Temporary Accommodation In Scotland:

Interim Report

June 2018

A report commissioned by Social Bite on behalf of the Homelessness and Rough Sleeping Action Group:
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Acknowledgments

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Acronyms

ALACHO	Association of Local Authority Chief Housing Officers
ARC	Annual Return on the Charter
B&B	Bed and Breakfast
CIH	Chartered Institute of Housing
COSLA	Convention of Scottish Local Authorities
DCLG	Department for Communities Local Government
DV	Domestic Violence
DWP	Department for Work and Pensions
EU	European Union
HA	Housing Association
HARSAG	Homelessness and Rough Sleeping Action Group
HB	Housing Benefit
I-SPHERE	Institute for Social Policy, Housing and Equalities Research
LA	Local Authority
LHA	Local Housing Allowance
MH	Mental Health
PRS	Private Rented Sector
PSL	Private Sector Leased
RSL	Registered Social Landlord
SA	Supported accommodation
SAR	Shared Accommodation Rate
SHN	Scotland's Housing Network
TA	Temporary Accommodation
UC	Universal Credit

1. Introduction

Background to the study

In September 2017, Scottish Government announced *"a clear national objective to eradicate rough sleeping in Scotland and transform the use of temporary accommodation"*[1]. Alongside the commitment of £50 million to the 'Ending Homelessness Together Fund', the short-term Homelessness and Rough Sleeping Action Group[2] (HARSAG) was convened[3] to make recommendations in response to the following four questions:

1. What can we do to minimise rough sleeping this winter?
2. What can we do to eradicate rough sleeping for good?
3. What can we do to transform temporary accommodation (TA)?
4. What can be done to end homelessness in Scotland?

Recommendations for action on questions one and two were made to Ministers in November 2017[4] and March 2018[5] respectively. These saw £328,000 committed to measures to better tackle rough sleeping during winter 2017/18, including: increased emergency accommodation and outreach in major cities; multi-agency partnership working using 'by name lists' of those sleeping rough; empowerment of frontline workers to directly access services and dedicated accommodation; and a personal budget/flexible emergency fund to enable frontline workers maximum flexibility to meet rough sleeper's immediate housing needs[6].

Building on these developments, the Scottish Government accepted in principle the suite of 20 recommendations made by HARSAG to eradicate rough sleeping for good[7], including: to radically strengthen the prevention of homelessness and rough sleeping through better co-ordination across the public and third-sectors, staff training, effective targeting of groups known to be at highest risk, and (potentially) legislative change; strengthened and evidence-informed street outreach that enables swift and sustained transitions off the street; a transition to a model of 'rapid rehousing' by default, including access to Housing

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[1] p.105 in Scottish Government (2017) *A Nation with Ambition: the Government's Programme for Scotland 2017-2018*. Edinburgh: The Scottish Government. https://beta.gov.scot/publications/nation-ambition-governments-programme-scotland-2017-18/

[2] Jon Sparkes, Crisis (Chair); Russell Barr, Former Moderator Church of Scotland; Maggie Brunjes, Glasgow Homelessness Network; Mike Dailly, Govan Law Centre; David Duke, Street Soccer; Suzanne Fitzpatrick, I-SPHERE, Heriot-Watt University; Josh Littlejohn, Social Bite; Lorraine McGrath, Streetwork and Simon Community Scotland; Susanne Millar, Glasgow Health and Social Care Partnership; John Mills, Fife Council and ALACHO; Shona Stephen, Queens Cross Housing Association; Alison Watson, Shelter Scotland.

[3] Stewart, K. (2017) 'Homelessness: minister's statement September 2017', *Scottish Government Ministerial Statement*, 19th September: https://beta.gov.scot/publications/ministerial-statement-on-homelessness-september-2017/

[4] Scottish Government (2017) 'Homelessness and Rough Sleeping Action Group: Recommendations,' *Scottish Government Factsheet*, 28th November: https://beta.gov.scot/publications/homelessness-rough-sleeping-recommendations/

[5] Homelessness and Rough Sleeping Action Group (2018) *Ending Rough Sleeping in Scotland: Interim Report*. Edinburgh: The Scottish Government. https://beta.gov.scot/publications/ending-rough-sleeping-in-scotland-interim-report/

[6] Scottish Government (2017) 'Tackling rough sleeping this winter', *Scottish Government Press Release*, 28th November; https://news.gov.scot/news/tackling-rough-sleeping-this-winter

[7] Scottish Government (2018) 'Action to end rough sleeping' *Scottish Government Press Release*, 7th March: https://news.gov.scot/news/action-to-end-rough-sleeping

First for those sleeping rough with multiple and complex needs; and putting in place protections for people sleeping rough without recourse to public funds[8].

Turning to the third question of how to transform TA in Scotland, HARSAG noted the wide variation in the rules applied, as well as the quality, nature and average length of stay, in TA across Scotland, and identified a need to better understand the status quo to inform recommendations for change. On behalf of HARSAG, Social Bite (an Edinburgh-based social enterprise with a mission to end homelessness in Scotland, whose co-founder Josh Littlejohn is a member of HARSAG) commissioned Heriot-Watt University's Institute for Social Policy, Housing and Equalities Research (I-SPHERE) to conduct research mapping the current landscape, with a view to enabling an assessment of the nature of the transformation to TA in Scotland now required.

The overall aim of the study is to provide a comprehensive analysis of the current situation, including key stakeholder and TA resident perspectives, to inform future policy development. This interim report details emerging findings from the initial stages of the study, these being: a review of existing research and literature; qualitative interview with 16 expert key informants; and analysis of national statistics on TA type and usage.

Research aims and questions

More specifically, this study aims to provide a detailed understanding of the nature, purpose and use of TA across Scotland, by exploring the following six research questions:

1. How is TA currently **defined** in Scotland? How ought it to be defined? What is the relationship/overlap with definitions of supported accommodation (SA)?
2. What is the intended **purpose/function** of TA? How has this changed over time and why? What role, if any, have Housing Benefit (HB) and other aspects of funding arrangements had on how its use and purpose has evolved?
3. What **types** of TA are currently used in Scotland? Has this evolved over time? Does the profile of TA vary between local authorities (LA)? What accounts for this variation? How does this variation impact on management/homelessness challenges at local level?
4. What is known about the **quality and appropriateness** of TA in Scotland? Does this vary between LA areas/by homeless groups?
5. What is known about the **costs** of TA, and variations in this across Scotland?
6. What is the **experience**, at individual household level, in terms of length and patterns of use of TA? Can we discern anything about impacts of TA on residents and their levels of satisfaction?

The study will also consider the following seventh research question, explicitly aiming to inform the ongoing work of HARSAG and Scottish Government in this area:

7. What should the **future** shape, nature and function of TA be in Scotland?

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[8] See footnote 5.

This rapid turnaround interim report conducted in March/April 2018 offers preliminary findings in relation to questions 1-5. Question 6 is partially addressed via statistical data on length of stay, but will primarily to be explored in the next stage of the study. Initial reflections on question 7 are also offered, with a view to the further development and specification of recommendations in the study's final report.

Research approach

In order to answer these research questions, four strands of research will be utilised.

First, a desk-based rapid review of relevant policy documents, research papers and reports, and academic literature on TA in Scotland was undertaken. This focussed on the post-2000 period and evidence specific to Scotland, given the unique institutional and legal context for TA provision.

Second, a series of key informant interviews were undertaken with 16 stakeholders expert in homelessness and TA by phone in March 2018. Participants were purposively sampled to ensure diversity of geographic and sector experience, and included individuals working in LA housing/homelessness teams (6), in the third sector (4), as independent housing/homelessness experts (3), as local government representatives (2) and in central government (1). Interviews covered participants' views on the: *definition/purpose* of TA in Scotland; the *types, quality and costs* of current TA use across the country and drivers of variation between LA areas; and what the *future* of TA should look like in Scotland and how this vision can be achieved in practice. Interviews were recorded with participants' permission, transcribed verbatim by a professional transcription company, and coded in Nvivo 11 to identify key themes and aid data analysis/write up.

Third, a series of official administrative data sets on TA were explored and analysed, these being:

- HL1 data on the outcomes of homelessness applications to explore TA use as a proportion of all assessments and to examine outcomes;
- HL2 data on longer-term annual trends (annual snap-shot from 2002) in TA use by accommodation type;
- HL3 placement-level data on the households in each type of TA, either at a snapshot date or during each quarter, including length of time spent in TA and household characteristics (age, gender, reasons for homelessness etc.).

The last of these, HL3, is a new (from April 2016), and as of yet, unpublished set of data. HL3 data collects quarterly information to allow exploration of trends and also to look at the experiences of different types of households. The HL3 data presented in this report is based on provisional analysis of the dataset, which is still undergoing verification checks. HL3 data reported here should thus be considered provisional estimates only. Not all local authorities have yet been able to provide a fully complete and usable set of data, and therefore the Scotland figures will not necessarily be an accurate representation of national totals. Data validation is still being undertaken with five of the 32 LAs (Perth and Kinross, Highland, Orkney, Midlothian, East Renfrewshire) due to a mismatch between the HL1 and HL3. LA-level analysis thus excludes these LAs. The HL3 data is household-level data, so its use raises issues of data protection and disclosure. For this reason, data was provided to I-SPHERE in the form of aggregated LA-level data tables collated by Scottish Government analysts.

Data is also presented from the Annual Return on the Charter (ARC). Each year, Housing Associations[9] (HAs) and LAs produce data for the Scottish Housing Regulator as part of the ARC, which includes performance information about various aspects of housing management, including lettings and TA (average time in each type, refusals and satisfaction). This data allows us to look at the wider context of performance on TA, by local authority.

ARC data is presented at the level of each individual landlord, with information about TA for every local authority. Although there is not an LA identifier within the ARC dataset, it is possible to assign each HA a local authority, based on the main LA of operation identified in the 2012-2013 Annual Performance Statistical Return, which was reported before the first Scottish Social Housing Charter ARC data was collected in 2013-2014. There are a number of 'National Operators' that are not included in the LA-level analysis.

Finally, Scotland's Housing Network (SHN) have provided housing cost information for their LA members who provided data over the most recent three-year period (2014-15, 2015-16 and 2016-2017). SHN is a consortium of LA and HA landlords working together to drive up performance and deliver quality services by means of benchmarking, self-assessment and practice exchange. The SHN data covers 24 out of the 30 LA members of the Network, with 12 providing data over 3 years, 8 over 2 years and 4 over one year. The incomplete nature of the data means results need to be interpreted with caution.

This report details the preliminary findings from these three strands of research. A fourth and final local case study strand of research will commence in April 2018. This case study research phase will involve (a) examining local statistics (b) interviews with key statutory and voluntary sector staff and (c) interviews with TA residents in six purposively selected LA areas. This interim report provides the rationale for case study selection, identifying 6 first and second choice LAs for participation in the final phase.

Report structure

Initial findings from the first three strands of research described above are presented in this report across the following seven chapters. Chapter 2 considers definitions of TA, the scale of and trends in TA use, and the purpose and function of TA in Scotland. Chapter 3 describes the types of TA currently used in Scotland, how this has changed over time, how it varies between LAs, and what the drivers of this variation are. Chapter 4 examines the quality and appropriateness of TA in Scotland, and how these aspects of TA provision vary by LA area, TA type and homeless subgroup. Chapter 5 focuses on the costs of TA and Chapter 6 on people's experiences of living in TA, focusing primarily on length of stay. Chapter 7 considers the future of TA in Scotland, primarily drawing on key informant views regarding what TA provision should look like in the future and how that vision can be achieved. Chapter 8 concludes the report by drawing out emerging findings and conclusions, and describing the next stages of the study.

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[9] Or 'Registered Social Landlords' (RSL).

2. The current role of temporary accommodation

This chapter considers definitions of TA, the scale of and trends in TA use across Scotland and at the local level, and key informant views on the intended purpose of TA, and the actual role it now plays.

Definitions of temporary accommodation

Scottish homelessness legislation places a duty on LAs to offer specific forms of assistance to those at risk of or experiencing homelessness, including advice and assistance, temporary accommodation and settled rehousing. TA refers to any accommodation used between the point that an individual makes a homelessness application to a LA and the point at which the LA discharges their duty to that applicant. This TA duty covers applicants: who the authority has reason to believe are homeless while a decision on their application is being reached; awaiting discharge of duty following their application; being referred to another authority under local connection rules while that referral outcome is being decided; and found intentionally homeless and being accommodated for a period allowing them a 'reasonable opportunity' to find their own accommodation.

Understood in this way, TA can be distinguished from a number of related and overlapping, but distinct, concepts and accommodation types.

First, under current **interim** or **non-permanent accommodation** regulations[10], LAs may provide an applicant with accommodation that isn't permanent/settled, where that applicant is assessed as having housing support needs meaning that such accommodation is inappropriate. In these cases, a support plan is required, and the applicants' circumstances later reviewed (according to an agreed timeline) to assess their current needs and consider whether settled accommodation is appropriate[11]. Such cases could either be recorded by LAs as a discharge of duty, or remain an 'open case' until settled accommodation is secured. *In neither case are stays in such interim accommodation likely to be classified as TA and appear in the HL2 and HL3 data on TA use* used throughout this report, but LA recording practices – and how these regulations are used in practice – will be explored at the next case study phase of this study.

Second, while there are complex overlaps between temporary and **supported accommodation** these categories are conceptually quite distinct, with TA offering accommodation on a short-term or time-limited basis and supported accommodation offering various forms of support. Some TA is 'supported' and some is 'unsupported'. Likewise, some settled housing is 'supported' and some is 'unsupported'. The share of TA which is also supported accommodation can be provided by a LA, HA, charity or voluntary organisation and will involve the provision of care, support and/or supervision to those residing in it. Most such SA will be funded under specified/exempt Housing Benefit rules[12]

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[10] Originally *The Homeless Person Interim Accommodation (Scotland) Regulations 2002,* subsequently revoked/replaced by *The Homeless Persons (Provision of Non-permanent Accommodation) (Scotland) Regulations 2010*.

[11] Scottish Executive (2005) *Code of Guidance on Homelessness*. Edinburgh: Scottish Executive. https://beta.gov.scot/publications/code-guidance-homelessness/

[12] DWP (2014) *Housing Benefit Circular A8/2014*. https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/555002/a8-2014.pdf

(unlike other forms of TA which are funded differently, see Chapter 5). These forms of accommodation may cater to specific groups, e.g. victims/survivors of domestic violence and abuse (women's refuges), young people or those with complex needs. The larger share of TA that is self-contained LA, HA, private sector leased (PSL) or Bed and Breakfast (B&B) accommodation will not be classed/funded as SA, though floating support may be provided to those residing in it, depending on local practice. Hostels may or may not be classed and funded as SA, depending on how hostels are set up and run (namely, the level of support provided). Most short-term SA in Scotland will be TA and accommodating those owed a rehousing duty under homelessness legislation by the LA, or being accommodated under *Interim Accommodation Regulations*. One exception to this will be young people leaving care, who may access SA via Throughcare and Aftercare provisions. The extent and nature of the overlap between SA and TA will likely vary depending on local context, according in particular to the level of need in the area, the proportion of hostel accommodation in use, and the proportion of that hostel accommodation classified and funded as SA rather than 'regular TA'. This will be considered in more detail in the next phase of the study.

Third, **emergency accommodation** could be considered a sub-type of TA. In a 2014 report modelling TA costs, Hunter and Lindsay[13] sought to define TA via a three-way distinction (see also Chapter 3). They take *emergency access* accommodation to refer to TA that is staffed and accessible 24/7, includes some element of support, is short-term and *"clustered 'project style' accommodation"*[14] and may include shared facilities. They take *general TA* to refer to self-contained, sole-household occupancy accommodation, which may be furnished or unfurnished, and is situated across an LA area. They characterise *supported accommodation* as having planned entry, 24/7 staffing/intensive on-site support, medium-term stays, and possibly shared facilities. The authors note that while these categories *"were not at first recognised by all survey respondents… in all cases the accommodation descriptors provided by respondents were able to be fitted into one of the three definitions… suggest[ing] that a set of common definitions could reasonably be applied in Scotland"*[15]. They also note, however, that B&B accommodation and refuges do not fall neatly within this typology.

Scale and trends

While the numbers of households assessed as homeless or threatened with homelessness and owed a duty under homelessness legislation has decreased substantially since 2009/10[16], the number of households in TA has increased substantially. As shown in Table 1, the numbers in TA have more than doubled since 2003, from 5,403 households at the end of March 2003 to 10,873 in March 2017. Looking at the change between 2003 and 2010, and then 2010 to 2017, we see that the greatest overall growth occurred between 2003 and 2010, with more than half of LAs seeing a reduction in the numbers in TA since then.

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[13] Hunter, J. and Lindsay, T. (2014) *Temporary Accommodation Modelling Review 2014*.
http://www.welfarereformscotland.co.uk/downloads/Temporary_Accommodation_cost_modelling_report_June14.pdf
[14] Ibid, p.3.
[15] Ibid p.2.
[16] Littlewood, M., Bramley, G. Fitzpatrick, S. and Wood, J. (2017) *Eradicating 'Core Homelessness' in Scotland's Four Largest Cities: Providing an Evidence Base and Guiding a Funding Framework.* Edinburgh: Social Bite.

Table 1: Numbers of households in TA, (31ˢᵗ March) and % change 2003-10 and 2010-17

	2003	2010	2017	2003-2010	2010-2017
Scotland	**5,403**	**10,729**	**10,873**	**99%**	**1%**
Aberdeen City	80	313	447	291%	43%
Aberdeenshire	101	433	367	329%	-15%
Angus	43	134	132	212%	-1%
Argyll & Bute	118	180	116	53%	-36%
Clackmannanshire	72	89	101	24%	13%
Dumfries & Galloway	154	307	199	99%	-35%
Dundee City	131	176	252	34%	43%
East Ayrshire	44	93	73	111%	-22%
East Dunbartonshire	84	179	210	113%	17%
East Lothian	86	272	440	216%	62%
East Renfrewshire	18	39	55	117%	41%
Edinburgh	397	661	1,246	66%	89%
Eilean Siar	15	66	65	340%	-2%
Falkirk	149	312	195	109%	-38%
Fife	282	483	515	71%	7%
Glasgow City	1,725	2,214	2,071	28%	-6%
Highland	145	697	658	381%	-6%
Inverclyde	80	102	46	28%	-55%
Midlothian	84	464	467	452%	1%
Moray	36	242	165	572%	-32%
North Ayrshire	117	219	214	87%	-2%
North Lanarkshire	290	503	570	73%	13%
Orkney	35	41	37	17%	-10%
Perth & Kinross	52	322	118	519%	-63%
Renfrewshire	143	208	197	45%	-5%
Scottish Borders	6	86	87	1333%	1%
Shetland	69	75	119	9%	59%
South Ayrshire	122	266	191	118%	-28%
South Lanarkshire	316	592	651	87%	10%
Stirling	88	300	208	241%	-31%
West Dunbartonshire	112	276	248	146%	-10%
West Lothian	209	385	413	84%	7%

Source: HL2 dataset as at 6 March 2017

In explaining this pattern over the last 15 years, key informants pointed to the balance between increasing entitlements under the homelessness legislation and challenges moving households out of TA and into settled housing:

"when priority need changed, we increased our units of temporary accommodation because more people were coming through the homeless system. So we were just gathering more and more units of temporary accommodation and it was kind of like a sausage factory. We're putting loads of people into temporary accommodation but nothing was coming out at the end." (LA senior manager 4)

"the abolition of priority need… we've obviously extended the level of assistance and access to temporary accommodation to people without providing more homes for those people to live in… I think if you look at the statistics there's probably some rises

in presentations in the last few years, but it's not like it was ten years ago in terms of numbers. It's more that people aren't moving on quick enough. A nation of people that are sitting in temporary accommodation for years, I don't think that's at all a good thing." (Third sector representative 2)

"we have much more extensive duties to provide temporary accommodation than we had before… [and] the number of people that we have a duty to permanently re-house has gone up as well. I think it's a long-term balancing act. When our duties increased, most local authorities found themselves significantly increasing the proportion of their mainstream stock, stock that they allocated to their homelessness… Obviously, if you're doing that, the proportion of properties available for the waiting list and the transfer list are much lower. Your ability then to move people on quickly is an issue… our big problem is backlog." (LA senior manager 1)

Beneath these national trends, there is considerable variation in the scale of and trends in TA in different LAs. As expected, given the relative household population size, the highest absolute numbers of TA residents are in Glasgow City: 2,071 households at March 2017, lower than the number in 2010 (2,214) and 0.7% of the household population. The City of Edinburgh has the next highest pool of TA residents, at 1,246 in 2017 (0.5% of the household population), an 89% increase since 2010.

Some local authorities have seen continuing substantial growth in TA use from 2003 onwards. These **pressured areas** include Edinburgh (up 66% to 2010 then 89% between 2010 and 2017), East Lothian (up 216% then 62%), Shetland (up 9% then 59%), Dundee (up 34% then 43%), Aberdeen (up 291% then 43%), and East Renfrewshire (up 117% then 41%). In Shetland, the numbers involved are considerably smaller (starting at 69 in 2003 and rising to 119 in 2017) but the growth pattern similar.

Many local authorities saw a very significant increase in TA occupancy between 2003 and 2010, but have since seen TA numbers stabilise or reduce. Glasgow falls into this category having seen a 28% increase in TA use from 2003-2010, followed by a 6% reduction since then. This category also includes a number of **rural recovery** authorities: the Scottish Borders (up 1333% then just 1%, but note low overall numbers), Moray (up 572% then down 32%), Perth and Kinross (up 519% then down 63%), Midlothian (up 452% then down 1%), Aberdeenshire (up 329% then down 15%), and Stirling (up 241% then down 10%).

A third group of local authorities saw substantial growth in TA numbers between 2003 and 2010 and have seen sustained but more modest recent growth. These patterns of **sustained use** characterise a number of urban/mixed commuter belt authorities, including East Dunbartonshire (up 113% then up 17%), South Lanarkshire (up 87% then up 10%), North Lanarkshire (up 73% then up 13%), West Lothian (up 84% then up 7%), and Fife (up 71% then up 7%).

The next case study phase of the research will provide an opportunity to further explore these varying local patterns.

The purpose of temporary accommodation

To get under the surface of these headline figures and trends and provide the context for the rest of the study, participating key informants were asked to describe what they saw as the *purpose* of TA in Scotland. Overall, participants described TA playing four distinct – albeit sometimes overlapping – functions, with some of these identified roles very close to, and some extending beyond, the 'narrow' role prescribed by the legal framework.

A primary and central role identified by key informants was to provide *immediate emergency accommodation 'that day' where an applicant has nowhere else to go*:

> "it's immediate access, and then to do the processing assessment, and then awaiting the settled accommodation…. I think currently its function is to try to make sure that people are not, we know they are, but are not turned away from local authorities without accommodation if they are in need of it. So that's its ultimate purpose… to provide that safety net provision whilst an assessment's happening and all the rest of it." (Statutory sector key informant)

As this contribution also indicates, there were concerns that in some isolated cases, this fundamental purpose was not being realised. Such concerns about applicants being unable to access their statutory entitlement to TA were most recently raised in the Local Government and Communities Committee's Report on Homelessness[17].

The contribution above also points to a second core function of TA: to provide applicants with *a place to stay while a decision is made on their application and a settled accommodation option found*:

> "I think the purpose of temporary accommodation is very simple. It's somewhere for somebody to stay until we can conclude a statutory responsibility, so, until such times as they get a permanent tenancy… looking at it in a very linear way, people should only be in temporary accommodation for as long as it takes the waiting list to generate an offer, so, that should be completely driven by the waiting times within a local authority." (LA senior manager 5)

> "I think the purpose is just as it sounds: it's temporary. It's meant to be for a temporary period until you get settled accommodation, meaning that you've been accepted as homeless." (Independent housing/homelessness expert 1)

Reflecting on this role, participants referred to TA as a 'waiting spot' or 'holding pen'. One key informant explicitly described TA's *"principal purpose"* as *"part of managing the rationing system"* (Local government representative 1) for social housing, i.e. balancing the needs of homeless applicants against others on the housing waiting list. There was a consensus that the preferred vision of TA as 'temporary' was difficult to achieve given challenges accessing available settled accommodation (see Chapter 6):

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[17] Scottish Parliament Local Government and Communities Committee (2018) *Report on Homelessness, SP Paper 279*. http://www.parliament.scot/parliamentarybusiness/CurrentCommittees/103620.aspx

"temporary accommodation in our area is used simply because we do not have the ability to directly allocate or let to permanent tenancies, and that's all down to a lack of supply… in an ideal situation someone gets their homeless interview, they get a decision within 28 days, and you should, where possible, be placing that person - fulfilling your duty to that person as quickly as possible and into permanent accommodation. However, given the pressures on availability of accommodation, it just is impossible to do where we are." (LA senior manager 6)

"Well, I think really the role it's intended to play is that it's where somebody will stay until you could meet your duty to provide them with settled accommodation. Ideally it would be short, sharp, sweet and limited. That's not how it is in practice, but ideally that's it." (LA senior manager 1)

"We have got some local authorities who are coping with such an innate shortage of affordable housing, temporary accommodation is literally about fulfilling accommodation needs until resettlement can be enabled. That's very much I suppose made more complicated by the fact that the supply of the affordable housing that's available is so restricted and turnover's so limited." (Independent housing/homelessness expert 2)

Some participants emphasised a third, albeit related, role of TA in enabling those experiencing homelessness a level of *choice* in accessing settled accommodation that met their specific preferences and needs:

"we just don't have the type of housing they require right at that immediate time, and therefore we do need to provide temporary accommodation to allow us to find and source appropriate permanent housing for them… there's no point putting people in permanent accommodation if it's not in the right area, if it's not where their networks are, and sometimes we need a bit of time in terms of finding that solution, so that's what we see temporary accommodation [as], it's temporary, it's short-term to allow that person either to get the right support in place or to find the most appropriate housing solution for them." (LA senior manager 4)

TA was also seen as providing the space individuals need to decide what their housing preferences and needs are: *"there are some people who would just benefit from being in temporary accommodation for a period of time, until they get their head round about where they want to go"* (LA senior manager 5).

Fourth and finally, a separate range of roles were seen to be played by TA *for those with support needs* identified at the point of a homeless application. While some applicants are deemed suitable for 'regular' TA either in dispersed accommodation, B&B hotels or hostels, others are assessed as in need of supported accommodation and referred to such provision:

"after assessment, quite often a decision would be made if someone would benefit from a stay in supported accommodation, rather than simply the very lightly supported [temporary] accommodation, if you like, in communities." (Local government representative 2)

"there's also… short-term supported accommodation, and that is about giving someone hopefully again an environment that helps them move on so that they get to a place or their skills to a place where they can move on to independent living." (LA senior manager 3)

It was clear, however, that this 'supportive role' was not always seen to be achieved in practice, with key informants highlighting that 'regular' TA (with lower or no support attached) is sometimes used in cases where it is not the most appropriate option, because it is all that's available:

"We have other local authorities where temporary accommodation is almost being used as a bit of a default for supported accommodation. For those clients who are either very vulnerable or either very chaotic and who potentially wouldn't have the skills or capacity to be able to sustain settled accommodation… In the absence of any supported accommodation, which potentially could be the right form of accommodation for those individuals, temporary accommodation's being utilised almost as a proxy for supported… we've got one local authority who I think feel that temporary accommodation is sometimes used almost by individuals as respite. It enables them to I suppose escape the complex or the complicated lives that they're living or experiencing. On that basis, the revolving-door scenarios in relation to temporary accommodation can often be utilised on that basis by colleagues in criminal justice or social work, the police." (Independent housing/homelessness expert 2)

Overall then, key informants identified at least four roles of TA: providing immediate emergency accommodation where an applicant has nowhere else to stay; providing a place to stay while a decision is made on someone's application and a settled accommodation option found; enabling those experiencing homelessness a level of choice in accessing settled accommodation that met their specific preferences and needs; and providing accommodation and support for those who need it. Participants emphasised that the purpose TA serves varies by local context, in particular in relation to housing market and supply pressures:

"the really important point that needs to be made is the real diversity of issues being faced by individual local authorities at a local level. The fact is, temporary accommodation performs a different purpose across the country depending on its context… There's a whole variety of reasons that explain the purpose of temporary accommodation. I think it's really difficult to nail that down at a strategic or a national level, and I suppose I would really hope that any kind of analysis into function; make sure that there's flexibility to be able to accommodate that." (Independent housing/homelessness expert 2)

As seen above, in discussing TA's intended role, sector experts immediately highlighted the current challenges faced in meeting them. A number of participants went further, suggesting that TA in Scotland has *"almost got a logic of its own now"* (Third sector representative 2) or has become *"an industry in its own right really which it should never have been"* (LA senior manager 1), suggesting a growing gap between its intended and actual function. That TA can in certain areas and for certain applicants play a role entirely contrary to its intended function was emphasised by these participants:

"where we've got the logjam it is those parts of [the LA area] where there is a lack of supply… people are staying far too long in situations which are insecure where they can't settle - fully settle and in some of our types of accommodation where it's not a good positive environment for them to be at all. So I think - yes, I think it [TA] can create its own difficulties and challenges." (LA senior manager 3)

"I think that allocating the temporary accommodation properly to the people who need it on the day is becoming increasingly difficult because of the pressures on temporary accommodation… the idea that it's somewhere that someone can settle until they get permanent housing… it isn't often settled because people are moving about or were being given unsuitable types of accommodation for them and that they're waiting such long periods of time that they might develop needs they didn't have when they went in it." (Third sector representative 2)

Issues related to the quality and appropriateness of TA, including available support, are discussed further in Chapter 4. To set the scene for that discussion, the next chapter focuses on the types of TA currently used in Scotland.

