Chapter 5

Homelessness, housing needs and lettings

Homelessness is a key contributor to housing need in which there are marked contrasts between the different parts of the UK. Both statutory homelessness applications and acceptances have been growing in England since 2010, albeit that the rate of increase has now significantly slowed, while as a result of policy changes there have been sharp falls in Scotland and, especially, in Wales. Statutory homelessness acceptances have risen in Northern Ireland over the past three years, even while the overall number of applications has remained relatively stable (see Figure 2.5.1).

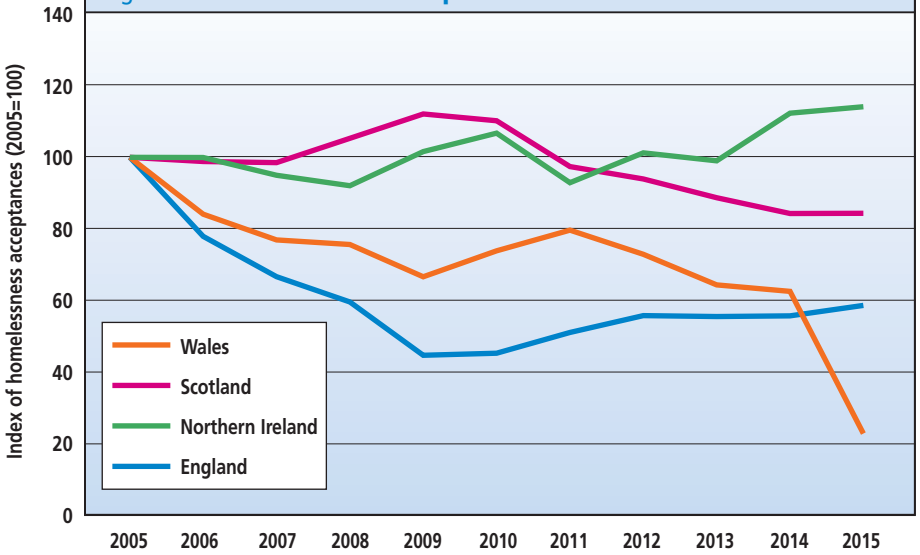
At the same time, looked at in terms of population sizes, for historic reasons both Scotland and Northern Ireland have relatively high levels of homelessness acceptances (see Figure 2.5.2). In Scotland this mainly reflects the wider definition of statutory homelessness since the abolition of the 'priority need' criterion, while in Northern Ireland the homelessness 'route' is used to a far greater extent than elsewhere in the UK to secure rehousing for older people no longer able to maintain a family home.

Changing patterns of those accepted as homeless

At nearly 58,000, annual homelessness acceptances in England were some 18,000 higher in 2015/16 than in 2009/10, albeit that this likely understates the true increase as a result of the ongoing shift towards more informal preventative approaches (see below). Regional trends have nonetheless been strongly contrasting, as noted in earlier editions of the *Review*. Thus, the 2015/16 figure for the North of England remained six per cent lower than the 2009/10 national low point. For London, however, the latest figure was more than double that at this recent low point. Generally, 2015/16 saw a perpetuation of previous trends, with London and the South diverging further from the Midlands and the North (see Figure 2.5.3).

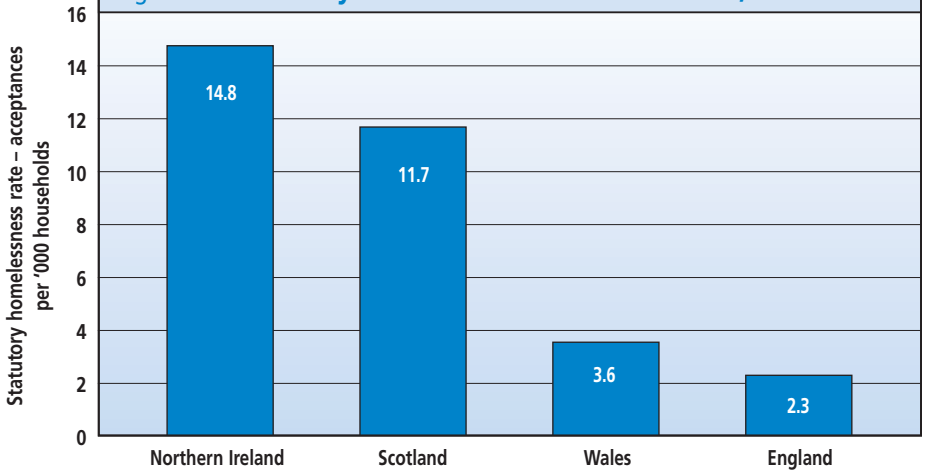
While overall statutory homelessness has increased substantially since 2009/10, acceptances of 16-24 year olds have been more stable, increasing to 17,000 in 2011/12 before falling back to around 13,500 for the past two years. Consequently, under-25s now account for 23 per cent of all acceptances, down from 39 per cent in 2009/10. However, many homeless young people are turned away by local

