### **Chapter V**

# Homelessness Policies in 8 EU countries: An analysis on Policy formation and implementation

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### **Abstract**

The transnational comparative analysis of social policies is a challenging endeavour for researchers, going beyond the description of the "letter of the law" or policy document regarding similarities and differences concerning content, also requiring the understanding of the dimensions associated with formation and implementation.

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The study is composed of a qualitative phase with policy documental analysis and a quantitative phase with a survey sample survey for policy stakeholders on policy implementation. The chapter also offers a critical appraisal on limitations and discusses and recommendations for future research.

### **Keywords**

Homelessness policies, Document analysis, Comparative analysis, Policy formation

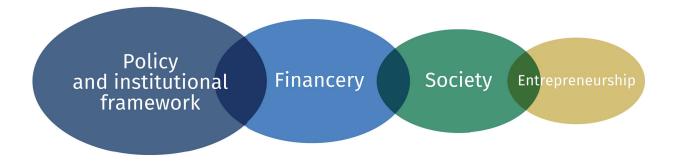
# Background of the homelessness policies study

This study is one of the components of the Project Homelessness as unfairness (HOME\_EU GA/726997), funded by the Horizon 2020 program of the European Commission, with the overall aim of providing comprehensive and empirical data to understand how homelessness may be reversed. This chapter reports on an analysis of European, and a reflection on policy formation and implementation with the contributions of a socio-political stakeholder survey, including the presence of Housing First within the selected documents.

The analysis of social policies requires a series of considerations as those raised by Rihouz, Rezohazy and Bol (2011) or Thiem (2014), related with the agenda setting for policy formation; the momentum for its emergence and the strategies for implementation. On transnational policy analysis researchers usually deal with small documental samples of equivalent documents and simultaneously are required to capture at least some of the complexity of the analysed cases.

Therefore the study probed to respond to challenges such as the capacity of having a case sensitive approach (Ragin, 1987), considering the eight countries involved; be able to explore multiple conjuncture paths causation; and simultaneously meet mission-oriented research criteria, such as the adoption of a problem solving approach, that is the core idea of the HOME\_EU Project through the adopted lemma "Researching to end Homelessness in Europe, the focus on specific goals, as is the extreme case of unfairness that long-term homelessness represents, and one of the key challenges that contemporary European Societies face, requiring investment, training and qualification for social innovation (Mazzucato, 2018). Another of the relevant criteria for the mission-oriented research is the capacity to generate spillovers for other socially relevant issues, on which the Housing First Model may produce significant impacts, as well as the capacity of projects through a focused mission produce direct influence on policy formation, and development in the partner countries (Idem, 2018). Therefore, projects such as the HOME\_EU have the potential to promote agenda setting for homelessness and through civic engagement produce social innovation in Europe. According to the social innovation index (2016), the approach to innovation is also profoundly connected with the core purpose of the HOME\_EU Project, because it may be analysed through concrete social innovation initiatives such as the Housing First, anchored in bottomup solutions. Drawing for the experience of the partner countries the experiences Housing First Program implementation is being mainly ensured by civic society organizations and also the advancement of institutional frameworks for policy support and to facilitate the emergence of more social innovation initiatives; also a financement environment is a relevant condition and a civic engagement dynamics (See Fig. 1).

Fig. 1. Adapted from Social Innovation Index Method (2016)



Taking into account that the focus of the HOME\_EU Project is on the mission of influencing European Social Policies to reverse Homelessness through Housing First as a privileged response to long-term Homelessness, and also with the potential to generate spillover effects, it becomes relevant to explore further paths to expand the notion of impact, engagement with political actors and knowledge exchange among researchers and political bodies (Cf. Boswell and Smith, 2017). The authors present an interesting frame to guide evidence display guided by political science literature review on the substantive debate about how knowledge shapes policy (how projects like the HOME\_EU - mission oriented - enhance the capacity for the consortium influence), the reverse, policy shapes knowledge (the challenges advanced by the H2020, and Horizon Europe), the dynamics of co-construction, or that these spheres are totally independent. Within the Home\_Eu journey the first three features were observable, and some of the evidence is to be presented in the results.

Specific Aim and research questions

Taking in consideration the overall purpose of the comparative analysis of the Homeless of the policies of the eight partner countries participating in the HOME\_EU consortium, we also probed for information on: a) the principles and the scope of the national homelessness social policies; b) the transversal components; c) specific elements related with outcome focus or definition; and d) the reference to the Housing First Model.

