



PREVENTING HOMELESSNESS AMONGST FORMER PRISONERS IN ENGLAND AND WALES

A rapid review of the evidence

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CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
FOREWORD	iv
SUMMARY	vi
ABOUT THIS REPORT	1
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	1
DISCLAIMER	1
METHODOLOGY	1
SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS	2
THE CURRENT REPORT	3
THE PRISON POPULATION, HOMELESSNESS AND REOFFENDING	4
Complex needs	5
Women	7
Black, Asian and minority ethnic (BAME) prisoners	7
Foreign nationals	8
PARTNERSHIP WORKING	9
'Everyone In' and Homeless Prevention Taskforces	9
TRANSFORMING REHABILITATION REFORMS	11
ACCOMMODATION NEEDS AND SERVICES: IN PRISON	12
Assessment	12
Tenancy sustainment and closure	12
The role of the family	13
Support in prison	13
Housing referrals	14
Communication through technology in prisons	15
ACCOMMODATION NEEDS AND SERVICES: ON RELEASE	17
First day of release	17
ID, bank accounts and Universal Credit	17
Support from probation	18
ACCOMMODATION OUTCOMES	20
Emergency and temporary accommodation	20
Different forms of supported housing	23
Private rented sector	24
A HOPEFUL FUTURE?	27
The new national probation service	27

Twelve weeks of temporary accommodation for homeless prison leavers	27
A complex needs pilot	27
A national accommodation framework	27
REFERENCES	28
APPENDICES	38
APPENDIX A: Last settled address before first being seen rough sleeping for individuals who were found rough sleeping during 2019/20 and who had ever spent time in prison	38
APPENDIX B: Ethnicity of rough sleepers who had ever spent time in prison	40
APPENDIX C: Ethnicity of rough sleepers who reported prison as their last settled address	41
APPENDIX D: Nationality of rough sleepers who had ever spent time in prison	42
APPENDIX E: Nationality of rough sleepers who reported prison as their last settled address	42
APPENDIX F: Age of rough sleepers who had ever spent time in prison	43
APPENDIX G: Age of rough sleepers who reported prison as their last settled address	43
APPENDIX H: Accommodation outcomes for people seen rough sleeping in London in 2019/20, who had ever spent time in prison	44
APPENDIX I: Accommodation outcomes for people seen rough sleeping in London in 2019/20, who reported prison as their last address	45
APPENDIX J: Gender of rough sleepers who had ever spent time in prison	46
APPENDIX K: Gender of rough sleepers who reported prison as their last settled address	46
APPENDIX L: Rough sleeper category of those who had ever spent time in prison	47
APPENDIX M: The number of times those with a history of being in prison were seen rough sleeping in 2019/20	47
APPENDIX N: The number of times those who reported prison as their last address were seen rough sleeping in 2019/20	47
FIGURES	
Figure 1: Accommodation status and proven reoffending	5
Figure 2: Support needs of rough sleepers who had ever spent time in prison, <i>n</i> =1903	6
Figure 3: Support needs of rough sleepers who reported prison as their last settled address, <i>n</i> =121	7

FOREWORD

Andy Keen-Downs, Chief Executive of Pact

I want to thank Professor Nick Hardwick and Melek Bozkina of Royal Holloway University for their report. I would also like to thank London Housing Foundation for their generous funding of this review and for their continued support of Pact's work with people leaving prison.

People may be surprised that Pact has done this piece of work. We are perhaps best known as a charity which has led the way in focusing on how supporting healthy relationships and family ties can improve resettlement outcomes and reduce re-offending. We know that stable, healthy family relationships, and social capital, have the single biggest impact on re-offending outcomes, and that families are 'the most effective resettlement agency'. Much of our work in prisons and in communities involves developing and delivering effective practice to support and sustain good relationships. When it comes to preventing homelessness, one of the best ways to reduce the risk that a prison leaver will become a single homeless person is to support their family relationships - to enable them to return to a home and a family.

But Pact is also an agency which works every year to support thousands of women and men who have no family to visit them during a prison sentence, where the risks of re-connecting with family are too high, and who have no one at the gate on the day of release. And so we commissioned this review to share some of the reality of working to support people on release who have been referred to us, often within days of their expected date of release, as being single homeless. We have chosen to do this now as it feels like a time of great opportunity and great risk.

Our Pact Futures 'Through the Gate' resettlement services have come to an end, as a result of the Government's decision to abandon the Transforming Rehabilitation model. Through these frontline services, our staff and volunteer mentors worked with over 3000 men and women in the last two years, to provide vital support as they left prison, including finding them somewhere to live. As we look forward to delivering community-based services under the new Probation model, and to continuing to work in courts and prisons, it is a time to look back at what has worked, and what hasn't worked, during the Covid-19 crisis, and before, to make sure people leaving prison have somewhere to call home.

So we offer this report as a contribution to the ongoing efforts of all of those in Government and the voluntary sector to put an end to the 'revolving door' that sees far too many people move from the streets, to prison, and back again. We call upon national Government to develop a long-term strategy to ensure that there is real leadership and accountability to ensure that everyone leaving prison has somewhere to live.

We recognise this is complex and challenging and will take sustained investment. But we must learn the lessons from what has been successful during the pandemic, and we must also recognise that we are now facing a perfect storm. Never before have we as frontline service providers and practitioners been able to support so many people into emergency accommodation as we were during the height of the pandemic, thanks to the political will that was shown to reduce the number of people sleeping rough, and the improved collaboration between agencies. And we applaud the efforts of all of those involved in this work, and in the longer-term work to ensure that so many of those people provided with emergency accommodation were moved into longer term accommodation. But as accommodation initiatives and emergency short term funding in response to

the pandemic comes to an end, we face the prospect of huge increases to the prison population, being driven by harsher sentencing policies, the recruitment of 20,000 additional police officers, and a long-term failure to provide effective diversion into mental health and addiction treatment services for those with the greatest needs. This is a legacy of political failure and funding cuts, which has left the 'Hidden Heroes' working in our prisons struggling with record levels of suicide, self-harm and violence, and which threatens to overwhelm services working to support prison leavers.

For a while, we have all been 'in it together' - national and local government, prisons, probation, local authorities, and charities. Homelessness Prevention Teams, the 'Duty to Refer', and most importantly, the funding to access the accommodation and provide specialist staff, has saved thousands of people from a life on the streets, and has saved hundreds of lives. This is to be celebrated. But we have also continued to fail many people, including those whose offending is triggered by mental illness, many of whom turn to drugs and alcohol. And so as well as making sure those who leave prison have somewhere to live, this is the moment when we must also take steps to work upstream, to ensure that we reduce the prison population by ensuring effective diversion into properly funded healthcare settings for those whose crime is to be mentally ill.

We hope this report will be a helpful contribution to the efforts of all those who we know are working so hard to find long term solutions, and that it will encourage our political leaders to re-double their efforts to ensure that no one leaves prison without somewhere to call home.

SUMMARY

Royal Holloway, University of London was commissioned by the Prison Advice and Care Trust with funds from the London Housing Foundation to produce this report and identify opportunities arising from the creation of the new national probation service in June 2021 to improve housing outcomes for prison leavers. The report uses a rapid review of existing academic and grey literature, data from the Combined Homelessness and Information Network (CHAIN) database, and discussions with practitioners and key stakeholders to understand the key issues. It focuses on the needs of single prison leavers who are, or who are at risk of, rough sleeping or living in unstable accommodation in England and Wales.

THE CONTEXT

- Pre-pandemic the prison system described as in an 'enduring crisis'.¹
- 'Transforming Rehabilitation' widely criticised and now replaced.²
- Post- pandemic the prison system is conducting a 'reset' to apply lessons learnt in the pandemic so the system does not return to previous levels of violence and self-harm.³
- The Homelessness Reduction Act 2017 placed important new duties on local authorities to prevent and relieve homelessness. Single people who have or are about to leave prison may have difficulties in obtaining effective assistance to which they are entitled under these duties.⁴
- Some successful initiatives in the pandemic to ensure rough sleepers were safely housed.⁵
- A new unified probation service began work in June with a commitment to learn lessons from the past and address prisoners' accommodation needs.

THE PRISON POPULATION, HOMELESSNESS AND REOFFENDING

- There is a clear link between homelessness and reoffending; 68% of prisoners released to rough sleeping and 55% released to other homelessness reoffend within a year compared to

¹ House of Commons Justice Committee. (2019, October 31). *Prison Governance*.

<https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201919/cmselect/cmjust/191/19105.htm>

² House of Commons Committee of Public Accounts. (2019). *Transforming rehabilitation: progress review* (HC 1747). House of Commons.

<https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201719/cmselect/cmpubacc/1747/1747.pdf>

³ Connell, E. & Gunderson, C. (2021). *An update on the Future Regimes Design Project (FRD)* [PowerPoint slides]. HM Prison & Probation Service and Ministry of Justice.

⁴ Cooper, V. (2016a). 'It's all considered to be unacceptable behaviour' Criminal justice practitioners' experience of statutory housing duty for (ex) offenders. *Probation Journal*, 63(4), 433-451.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/0264550516664145>

⁵ National Audit Office. (2021). *Investigation into the housing of rough sleepers during the COVID-19 pandemic* (HC 1075). <https://www.nao.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/Investigation-into-the-housing-of-rough-sleepers-during-the-COVID-19-pandemic.pdf>

42% released to settled accommodation.⁶ Those who are homeless at the beginning of their sentence are at a higher risk of reoffending and 79% reoffend within a year.⁷

- 60% of prisoners believe having a home would help them to stop reoffending.⁸
- The prison population presents with complex needs that place them at greater risk of homelessness; 15% are already homeless at the start of their sentence.⁹

ROUGH SLEEPING DATA

- The Ministry of Justice reported that 4% of prisoners in England and Wales were released to rough sleeping in 2019/20. Twenty six percent of all prison releases were to homelessness, rough sleeping and unsettled accommodation and the accommodation outcomes of 13% were unknown.¹⁰
- In the CHAIN data for 2019/20 4% of new rough sleepers in London gave prison as their last settled based.¹¹ As this report was finalised CHAIN data for 2020/21 was released which found 3.4% of new rough sleepers gave prison as their last settled base.¹²
- 15.8% of rough sleepers who had ever spent time in prison (this includes new rough sleepers, returning rough sleepers and those who were found rough sleeping for two consecutive years) reported prison as their last settled address.
- In the CHAIN sample of rough sleepers *who had ever been in prison*, only 8% did not have an alcohol, drug or mental health support need. Sixty three percent had more than one support need. When compared to the support needs of the general rough sleeping population in the 2019/20 CHAIN report, this group were 9% more likely to have an alcohol need, 27% more likely to have a drug need and 16% more likely to have a mental health need.
- In the CHAIN sample of rough sleepers *who had prison as their last settled address*, only 14% did not have an alcohol, drug or mental health support need. Sixty percent had more than one support need. When compared to the general rough sleeping population in the 2019/20 CHAIN report, this group were 26% more likely to have a drug need and 15% more likely to have a mental health need.
- CHAIN data in this report on the two groups of rough sleepers show that the majority were housed in emergency and temporary accommodation with few moving onto long-term accommodation between April 2019 and March 2020.
- 42% of rough sleepers who had prison as their last settled address were from Black, Asian and ethnic minority backgrounds. 29.7% who had ever spent time in prison were from Black, Asian or minority ethnic backgrounds.