Figure 2.5.1 **Homelessness acceptances 2002-2015**



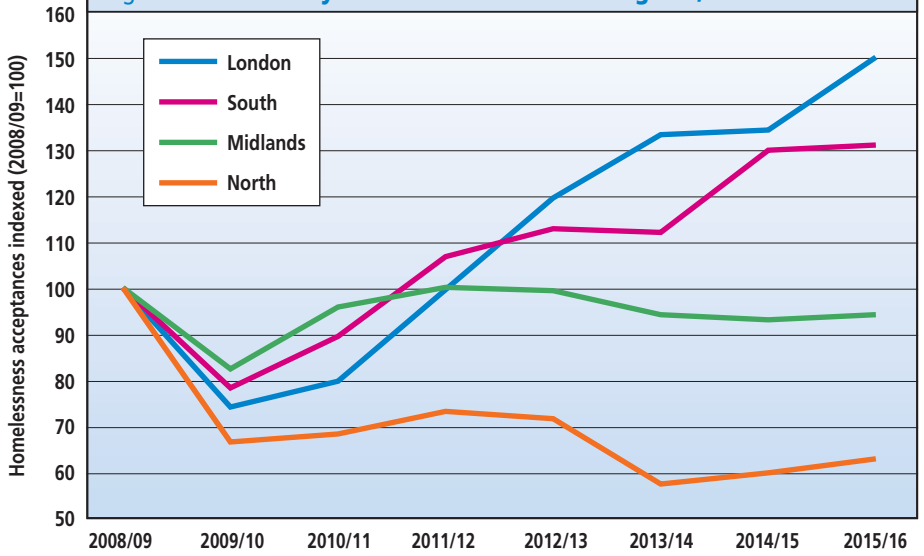
Sources: Compendium Table 90 and Northern Ireland Housing Statistics Table 3.11.

Figure 2.5.2 **Statutory homelessness rates across the UK, 2015**



Source: From the Homelessness Monitor Northern Ireland 2016, Crisis, based on data from DCLG, Scottish Government, Welsh Government and NI Housing Executive.
Note: Homelessness data for Northern Ireland are for 2015/16, Scotland and Wales 2014/15, England 2015.

Figure 2.5.3 **Statutory homelessness trends in England, 2008/09-2015/16**



Source: Compendium Table 94a.

authorities as not being in 'priority need',[1] and it was estimated that 64,000 young people were in touch with homelessness services in England in 2013/14, more than four times the number accepted as statutorily homeless.[2] In Scotland, where the priority need criterion has been abolished, the share of the statutory homeless population accounted for by under-25s has also declined, from 36 per cent in 2008/09 to 28 per cent in 2015/16. However, young people remain at a far higher risk of homelessness than older adults across the UK,[3] and there are acute concerns regarding the youth homelessness impacts of (further) reductions in young people's social security entitlements, in particular the imminent removal of automatic entitlement to the housing costs element in universal credit for 18-21 year-olds.[4] Younger single people, especially if they are living outside of the family home, already face highly disproportionate risks of poverty, and young men under 25 are the group most likely to be destitute in the UK.[5]

The progressive fall in the proportion of acceptances in England accounted for by single person households has continued. Such cases grew by only 15 per cent in the six years to 2015/16, as compared with the 56 per cent increase seen for families and multi-adult households. This means that single people now account for only 22 per cent of all homelessness acceptances in England, as compared with half or more in all of the other UK jurisdictions. The most plausible explanation for the English trend is an increasingly rigorous interpretation of 'priority need' criteria by local authorities. While recent case law should have led to a lowering of the 'vulnerability threshold',[6] there is little evidence of this happening in practice as yet, and further case law is expected. Of potentially even greater significance – when enacted – will be the Homelessness Reduction Bill which proposes a universal homelessness 'prevention' duty and 'relief' duty for eligible applicants, regardless of priority need or intentionality status (see below).