Guided by these questions we probed to capture case sensitive variations, and commonalities on policy formation national context and the policy elements that could support a broader understanding of the emergence of social change and innovation required to tackle homelessness through a concrete focus on access to scattered, individualized and permanent housing options as the ones advanced by the Housing First model.

### Methods & Procedures

The study was composed of two phases, one qualitative phase comprising policy documental analysis, and one quantitative phase with a survey for policy stakeholders focused on policy awareness and implementation.

The consortium partner leading team provided was provided a previously agreed framework for document search and selection for each of the partner countries. Due to language diversity the search required to be conducted by each national partner teams; the time frame selected was 2011-2018 in order to capture changes introduced, and considering that 2010 was the European Year against Poverty and Social Exclusion<sup>1</sup> were a call for action was undertaken through the recognition that there is "the fundamental right of persons experiencing poverty and social exclusion to live in dignity and to take an active part in society" (EU Commission, 2010), and evolvements on governmental response were introduced.

The selection of national policy documents was guided by the following criteria (for more information see Schel & Wolf, 2019, HOME\_EU WP5/D5.3 Technical Report);

- 1. Focus: The policy consists of principles and action statements focused on people who experience homelessness;
- 2. Intervention(s): Services described in the policy document aimed at reversing homelessness, including policy components aimed at reversing long-term homelessness and/or Housing First were taken into consideration;
- 3. Time frame: a relatively short time-frame of six years was set (2011-2018). The underlying reasons for this frame were: a) to minimize recall problems; b) to ensure that only the most recent and with increased probability of integrating Housing First measures;
- 4. Case-Sensitiveness: Particular recommendations were produced to address Policy implementation levels (1-Preparatory phase; 2-Published; 3-Partilaly implemented; 4 Fully implemented);
- 5. Country cultural background and languages management: The documents were written in one of the eight European languages involved in the consortium that could be processed national research teams.

Based on these criteria the research team developed a data collection protocol, both for the document analysis and the quantitative survey. The Protocol to support the document analysis was developed in English in collaboration with the researchers from the Home\_Eu consortium. A draft protocol was pilot tested in order to explore whether the instructions and selection criteria described in the protocol actually resulted in finding policy documents relevant to the objectives of the study. The results of the pilot lead to a further specification of the document selection criteria and clarification of the questions with which researchers analyzed the documents. Following in the procedures for the search of policy documents the reference sources could be used to entail a snowball sampling procedure to probe for additional documents: databases of public records (e.g., records of legislative changes; media

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> European Year Against Poverty and Social Exclusion https://ec.europa.eu/employment\_social/2010againstpoverty/ extranet/About\_the\_Year/factsheet\_EY2010\_en.pdf

communications; annual reports from government departments), researchers (i.e., those whose research may have been used in the policymaking process); stakeholders (i.e., those who are immediately affected by the documented policies); policymakers (i.e., legislators or policy advisers).

In each participating country, several sources were used to identify relevant policy documents:

- a) Databases of public records (e.g., records of legislative changes, media communications, and annual reports from government departments);
- b) Researchers (i.e., those whose research may have been used in the policymaking process);
- c) Stakeholders (i.e., those who are immediately affected by the documented policies);
- d) Policymakers (i.e., legislators or policy advisers); Furthermore snowballing could be used to obtain additional documents.

Considering that policy documents were solely written in the national languages, the HOME\_EU researchers performed the first step of documental analyses.by filling the analysis framework of homelessness policies for every selected document. The fields included questions in order to gather general information, a more detailed description of the content of the policy and the policy context, aims and policy measures, Housing First, the change process and other relevant information the researchers found necessary to address. Researchers were asked to fill in these forms in English, so the authors were able to do the overall analysis. In addition, the HOME\_EU researchers were asked to fill in a data gathering process form. Questions entailed the sources used, important remarks regarding the data gathering process and the number, title and authors of the included documents.