⁶ What Do They Know. (2019, April 12). *Reoffending rates of prisoners who are released from prison homeless*. https://www.whatdotheyknow.com/request/reoffending_rates_of_prisoners_w_2#incoming-1367562Know

⁷ Williams, K., Poyser, J., & Hopkins, K. (2012). Accommodation, homelessness and reoffending of prisoners: Results from the Surveying Prisoner Crime Reduction (SPCR) survey. Ministry of Justice Research Summary, 3/12. Ministry of Justice.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ministry of Justice. (2020, July 30). *Community Performance Quarterly release to March 2020*.

<https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/community-performance-quarterly-update-to-march-2020>

¹¹ Combined Homelessness and Information Network. (2020). *CHAIN Annual Report. Greater London April 2019-March 2020*. <https://data.london.gov.uk/dataset/chain-reports>

¹² Combined Homelessness and Information Network. (2021). *CHAIN Annual Report. Greater London April 2020-March 2021*. <https://data.london.gov.uk/dataset/chain-reports>

- Rough sleepers who had ever been in prison were more likely than the general rough sleeping population to rough sleep more than once, they were also more likely to return to rough sleeping and to rough sleep for two consecutive years.

STRUCTURAL AND SYSTEMIC ISSUES

Structural

- There is a lack of national and local visible leadership and accountability for ensuring different bodies work together to deliver positive accommodation outcomes.
- The evidence is clear that some former prisoners will need support if they are to sustain accommodation post-release but decisions on what funding will be available await difficult decisions in the next public expenditure round.
- Shared accommodation with other people who have an offending background may be essential for short periods but could create relationships and place prison leavers in environments that exacerbate reoffending risks.
- There is a lack of suitable accommodation for those with complex needs.
- Access to social housing is very limited and private rented sector accommodation is likely to be the most realistic option for most people at the point of release from prison. Whatever the form of tenure, many prison leavers will need support to obtain and sustain a tenancy.

Processes

- Early action is required to ensure prisoners on remand or serving short sentences do not lose their accommodation or develop debt whilst in custody.
- Early, accurate needs assessments are required to create the best chance of obtaining accommodation post release.
- Families are many prisoners best housing option, when properly risk assessed. Work to sustain and develop family relationships is crucial.
- Releases on Fridays remain a problem.
- Lack of ID and bank accounts still delays access to Universal Credit and limits housing options.
- Referrals to housing agencies and local authority Housing Options services need to be made and housing assessments need to be conducted in good time before release. The development of digital resources in prisons creates the opportunity for more timely joined up working between agencies.

THE FUTURE

The development of the new national probation service and successful and innovative responses to the COVID-19 pandemic in prisons and with rough sleeping in the community, create the potential to have a real impact on reoffending, and the harm this does to individuals and communities, by improving accommodation outcomes for former prisoners. There are both structural and process issues that need addressing and the challenges of doing so is not underestimated. The most commonly emphasised requirement, in both the literature and by current practitioners, to meet these challenges is effective local and national partnership working with visible leadership and accountability.

Preventing Homelessness Amongst Former Prisoners in England and Wales - A Rapid Review of the Evidence

ABOUT THIS REPORT

Prison Advice and Care Trust (Pact) is a national charity supporting prisoners, people with convictions and their families. It believes the current programme of prison and probation reform, including the re-establishment of a new probation service from June 2021, is a new opportunity to make a step change in meeting the housing needs of prison leavers. With funding from the London Housing Foundation, they have asked Royal Holloway, University of London to review lessons and recommendations from previous reports and research and to apply them to what is known about the housing needs of prisoners today. Pact hope this report can act as a benchmark against which progress on this issue can be judged and that it can assist the newly reformed probation service, housing providers and voluntary sector organisations to help prison leavers find appropriate accommodation after release.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We would like to thank practitioners from Pact and St Mungo's who contributed to the project with their time and by sharing their experiences of providing Through the Gate support to prison leavers. We would also like to thank those from St Mungo's who spoke to us about current issues in the homelessness sector and for facilitating access to data on rough sleepers on the CHAIN database. In describing the difficulties of assisting prisoners to obtain a home after they leave prison, we wish to acknowledge the determined and creative work of staff from Pact and other voluntary and statutory agencies to overcome the challenges we describe. We hope this report will assist their efforts in future.

DISCLAIMER

Rough sleeping data in this report was provided by St Mungo's. Other individuals and organisations also provided advice and information. We are grateful to them all. However, the views expressed in this report and responsibility for any errors lie with the authors alone.

METHODOLOGY

To understand the key issues faced by prison leavers in accessing and sustaining accommodation, a rapid review of the relevant academic and grey literature was conducted. This was supplemented by discussions with key stakeholders and five practitioners from Pact and one prison housing advisor from St Mungo's to understand their experiences of providing support to homeless prison leavers. Practitioners from Pact included 2 Mentoring Coordinators, a Volunteer Coordinator, a Through the Gate Services Manager and a Resettlement Keyworker. Pact were not the contracted

accommodation provider under Transforming Rehabilitation, so the roles of practitioners were limited to linking and referring to service providers as well as supporting prison leavers in finding private rented accommodation. Discussions with practitioners were carried out between the 21st and 27th of April 2021.

Access to anonymised data of two groups of rough sleepers was facilitated by St Mungo's. The first group were 135 rough sleepers who reported prison as their last settled address and who had not been seen rough sleeping before 2019/20. The second group were 2050 rough sleepers who had reported they had spent time in prison; this means that their imprisonment could have occurred at any point in their life, in any jurisdiction and could include those who began rough sleeping after discharge from prison. The data obtained is collected by the Combined Homelessness and Information Network (CHAIN), a multi-agency database on rough sleepers and the wider street population in London.¹ It represents the UK's most comprehensive information on rough sleeping. An individual is considered to be rough sleeping if they are found by an outreach worker bedded down on the street or in other open spaces. Data is also collected through services such as No Second Night Out, accommodation projects such as hostels and supported accommodation and specialist services. This data enabled us to identify demographic information and accommodation outcomes for the two groups of rough sleepers.

SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS

This report describes the situation in England and Wales unless specified otherwise. The law, policy and provision is different in the other nations of the UK. Some of the data we have been able to obtain refers specifically to London and while the situation will differ in other parts of England, and more so in Wales, the broad themes around the accessibility of social housing and affordability of the private rented sector remain the same.² The data on the two groups of prison leavers obtained through the CHAIN database is limited to rough sleepers in London. Demographic information and accommodation outcomes may be different for those who are not counted in rough sleeping statistics (such as those who are hidden homeless) or who may be located outside of London.

The Housing Act 1996, Part VII states a person in England is homeless if he (sic) has 'no accommodation available for occupation' and a person may be threatened with homelessness 'if it is likely he (sic) will become homeless within 56 days'.³ As the United Nations Human Rights Office has emphasised however, homelessness is not just the absence of shelter, it is a lack of security, safety and belonging.⁴ We use homelessness as an umbrella term to refer to all types of homelessness, including those living on the streets, in temporary accommodation or in hidden situations. Where information is on rough sleepers specifically, we note this in the report. Homelessness in its broadest sense may also affect anyone but the provision for families and single people is not the same and in this report we focus on single homeless people.

Prisoners who have committed the most serious offences may be required to live in probation hostels (also known as approved premises) for a period after their release. Staff in these hostels are responsible for assisting residents to obtain move-on accommodation when they leave the hostel. A 2017 report by HM Inspectorate of Probation painted a generally positive picture of this provision but noted it was not always located where most needed and there was a shortage of provision for

women.⁵ This is an important element of accommodation provision and resettlement support for prisoners but the needs and services for this group of prisoners are distinct and so not discussed as part of this report.

We have tried to use the most up to date research and data possible and our sources are largely drawn from the last decade. We recognise however that even in that time some things will have changed. References for all our sources provide the date to which it applies or on which it was published.

THE CURRENT REPORT

The current report aims to:

1. Set out evidence of the link between homelessness and offending
2. Summarise the evidence from previous research on the individual and systemic causes of homelessness amongst prison leavers and what works in addressing it
3. Identify the particular needs of minority groups in prison
4. Identify obstacles to successful implementation of previous policy initiatives and recommendations
5. Describe the current policy context

The report begins by examining the link between homelessness and offending and describes the extent to which prisoners are affected by substance misuse, mental ill-health and other vulnerabilities. It discusses the specific housing challenges faced by women in prison, Black, Asian and minority ethnic prisoners and foreign national prisoners.

The central importance of effective partnership working to address these challenges is set out and how this was delivered in the response to the pandemic described. Lessons from the failure of Transforming Rehabilitation are identified.

The report then describes the issues that need to be addressed within prisons and after release to meet prisoners' accommodation needs. These include the need for early assessment, prompt action to sustain or close existing tenancies, the maintenance of family relationships and the provision of good quality advice, support and referrals. The potential for the recent increase in the use of digital technologies in prisons to improve liaison between prison and community services, and the ability of prisoners to prepare for release is noted. Practical issues after release such as Friday releases and a lack of identification documents and bank accounts are identified.

Different accommodation options are discussed and their suitability in relation to the needs identified earlier in the report assessed.

The report concludes by briefly describing recent policy initiatives to improve probation services and other potential developments to improve prisoners' accommodation outcomes.

"I said to my service user he was going to lose all of his belongings, he said 'I'm just going to get rid of them all'. I was like no don't because you've got no house, no home and you've got no belongings, you will feel completely worthless. Your belongings are the only thing you're holding onto."

THE PRISON POPULATION, HOMELESSNESS, OFFENDING

From the days of the 19th century prison reformer Elizabeth Fry, the importance of providing safe accommodation to support the rehabilitation of those leaving prison has been recognised. As one of those working with Fry put it: 'Were there but a refuge for the young offender, my work would be less painful.'⁶

The seminal 2002 Social Exclusion Unit report more than a century later identified housing as one of nine elements of a 'rehabilitation framework' that should be in place at every stage of a prisoner's progression from pre-sentence to after release.⁷ Since then, policy developments and initiatives across housing, the prison and probation service have been introduced to improve housing outcomes for prison leavers. These have re-examined the issue and made or repeated recommendations for improvement. Yet despite these efforts, the problem persists.

Around 15% of prisoners are already homeless when starting a prison sentence.⁸ Those on sentences of less than twelve months are more likely to have been homeless before custody and are more likely to reoffend on release, which provides evidence for the cycle of homelessness, short custodial sentences and reoffending on release.⁹ Women are disproportionately impacted by short sentences, which cause a level of disruption in every aspect of their lives including their housing. The number of homeless women arriving to prisons has doubled between 2015 and 2018 and tripled in one women's prison.¹⁰

Research suggests that for some individuals, receiving a prison sentence can be seen as an escape from the hardships of homelessness. In prison individuals are provided with basic necessities they may struggled to access when homeless such as food and shelter.¹¹ As a result of this, a proportion of homeless individuals may intentionally offend or reoffend. A survey of 437 single homeless individuals by Reeve (2011) found that 28% had committed a crime in the hopes of being taken into custody.¹²

In 2020, the Ministry of Justice reported that 15, 384 prisoners were released to homelessness or unsettled accommodation and a further 2, 775 (4% of releases) were to rough sleeping.¹³ Those who are released to homelessness, rough sleeping and unsettled accommodation represent 26% of all prison releases. Many more prison leavers are likely to become homeless in the months or years after release; research by Fitzpatrick et al (2013) for example found 46% of homeless individuals in seven UK cities had spent time in prison.¹⁴ The risk of homelessness on release is also likely to be higher for women. A national survey conducted by the prison Independent Monitoring Boards in February 2020 found nearly 60% of women reported not having settled accommodation to go to on release.¹⁵

In the CHAIN database, rough sleepers who had ever spent time in prison accounted for 34% of the rough sleeping population. Where information on their last settled address was known, 15.8% reported prison as their last settled address. The majority of those who had ever spent time in prison however

reported long term accommodation (43%) and short or medium-term accommodation as their last settled address (16%) (see Appendix A).