Action to prevent homelessness

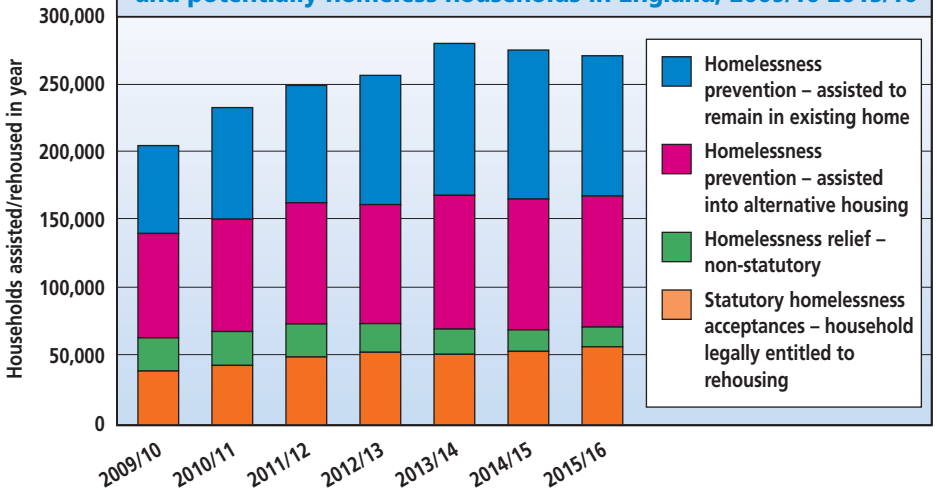
The importance of homelessness 'prevention' or 'relief', otherwise known as a 'housing options' approach to homelessness, continues to grow across the UK. In England the government has supported the Homelessness Reduction Bill that would see this approach embedded in the main statutory framework. In Scotland, the housing options approach gained importance with the commitment that all those assessed as unintentionally homeless would be entitled to settled accommodation, and prevention actions are now for the first time being formally recorded. In Wales, a new approach to housing options was set by the Housing (Wales) Act 2014, and in Northern Ireland a housing options-style model is being piloted as 'Housing Solutions and Support', due for full roll-out across the jurisdiction by June 2017.

In 2015/16, the number of prevention and relief actions outnumbered statutory homelessness acceptances by almost four to one in England (see Figure 2.5.4). Nevertheless, for the second successive year, the quantum of prevention activity fell slightly. This might be interpreted as indicating a decline in overall homelessness 'expressed demand'. However, with two-thirds of local authorities reporting to the Crisis/JRF *Homelessness Monitor* team that 'footfall' in their housing options services continued to grow in 2016, it seems more likely that funding constraints have started to limit local authorities' capacity with respect to these (currently) 'non-statutory' relief and prevention activities.

The balance of local authority prevention activities has also changed, and assisting people in accessing private tenancies is no longer the largest single form of preventative intervention. Since 2009/10 the annual volume of such cases has dropped by 30 per cent, probably reflecting the state of the housing market and welfare reform constraints on access to the PRS for benefit-reliant households. The most striking homelessness prevention 'growth activity' is debt advice and financial assistance which, in 2015/16, accounted for almost 50,000 prevention instances – up from only 16,000 in 2009/10.

In Scotland, during 2015/16, there were 54,005 'housing options approaches' of which 48,552 were unique households (others made more than one approach for help).[7] Of the 50,181 cases with a known outcome within the year, almost half (47 per cent) went on to make a formal homelessness application and only 14 per cent resulted in alternative accommodation being found, indicating that Scotland's approach to prevention is much more closely tied to the formal system than is the case in England. New guidance on use of housing options was issued after the critical report from the Scottish Housing Regulator.[8]

Figure 2.5.4 **Overview of local authority action to assist homeless and potentially homeless households in England, 2009/10-2015/16**



Source: DCLG Live Tables.