Concerning the second phase of the policy study and in order to obtain a broad overview of municipalities and regions homelessness policies, the Consortium an on-line quantitative surveys. The quantitative survey focused contents, aims, development and implementation of homelessness policies. Drafts of the survey were discussed within the Home\_Eu Consortium study group which resulted in a final English version. The English version of the survey was translated into the eight EU languages between October 2018 and November 2018, using standardized best practice explained by Beaton et al. (2000) and then inserted into Lime-survey (an online survey application). The final version of the survey consists of 31 questions and took approximately 20 minutes to fill, with a focus on basic content, development, implementation and evaluation of homelessness policies, and also a specific section about the implementation of Housing First, as well as biographical information of the respondents. The data gathering timeframe process was entailed between July 2018 and March of 2019.

Regarding the selection of participants the following criteria were selected:

- a) Stakeholders at national level, i.e. civil servants or policy officials at national governmental departments with responsibilities in the development of policy documents to reduce, reverse or prevent homelessness:
- b) Stakeholders at regional/local level, i.e. civil servants or alderman at municipalities with responsibilities on local homelessness policy

Concerning the survey administration, the authors provided the researchers with test links of the online surveys; one link to the survey for national stakeholders and one link to the survey for regional/local stakeholders. The researchers tested these links in order to prevent the collection of unreliable data

by unforeseen problems in coding (poor skip patterns, poor continuity and flow of the questions, etc). After the testing phase the survey was disseminated. The survey was held among civil servants, policy officials and alderman involved in developing, implementing and/or evaluating homelessness policies in The Netherlands, France, Spain, Poland, Sweden, Ireland, Italy and Portugal. Per country two surveys were administered, i.e. for: civil servants and policy officials working on a national level & civil servants and alderman working on a regional or municipal level.

# Analysis Strategies and Results

### **Qualitative Data**

As the stated purpose of the policy analysis was the identification of the principles and the scope of the national homelessness social policies, understanding transversal topics, specificities and the presence of the Housing First model as a programmatic option, the first option provided that a total of 79 analysed documents received by the research team was the selection process; this process was composed with a two stage procedure; the first was focused on a broader understanding of the country's major documents that resulted in the inclusion of 20 policy pieces (see Table 1).

Table 1. Selected national homelessness policies

Title	Country (year)	Authors/institution
Bostad sökes. Slutrapport från den nationella hemlöshetssamordnaren. [Looking for housing. Final report from the National homelessness coordinator]	Sweden (2014)	The Government Offices of Sweden
Estratégia Nacional para a integração de pessoas sem-abrigo: Prevenção, Intervenção e Acompanhamento. [National Strategy towards the integration of Homeless Persons: Prevention, Intervention and Follow-up.]	Portugal (2009-2015)	Ministry for Social Welfare
Estratégia Nacional para a integração das pessoas em situação de sem -abrigo 2017 -2023. [National Strategy for the integration of persons in a Homelessness Situation]	Portugal (2017-2023)	Ministry for Social Welfare
Chantier National Prioritaire 2008-2012. [National Priority Work 2008-2012]	France (2008-2012)	Prime Minister
Stratégie nationale de prise en charge des personnes sans abri ou mal logées 2009-2012. [National strategy on services for homeless and precariously housed people 2009-2012]	France (2009-2012)	Prime Minister and the Ministry of Ecology, Energy, Sustainable Development and the Sea
Plan pluriannuel contre la pauvreté et pour l'inclusion sociale. [Multiannual plan against poverty and social inclusion 2013-2017]	France (2013-2017)	Prime Minister