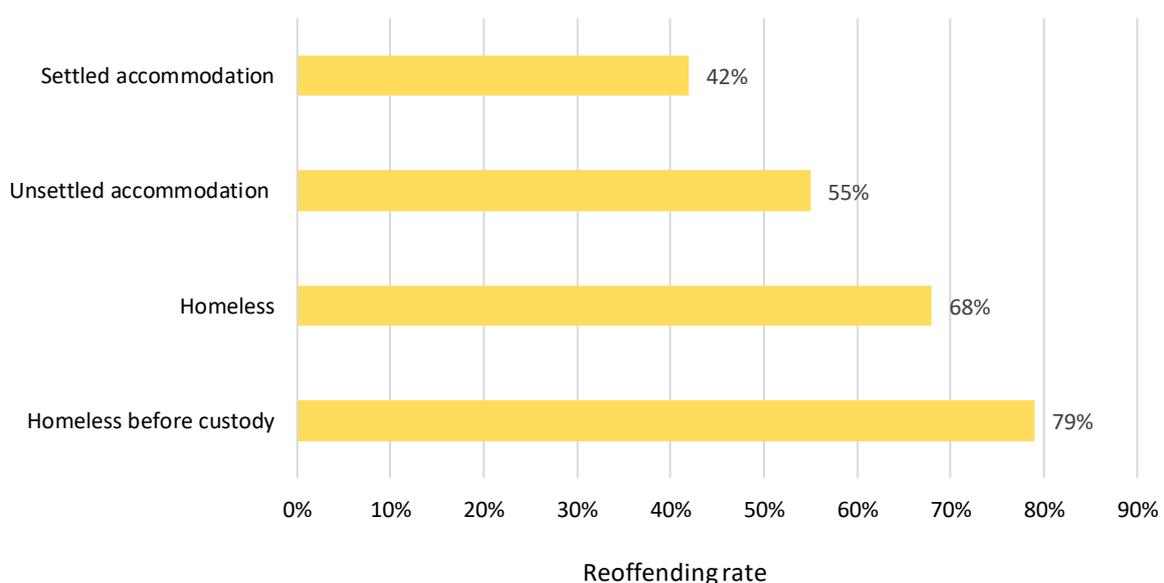
Releasing prisoners without a home has consequences for us all. Homeless prison leavers are more likely to reoffend than those who have a stable home to go to and as many as 60% of prisoners believe that having a place to live would help them to stop reoffending.¹⁶ Without a home, accessing health services, welfare benefits, gaining and maintaining employment are made more difficult. A home is literally and symbolically a place in society; without a home, the challenge of social and economic inclusion that prison leavers already face is exacerbated.

The Social Exclusion Unit (2002) found suitable housing could reduce the risk of reoffending by up to 20 per cent. As Figure 1 illustrates, proven reoffending rates for adults released from custody between April 2016

and March 2017 show nearly 68% of those released to rough sleeping or other homelessness and 55% released to unsettled accommodation reoffended within a year compared to 42% released to settled accommodation.¹⁷ The risk of reoffending is even higher for those who are homeless (rough sleeping or in temporary accommodation) before custody as they are likely to have a more complex set of needs, 79% of this group reoffend within a year.¹⁸

Maguire and Nolan's (2007) finding that the provision of suitable accommodation may not directly reduce offending but is 'a necessary, if not sufficient, condition for the reduction of reoffending'¹⁹ has been widely accepted.²⁰²¹ It makes clear the central importance of accommodation but recognises the other needs, including prisoners' own motivation, that will need to be addressed if they are not to reoffend. Those needs may be extensive and complex.

Figure 1.
Accommodation status and proven reoffending



Complex needs

Homelessness is just one of the disadvantages experienced by prisoners. Unemployment rates before imprisonment and levels of substance misuse are high. Hopkins (2012) found that 68% of those admitted to prison were unemployed in the four weeks before custody²² and Light et al (2013) describe that 64% report using Class A drugs.²³ In 2020, 71% of women and 47% of men in prison reported having mental health problems.²⁴ Although the relationships between these needs and homelessness are complex and they may not be direct causes of it alone, research shows that these other needs often contribute to and are inter-related with homelessness.²⁵ An individual's substance misuse may be linked to their unemployment and their unemployment linked to their homelessness. Their homelessness may then lead to reoffending.

In the CHAIN sample of rough sleepers who had ever spent time in prison, only 8% did not have a mental health, drug, or alcohol support need (see Figure 2). When compared to the support needs of the general rough sleeping population in the 2019/20 CHAIN report, this group were 9% more likely to have an alcohol need, 27% more likely to have a drug need and 16% more likely to have a mental health need.²⁶ In the sample of rough sleepers who reported prison as their last settled address, only 14% did not have a support need (see Figure 3). Even though this group of rough sleepers had not been seen rough sleeping prior to 2019/20, when compared to the general rough sleeping population (a mixture of 'new' rough sleepers, returning rough sleepers and those who had been seen rough sleeping for two consecutive years) in the 2019/20 CHAIN report, this group were 26% more likely to have a drug need and 15% more likely to have a mental health need.

Figure 2.
Support needs of rough sleepers who had ever spent time in prison, *n*=1903

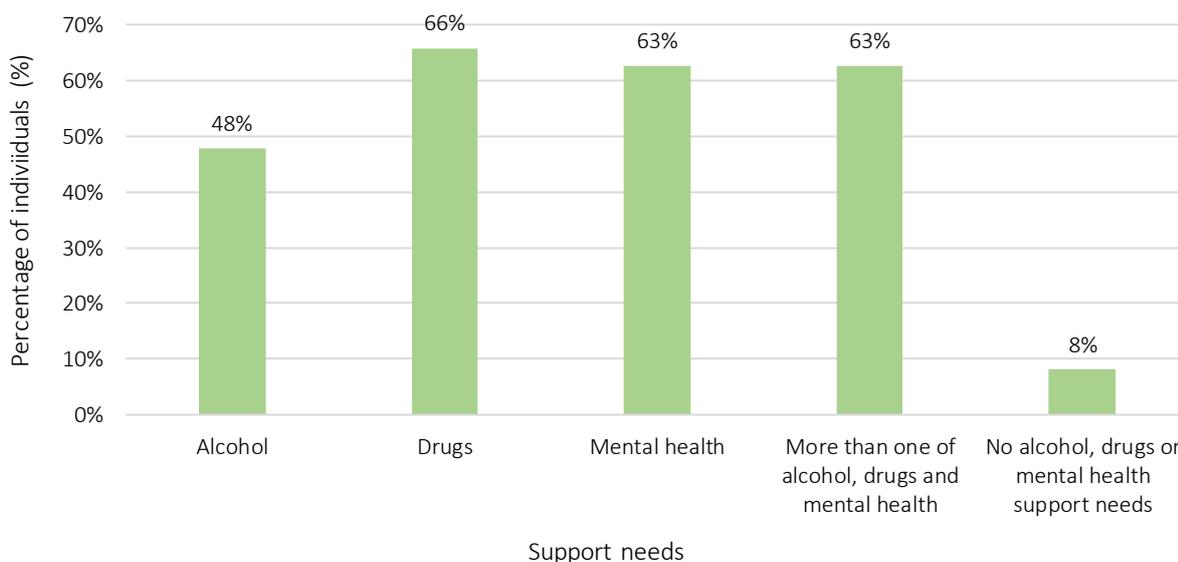
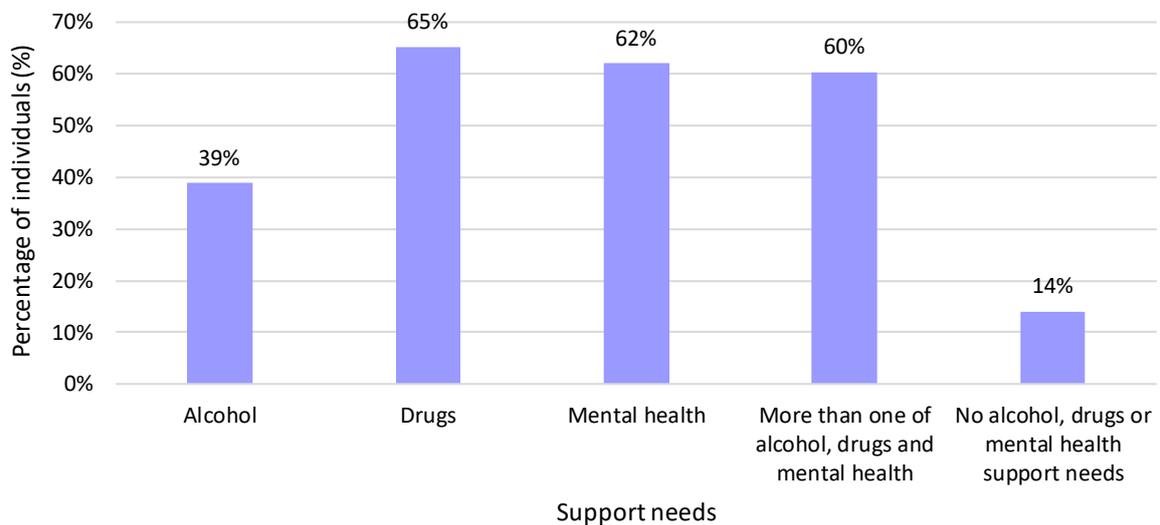


Figure 3.
Support needs of rough sleepers who reported prison as their last settled address, $n=121$



Women

In her 2005 report, Baroness Corston described the needs of women in the criminal justice system as being more severe and complex than those of men.²⁷ Subsequent research has confirmed that women in prison are more likely to have been unemployed before custody,²⁸ to have existing mental health difficulties²⁹ or problematic drug use.³⁰ Nearly 60% of women in the criminal justice system have been victims of domestic violence or abuse³¹ and research by Bretherton & Pearce (2018) found that experiences of domestic violence or abuse were 'near-universal' in women's homelessness and often a cause of it.

Black, Asian and minority ethnic (BAME)¹³ prisoners

Research on the housing needs of BAME prisoners remains limited despite overrepresentation of this group in both the criminal justice system and statutory homelessness in England.³² Research by Jacobson et al (2010) on the resettlement needs of BAME prisoners found that some respondents preferred being housed in areas with other ethnic minorities, as experiences of discrimination in predominantly white areas added to the difficulties of resettlement.³³ This was also mirrored by the Fawcett Society report (2006) on the housing needs of BAME women. It was also highlighted that ethnic minority women may avoid services as a result of stigma and fear stemming from issues with confidentiality where services employ staff from their communities.³⁴

¹³ We recognise that Black and Minority Ethnic (BAME) can be an unhelpful generalisation to describe a diverse range of culturally different minority groups. However, this is the term

used in much of the literature to which we have referred and where this is the case, to avoid misrepresenting our sources, we have continued to use the term used in the original source.