Summary

Scotland's homelessness legislation and Code of Guidance provide the starting point for defining TA, which can be understood – in short – as the accommodation provided by LAs while their 'settled rehousing' duties are decided and fulfilled. There is a substantial overlap between TA and SA in Scotland, with the exact contours of this overlap likely to vary depending on local context, though it is important to remember that supported accommodation and temporary accommodation are conceptual distinct and serve different functions.

Recent trends in TA reveal a sector responding to the removal of priority need in 2012 by hugely increasing the amount of TA available. Although more recent experience shows some stabilisation in TA numbers, there is significant variation in trends by local authority, and some areas of very high pressure remain. This is likely to impact on the types of TA used and the lengths of stay in TA (issues explored later in this report), and (according to key informants) means that people are sometimes offered TA according to what is available, rather than the TA that would best suit their needs.

Sector experts see TA as playing four main roles: to avert **immediate crisis**; to provide **a place to stay** while a decision is made regarding an application or while awaiting a more settled accommodation option; to **enable choice** so that homeless applicants might find the most suitable housing options; and to **offer accommodation combined with additional support** for those with support needs. LAs face challenges managing TA in a way that fulfils these purposes, meaning that TA can fail to operate as a genuinely 'temporary' crisis response option and people accessing TA do not always have to the support they need.

3. Types of temporary accommodation

This chapter uses available data to explore the current use of different types of TA in Scotland, and trends in the types of TA used at year-end (i.e. looking at snap-shot data over time). Particular attention is paid to both longer-run and more recent trends in hostel and B&B accommodation. Qualitative data from key informant interviews is used to explore the drivers of variation between LAs in TA use, prompting an exploration of data on the availability of social rented sector accommodation to homeless households.

Snapshot of current temporary accommodation use

The most common type of TA currently in use is LA furnished temporary accommodation[18] (see Figure 1 and Table 2), followed by (mainstream) HA properties. In March 2017, these largely mainstream forms of provision accounted for almost 6,500 places or 60% of TA.

Around 1,200 households were in 'Other' forms of TA in March 2017, the third most common type of TA, while slightly lower numbers were accommodated in B&B (1,113) and 'Other Hostel' (1,000) accommodation, with a further 738 accommodated in LA Hostels. As such, if you combine LA and Other Hostel, this becomes the third most commonly used TA type in 2017.

Much smaller numbers are accommodated in 'Local Authority Other' (179), which covers any accommodation owned by the local authority but not supplied with furniture and excludes hostels and Women's Refuges (147).

The description of types of TA is somewhat complex and worth some closer consideration. According to the HL2 Guidance, the 'Other' category denotes "*all other accommodation **not owned by the local authority**, such as mobile homes or caravans. This category also includes property leased by the local authority from other providers such as housing associations or private landlords*"[19]. This 'Other' category is thus difficult to unpack, and covers various types of provision, albeit with housing association and private rented sector (PRS) leased accommodation likely to dominate in numerical terms. This also means that HA provision could legitimately be included as 'Housing Association' or 'Other' stock depending on whether leased or not.

'Housing Association' stock covers any accommodation **owned** by a housing association but excluding hostels. The category does not mention whether furnished or unfurnished. As properties *leased* from HAs are included in the 'Other' category (see above), using the 'Housing Association' category is likely to denote TA where the property is not leased by the LA, but where referrals are made.

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[18] Scottish Government (2015) *Guidance on the Monitoring of Temporary Accommodation.*
http://www.gov.scot/Topics/Statistics/15257/1529/HL3/SGTemporaryAcommodationCategories
[19] p.5 in ibid.

LA or other hostels are described as accommodation that "*provides care, support or supervision with a view to assisting those persons to be rehabilitated or resettled within the community*"[20]. The level of support is not detailed, however, and is likely to vary.

Revisions to TA categories in the future could aid better understanding of the nature of provision, in particular, disambiguation of the 'Other' category (HA, versus PRS, versus caravans/mobile home accommodation). Means of accounting for the varying levels of support provided in different forms of TA might also by considered. Moreover, it should be noted that TA residents may be less concerned with the ownership of TA, than with its form, location, cost and quality – themes which will be explored in the case study phased of this research.

Trends in temporary accommodation use

Figure 1 shows trends across the four main types of TA since 2004/05, with mainstream LA/HA stock use showing a significant increase, B&B use reducing and an increase in hostels and 'Other' types of TA (described in more detail below).

Figure 1: Homeless households in TA – snapshot total at financial year end
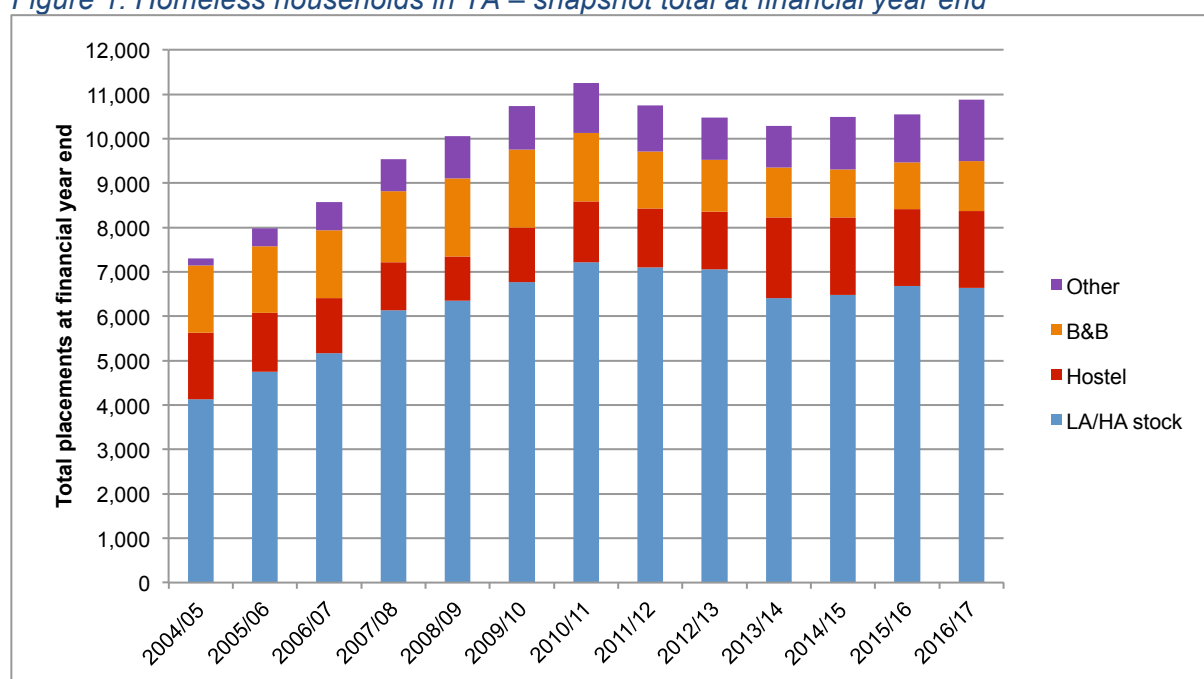
Source: Homelessness in Scotland: Annual Publication 2016-17

Table 2 shows the change in the proportion of different types of TA used across Scotland between March 2003 and 2017 in more detail.

LA furnished accommodation has **consistently been the most used form of TA** over this period, albeit that it has fallen as a proportion of the TA in use from just over 50% in 2003 to just over 40% in 2010 and 2017. **Housing associations have become key providers of TA** since 2006, since which time it has remained the second most common type of TA in

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[20] p.4 ibid.

use. Note, however, that this TA is heavily concentrated in the stock transfer authorities (see Figure 2 below).

Table 2: % change in the numbers in different types of TA, 2003-2017

Type - Scotland	2003	2010	2003-2010	2017	2010-2017
Local Authority Furnished	2,823	4,422	57%	4,526	2%
Housing Association*	0	2,028	37%	1,932	-5%
Other	141	823	484%	1,238	50%
Bed and Breakfast	898	1,765	97%	1,113	-37%
Other Hostel	267	560	110%	1,000	79%
Local Authority Hostel	1,113	657	-41%	738	12%
Local Authority Other	161	325	102%	179	-45%
Women's Refuge*	0	149	31%	147	-1%
Total	5,403	10,729	99%	10,873	1%

Source: HL2 dataset as at 6 March 2017. Note: * Housing Association and women's refuge change is from 2006-2010 as these categories had zero reported cases in 2003.

From 2003-10, B&B accommodation was the second most commonly used type of TA, with the numbers accommodated in this form of accommodation **almost doubling** from 2003 to 2010. Since that time, **B&B usage has fallen back by 37%** at the national level, albeit that there has been a more recent upswing. These trends are driven by the subset of LAs who use B&B, and in particular some very high use authorities (Edinburgh and Highland).

Combined, **hostel use has increased 43%** since 2010, though there has been a shift in provision. LA hostel accommodation fell by 41% between 2003 and 2010. Though the number of households accommodated in LA hostels has increased by 12% in the more recent 2010-17 period, 'Other Hostel' use has seen a sustained increase from less than 300 in 2003 to 1,000 in 2017.

The use of 'Other' accommodation (including property *leased* by the LA from other providers such as HAs or private landlords[21], as well as mobile homes and caravans) has seen rapid and sustained growth since 2003, with the number of households accommodated in this form of accommodation up five fold during the 2003-2010 period and increasing a further 50% since then.

The biggest proportionate growth in TA use between 2003 and 2010, as Scotland approached 2012 and the end of priority need, was in 'Other' types of accommodation, other LA accommodation, other hostels and B&Bs, with LA hostels the only type of TA to see decreased usage. The significant increase in the use of 'Other' accommodation during this period is at least partly due to stock transfer in six LA areas.

In the more recent period (2010-2017) the biggest growth in TA use has been in 'Other' hostels (up 79%) and 'Other' types of TA (up 50%), with more modest growth (12%) in LA hostel use. Use of LA furnished accommodation and women's refuge has remained broadly

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[21] Private sector leasing is included as 'other' in the HL2 Return but has its own separate category in the HL3.

stable, with a small decline in the use of HA accommodation and a significant shift away from 'Other' LA accommodation (down 45%) and B&B accommodation (down 37%).

While ordinary LA and HA dwellings remain by far the most important part of the TA picture, changing patterns of use indicate an overall trend towards less use of B&B alongside more use of hostels, and a shift from LA 'Other' to commissioned 'Other' accommodation.

Local case study data analysis, informed by the data collected in the 'rapid rehousing' surveys[22], will provide a more detailed picture of the types of provision, separating out the provider and the type/nature of provision more.

Those not in temporary accommodation who are entitled to it

Not all households accepted as statutorily homeless and entitled to TA will receive or take up an offer of TA. Table 3 shows the proportion of households who are entitled to TA, but do not access the TA offered to them (or receive no offer). Around 1 in 10 households entitled for TA are not offered or do not take up an offer of TA, though figures vary across time and LAs. Higher proportions of those entitled to TA that do not receive or take up an offer are evident in East Dunbartonshire, Fife, Clackmannanshire and North Lanarkshire. Glasgow figures for offers are also higher than average but are undergoing further review.

This means that there is more pressure on permanent social housing lettings from statutorily homeless households than indicated by the numbers of households in TA.

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[22] Being conducted by Anna Evans in a parallel piece of work.

Table 3: Numbers of unique households presenting in each quarter entitled to TA but who do not receive/take up an offer, by LA

	2016Q3	2016Q4	2017Q1	2017Q2	2017Q3
Scotland	9%	10%	10%	11%	10%
Aberdeen City	6%	8%	14%	17%	14%
Aberdeenshire	14%	19%	23%	16%	13%
Angus	4%	1%	3%	3%	3%
Argyll & Bute	2%	5%	6%	4%	5%
Clackmannanshire	8%	12%	9%	**24%**	**27%**
Dumfries & Galloway	7%	10%	5%	4%	8%
Dundee City	16%	12%	17%	15%	14%
East Ayrshire	19%	18%	23%	23%	19%
East Dunbartonshire	**35%**	**29%**	**32%**	**39%**	**39%**
East Lothian	1%	5%	3%	0%	3%
East Renfrewshire	-	-	-	-	-
Edinburgh	7%	6%	7%	6%	6%
Eilean Siar	0%	0%	9%	5%	15%
Falkirk	12%	9%	7%	12%	6%
Fife	**27%**	**25%**	18%	20%	17%
Glasgow City*	-	-	-	-	-
Highland	-	-	-	-	-
Inverclyde	0%	5%	7%	0%	0%
Midlothian	-	-	-	-	-
Moray	7%	14%	9%	9%	12%
North Ayrshire	7%	2%	5%	14%	11%
North Lanarkshire	13%	12%	13%	**19%**	**22%**
Orkney	-	-	-	-	-
Perth & Kinross	-	-	-	-	-
Renfrewshire	3%	0%	3%	3%	1%
Scottish Borders	16%	14%	14%	12%	3%
Shetland	0%	3%	0%	4%	0%
South Ayrshire	5%	8%	4%	9%	5%
South Lanarkshire	11%	12%	11%	10%	13%
Stirling	4%	8%	9%	8%	10%
West Dunbartonshire	5%	7%	7%	7%	6%
West Lothian	4%	4%	6%	7%	8%

Source: HL3 dataset – refusals and no offer made combined. Numbers provisional due to ongoing data validation. * Glasgow City data on offers still under review so has been excluded in these calculations. Data for Perth and Kinross, Highland, Orkney, Midlothian and East Renfrewshire is also subject to review so not shown (though is in the overall provisional estimate).

Type of temporary accommodation provision by local authority

Figure 2 below shows the variation in the current profile of TA use by local authority. In most LAs (22 of the 32) the largest block of provision is in the 'Local Authority Furnished' accommodation, which accounted for 42% of TA places occupied in March 2017 nationally. Beyond this predominant finding, the data reveal the highly differentiated make-up of TA stock across Scotland.

Figure 2: Type of TA used, March 2017, by LA
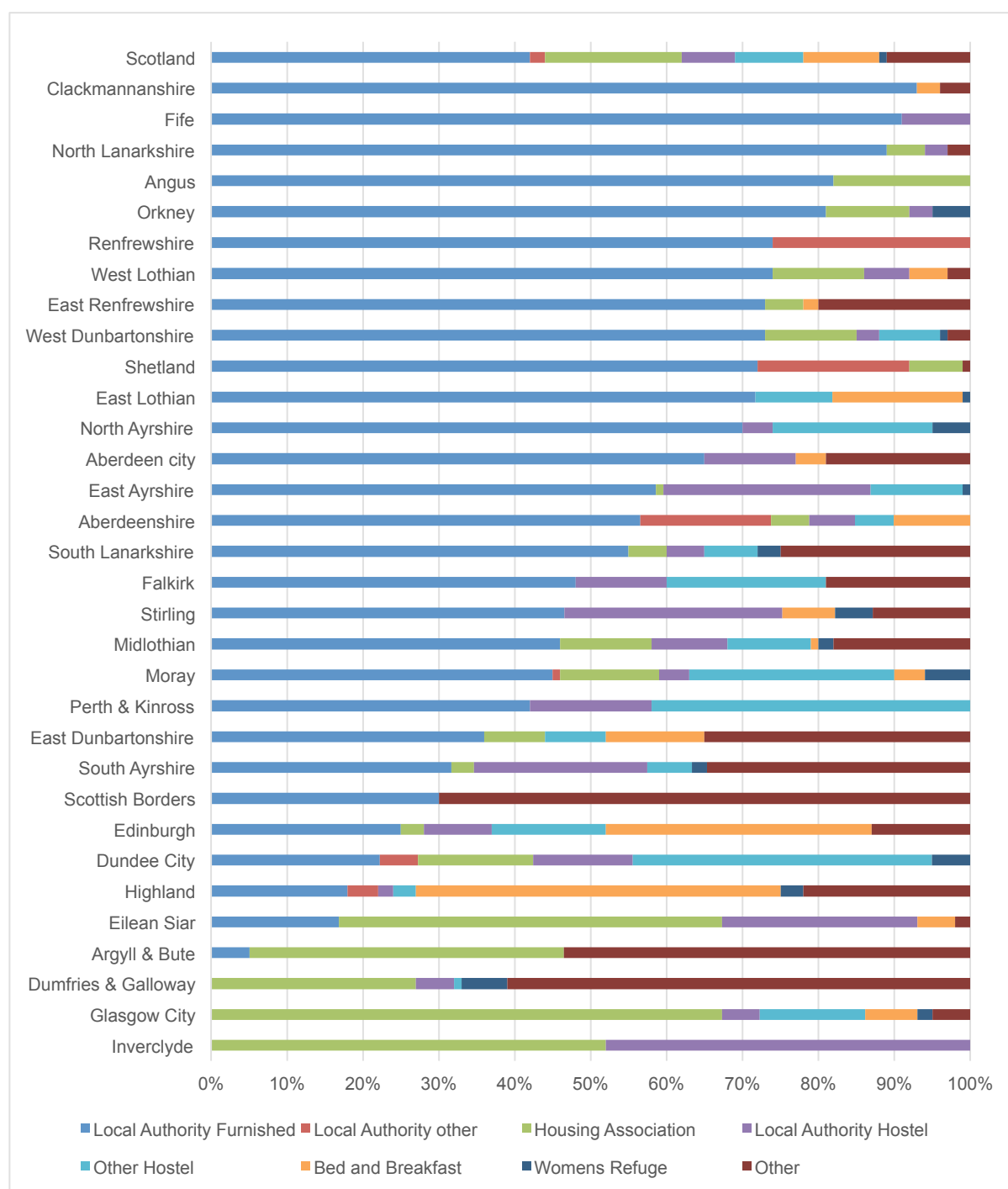
Source: HL2 dataset as at 6 March 2017

As expected, most of the stock transfer authorities rely more on HA stock than LA provision, with the exception of the Scottish Borders, where provision is split between LA furnished tenancies and 'Other' provision. 'Other' provision is also commonly used in Argyll and Bute and Dumfries and Galloway – two other stock transfer LAs. As outlined above, the 'Other' category includes properties leased from HAs, which is likely to be a common arrangement for stock transfer LAs.

B&B use accounted for 10% of TA in March 2017, but varied significantly in prevalence, with more than half of local authorities (18 of 32) using no B&B at all, but 48% of TA occupants in Highland and 35% in Edinburgh in March 2017 being in B&Bs. East Lothian and East Dunbartonshire also accommodated an above average proportion of TA occupants in B&B, at 17% and 13% respectively.

Although overall, 16% of households in temporary accommodation were in a hostel (either LA or other hostel) there is considerable variation in use. Seven[23] of the 32 LAs have no hostel provision, with a further seven[24] housing fewer than 10% of households in this way. LAs with significantly higher use of hostels as TA are Perth and Kinross (58% of TA occupants), Dundee (52%), Inverclyde (48%), East Ayrshire (40%), Falkirk (33%), Moray (31%), Stirling (29%), South Ayrshire (29%), and Eilean Siar (26%).

Usage of hostels and Bed and Breakfast

Table 4 shows a comparison between 2003, 2010 and 2017 in the proportion of all households in TA that occupy LA or other hostels and B&B. Bold text highlights some significant shifts. Currently, we can see LAs split into some key groups:

Low users of both B&Bs and hostels – this is the largest group, including Angus, Argyll & Bute, Clackmannanshire and Dumfries & Galloway, East Renfrewshire, North Lanarkshire, Orkney, Renfrewshire, Scottish Borders, and Shetland. The main trends overall over these LAs has been the reduction in both hostels and B&B.

High users of both B&Bs and hostels – Edinburgh stands out from all the other LAs, with 24% of TA occupants in hostels and 35% in B&B. In Edinburgh, 59% of households in TA were in hostels and B&B in March 2017 (24% in hostels and 35% in B&B) compared with 23% in 2003.

High users of hostels – Many LAs are higher users of hostels than B&Bs, including Perth and Kinross (58%), Dundee (52%), Inverclyde (48%), East Ayrshire (40%), Falkirk (33%), Moray (31%), Stirling (29%), Eilean Siar (26%), North Ayrshire (25%), and South Ayrshire (28%). A common trend in this group has been reverting from B&B to hostels. Midlothian and Glasgow are at the lower end, with 21% and 19% in hostels.

High users of B&Bs – Highland (48%) East Lothian (17%) East Dunbartonshire (13%) remain high users, although Highland has *stayed high*, while East Lothian and East Dunbartonshire have *reduced* their proportions significantly (from 48% to 17% in East Lothian and from 27% to 13% in East Dunbartonshire).

Moderate users of B&Bs and hostels – there are some LAs that have shown 'work in progress' to becoming lower users. Examples would be Aberdeen and Aberdeenshire (at the higher end of moderate at around 16-20% of households in hostels and B&Bs combined), and Fife, South Lanarkshire, West Dunbartonshire and West Lothian, with around 10% or fewer households in B&Bs or hostels.

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[23] Angus, Argyll & Bute, Clackmannanshire, East Renfrewshire, Scottish Borders and Shetland

[24] Dumfries and Galloway, East Dunbartonshire, Fife, Highland, North Lanarkshire, Orkney and West Lothian

Table 4: % of TA occupants in LA/Other Hostel and B&B; 2003, 2010 and 2017 by LA

	2003		2010		2017	
	% hostel	% B&B	% hostel	% B&B	% hostel	% B&B
Scotland	**26%**	**17%**	**11%**	**16%**	**16%**	**10%**
Aberdeen City	**40%**	**58%**	14%	39%	12%	4%
Aberdeenshire	13%	28%	6%	36%	11%	10%
Angus	0%	23%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Argyll & Bute	**20%**	**55%**	0%	22%	0%	0%
Clackmannanshire	0%	25%	0%	37%	0%	3%
Dumfries & Galloway	**25%**	**34%**	22%	24%	6%	0%
Dundee City	21%	17%	34%	0%	**52%**	0%
East Ayrshire	**73%**	0%	27%	0%	40%	0%
East Dunbartonshire	0%	27%	4%	21%	8%	13%
East Lothian	0%	**48%**	11%	19%	10%	17%
East Renfrewshire	0%	22%	0%	13%	0%	2%
Edinburgh	1%	22%	0%	37%	**24%**	**35%**
Eilean Siar	0%	20%	0%	33%	**26%**	5%
Falkirk	32%	26%	0%	16%	33%	0%
Fife	9%	4%	7%	14%	9%	0%
Glasgow City	43%	5%	15%	5%	19%	7%
Highland	6%	46%	9%	50%	5%	**48%**
Inverclyde	30%	18%	25%	8%	**48%**	0%
Midlothian	0%	7%	6%	10%	21%	1%
Moray	**56%**	3%	34%	29%	31%	4%
North Ayrshire	31%	34%	21%	0%	25%	0%
North Lanarkshire	7%	1%	3%	0%	3%	0%
Orkney	0%	3%	7%	0%	3%	0%
Perth & Kinross	44%	17%	11%	15%	**58%**	0%
Renfrewshire	8%	27%	0%	1%	0%	0%
Scottish Borders	0%	0%	0%	7%	0%	0%
Shetland	17%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%
South Ayrshire	39%	16%	17%	29%	28%	0%
South Lanarkshire	27%	27%	20%	8%	12%	0%
Stirling	**56%**	16%	21%	33%	29%	7%
West Dunbartonshire	2%	**57%**	11%	3%	11%	0%
West Lothian	31%	0%	13%	0%	6%	5%

Source: HL2 dataset as at 6 March 2017

Recent increases in hostel and Bed and Breakfast use

The recent picture between 2016 and 2017, across the majority of local authorities (19 of 32), is reduced use of hostels and B&Bs, or continued non-use of hostels and B&Bs. Nationally, however, there has been a slight increase in the numbers of households accommodated in hostels (up 1% in the year to March 2017) and a slightly larger increase in the use of B&Bs (up 6%). Table 5 shows details of the 12 local authority areas that have seen recent **increases** in B&B and hostel use, or both.

	Hostel March 2016	Hostel March 2017	Hostel change	B&B March 2016	B&B March 2017	B&B change
Scotland	**1,728**	**1,739**	1%	**1,052**	**1,113**	6%
Increased hostel						
Glasgow City	374	400	7%	147	143	-3%
Aberdeen City	48	55	15%	26	19	-27%
Aberdeenshire	38	42	11%	65	36	-45%
Falkirk	47	64	36%	0	0	0%
East Ayrshire	6	30	400%	0	0	0%
Increased B&B						
City of Edinburgh	298	296	-1%	358	442	23%
East Dunbartonshire	0	17	0%	24	27	13%
Stirling	60	60	0%	11	14	27%
Increased both						
East Lothian	27	45	67%	57	76	33%
Highland	26	33	27%	296	314	6%
South Lanarkshire	61	76	25%	1	3	200%
West Lothian	6	25	317%	20	21	5%

Source: Annual Homelessness Statistics 2016-2017; Table 20 Households in temporary accommodation by type of accommodation, by LA at 31 March 2016 and 2017

Hostels and B&Bs are both being used more over the 2016/17 period in East Lothian, Highland, South Lanarkshire and West Lothian. Some of the increases are small, but may indicate increased pressure on TA. Edinburgh's increased B&B use brought their total usage to almost 450 units by March 2017 (40% of the total households in B&B nationally), while Glasgow's hostel usage increased to 400 units (almost a quarter of the national total).

Areas seeing recent reductions (between 2016 and 2017) in the use of hostels and B&B include Dumfries & Galloway, West Dunbartonshire, North Lanarkshire and Perth & Kinross. This might indicate better flow through the TA system or a rebalancing of TA stock in these LAs.

Drivers of temporary accommodation usage

The previous sections have demonstrated the highly differentiated nature of TA provision across Scotland, which echoes the findings of the recent 'Eradicating Homelessness' study undertaken by I-SPHERE for Social Bite, in relation to the four main cities. This section draws on key informant perspectives to highlight some of the potential drivers of this variation.

The lack of specific national requirements regarding what kind of TA should be used (beyond the Unsuitable Accommodation Order or Order, see below) was a theme underlying many key informant contributions, and provides the context in which practice varies so widely across the country. This participant made the point explicitly:

"local authorities have a legal duty to provide temporary accommodation. Apart from [the] Unsuitable Accommodation Order, there's no other stipulation around what temporary accommodation should look like, so it's left to all 32 to make decisions about [it] in their local market… they determine how they want to set up their temporary accommodation, which means that you get a whole range of types of things there." (Statutory sector key informant)

In the absence of clear 'stipulations' on the type of TA that should be used, the local housing market context clearly emerged as *the* central driver of practice, albeit in combination with a number of other factors. These contextual/enabling factors – local leadership, path dependence and partnerships – are considered first, before a more detailed focus on the links between local housing market contexts and TA provision and practice. The crucial role of funding arrangements in driving the nature of TA provision is considered in Chapter 5.

Several key informants noted the role of local leadership, decision-making and culture in driving TA practice. For example, local authorities were seen to have different views on the appropriateness and desirability of hostel accommodation. Some rely *"heavily"* on such accommodation and see it as *"the correct thing to do"* (Local government representative 1). Others have moved away from it, with one key informant explaining that an emphasis on community cohesion and integration from elected members had supported a move away from such TA. Another examples is offered by those LAs that have decided to bring forward 'reception centre', 'assessment centre' or 'first stop' models of immediate access accommodation which households stay in for a short period before being allocated alternative TA. Despite the importance of local leadership and decision-making, it was also noted that LAs do not operate in a vacuum and look to their peers (in particular neighbouring authorities) to consider whether their practice is comparable and inform decision-making.

'Path dependence' was also seen to be an important factor, with LAs locked into particular types of TA provision based on long-standing approaches and decisions. This reflected both the 'softer' influence of *"what they've historically done… what people have had for years, and years"* (Statutory sector key informant) and 'harder' constraints, relating to resource availability and investment in particular forms of provision. Some LAs for instance *"set off pretty boldly on a private sector leasing scheme a number of years ago and it's a bit of a legacy"* (Local government representative 1). A particularly important other 'legacy' was identified in relation to the budgets available to fund TA. One key informant saw this as a primary driver of provision, explaining that the budgets available to LAs will reflect the way things were set up when particular ways of funding TA (Housing Benefit and Supporting People) were introduced. Noting the role of these *"historic"* factors, one key informant felt that *"this is a good time … [to] step back and having been forced in some ways by the changes in benefits [see below], to say, 'Wait a sec, is this what we actually want [our TA to look like]?'"* (LA senior manager 3).