Title	Country (year)	Authors/institution	
Plan triennal pour réduire le recours aux nuitées hôtelières 2015-2017. [Tri-annual plan to reduce overnight stays in hotels 2015-2017]	France (2015-2017)	Ministry of Housing, Territorial Equality and Rurality	
Action Plan to Address Homelessness	Ireland (2014)	Government of Ireland	
Department of Environment- statement of strategy 2011-14	Ireland (2011-2014)	Department of Environment	
Homeless Policy Statement	Ireland (2013)	Environment, Community & Local Government	
Programme for Government 2011-2016 (1)	Ireland (2011-2016)	Government of Ireland	
Rebuilding Ireland Action Plan-3	Ireland (2016-2021)	Government of Ireland	
The Way Home - A strategy to address adult homelessness in Ireland 2008-2013	Ireland (2008-2013)	Department of the Environment, Heritage & Local Government	
Plan van aanpak dak- en thuislozen maatschappelijke opvang 2e fase. [Strategic Plan for Social Relief, the 2nd phase]	The Netherlands	Government in collaboration with the 4 large cities (Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht)	
Estrategia Nacional Integral Para Personas Sin Hogar 2015-2020. [Comprehensive National Integral Strategy for the Homeless 2015-2020]	Spain (2015-2020)	Spanish Government. Ministry for Health, Social Services and Equality	
Wytyczne w zakresie pomocy osobom bezdomnym. [Guidelines for assisting the homeless]	Poland (2004)	Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Policy, Department of Assistance and Social Integration	
Program Wspierający Rozwiązywanie Problemu Bezdomności. [Homelessness Problem Supporting Program]	Poland (2016)	Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Policy, Department of Assistance and Social Integration	
Programma Operativo Nazionale "Città Metropolitane 2014 – 2020". [Multi-fund National Operational Programme "Metropolitan Cities 2014/2020"]	Italy (2014-2020)	Ministry of Labor and Social Policies	
Programma Operativo Nazionale inclusione. [Italy's Operational Programme (OP) for Social Inclusion]	Italy (2014)	Ministry of Labor and Social Policies	
Italian Title Piano Nazionale per la lotta alla povertà e all'esclusione sociale. [National Plan against poverty and social exclusion]	Italy (2016)	The Chamber of Deputies and the Senate	

Table 1: Sandra Schel, Tessa van Loenen & Judith Wolf (2019) HOME\_EU Technical report (WP5/ D5.3)

The policy formation procedure for tackling Homelessness in each of the Partner Countries has a different dynamics, which enhances the transversal nature of this social problem, from a direct and explicit Prime Minister involvement (FR3; IR2; PT/ Council of Ministers involving all Government; SW Central Governmental Offices), to the involvement of differentiated Ministries (Welfare PT, NL; Labour and Social Policies IT2; Gender, Health, Social Services and Equality ES; Family, Labour and Social Policy PL; Ecology and Sustainable Development, Health, Housing and Territorial Equality FR). The time frames of the strategies or policy documents have also a substantive degree of variation. One important observation to be made is that there were a first round of policy formation from 2008 to 2014 already mentioning the Housing First as a model and supporting its implementation (ES, FR, IR NL, PT SW), and Poland (not mentioning HF), and a the second 2015-2020, with timing country variations (ES, FR, IR, IT, PT, again PL does not mention HF).

As a transversal outcome of the policy analysis we concluded that all the national policy documents focus on the systems development, including the investment in the strengthening the formal relations among political sectors like including diverse governmental departments associated with Housing, Social Welfare, Health, Labour, Social Inclusion, probing to respond to Homelessness. This is a meaningful result because it reflects the Governmental acknowledgement of the complexities to address an effective response to persistent and prevailing homelessness, and a recognition that the systems designed have left behind people with higher scale social support needs, and the government/civic society partnerships need further attention to generate result-focused and meaningful transformative change (Nelson, Kloos, Ornelas, 2014), as the stated ambition of the HOME\_EU Project to contribute to reverse homelessness in Europe.

Furthermore, the EU Citizens according to the HOME\_EU Study on KAP (Knowledge, Attitudes and Practice (Petit et al., 2019) demonstrates that the EU Citizens allocate the responsibility to respond Homelessness to the Governments (81%), and consider that the Governments should spend more in Homelessness Programs (75.6%). These and other results indicate that for further policy formation to clearly respond to homelessness the EU Governments have the support of the citizens.

We have also concluded that less than 50% of the policy documents are focused on the concrete lives of the populations with homelessness experiences (e.g. their access and choice of services, housing options, and integration opportunities), and only a few policies (less than 20%) include the direct participation of the Service User's, the population with a homelessness experience as a source of information for the evaluation of the effectiveness of the strategies or policies being implemented. Another evidence deriving from the HOME\_EU Studies, Greenwood et al. (2019) the Housing First programs contribute significantly for the increase of community integration, choice, satisfaction with services and the housing quality and to the reduction of psychiatric symptoms. In alignment with these results we have the contribution another HOME\_EU Study Gaboardi et al, (2019), emphasizes the role and contributions of the professionals that although sharing values dignity, respect, humanity an social justice require further support and training to increase outcomes, and provide more personalized supports, strengthen User's networks, and to advocate for housing as a human right.

We therefore conclude on the recommendation for the next generation of policy formation the service user's and integrated on the evaluation panels and that the studies systematizing evidence of outcomes of Housing First Programs are taken in consideration for policy evolvement and further implementation efforts.