The report by Jacobson et al (2010) also found that whilst there were some prisoners who thought their ethnic background did not impact their housing needs, the majority thought that experiences of discrimination and racism in housing could be an obstacle on release and wished for cultural and religious sensitivity from those supporting them with their housing needs. Despite the majority of prisoners expressing this view, the report found that some prison staff and voluntary sector housing providers denied housing need was different for this group or avoided asking questions about the specific needs of Black, Asian and minority ethnic prisoners. A report by HM Inspectorate of Prisons in 2020 found that of BME prisoners who were expected to be released in the next three months, 63% needed help with accommodation on release but only a third reported receiving help and a small number reported that the support they had received was helpful. They also found that prison staff continue to underestimate the impact of prisoners' ethnic identity on rehabilitation.³⁵

In the sample of rough sleepers who had ever spent time in prison, 29.7% were from Black, Asian or minority ethnic backgrounds, a full breakdown of ethnic groups is available in Appendix B. In the sample of rough sleepers who reported prison as their last settled address, 42% were from Black, Asian or

minority ethnic backgrounds, a full breakdown of these ethnic groups is available in Appendix C. The 2019/20 CHAIN report shows Black, Asian and other ethnic minority individuals made up 34% of the general rough sleeping population.

Foreign nationals

Providing housing support can be particularly challenging for foreign national prisoners who are under immigration controls with No Recourse to Public Funds (NRPF). Local authorities are only able to provide advice and information on homelessness and cannot provide housing to this group. They are also ineligible for welfare benefits, including Housing Benefit. Depending on the immigration controls that apply to them, some individuals with NRPF can rent and work in the UK but unless they are able to gain employment which covers their rent, they are at a high risk of homelessness.

In the sample of rough sleepers who had ever spent time in prison we found that 23% were foreign nationals (see Appendix D). In the sample of rough sleepers who reported prison as their last settled address 15% were foreign nationals (see Appendix E).

PARTNERSHIP WORKING

A central issue arising from these complex needs is the need for effective multi-agency and partnership working. This applies to relationships between prison and probation agencies, social, private and voluntary sector housing providers, and other specialist agencies at local level and to the need for joined up national policy. The need for effective partnership working has been the subject of repeated recommendations in much of the literature we reviewed and continued to be emphasised by the practitioners we spoke to for this report.³⁶³⁷

The development of these relationships is more challenging in women's or non-resettlement prisons as a result of the distance that prisoners are held from their local areas, making it more difficult to form relationships with housing providers.³⁸

Penfold et al (2009) emphasised the importance of accurate and transparent information sharing of risk to the building of trust between housing providers and the criminal justice system. They also highlighted that the right level of supervision or support offered to the prison leaver could further these relationships by easing anxieties that housing providers may have in housing this group. Services providing this support to prison leavers however have faced considerable reductions to funding in the past decade. The Supporting People programme, established in April 2003 was a ring-fenced government grant made to local authorities to provide support to vulnerable people, including prison leavers, to enable them to live independently in the community. A report for the Department for Communities and Local Government (now the Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government) into the benefits of the Supporting People programme by Ashton & Hempenstall (2009) found that the programme could save up to £40.3m per year by reducing the risk of reoffending.³⁹ Nevertheless, the ring-fence was removed in 2009 and local authorities were able to spend the funding on where they deemed

appropriate. St Mungo's report that this has resulted in an approximate decline of 88% in funding for services providing floating housing support for those with an offending history.⁴⁰

'Everyone In' and Homeless Prevention Taskforces

On March 26th 2020, Dame Louise Casey directed local authorities across England to urgently house all rough sleepers and to rehouse those staying in shared accommodation in response to the COVID-19 pandemic. The initiative, labelled Everyone In, was recognised as a 'considerable achievement'⁴¹, by January 2021, over 26, 000 people who were or at risk of rough sleeping had been housed through the initiative and helped to access move-on accommodation⁴² and over 11,000 were still being supported in emergency accommodation.⁴³ Everyone In led to valuable changes in the way local authorities work with both those experiencing homelessness and organisations providing support for them.⁴⁴ However, now that the initiative has ended, wider demands on local authorities mean they continue to face difficulties in providing assistance to those experiencing homelessness.

As a further part of its response to the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020, Her Majesty's Prison and Probation Service (HMPPS) also formed Homelessness Prevention Taskforces in seven divisional National Probation Service regions to source accommodation for prison leavers at risk of homelessness. Funding to house prison leavers for 56 days after release was provided by the Ministry of Justice. Practitioners expressed concern to us that although the scheme was welcome and earned them additional time in supporting prison leavers to obtain move-on accommodation, some homeless prison leavers were missed by the scheme and it was unclear why. Funding for the scheme has now ended but the teams remain and there are plans to build on this work in the unified probation model. Effective partnership-

working with local authorities and housing providers was a key goal for the teams and the Local Government Association reported that local authorities were able to work effectively with prisons and probation services through issues around the Duty to Refer process.⁴⁵ The teams were also able to extend and build relationships with housing providers.

An example of successful partnership working of this kind was provided by the report of an inspection in South-West England by HM Inspectorate of Probation in July 2021⁴⁶ which found:

‘Following the introduction of government homelessness prevention funding during the first national lockdown in March 2020, Cornwall County Council and Plymouth City Council, in conjunction with Dorset Devon Cornwall CRC, the NPS and Through the Gate services at HMP Exeter, came together to develop a multi-agency forum to manage those released from custody and at risk of homelessness in the Plymouth and Cornwall and Isles of Scilly local delivery unit. As the model evolved, so had the range of agencies that were actively involved. These included police IOM, mental health services and adult social care. Meetings were held weekly and discussed the accommodation needs of men and women due to be released in the next three months. By the early part of 2021 relationships between these partners had developed so well

that the additional funding often wasn’t necessary to prevent a prisoner being released homeless. It was estimated that the number of prison leavers being homeless on release in the area reduced by 50 per cent between March 2020 and February 2021 compared with the preceding 12 months.’ (p.42)

The development of the teams was a positive step in supporting homeless prison leavers but the need for partnership-working through effective and clear communication for move-on accommodation was highlighted by an example given to us by one practitioner:

“A homelessness referral was made and this gentleman had picked up the case. Then he was told the service user had accommodation and should be fine for the next six months so they closed the case but he only had that accommodation [provided by the Homeless Prevention Taskforce] for 56 days so it seems like probation messed up told him the wrong information or something. So, then I called the housing officer and said look he’s not okay, he hasn’t got accommodation and we need to find him a place to live and he was so good and so on job and sort of knew his case from before that he made an emergency application for temporary accommodation to the council. Luckily it went to panel that afternoon and they confirmed it was fine and he got housed in a hotel for 22 days maximum.”
(Volunteer Coordinator)

TRANSFORMING REHABILITATION REFORMS

The 'Transforming Rehabilitation' reform was implemented between 2013 to 2016. In 2014 it saw the split of 35 self-governing probation trusts into two types of providers; the National Probation Service (NPS) to manage high risk offenders and private Community Rehabilitation Companies (CRCs) to manage low to medium risk offenders. Alongside these organisational changes, the Offender Rehabilitation Act (ORA) was brought into effect in 2014 and extended probation supervision to an estimated additional 50,000 individuals serving short sentences in prison.⁴⁷

Under the Transforming Rehabilitation reforms, CRCs were to provide accommodation support to individuals on probation. This was either via supply chains of private and/or voluntary organisations or CRC staff themselves who would support prison leavers to find suitable accommodation on release.⁴⁸ Despite initial intentions to increase the involvement of voluntary sector organisations in delivering services⁴⁹, a progress review in May 2019 by the Public Accounts Committee found that just 11% of voluntary sector organisations working in the criminal justice system provided services to CRCs and that only 3% of its budgets were spent on those that did.⁵⁰

A 2016 report on prisoners serving less than twelve months reported: 'we found little

evidence of the anticipated creativity or innovation in the new services being delivered by the CRCs.'⁵¹ A later report in 2017 on those serving twelve months or more⁵² also found that CRCs were making 'little difference' and that 'wider problems within the prison system mean prisoners rarely receive effective rehabilitation in prison'.

The House of Commons Public Accounts Committee outlined that an outcomes-based approach through the use of payment by results was inappropriate for probation,⁵³ and that CRCs failed to deliver the volumes of work promised in their contracts. The split of probation services coupled with faulty IT systems caused poor communication between CRCs, NPS and external organisations and the work of CRCs were focused on hitting targets rather than meeting the needs of those they supervised.⁵⁴

In 2018, the Ministry announced the end of Transforming Rehabilitation and began consultation on the re-design of the probation service. From 2019, a £22m investment in an Enhanced Through the Gate service resulted in 500 additional staff being recruited by CRCs which led to improvements in service delivery. An evaluation by Fahy & Enginson (2020)⁵⁵ found that this had the most significant impact on accommodation support but as the interviews with practitioners suggest, there remains considerable challenges in supporting homeless prison leavers to suitable and sustainable accommodation. A unified probation service began operating on June 26th 2021.

The 2019 Public Accounts Committee report concluded:

'In its haste to rush through its reforms at breakneck speed the Ministry of Justice not only failed to deliver its 'rehabilitation revolution' but left probation services underfunded, fragile, and lacking the confidence of the courts. Inexcusably, probation services have been left in a worse position than they were in before the Ministry embarked on its reforms... Through the Gate (TTG) services fail to address needs like stable and suitable accommodation and, in some cases, offenders have been provided with tents and left with no fixed address on release from prison... The Ministry says it has learned lessons, but it now needs to show that it is putting them into practice and urgently making desperately needed improvements to probation services.'⁵⁶

ACCOMMODATION NEEDS AND SERVICES

IN PRISON

Prior to the COVID-19 pandemic, the House of Commons Justice Committee described the prison system as being in an 'enduring crisis' with high levels of violence, self-harm, and overcrowding.⁵⁷ In its Annual Report for 2019/20, the inspectorate of prisons stated: 'Most prisons inspected did not fully understand the reducing reoffending and resettlement needs of their population, and the strategic management of reducing reoffending work was usually not good enough.' (HM Inspectorate of Prison, 2020, p.53).⁵⁸

The COVID-19 pandemic has had a profound effect on prisons and for much of the period since March 2020 all but the most essential activities have been halted to reduce the spread of the virus and most prisoners have been locked in their cells for most of every day. Violence and, in men's prisons, self-harm fell overall in this period but serious concerns have been raised about the effect of long periods of lockdown on prisoners' mental health.⁵⁹ ⁶⁰ As these restrictions are gradually eased, work is underway to ensure prisons do not return to the very poor conditions that the Justice Committee and prisons inspectorate described.⁶¹ The success or failure of these plans will have repercussions on the ability of the prison service to carry out successful accommodation and other resettlement work.