The nature of relationships LAs have with key partners, namely Housing Associations, was also seen as important in influencing TA provision and use. This was particularly seen to be the case in stock transfer authorities or where HAs own a high proportion of stock, with one local authority manager describing the nature of TA provision as *"solely driven by the partnerships that they have"* in such authorities (LA senior manager 5). Other key

informants highlighted the importance of relationships between LAs and HAs in specific areas *within* an LA where council stock is lacking, HA accommodation present and households seeking TA in those areas. Key informants gave examples of these relationships that worked well, enabling flexibility and responsiveness to demand:

> "We've got, I think, a good working relationship with [Housing Association] in [location], and they have assisted us in terms of supply of dispersed accommodation, but also, actually, they help us to house homeless people, maybe more than most housing associations do. I would argue they probably take a bigger share than most others, but, again, that's because the pressure in that area is much greater, and we absolutely couldn't meet demand in that area at all, if it wasn't for the housing associations assisting with that, so, a pretty good relationship." (LA senior manager 2)

> "The fortunate thing in [LA area] is that we have a common housing register and a common allocation policy, so, at points in time when… we just don't have enough accommodation, we have the ability to say to the common housing register partners, 'Please up the allocations to homelessness for a period of time, and let's clear some out quite quickly', so you get an opening up, and the bottleneck clears, and then everything goes back to normal again." (LA senior manager 5)

But examples were also given of where these partnerships weren't working well, leading to 'stickiness' in the allocation of HA properties for TA, meaning that LAs instead rely more heavily on e.g. B&B accommodation. The recent Scottish Housing Regulator report on housing people who are homeless in Glasgow offers one example of such issues[25].

As noted above, the most important driver of TA use in different LAs was clearly seen to be the nature of the local housing market. Whether a local authority owns its own stock, and the size and location of that stock were fundamental questions underpinning TA provision:

> "on the whole… in most areas… we make use of local authority stock… but I recognise that in certain parts of the country it's not been as easy as that… where they don't have the levels of stock that we do." (LA senior manager 2)

Where LA stock is absent, or scarce, this drives greater dependence on alternative forms of provision. Access to HA accommodation depends on the *availability* of such stock, the *nature of relationships* between the LA and HA (see above), and HA manager and board *views on the risks* associated with accommodating homeless households. Access to private rented sector accommodation, by contrast, was seen to relate to the nature of the housing market, specifically, the *availability and cost* of PRS accommodation:

> "when you're talking about the private rented sector, it will depend upon the market that people have in their area and how they can use the private rented sector to provide temporary accommodation… So it's a range that will grow up, depending upon their local market." (Statutory sector key informant)

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[25] Scottish Housing Regulator (2018) *Housing People who are Homeless in Glasgow*. Glasgow: Scottish Housing Regulator.

Ability to make use of the PRS was seen to vary substantially across different areas, with access particularly hard in buoyant markets where PRS rents substantially exceed Local Housing Allowance (LHA) rates, and/or in (urban or rural) tourist hot spots where accommodation is used to meet seasonal holiday demand:

"they just can't get temporary accommodation, typically because of the holiday-home issue. A lot [of the] houses that you would normally [get…] from a 'private landlord'… They're owned by people who let them out as holiday lets. Certainly in rural locations, I would think there'd be a big issue in terms of getting accommodation for people." (LA senior manager 6)

"The PRS in [rural LA], for instance, can be used short-term as temporary accommodation, but when it comes to summer months, the owners are going to make an awful lot more money out of tourists. So then… availability goes right the way down." (Statutory sector key informant)

One key informant commented on the acute pressures in some 'hot spot' pockets of rural areas, suggesting that households are more likely to stay with friends or relatives than accessing formal TA in rural areas because they are keen to stay within their own communities:

"I think people do find their solutions differently and accept things in rural areas because they're thinking that it's more important – they could put up with something so that they can stay within their community." (LA senior manager 3).

Edinburgh was seen to be in the crosshairs of these multiple supply and demand challenges, struggling to access not only PRS accommodation, but also B&B accommodation at some times of year:

"You can understand that for Edinburgh where the pressure is so great. They have got an inability now, with the LHA cap, to be able to source the private rented sector." (Independent housing/homelessness expert 1)

"Particularly in times of the festival, the rugby events, Hogmanay; big international stuff that goes on in a city like this. It's very, very hard for the council to find a bed anywhere in the city and sometimes they have to go to - I think last time in the festival they were putting people in [other LA areas] and paying their transport… for one night for [a] family to then come back." (Third sector representative 2)

"Edinburgh's homelessness service is being entirely swamped by its context… a hot and pressurised and detached housing market… It's struggling with resources and it's struggling with context… you could fix the resources, you could chuck money at it, it wouldn't fix it because the context is getting beyond us." (Local government representative 1)

"Edinburgh… it's such a pressured housing market that they just can't get access to accommodation. They are using huge amounts of B&B, which I know they want to get out of, but… It's a really, really difficult thing for them to get space somewhere else so

they can move out of B&B. Also having to incur the costs of B&B. That's, I suppose, quite an extreme one, really, around all of this." (Statutory sector key informant)

Overall, LAs were described as 'juggling' and 'trying their best' to secure appropriate forms of TA. The challenge of doing so was highly variable, and most difficult in LAs with low or no LA owned social housing stock, buoyant markets and high rents, 'sticky' partnership relationships with HAs, and challenges around seasonal tourist demand. Facilitating access to a higher quality set of TA would thus need to focus on addressing these issues. The variation seen in practice led several key informants to emphasise the specificity of the challenges at the local level, and thus the need for locally tailored approaches to improving TA provision:

"practice varies extremely throughout local authorities… Each local authority approaches it so very differently, you know, there are different challenges in Glasgow to in the Highlands to Edinburgh. Everybody's got their own housing market and different approaches, and that's just as it should be. We don't want a single, national approach to provision of temporary [accommodation] because it needs to meet local needs." (Third sector representative 1)

Given the centrality of social housing supply in this consideration of the drivers of TA use, the next section explores the availability of social rented housing to homeless households across Scotland, and how this relates to TA use.

The availability of social rented sector supply

The availability of social rented housing for homeless people is impacted by the *proportion* of that stock which becomes available to new tenants every year (see Figure 3) and the proportion of the those new lets which are allocated to homeless, as opposed to other households (see Figure 4 and Tables 8 and 9).

Figure 3 shows total lets as a proportion of the stock, with 9% of the lettable self-contained social housing stock across Scotland being let during 2016-2017, but considerable variation between LAs. Turnover stands at just over half the national average in East and Midlothian (with only 5% of stock being let in the last year), but considerably higher than the average in a number of rural authorities (Orkney Islands, Argyll and Bute and the Scottish Borders). The reasons for these variations will be explored in the next stage of the study, but could relate to demographic factors, household mobility and/or differential tenure demand.

As stock turnover indicates *potential* access to lets, we would expect (other things being equal) the locations with lowest social rented stock turnover to have more pressure in TA (i.e. the Lothians, Moray, West Lothian and East Renfrewshire).

Figure 3: Total lets as a proportion of total properties (lettable self-contained units)

National operator	19%
Orkney Islands	15%
Argyll & Bute	13%
Scottish Borders	12%
East Ayrshire	11%
Shetland Islands	11%
Angus	11%
Perth & Kinross	10%
Western Isles	10%
Clackmannanshire	10%
Dumfries & Galloway	10%
South Ayrshire	10%
Renfrewshire	10%
Dundee City	10%
West Dunbartonshire	9%
Scotland	9%
Aberdeenshire	9%
Falkirk	9%
South Lanarkshire	9%
Aberdeen City	9%
Highland	9%
North Lanarkshire	8%
Inverclyde	8%
City of Glasgow	8%
Fife	8%
North Ayrshire	8%
City of Edinburgh	8%
East Dunbartonshire	8%
Stirling	8%
East Renfrewshire	7%
West Lothian	7%
Moray	7%
East Lothian	5%
Midlothian	5%

Source: ARC data 2016-2017

One indicator of TA pressure is TA occupancy levels at year-end compared with the number of households owed the duty to be secured settled housing (Table 6).

Across Scotland, those in TA at the end of the year amounted to 41% of those applicants owed a duty during 2016-2017. The areas with the highest proportion of TA compared with homeless households where a duty is owed (and thus the highest level of TA pressure on this measure) are Shetland (125%) Midlothian (99%), Highland (75%), and East Lothian (75%). The proportion of year-end TA as a proportion of all those owed a duty is far lower (and thus TA pressure lower on this indicator) in Perth and Kinross (17%) East Ayrshire (16%) and the Scottish Borders (15%).

Red cells in Table 6 highlight some of the higher pressured areas – which include Midlothian and East Lothian, but **not** East Renfrewshire and Moray (all areas with below average levels of turnover in the social rented supply).

Table 6: TA numbers in March 2017, compared with households and those owed a duty, 2016-2017 and all households (2016 estimates)

	TA March 2017	Duty owed 2016-2017	TA as % of those owed a duty
Scotland	10,873	26,765	41%
Aberdeen city	447	1,090	41%
Aberdeenshire	367	840	44%
Angus	132	570	23%
Argyll & Bute	116	375	31%
Clackmannanshire	101	375	27%
Dumfries & Galloway	199	580	34%
Dundee City	252	915	28%
East Ayrshire	73	450	16%
East Dunbartonshire	210	335	63%
East Lothian	440	585	75%
East Renfrewshire	55	245	22%
Edinburgh	1,246	3,115	40%
Eilean Siar	65	100	65%
Falkirk	195	775	25%
Fife	515	1,830	28%
Glasgow City	2,071	4,210	49%
Highland	658	880	75%
Inverclyde	46	190	24%
Midlothian	467	470	99%
Moray	165	320	52%
North Ayrshire	214	620	35%
North Lanarkshire	570	1,360	42%
Orkney	37	90	41%
Perth & Kinross	118	695	17%
Renfrewshire	197	600	33%
Scottish Borders	87	570	15%
Shetland	119	95	125%
South Ayrshire	191	605	32%
South Lanarkshire	651	1,585	41%
Stirling	208	380	55%
West Dunbartonshire	248	915	27%
West Lothian	413	1,010	41%

Source: HL2 dataset as at 6 March 2017, Annual Homelessness Tables 2016-2017, NRS Household Estimates 2016

This suggests that it is not just the supply of overall lets that is important in determining TA pressure. It is also (among other factors) the interaction between statutory demand and the <u>flow</u> of lets specifically to homeless people.

Table 7 shows the total number of social rented sector lets to homeless people, as a proportion of all lets and all *new* lets (excluding transfers and mutual exchanges). The data is from the Annual Return on the Charter, the only available source including all lets and lets to new tenants, and thus enabling homeless lets to be compared to total lets. This data is provided by individual social landlords through their ARC data returns each year. This data needs to be interpreted with some caution, however, as the individual landlord information on lets to homeless people does not align exactly with the numbers in the HL1 data return – the statutory data provided by local authorities. The analysis of the ARC data requires housing association data to be grouped according to the main local authority of operation of the landlord, which also means the housing association data may not align to HL1.

In 2016-2017, 33% of lets – 41% of LA lets and 26% of HA lets – were to homeless applicants. This has increased, between 2015-2016 and 2016-2017, from 38% to 41% for LAs and from 24% to 26% for HAs in the case of all lets. Looking at only *new* lets, lets to homeless applicants increased from 48% to 51% of LA lets and from 29% to 31% of HA lets.

Table 7: Lets to homeless people as a proportion of lets, by HA/LA

	HAs		LAs	
	2015/2016	**2016/2017**	**2015/2016**	**2016/2017**
All homeless	6,673	7,040	9,911	10,442
All lets	**27,774**	**27,134**	**26,258**	**25,699**
Lets to new tenants	23,084	22,796	20,763	20,392
% all lets	24%	26%	38%	41%
% lets to new tenants	29%	31%	48%	51%

Source: ARC charter-indicators-and-data-outcomes-and-standards (Lets to new tenants exclude transfers and mutual exchanges)

Figure 4 shows the wide range in the proportion of lets to homeless people, from just 11% of all lets in Inverclyde to 54% of lets in Moray.

The LAs with overall social rented sector lets to homeless applicants that are significantly higher than the 33% average (at least one standard deviation above the mean) are: Moray (54%), Perth & Kinross (52%), West Lothian (52%), East Renfrewshire (49%), East Dunbartonshire (48%), City of Edinburgh (48%) and South Lanarkshire (46%).

In terms of the areas of TA pressure identified in Table 6, East Renfrewshire and Perth and Kinross were among the lowest pressured areas (based on TA at year end compared with duty owed) while the other areas with more lets to homeless applicants had average or just above average TA pressure.

At the other end of the scale, the LAs with significantly below average levels of homeless lets are: Inverclyde (11%), East Ayrshire (13%), Renfrewshire (20%), the Western Isles (23%), City of Glasgow (23%), the Orkney Islands (23%) and Argyll & Bute (24%). Glasgow and the Western Isles had above average TA pressure but Inverclyde, East Ayrshire and Orkney had below average TA pressure.

Figure 4: Social rented sector lets to homeless people, as a % of all lets, by LA (LA and HA combined)
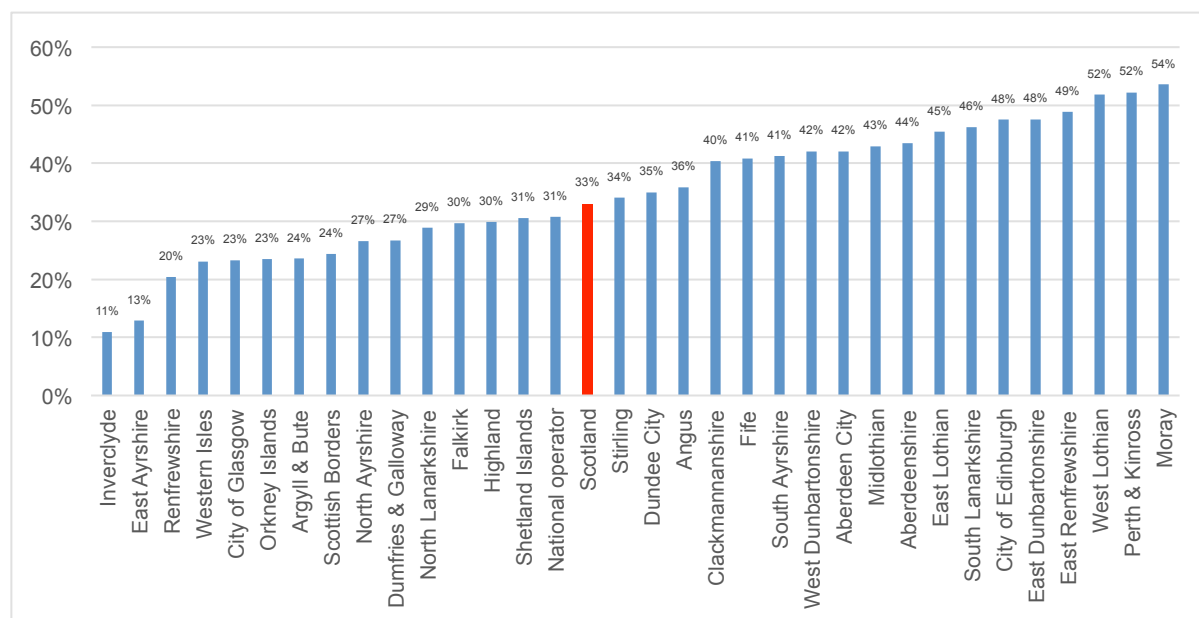
Source: ARC data 2016-2017 – (C8.5 Lets to homeless applicants, C8.5.1 Section 5 referrals, C8.5.2 Nominations from the local authority and C8.5.3 Other combined as a % of all lets)

The relationship between lets available to homeless people and overall TA pressure is complex, with TA pressure not necessarily always higher where the proportion of lets to homeless people are lower. The picture in each LA depends on the balance between the *inflow* of TA demand alongside the *outflow* to homeless lets.

Table 8 shows the proportion of all social housing lets that are to homeless applicants. The figures are calculated based on all lets to homeless applicants, across the relevant ARC measures, as a proportion of all lets minus lets to existing tenants. ARC guidance states that mutual exchanges should not be included in the total lets figure, so these are excluded from the calculation. Bold text in Table 8 highlights a number of LAs with higher proportions of lets to homeless applicants.

The data indicates that lets to homeless people (as a proportion of total lets) can be driven by very high LA lettings to homeless people (e.g. Edinburgh and West Lothian) or higher than average lettings *across* the LA and HA sectors (e.g. East Renfrewshire, East Dunbartonshire, Moray, Perth and Kinross and South Lanarkshire).

Table 8: Proportion of all lets that are to homeless applicants, by LA and HAs

	LA – homeless lets % of all lets	HA – homeless lets % of all lets	All - Homeless lets as a % of all lets
Scotland	**41%**	**26%**	**33%**
Aberdeen City	41%	44%	42%
Aberdeenshire	45%	25%	44%
Angus	35%	38%	36%
Argyll & Bute	0%	24%	24%
Clackmannanshire	46%	19%	40%
Dumfries & Galloway	0%	27%	27%
Dundee City	42%	28%	35%
East Ayrshire	13%	13%	13%
East Dunbartonshire	**53%**	**33%**	**48%**
East Lothian	46%	42%	45%
East Renfrewshire	**55%**	**38%**	**49%**
City of Edinburgh	**73%**	**27%**	**48%**
Eilean Siar	0%	23%	23%
Falkirk	31%	11%	30%
Fife	45%	24%	41%
City of Glasgow	0%	23%	23%
Highland	33%	26%	30%
Inverclyde	0%	11%	11%
Midlothian	**35%**	**64%**	**43%**
Moray	**55%**	**38%**	**54%**
National operator	0%	31%	31%
North Ayrshire	27%	25%	27%
North Lanarkshire	30%	21%	29%
Orkney Islands	30%	15%	23%
Perth & Kinross	**64%**	**34%**	**52%**
Renfrewshire	24%	14%	20%
Scottish Borders	0%	24%	24%
Shetland Islands	21%	48%	31%
South Ayrshire	48%	5%	41%
South Lanarkshire	**48%**	**30%**	**46%**
Stirling	34%	33%	34%
West Dunbartonshire	46%	35%	42%
West Lothian	**61%**	**29%**	**52%**

Source: ARC data 2016-2017 – (C8.5 Lets to homeless applicants, C8.5.1 Section 5 referrals, C8.5.2 Nominations from the local authority and C8.5.3 Other homeless lets combined as a % of all lets)

Table 9 shows lets to homeless people as a proportion of lets to new tenants (excluding transfers). This may be a 'truer' measure of available lets, in that it takes account of the impact of transfers.

Table 9: Proportion of all lets to new tenants that are to homeless applicants, by LA and HAs

	LA – homeless lets as % of lets to new tenants	HA – homeless lets as % of lets to new tenants	All – homeless lets as % of lets to new tenants
Scotland	51%	31%	40%
Aberdeen City	54%	49%	52%
Aberdeenshire	53%	33%	52%
Angus	42%	43%	42%
Argyll & Bute	-	30%	30%
Clackmannanshire	54%	23%	48%
Dumfries & Galloway	-	33%	33%
Dundee City	52%	33%	42%
East Ayrshire	17%	16%	17%
East Dunbartonshire	**69%**	**47%**	**63%**
East Lothian	**65%**	**53%**	**63%**
East Renfrewshire	65%	46%	58%
Edinburgh, City of	81%	31%	54%
Eilean Siar	-	28%	28%
Falkirk	40%	13%	38%
Fife	62%	25%	53%
Glasgow, City of	-	29%	29%
Highland	44%	31%	38%
Inverclyde	-	14%	14%
Midlothian	43%	77%	52%
Moray	**65%**	**59%**	**64%**
National operator	-	33%	33%
North Ayrshire	32%	26%	30%
North Lanarkshire	39%	24%	37%
Orkney Islands	37%	18%	29%
Perth & Kinross	**75%**	**38%**	**60%**
Renfrewshire	29%	16%	25%
Scottish Borders	-	29%	29%
Shetland Islands	27%	56%	38%
South Ayrshire	57%	7%	49%
South Lanarkshire	**63%**	**37%**	**61%**
Stirling	41%	37%	40%
West Dunbartonshire	57%	41%	51%
West Lothian	**75%**	**37%**	**64%**

Source: ARC data 2016-2017 – (C8.5 Lets to homeless applicants, C8.5.1 Section 5 referrals, C8.5.2 Nominations from the local authority and C8.5.3 Other homeless lets as a % of all lets excluding transfers)

Looking across lets to new tenants (Table 9), we see some areas letting over 60% of their lets to new tenants to homeless applicants – in East Dunbartonshire, East Lothian, Moray, Perth and Kinross, South Lanarkshire and West Lothian.

A number of LAs with particularly low levels of lets to new tenants going to homeless applicants (around 30% or less), are the stock transfer LAs – Inverclyde, Argyll and Bute, Eilean Siar, Dumfries and Galloway, Glasgow and Scottish Borders. Among non-transfer LAs, lets to homeless applicants as a proportion of lets to new tenants are lower in East Ayrshire, Renfrewshire and Orkney Islands.

In most areas, the LA lets a greater proportion of lets to new tenants to homeless applicants than HAs do, often by a significant margin. The Shetland Islands and Midlothian are very notable exceptions to that overall trend.

It is clear from the analysis above that the relationship between lettings to homeless people and overall TA pressure is complex. This means we see examples of different combinations of experience, in terms of turnover of social rented sector stock, levels of new lets to homeless people, TA pressure and length of time in TA. There are numerous examples, for instance, of higher lets to homeless people alongside TA pressure, with LAs likely at different stages of managing this pressure and with different options open to them. Some (particularly stock transfer LAs) may be constrained by their current level of lets, whereas others may have increased lets to homeless applicants as part of a strategy to reduce 'problematic' TA use in highly stressed areas. Some may have been able to achieve this in just their LA stock, others across all social rented stock in the area. These differences will be explored in more depth in the case studies, to examine different combinations of experience, in terms of TA pressure, social rented sector supply and access, lets to homeless people and use of the PRS.

Summary

In recent years, many local authorities have tried to move away from using hostels and B&Bs. A majority of LAs do not use B&Bs at all and half of LAs use hostels either never or for less than 10% of those in TA. Some LAs are increasing their use of hostels, sometimes alongside reducing B&B use. These trends suggest that hostels are seen as a considerably more appropriate form of TA than B&B.

Provision is strongly influenced by local housing markets and in areas of extreme housing pressure, as well as in stock transfer LAs, the ability to secure suitable TA and permanent lets can be challenging. Patterns of TA use are also influenced by historic decisions, local leadership and the nature and quality of relationships with HAs.

There are complex relationships between TA pressure, new social lets being available and new lets being made available *for homeless applicants*. Some LAs appear able to use new social lets to relieve TA pressure, but others are struggling to do so.

4. Quality and appropriateness

This chapter considers the quality and appropriateness of TA in Scotland, drawing on existing literature, key informant perspectives and four data sources providing a lens onto this theme, namely, statistics on the support needs of TA residents and TA offer refusals, satisfaction rates, and breaches of the Unsuitable Accommodation Order.

Existing perspectives on temporary accommodation quality and appropriateness

The quality of Scotland's TA stock has been a key theme in existing literature, and central to recent policy developments in relation to TA. Most recently the Local Government and Communities Committee Report on Homelessness concluded that there was a *"mixed picture"*[26] of quality in TA across Scotland. Concerns related in particular to:

- the insecurity of TA placements, with some households reportedly moving from one TA placement to another frequently;
- vulnerability and safety, including that vulnerable individuals e.g. 16/17 year olds were being placed in environments close to those with drug and alcohol problems;
- declines in people's wellbeing and escalations in their support needs during their time in TA, with people sometimes *"leaving worse than when they came in"* and TA sometimes being *"a replication of the adversity that has brought them into our services in the first place"*[27];
- length of stay, reflecting ongoing concerns that individuals are spending longer periods in TA[28]; and
- affordability, with high costs seen to create a disincentive for TA residents to enter work.

The most acute quality concerns have tended to focus on B&B accommodation, a theme endorsed in the strongest terms via the Glasgow Homelessness Network's 'Aye We Can' report detailing the findings of their consultation with over 400 people with lives experience of homelessness in Scotland[29].

In 2004, *The Unsuitable Accommodation (Scotland) Order*[30] came into force, requiring LAs to ensure that homeless households including children and/or pregnant women were not

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[26] p. 39 in Scottish Parliament Local Government and Communities Committee (2018) *Report on Homelessness, SP Paper 279*. http://www.parliament.scot/parliamentarybusiness/CurrentCommittees/103620.aspx

[27] p.40-41 in ibid.

[28] See also Shelter Scotland (2015) *The Use of Temporary Accommodation in Scotland*. https://scotland.shelter.org.uk/professional_resources/policy_library/policy_library_folder/the_use_of_temporary_accommodation_in_scotland and

Shelter Scotland (2017) *The Use of Temporary Accommodation in Scotland – 2016*.

https://scotland.shelter.org.uk/professional_resources/policy_library/policy_library_folder/the_use_of_temporary_accommodation_in_scotland_-_2016

[29] Glasgow Homelessness Network (2018) *Can We Fix Homelessness in Scotland? Aye We Can*. Glasgow: Glasgow Homelessness Network.

http://www.ghn.org.uk/shien/wp-content/uploads/sites/5/2017/11/Aye_We_Can_Final_Report_2018-1.pdf

[30] See *The Homeless Persons (Unsuitable Accommodation) (Scotland) Order 2004*. http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ssi/2004/489/contents/made

placed in 'unsuitable TA' unless exceptional circumstances applied[31]. Unsuitable TA encompassed three dimensions: the **physical properties** of the accommodation, its **proximity to health and education services**, and its **suitability for children**. In practice, this meant LAs were unable to accommodate families in B&B accommodation for more than 14 days, with 'breaches' reported to Scottish Government. In 2014, a new Unsuitable Accommodation Order was introduced[32], which added a requirement that accommodation must be wind- and watertight. In October 2017, the Order was amended to reduce the period for which LAs could accommodate families in unsuitable accommodation from 14 to seven days[33]. Also relevant to the appropriateness of TA are provisions that came into force in 2013, requiring LAs to assess the housing support needs of homeless applicants and where an applicant (or person residing with them) is found to need such housing support, to ensure that it is provided[34].

A number of organisations have called for the extension of the Unsuitable Accommodation Order to a broader range of groups, in particular *"highly vulnerable people, including single person households"*[35], care experienced people and young people[36]. This reflects particular concerns about the experiences of young people in TA (especially hostel and B&B accommodation) raised both by the Local Government and Communities Committee[37] and during the course of the Scottish Parliament Equal Opportunities Committee's inquiry into youth homelessness prevention[38]. In 2016/17, 10% of youth homelessness cases in Scotland were accommodated in B&B accommodation at some point (down from around 15% during the 2007/8-2011/12 period [39]). Crisis have since called for the extension of the Order to *all* households, regardless of age, vulnerability or the presence of children or pregnant women in the household[40].

Concern about the quality of TA extends beyond B&B accommodation however, with many also emphasising the inappropriateness of winter shelters[41], and hostel accommodation,

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[31] These exceptional circumstances relate primarily to circumstances where a household wishes to remain in unsuitable accommodation. Exceptions only relate to the physical and proximity standard, not the 'safety' standard concerning the accommodations suitability for children.

[32] *The Homeless Persons (Unsuitable Accommodation) (Scotland) Order 2014.*
http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ssi/2014/243/made

[33] *The Homeless Persons (Unsuitable Accommodation) (Scotland) Amendment Order 2017.*
http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ssi/2017/273/made

[34] Scottish Government (2013) *Guidance for Local Authorities: Housing Support Duty to Those Found to be Homeless or Threatened With Homelessness.* https://beta.gov.scot/publications/housing-support-duty-homeless-households-guidance-local-authorities/

[35] p.5 in Shelter Scotland (2017) *Shelter Scotland Written Evidence on Homelessness for the Local Government and Communities Committee.*
https://scotland.shelter.org.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0005/1348205/Shelter_Scotland_evidence_on_homelessness_for_the_LG_and_C_committee_1_March_FINAL.pdf/_nocache

[36] pp. 21-22 and 45 in Scottish Parliament Local Government and Communities Committee (2018) *Report on Homelessness, SP Paper 279.* http://www.parliament.scot/parliamentarybusiness/CurrentCommittees/103620.aspx

[37] Ibid.

[38] See pp. 34-5 in Equal Opportunities Committee (2014) Having and Keeping a Home – 2014 Follow-up http://www.parliament.scot/S4_EqualOpportunitiesCommittee/Inquiries/Having_and_Keeping_a_home_-_2014_follow-up_summary_paper.pdf

[39] See Scottish Government's ad hoc youth homelessness analysis for 2016/17:
http://www.gov.scot/Topics/Statistics/Browse/Housing-Regeneration/RefTables/adhoc-analysis/adhoc-analysis

[40] Crisis (2017) *A Life in Limbo: the Use of Prolonged Unsuitable Accommodation for Homeless People in Scotland.* London: Crisis. https://www.crisis.org.uk/media/237733/a-life-in-limbo.pdf

[41] pp. 47-51 in Scottish Parliament Local Government and Communities Committee (2018) *Report on Homelessness, SP Paper 279.*

particularly larger hostels. Once again, this was a strong theme emerging from Glasgow Homelessness Networks consultation with individuals with experience of homelessness, which highlighted the very negative experiences often associated with spending time in hostels[42]. Issues of appropriateness are most acute for some specific groups, namely young people and those with multiple and complex needs and/or vulnerabilities[43]. In part, this reflects a growing consensus and evidence base regarding the negative consequences of congregate accommodation models[44], although some argue that low threshold shelters play an important role for some specific groups (namely those who struggle to engage with other forms of accommodation)[45] and that congregate supported accommodation models (rather than more traditional hostels) may have a role for particular groups e.g. young people[46]. Nevertheless, a recent study which explored TA use across Scotland's four major cities[47] highlighted the challenges associated with congregate accommodation models. According to this research, in Dundee, people often sleep rough because they are afraid to use available hostel provision. Similarly Glasgow was found to face a major issue with those who have been barred from emergency accommodation provision. Fear of using available congregate provision was also raised in the City.