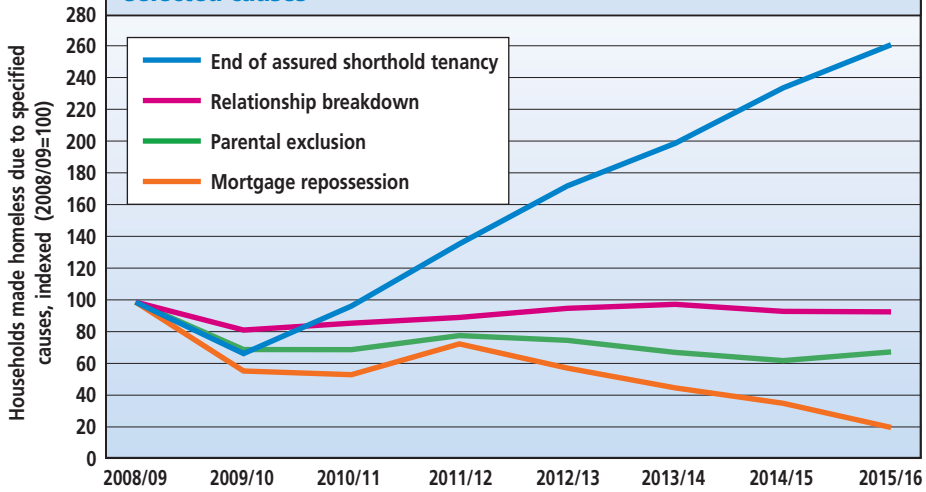
In Wales, the new legislation creates a wider duty to prevent/alleviate homelessness that encompasses all cases, including those not in 'priority need'. It also lengthens the period in which someone has to be considered as 'threatened with homelessness' from 28 to 56 days. During the first full year of operation, 7,128 households were assessed as threatened with homelessness, 65 per cent of whom (4,599 households) had their homelessness successfully prevented. Three-quarters of this group (77 per cent) were helped to obtain alternative accommodation (over half in the PRS), with a quarter helped to remain in their existing accommodation. A further 6,891 households were assessed as being currently homeless, of whom 45 per cent (3,108) were helped to secure alternative accommodation.[9] Early qualitative research on people's experience of the new statutory system highlighted variable approaches between and within local authorities, ranging from 'clear examples of bespoke, person-centred service provision... [to] cases where interventions are generic and insufficiently responsive to people's circumstances'.[10]

Reasons for homelessness

The vast bulk of the increase in statutory homelessness in England in recent years has resulted from the sharply rising numbers made homeless following the termination of a private tenancy – with the figures almost quadrupling over a six-year period from less than 5,000 to almost 18,000 (see Figure 2.5.5). As a proportion of all statutory homelessness acceptances, such cases have consequentially risen from 11 per cent in 2009/10 to 31 per cent by 2015/16 (and to 40 per cent in London). English local authorities responding to the 2016 Homelessness Monitor survey most commonly attributed this trend to growing pressure on private rental markets, coupled with welfare reforms which have exacerbated the vulnerability of benefit-reliant renters.

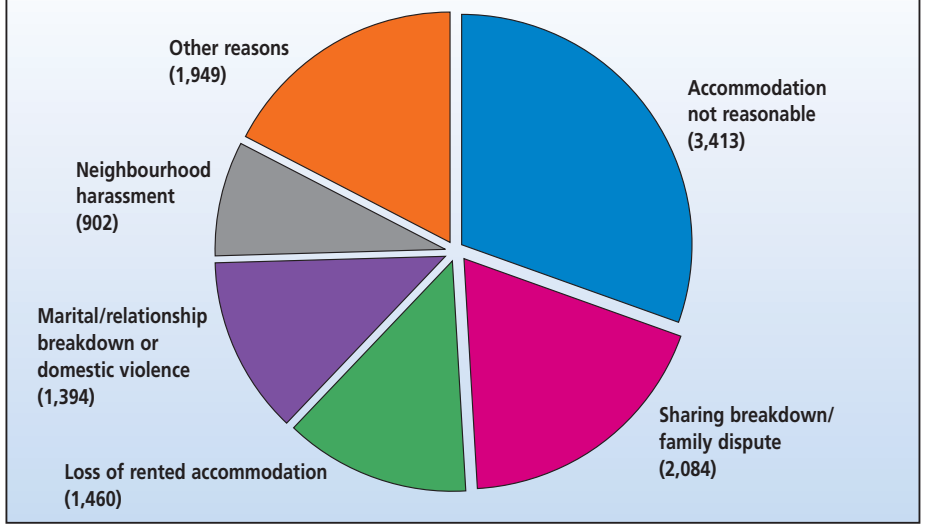
The profile of causes of statutory homelessness in Wales changed markedly between 2009/10 and 2014/15, with 'family/friend evictions' cases down by 35 per cent, whereas loss of a rental tenancy rose by 20 per cent. With the coming into force of the new legislation in April 2015, the statistics on reasons for homelessness are no longer comparable but it seems that there has been the expected drop in the number of acceptances associated with ex-prisoners following

Figure 2.5.5 **Households in England accepted as homeless due to selected causes**



Source: Collated from DCLG statutory homelessness statistics.