Assessment

As discussed above, a significant proportion of the prison population are homeless before entering prison and the risk of homelessness for those leaving prison remains significant. The first step in meeting the accommodation needs of prisoners is by identifying a need. The Basic Custody Screening Tool (BCST) is

used to identify any needs that a prisoner may have on arrival to custody. This is then followed up by the Basic Custody Screening Tool 2 (BCST 2), which would be used by Through the Gate staff to build a resettlement plan five days after the initial screening. Previous inspection reports have found that prisoners' needs are either not identified or are inadequately described as staff in prison have little time to complete screenings.⁶² When an accommodation need or other related needs, such as domestic violence are not identified adequately, it can lead to unsuitable accommodation on release⁶³, an accommodation need being identified too late or not identified at all.⁶⁴

Tenancy sustainment and closure

Imprisonment itself can also be a cause of homelessness and the Social Exclusion Unit (2002) reported that one third of prisoners lose their homes in custody.⁶⁵ Williams et al (2012) found that 11% of prisoners were living in a house or flat owned by themselves or their partner and 34% were living in a house or flat rented by themselves or their partner before imprisonment. Unless a prisoners' partner is able to sustain this accommodation or prisoners are able to pay through private means, they are likely to lose their homes whilst in prison.

Those who claim welfare benefits to help pay their rent before their sentence can continue to receive this in limited circumstances: on remand (when on Housing Benefit this can continue for 52 weeks and on Universal Credit this can continue for six months) or when serving a sentence of less than 13 weeks (including time spent on remand). For both groups, communicating with housing providers to keep tenancies open and ensuring rent is paid through benefits is crucial for reducing the risk of homelessness on release. An inspection report by HM Inspectorate of Probation (2020) found that there was proof this was being carried out by

Through the Gate staff in only one-third of cases.⁶⁶ When accommodation is lost during custody and a prisoner is serving a short-sentence or on remand, this can leave little time for resettlement staff to source other accommodation before release. Tenancy sustainment may be possible for emergency and temporary accommodation^{67 68} and local authority housing but as Welford et al (2021) found, this requires prison teams to liaise with housing providers and resettlement staff outside of prison.⁶⁹

Those who were previously renting in the private rented sector or who receive longer-sentences may require help with ending tenancies to avoid a build-up of rent arrears and other debts. This was first highlighted in 2002 by the Social Exclusion Unit and in 2017 an inspection by HM Inspectorate of Prison and Probation⁷⁰ found:

‘As CRCs are only contracted to provide Through the Gate services at the beginning and end of sentences, there was a long period for most prisoners when they could not get assistance to resolve debts or fines. We saw too many cases where it was apparent from the start of sentence that there were outstanding fines, rent or mobile phone contracts, and no action was taken before release.’ (p. 22)

The role of the family

Lord Farmer's important reviews in 2017⁷¹ and 2019⁷² stressed the importance of prisoners maintaining links with their family and the role this could play in reducing reoffending. Bruton & Hopkins (2012) linked this specifically to accommodation needs and found that around 57% of prisoners returned to the family home on release.⁷³ Home Office research findings by Niven & Stewart (2005) have also found that those who receive family visits in prison were more likely to have accommodation arranged on release.⁷⁴ In

addition to preventing homelessness, those who go on to live with family are less likely to reoffend than those who do not (48% compared to 61%).⁷⁵

HM Inspectorate of Prisons (2014) found however that arrangements to live with family on release could breakdown whilst in custody and that work in prisons to maintain these relationships was inadequate.⁷⁶ A subsequent report raised similar concerns: 'We did not see any examples of resettlement workers in prison negotiating for prisoners to return to live with family members after release.' (HM Inspectorate of Prison and HM Inspectorate of Probation, 2016, p.23).⁷⁷ In 2020, only 35% of men and 41% of women said that prison staff had encouraged them to keep in touch with family and friends and around 20% said they received visits from family or friends every week.⁷⁸

In considering the role the family home can play, HM Inspectorate of Prisons (2014) also found that the longer some prisoners stayed with family, the more strain this caused for their relationships.⁷⁹ Helping prisoners maintain these relationships once released might therefore be important for sustaining accommodation through family. The importance of robust risk assessments where there are arrangements to live with family on release also needs to be central to meeting accommodation needs to ensure victims of domestic violence are kept safe. Recent inspection reports suggest that these risks are not being identified early enough or are being ignored as a result of limited access to other accommodation, leading to perpetrators returning to living with victims and victims with perpetrators.⁸⁰

Support in prison

William et al (2012) found that 37% of prisoners needed help with finding accommodation on release, with young prisoners under the age of 21 requiring less

support than older prisoners (23% compared to 39%).⁸¹ In the sample of rough sleepers who had ever spent time in prison we found that 97% were aged 26 and above (see Appendix F). In the sample of rough sleepers who reported prison as their last settled address, 93% were 26 and above (see Appendix G). Young people however are more likely to experience hidden forms of homelessness and only those who have been found rough sleeping will be represented in the CHAIN data.⁸²

The lack of adequate housing support in prison has been a long-standing issue. In 2005, Niven & Stewart found only 19% of homeless prisoners received any help in addressing a housing need and 33% of prisoners received help with looking.⁸³ Millings et al (2019) explored Through the Gate resettlement services for 96 prisoners serving sentences of twelve months or less and found that the support provided in prison to prepare them for release was often disorganised and limited.⁸⁴ For those serving three months or less, this support was even poorer as prison staff struggled to provide adequate support to the 'churn' of prisoners on short-sentences. Independent Monitoring Boards (2020) found that in ten out of the twelve prisons holding women, 60% of women reported not having settled accommodation to go to on release and over half of the women surveyed rated the help they had received to prepare for release as of little value.⁸⁵

Millings et al (2019) also found that none of the prisoners they interviewed could identify who was supporting their resettlement and few could name the organisations they had engaged with. These results are similar to a study by Gojkovic et al (2013), which found that only 4% of the 680 prisoners who completed a national survey engaged with third sector organisations providing an accommodation service and only 21% had heard of them.⁸⁶ BAME prisoners, women, foreign nationals, short-sentenced and non-

sentenced prisoners were even less likely to access resettlement support.

Under Transforming Rehabilitation processes, prisoners should have received accommodation and other resettlement support 12 weeks before their release. One of the practitioners we spoke to highlighted that late referrals can leave little time for Through the Gate resettlement staff in the community to support prison leavers to find accommodation and address other needs:

"Ideally it's twelve weeks before release, doesn't always happen that way. It is up to like a couple of days before release that we get referrals. Pre-COVID we would like to get into the prison to meet the person first, find out what their support needs are and then we can liaise with probation and other agencies they may be involved with just so we're not duplicating, and we can cover all bases." (TTG Mentoring Coordinator)

Discussions with practitioners also highlighted that remand prisoners and foreign national prisoners detained under immigration rules can be released with little notice which makes planning for housing on release particularly difficult. A thematic inspection into outcomes for remand prisoners in 2012 described the difficulty of providing accommodation support to this group because of the uncertainty about their release date. Remand prisoners were sometimes unable to access the benefits they needed to maintain their existing accommodation or were unaware of their entitlement to do so. Thirty-nine per cent of prisoners surveyed for the inspection thought they would have problems with finding accommodation on release.⁸⁷

Housing referrals

The Homelessness Reduction Act (HRA) 2017⁸⁸ placed two new and important duties on local

authorities: the duty to prevent an individual's homelessness and the duty to relieve an individual's homelessness. These duties have increased the number of individuals being provided with a statutory service, which is owed to all eligible households who are homeless or threatened with becoming homeless, including single adults who do not have 'priority need' for housing under homelessness legislation. Under the legislation, public bodies including those working in prison and probation services also have a Duty to Refer individuals at risk of or experiencing homelessness to local authorities who are able to provide assistance 56 days before a prisoner is due for release. During this time, local authorities are, in theory, able to carry out housing assessments and develop a personalised housing plan with information about prisoners' housing options. This information may be limited to accessing the private rented sector⁸⁹ but it means that prisoners are made aware of their housing options prior to leaving prison rather than on the day of release.

Conducting housing assessments in prison requires effort, time and partnership working between housing providers and the prison service but conversations with practitioners and the literature suggests that there are difficulties in facilitating them in custody. A study by Cooper (2016a) found that the lack of local authority housing practitioners' understanding of some of the operational issues in prisons such as limited access to telephones meant that they were less willing to facilitate assessments in custody.⁹⁰ The quality of applications made to local authorities and a lack of follow-up of these referrals by prison teams was also found to lead to decisions not being made until the day of release, when local authority housing officers are able to obtain more information from the prison leaver.⁹¹ Fahy & Enginson (2020) found that the lengthy telephone interviews requested by local authorities were difficult to facilitate in custody.

For housing teams in prison, the number of homeless prisoners requiring support and the variation in referral forms for each local authority can be overwhelming and was found to be an issue in both Cooper (2016a) and Fahy & Enginson (2020), and may explain why previous inspection reports have found that many of the housing applications sent to local authorities were not followed up or seen as tick box activities.^{92 93} Fahy & Enginson (2020) found that the additional resources provided through the Enhanced Through the Gate service meant that housing teams in prisons were able to follow up on referrals rather than just submitting them. They also found that prisons who were able to work with local authorities to agree on a standardised referral form reduced their workload.

As one of the practitioners we spoke to highlighted, failure to conduct housing assessments in prison leaves a gap where the prison leaver is at risk of homeless:

"We ideally would like [housing] assessments to be done prior to release, that unfortunately doesn't happen often. We're finding a lot of prisoners are released without completing these assessments and we're having to do them so it leaves quite a big gap... It takes a bit of a process to send referrals in, communicate and get appointments booked in for assessments and most of the time there is a waiting list for each [housing] agency as well." (TTG Mentoring Coordinator)

Communication through technology in prisons

Difficulties in facilitating housing assessments and accessing other resources beyond the prison, including a prisoner's family, are compounded by the limited availability of digital resources in prison for staff and prisoners. There have been longstanding and

widely shared concerns that prisoners almost complete lack of access to digital technology ill-prepares them for return to an increasingly digitalised world. In particular, access to benefits and housing resources increasingly depends on access to the internet.^{94 95} However, Palmer et al (2020) have described how prior to the COVID-19 pandemic, introduction of some digital technology such

as in-cell PIN phones with restricted access has, despite some difficulties, had real benefits.⁹⁶ The pandemic resulted in the accelerated roll out of in-cell telephony for most prisoners, the use of the internet for virtual social visits and other innovations in prisons.⁹⁷ This appears to be a significant opportunity to strengthen prison accommodation services.

Case study 1

X was on a methadone script; there was difficulty with this, and he was not able to get his medication the day after release. X reacted to this well, stating that as he had a roof over his head, he could cope with anything else. By the following day however he was struggling; I arranged for a community volunteer to take him by car to the town where his script was held, which would have been a round trip of a 9 hour walk. X has collected his script daily but says he now feels settled in his life and is making plans to come off his methadone. X stated his longer-term plans were to move into voluntary work; he said he had been very aware when sitting in mental health outpatients how nervous people coming in were and wanted to go up to them and reassure them, using his own life experience of clinics. I put X in touch with [name of charity] for support with skills to volunteer as a peer mentor. X has children, grandchildren and a sister that he hasn't contacted through his recent difficult times; he says he felt shame at not having a home and didn't want them to see how far he had fallen. However now things were going well, he said he is ready to make contact again, he believes they will be supportive and that it is a motivation for him to stay clean/out of custody, in that he wants to get to know his grandchildren.

