 50 percent of the salary costs of additional support personnel who have direct customer contact with long-term homeless persons in the newly developed projects. Co-funding of the same amount is required from the municipalities involved in the programme. In addition the Finnish Slot Machine Association (RAY) has set aside €18m as financial assistance, and has earmarked a further €2.5m for the acquisition of supported housing for newly released prisoners. If we include the provision of another €80m for subsidized interest rate loans by the government the total budget for the programme from 2008-2011 amounts to €201.1m.

The programme was implemented by letters of intent concluded between State authorities and the ten largest Finnish cities in which detailed agreements where laid down on the concrete projects planned and funded in the particular city. Clear responsibilities were defined on the level of central government (involving the Ministry of Environment, responsible for housing policies and lead coordinator of the programme, the Ministry of Health and Social Services and the Ministry of Justice and a number of national agencies responsible for funding of housing and other services and for the criminal sanction system) and the municipalities.

B.3 First results

According to the Ministry of Environment the programme shows positive results in a number of aspects:

The overall funding of the programme is judged as sufficient and the funding model as effective. The quantitative targets regarding the production of different types of accommodation have been met and even exceeded: it is expected that by the end of 2011 a total of 1,650 new dwellings/supported dwellings will be in use. However, in some of the municipalities additional housing capacities seem to be necessary to reach the goal of halving long-term homelessness. The conversion of dormitory accommodation is underway, specifically in Helsinki and Espoo, but similar conversion programmes will have to be developed in other cities.

The effects of the "Housing First" principle are reported as positive, though no data are provided. It is stated that the arrangement of permanent housing has awaken the motivation for rehabilitation and that this has led to "an appreciable reduction of alcohol consumption." (Luomanen, 2010: 37). Evictions are reported to have been rare and exclusively based on client's violence. Given the debate reported upon above, it would of course be of great interest to see more robust data on these effects.

The preventive measures are also reported to have positive effects: housing advice services have been expanded and made more effective, eviction prevention instructions have been drawn up in all cities (but little interest has been shown by non-profit landlords in better cooperation to prevent evictions) and some progress has been made in improving access to housing for newly released prisoners. However, it might be asked if it would have been helpful to set clearer targets and to improve measurement of homelessness caused by eviction and release from prison.

The Finnish Youth Housing Association has generated a new type of "multidisciplinary service chain of workshop activity and housing for young people" which is implemented in most municipalities participating in the programme.

Unfortunately, the progress made towards achieving the main target of the programme to halve long-term homelessness has been limited so far and according to the background paper provided for this Peer Review it will not be achieved by the end of 2011. Between 2008 and 2009 the total number of homeless people in Finland increased marginally (from 7,960 to 8,150 homeless single persons and from 300 to 320 homeless families). In more than half of the programme cities (Vantaa, Lahti, Kuopio, Joensuu, Jyväskylä, Espoo), the number of people defined as long-term homeless also increased despite the reduction efforts, while in the remaining four cities fewer long-term homeless persons were counted in 2009 than in 2008. This is also reported for Helsinki, although no numbers are given for this city, which is of special importance because half of all homeless people live there. Obviously the impact of the newly created housing units on the number of long-term homeless persons may be expected to be higher in the homelessness statistics of 2010 and 2011 (by the end of 2009 only 22 percent of the original target of 1,250 units were completed), but there is also a problem with defining more exactly and more consistently what is understood as long-term homelessness.

It is a positive sign that the Ministry of Environment is still keeping up the long-term objective to eliminate long-term homelessness by 2015 and states: "In spite of being ambitious, a significant reduction in long-term homelessness and its ultimate elimination remain the consistent objective of the second phase of the programme" (Luomanen, 2010: 39).

B.4 Transferability and learning value for other Member States

The Finnish example meets most of the requirements set up for effective national homelessness strategies:

- It is based on a clear political will and parliamentary decisions on the national level and it involves the relevant Ministries, though in Finland the involvement of other stakeholders, especially NGO service provider associations might have been less relevant as in many other European countries, where they play a much greater role in service provision for homeless people.
- Responsibilities on the national level and the role of a coordinator are clarified: In Finland this is the Ministry of Environment, which is responsible for housing policy.
- Mechanisms for local delivery of the policy have been set. In Finland these are the financial incentives provided by the state and the concrete letters of intent, which fix tasks and obligations of national and local government in the ten largest cities.
- Objectives and a clear quantitative target have been defined and mechanisms are available for measuring if the target will be met, though in Finland the only quantitative target concerns the reduction of long-term homelessness (and the number of additional accommodation units to reach this aim) and improvements in measurement mechanisms are needed.
- Sufficient funding has been set aside to finance the programme, though more housing capacities may be needed to achieve the original goal.

Another element of effective homelessness strategies is a well-developed evidence base. In Finland the 'Group of the Wise' seems to have had the role to proof the evidence and to develop innovative ideas on this basis and on the background of their own experiences in the field. Some of the main elements of the strategy are clearly justified by research evidence at European and international level, though more robust research might still be needed to evaluate the concrete measures and their effects. It seems obvious that in order to reduce long-term homelessness preferential access to appropriate housing has to be made available to this target group. Furthermore, adequate support matching the needs of the target group has to be secured and prevention measures have to be intensified. But questions remain about the most effective type of housing for specific groups (scattered housing, permanent supported housing etc.) and about the adequacy and effectiveness of different types of support (like assertive community treatment, case-management, critical time intervention, less intensive and more flexible types of floating support, peer support etc.).