Another topic of interest for homelessness policy formation was that we were also able to understand

#### **Quantitative Data**

Being the link for the survey associated with the leading research partner all the information about the filled surveys was directly integrated in a centralized database, and the study leading team informed weekly the partner countries of the updates on surveys so that the national partners could keep their strategic efforts of involving more national, municipal or local stakeholders. When the previously determined period for data gathering was attained, the research team brought the process to an end proceeded with descriptive analysis of the data.

The results indicate a wide variance of respondents and involvement from each of the partner's countries; from a total 198 received surveys (See Table 2), from 6 (3%) in the Netherlands to 93 (47%) in Poland. 146 (73.7%) are women, with an average age of 46.4 years (min. 25 to a max. 70 – Median on the 46 years of age). The average number of years of experience in the field is of 8.3 years, varying from less than 1 year to 35 years of experience, being the median situated in the 5 years of experience.

Table 2. Responses obtained by Partner Country

Country	N	%
France	12	6,1
Ireland	6	3,0
Italy	20	10,1
Netherlands	7	3,5
Poland	93	47,0
Portugal	39	19,7
Spain	21	10,6

Concerning the preferential sources of knowledge about homelessness, 72.5% of the 197 respondents, reported that professional expertise was their privileged source of knowledge, followed by a similar result of 46.2% directly from homeless people's experiences, just followed (45.1%) of Scientific evidence about housing first. Curiously the least preferred sources of data and information are political ideology

(34.1%) and the Scientific evidence integrated in policy documents 18.7%), as reported in Table 3.

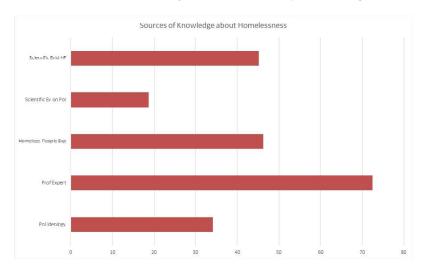


Table 3: Stakeholders responses Sources of knowledge (N=197)

This result indicates, although not generalizable that the dynamics within the countries and for policy implementation and using the proposal advanced by Boswell and Smith (2017) stakeholders tend to privilege as sources of information and guidance for action professional experts, scientific evidence on Housing First and interestingly the people with homelessness self-experience, and less that 20% probes for scientific accounts of evidence in social policy documents.

## Critical reflections on Policy formation and implementation

Within this critical appraisal on limitations and recommendations for future research we probe to convey the lessons learned and the ways in which some of the challenges may attained. Methodologically we were able to capture the nuances of the case-oriented complemented with variable-oriented research on policy formation, and implementation, following recommendations on (QCA) Qualitative Comparative Analysis (i.e Rihouz, Rezohazy and Bol (2011) or Thiem (2014), that reaffirm the complexity of the exercise of comparing social policies at a transnational level and the need to respond to different kinds of challenges. First and foremost, the country differences, the current political status and systems, the consolidated democratic procedures, the uniqueness of the cultural and social and traditions, the epidemiological and demographic variance, furthermore the economic situation (Ritter, 2007), and more recently the impact of migrations on the resources for extreme situations, e.g. Esposito, Ornelas and Arcidiacono (2015); all determinants for the centrality associated with the response capacity to a severe social phenomenon such as Homelessness.

Additional operational barriers are associated with information accessibility; requiring country-base expertise of systems and contextual governmental structure information, as well as language proficiency (cf. Ragin, 1987; Ritter, 2007).

All these factors need to be taken into account to enable a meaningful comparison of policies among countries; the legal data collected within the current research project were insufficient to obtain adequate insight into these contextual factors, the HOME\_EU consortium organized additional qualitative data collection (e.g. two focus groups) to further complete these data.

Another limitation found to be the most common within policy analysis was the challenge associated with the gap of policy statement, the concrete legal document, and the outcomes of the policy evaluation (Ritter, Livingston, Chalmers, Berends & Reuter, 2016). However, from the additional 59 documents identified by the partners in the consortium it was possible to identify official reports and analysis of the national strategies, that are being used to further explain the HOME\_EU overall results and some additional data maybe drawn from the quantitative surveys to illustrate a detailed understanding of the policy implementation.

For future research in the field we recommend focus groups formats with representants for the in-depth understanding of the Policy implementation outcomes in large-scale and smaller scale geographic locations to capture country overall status and internal variations.