Reflecting some of these wider concerns, campaigning and other housing/homelessness organisations have called for strengthened regulation of TA standards that extends beyond the Unsuitable Accommodation Order's primary concern with B&B to *all* forms of TA. In 2010, Shelter Scotland and the Chartered Institute for Housing Scotland published Guidance on Standards for Temporary Accommodation[48]. These are intended to apply to all

http://www.parliament.scot/parliamentarybusiness/CurrentCommittees/103620.aspx

[42] Glasgow Homelessness Network (2018) *Can We Fix Homelessness in Scotland? Aye We Can*. Glasgow: Glasgow Homelessness Network.

http://www.ghn.org.uk/shien/wp-content/uploads/sites/5/2017/11/Aye_We_Can_Final_Report_2018-1.pdf

[43] Scottish Parliament Local Government and Communities Committee (2018) *Report on Homelessness, SP Paper 279*. http://www.parliament.scot/parliamentarybusiness/CurrentCommittees/103620.aspx;

Glasgow Homelessness Network (2018) *Can We Fix Homelessness in Scotland? Aye We Can*. Glasgow: Glasgow Homelessness Network.

http://www.ghn.org.uk/shien/wp-content/uploads/sites/5/2017/11/Aye_We_Can_Final_Report_2018-1.pdf;

Equal Opportunities Committee (2014) Having and Keeping a Home – 2015 Follow-up.

http://www.parliament.scot/S4_EqualOpportunitiesCommittee/Inquiries/Having_and_Keeping_a_home_-_2014_follow-up_summary_paper.pdf;

Fitzpatrick, S., Pawson, H., Bramley, Gl. Wilcox, S. and Watts, B. (2015) *The Homelessness Monitor: Scotland 2015*. London: Crisis. https://www.crisis.org.uk/media/236831/the_homelessness_monitor_scotland_2015.pdf

[44] Mackie, P., Johnsen, S. and Wood, J. (2017) *Ending Rough Sleeping: What Works?* London: Crisis. https://www.crisis.org.uk/ending-homelessness/homelessness-knowledge-hub/services-and-interventions/ending-rough-sleeping-what-works-an-international-evidence-review/;

Watts, E., Johnsen, S. and Sosenko, F. (2015) *Youth Homelessness in the UK: A Review for The OVO Foundation*. Edinburgh: Heriot-Watt University. https://pureapps2.hw.ac.uk/ws/portalfiles/portal/9258335

[45] See pp. 48-49 in Scottish Parliament Local Government and Communities Committee (2018) *Report on Homelessness, SP Paper 279*. http://www.parliament.scot/parliamentarybusiness/CurrentCommittees/103620.aspx

[46] Mackie, P., Johnsen, S. and Wood, J. (2017) *Ending Rough Sleeping: what works?* London: Crisis. https://www.crisis.org.uk/ending-homelessness/homelessness-knowledge-hub/services-and-interventions/ending-rough-sleeping-what-works-an-international-evidence-review/;

Watts, E., Johnsen, S. and Sosenko, F. (2015) *Youth Homelessness in the UK: A Review for The OVO Foundation*. Edinburgh: Heriot-Watt University. https://pureapps2.hw.ac.uk/ws/portalfiles/portal/9258335

[47] Littlewood, M., Bramley, G. Fitzpatrick, S. and Wood, J. (2017) *Eradicating 'Core Homelessness' in Scotland's Four Largest Cities: Providing an Evidence Base and Guiding a Funding Framework.* Edinburgh: Social Bite.

[48] Shelter Scotland/CIH Scotland (2010) Guidance on Standards for Temporary Accommodation. https://scotland.shelter.org.uk/professional_resources/policy_library/policy_library_folder/temporary_accommodation_guidance

forms of TA across all tenures and cover: the **physical** standards of the accommodation; **location** standards; **service** standards; **management** standards; and issues related to the *affordability of* and **resettlement/move on** from TA. Shelter Scotland has subsequently called for Scottish Government to officially support guidance on TA standards to ensure that TA is *"a positive stepping stone away from homelessness"*[49]. In September 2017, the Government's 'Programme for Scotland 2017-18' included a commitment to "*develop guidance on standards in temporary accommodation for homeless households*"[50]. The Local Government and Communities Committee recommended in their 2018 report that such standards should be statutory, rather than voluntary, in nature[51]. In its evidence to the Committee, the Legal Services Agency advocated for more accessible appeals processes (short of Judicial Review) in relation to LAs TA duties and highlighted the potential of equalities law to introduce greater accountability in how LAs accommodate those with protected characteristics.

Expert perspectives on temporary accommodation quality and appropriateness

This section thus draws on key informant perspectives to shine a light on the quality and appropriateness of current TA in Scotland, before using three data sources to provide some (albeit partial and incomplete) quantitative insights onto these issues.

The overarching verdict of key informants was that the quality if TA is variable and inconsistent, both *within* and *between* different types of TA. Despite this variability, some very clear patterns emerged regarding where quality tends to be best and worst.

Key informants were far and away most positive about LA self-contained furnished accommodation, both because it tended to be of sound quality:

> "A lot of temporary accommodation is of good quality. Quite modern, good standard temporary flats, generally kitted out, all new stuff in it. I would imagine that every council does that in the temporary accommodation stock. Brand new, furnished stuff. They've a housing officer visit on a regular basis, service charge." (Third sector representative 2)

> "on the whole, it's of pretty decent quality. If most of it's in the social rented sector then it all has to come up to their quality standard, so that's as good a starting point as any." (Statutory sector key informant)

> "I think the mainstream temporary accommodation, the quality is good because, for the vast majority of the time, it's mainstream accommodation. It's exactly the same, in

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[49] p. 4 in Shelter Scotland (2017) *The Use of Temporary Accommodation in Scotland – 2016*. https://scotland.shelter.org.uk/professional_resources/policy_library/policy_library_folder/the_use_of_temporary_accommo dation_in_scotland_-_2016 and see also Shelter Scotland (2015) *The Use of Temporary Accommodation in Scotland*. https://scotland.shelter.org.uk/professional_resources/policy_library/policy_library_folder/the_use_of_temporary_accommo dation_in_scotland

[50] p.105 in Scottish Government (2017) *A Nation with Ambition: the Government's Programme for Scotland 2017-2018*. Edinburgh: The Scottish Government. https://beta.gov.scot/publications/nation-ambition-governments-programme-scotland-2017-18/

[51] p.44 in Scottish Parliament Local Government and Communities Committee (2018) *Report on Homelessness, SP Paper 279*. http://www.parliament.scot/parliamentarybusiness/CurrentCommittees/103620.aspx

terms of fabric and in energy efficiency [as other LA stock]." (Local government representative 2)

And because it was deemed the most suitable kind of accommodation for homeless households:

"I think broadly temporary furnished flats are your ideal for everybody… people should be housed in the best form of accommodation for their circumstances. We know that most people recover from their experience of homelessness by living in a home in the community, in mainstream housing. So that's where most people with the temporary accommodation… should be going to." (Independent housing/homelessness expert 3)

Indeed, one key informant noted the standards of furnished TA being a barrier to move-on, the challenge being *"meet[ing] their [TA residents'] expectations"* with unfurnished settled housing that would, unlike furnished TA, not have *"carpets, and sofas, and fridges, and nice beds and bedding"* (LA senior manager 5), particularly when the household is likely to have a limited budget (e.g. via Community Care Grants) for furnishing their new accommodation.

The fairly minor quality concerns voiced in relation to such accommodation related to the standard of furnishing provided by LAs and the quality of stock itself. Key informants were not very concerned about the quality of the *buildings* in which LA TA is situated, seeing these as simply reflecting broader property management requirements:

"If you've got traditional, older stock that suffers from a range of repair issues, it's not going to be perfect… As a local authority you've got to deal with that… If you're capital programme isn't able to fund the level of improvements you need to do immediately, you'll have a plan in place to do that over time, but your temporary accommodation is not significantly worse than the rest of your stock… It's about the condition of your stock and how you maintain that stock, and that's the same for all your stock as is it is from your temporary accommodation." (LA senior manager 6)

Somewhat greater concern was voiced about the internal quality of LA TA accommodation. One theme concerned the standard to which such TA is furnished, with key informants seeing this as a 'hidden' and highly variable aspect of LA practice, with significant financial implications:

"What you shouldn't accept is poor-quality furnishing, poor-quality decoration and poor levels of cleanliness when someone moves in… in terms of internals, furnishings, decoration, each local authority should be making sure that that's of a reasonable standard." (LA senior manager 6)

"it should be furnished to a suitable standard. And that's the trick, isn't it, because this does cost. It costs the public and so it needs… Because it's only a transient arrangement it doesn't need to be luxury, but it does need to be suitable that someone can live there with dignity and it's striking that balance." (Independent housing/homelessness expert 3)

"there is a reasonable amount of attention paid to ensuring the quality is as good as our mainstream stock, and that, in terms of providing furnishings, and fittings, and

things like that, all of that happens, but if, in fact, in some areas, that's not the case, then, again, this sort of evening out of how these services are funded, and a more transparent look at how they're funded, would help to address some of that. Then, I suppose, it would enable us to achieve a standard, and if we weren't achieving that standard, then an explanation would be required, and I think that's absolutely fair, but, I think it's really difficult to do that when we don't know. It's one of those sort of hidden parts of the services that we provide, isn't it?" (LA senior manager 2)

One key informant noted that some LAs used *un*furnished LA stock as TA, meaning they can transform mainstream stock to TA quite quickly and at a lower cost.

There was also a concern about maintaining standards within LA self-contained TA through high-turnover use:

"They can get shabby quite quickly, and we try to keep on top of it, but you have quite a lot of turnover there, and you have people who are there who don't have any investment in the property because it's not theirs, so it's hard to keep it up to scratch… We do get complaints about the quality of our temporary accommodation, but it usually is related to décor or it hasn't been cleaned properly in-between." (LA senior manager 1)

The main challenges associated with the use of LA stock as TA were not to do with quality of the accommodation, however. More serious concerns related to, first, the 'trade off' between using LA stock for TA as opposed to for permanent rehousing:

"We've got an undersupply of quality temporary… it's been this ongoing issue… the more of our stock we use for temporary accommodation, the less we've got to move people in temporary accommodation on to a permanent let… if we could be building houses where they're needed I think we would be able to take a lot of the pressure off temporary accommodation… it would be obviously there to provide self-contained temporary accommodation out of our own stock without having this constant robbing off - as they say robbing Peter to pay Paul, and that's a real challenge." (LA senior manager 3)

"the more they [LAs] put in [LA] temporary accommodation the worse the move-on problem is." (Third sector representative 2)

And second, the management of TA and provision of support for those with vulnerabilities, behavioural issues or more complex needs (see further below):

"The main issue for dispersed furnished flats is the political backlash that you get for them… what you have is a very vulnerable client group that you're putting into a tenancy, and many of them are going into that tenancy for the first time, so, it becomes a bit of a party-house. The neighbours are up-in-arms, or they've maybe got addiction issues, so, there's people coming and going, so, as soon as that kind of behaviour starts to happen, people are on to their elected members. Elected members are then really upset about your temporary provision, so, it's not easy. The management of dispersed accommodation isn't an easy model, unless you've got people who are very, very stable moving into that accommodation, or you've got the

support resources that enables you to almost be in there on a daily basis, trying to manage situations." (LA senior manager 5)

A third set of serious concerns related to the cost of LA accommodation. This theme is discussed at greater length in Chapter 5.

Key informants did not identify significant differences between HA and LA stock in terms of quality and appropriateness. As one LA key informant put it: *"dispersed accommodation is dispersed accommodation. Who owns that accommodation really doesn't matter, if it's the local authority who's managing it"* (LA senior manager 5). There was some disagreement on the quality of PRS accommodation used as TA, with this key informant seeing the quality of dispersed PRS accommodation as comparable to that of dispersed social housing stock, but another commenting that stock secured via private sector leasing schemes was *"not always the best quality"* (Third sector representative 2). The key relevant difference participants saw between LA stock, and HA and PRS stock, was in terms of budgets and cost, with the cost of the latter (and particularly leased PRS accommodation) tending to be higher than that of LA accommodation (see below).

More concerns about quality and appropriateness surrounded the use of 'congregate' forms of TA:

"I think complaints about the quality of accommodation generally come from single people in hostels and bed and breakfast. Safety is a big… Safety, association, privacy, noise. It's not necessarily about the fabric of the building in any way, but just the type of quality of life that you can have in the building." (Third sector representative 2)

"most people who go into temporary tenancies, those temporary tenancies are of a good quality, high standard. What I don't really know about is the quality of other types of accommodation, i.e. B&B or hotel. That's probably a bit more varied. I'd be surprised if there's many 'temporary tenancies', i.e. scatter flats, that don't meet a good standard of either decoration, repairs or furnishing, but I think there might be issued in certain areas in terms of hotels used." (LA senior manager 6)

Hostel accommodation was seen to be highly variable, both in terms of the physical standards of the buildings used and the standards of support and service offered within them:

"the hostel side of thing[s] I think is possibly the most mix[ed] of all of it, you know, because you've got some organisations that get the concept of psychologically informed environments, get how hostels can work on a small scale if their purpose built and designed and built in the right fashion. But most hostels are still provided in buildings that have been adapted for the purposes [of providing TA for homeless people] and are still plodding nicely doing the same thing that they were doing when George Orwell was down and out in London and Paris. And that's simply not good enough actually." (Independent housing/homelessness expert 3)

"there's some very, very old buildings used for hostel accommodation, Victorian buildings, and some of them haven't been modernised effectively. Some of the rooms

are very small, some of the rooms are far too large, and they're not very warm." (Third sector representative 2)

One key informant was highly critical of the continued use of night shelters in e.g. Churches, seeing this as *"clearly not a suitable standard"* (Independent housing/homelessness expert 3).

As above, much of the quality related issues in hostels were seen to reflect the 'social' environment engendered by concentrating individuals with varying levels of support needs and vulnerabilities together in close proximity:

> "we now have is a group of people who would not choose to stay in hostel accommodation, so, if you offered them hostel accommodation, they would say, 'Look, I'll make my own arrangements for tonight. Let me know when you've got a dispersed furnished flat available.' There are people who would choose not to stay in hostel accommodation, and simply because they know they wouldn't be able to survive, because of the type of people who stay, or the needs of the type of people who stay in temporary accommodation." (LA senior manager 5)

While in some cases individuals may be able to stay with friends and family or make other acceptable temporary arrangements, these issues have also been shown to be driving rough sleeping in some of Scotland's major cities[52]. Other core concerns raised about hostel accommodation were the 'rules and regulations' in place regarding who can access them and how they must behave while resident in them, and the wider community impacts of this type of accommodation:

> "That's a problem in a lot of temporary accommodation that you can't have a pet. That means some people will sleep rough. Couples; many places don't take couples so if couples need support they find that they've got to wait for a place in one particular hostel." (Third sector representative 2)

> "most of the challenges relate to when it is this HMO-type accommodation. So it's getting the balance right between management that says, 'Yes, if we're all going to live together then there's perhaps a need for rules and regulations,' and also saying that people are people [and can] live the way that they want to live… in terms of the day-to-day management of the properties… it's not easy and I think particularly… some types of temporary accommodation are quite visible… they can become political hot potatoes and people say, 'Oh terrible, got to be sorted,' in terms of - this is causing lots of problems in the city centre." (LA senior manager 3)

Key informants in general had strongly negative views of the quality and appropriateness of B&B accommodation. Quality issues were seen to relate primarily to the facilities available within B&Bs – with particular emphasis given to the importance of access to laundry and cooking facilities – as well as to the management of such accommodation and (as with hostels) the 'social environment' engendered by concentrating individuals experiencing homelessness together in the same place:

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[52] Littlewood, M., Bramley, G. Fitzpatrick, S. and Wood, J. (2017) *Eradicating 'Core Homelessness' in Scotland's Four Largest Cities: Providing an Evidence Base and Guiding a Funding Framework.* Edinburgh: Social Bite.

"you are going to be more likely working with B&Bs whose physical condition is in a worst state or furnishings are of a poor quality and management practices will be, sometimes less than satisfactory." (LA senior manager 5)

"I don't think it's acceptable to put someone in B&B accommodation, and for that B&B accommodation not to have a fridge so they're not able to store food. That leads us into all sorts of things about people who have no money purchasing food every day, and it going off." (Local government representative 2)

"in general, I think we would all welcome a move away from using bed and breakfast… especially the kind of bed and breakfast where they're quite largescale, and there's very little care or attention given to the needs of the people that are staying in them… we've moved on enough and we understand enough to accept that those types of accommodation are not going to be suitable to meets anybody's needs, unless, you know, very, very short-term, and… they should have to meet a certain standard." (LA senior manager 2)

"we are still using B&B and I think that needs to be looked at… The quality, being of poor quality, no access to washing facilities, cooking facilities, furnishing being of a poor standard. I think it's unsuitable… living in one room where you've got no access to cooking facilities, I don't think that's appropriate in this day and age in terms of people's health and wellbeing." (LA senior manager 4)

"In terms of B&B, again, you can have some really nice B&Bs, and you can have some pretty dingy ones, which don't feel safe for people, because, male-only B&Bs, or big B&Bs… in terms of people's safety and how they feel about that, it's hard to keep 60 rooms with a constant turnover, and all sorts of things happening in the rooms, it's hard to keep that to a standard that feels like a home for anyone. It's very basic." (Third sector representative 2)

"if you're in accommodation and you can't cook your own dinner and you can't wash your own clothes: unsuitable. There's no two ways about that… How fair is it to say, 'There's accommodation but you need to go and buy a meal every night.' That to me is just wrong… even in terms of washing clothes… Do local laundries even exist any more? I think those two effect everybody… If you cannot cook a meal and you cannot wash your clothes, to me, it's unsuitable." (LA senior manager 6)

Drivers of this poorer quality were several-fold: encompassing the lack of regulation of this form of accommodation compared to LA or third sector options; the cost of provision and limited budgets for improvements (see also Chapter 5); and the fact that they are owned/run by private individuals, rather than LAs or third sector organisations:

"I would say it's inconsistency around bed and breakfast, as a start. I'm not necessarily just always against bed and breakfast, but I think because it's less regulated, if you like, then it's more difficult to know exactly what local authorities probably do about that." (Statutory sector key informant)

"the amount that's being claimed [for B&B] - which is an LHA rate plus £60 - it doesn't lend itself to masses of improvement. It's enough for most places for the bare

minimum, but when you start to get into the Edinburghs and the Glasgows of the world, then, in financial terms, it's not enough." (Local government representative 2)

"the quality of management [is an issue] particularly when they are being managed by people that aren't working for the organisation [LA] or are not a third sector voluntary organisation." (LA senior manager 3)

Several key informants did comment on the wide variability of B&B accommodation used, with a number making the point that some authorities use well known chain hotels rather than traditional, old-style and often poorer quality B&Bs; and noting that in some areas B&Bs will be 'mixed-use' rather than specifically and entirely catering for those experiencing homelessness. Moreover, despite the very strong consensus that B&B accommodation is unsuitable, a number of key informants felt it important to emphasise that it can play an important role in responding to homelessness, as an emergency last resort or where for some specific reason it better suits the needs of the household:

"There are probably more folk in bed and breakfast in rural communities than there ought to be, but actually some of those are perfectly happy to be there because they know that the alternative is to move ten miles down the road and that's the kids out of school and them out of work." (Local government representative 1)

"I think it's easy to say that everybody wanted to get out of B&B, but it is part of that world, because it could be useful when people have an emergency, so for good reason, rather than it just being seen as always being bad. It helps to relieve pressure on other temporary accommodation, at times, as well, when it's full, with people still meeting their statutory duties to provide temp." (Statutory sector key informant)

Threading through key informant perspectives on particular kinds of TA, a number of cross cutting issues on quality and appropriateness emerged. First, single or couple households are at the 'sharp end' of TA in that they are much more likely to be accommodated in B&B or hostel accommodation, where quality concerns are greatest. This recognition informed experts' views on the desirability of extending the Unsuitable Accommodation Order to a broader range of households (discussed further below):

"single people… by default they're put into hostels, B&Bs… families, where possible, they are put into temporary furnished flats… [so] single people do still get the worst end of it in a way. So that kind of relates back to that argument, well should unsuitable accommodation, i.e., hostels and B&Bs not just be applied across the board?" (Third sector representative 1)

Second, the variability and inconsistency of TA was seen to reflect the lack of any nationally defined standards for TA, and there was clearly considerable appetite among key informants for change in this area:

"… clarity. That, for me, sums up the whole issue. There's a real lack of clarity… there's not been any updates to the Code of Guidance, because there's not been any, maybe, very specific attention paid to temporary accommodation for a while, that would be beneficial. There needs to be some clarity around what is and isn't acceptable… we have reached that point now, and, given all of the other change that's

swirling around, I suppose this is the ideal time to undertake that review and update things, and just give some clarity." (LA senior manager 2)

"Scottish Government needs to specify what standard [it] actually requires. That would help, because then people could be working to the same standard, rather than some providing bronze and some providing gold, and charging accordingly". (Independent housing/homelessness expert 1)

Third, the affordability of TA was a concern voiced across the board and regardless of the type of TA in question. These concerns about affordability, linked to how TA is costed (see below), were seen to be particularly pernicious to households either in or seeking work, with one key informant explaining that *"At the moment people that are in temporary accommodation are excluded from work, effectively"* (Independent housing/homelessness expert 1). Another elaborated:

"the idea that somebody's paying several hundred pound a week for temporary accommodation, it's not okay because it means… work becomes problematic, whether it's part-time or full-time work, you run up against the benefit [system] immediately… Equally… younger people you absolutely can't then go into education and training because the moment you go back to full-time education you lose your entitlement to benefits… that's clearly not acceptable. … your chances of ever getting any better off in temporary accommodation are zero… You're… essentially trapped in poverty and not working whilst you're in temp… you've got to look at that and say, well, this is not a set-up that's meeting the needs of the client group… temporary accommodation is a huge barrier to training, education and work." (Local government representative 1)

Fourth, and finally, key informants noted considerable challenges ensuring that the support available to those in TA was appropriate to their needs, an issue discussed in more depth – and drawing on available quantitative data – below.

People with support needs

For a number of years there have been reports that a growing proportion of homeless applicants and those accessing TA have more complex support needs and vulnerabilities[53]. This trend is visible in statutory homelessness statistics, which show that the proportion of assessments where the applicant has one or more support need has increased from 34% in 2012/13, to 44% in 2016/17[54].

Scottish Government analysts have provided Heriot-Watt with bespoke analysis of HL1 data based on three-year combined data periods, to enable the exploration of specific

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[53] Littlewood, M., Bramley, G. Fitzpatrick, S. and Wood, J. (2017) *Eradicating 'Core Homelessness' in Scotland's Four Largest Cities: Providing an Evidence Base and Guiding a Funding Framework.* Edinburgh: Social Bite.;

Fitzpatrick, S., Pawson, H., Bramley, G., Wilcox, S. and Watts, B. (2015) *The Homelessness Monitor: Scotland 2015.* London: Crisis. https://www.crisis.org.uk/media/236831/the_homelessness_monitor_scotland_2015.pdf;

Scottish Parliament Local Government and Communities Committee (2018) *Report on Homelessness, SP Paper 279.* http://www.parliament.scot/parliamentarybusiness/CurrentCommittees/103620.aspx

[54] Scottish Government (2017) *Homelessness in Scotland 2016-2017.* Edinburgh: Scottish Government. http://www.gov.scot/Resource/0052/00521186.pdf

support needs in Scotland, for a separate study for the Lankelly Chase Foundation. This data is used here to explore trends in the support needs of those in temporary accommodation. As a starting point, Table 10 shows the total number of cases where TA has been provided. There has been an increase in the average numbers accessing temporary accommodation per year, from around 13,600 between 2007 and 2010, to almost 15,000 places a year between 2013 and 2017, an average annual increase of 10% a year over the period. However, the numbers have fallen by 6% between 2010-13 and 2013-17.

Table 10 then shows equivalent trends for three support needs groups. It shows an increase of 35% between 2007-10 and 2013-17 of cases in temporary accommodation where the occupant was **homeless with offending <u>or</u> substance misuse issues**, but a more recent reduction of 4% between 2010-13 and 2013-17. There has been a 28% increase in those in temporary accommodation who are **homeless and have another issue** (substance misuse, offending, domestic violence or mental health issues) between 2007-17, but a reduction of 3% in the more recent 2010-17 period. Increases in the proportion of more complex cases with **homelessness alongside two or more other issues** have been sustained over the period, up 62% from 2007-17 and 7% in the more recently 2010-17 period.

Over the total 10-year period, numbers of the most complex cases in temporary accommodation have doubled or tripled (depending on the measure of 'complexity' used). For example, **homeless people with offending and domestic violence issues** increased by 198% between 2007-2010 and 2013-2017, with a 66% increase between 2010-2017. The numbers in temporary accommodation recorded as **homeless, with offending and substance misuse issues** have increased by 74% over the 10-year period, but have not increased further on average between 2010-13 and 2013-2017.

Table 10: TA use and multiple support needs, 3-year groups

Needs groups	2007-2010	2010-2013	2013-2017	% change 2007-2017	% change 2010-2017
All Homeless where TA provided	40,855	47,582	59,903	10%	-6%
Homeless, with substance misuse or offending issues	8,057	11,387	14,532	35%	-4%
Homeless, plus any other issue	15,464	20,421	26,407	28%	-3%
Homeless plus any other two issues	4,029	6,098	8,697	62%	7%

Source: HL1 data 2007-2010 to 2016-2017 combined data, homeless people occupying temporary accommodation between application and discharge of duty

This new data clearly demonstrates that the support needs of those residing in TA in Scotland have increased dramatically over the last decade, albeit with increases slowing or reversing to a small degree more recently. This is likely to reflect the abolition of the priority need criteria/expansion of the full rehousing duty to virtually all single homeless households, that homelessness prevention has been more effective with lower needs groups, wider social trends, and perhaps in part that staff may be more 'attuned' to identifying support needs given the introduction of Housing Options approaches and the statutory Housing Support Duty.

Key informants described the significant challenges they face in providing TA for those with higher support needs group, casting considerable doubt on the appropriateness of current TA given the needs profile it caters for:

"I still think that it [hostel accommodation] has its place… there needs to be that provision that you can access 24/7, and where there's staff available in a crisis situation. I can't see a world in which that won't exist. However, the negatives are that you end up with a sub-culture of people within accommodation, who all have very similar needs… sometimes you feel as if you're just keeping people alive, and that sounds really stark. Sometimes you get to do really good pieces of work, if your hostel's a bit more settled for a… you have a fairly stable group within your hostel accommodation, and… you can start to do all of that supported interventions that you want to do. You're doing supported cooking, and supported shopping, and you're speaking to people about accessing services. You're involved with health services, and all that works really, really well, but, all it takes is for the balance to flip, and then, what your support services are doing is just keeping people alive in them, managing the unit, managing the behaviours." (LA senior manager 5)

"Their ability to put people who had multiple and complex needs with providers who probably had the best available at that time has been significantly restrained. Local authorities are then left having to put people who previously would have been in hostel, or very similar, type of accommodation into mainstream accommodation, and then we have to buy housing management and support. It's not cost-effective to do that." (Local government representative 2)

"some of the difficulties is always about the highest support needs… the most challenging clients… managing them in any kind of congregate accommodation or supporting them can be quite difficult." (Local government representative 1)

"One of the issues that comes up and this ties in with the suitability… is where a homeless person has, for example, gone to a residential rehab unit or there are addiction issues and/or mental health issues and what they're being offered is the local authority's hostel or bed and breakfast where there is absolutely no support. We have clients who will say, they will not go there. They would rather go back to, well sofa-surf for example, than go into a bed and breakfast, because, in terms of the progress they might have made." (Third sector representative 1)

As can be seen here, neither of the primary options available to LAs are seen to 'work' for this group. On the one hand, managing complex needs and associated behavioural issues in congregate hostel accommodation (where support provision is variable, but might be the most intensive) is extremely challenging, with international evidence also pointing to the limitations of such accommodation in meeting the needs of this group[55]. On the other hand, this group are not considered able to sustain self-contained mainstream TA accommodation without intensive support. While experts cited examples of LAs attempting address this by funding floating support to go into dispersed accommodation, constraints on LA budgets and Supporting People-type funding streams were a key barrier here.