ACCOMMODATION NEEDS AND SERVICES

ON RELEASE

First day of release

On the first day of release, prison leavers can have an overwhelming list of appointments they need to attend with probation, the Jobcentre and local authority housing offices. Adequate support on the actual day of release is therefore crucial. For prison leavers released on a Friday the help they can access through the local authority or other accommodation providers is particularly limited. Attending all appointments can be a race against time before services close or operate a reduced service and can lead to prison leavers rough sleeping over the weekend when there is not enough time to find accommodation on a Friday.⁹⁸ A briefing by NACRO summarised the issues and highlighted that whilst local authorities have out of hours telephone services, the support provided can be basic and limited to signposting to other services who also may not be able to help prisoners into accommodation over the weekend.⁹⁹ Ministry of Justice data show that in 2017, 35% of prison releases were on a Friday and in one prison this figure was 50%.¹⁰⁰

Both practitioners we spoke to and previous research suggests that having Through the Gate staff meet prisoners at the gate eases the anxiety of attending housing appointments, avoiding returning to previous negative connections and behaviours immediately on release¹⁰¹ but also in advocating for prisoners at local authority housing offices:

“If you are someone who has had quite a chaotic life and may have either been suffering from addiction or still are

suffering from addiction issues, it’s very difficult to be patient for that long and to feel optimistic that you are going to get seen and it does feel like you’re forgotten. So I think... having people there to advocate and actually explain, no this person does have a right to be housed because of xyz because often people can’t do that on their own but also just actually motivate them to stick with the process...” (TTG Services Manager)

ID, bank accounts and Universal Credit

In 2020, 88% of prison leavers were unemployed six weeks after leaving prison.¹⁰² A large proportion of prison leavers will therefore depend on Universal Credit financially until they are able to gain employment. Prisoners are currently unable to start a claim whilst in custody, but before release with the help of resettlement staff in prison they are able to prepare documents and set up an appointment with the Jobcentre to start a Universal Credit claim on the day of release.¹⁰³

However even if a Universal Credit appointment is made for the day of release, an advance payment can take between two days to a few weeks to arrive.¹⁰⁴ Prisoners are entitled to a discharge grant on release, and this must meet all their needs until a Universal Credit payment is made. The discharge grant was increased to a standard national rate of £76 in May 2021 having previously remained unchanged since 1996 at £46. This positive step will help prison leavers afford basic necessities on release but whether it will be sufficient, particularly in high-cost areas, is not yet clear.

To apply for Universal Credit or to seek housing assistance from local authorities or other homeless services, prisoners require

identity documents (ID) to show eligibility for housing assistance and a bank account to receive Universal Credit payments. Many of those who are homeless before custody are unlikely to have ID or a bank account because of the chaotic lives they live. Those who lose their accommodation in custody may also lose their belongings when accommodation providers dispose of them.¹⁰⁵ In January 2021, Switchback reported that 46% of individuals they supported were released without a bank account and 25% without ID.¹⁰⁶

Support from probation

The new probation service inherits a system where responsibility for delivering housing services was confused.

A 2016 report by the National Audit Office provided results from a User Voice survey exploring the views of 251 individuals on probation; 42% of service users thought housing support had deteriorated since the Transforming Rehabilitation reforms.¹⁰⁷ Dissatisfaction with housing support was greatest when compared to other resettlement support, such as help with education or training, offending behaviour work and addiction. Similar to findings from Millings et al (2019) who reported that prisoners were unaware of the support available and who would be delivering this support, HM Inspectorate of Probation (2020) found that some of those on probation felt lost in the system and did not know where to access housing support.

A joint inspection by HM Inspectorate of Prison and HM Inspectorate of Probation (2017, p.8) reported: ‘work that could and should have been done by Through the Gate services in prison was left for responsible officers to pick up after release.’¹⁰⁸ HM Inspectorate of Probation (2020) however found that although probation practitioners understood concerns and risks, there were

limited options for housing and service users felt that they were expected to take responsibility to address their housing need. The report also found that probation practitioners lacked knowledge of housing legislation, government initiatives and some did not know what action should be taken following a homelessness referral to the local authority. Probation practitioners faced difficulties in preparing prison leavers for release as a result of high caseloads and this in turn reduced the amount of housing support they could provide to those they supervise. One of the housing practitioners spoke about their frustrations with this:

“They [probation practitioners] do like to remind us that they’re not housing officers and that this individual is not their only case, which I completely understand because they’re completely overwhelmed. But it’s like, can you assign them a housing officer? Because they will have more professional knowledge than me.” (Volunteer Coordinator)

Cooper (2016b)¹⁰⁹ argued that being homeless increases the risk of recall for non-compliance with license conditions and this was reflected in our conversations with practitioners:

“I’ve had a couple of cases that have had recalls back to custody because they’ve had no accommodation, no phones so there’s no contact. Obviously, they’ve got to take some responsibility to go to appointments but if they don’t do that, I mean I can imagine being homeless on the street and sleeping rough, you’re going to lose count of days and time so it must be difficult.” (TTG Mentoring Coordinator)

Case study 2

X was a gentleman in his early 50's, who had become homeless approximately 4 years ago when he lost a tenancy as his housing benefit wasn't paid. X struggled mentally with this, and whilst placed in emergency accommodation, struggled to accept this and his substance misuse escalated. Following another eviction, X was classed as making himself intentionally homeless and for 18 months a pattern of history of petty offences and recalls followed. Pact had worked with X on his previous release, where he had again failed to secure housing and had been recalled after 7 days. Prior to this subsequent release through the Pact Fund we had a charged phone with credit ready for him at Probation. Following a lead from St Giles Resettlement, we negotiated with a private hostel owner; there was a place available for him but this was not available for the first 7 days of his release. We booked X 7 days of accommodation at a local hotel, where we had negotiated a rate of £100 for the week which was covered again by the Pact grant funding. X had not been consistently claiming his benefits and had lost his Disability Living Allowance 24 months prior as a result of not having an address and not receiving letters: we organised a new claim for him... There were significant delays with X's Universal Credit claim; through no fault of his own, X did not get his advance payment for 9 days post release. As this was a telephone claim, I made a total of 17 calls over this period to chase this, at times waiting on hold for up to 2 hours. Eventually, with the help of Pact contacts within the DWP, this was resolved.

ACCOMMODATION OUTCOMES

Emergency and temporary accommodation

Over the past two decades, emergency and temporary accommodation (e.g. shelters, B&Bs, hostels) have played a significant role in the housing of prison leavers and is the most frequent destination on release for prison leavers who face homelessness.

CHAIN data on the two groups of rough sleepers show that the majority of prison leavers continue to be housed in emergency and temporary accommodation after release and few are moved onto long-term accommodation. In the sample of rough sleepers who had ever spent time in prison we found that 91% had been housed in emergency or temporary accommodation in 2019/20 (Appendix H). In the sample of rough sleepers who reported prison as their last address we found that 92% had been housed in emergency or temporary accommodation in 2019/20 (Appendix I).

Research by Mackie et al (2017)¹¹⁰ suggests that although a small proportion of individuals are able to navigate their way through emergency and temporary accommodation, abandonment and eviction rates within these services are high. In addition to this, homeless individuals may avoid these services due to substance misuse and antisocial behaviour amongst those who are housed and the deterioration in mental health caused by being in these environments. In a 2017 research report of 108 individuals who were rough sleeping in London at the time of the research or had experience of rough sleeping, only two participants wanted to move into hostel accommodation and in focus groups some participants expressed that they would prefer to be in prison than move into this type of accommodation.¹¹¹

Consistent with research by Cooper (2016b)¹¹² and Bowpitt & de Motte (2019)¹¹³, practitioners expressed that these chaotic environments can often undo the positive work that is carried out when in prison:

“One of the big issues that we find is that people will be released from prison, during their sentence they will have done a lot of work, for example on detoxing or work on their mental health and be optimistic about that progress. Most of time when they’re placed in that temporary accommodation, it could be one building filled with other people that have been released often from the same prison who will be taking drugs, will be drinking, will be behaving chaotically.” (TTG Services Manager)

There are also few homeless services that are women-only and Bretherton & Pleace (2018) found that this plays a role in women’s avoidance of these services, as they lack the safety and support that women who commonly have experiences of domestic violence or abuse need.¹¹⁴ A practitioner we spoke to also highlighted how this can push women into hidden situations:

“The woman I am supporting now she was told to go into shared accommodation that was not even suitable for her because she has a past history of domestic violence. They were putting her in accommodation where there were men in the home, they knew that she would want to also bring her daughter every so often to come and stay there, it was not a suitable situation and it wasn’t even safe and it just brought back a lot of anxiety for her, she had to refuse that property so is now sofa surfing.” (Resettlement Keyworker)

However, even accessing temporary accommodation through the local authority can be difficult and this difficulty was expressed by all the practitioners we spoke to. Some local authorities place prison leavers in accommodation whilst their application is processed, but in order to access accommodation in many areas prison leavers must meet the criteria set by local authorities:

- 1. Priority need.** The majority of those housed by local authorities where a main duty has been accepted are individuals or households with children as they are considered the highest priority for housing.¹¹⁵ Only 5% of women keep custody of their children when given a prison sentence¹¹⁶ and this means that on release they are unable to apply as homeless with their children. This becomes a 'Catch 22' as without suitable accommodation, women are unable to regain custody of their children and without their children, they are unable to gain suitable accommodation.^{117 118}
- 2. Intentionality.** As a result of changes made through the Localism Act 2011, local authorities have greater discretion over who they house. This means that they can restrict access to housing on the basis of an individual's history, including their offending history. An individual who loses their home as a result of their behaviour or because they lose their homes in prison therefore can be labelled intentionally homeless.¹¹⁹ St Mungo's found that around 74% of social housing allocation policies used by local authorities across England had

restrictions related to a history of offending or a criminal record.¹²⁰

- 3. Local connection.** Prison leavers may need to have a local connection (for example through a family member or work) to the area they are applying as homeless to. For many prison leavers, changes which allow them to separate themselves from their offending identities are seen as essential for turning away from crime.¹²¹ An important part of this identity can be connections to those who negatively influence offending behaviour. The need to have a local connection to the area means that prison leavers are often unable to relocate to other areas, away from these connections.¹²²

The difficulties in accessing housing through the local authority was expressed by all of the practitioners we spoke to and this example is typical:

"The service user said that because she's considered to not have a local connection, someone who applies to the supported accommodation will get housed before her no matter how long she has been waiting because they meet the criteria more. Her family lives there, but because she hasn't lived there for the past 3 years, she herself is not considered to have a local connection. Then I said, but she's fleeing from domestic violence, and she has physical and mental health issues? The council said she's not a priority, so I think someone was going to challenge that." (Volunteer Coordinator)

In the sample of rough sleepers who had ever spent time in prison we found that 13% were housed in local authority temporary

accommodation and none were housed in long-term local authority housing in 2019/20 (Appendix H). In the sample of rough sleepers who reported prison as their last address we found that 13% were housed in local authority temporary accommodation and none were housed in long-term local authority housing in 2019/20 (Appendix I).

In order to access accommodation, in most areas prison leavers need to be referred by their local authority or outreach teams. In 2015 evidence produced by St Mungo's Broadway showed that in many areas, prison leavers will have to rough sleep in order to be found and helped by outreach teams.¹²³ Practitioners we spoke to echoed these concerns and reported that obtaining housing through the local authority was challenging unless prison leavers were rough sleeping.