The ambitious task of eliminating long-term homelessness by 2015 and of converting shelters into permanent housing with support might be of high interest for other EU countries, which have also decided to follow a "Housing First" approach but have left the question unanswered as to which extent the use of shelters and transitional accommodation may be reduced, without risking that people end up on the street with no provision at all. It might also be of learning value for those countries, which are still developing new (or extending existing) staircase systems and might consider refraining from doing so and re-direct efforts in providing permanent housing and adequate social support for potentially homeless people.

Obviously the transferability of a homelessness strategy to other EU countries and the need to adjust it to national and local circumstances depends on a number of factors, such as size and government structure of the country (federal countries face specific problems in developing national strategies), the welfare regime, level of social protection and structure of social and health services, the structure of the housing market, the profile and number of homeless people (type of needs, need for gender and age specific measures etc.) and their geographic distribution (e.g. rural homelessness and a more balanced geographical distribution might be more relevant in other countries) etc.

Part C Key issues for debate at the Peer Review meeting

There are a number of elements in the Finnish national programme, which could contribute to the debate at the Peer Review meeting:

- The homelessness strategy itself: What are the similarities and differences of homelessness strategies in those Peer Review countries, which have a strategy and what are the obstacles for developing homelessness strategies in those countries, which have not (yet) done so (role of homelessness as a policy theme, political will, governance questions, resources etc.).

- The principle of "Housing First": How is it understood in different national contexts? What role does it play in homelessness policies? What are the potentials and caveats of this approach? How can the preconditions for a successful implementation (such as access to suitable housing, flexible and assertive support, acceptance of harm reduction approaches etc.) be met in countries with less favourable conditions? To what extent and for which circumstances will temporary accommodation continue to be needed?

- The focus on long-term homelessness and prevention: Is it an adequate focus? Are the prevention objectives relevant in other national contexts? Which amendments and precisions would be needed for a transfer? Which alternatives should be considered? What are the gender consequences (often lower share of women among long-term homeless people, gender specific support requirements)?

- Adequate types of housing (and support) for long-term homeless people: what is needed and what has proved effective? Does long-term supported housing fit with the "Housing First" approach? Is floating support in regular scattered housing a better alternative? Or are both options meeting the needs of different groups? How can access to housing be secured for the target group? Are models like the Y-Foundation and rental social agencies transferable approaches? What role can mainstream social housing play? To what extent could the European Regional Development Fund be used for improving access to housing and support for homeless people in Central and Eastern Europe?

- Intensity, type and duration of support needed for sustainable re-housing of long-term homeless people: What are the experiences in Finland and the Peer Review countries? Do we know enough about the profile and support needs of long-term homeless people and the effectiveness of different methods of social support in the different countries?

- Setting quantitative targets: What are advantages and disadvantages of target setting? What types of measurement are needed and is the Finnish annual housing survey an approach to be learned of?

- Governance issues:

  - Ministry of Environment as coordinator and alternative approaches (funding agency, social administration, working groups including researchers and NGO's etc.)

  - The role of different stakeholders (who needs to be included for developing an effective homelessness strategy?)

  - Implementation at local level (role of letters of intent versus alternative models)

  - Focus on ten largest cities (a valid transferable principle or perhaps even encouraging migration of homeless people to the centres?)

- Role of the EU: Is there a role for the EU for promoting the development of homelessness strategies, testing the Housing First approach, and using EU Structural Funds in support of homelessness strategies?

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Appendix 1 ETHOS definition

Table A1 ETHOS - European Typology on Homelessness and Housing Exclusion

Conceptual Category		Operational Category		Living Situation
ROOFLESS	1	People Living Rough	1.1	Public space o external spacer
	2	People staying in a night shelter	2.1	Night shelter
HOUSELESS	3	People in accommodation for the homeless	3.1 3.2 3.3	Homeless hostel Temporary Accommodation Transitional supported accommodation
	4	People in Women's Shelter	4.1	Women's shelter accommodation
	5	People in accommodation for immigrants	5.1 5.2	Temporary accommodation / reception centres Migrant workers accommodation
	6	People due to be released from institutions	6.1 6.2 6.3	Penal institutions Medical institutions Children's institutions / homes
	7	People receiving longer-term support (due to homelessness)	7.1 7.2	Residential care for older homeless people Supported accommodation for formerly homeless persons
INSECURE	8	People living in insecure accommodation	8.1 8.2 8.3	Temporarily with family/friends No legal (sub)tenancy Illegal occupation of land
	9	People living under threat of eviction	9.1 9.2	Legal orders enforced (rented) Re-possession orders (owned)
	10	People living under threat of violence	10.1	Police recorded incidents
INADEQUATE	11	People living in temporary / non-conventional structures	11.1 11.2 11.3	Mobile homes Non-conventional building Temporary structure
	12	People living in unfit housing	12.1	Occupied dwelling unfit for habitation
	13	People living in extreme overcrowding	13.1	Highest national norm of overcrowding