Another limitation was that the analysis was performed as a secondary source, which may have contained some bias deriving from differences in detail provided on the described policy aims and measures. A consideration that also to be minded is that the policies on Homelessness, particularly the Housing First Programs are frequently within the responsibility of regional, municipal or even local level; this reality reinforces the concern raised by Rihouz, Rezohazy and Bol in 2011 about the macro-level policy formation becoming a generalist affirmation of principles with no further accountability considering the geographic variability and the concrete results in the lives of the people to whom the policy is addressed to.

In relation with the Survey, the challenges raised are of a totally different nature, and are related with national sample representation, the requirement of having a purposive sampling procedure, resulting of the requirement to invite people who are currently in the social roles of policy formation and implementation, and clearly define these categories of participants

The use of tools such as on-line surveys also imply that researchers have no full control over the origin of the respondents which could result into situations where municipalities or regions where homelessness is an important social theme might be more eager to respond and therefore may be overrepresented.

The most important limitation of the quantitative survey emerged during the data analysis. Often there were multiple participants per municipality or per country at national level. Comparing the answers of participants working at the same municipality resulted in substantial variations the knowledge about national policy documents. We also learned that participants from some Municipalities communicated their decision of not filling the survey, because they considered that homelessness was not a scaled social problem in the specific location and the social services were responding every time a new situation emerged.

For example, the question "Currently, is there a specific policy implemented at a national level in your country to reduce, reverse or prevent homelessness?" From the same locations we obtained Yes/No answers, Implemented within the last year, 'Yes/No, implemented longer than 5 years ago' Yes/no and

also 'I don't know'.. Apparently, key stakeholders are either insufficiently informed about homelessness policies implemented in their municipality/country or they are aware of these policies but they perceive them differently. Either way, these results suggest that key stakeholders in the 8 participating countries have insufficient concrete information about homelessness policies in their municipality or country entail. Future research could verify this idea by conducting qualitative interviews/ Focus groups with these stakeholders to understand in-depth if these variations occur due to lack of knowledge or are protest answers. With this contribution we may conclude that the Homelessness policy studies require further more than the strict analysis of the policy documents, and that the comparison terms require a clear prior definition of frameworks and aims conducting the analysis.

Concluding we consider that through the HOME\_EU Project we have been able to further understand what are the Housing First features and challenges that increase the capacity for spillovers (Mazzucato, 2017), with promising applications on field areas like domestic violence, deinstitutionalization of young adults from child protection services, deinstitutionalization of the remaining psychiatric hospitals or closed mental health institutional devices, and as a programmatic model to support migrants with all kinds of socio-political statutes. Furthermore, advancements are being observed in the partner countries that configure the core elements of the social innovation index (2016, see Fig. 1), namely the influence on policy formation, and institutional frameworks (i.e. IR team in Parliamentary discussion; PT team in National Homelessness strategy, the Research Agenda 2020-2030, and national consultants for the Horizon Europe, consultants for program development - 3 partners - ISPA; AEIPS; RAIS in Brazil; and ISPA, AEIPS in Poland, and Norway); on Financing environment (i.e. PL Government investing in HF Pilot in 3 major cities and PL Team as evaluator; PT Budget 2020 with a 7M€ for HF). On Society (i.e. ES Civic Engagement –national and local level scaled up HF from 28 to 300 houses from 2014 to 2018; PT National Housing First Network, including municipalities and civic organizations), and finally on Entrepreneurship it is important to emphasize the "risk taking mindset", particularly of all the Civic organizations that are advancing the implementation of HF Programs with no sustainability guaranty and that the evidence of results is crucial for the advance of Housing Fist Programs in Europe.

In the words of one of our partners from SW would be "So we have a long way on the road ahead", many achievements have been attained but future endeavours and challenges lie ahead to effectively reverse Homelessness in Europe, and we are prepared to support the transformative social change required.

We are ready to support the scaling-up process in countries as Ireland, Spain (on-going process), Portugal, France (where is already an adopted policy), or the Netherlands. In Sweden the upscaling is taking place at a steadier rhythm due to previous dissemination efforts; in Italy the upscaling is less clear although the National budget for Homelessness has substantively increased, in Poland with the inception of a Project in three major cities, the dynamics of Housing First is going to start and with it, the confrontation of the phenomenon.

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