Rough sleeping is the most visible form of homelessness and has a detrimental impact on an individual's health and wellbeing. The average age of death for a rough sleeper is 43 for women and 46 for men.¹²⁴ Research shows 79% of rough sleepers report being victims of crime or antisocial behaviour compared to 3.6% of the general population and that these risks can be greater for women.^{125 126}

Previous research and rough sleeping statistics suggest that rough sleepers are most often men; women make up a small proportion of the rough sleeping population.¹²⁷ We also found this to be the case, in the sample of rough sleepers who had ever spent time in prison 88% were male (Appendix J) and in the sample of rough sleepers who reported prison as their last address, 93% were male (Appendix K). Bretherton & Peace (2018) reported that this is because women go to greater lengths to hide themselves to avoid being victims of violence or abuse on the streets.¹²⁸ As street counts only account for rough sleepers who

are visible, women are less likely to be found. This need to be hidden in turn pushes women to seeking informal arrangements and places them in dangerous situations which also leave them vulnerable or at risk of exploitation and abuse.¹²⁹

The risks of hidden homelessness for women was highlighted by one of the practitioners we spoke to:

"One of my service users who left prison and she had no support when she left, she was referred to me around 4 or 5 weeks after release. So, I asked her where she was sleeping and she said in a friends' car so I had to get the car park, I had to get the car registration number and being female of course there is personal hygiene as well. And she was devastated and said that men would knock on the window at night because they wanted sex." (Mentoring Coordinator)

We found that rough sleepers who had ever been in prison were 11% more likely to be returning rough sleepers (individuals who were found rough sleeping in 2019/20 after not being seen rough sleeping for a year) and 16% more likely to rough sleep for two consecutive years when compared to the general rough sleeping population (see Appendix L). We also found that this group were 15% less likely than the general rough sleeping population to only rough sleep once in 2019/20 (Appendix M).

Practitioners also highlighted that individuals can be pushed into hidden homelessness by local authorities:

"If you have somewhere where you can bed down the local authority will kind of hope that's something that can last a little while so it takes [the need] off them a little. So for example I've had a couple of service users that have been sofa surfing with friends and the local

authority wouldn't help the guy unless he provides the friend's number and the council actually ring the friend and say can they stay with you a little longer and one of my guys wouldn't provide his friend's number because he said 'I can't stay there it's just for tonight' and because he wouldn't provide the number they refused to assess and help him." (TTG Mentoring Coordinator)

Being pushed into these situations can then leave prison leavers with little choice but to seek informal accommodation arrangements with those who influence their offending behaviour:

"I have numerous cases that say if they don't find me somewhere to stay, I'm going to have to go stay with so and so and then I'm back with drug users and it's putting me back in temptations way or I'm going to go back with so and so and we're going to go out offending because that's what they do. The majority of my clients say I don't want to be in that situation, I don't want to sleep at my friend's house because it's just putting me back in a bit of a circle really, it's like a revolving door." (TTG Mentoring Coordinator)

Different forms of supported housing

For prison leavers with support needs, a period of time spent in supported housing may be necessary to enable individuals to address other needs and prepare them to live independently when they are ready to move on to other accommodation. Supported housing combines housing with support services such as substance misuse, mental health and help with obtaining employment. Evaluations of supported housing projects for those with an offending history both in and

outside of the UK show that they have a role to play in the housing of prison leavers, as evidence suggests greater reductions in reoffending when compared to those who are not housed in supported housing. A study in the US by Hunter et al (2020)¹³⁰ found that of those who were in supported housing, 13% reoffended within the two years of the programme. Elison et al's (2013) findings of an evaluation for a London based housing specialist found 37% reoffended over 12 months which represents a 9.1% reduction in proven reoffending when compared to the national reoffending rate at the time of the study.¹³¹ Another evaluation by Bruce et al (2013) of a London based supported housing project for high-risk prison leavers with personality disorder show that at 12 months, the group had a reoffending rate of 5%.¹³² However as there are few rigorous evaluations of supported housing models specifically on this group and in the UK and therefore evidence for the type of supported housing which works to reduce reoffending is limited.¹³³ Despite high levels of need, in the sample of rough sleepers who had ever spent time in prison, only 3% were housed in supported housing in 2019/20 (Appendix H). In the sample of rough sleepers who reported prison as their last address, this was 2% (Appendix I).

The Housing First approach has a strong evidence base for moving rough sleepers away from the streets and into stable accommodation but focuses on homeless individuals with multiple and complex needs. The approach uses rapid, permanent, and secure housing as the first step in addressing homelessness.¹³⁴ The approach enables individuals to live independently through intensive wrap-around support which meets other non-housing related needs such as mental health and substance misuse. It has no prerequisites such as sobriety or adherence to

treatment, which means that the housing provided is unconditional. Previous Housing First pilots show a tenancy sustainment rate of 70-90% and a systematic review by Woodhall-Melnik & Dunn (2016) found strong evidence for reductions in involvement with the criminal justice system for those who are housed using this approach. Findings however are mainly from US studies and suggest that those housed in congregate housing (homeless individuals are placed within the same building) show higher rates of involvement with the criminal justice system than those housed in scattered site housing (homeless individuals are housed in accommodation scattered throughout a city).¹³⁵ An evaluation of the Threshold Housing First pilot for women with an offending history by Quilgars & Pleace (2018) found 4 of the 33 women returned to prison/committed an offence and 80% of those housed sustained their tenancies with zero rent arrears during the 2 years of the pilot.^{136 137}

Private rented sector

Like other vulnerable and low-income groups, prison leavers seek assistance from local authorities to gain access to social housing because of its affordability and security¹³⁸, but this is rarely a realistic option as England and Wales face a shortage of social homes.¹³⁹ This means that the private rented sector is often the only way to access 'settled' accommodation. Prison leavers with support needs may be less likely to be able to move-on successfully from emergency or temporary accommodation to the private rented sector or directly from prison to the private rented sector unless their accommodation is supplemented by support that meets their specific needs, for example assistance in addressing substance misuse issues or finding

employment. Homeless prison leavers with low-level support needs may be more able to access the private rented sector and the Local Government Association reported that the provision of self-contained accommodation during Everyone In was an important factor in the rapid rehousing of and moving on of those with low support needs, as it gave them a sense of dignity and self-worth unlike some emergency and temporary accommodation.¹⁴⁰

In the sample of rough sleepers who had ever spent time in prison only 4% were housed in the private rented sector in 2019/20 (Appendix H). In the sample of rough sleepers who reported prison as their last address, this was 5% (Appendix I).

Prison leavers however face considerable challenges in accessing the private rented sector. One reason for this is that affordable homes in the private rented sector are difficult to find, particularly in London and the Southeast where rents are higher than other parts of the UK.¹⁴¹ The gap between Local Housing Allowance rates, which determine the amount of housing benefit an individual receives whilst renting in the private rented sector, and market rent levels add to these difficulties.¹⁴² Since the Shared Accommodation Rate 1996 was extended in 2012 to people under the age of 35, prison leavers under 35 are also only eligible for housing benefit covering shared accommodation in the private rented sector which limits their housing options on release.

Practitioners expressed that one of the most significant obstacles to accessing the private rented sector was the stigma that prison leavers faced as a result of claiming benefits to pay their rent. In a survey by Reeve et al (2016), 52% of private landlords were unwilling to let to benefit claimants.¹⁴³ For ethnic minority prison leavers, these issues can be compounded by racism and

discrimination in the housing sector, creating another layer of disadvantage.¹⁴⁴

Rent deposits and bond schemes can be an important incentive for landlords and a way of overcoming unwillingness to rent to those on benefits but only a few CRCs had such schemes available.^{145 146} Housing providers may also look favourably on individuals who have been provided with advice and support on housing and some prisons and probation services provide pre-tenancy training which equip individuals with knowledge on what to expect when renting, their legal rights and managing relationships with landlords and housemates.¹⁴⁷ Even though all of the practitioners expressed difficulty in supporting prison leavers to obtain private rented accommodation, it was highlighted that building relationships with private landlords who do accept those claiming benefits can ease this process:

“I’ve got about five here that I normally work with. I’ve got five agencies on Open Rent, there’s some on Gumtree and they take DSS. But most of these service users don’t have the concentration or skills to go out and look for accommodation themselves.”
(Mentoring Coordinator)

The requirements set by private landlords created further obstacles in obtaining private rented accommodation and in some circumstances these barriers were caused by the service users’ imprisonment:

Data on the accommodation outcomes for those who were supported by Pact in four distinct geographical areas; Bristol, Gloucester, Somerset and Wiltshire (BGSW), Devon, Dorset and Cornwall (DDC), North Wales & South Wales between January to December 2020 are shown below. Each of these areas is overseen by a Mentor

“Even when they can privately rent and have that option, sometimes they want a credit check or two references and an employment history. Well I’ve [prison leaver] just spent four years in prison I don’t have any employment history, my only reference is my probation officer. And it’s all these hurdles you need to move into a flat they just don’t have.”
(Volunteer Coordinator)

High-risk offenders such as those who have committed a sex or arson offence face stigma from housing providers due to the nature of their offences and were found to be the hardest to house by the practitioners we spoke to¹⁴⁸:

“I had a service user who is a sex offender so there were issues with where he could stay and getting the place approved by police... We found another lady who called up and said “I don’t want to see him homeless I really want to help”... At half 10 that evening, she emailed me saying ‘sorry due to unforeseen circumstances this property is no longer available’. I start work at 9 o clock the next morning, he will be homeless that day and I think because she said she needed to discuss it with her husband, I think they discussed it and then decided due to his offence. The service user just lost all hope.” (Volunteer Coordinator)

Coordinator who is responsible for the coordination of between two and three paid Mentors, as well as Volunteer Mentors to meet service demand.

- 20 (43%) of the 46 cases who were of NFA (sofa surfing) were housed when support from Pact ended.

This figure was 43% in 2019. 45% were housed in temporary accommodation through the local authority.

- 249 (88%) of the 283 cases who were of NFA (street homeless) were housed when support from Pact ended. This figure was 83% in 2019. 64% were housed in temporary accommodation through the local authority.

A HOPEFUL FUTURE?

The new national probation service

A unified probation service began operating on June 26th 2021 and responsibility for offender management and court advice across low, medium and high-risk offenders now resides with the National Probation Service in England and Wales. Changes in the new model include:

- Short-sentence teams will be allocated to those serving sentences of 10 months or less
- £200 million investment in rehabilitation services and increasing the involvement of voluntary sector organisations
- Probation practitioners playing a more active role in sentence management
- Recognising the importance of involving service users in their own assessment and sentence management

Twelve weeks of temporary accommodation for homeless prison leavers

In January 2021, the Ministry of Justice announced that £20m of funding would be provided to accommodate prison leavers in temporary accommodation for up to 12 weeks in 5 of the 12 new probation regions.¹⁴⁹ This development follows the work of the Homeless Prevention Taskforces. The programme is to house around 3,000 prison leavers with low-level support in its first year. There are plans for this to be rolled out nationally, but this will depend on the Spending Review later this year.¹⁵⁰

A complex needs pilot

A £6m pilot to help prison leavers find and sustain stable accommodation for up to 2 years as part of the Government's Rough Sleeping Strategy was announced on November 2018. The pilot has been running since August 2019 and has housed 324 prison leavers with complex needs from HMP Bristol, HMP Leeds, and HMP Pentonville. During their stay, practical support such as gaining employment and accessing benefits is provided through a key worker. They also receive Housing Benefit top ups and rent deposits to ensure sustainment of their tenancy and access move on accommodation. The potential of the scheme being rolled out 'more widely' across England will be considered after a full evaluation which is set to conclude in summer 2022.