Source: Edgar (2009), p. 73

Appendix 2 "ETHOS Light"

Table A2 Harmonised Definition of Homelessness Relevant to "Measurement of Homelessness at European Union Level" Study, "ETHOS Light"

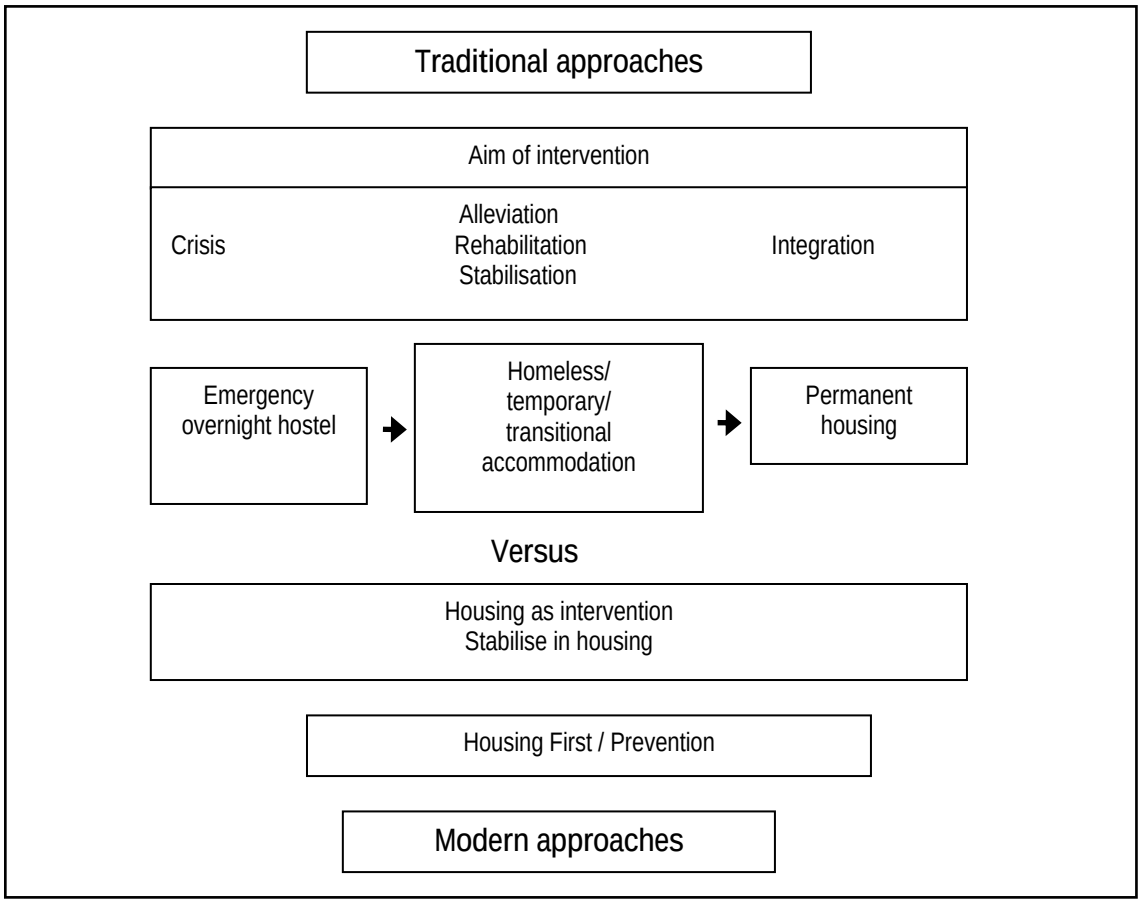
Operational Category		Living Situation		Definition
1	People Living Rough	1	Public space / external space	Living in the streets or public spaces without a shelter that can be defined as living quarters
2	People in emergency accommodation	2	Overnight Shelters	People with no place of usual residence who move frequently between various types of accommodation
3	People living in accommodation for the homeless	3 4 5 6	Homeless Hostels Temporary Accommodation Transitional Supported Accommodation Women's shelter or refuge accommodation	Where the period of stay is less than one year [28]
4	People living in institutions	7 8	Health care institutions Penal institutions	Stay longer than needed due to lack of housing No housing available prior to release
5	People living in non-conventional dwellings due to lack of housing	9 10 11	Mobile homes Non-conventional building Temporary structure	Where the accommodation is used due to a lack of housing and is not the person's usual place of residence
6	Homeless people living temporarily in conventional housing with family and friends (due to lack of housing)	12	Conventional housing, but not the person's usual place of residence	Where the accommodation is used due to a lack of housing and is not the person's usual place of residence

Source: Edgar et al, 2007, p. 66

[28] The period of one year is chosen to allow consistency with UNECE/EUROSTAT recommendations for the Census 2011.

Appendix 3 Shift in homeless policy approaches

Figure A1: Summary of shift in homeless policy approaches



Source: Edgar in Frazer et al., 2010