As noted in Chapter 2, another challenge was seen to be the difficulties LAs can face drawing in support from health and social care, drug and alcohol, and mental health

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[55] Mackie, P., Johnsen, S. and Wood, J. (2017) *Ending Rough Sleeping: What Works?* London: Crisis. https://www.crisis.org.uk/ending-homelessness/homelessness-knowledge-hub/services-and-interventions/ending-rough-sleeping-what-works-an-international-evidence-review/;

services, with several key informants calling for more robust mechanisms to encourage or enforce such involvement. The Support Duty (see above) was seen to be inadequate in this regard, given its focus on *housing* support rather than the broader gamut of multiple and complex support needs experienced by some people experiencing homelessness:

> "it [the Support Duty] remains focused on housing support… it is housing support that [LAs have] to assess, it doesn't mean they won't look at other things, but homelessness services are not delivering social care support, they're not delivering… drug and alcohol assistance or mental health, these are not embedded within homelessness structures. These come from other providers and it's that breakdown I think that doesn't work very well." (Local government representative 1)

> "that's one of the huge issues. It's the elephant in the room every time we talk about this, the lack of broader support to meet health and social care needs of people who happen to be homeless or become homeless at the end of a cycle of deprivation." (LA senior manager 2)

It was in this context that a number of key informants reported LAs considering introducing Housing First models, and in one case already having introduced it on a small scale. This LA manager articulated a shift in thinking currently underway of how to respond to the needs of this group:

> "What we're now finding is that there are a group of people who are just not ready for mainstream accommodation, and you really have to suspend their waiting list to get them a bit more ready before you put them into accommodation. That tends to be that group of people with the complex addiction and mental health issues. However, those are the groups just now that our Housing First model's working for, so that kind of contradicts itself in a way." (LA senior manager 5)

There was growing interest in Housing First prompted by concerns around levels of rough sleeping (especially in major cities), as well as the quality of existing accommodation for this group (primarily in B&Bs and hostels). The key informant quoted above added that *"[w]hilst rapid rehousing and Housing First models are becoming incredibly popular, because of the outcomes they have, a bigger driver for local authorities… is that it costs less money if you no longer have to fund your temporary accommodation to the extent that you do just now"* (LA senior manager 5). Nevertheless, a key consideration emphasised by others (and in other reports in this area[56]) was the funding required to provide the wrap-around support required by the model. More generally, in 2016 Evans highlighted LA concerns regarding the higher costs associated with maintaining TA standards given the greater prevalence of complex needs amongst homeless people[57].

Specific issues and challenges were identified for some sub-groups of those with more complex needs, including both high-risk offenders and those 'cycling' through the criminal justice and homelessness system:

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[56] See p.35 Littlewood, M., Bramley, G. Fitzpatrick, S. and Wood, J. (2017) *Eradicating 'Core Homelessness' in Scotland's Four Largest Cities: Providing an Evidence Base and Guiding a Funding Framework.* Edinburgh: Social Bite.

[57] See p.21 in Shelter Scotland (2016) *Funding Homelessness Services in Scotland: Policy Response.* Edinburgh: Shelter Scotland.

"We know that high-risk offenders are also being managed through homeless temporary accommodation and that puts everybody at risk." (Local government representative 1)

"There's also that group of people who are coming in and out or prison, whose period of homelessness has been extended considerably, but they utilise temporary accommodation differently from your historic homeless client group. They kind of see it as their own home, and they've got a preference of places that they would go into when they come out of prison, knowing that they're only going to be in it for a period of time before they're back in prison again. I think we need to create the models of accommodation [for that group]." (LA senior manager 5)

Refusals and satisfaction

Available data gives us some partial insights into the quality of TA. One indicator comes from the ARC data, which includes information about the proportion of TA offers that are refused, by LA (Table 11). It should be noted that offers of TA might be refused for a number of reasons: the poor quality (perceived or objective) of the TA offered; the location of the TA; past experience in that TA; that an individual's circumstances mean they would rather stay e.g. with family (which may or may not reflect that the TA on offer is of an objectively poor quality); or a change of circumstance between application and offer.

Across Scotland, almost 1 in 10 TA offers are refused. Refusal rates for TA are very low (less than 1%) in Inverclyde, but reach two or three times the national rate in East Dunbartonshire (31.6), East Ayrshire (30.1), Perth and Kinross (23.4), the Scottish Borders (22.4) and Fife (21.9). In Perth and Kinross and East Ayrshire (and Scottish Borders to a lesser extent), there is a higher rate of refusals of ordinary dwellings, while in East Dunbartonshire and the Scottish Borders refusals of B&Bs are higher. In Fife, refusals of accommodation in hostels drives the high overall refusal rate, with hostel refusals also playing a role in Perth and Kinross and East Ayrshire. It is notable that all these areas are quite geographically large rural areas, so these high refusal rates may relate to the location of TA.

The highest refusal rates are for refuges, with 16% of offers refused. LA accommodation, B&B, PSL and 'other' accommodation all have national refusal rates of 9-10%, with refusal rates for HA, LA hostel and other hostel slightly lower at 6.8-8.4%. Refusals of RSL hostel placements are somewhat lower, at 3%. These potentially unexpected lower refusal rates for both hostel and B&B provision mask considerable variation between LAs. For example, around a fifth (and in some cases more) of LA or 'other' hostel placement offers are refused in Fife, Moray and Perth and Kinross. Similarly B&B refusal rates vary substantially, from 0% or very low numbers in 14 of the LAs that use such TA, to a fifth of offers in Clackmannanshire and Angus, to a third of offers in Dumfries and Galloway and the Scottish Borders, to over 45% in Dunbartonshire. These differences support the perspectives offered by key informants above, that the quality of these forms of TA provision vary substantially, with this variation seemingly both between areas and according to who the provider is (with the smaller number of RSL run hostels potentially higher quality than those run by LAs or other organisations). Variation in refusal rates may also reflect how LAs make offers, for instance, the extent to which they consult with applicants about

their preferences and views in advance of making an offer. Drivers of refusal rates will be further explored in the case studies.

Table 11: % of TA offers refused, by type, by LA 2016-2017

LA	LA	HA	LA hostel	RSL hostel	Other hostel	B&B	Refuge	PSL	Other	All
Scotland	9.6	6.8	7.1	3.0	8.3	9.1	15.9	9.5	9.9	9.0
East Dunbartonshire	16.4	23.5			1.4	45.6		13.2		31.6
East Ayrshire	37.8		20.4	0			0			30.1
Perth & Kinross	33.9	16.7	18.1		21	0				23.4
Scottish Borders	24.3	0				33.3			21.6	22.4
Fife	6.2		29.2		31.2	11.8	0	1.7		21.9
Dundee City	21.9	14.7	5.8	12.5	18.1		0			13.1
Orkney Islands	15.7	0	16.7			0	0			13.1
North Lanarkshire	12.4	5.1	5.9	0				1.1		11.5
Moray	5.6	8.2	22.7	0	24.7	12	0			11.1
Midlothian	8.3	0	0	0	11.1	7.7	25	0		10
Falkirk	12.3	0	4.6		0			10.8		8.4
Aberdeen City	3.5		13.5			13.9		0	0	7.9
Highland	2	33.3	6.3			9.5	0	100	8.7	7.7
East Renfrewshire	8.5	0				6.9		9.1	0	7.6
Angus	5.9	5.6				19.4				7.3
Clackmannanshire	5.3					19.4		0	14.5	7.3
City of Glasgow	34.8	7.9	3.2	5.4	9.5	5	50	5.9	11.8	6.3
South Lanarkshire	7	22	3.3	0.7	5	3	5.7	3.8		5.5
Dumfries & Galloway	2.4	0.8	0	8.7	3.1	30	0	8.8	11	5.3
West Dunbartonshire	5.5		3.4	2	0	0	0		15.7	5.1
Aberdeenshire	5.6	3.2	3.3		2.1	4.5	50		0	4.9
South Ayrshire	6	8	1.6	2	0		8.3	6.8		4.8
Argyll & Bute	0	9.9						1.1	3.2	4.7
City of Edinburgh	2.9	1.7	4	2.4	2.2	3.5			1.9	3.4
West Lothian	7	1.7	3.9			0		0		3.0
Renfrewshire	2.5	0	0			0		0	0	1.9
Western Isles	0	4.8	2.4			0				1.8
Stirling	0.7	2.7	1.3			1.7	100	9.1	50	1.5
East Lothian	2.1				0	1.2			0	1.4
North Ayrshire	0.9		0.7	2.1	3.5		0			1.4
Shetland Islands	1.5	0				0		0		1.2
Inverclyde		0	1.2			0				0.9

Source: ARC data 2016-2017

ARC data also includes information about satisfaction with TA. The ARC indicator on TA satisfaction is intended to be asked of all households who have been housed in temporary or emergency accommodation in the last 12 months. However, unlike the mainstream tenant survey, there is no information in the ARC about the number of survey responses or how the data was collected. This means that there may be a wide range of approaches to collecting TA satisfaction data, which will impact on the comparability of results.

Figure 5: % satisfied with TA, by LA (2016-2017)
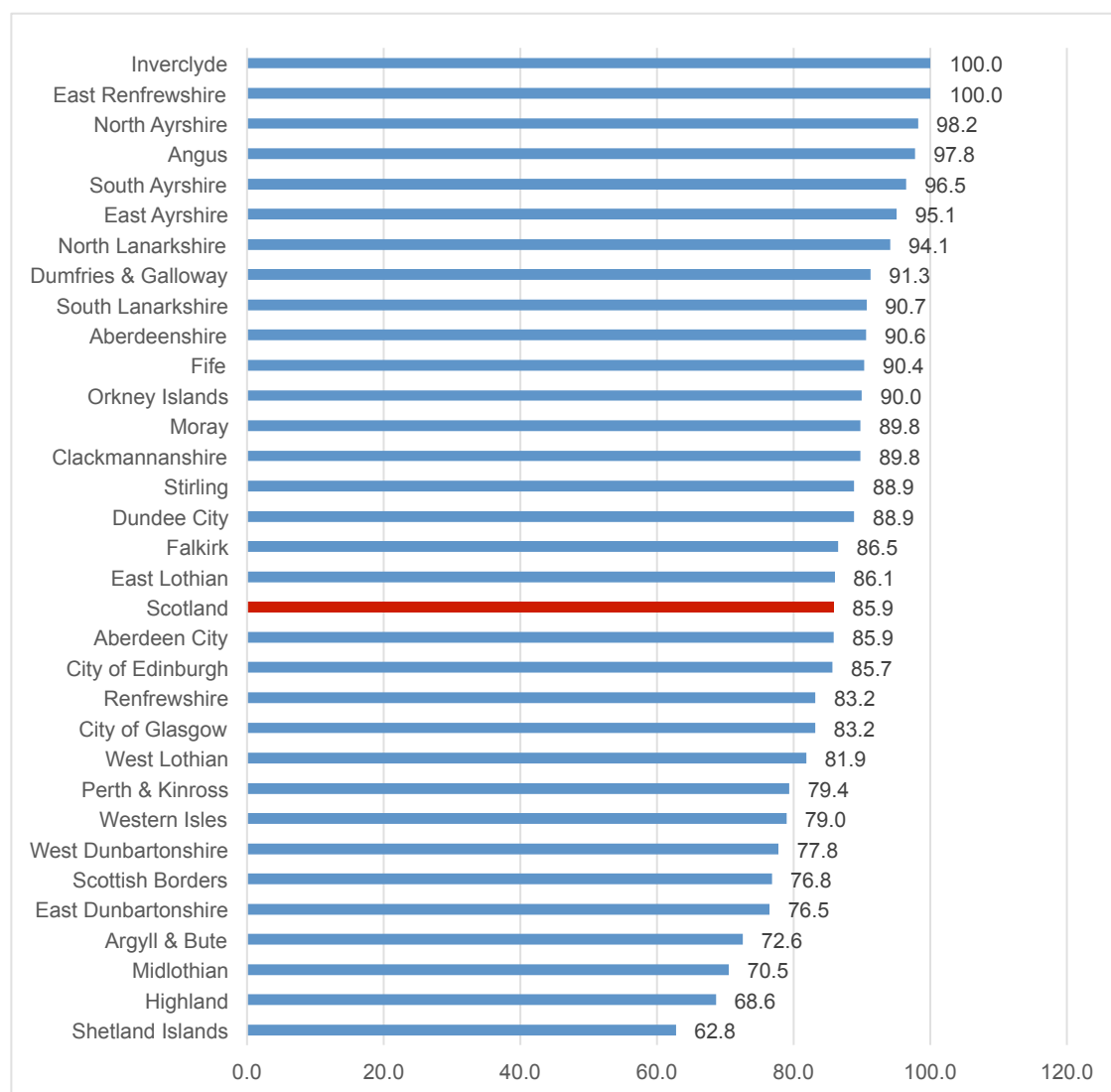
Source: ARC data 2016-2017

With these caveats in mind, among those who accept an offer of TA, overall satisfaction rates are high, with 86% saying they were satisfied with the TA they resided in. Lower satisfaction rates were reported in Highland and the Shetland Islands (60-70%), as well as Midlothian and Argyll and Bute (70-75%). Very high rates of satisfaction were reported in Inverclyde, East Renfrewshire, North Ayrshire and Angus (over 97%).

There does not appear to always be a correlation between satisfaction with TA and refusal of TA. For instance, lower satisfaction levels are seen in Argyll and Bute

where refusal rates are half the national average, and high refusal rates are seen in East Ayrshire alongside higher satisfaction rates. This may indicate that either refusal rates or current satisfaction data, or both, are poor indicators of TA quality.

Unsuitable Accommodation Order and standards

The final source of data on TA quality considered here is the number of cases (at 31st March each year) where LAs had breached the Unsuitable Accommodation Order, by placing families with children or pregnant women in B&Bs. The most recent data pertains to March 2017, when the maximum period families could stay in such accommodation without a breach (or save meeting one of the exception criteria) was 14 days. This period has subsequently been reduced to 7 days, with the first data on breaches following this reduction due to be released in June 2018. Looking at the decade to 2017, the number of breaches peaked at 62 in March 2008, but has remained in single figures since March 2012.

Figure 6: Breaches of the Unsuitable Accommodation Order, Scotland, 2007 to 2017
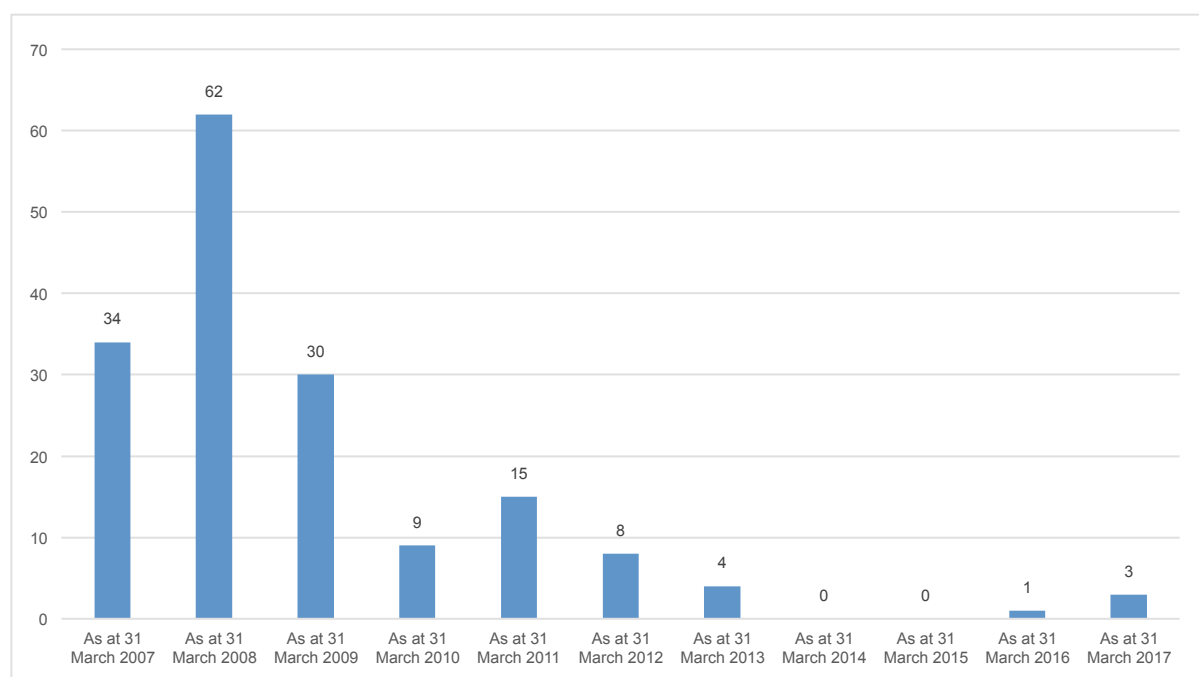
Source: HL2 dataset as at 6 March 2017, Annual Homelessness Tables 2016-2017

A number of homelessness organisations have called for the extension of the Unsuitable Accommodation Order to a wider group of households (see above), and key informants participating in this study were asked for there views on whether such a move was desirable, feasible and achievable, and which groups (if any) it should be extended to.

There was a clear and strong consensus in favour of some kind of extension of the Order and/or introduction of more ambitious TA standards in other ways, driven by the dual concern that unsuitable TA can place people at direct risk of harm and (relatedly) can lead to damaging unintended consequences that impose costs on the public purse:

"Is it acceptable to put someone who is a vulnerable looked-after child… in B&B accommodation that, an awful lot of times, expose[s] them to an awful lot of risk and danger?... the same [case] again could be made for people who are destitute… that's the time when they're most at risk of trafficking…it's about thinking about what are the personal qualities of a person being put in temporary accommodation? Put anyone who has drug and alcohol issues into accommodation that is unsuitable… [with] people who have the same habits that you're trying to break, is that acceptable?... For me… it's about, what is the 'whole-person' look at this? If you were putting that person into the accommodation, are you increasing the vulnerability?" (Local government representative 2)

"half the battle is trying to get somebody into temp but if the temp that is offered is not suitable due to that person's physical and mental health needs, it's a bit of a waste of everybody's time... This is not rocket science… if you put somebody in really poor quality temporary accommodation that doesn't meet their needs, they either won't stay in that accommodation, they'll go back to rough sleeping or sofa surfing or whatever, or their mental health, their other support needs are going to get worse while they're there, which means more and more expense and costs down-the-line. It just doesn't seem to be that there's enough thought… not enough emphasis [on] how to make temporary accommodation as good as it possibly can be - spend to save, I suppose." (Third sector representative 1)

"it would be helpful to include 16, 17-year olds, and I certainly think it should include anybody who's a care leaver… I think 16, 17-year olds are particularly vulnerable in those situations, so I would definitely include them." (LA senior manager 1)

"the standards aren't clear enough, they're not high enough… we confuse ourselves with the Unsuitable Accommodation Order because it's only unsuitable for some people. It would just make more sense to say, this is unsuitable, nobody should be in this at all… The only get-out clause would be where somebody says, actually for practical reasons I'm content to stay in a bed and breakfast at this location" (Local government representative 1)

As can be seen, while some key informants advocated for an extension of the Order to *all* household types/applicants, others singled out particular groups, namely, care leavers and 16/17 year olds, those with addiction issues, people experiencing destitution and vulnerability to trafficking, and those with physical and/or mental health issues or disabilities.

Others supported the extension of the definition of unsuitability, with particular suggestions made around *affordability* and the *social environment* engendered in particular forms of TA (i.e. the concentration of individuals with vulnerabilities, support needs and behavioural issues in close proximity). One key informant advocated a *loosening* of one specific aspect of the Order – location standards – to enable a more 'person-centred response', particularly in rural LAs, describing the restriction on 'out of area' placements regardless of an individuals circumstances as *"nuts"*:

"in some cases accommodation may be available across the border that's nearer to that person's original location and supports than accommodation that's within that own

local authority's area [so]… The location standard would be one I would suggest that there could be a bit more flexibility on to meet the person's needs… It's about that person-centred approach." (LA senior manager 6)

A number of key informants were cautious about an extension of the Order, primarily for reasons of feasibility. Several favoured a strengthening of suitability standards, but saw a consideration of the investment needed to meet them as essential, raising concerns that in the absence of sufficient resources, a strengthening of standards would be unlikely to drive 'real change' for individual households. Another was emphatic that B&B accommodation is unsuitable for *all* household types, but was concerned about whether LAs would realistically be able to move away from this form of TA:

"Potentially [extending the Order is] not [feasible], no… No, I'm thinking about the local authorities here, just because of the shortage of single accommodation… it's moving people on. Where do we move [them]?... the reason that they're in bed and breakfasts is there's nowhere for these people to move on to." (LA senior manager 4)

"There's an awful lot of pushback from local authorities on trying to implement and enforce statutory standards because they're just not confident that they'll ever be able to meet them, which is a really depressing position to be in… Actually the fundamental question is, do local authorities have the resources they need to deliver a good homelessness response?" (Third sector representative 1)

Particular concerns were voiced for how a city like Edinburgh, heavily reliant on B&B TA, would manage any such extension given that *"there are very few alternatives"* (Statutory sector key informant).

For these reasons, some participants emphasised the introduction of higher minimum standards within hostel and B&B accommodation, rather than simply an Order seeking to 'ban' their use. Reflecting the discussion above, a core focus here was on the availability of laundry facilities and fridges, food storage and cooking facilities:

"it would be helpful if we had a set of standards, I mean they need to be statutory standards… It wouldn't be any higher than those that apply to either the private rented sector or the social sector as it is, but the issues around not just the accommodation, but also the hotel type services, if you like, so what else is being provided? What's the furniture like? What's the bedding like? Are you providing pots and pans? What's in the cupboards when you move in in the first instance? It's all that kind of stuff, what does the welcome process like?" (Local government representative 1)

"when we're putting people in emergency temporary accommodation, B&Bs, are we making sure they have more than just a bed? It doesn't cost hundreds of thousands of pounds to make sure someone has access to a laundrette. There are things that, if we accept, in the short to medium-term, we're going to have to still use emergency B&B accommodation, how can we make that accommodation liveable and bearable. That can be done. Some local authorities are already doing it." (Local government representative 2)

Key informants highlighted a number of potential unintended consequences that might be associated with moves to strengthen TA standards, namely: that extending the Order to some but not all groups would lead to those not encompassed by the Order fairing worse than at present in terms of TA quality; that extending the order risks LAs *"avoid[ing] putting folks into temporary accommodation altogether rather than risk being caught in the unsuitable temporary accommodation order"* (LA senior manager 1); and that imposing more parameters on LAs TA supply may potentially increase quality but restrict supply. The diversification of the kinds of TA used in Scotland over the last 15 years (described in Chapter 3) brings the challenge of maintaining standards across a wider range of provision. Any policy change should seek to address these risks and challenges from the outset.

Summary

The study has highlighted a range of concerns with the quality of TA. Self-contained TA in 'normal' housing stock was seen to be of by far the highest standard. Minor quality issues were highlighted in relation to the variability of furnishings, and potentially more significant quality concerns regarding private rented sector leased TA.

More significant quality issues were seen to pertain in hostel stock, in relation to feelings of safety, security and wellbeing, the 'social environment' of such congregate TA, and the physical state of the accommodation and building.

B&Bs were seen to be the least appropriate form of TA and where quality issues are most acute, with lack access to food storage, cooking and laundry facilities seen as especially problematic.

The potential negative impacts of the 'rules and regulations' in congregate TA were also noted and the mismatch between individuals' support needs and the support available in TA seen to be a problem across TA types. A person-centred approach to TA allocation and support, and improvement of TA in relation to the environmental and social aspects of quality, as well as physical (buildings and furnishing) standards, in all types of accommodation was identified as important.

Overall, key informants were on balance in favour of a strengthening of suitability standards, both in terms of the extension of the current Unsuitability Order to a broader range of 'vulnerable households' and in terms of the introduction of minimum standards that apply to all types of TA, evening out current discrepancies in the regulation of dispersed LA, HA or PRS accommodation, hostels and (in particular) B&Bs/hotels.

Different local contexts and pressures are important in enabling an effective TA response, with recognition that ending B&B use will be a very significant challenge in some areas. Consideration of the feasibility of measures to improve quality across TA provisions in different LAs, and the investment needed to facilitate it, were seen to be essential.

5. Funding and costs

Drawing on key informant perspectives, existing literature, and limited/partial available data, this chapter provides an overview of the sources of TA funding, the costs of TA to the LA and resident, and the different ways LAs account for TA income and expenditure.

The nature and impacts of temporary accommodation funding

TA is funded primarily by Housing Benefit. Different forms of TA accrue different levels of funding from the benefits system, with 'subsidy limits', caps, and restrictions of various kinds applying depending on the size, ownership and management of the accommodation in question[58]. As such, the funding available for TA has and continues to be affected by the welfare reform programme of previous and current Westminster Governments. TA residents who are in work may have no or reduced benefit entitlement and thus be liable for rent payments themselves.

TA owned and managed by a local authority (e.g. furnished LA accommodation) is subject to no subsidy limit under HB. The Bedroom Tax (Removal of the Spare Room Subsidy) and weekly Benefit Cap do apply to such TA, however. TA leased from another body (a private landlord or Housing Association) is subject to 'subsidy limits', usually 90% of the LHA rate (at 2011 levels) plus (until recently, see below) a £60 per week management charge. LAs are able to claim the one bed LHA rate for Hotels and B&Bs.

Given these rules, LAs are not always able to recoup the cost of TA through Housing Benefit. Important examples include where the cost of leasing from private landlords or Housing Associations exceeds the subsidy limit[59] and where LAs use B&B/hotel accommodation that is often considerably more expensive than that recoverable via HB[60]. TA costs will also not be recoverable through HB where an individual is entitled to TA but not to HB, as has been the case for some job-seeking EU migrants since 2014[61].

The introduction of Universal Credit (UC) across the UK was intended to bring substantial changes to TA funding, with the housing cost element covering TA costs based on the appropriate LHA rate for the household size (including the Shared Accommodation Rate (SAR)) regardless of who owns and manages the accommodation (excluding supported accommodation, see below)[62]. Early evidence on the impacts of UC roll out highlighted

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[58] CIH Scotland (2013) *Temporary Accommodation and Welfare Reform in Scotland*.
http://www.cih.org/resources/PDF/Scotland%20Policy%20Pdfs/Temporary%20accommodation/TA%20Note%20Final%206%20Dec.pdf

[59] DWP (2014) 'New Rules to Stop Migrants Claiming Housing Benefit', *English Government Press Release*, 20 January: https://www.gov.uk/government/news/new-rules-to-stop-migrants-claiming-housing-benefit

[60] Sanders, B. and Dobie, S. (2015) Sharing in Scotland: *Supporting Young People Who are Homeless on the Shared Accommodation Rate*. London: Crisis. https://www.crisis.org.uk/media/237146/sharers_in_scotland_2015.pdf;
Shelter (2005) *Alternatives to Bed and Breakfast: an Overview of Practice in Scotland*.
https://scotland.shelter.org.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0003/48279/AlternativestoB_and_BBriefing.pdf/_nocache

[61] DWP (2014) 'New Rules to Stop Migrants Claiming Housing Benefit', *English Government Press Release*, 20 January: https://www.gov.uk/government/news/new-rules-to-stop-migrants-claiming-housing-benefit

[62] DWP (2018) Universal Credit and Rented Housing: Guide for Landlords.
https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/universal-credit-and-rented-housing--2/universal-credit-and-rented-housing-guide-for-landlords

acute concerns about arrears in TA, linked to the impact of waiting times under UC[63]. As a result of these concerns, in November 2017, the Government announced a 'short-term measure' taking TA funding out of UC and back into HB[64], with a longer-term solution currently under consideration. While many TA residents will now have their TA costs paid via HB, those currently in TA and on UC will continue to have these costs met via UC (unless there is a change in circumstances)[65].

There was initial uncertainty over how the TA management charge would be dealt with under UC, which presented considerable risks to LAs using or considering expanding their use of private rented sector or Housing Association leasing schemes for TA[66]. It was ultimately decided that the funding to cover this management fee would be allocated to Scotland via the block grant[67], to be dispersed to LAs via a formula decided by Scottish Government in consultation with COSLA. £22.5 million was transferred to cover the management fee in 2017/18, with some concern that this would leave a shortfall[68]. Given the short-term removal of TA from UC, this pot of money is now expected to replace the £60 per week management charge (see above) formerly funded via HB.

Funding of short-term supported accommodation is currently under review by the Westminster Government[69]. Currently, supported accommodation is usually classified as 'Supported Exempt accommodation', with funding provided via the Housing Benefit system, but exempt from HB related restrictions (LHA, SAR etc.). The rent charged must not be unreasonably high compared to suitable alternative accommodation. Other forms of SA (e.g. refuges and hostels) are subject to less generous exemptions from normal HB restrictions[70]. It is expected that supported accommodation funding will be devolved to Scottish Government from 2020[71], with work ongoing to calculate the amount to be devolved and Scottish Government carrying out an 'options appraisal' to decide whether devolved funds will be further devolved to LAs (as will be the case in England), or distributed centrally via an alternative mechanism.