A national accommodation framework

HMPPS have published a national accommodation framework which sets out their aims for improving housing outcomes with the unified probation model. Some of these include:

- Reciprocal staff training with Ministry of Housing Communities and Local Government
- Improving the quality of Duty to Refer referrals and ensuring they are made on time
- Work with DWP to access universal credit in a timely way
- Embedding Homelessness Prevention Taskforces into the future probation model to work through barriers to gaining accommodation and working with the voluntary sector, social and private landlords in doing so

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Last settled base before first being seen rough sleeping for individuals who were found rough sleeping during 2019/20 and who had ever spent time in prison

Last settled base refers to an individual's last settled accommodation prior to first being seen rough sleeping in London. The base group for this table includes people who were first seen rough sleeping a considerable amount of time before the reporting period and who may have lived in one or more other types of settled accommodation during the intervening period. The relevance of their last settled base information to the fact that they were seen rough sleeping in 2019/20 is therefore potentially limited. It is also important to note that an individual's experience of spending time in prison could have happened before or after they lived at the accommodation recorded as their last settled base, or it could coincide with their last settled base.

Last settled base	No.	%
Long term accommodation		
Private rented accommodation	356	25.6%
Local authority accommodation	127	9.1%
Housing association/RSL accommodation	63	4.5%
Owner occupied accommodation	34	2.4%
Tied accommodation	15	1.1%
Sheltered housing/registered care accommodation	6	0.4%
<i>Long term accommodation subtotal</i>	<i>601</i>	<i>43.1%</i>
Short or medium term accommodation	No.	%
Hostel	128	9.2%
Asylum support accommodation	13	0.9%
Temporary accommodation (Local authority)	47	3.4%
B&B/other temporary accommodation	9	0.6%
Clinic/Detox/Rehab	9	0.6%
<i>Short or medium term accommodation subtotal</i>	<i>206</i>	<i>14.8%</i>
Institution	No.	%
Prison	220	15.8%
Hospital	9	0.6%
<i>Institution subtotal</i>	<i>229</i>	<i>16.4%</i>
Inappropriately accommodated	No.	%
Squat	22	1.6%
Outhouse	1	0.1%
<i>Inappropriately accommodated subtotal</i>	<i>23</i>	<i>1.7%</i>
Newly arrived in UK	No.	%
Newly arrived in UK - not homeless in home country	12	0.9%
Newly arrived in UK - homeless in home country	9	0.6%
<i>Newly arrived in UK subtotal</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>1.5%</i>
Other	313	22.5%
Not recorded	657	
Total (excl. not recorded)	1393	100.0%
Total	2050	

APPENDIX B

Ethnicity of rough sleepers who had ever spent time in prison

Ethnicity	No.	%
Asian or Asian British - Bangladeshi	26	1.3%
Asian or Asian British - Indian	43	2.1%
Asian or Asian British - Other	54	2.6%
Asian or Asian British - Pakistani	18	0.9%
Black or Black British - African	159	7.8%
Black or Black British - Caribbean	98	4.8%
Black or Black British - Other	73	3.6%
Mixed - Other	26	1.3%
Mixed - White & Asian	3	0.1%
Mixed - White & Black African	19	0.9%
Mixed - White & Black Caribbean	44	2.1%
Gypsy/Romany/Irish Traveller	5	0.2%
White - British	1078	52.6%
White - Irish	88	4.3%
White - Other	268	13.1%
Chinese	1	0.0%
Arab	16	0.8%
Other	25	1.2%
Refused	6	0.3%
Missing	0	0.0%
Total	2050	100.0%

APPENDIX C

Ethnicity of rough sleepers who reported prison as their last settled address

Ethnicity	No.	%
Asian or Asian British - Bangladeshi	1	0.7%
Asian or Asian British - Indian	5	3.7%
Asian or Asian British - Other	2	1.5%
Asian or Asian British - Pakistani	3	2.2%
Black or Black British - African	16	11.9%
Black or Black British - Caribbean	12	8.9%
Black or Black British - Other	7	5.2%
Mixed - Other	0	0.0%
Mixed - White & Asian	0	0.0%
Mixed - White & Black African	3	2.2%
Mixed - White & Black Caribbean	4	3.0%
Gypsy/Romany/Irish Traveller	1	0.7%
White - British	66	48.9%
White - Irish	1	0.7%
White - Other	10	7.4%
Chinese	0	0.0%
Arab	1	0.7%
Other	2	1.5%
Refused	1	0.7%
Missing	0	0.0%
Total	135	100.0%

APPENDIX D

Nationality of rough sleepers who had ever spent time in prison

Nationality	No.	%
UK	1570	77%
CEE	183	9%
Other Europe (EEA)	107	5%
Other Europe (Non-EEA)	10	0%
Africa	94	5%
Americas	18	1%
Asia	56	3%
Australasia	1	0%
Not known	11	
Total (excl. not known)	2039	100%
Total (incl. not known)	2050	

APPENDIX E

Nationality of rough sleepers who reported prison as their last settled address

Nationality	No.	%
UK	114	85%
CEE	3	2%
Other Europe (EEA)	1	1%
Other Europe (Non-EEA)	0	0%
Africa	10	7%
Americas	3	2%
Asia	3	2%
Australasia	0	0%
Not known	1	
Total (excl. not known)	134	100%
Total (incl. not known)	135	

APPENDIX F

Age of rough sleepers who had ever spent time in prison

Age	No.	%
Under 18 years	0	0%
18 - 25 years	65	3%
26 - 35 years	518	25%
36 - 45 years	704	34%
46 - 55 years	549	27%
Over 55 years	214	10%
Total	2050	100%

APPENDIX G

Age of rough sleepers who reported prison as their last settled address

Age	No.	%
Under 18 years	0	0%
18 - 25 years	9	7%
26 - 35 years	49	36%
36 - 45 years	52	39%
46 - 55 years	24	18%
Over 55 years	1	1%
Total	135	100%

APPENDIX H

Accommodation outcomes for people seen rough sleeping in London in 2019/20, who had ever spent time in prison

The table below summarises the total number of outcomes achieved for this group during 2019/20. Many rough sleepers will have had multiple accommodation outcomes and so are double counted in the table. Total individuals with an accommodation outcome: 1293.

Accommodation type	No. events	%
Hubs, shelters and emergency accommodation		
COVID-19 Emergency Accommodation (Local)	123	5%
COVID-19 Emergency Accommodation (Pan London)	23	1%
Hub	682	26%
Nightstop	3	0%
SWEP (Local)	80	3%
SWEP (Pan-London)	6	0%
Winter/Night Shelter	220	8%
<i>Hubs, shelters and emergency accommodation subtotal</i>	<i>1137</i>	<i>43%</i>
Temporary accommodation		
Assessment centre	221	8%
Bed & breakfast	224	8%
Clinic/Detox/Rehab	11	0%
Friends & family	19	1%
Hostel	227	9%
Local authority temporary accommodation	334	13%
Second-stage accommodation	1	0%
Staging post	172	6%
Other temporary accommodation	83	3%
<i>Temporary accommodation subtotal</i>	<i>1292</i>	<i>48%</i>
Long term accommodation		
Care home	0	0%
Clearing House/RSI	11	0%
Local authority tenancy (general needs)	12	0%
Private rented sector - independent	52	2%
Private rented sector - with some floating support	46	2%
RSL tenancy (general needs)	2	0%
Sheltered housing	2	0%
St Mungo's complex needs	5	0%
St Mungo's semi-independent	5	0%
Supported housing	88	3%
Tied accommodation	1	0%
Other long-term accommodation	16	1%
<i>Long term accommodation subtotal</i>	<i>240</i>	<i>9%</i>
Total	2669	100%

APPENDIX I

Accommodation outcomes for people seen rough sleeping in London in 2019/20, who reported prison as their last address

The table below summarises the total number of outcomes achieved for this group during 2019/20. Many rough sleepers will have had multiple accommodation outcomes and so are double counted in the table. Total individuals with an accommodation outcome: 95.

Accommodation type	No. events	%
Hubs, shelters and emergency accommodation		
COVID-19 Emergency Accommodation (Local)	4	2%
COVID-19 Emergency Accommodation (Pan London)	2	1%
Hub	77	38%
Nightstop	0	0%
SWEP (Local)	3	1%
SWEP (Pan-London)	0	0%
Winter/Night Shelter	14	7%
<i>Hubs, shelters and emergency accommodation subtotal</i>	100	49%
Temporary accommodation		
	No. events	%
Assessment centre	14	7%
Bed & breakfast	12	6%
Clinic/Detox/Rehab	1	0%
Friends & family	3	1%
Hostel	4	2%
Local authority temporary accommodation	27	13%
Second-stage accommodation	0	0%
Staging post	22	11%
Other temporary accommodation	4	2%
<i>Temporary accommodation subtotal</i>	87	43%
Long term accommodation		
	No. events	%
Care home	0	0%
Clearing House/RSI	1	0%
Local authority tenancy (general needs)	0	0%
Private rented sector - independent	6	3%
Private rented sector - with some floating support	4	2%
RSL tenancy (general needs)	0	0%
Sheltered housing	0	0%
St Mungo's complex needs	0	0%
St Mungo's semi-independent	1	0%
Supported housing	4	2%
Tied accommodation	0	0%
Other long-term accommodation	0	0%
<i>Long term accommodation subtotal</i>	16	8%
Total	203	100%

APPENDIX J

Gender of rough sleepers who had ever spent time in prison

Gender	No.	%
Male	1801	88%
Female	248	12%
Non-binary	1	0%
Not known	0	
Total	2050	100%

APPENDIX K

Gender of rough sleepers who reported prison as their last settled address

Gender	No.	%
Male	126	93%
Female	9	7%
Non-binary	0	0%
Not known	0	
Total	135	100%

APPENDIX L

Rough sleeper category of those who had ever spent time in prison

Rough sleeper category	No.	%
Flow	791	39%
Stock	778	38%
Returner	481	23%
Total	2050	100%

Flow: People who had never been seen rough sleeping before 2019/20 (new rough sleepers).

Stock: People who had rough slept in 2018/19 and 2019/20 (rough slept for two consecutive years).

Returner: People who were seen rough sleeping before 2018/19 but were not seen during 2018/19 (gap in their rough sleeping).

APPENDIX M

The number of times those with a history of being in prison were seen rough sleeping in 2019/20

Number of times seen rough sleeping in 2019/20	No.	%
One	918	45%
Two	351	17%
Three to five	409	20%
Six to 10	228	11%
11 to 20	110	5%
More than 20	34	2%
Total	2050	100%

APPENDIX N

The number of times those who reported prison as their last address were seen rough sleeping in 2019/20

Number of times seen rough sleeping in 2019/20	No.	%
One	77	57%
Two	30	22%
Three to five	20	15%
Six to 10	7	5%
11 to 20	0	0%
More than 20	1	1%
Total	135	100%