Key informants saw this existing funding regime for TA as highly complex, rigid and restrictive, with many emphasizing that LA practice had been driven by fitting around the

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[63] Wilson, W. (2017) *Housing costs in Universal Credit, House of Commons Library Briefing Paper, Number 6547*. http://researchbriefings.parliament.uk/ResearchBriefing/Summary/SN06547

[64] Barnes, S. (2017) 'Government Announces 'Short-Term' Solution for Temporary Accommodation Rent Arrears', *Inside Housing*, 23 November: https://www.insidehousing.co.uk/news/news/government-announces-short-term-solution-for-temporary-accommodation-rent-arrears-53351

[65] DWP (2017) *Universal Credit Local Authority Bulletin, UC1/2017*. https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/680503/uc8-12-17-v2.pdf

[66] Evans, A. (2016) *Funding Homelessness Services in Scotland*. Edinburgh: Shelter. https://scotland.shelter.org.uk/professional_resources/policy_library/policy_library_folder/funding_homelessness_services_in_scotland

[67] DWP (2017) *Housing Benefit Circular HB S5/2017*. https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/649453/s5-2017.pdf

[68] Berry, K. (2017) *SPICe Briefing on Homelessness*. http://www.parliament.scot/S5_Local_Gov/Meeting%20Papers/20170308_MeetingPapers.pdf; Scottish Parliament Local Government and Communities Committee (2018) *Report on Homelessness, SP Paper 279*. http://www.parliament.scot/parliamentarybusiness/CurrentCommittees/103620.aspx

[69] DCLG (2017) *Funding Supported Housing: Policy Statement and Consultation.* London: DCLG. https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/655990/Funding_supported_housing_-_policy_statement_and_consultation.pdf

[70] See https://www.mrassociates.org/knowledge-base/glossary/exempt-accommodation

[71] DCLG/DWP (2017*) Funding Supported Housing: Policy Statement and Consultation.* London: DCLG.

benefits system and *"juggling the balls as best they can"* (Local government representative 2), rather than responding to the needs of those using TA:

> "What we haven't done and what we should have… is… design our portfolio [of] services around the client group. We haven't done that… there's a benefits system here and we need to make sure that pays for as much as we possibly can because there's no other money, so you design principally around the benefit system… it's not as client-focused as it needs to be." (Local government representative 1)

> "If we have a rigid subsidy regime that only allows us to put someone in temporary accommodation, and claim that amount of money in that kind of circumstances, you start to have a behaviour that's being driven there… the subsidy regime that we have at the moment is quite vindictive…. You've got a rule-based subsidy regime that says it'll do this and do that, it'll be owned by this person, it'll definitely not be that, and not be that." (Local government representative 2)

> "the challenges are around the funding side and that driving what is supplied, rather than what should be supplied." (Independent housing/homelessness expert 1)

They also highlighted the continuing and considerable uncertainty about how TA and SA costs will be met in the future:

> "people are constantly watching what's happening with welfare reform, to try and understand how to position themselves to maximise the revenue they can get to cover their costs… there's a lot of head-scratching, a lot of calculations… in some cases, we've gone down one route, thinking that's the way things are going to be, and then the Government has come along and, overnight, changed that, and we've had to go down another route! There's been an awful lot of confusion about what would and wouldn't be eligible to be funded, and now, of course, we're in this scenario where we've got this whole new, potentially new funding regime coming our way, and it's confusing. It's extremely confusing to understand, but also to plan for… I don't know how Government thinks we're all going to cope in that confusion." (LA senior manager 2)

In this context, key informants reported that a number of LAs have already restructured how TA is costed, or are initiating moves in that direction (see below). Several key informants, acknowledging that LAs are *"managing very scare resources"* and having to make *"some quite hard-nosed"* decisions (Third sector representative 1) feared impacts on the type and quality of TA provision:

> "The big concern about that is that we don't know, moving forward, what our budgets are going to look like for dispersed accommodation. We anticipate that we're not going to be able to charge the same rent levels that we have been up until now, and, therefore, it may no longer be an affordable model of accommodation." (LA senior manager 5)

> "Well, if you can't afford that level of service… you need to make savings, but you're still required to provide accommodation for people while the savings have to come in other ways, so, it has to come in quality, and that has been my long-term concern, that

we start to see people moving away from good quality, dispersed accommodation, back into these centralised, largescale, hostel-type arrangements, where you've got mixed groups sharing, very inappropriately, in a lot of cases, and we shouldn't be forced back down that route, because the Government doesn't want to pay for services that are desperately needed." (LA senior manager 2)

Figures cited in Chapter 3 indicate a substantial increase in hostel-type provision, with 43% more households living in hostel-type TA in 2017 than in 2010. What is not clear from the headline figures is whether, as this key informant feared, this increase has been in cheaper and less good quality hostel-provision, although one key informant did indeed think that had been the case:

"[some]thing that's changing across the country is the level of staffing provision that's put into hostel accommodation, and that's a bit of a worry… Historically, what you would have within hostel provision, you'd have a hostel manager on a 24-hour basis, usually with three members of staff on a shift, and that's because of the health and safety, and to manage to risk, and so on, and so forth. There's some local authorities… who have now gone down to one member of staff on a shift, so, there's no ability there to provide any kind of support provision. All they're basically providing is a caretaker function. Now, that's completely driven by the current financial status, but, in no way does it meet the need of our service users." (LA senior manager 5)

Another commented that LA attempts to improve the quality of TA had been undermined by funding arrangements:

"There was a lot of investment in improving the quality and the standard of temporary accommodation. In particular, looking at the role of hostel accommodation and whether or not it could still perform as a resource for particular categories of applicants, so for those who might have specific needs… A number of local authorities invested quite heavily, for example, in providing self-contained hostel rooms or units, which is now proven to be incredibly complex. Because, of course, that throws them out of the exempt accommodation categories and is creating a bit of a financial risk." (Independent housing/homelessness expert 2)

This suggests that we may be seeing a continuation of trends identified by Evans in her 2016 report on the funding of homelessness services. In contrast to an earlier 2012 report, which had identified increasing expenditure on improving standards in TA, in 2016, no such trend was identified. On the contrary *"there was some concern over the possibility of the standards falling with budget pressures in [the] future"*[72].

The cost of temporary accommodation

The strong consensus view among key informants is that TA costs are in general very high in Scotland. This issue of high costs has been raised in the recent Local Government and Communities Committee Report on Homelessness, which indicated that LAs are not

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[72] p.21 in Evans, A. (2016) *Funding Homelessness Services in Scotland*. Edinburgh: Shelter.
https://scotland.shelter.org.uk/professional_resources/policy_library/policy_library_folder/funding_homelessness_services _in_scotland

following guidance on how TA costs should be calculated[73] and in Evans' work for Shelter Scotland on the funding of homelessness services[74].

Several drivers of high TA costs were emphasized by key informants, with these drivers relating to market dynamics and LA practice, and varying depending on the type of TA in question. High costs of TA leased from private landlords appear to be driven by high PRS rent-levels, meaning that LAs face a high rental cost element, but also that they need to develop PSL schemes desirable to private landlords who could easily let their properties to other groups. PSL schemes have thus tended to include favourable terms for landlords, regarding liability for repairs and maintenance, for instance.

This constellation of factors have led to various changes to LA practice in relation to PSL in recent years. Some LAs remain interested in pursuing PSL schemes but struggle to access accommodation at affordable rents; others have had to increase the 'offer' to landlords to avoid properties getting 'pulled out' of the scheme and 'put on the market'; other LAs have revised schemes to transfer some of the financial burden back to landlords to make schemes more affordable; and others *wound it [the PSL scheme] down entirely*" (Third sector representative 2) in the face of the impacts of welfare reform:

> "we take them [PSL properties] on at the rent the landlord was charging for that property. We had a PSL scheme about four years ago, and at that point we, as a council, were paying for all repairs. That proved financially burdensome so we stopped it, but now we've started it again and we've got the landlord responsible for repairs." (LA senior manager 6)

> "It [the PSL scheme] wasn't [expensive] because it was a penthouse flat with fantastic facilities… that was the only way to get those properties in for being rented to the homeless people, but I think it was seen as a good bargain because Housing Benefit paid for it all, landlords got much more than they would, it was guaranteed rent, it was guaranteed repairs… it was seen as an easy way to make money, and the council took all the risk. I think that they've got on to that and there's been modifications and the contracts have been squared up more so the council's not exposed to that level of risk, but welfare reform's sort of brought in risk in a different way." (Third sector representative 2)

> "[it's] a real challenge to get something that is affordable [from the PRS]… the private market is so buoyant here… when we go out to the market and we say to landlords, owners, 'Bring us your properties, we'll rent it, we'll manage it, we'll do that,' because they're looking for a market rent for that, that really is nine times out of ten outside our price range… that really limits the use of that." (LA senior manager 3)

In cases where LAs have chosen to keep their PSL schemes competitive, some key informants felt they had *"done a lot of damage"* in 'skewing' what landlords could expect: *"they're not satisfied with just getting good rent and a reasonable tenant, and a good management service. They're thinking, well, I used to get £1200 for that flat, now I'm only*

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[73] p.41 in Scottish Parliament Local Government and Communities Committee (2018) *Report on Homelessness, SP Paper 279*. http://www.parliament.scot/parliamentarybusiness/CurrentCommittees/103620.aspx

[74] Shelter Scotland (2016) *Funding Homelessness Services in Scotland: Policy Response*. Edinburgh: Shelter Scotland.

getting £800" (Third sector representative 2). This reflects concerns about 'incentives inflation' in the English PRS raised a decade ago by Rugg and Rhodes in their PRS review[75]. Some LAs who have stepped away from PSL schemes have developed other ways of working with the private rented sector e.g. rent deposit schemes or social lettings agencies that enabled LAs to rehouse homeless households in the PRS, rather than the more expensive option of housing them in leased PRS TA. This had the additional benefit in some key informants' eyes of taking individuals out of the homelessness system and off the rehousing waiting list when in PRS accommodation:

> "you sometimes wonder if, say, the PSL contract had been differently considered and worded and promoted to both landlords and tenants, that that could have been seen as a permanent housing solution, rather than this massive waiting room full of very expensive property, where these people are still waiting, with the same priority as somebody that is in a bed and breakfast or is sleeping rough." (Third sector representative 2)

In the case of B&Bs, LAs face varying costs depending on the nature of the local economy, available supply (traditional B&Bs versus hotel chains) and seasonal price/demand fluctuations, particularly acute in tourist hotspots during the summer and large public events (sporting events, the Edinburgh festival, Hogmanay). While key informants noted that LAs can secure contracts with B&B providers to seek to reduce costs, pressures are sometimes such that they have to secure B&B/hotel accommodation 'off contract', which can be extremely expensive. The unfavourable costs of B&B TA reflect that it is by and large used as a 'last resort' where an LA cannot access more suitable and affordable TA. Reflecting this, key informants tended to see B&B TA as poor value for money for the public purse, or as one participant put it, *"B&B accommodation makes no financial sense whatsoever"* (LA senior manager 6).

For LAs that are already heavy B&B users, a number of barriers were identified in moving away from this provision. Most crucial here is lack of any alternative options (see also Chapter 4), but one key informant also noted that the savings to budgets achieved by reducing B&B use do not tend to accrue to the homelessness service itself, blunting the incentive to do so. Issues of equity were highlighted in terms of the highly differential charges 'passed on' to TA B&B residents, reflecting the different cost of B&Bs in different areas, but also differences in the types of resident in question.

Differential charges can relate to whether an individual is in work or their immigration status. Those in employment, and EU migrants with no HB entitlements, were singled out as groups facing very high rent charges, and who often accrue high levels of debt very quickly. While such debts may well be 'written off' by LAs, they could nevertheless have negative impacts. This key informant commented on the predicament of EU migrants with no HB entitlement:

> "some people… will sleep rough or go to the night shelter or really try to do other things because they don't want the debt. The council don't pursue the debt so it wouldn't affect their entitlement to an offer of housing, but it could come up in a

[75] Rugg, J. and Rhodes, D. (2008) *The Private Rented Sector: its Contribution and Potential*. York: The Centre for Housing Policy, University of York. https://www.york.ac.uk/media/chp/documents/2008/prsreviewweb.pdf

reference. A housing association is likely to ask, 'Is this debt in temporary accommodation?' It might decrease their housing options; it wouldn't affect them getting a council offer. Some people don't pay a penny and so there are debts of … £30,000, £50,000." (Third sector representative 2)

Key informants also highlighted the often very high cost of hostel accommodation, though this was seen as less problematic than B&B and PSL costs in a number of ways. First, these costs tend to be met via Housing Benefit under exempt accommodation rules and/or including intensive management costs and as such do not require heavy subsidization from LA General Funds (though the SA funding regime is expected to change, see above). Second, the work disincentive effects of high hostel rents were seen as less problematic where residents are not in a position (due to their support needs) to be currently looking for or in work. Note the concerns voiced above, however, that an appropriate 'match' between TA type, level of support, and resident needs is not always achieved in practice.

Given that the majority of TA residents are in self-contained furnished LA owned stock, how some LAs calculate the cost of this type of TA was seen to be perhaps the primary driver of high TA costs. Where TA units are LA stock, LAs determine costs based on rent, furnishings, repairs and voids, and management charge elements. These costs are not subject to a subsidy limit. In this context, previous work has documented LAs practicing 'Full Cost Recovery' in relation to their TA, accounting for property, staffing, management and support costs, and charging a unit cost on a daily or weekly basis. Evidence has also indicated that these TA charges have been used to fund homeless services *beyond* TA provision[76].

Key informants involved in this study acknowledged the continuing drivers of this practice, and in line with Evans' 2016 research, highlighted the substantial negative impacts of such TA charging practice, primarily in relation to *equity* – with TA charges varying substantially between LAs – and *work disincentives* – with high TA charges effectively excluding residents from employment (see above). Such concerns have led to attempts to calculate 'reasonable' TA charges, that accurately reflect the additional cost of providing TA (including the costs of furnishing, higher repair costs, higher management burden etc.) without including the 'loading' of inappropriate additional costs on TA charging[77].

Key informants participating in this study explained that with substantial changes to how TA is funded still expected (despite the recent reprieve[78]), some LAs are in the process of *"a wholesale re-think of how [they] charge for temp"* (Third sector representative 1). Some have already 'rationalised' their TA charges, bringing them in line with or closer to mainstream LA rents or LHA rates. This was understood by key informants to have involved local decisions to fund homelessness services as required from the General Fund, an option not yet taken by some LA homelessness services. Anticipating further pressures to

[76] Evans, A. (2016) *Funding Homelessness Services in Scotland*. Edinburgh: Shelter. https://scotland.shelter.org.uk/professional_resources/policy_library/policy_library_folder/funding_homelessness_services_in_scotland

[77] Hunter, J. and Lindsay, T. (2014) Temporary Accommodation Modelling Review 2014. http://www.welfarereformscotland.co.uk/downloads/Temporary_Accommodation_cost_modelling_report_June14.pdf

[78] Barnes, S. (2017) 'Government Announces 'Short-Term' Solution for Temporary Accommodation Rent Arrears', *Inside Housing*, 23 November: https://www.insidehousing.co.uk/news/news/government-announces-short-term-solution-for-temporary-accommodation-rent-arrears-53351

move in this direction, and noting the significant wider pressures and restrictions on LA finances and budgets, some key informants were concerned that the quality of TA and wider homelessness services might suffer as charges are reduced:

"traditionally, what's happened is, when there were opportunities to load costs on to their housing benefit, in some areas, because of shortages of funding for other reasons, then they've maxed that out, if you like. They've seen that as an opportunity, not only to fund the costs of delivery, but actually the costs of their whole homelessness service, so, in some areas, the rents were inflated to enable that to happen, and that, therefore, provided savings to the general services account. That meant that they could use their funds for other reasons, and there's no getting away from that… to try and shift back to a more balanced approach… that means that the general fund needs to pick up the balance, and general funds are under such pressure just now that they can't pick up the balance, so, I do think local authorities are heading for a really, really difficult time, because what then tends to happen is… people start to question the quality… the quality starts to suffer… [LAs] start going back to the old, big hostel-type arrangements, because you can rack them up in one building, and you also need to cut back on the amount of furnishing and the repairs that are done, and the services that sit around them. Cut back staffing, cut back repairs, cut back the additional elements that make the places like homes for people." (LA senior manager 2)

"over the years… as homelessness duties have increased, so there's more and more pressure to provide prevention services. There is now a duty to provide housing support. There's duties to far more people in terms of managing the homelessness service that I would think it's probably not impossible that revenue from temporary accommodation is used to support the rest of the homelessness service… are you, for example, going to be in a council where your homelessness service and temporary accommodation is going to be subsidised by your general fund budgets? That really varies. There are some local authorities where homelessness services and temporary accommodation are fully subsidised by the general fund, so people, for example, in temporary accommodation would only pay what they would pay if they were in a mainstream tenancy. In other local authorities [there is] no subsidy from the general fund at all. We have to charge rents that will allow us to cover all of that and, as I say, it's not unknown for temporary accommodation rents to subsidise other parts of the homelessness services as our duties have increased." (LA senior manager 1)

"Local authorities are accepting that there are very fixed limits on temporary accommodation rents in relation to the local area. They are now constructing and building management models around estimated levels of income in order to try and develop models that are a bit more self-financing. That's created huge pressure and inevitably it has created the need to absolutely drive efficiency as much as possible. We've talked about cost reduction and performance but it's probably led to some cuts in services simply because they can't be afforded any more… they've been far more assertive… with third parties in order to ensure that the delivery of temporary accommodation is as efficient as it possibly can be. It's also led to the decommissioning of certain types of temporary accommodation which is expensive. For example, across the country we've seen a real movement away from private-sector leasing, which wasn't perceived to be an economic model for many local authorities." (Independent housing/homelessness expert 2)

Providing some partial insight into TA charging, Scotland's Housing Network collects benchmarking information regarding the average weekly costs of various types of TA from its members (SHN has 30 LA members and 93 HA members), which is reported anonymously here. Figure 7 shows the average weekly costs of TA, across Scotland, by type of TA for each of the most recent three years. It includes data covering 24 out of the 30 LA members of SHN, with 12 providing data over all 3 years, 8 providing data over 2 years, and 4 for just one year. This low response rate and the substantially incomplete nature of the data means results need to be interpreted with caution. In particular, given that different forms of TA are used to highly varying degrees across LAs (with some 'outlier' areas having very specific patterns of TA use), these figures may not accurately track the national picture. That being said, key informant perspectives lend some support to – and various explanations for – the trends observed in the available data.

Figure 7: Average weekly costs of different types of TA (Scotland)
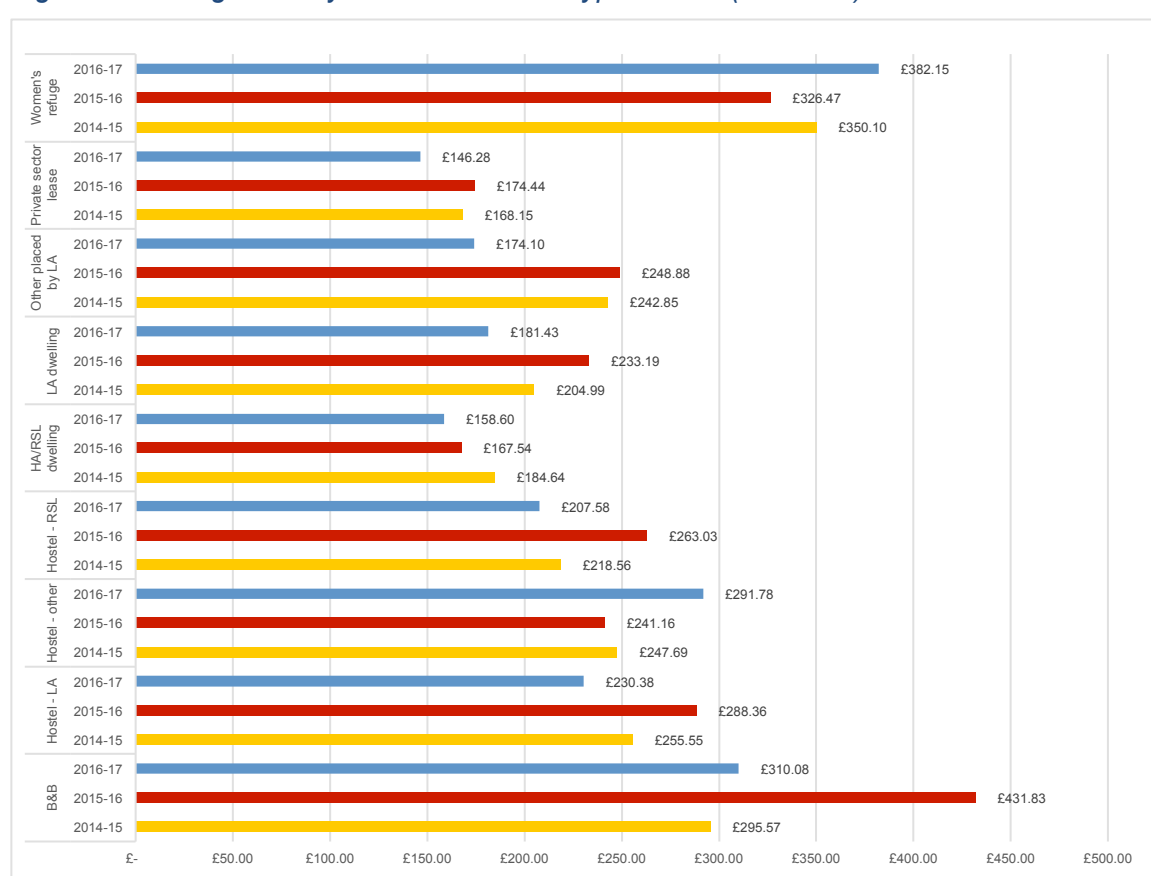
Source: Scotland's Housing Network benchmarking data (2014-15 to 2016-2017)

This partial dataset shows a significant reduction in the average weekly cost of B&B from £431.83 in 2015-2016 to £310.08 in 2016-2017. The average cost of a LA owned hostel has also reduced from £288.36 to £230.38 and RSL hostel costs have reduced over the same period from £263.03 to £207.58. The average costs of ordinary dwellings has also reduced in the last year, from £233.19 to £181.43 for LA stock and from £167.54 to £158.60

for HA stock. The costs of PSL and other placements has also reduced, the latter very significantly from £248.88 to £174.10[79].

Key informant testimony discussed above suggests a number of potential reasons for these observed changes: first, anticipating the impacts of welfare reform (and in particular the introduction of Universal Credit, see above) some LAs have 'rationalised' and 'restructured' TA rates, in some cases down to considerably lower levels. To the extent that these LAs are reflected in the data set below, we would expect to see falls in TA costs over time. Second, key informants have reported a focus on initiating efficiencies and cost savings in their TA provision, for instance, by renegotiating PSL schemes on terms more favourable from an LA standpoint, or (more concerning) by reducing levels of support provided in hostel accommodation (see above).

Taking available quantitative and qualitative data together, LAs appear to have been looking very seriously at the costs of their TA, and remodelling services accordingly, with potential benefits to TA residents in terms of affordability and work incentives, but with potential concerns in terms of impacts on quality and support, as well as equity concerns regarding differential costs between LAs.

Figure 8 shows the difference between the average rent for TA in an ordinary LA or HA dwelling compared with the LHA rate for a 2-bedroom property, in 22 (anonymised) LAs for which data is available in the 2016/17 return (or 2015-2016, in the few cases where a 2016-2017 return is not available). There is a significant range, from 33% less than the LHA rate to 235% of the LHA rate.

Figure 8: Average costs of LA/HA dwelling rents by LA, expressed as a % above or below the average 2-bed LHA rate
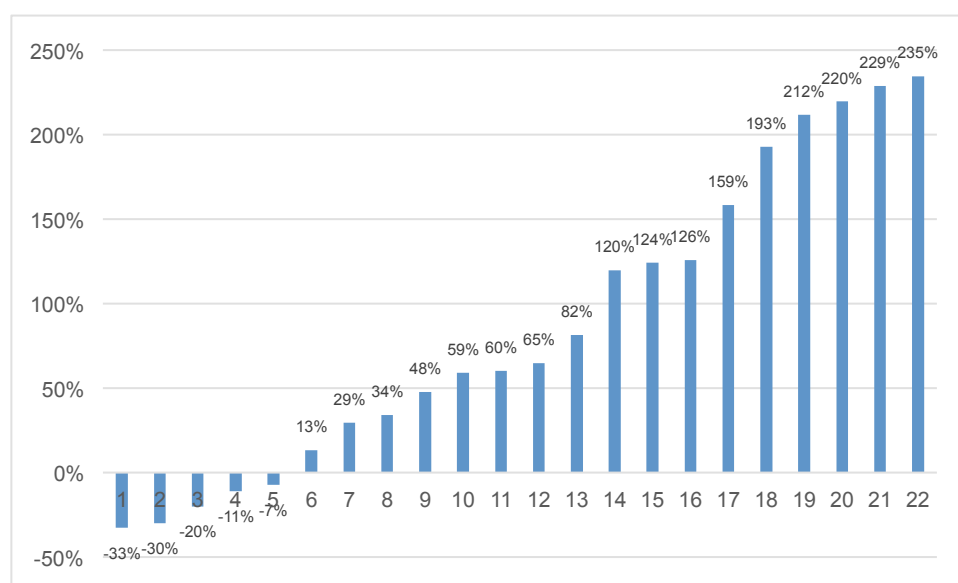
Source: Scotland's Housing Network benchmarking data (2016-2017)

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[79] Note that given key informant testimony described above, it is surprising that this data shows PSL accommodation as on average cheaper than/a similar cost to HA and LA TA. This anomaly is likely explained by the incompleteness of the SHN data.

Just five LAs reported costs that are below the LHA rate, while nine reported rents that are at least twice the LHA rate (i.e. 100% above the LHA rate). This indicates, in line with key informant perspectives summarised above, that many LAs are including very high management costs along with the rent, or including large cost elements within their 'Full Cost Recovery' model. The highest reported rents in 2016-2017 were 235% higher than the average 2-bed LHA rate.

The implication of this is to put the costs of TA in ordinary dwellings in most LAs outwith the reach of most people in work. It also suggests that many LAs still have much work to do to bring their rents closer to the LA rates, in anticipation of funding reform.

Summary

Key informants in the study highlighted the complex and rigid nature of TA funding arrangements, as well as the ongoing risks and uncertainty about future funding, welfare restrictions, and Universal Credit as significant areas of concern. Public sector austerity has meant that TA needs to be self-financing as far as possible, with limited scope for wider LA budgets to meet costs.

Subsidy constraints have also meant that LAs have been adjusting their portfolio of TA away from more costly and higher-risk options, such as leasing from HAs and private landlords. There has also been increased use of hostel provision, likely due to the greater levels of funding availability for hostels that are supported accommodation, and the possibility of efficiency/cost savings in this type of provision.

Many key informants spoke about the difficulties in delivering the types of TA that homeless people *need,* while TA supply is influenced by funding availability in this way. Funding for wrap-around and floating support for vulnerable people was a particular area of concern.

In many local authorities, the costs of mainstream TA is well above the LHA rate, presenting significant affordability concerns and work disincentives for residents, particularly when people spend long periods in TA. The variation in these costs across LAs also raises concerns of equity and fairness.

Taking available quantitative and qualitative data together, some LAs appear to have been looking very seriously at the costs of their TA, and remodelling services accordingly. This has potential benefits to TA residents in terms of equity and work incentives, but also raises concerns in terms of impacts on quality and support.

6. Experiences of temporary accommodation

The next phase of this study will involve qualitative research with circa 60 TA residents across six case study areas. This will provide detailed evidence on the nature and impact of people's experiences of TA. In this interim report, we focus on available quantitative data on people's experiences of TA, and in particular, make use of ARC and HL3 data on the length of time people stay in TA, across LAs and different TA types. These data sources offer an important indicator of pressure within the TA system, and/or structural issues with the flow of people through TA into settled accommodation.

Length of stay

The ARC data has monitored the average length of time homeless households spend in different types of TA annually since 2013/14 (see Table 12). Note that these figures refer to people's length of episodes in *particular types* of TA, based on individual stays, not their *overall* length of stay in TA. On overall time spent in TA, see below.

Across Scotland, the overall average length of time spent in TA in 2016/17 was 97 days. The overall average disguises variation between LAs, however, with a lowest (Min) average stay across all types of TA reported by one LA of 46.8 days, compared to a highest (Max) average stay of 371.0 days by another. Very long stays in TA are more typical in ordinary LA and HA dwellings, but there are some LAs reporting average hostel stays of over 250 days. Although private sector leasing is less commonly used, it accounts for some extremely long periods of TA use, with an average stay of 245.5 days.

The average length of stay in TA across Scotland has fallen by 3% between 2013-14 and 2016-2017, but has been increasing over the last two years. Trends in length of stay, however, vary by TA type. Of particular note, while the average length of time households stay in RSL-owned hostels and B&Bs has fallen overall by about 20% over this three year period, the average length time households spend in 'other' hostel accommodation (i.e. hostels run by third sector organisations) has increased by a fifth. The average length of stay in ordinary LA TA (the most commonly used type of TA) has increased a small amount (4%) over this period, from 132 days to 138 days.

HL3 data collects quarterly information to allow exploration of more recent trends and also to look at the experiences of different types of household. The figures presented here are based on an initial draft analysis of a provisional dataset drawn from the new HL3 return, and therefore should be considered provisional estimates only. Not all local authorities have yet been able to provide a fully complete and usable set of data, and therefore the Scotland figures will not necessarily be an accurate representation of national totals. HL3 results for five of the local authorities have been supressed in LA tables due to on-going data validation – this affects Perth and Kinross, Highland, Orkney, Midlothian, East Renfrewshire.

Type of accommodation	2013/ 2014	2014/ 2015	2015/ 2016	2016/ 2017	2016/17 (Min)	2016/17 (Max)	2013/14 to 2016/17
Ordinary LA dwelling	132.2	137.3	134.9	137.9	54.0	504.8	4%
Ordinary HA dwelling	225.9	225.3	211.6	216.4	89.3	448.5	-4%
LA-owned Hostel	51.2	51.8	54.7	51.6	16.7	150.6	1%
RSL-owned Hostel	78.3	63.2	79.1	63.8	25.9	256.9	-19%
Other Hostel	52.5	52.7	60.0	62.5	4.8	247.7	19%
Bed and Breakfast	40.7	33.0	31.9	33.5	2.4	93.5	-18%
Women's Refuge	120.5	120.0	108.1	110.2	13.0	152.4	-9%
Private Sector Lease	222.5	211.9	222.5	245.5	72.3	783.9	10%
Other	101.9	80.6	100.4	108.6	32.3	196.2	7%
All types	103.2	90.1	91.5	97.0	46.8	371.0	-6%

Source: ARC data 2013-2014 to 2016-2017 (https://www.scottishhousingregulator.gov.uk/publications/charter-indicators-and-data-outcomes-and-standards)

Table 13 shows an average length of stay across all TA types of between 89.1 days and 100.2 days over the six quarters for which HL3 data has been collected. Stays tend to be longest in HA dwellings: between 206.5 days and 222.8 days. Stays are shortest in B&B, with average stays of between 28.2 days and 38.4 days across Scotland, over the recent period.

Table 13: Average length of stay (days) in TA by type and quarter 2016-2017

	Quarter of exit					
TA type	2016Q2	2016Q3	2016Q4	2017Q1	2017Q2	2017Q3
Scotland	**92.5**	**89.1**	**95.4**	**100.2**	**93.5**	**95.3**
LA ordinary dwelling	129.9	130.0	130.9	141.5	139.6	139.2
HA/RSL dwelling	213.8	214.8	221.3	222.8	206.5	209.9
Hostel - LA owned	51.0	51.5	52.7	54.6	56.1	52.4
Hostel - RSL	60.9	67.6	68.5	64.9	70.8	65.4
Hostel - Other	65.2	74.6	76.5	81.2	74.5	69.3
Bed and Breakfast	35.5	28.2	37.0	34.8	38.4	30.8
Women's Refuge	109.8	119.0	119.2	107.6	117.0	121.2
Private Sector Lease	180.0	165.6	158.5	180.1	172.1	190.9
Other placed by local authority	116.6	94.5	110.0	128.1	71.2	82.9

Source: HL3 data as at 21 Feb 2018, provisional results due to ongoing data verification

Consistent with ARC data presented above, this HL3 data suggests an increase in average length of stay across the six quarters for which data is available. This appears to have been driven primarily by increases in average length of stay in LA TA. It should also be noted that with *average* lengths of stay in some TA types running into the 200s and 300s, some TA placements are likely to be for periods considerably longer than a year.

Variation by local authority

ARC and HL3 data also enable exploration of how length of stay in TA varies by LA and household type. Table 14 (overleaf) shows a comparison of average lengths of stay in TA

by type of provision, by LA. Red cells highlight a higher than average length of stay[80], while green cells highlight lower than average lengths of stay. As above, it is important to note that a person/family may have a number of stays in different locations and this means the table here presents average stays as 'episodes' rather than the full time in any TA.

A few local authorities have longer than average stays across all their TA provision – East Lothian, Midlothian and the Shetland Islands. Other LAs with longer than average stays in more than one setting are Aberdeenshire, Dumfries and Galloway, East Dunbartonshire and Stirling.

No local authorities have lower than average lengths of stay in TA across all of their provision, but local authorities with shorter than average stays in some of their provision are East Ayrshire, North Ayrshire, Renfrewshire, South Ayrshire and South Lanarkshire.

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[80] Highlighted differences are at least one standard deviation above the mean (red) and one standard deviation below the mean (green)

Table 14: Average length of stay (days) in TA by type and LA 2016-2017

LA	LA ord.	HA ord.	LA hostel	RSL hostel	Other hostel	B&B	Refuge	PSL	Other	All
Scotland	**137.9**	**216.4**	**51.6**	**63.8**	**62.5**	**33.5**	**110.2**	**245.5**	**108.6**	**97.0**
Aberdeen City	134.3	-	80.1	-	-	76.3	-	132.5	95.8	104.1
Aberdeenshire	174.8	190.5	91.8	-	247.7	36.4	71.0	-	196.2	124.4
Angus	152.1	204.5	-	-	-	29.5	-	-	-	145.2
Argyll and Bute	252.4	161.0	-	-	-	-	-	224.1	65.3	159.3
City of Edinburgh	269.7	231.0	57.0	108.3	85.5	38.6	-	-	205.8	72.2
Clackmannanshire	111.7	-	-	-	-	29.9	-	281.0	32.3	96.8
Dumfries and Galloway	144.9	144.8	113.4	97.2	73.3	93.5	84.3	171.8	64.6	108.6
Dundee City	130.2	177.2	51.9	51.2	54.5	-	99.8	-	-	74.0
East Ayrshire	54.0	-	38.7	74.3	-	-	13.0	-	-	46.8
East Dunbartonshire	317.5	328.8	-	-	44.2	37.2	-	303.8	-	140.4
East Lothian	350.9	328.8	-	-	131.9	60.6	-	411.3	76.3	192.3
East Renfrewshire	120.4	89.3	-	-	-	7.4	-	108.8	-	97.8
Eilean Siar	232.3	195.4	117.0	-	-	52.3	-	-	-	164.7
Falkirk	122.2	135.9	45.7	-	-	-	-	116.0	-	87.3
Fife	137.2	-	16.7	-	44.1	6.5	137.3	179.1	-	76.0
Glasgow City	106.0	238.1	66.7	69.3	81.2	29.0	50.0	271.1	48.1	106.5
Highland	183.0	184.1	-	-	-	53.1	-	237.7	89.8	117.7
Inverclyde	-	123.8	56.7	-	-	5.3	-	-	-	72.7
Midlothian	501.8	341.5	150.6	256.9	68.4	68.9	112.3	783.9	-	292.9
Moray	103.5	102.2	48.5	98.7	74.7	7.6	152.4	-	-	77.2
North Ayrshire	93.3	-	20.5	28.8	32.6	-	67.4	-	-	53.1
North Lanarkshire	84.3	225.6	83.5	128.8	-	-	-	192.2	-	93.6
Orkney Islands	120.0	93.5	61.2	-	-	6.1	109.8	-	-	103.7
Perth & Kinross	193.0	232.2	67.1	-	112.2	3.3	-	-	-	132.0
Renfrewshire	82.0	101.6	-	-	-	2.4	-	349.0	112.0	87.0
Scottish Borders	70.4	-	-	-	-	3.3	-	-	134.8	115.6
Shetland Islands	504.8	448.5	-	-	-	42.1	-	407.0	-	371.0
South Ayrshire	86.3	121.7	71.1	76.8	4.8	-	148.5	72.3	-	77.6
South Lanarkshire	159.8	194.0	29.1	25.9	34.6	3.7	117.8	235.8	-	112.9
Stirling	170.1	336.1	126.5	-	-	11.2	117.3	162.4	-	78.9
West Dunbartonshire	97.2	-	46.9	98.4	91.2	6.0	93.0	-	55.2	91.5
West Lothian	156.6	213.2	91.9	-	-	15.3	-	110.7	-	81.8

Source: ARC data 2016-2017

Length of stay by different households

HL3 collects information enabling data on TA use to be matched to HL1 data about households, so we can look at the experiences of different household types in TA. As highlighted above, the figures in Table 15 are provisional and ongoing data validation is underway.

Based on this provisional data, families with children spend a substantially shorter period of time in B&B accommodation than single households, with an average stay of 9-10 days in Quarter 3 of 2017, compared to 37.9 days for single people, and 29.8 days for couples without children. Average stays in hostel accommodation are also longer for single person households (55.6-72.3 days), and shorter for couples without children (24.8-42.3 days). Hostel accommodation is not generally used for households with children, and where it is, this is for very short periods. Stays in women's refuges are longer than in all TA types save LA/HA and PSL dwellings, at 121.2 days overall. In refuges, households with children stay for longer than those without.

Table 15: Average length of stay in TA by household type, Q3 2017

Average number of days	Single Person	Single Parent	Couple	Couple with Children	Other	Other with Children	Total (ALL)
Scotland	**86.0**	**115.5**	**80.3**	**152.0**	**118.0**	**154.5**	**95.3**
LA ordinary dwelling	128.3	149.6	119.5	182.4	156.9	230.0	139.2
HA/RSL dwelling	199.5	216.7	220.2	243.5	159.6	209.8	209.9
Hostel - LA owned	55.6	23.2	42.3	46.4	22.2	35.7	52.4
Hostel - RSL	68.1	22.7	35.3	0.0	83.0	0.0	65.4
Hostel - Other	72.3	26.7	24.8	0.0	26.0	17.0	69.3
Bed and Breakfast	37.9	9.5	29.8	10.3	24.3	8.7	30.8
Women's Refuge	103.3	136.6	0.0	0.0	110.5	201.0	121.2
Private Sector Lease	178.9	193.2	165.3	184.4	296.1	303.8	190.9
Other placed by local authority	79.4	71.1	86.6	97.6	9.0	102.3	82.9

Source: HL3 data as at 21 Feb 2018, provisional results due to ongoing data verification.

The longest average periods of TA are among 'other' households (e.g. parents with adult children or other multiple adult households) in private sector leased properties (an average of 296.1 days), and couples with children in HA properties – an average of 243.5 days.

Length of stay by key household types by local authority

The experiences of households with children and single people were explored in more depth using the HL3 data for the latest quarter – Q3 of 2017. The data presented in this section draws on provisional analysis by Scottish Government analysis on the length of time that households of different types spend in TA. Validation is still ongoing with the HL3 data and the data presented may be subject to revision.

Although small numbers of households with children are using B&Bs as TA, in some areas this is for longer than a week, on average (see Table 16). Aberdeenshire and East Dunbartonshire have the longest average periods for children in B&Bs.

Households with children in East Dunbartonshire also had the longest periods, on average, in LA ordinary dwellings, though periods in HA dwellings are shorter. The shortest average periods for families with children in ordinary dwellings was in the Scottish Borders LA stock (58.0) and in East Ayrshire LA stock (62.8 days, on average).

Table 16: Average length of stay (days) in TA by households including children in ordinary dwellings and B&B, Q3 2017

	LA ordinary dwelling	HA ordinary dwelling	B&B (numbers)
Aberdeen City	110.9	-	1.0 (1)
Aberdeenshire	202.1	209.7	21.2 (5)
Angus	109.7	-	-
Argyll & Bute	-	140.3	-
Clackmannanshire	129.4	-	-
Dumfries & Galloway	-	106.6	-
Dundee City	127.2	236.3	-
East Ayrshire	62.8	-	-
East Dunbartonshire	484.1	110.3	20.4 (5)
East Lothian	345.4	153.0	8.3 (22)
East Renfrewshire*	-	-	-
Edinburgh	118.9	100.3	12.3 (236)
Eilean Siar	260.7	433.0	-
Falkirk	113.7	-	-
Fife	163.2	-	11.8 (12)
Glasgow City	140.5	244.4	2.0 (119)
Highland*	-	-	-
Inverclyde	-	192.0	-
Midlothian*	-	-	-
Moray	92.1	80.1	-
North Ayrshire	116.6	-	-
North Lanarkshire	124.2	280.6	-
Orkney*	-	-	-
Perth & Kinross*	-	-	-
Renfrewshire	99.5	127.0	-
Scottish Borders	58.0	-	-
Shetland	350.0	517.0	-
South Ayrshire	121.9	64.7	-
South Lanarkshire	205.7	85.5	3.4 (5)
Stirling	189.2	-	9.5 (26)
West Dunbartonshire	96.3	-	-
West Lothian	209.6	247.3	10.1 (36)

Source: HL3 data as at 21 Feb 2018, * data not presented due to ongoing data validation in 5 LAs

Table 17 shows the average length of time that single people spend in B&Bs and hostels, by LA. The gaps in the data show the variation in the TA used, with many LAs not using B&Bs and others not using hostels. About 1 in 3 LAs use a private sector leasing arrangement or have other TA not included within hostels. Some of these commissioned services (as well as B&B) are likely to be more expensive to procure (see Chapter 5).

Some LAs using B&Bs for single people do so for very short periods (less than four days, on average), such as Fife, Moray, Renfrewshire and South Lanarkshire. Eilean Siar and

Clackmannanshire use B&Bs for single people for prolonged periods (113 days and 106 days respectively).

Table 17: Average length of stay (days) in TA by single people by TA type, Q3 2017

	LA hostel	RSL hostel	Other hostel	All Hostels	B&B	PSL	Other
Aberdeen City	58.2	-	-	58.2	49.9	-	-
Aberdeenshire	69.5	-	191.9	105.9	52.5	-	173.0
Angus	-	-	-	-	14.3	-	-
Argyll & Bute	-	-	-	-	-	149.1	70.4
Clackmannanshire	-	-	-	-	106.0	-	46.0
Dumfries & Galloway	119.4	71.7	77.2	85.6	-	115.3	45.3
Dundee City	64.2	72.6	34.9	63.1	-	-	-
East Ayrshire	56.7	93.0	-	57.6	-	-	-
East Dunbartonshire	-	-	67.4	67.4	33.2	443.5	-
East Lothian	-	-	297.2	297.2	75.3	80.0	-
East Renfrewshire*	-	-		-	-	-	
Edinburgh	38.3	83.7	84.0	59.9	39.8	-	130.4
Eilean Siar	223.7	-	-	223.7	113.0	-	-
Falkirk	37.3	-	-	37.3	-	172.6	-
Fife	23.0	-	43.7	31.4	3.9	266.7	-
Glasgow City	75.5	76.2	90.4	78.7	27.3	264.0	54.2
Highland*	-	-	-	-	-8	-	-
Inverclyde	37.3	-	-	37.3	-	-	-
Midlothian*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Moray	17.5	134.9	88.1	100.1	3.8	-	-
North Ayrshire	17.9	21.6	29.6	23.1	-	-	-
North Lanarkshire	112.7	113.7	-	113.3	-	173.4	-
Orkney*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Perth & Kinross*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Renfrewshire	-	-	-	-	1.0	-	148.5
Scottish Borders	-	-	-	-	-	-	89.2
Shetland	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South Ayrshire	72.9	93.8	-	77.4	-	87.3	-
South Lanarkshire	32.6	17.6	34.9	30.7	3.2	217.8	-
Stirling	229.9	-	-	229.9	16.9	-	-
West Dunbartonshire	61.0	149.9	80.8	106.6	-	-	105.3
West Lothian	54.4	-	-	54.4	23.9	99.3	-

Source: HL3 data as at 21 Feb 2018, provisional data while validation process is ongoing; * 5 LAs not presented due to ongoing data validation

The longest reported periods in hostels (over 220 days, on average) are found in Stirling and Eilean Siar, with Aberdeenshire, Moray and North Lanarkshire also reporting long periods for single people in hostels of over 100 days.

Some TA leased through the private sector is used for very long periods – over 200 days in Fife, Glasgow and South Lanarkshire. 'Other' TA provision[81] is used for the longest periods by single people in Aberdeenshire (173 days).

Table 18 shows the average total duration that different types of household spend in TA, across all the TA they have used, giving us the best currently available data on the *total* time households spend in TA.

Across all types of household, Shetland and East Lothian stand out as having the longest average periods across all TA. Across most LAs, periods of more than 200 days are more common for families than single people. However, although tending to have longer periods in TA, families make up a far smaller proportion of those in TA, compared with single people. Families stay for shorter periods in Angus (80-90 days) and East Ayrshire (67 days) than in other LAs, with shorter stays for single people in East Ayrshire too (69 days).

Although Edinburgh and Glasgow have the highest numbers of households in TA, this does not translate to the longest times spent in TA (on average). Families in Glasgow are spending on average between 200-250 days in TA, while in Edinburgh this is between around 120-150. This suggests that families flow through TA faster in Edinburgh than Glasgow. Results for single people are more similar, with average stays of around 150 days in both cities.

As above, it is worth emphasising that these figures report *average* total durations in TA, and with these averages running into the 300s and 400s in some cases, it is likely that some households will be spending considerably more than a year, potential several years, in TA overall.

Time spent in TA remains a challenge, with some areas having particularly long periods spent in TA. The average stay is around three months but stays are far longer in ordinary LA and HA dwellings and in PSL properties. Prolonged use of PSL and other leased accommodation is becoming more frequent, and will be more costly. For instance, although Edinburgh does not have the longest periods in TA, it uses 'other leased' accommodation for prolonged periods.

Stays in B&Bs have reduced in length and are used less frequently for families and for shorter periods, while stays are generally around 30 days on average. The longest periods of stay are in ordinary dwellings.

We might expect longer periods in TA to be associated with a lower proportion of mainstream lets being allocated to homeless people, but this 'simple' relationship does not appear to bear out. Instead, some LAs (e.g. East Lothian, Moray and East Dunbartonshire) report a high proportion of lets to homeless people alongside some longer periods in some TA. Others have shorter periods of TA alongside fewer lets to homeless applicants (e.g. East Ayrshire).

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[81] The 'Other' category would cover properties leased by the LA from an HA or any other property not owned by the LA but not leased from the private sector.

Table 18: Total duration of all closed HL3s with the same HL1, who have been in TA, by LA and household (average across cases closed from Q3 2016 to Q3 2017)

	Single Person	Single Parent	Couple	Couple with Children	Other	Other with Children
Aberdeen City	157.4	130.6	98.1	192.7	174.0	141.1
Aberdeenshire	155.5	189.5	130.0	259.3	139.3	234.0
Angus	114.9	**78.2**	93.2	**90.7**	105.5	32.0
Argyll & Bute	162.8	121.0	133.4	142.1	246.2	250.4
Clackmannanshire	149.6	115.8	162.3	90.1	70.7	75.8
Dumfries & Galloway	140.8	137.4	180.0	189.3	95.1	90.3
Dundee City	120.6	152.7	146.0	140.5	258.0	320.8
East Ayrshire	**68.9**	**66.7**	103.2	**66.9**	42.2	22.0
East Dunbartonshire	199.2	283.1	166.2	329.2	200.9	170.2
East Lothian	**328.7**	**277.3**	**171.1**	**361.9**	**245.8**	**348.7**
East Renfrewshire*	-	-	-	-	-	-
Edinburgh	143.1	117.5	144.4	149.6	139.6	143.6
Eilean Siar	277.1	161.3	136.0	357.0	123.0	308.5
Falkirk	116.8	123.1	133.0	128.1	123.7	150.6
Fife	133.6	148.2	128.2	172.3	121.4	238.9
Glasgow City	151.5	203.9	175.6	248.5	187.7	240.5
Highland*	-	-	-	-	-	-
Inverclyde	84.7	99.2	78.0	114.8	187.5	175.0
Midlothian*	-	-	-	-	-	-
Moray	134.9	112.7	119.6	110.5	115.5	160.6
North Ayrshire	115.3	127.0	99.0	81.9	122.3	87.6
North Lanarkshire	144.0	139.1	161.9	120.9	106.3	192.7
Orkney*	-	-	-	-	-	-
Perth & Kinross*	-	-	-	-	-	-
Renfrewshire	118.4	132.2	86.0	214.8	162.6	83.4
Scottish Borders	110.7	153.8	156.1	199.1	70.9	102.8
Shetland	**448.6**	**356.9**	**344.7**	**450.3**	**616.0**	**498.0**
South Ayrshire	108.8	105.0	140.3	101.7	73.4	104.5
South Lanarkshire	146.6	212.9	154.1	228.5	242.8	339.9
Stirling	146.9	130.8	90.8	132.0	165.0	253.5
West Dunbartonshire	153.5	122.5	195.4	123.8	86.0	390.8
West Lothian	133.3	180.6	170.3	183.8	159.9	183.8

Source: HL3 data processed 27th March 2018, unique households in HL1 matched to HL3 data, data provisional while validation checks are ongoing; * 5 LAs not presented due to ongoing data validation

The next case study phase of the study will explore these dynamics in more detail, selecting LAs with a mixture of experiences across time in TA, homeless outcomes and lets to homeless people (see Chapter 8).

Homelessness outcomes

A final data source relevant to this consideration of people's experiences of TA concerns the outcomes of homeless applications, measured here in terms of the proportion of cases with an outcome during 2016/17 where that outcome involved securing settled accommodation (in the PRS or social rented housing). A higher percentage of such outcomes might be seen as one indicator of better functioning TA provision, including better supports provided by LAs in moving people on from TA (see also below). Also relevant in driving settled accommodation outcomes, of course, will be housing market dynamics and the availability of/access to move-on accommodation (on which, see Chapter 3 above).

Figure 9 shows the variation in settled accommodation outcomes by local authority, ranging from 52% of those assessed as unintentionally homeless or at risk of homelessness securing settled accommodation in Glasgow and Midlothian, to 88% in Orkney.

Figure 9: Homelessness outcomes – % securing settled accommodation
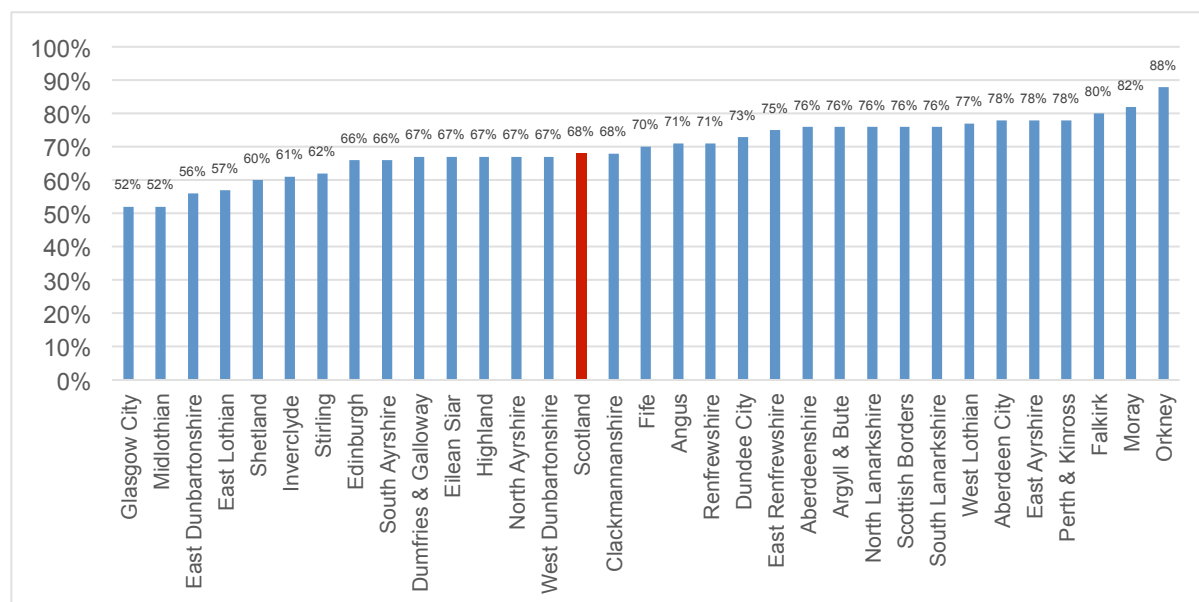
Source: Annual Homelessness Statistics 2016-2017, Table 25: Outcomes for households assessed as unintentionally homeless or unintentionally threatened with homelessness by Local Authority, 2016-2017

The local authorities with the lowest proportion of settled accommodation outcomes measured in this way (at least one standard deviation below the average) are Glasgow, Midlothian, East Dunbartonshire, East Lothian, Shetland and Inverclyde. Possible drivers (explored further at the case study stage) include the proportion of those owed a rehousing duty with complex needs, availability and accessibility of settled accommodation, and the level of contact/assistance given to those in TA in accessing settled accommodation.

In Falkirk, Moray and Orkney, by contrast, more than 80% of unintentionally homeless applicants who had an outcome during the year secured settled accommodation. It is notable that Falkirk, Moray, Perth and Kinross and East Ayrshire all have higher than average proportions of TA as hostels, combined with higher than average proportions of those with an outcome during the year securing settled accommodation, suggesting that hostels are sometimes used as a relatively short stop-gap before settled accommodation is accessed.

Figure 10 shows considerable variation in the type of settled accommodation used, with more than 20% of settled accommodation in Edinburgh offered in the PRS. Other LAs with more than 10% of settled accommodation in the PRS are in East Lothian, Scottish Borders, East Dunbartonshire, East Ayrshire and North Ayrshire.

The use of private renting as settled accommodation is most common in two of the pressured areas identified in Chapter 2 with high numbers in TA, and in B&B in particular – Edinburgh and East Lothian. In other locations with higher than average PRS use, this may relate more to the flow of lets within the social rented sector,

relative availability of private sector stock or local practice/processes in Housing Options.

Figure 10: Homelessness outcomes – types of settled accommodation secured by unintentionally homeless/threatened with homeless
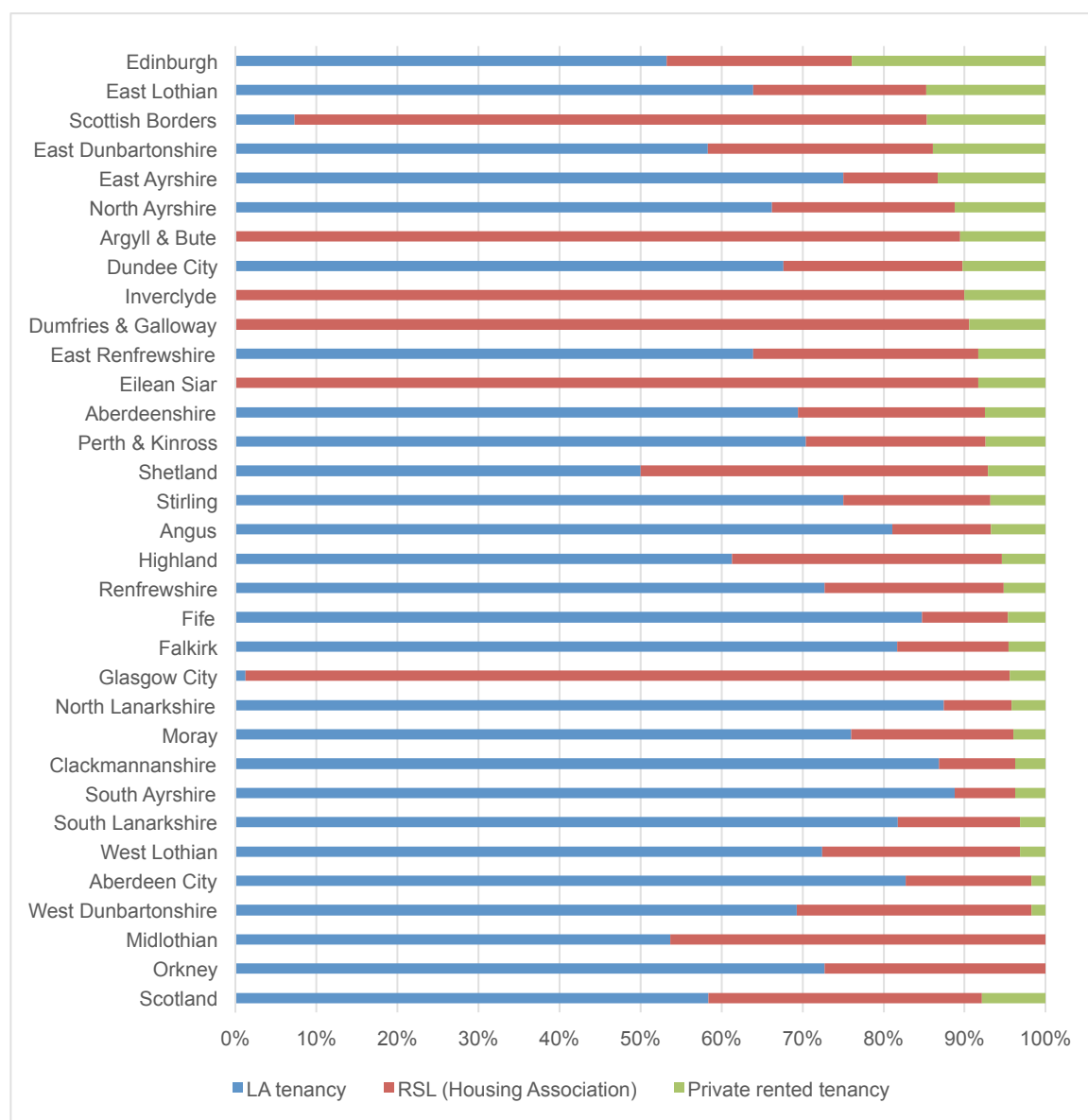
Source: Annual Homelessness Statistics 2016-2017,
Table 25: Outcomes for households assessed as unintentionally homeless or unintentionally threatened with homeless ness by Local Authority, 2016-2017

Key informant views on length of stay

In bringing this chapter to a close, we briefly consider key informant perspectives on some of the themes discussed above. As discussed in Chapter 2, frequent reference was made to the increasingly 'less temporary' nature of TA. Several drivers of increasing lengths of stay in TA were identified by key informants, prime among them the restricted availability of suitable move on-accommodation:

"The difficulty moving people on. That is the biggest issue… people are staying longer in temporary accommodation because of the lack of suitable and affordable accommodation." (LA senior manager 4)

Also relevant however was the 'backlog' of households currently occupying TA, meaning that LAs are not only seeking to meet current demand, but clear demand built up over a run of years:

"I feel quite confident, if we could clear our backlog we, on the whole, wouldn't have much of a problem housing people pretty quickly… [that] would resolve a lot of the issues… I think we should probably increase our lets. If we increased our lets to 75 per cent over the next three years, I think that would clear our backlog, but that's never going to work [politically]". (LA senior manager 1)

Aside from these issues of housing supply/availability and backlog, several key informants additionally observed that LAs have tended to focus on 'firefighting' i.e. meeting their TA obligations, with less time and resources focused on securing move-on from TA:

"temp… really isn't quite so temporary anymore… a lot of our resources are spent firefighting or ensuring that temp is provided… the follow-up work, the progression of enquiries, the ongoing referrals and the allocation of permanent is de-prioritised… [so] you have this scenario of people in limbo." (Third sector representative 1)

"There's a reason why people stay in temporary accommodation/supported housing for longer than what they should. Some of that is just local authorities and support providers aren't very good at moving people on, they're not organised enough to do it. Some of it is because of a paternal instinct that says, 'We just want to keep people there.' That's more voluntary sector, support providers, to be honest with you… So some of that is that paternal instinct. Some of it though, particularly with the local authorities is bad management, basically, because they've not got a… Their allocation policies don't work well-enough, staff don't help people in terms of giving them advice and assistance to make them move on. So it's a mixture of practice and policy that is why people remain in TA for longer than what they could. There is, of course, a housing market dynamic in there as well for some local authorities." (Independent housing/homelessness expert 3)

"underlying all of it has got to be the throughput. So you're actually looking at people being stuck in temporary accommodation… Fundamentally, it's that lack of ability to get people out and through temporary accommodation quickly. So I think… temporary accommodation is absolutely vital. It has to be there. It's a really important part of the homelessness service but the way that it's currently used and the provisions that are currently made for temporary accommodation, just don't work and they're not… in many cases, anyway, effectively providing that stepping stone away from homelessness for people, you know, in good time." (Third sector representative 1)

Another key informant felt that there were some 'cultural' barriers to moving people on from TA, especially where that might be achieved more quickly through PRS accommodation, rather than social housing:

"I think people feel, even if they do have options in the private rented sector… people who've been through the homeless system want security usually. So they're less likely to take a risk or consider something new or take something that's not totally secure. They often have an instilled view that they want social housing and that's the only solution for them so they end up with this pathway which is you've put your life on hold for two years, you maybe develop a drug problem you didn't have, an alcohol problem, mental health problem, isolation, difficulty getting jobs." (Third sector representative 2)

Key informants also acknowledged some of the trade-offs LAs face in moving towards quicker move-on from temp, particularly in rural authorities or areas where there are pockets of high and low demand. In these areas, quicker settled housing allocations could be made, but at the expense of moving individuals away from their social networks and/or work:

"our big challenge, is about if we do move to this [rapid rehousing] approach, what does that mean for people, is it acceptable, how are we going to manage that? How are we going to manage in case of refusals… tenancy sustainability is going to become an issue and people will need much more support and management. How far is too far for taking someone out of their local support networks....? Is it better for someone to move them quickly out of homelessness into a property in a community where you can do that and maybe settle or perhaps not settle, or maybe is it better to have them sat in temporary accommodation for over a year to get a house where they want it?" (LA senior manager 3)

Relevant here is another key informant's contribution, which advocated caution prioritising reducing length of stay over other aims, arguing that the primary barometer of whether someone should stay in TA or be moved on as a matter of urgency, is whether that accommodation is suitable and appropriate, or causing them harm:

"if somebody's in good temporary accommodation, in the right place, and they're getting the support services going in, then I don't really see what the problem is… They're happy there. They've got the support services in. They're close to the children's school. I just think if we're holding somebody in that property for two years, and until the right permanent accommodation comes up, and then we're helping them move, I don't see what the problem is… I think we have to be really clear about assessing placements. Is this the right place or is it an appropriate place? Is it harming the family to be in that property? If it isn't then I think we stop worrying about it." (LA senior manager 1)

Some of the considerations above prompted several key informants to advocate the use of individual 'housing plans' (now in place in England and Wales[82]) with TA residents. This could encourage a person-centred focus on move on and 'jump-start' a more intense focus on rehousing within LAs.

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[82] Davies, L. and Fitzpatrick, S. (forthcoming 2018) *A 'Perfect' Statutory Homelessness System for an Imperfect World: Principles, Priorities, Proposals and Possibilities.* London: Crisis.

Summary

The length of time people are spending in TA has increased in recent years, with people in some areas having particularly long stays in TA. The average stay is around three months, but far longer in ordinary LA and HA dwellings and in PSL properties. Prolonged use of PSL and other leased accommodation is becoming more frequent in some areas, and will be more costly, though stays in B&B have reduced in length.

Overall, families with children tend to stay for the longest in TA, but this is more frequently in self-contained LA, HA or PSL accommodation. Single people and couples without children spend longer in B&Bs and in particular, hostel accommodation. In some LAs, the *average* length of stay for single people in hostels exceeds 200 days, suggesting that some people will reside in hostels for considerably longer than this.

We might expect longer periods in TA to be associated with a lower proportion of mainstream lets being allocated to homeless people, but this 'simple' relationship does not appear to bear out. Instead, some LAs report a high proportion of lets to homeless people *alongside* some longer periods in some TA. Increasing the flow of lets is likely to be a critical means of reducing the length of TA stays, but may take time to impact. Increasing the proportion of Housing Association lets to homeless households could pay particular dividends (see chapter 3). Increasing the proportion of social rented sector lets to homeless households does, however, present 'political' challenges at the local level. It is also important to strike a balance between rapid movement into more settled accommodation and ensuring that people are being provided with suitable and appropriate settled options that they are likely to sustain.

Nationally, less than 1 in 10 'settled accommodation' outcomes are in the PRS, but in some LAs the proportion of households accessing settled PRS accommodation is considerably higher. There may be more scope to use the PRS for settled accommodation, and personal housing plans may offer a person-centred means of supporting homeless households to consider the range of suitable settled housing options available to them and aid quicker move on and shorter stays. There are, however, some 'cultural' barriers to this both within LAs and in terms of the attitudes and preferences of TA residents, and concerns regarding the impact of PRS accommodation on poverty (given the high costs of private rented accommodation, particularly in some areas), and the sustainability of that accommodation, should also be borne in mind.

7. The future of temporary accommodation

The analysis presented above, combined with key informant perspectives on what the future of TA in Scotland should look like and how we might get there, suggest the following areas of focus for policy and practice development. These will be further explored during the case study stage of the research.

Transforming TA requires a combination of **national leadership and local flexibility**. There is seen to be a role for Scottish Government in articulating the purpose of TA and the standards it should meet. Key informants highlighted the development of (statutory) TA standards, updated homelessness guidance, a renewed role of the Scottish Housing Regulator in monitoring quality and standards, and legislative change (in particular to facilitate more effective prevention of homelessness, see below) as potential elements of this leadership role, but were also emphatic that such national leadership needs to go alongside flexibility for LAs to develop strategies that fit their local housing market context and population. There was seen to be a risk that nationally set targets (for instance, on maximum lengths of stay in TA) could lead to negative unintended consequences. Means of striking a productive balance between national leadership and local context included use of locally-developed and context-sensitive action plans and targets pursuing a nationally articulated vision; a role for peer 'champions' in communicating good practice; leadership in creating a culture of 'testing' and 'creativity' in which 'honest lessons can be learnt' in relation to TA practice; and the provision of funds to enable that creativity and testing.

Establishing a 'fit for purpose' TA funding regime was consistently identified as an essential prerequisite to transforming TA in Scotland. The lack of transparency and 'murkiness' of current TA charges, and the rigidity of the current funding regime were seen by many as key barriers to improving TA. There was a consensus that many types of TA fail to offer 'value for money' to the public purse, particularly expensive PSL schemes and B&B/hotel accommodation that can all require heavy subsidy from LAs already strained General Funds. It was further acknowledged that historically TA funding has been used to cross-subsidise wider homelessness services, at considerable cost, not least to TA residents in or seeking work. Making TA affordable for both LAs and its residents, and the funding of TA easier to administer, was thus seen to be a central component of the current system needing reform. LAs who have led the way in restructuring and reducing TA charges are likely to provide useful exemplars in taking forward this strand of transformation. One key informant saw the devolution of the TA management fee, combined with the potential future devolution of supported accommodation funding, as an opportunity to create a funding pot that can be used flexibly to enable person-centred TA with support where and how needed in Scotland. Without proactive action in this area, there is a risk that on-going changes to the funding of TA and SA will start to drive undesirable change in the sector, in particular moves towards lower quality TA provision.

Reducing demand for TA was seen to be a core constituent of its transformation and improvement. This requires a spectrum of interventions, some focused on reducing *inflow* into TA and some on increasing *outflow* from TA. **Reducing inflow to TA** was seen to require improved homelessness prevention policy and practice, tackling both 'immediate triggers' in the period where households are at imminent risk of homelessness, and via targeted 'upstream' prevention measures based on evidence regarding who is most at

risk[83]. Homelessness prevention practice in Scotland was described as 'confused' and 'messy' by key informants, and has been described elsewhere as 'light touch'[84], involving primarily advice, information and signposting, and often culminating in a statutory homelessness application[85], in part due to concerns that more proactive or assertive prevention activity would lead to accusations of gatekeeping[86]. Several key informants advocated consideration of the introduction of 'prevention and relief' duties (as have been seen in Wales, and more recently England). The introduction of such prevention-focused legislation in Scotland – currently the only UK-nation where the priority need test has been fully abolished – offers the opportunity to combine the best elements of UK-wide homelessness legislation in one place[87].

Increasing outflow from TA was seen to require addressing the 'backlog' or 'logjam' of TA residents that have built up in many areas and reducing the length of time households spend in TA. Suggested means of achieving these goals included upping the proportion of social lets to homeless households from LAs and (in particular) HAs on a transitional basis, as well as the promotion of a wider spectrum of move-on options. Enhancing move-on into the PRS via rent deposit schemes and/or social lettings agencies was seen to play an important role. Such approaches have been used in some LAs already, and capture the benefits of utilising PRS accommodation while avoiding the sometimes high cost of PSL arrangements. The recent introduction of greater security of tenure in Scotland's PRS was seen to provide a helpful context for such moves, though a focus on the sustainability and affordability of PRS options remains crucial. Sharing options were also seen to play a potential role for some groups, though it was felt that Scottish Government could facilitate this, not least by clarifying the tenancy and council tax arrangements that should pertain in shared accommodation environments. Greater use of 'flipping' temporary LA tenancies into settled accommodation, where it suits TA residents, was also advocated by key informants as a means of 'clearing the backlog' and moving towards 'rapid rehousing'. This would require finding means to offset the costs of writing off furniture packages before they have 'matured', and securing new TA supply at a level commensurate with the 'inflow' of new homeless households. The adoption of Housing First models for those with complex needs was highlighted as part of the means to reduce demand for TA. Here, the funding and availability of wrap-around support was seen to be a key 'enabler'. More proactive work with and support for households in TA to facilitate their move on was advocated, with the use of personalised 'Housing Plans' proposed by a number of key informants. Of course, local housing market pressures were seen to be fundamental to all of these strategies, underlining the importance of the provision of and access to affordable housing in transformation Scotland's TA.

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[83] See Bramley, G. and Fitzpatrick, S. (2017) Homelessness in the UK: Who is Most at Risk? *Housing Studies* 33:1, 96-116 and chapter 9 in Joseph Rowntree Foundation (2016) *UK Poverty: Causes, Costs and Solutions*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation. https://www.jrf.org.uk/report/uk-poverty-causes-costs-and-solutions

[84] Fitzpatrick, S., Pawson, H., Bramley, G., Wilcox, S. and Watts, B. (2015) *The Homelessness Monitor: Scotland 2015.* London: Crisis. https://www.crisis.org.uk/media/236831/the_homelessness_monitor_scotland_2015.pdf

[85] Scottish Government (2017) *Housing Options (PREVENT1) Statistics in Scotland: Update to 30 September 2017.* http://www.gov.scot/Resource/0053/00530434.pdf

[86] Fitzpatrick, S., Pawson, H., Bramley, G., Wilcox, S. and Watts, B. (2015) *The Homelessness Monitor: Scotland 2015.* London: Crisis. https://www.crisis.org.uk/media/236831/the_homelessness_monitor_scotland_2015.pdf ;

Scottish Housing Regulator (2014) *Housing Options in Scotland: A thematic inquiry*. Glasgow: Scottish Housing Regulator. https://www.scottishhousingregulator.gov.uk/sites/default/files/publications/Housing%20Options%20Report%20-%20Web%20Version.pdf

[87] Davies, L. and Fitzpatrick, S. (forthcoming 2018) *A 'Perfect' Statutory Homelessness System for an Imperfect World: Principles, Priorities, Proposals and Possibilities*. London: Crisis.

There was widespread appetite for **strengthening of standards and enhancing the quality of TA provision.** Part of this was seen to involve underlining that self-contained furnished TA – where concerns about quality are minimal – is the most appropriate form of TA for most people experiencing homelessness. Some key informants suggested that a greater emphasis on the strategic procurement and long-term planning of appropriate TA stock by LAs (rather than more ad hoc responsive approaches) could help achieve this, with some LAs recent transformation of the TA stock providing practical examples of how it might be achieved in other areas. Other priorities included the extension of the Unsuitable Accommodation Order to cover a wider range of households, with opinions differing on whether it should cover *all* household types, or be expanded to cover key vulnerable groups, namely, young people, care leavers, those with addiction issues, and those with physical and/or mental health issues or disabilities. Concerns were voiced about the feasibility and unintended consequences of such an extension of the Order, in particular where there is currently heavy reliance on B&BS and few alternatives. For these reasons and others, some key informants focused on the introduction of 'across the board' standards to apply to all types of TA, covering cooking and laundry facilities, affordability, and the 'social environment'.

Core to discussions about the quality of TA was the imperative that **support to those in such accommodation should match their needs**. On the one hand, some individuals in TA were seen to be paying for support or property management costs via their rent that they did not need, with knock-on impacts on the affordability of them entering work. On the other hand, many in TA were identified as unable to access the breadth or intensity of support they need, either because they were residing in B&Bs without access to support, in dispersed TA with budgets constraining their access to floating support, or in hostels where despite the possible presence of intensive support, the congregate environment was often not conducive to utilising this support effectively. Future changes to supported accommodation funding *may* provide an opportunity to flexibilise support provision for those in TA, and could facilitate the 'decoupling' of support from congregate hostel environments, where appropriate/helpful. These funding changes also carries risks, however, not least in relation to the amount of funding that will be made available in any devolution settlement. Also relevant are barriers to effective joint working between homelessness and housing teams, and wider mental health, addiction and social services, and frustrations at the narrow focus of the 'Support Duty' on housing support only (see also below). Some of these challenges concerning the mismatch between support needs and support provision in TA were seen to relate to TA provision having not 'caught up' with the changed profile of TA residents, namely a shift towards a greater proportion having multiple and complex needs. The development of effective ways of working with this group (e.g. Housing First) was thus seen to be part of the work needed to safeguard and improve TA quality.

Cutting across some of these themes, **the role of partnerships** in achieving the transformation of TA in Scotland was seen to be fundamental. Three 'sets' of partnerships were emphasised in particular. First, key informants emphasised that homelessness often came at the end of a long run of crises or challenges facing households, and that many statutory services were in touch with households during that time. Better partnerships with health, social care, education, criminal justice partners etc., were thus seen to be key to effective prevention (see above). Second, the shifted profile of those experiencing homelessness – with a higher proportion of those accepted as homeless experiencing sometimes multiple support needs – was seen to require much more effective engagement from mental health services, GPs/hospitals, health and social care, and addiction services.

Key informants voiced some frustration that the integration of Health and Social Care in Scotland had not had more to offer in this area, and were open to considering how such partnership and collaboration could be formalised and enforced via legislative change. Relevant legal changes in England and Wales (e.g. the duties to cooperate/refer) may be useful starting points to consider reform in this area[88]. Third, good working relationships with Housing Associations were seen to be extremely important in transforming the use of TA, with some areas struggling in this regard and many key informants seeing scope for HAs to play a greater role in relation to housing homeless households. Good working relationships with private landlords (e.g. through social lettings schemes etc.) might also be seen to be important for the same reasons.

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[88] Davies, L. and Fitzpatrick, S. (forthcoming 2018) *A 'Perfect' Statutory Homelessness System for an Imperfect World: Principles, Priorities, Proposals and Possibilities.* London: Crisis.

8. Key findings and next steps

This interim report has sought to begin to provide the evidential basis for the transformation of TA in Scotland. This final chapter provides a summary of key findings and identifies next steps for the study.

Key findings

The provision of TA in Scotland aims to serve a number of purposes. It seeks to offer a means of averting the immediate crisis facing those who are homeless or at risk of homelessness; provide these households with a place to stay during the period local authorities take to assess their legal duties and (where appropriate) secure settled accommodation; enhance households' opportunities to access suitable settled housing; and offer accommodation combined with support for those who need it. In practice, these aims are not always realised. Particular challenges relate to the intended *short-term* role of TA and the matching of appropriate support to the households who need it.

Trends over time in TA use reveal a sector that responded to the removal of priority need in 2012 by hugely increasing the amount of TA available, and which has subsequently struggled to clear this 'backlog'. The number of households in TA doubled between 2003 and 2010, and has subsequently remained at historically high levels of over 10,000. Since 2013/14, the number of households in TA has been creeping further upwards, albeit at a more gradual pace. Beneath these national trends, the scale of TA use is highly differentiated between local authority areas. Some have seen sustained and substantial growth over this 15-year time period; others sustained but more modest growth; and others the stabilisation or even reduction of numbers in TA since 2010.

Significant changes have also been seen in the types of TA used. While self-contained accommodation has consistently been the most commonly used type of TA, privately rented and Housing Association accommodation has become a far more important sources of self-contained accommodation in some local authorities. Combined, 60% of households in TA in 2017 were accommodated in LA or HA self-contained stock, with more still residing in self-contained PRS accommodation. Substantial shifts in the usage of non self-contained TA are also evident. Use of B&Bs doubled between 2003 and 2010, but has subsequently fallen back by over a third, now accommodating around 1 in 10 households residing in TA. By contrast, while hostel use fell by 11% in the seven years to 2010, it has increased by 43% since then, and with a shift in the balance of provision from predominantly LA hostels to predominantly hostels run by other organisations (Housing Associations and voluntary sector organisers).

The types of TA used vary substantially across Scotland. In two thirds of LAs, self-contained LA accommodation is the largest form of TA, with the remaining areas having more mixed profiles dominated by self-contained HA accommodation (especially in the stock transfer authorities) or in a small group of LAs, hostel, B&B or 'other' (e.g. PSL) forms of TA. Over half of LAs don't use B&B accommodation at all, but in some LAs (namely Edinburgh and Highland) they accommodate a very high proportion of those in TA. A smaller number of LAs use no hostel accommodation at all, with some using it to house a fairly small proportion (less than 10%) of those in TA, but a significant minority of nine LAs

accommodating between a quarter and almost two thirds of TA residents in hostel accommodation.

A number of factors drive this highly variable practice, including the 'path dependence' of historical decisions and ways of working, local leadership, the nature and quality of relationships with HAs, and the local housing market context. While some LAs appear able to use access to social lets flexibly to relieve pressure on TA, others struggle to do so. While nationally, 40% of lets to new social tenants go to homeless households, this proportion ranges from over 60% in some authorities to well below 30% in others. In almost all areas, the LA lets a greater proportion of lets to new tenants to homeless applicants than HAs do, often by a significant margin, and the proportion of lets to homeless households is well below average in the six stock transfer authorities.

The quality and appropriateness of TA varies substantially across TA types, with by far the fewest concerns about the quality of self-contained TA. Consistency in the furnishing of self-contained accommodation is one area where improvements could be made, and quality in PRS accommodation seems likely to be more variable than in LA and HA stock. There are significant issues of quality and appropriateness in relation to congregate hostel and B&B forms of TA, in relation to the challenging 'social environment' that can pertain, the 'rules and regulations' in place, the mismatch between support needs and support provision, and also the quality of buildings. Considerable variation in the quality of both these forms of TA was highlighted, with the variability of hostels likely reflecting different ownership/management practice, as well as the difference between lower-support hostels and hostel-type supported accommodation. While it was noted that some B&B TA is actually in professionalised, chain hotels, there was a strong consensus that B&B accommodation is by far the least good quality and appropriate form of TA, with lack of access to food storage, cooking and laundry facilities seen as especially problematic.

Key informants were strongly supportive of the introduction of measures to improve the standards of TA, albeit with differences of opinion regarding how this can best be achieved. Options include extending the Unsuitable Accommodation Order to all groups or some particular groups based on 'vulnerability'; reviewing and amending the definition of suitability within the Order (e.g. to include affordability, aspects of the 'social environment' and more flexibility on location); and/or introducing standards covering all types of TA (including access to laundry and cooking facilities as well as a much wider array of standards). Any moves in this direction must recognise that the feasibility of achieving compliance with any such changes – and the investment required to do so – will vary substantially across different LA contexts.

The current TA funding regime is characterised by rigidity, complexity and opacity. TA rents are considered to be unhelpfully high, with impacts on households' ability to continue or move into work. The variation in TA costs across LAs also raises concerns of equity and fairness. TA funding mechanisms, additionally, make it hard for LAs to provide tailored, personalised and flexible support to those residing in it. There remains enormous uncertainty about the future of both TA and supported accommodation funding, in the face of the introduction of Universal Credit, broader welfare reforms, public sector austerity and potential policy change by the Scottish – and in particular – Westminster Government. Some LAs have sought to proactively adjust TA portfolios and local practice to mitigate the risks associated with these factors. In the best case, such 'rationalisation' promises to

enhance efficiency and value for money, improve LAs financial security and alleviate concerns about the poverty and unemployment traps associated with TA. In the worst case, these responses to the shifting and challenging funding regime risk driving down the quality of TA provision and support.

Overall, the length of time people are spending in TA has increased in recent years, indicating increasing pressure within TA. Beyond this headline finding, length of stay in TA varies extensively between LA areas, household types and types of TA. Families with children tend to stay for the longest in TA, but this is more frequently in self-contained LA, HA or PSL accommodation. Single people and couples without children spend longer in B&Bs and in particular hostels. In some LAs, the *average* length of stay for single people in hostels exceeds 200 days, suggesting that some people live in this kind of accommodation for considerably longer than this. There does not appear to be a straightforward association between the proportion of social lets allocated to homeless people and the length of time people spend in TA, with some LAs reporting high proportions of lets to homeless people *alongside* some longer periods in some TA. While access to social rented accommodation remains the dominant 'settled accommodation' outcome for homeless households, some LAs use the PRS to accommodate a significant group of those to whom they owe duties (10-20% of those securing a settled outcome). While there is an overall consensus regarding the desirability of reducing time spent in TA, a balance must be struck between rapid movement into more settled accommodation and ensuring that people access suitable and appropriate settled options that they can afford and sustain.

Transforming TA requires a suite of measures spanning the key themes covered in this interim report. First, national leadership is required on the purpose of TA, the standards it should meet and the goals of any reform in this area. This, however, must be combined with an approach that ensures local flexibility, given the highly differentiated nature of TA across Scotland. Second, a funding regime is required that offers value for money for the public purse, clarity and efficiency for those administering it, adequate funds to maintain TA at a sufficient standard and with appropriate support, and which offers fairness and facilitates good outcomes (particularly around poverty and employment) to those residing in it.

Core to TA transformation must be reducing demand for it. Third, then, an overhaul of homelessness prevention policy and practice is required to reduce the inflow of households into TA. As has been recognised by recent reforms in England and Wales, key to strengthening homelessness prevention is introducing means to effectively ensure public sector partners play a role in identifying those at risk and mitigating those risks. Indeed, more broadly, the recent context of rapid legal reform and policy innovation in this area across the UK offers fertile ground for Scotland to develop a new approach that combines the best of these UK-reforms. Fourth, the outflow of households from TA needs to be increased, with a focus here on facilitating access (including through personalised support and planning) to a range of appropriate settled housing options, spanning the social and private rented sectors and sharing models. Effective partnership and relationships with Housing Associations – and perhaps also private landlords – is essential to this aim.

Fifth, measures to improve the quality and appropriateness of TA are required. While the feasibility and implementation challenges associated with introducing more ambitious standards will vary enormously across Scotland, there is clear appetite for decisive action to

raise standards among sector experts involved in this research. Sixth, and crucially, given the shifting profile of those accepted as homeless in Scotland in recent years, TA provision must confront the challenge of ensuring that those residing in it have access to the level and kinds of support required to meet their needs. It is essential that support provision extends beyond *housing* support, to the range of support needs experienced by those in TA. This is likely to require reforms that facilitate, incentivise or require the involvement of other public sector agencies.

Next steps

The next stage of this study will involve primary qualitative research with local stakeholders and TA residents in six case study local authority areas, alongside analysis of local statistics where available. These case studies will provide answers to the research questions listed in Chapter 1 from the perspective of local authority homelessness services and TA providers, and in particular provide insights on the impacts of living in TA on those residing in it. They will also enable an exploration of some of the drivers of variation in TA use, practice and outcomes between LAs described in this report.

Local case studies will be selected purposively to capture this variation across Scotland. The table below sets out a proposed case study structure based on segmentation analysis across a number of key homelessness indicators. The main indicators explored in the segmentation were:

- Medium to high homelessness pressure – number of homeless applicants compared with the household population
- TA pressure – numbers in TA at the year end compared with the numbers owed a duty for settled accommodation
- Coverage of LAs with higher numbers in TA
- A mix of LAs with long stays in TA and short stays in TA
- More use of Hostels or B&Bs
- Higher and lower proportions of lets to homeless
- Higher proportion of outcomes in settled accommodation
- Lower proportions of outcomes in settled accommodation
- Higher use of PRS as settled accommodation.

The proposed selection of case studies stand out as having some combination of these attributes of interest. This means that the most 'average' of performers are not in the case studies, neither are LAs with lower numbers of TA residents.

The reserve list cannot be too closely matched to the original case studies, as the main ones selected are unique in some respects. There is also considerable variation in experiences. The reserve list is designed, however, to give a comparable range of experiences, with the option to replace any of the original six case studies with the closest match from the reserve list, if the original case study LA cannot participate.

No remote rural case studies have been selected, since these do not tend to show the variations across a number of measures sought by our case study selection approach, although some such areas do make proportionately greater use of B&B (e.g. Highland) and others have residents in TA for long periods (e.g. Shetland).

Table 19: Case study selection

Case studies	Attributes	LA type
1. Dundee	High homeless pressure, lots of TA, more use of hostels/B&B, average outcomes	City
2. Glasgow	High homeless pressure, lots of TA, lower settled accommodation, mixed outcomes	City
3. Edinburgh	High numbers, more hostels/B&B, more use of PRS, mixed outcomes	City
4. East Lothian	Medium to high pressure, long stays in B&B, more use of B&B, lower settled outcomes	Mixed/rural
5. East Ayrshire	Medium pressure, more use of hostels/B&B, Higher use of B&B, higher settled, more use of PRS	Mixed/rural
6. Perth & Kinross	Medium to low pressure, lower TA numbers, % more hostels but decreasing, higher lets, better outcomes	Mixed/rural

Reserve list

Case studies	Attributes	LA type
1. Aberdeen	Medium pressure/average on lots of things, higher % settled, higher lengths in B&B	City
2. South Lanarkshire	Medium pressure, larger numbers of TA, short stays in TA, higher lets to homeless, better outcomes	City/mixed
3. Midlothian	High TA pressure, long stays in TA, lower SRS turnover, higher lets to homeless, lower settled households	Mixed/rural
4. Aberdeenshire	Medium pressure, long stays in TA, average lets, higher settled outcomes	Rural
5. Falkirk	Medium pressure, more use of hostels, higher settled outcomes	Town
6. East Dunbartonshire	Medium pressure, long stays in TA, mixed lets and outcomes picture	Town/rural

Case study fieldwork will be conducted during April-June 2018, with a draft report submitted in the Autumn and published thereafter.

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