Figure 2.5.6 **Reasons for homelessness in Northern Ireland, 2015/16**



Source: Northern Ireland Quarterly Housing Bulletin Jan-Mar 2016.

the removal of 'automatic' priority need for this group. In Scotland, in contrast, the profile of factors triggering loss of previous accommodation has remained fairly stable.[11] In particular, there is little obvious tendency toward rising numbers of people losing their homes due to private tenancy terminations as seen recently in England.

Northern Ireland presents a different pattern of reasons for homelessness, with the largest and fastest growing cause – 'accommodation not reasonable' – unique to the jurisdiction and making up 30 per cent of cases in 2015/16 (see Figure 2.5.6).[12] Although loss of rented accommodation has also been rising modestly as a cause (by 12 per cent over the past three years), the percentage increase has been greater in some other, smaller reasons (e.g. 'institutional discharge', and 'neighbourhood harassment/intimidation') as well as in 'sharing/family breakdown'.

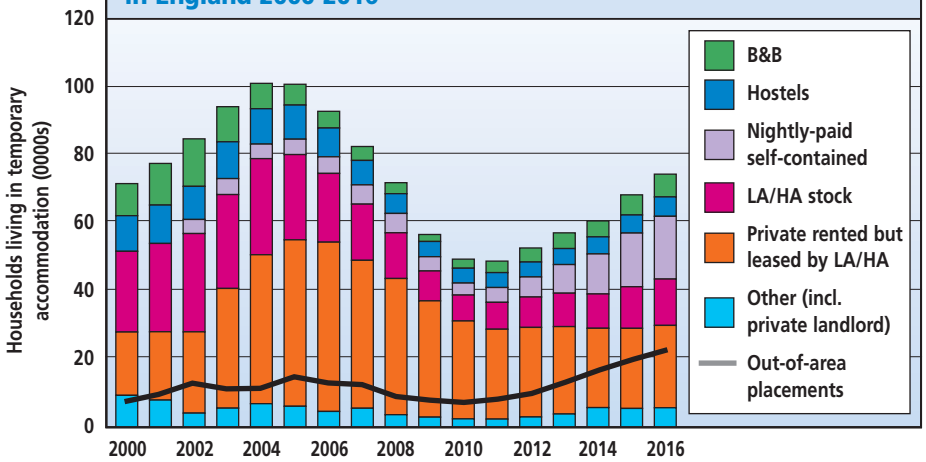
Private rented sector and temporary accommodation placements for those accepted as homeless

In England, the Localism Act 2011 allows local authorities to discharge their homelessness duties via obligatory lettings (of at least twelve months) in the PRS. Use of the PRS to discharge the main statutory homelessness duty remains limited, however, accounting for four per cent of those leaving temporary accommodation in England in 2015/16. (In contrast, the use of the PRS in the context of non-statutory 'housing options' work has been far more widespread though is now reducing, see above.) A similar ability to use the PRS applies from April 2015 in Wales (but with only a six-month minimum tenancy) and, during 2015/16, nine per cent of those who left temporary accommodation did so into the PRS, with over two-thirds accepting an offer of social housing.[13] In Scotland, councils can offer a PRS tenancy but, unless it is an assured tenancy, accepting the offer is not obligatory: typically, around five per cent of homelessness offers result in PRS lettings. There is no 'compulsorily discharge' of the main homelessness duty into the PRS at present in Northern Ireland, and some ambiguity about whether any legal change is necessary to allow for this.[14] However, the NIHE has sponsored a scheme of voluntary access to PRS accommodation operated by Smartmove Housing, on a payment-by-results basis.[15]

High levels of acceptances in England combined with severe pressure on social lettings have led to more homeless households being placed in temporary accommodation rather than in a permanent letting (whether social or private). Since bottoming out in 2010/11, temporary accommodation placements in England have risen sharply, with the overall national total rising by nine per cent in the year to September 2016, to reach 74,630 (see Figure 2.5.7). This is 55 per cent above the low of 48,010 in December 2010. London accounts for around three-quarters of total temporary accommodation placements at any one point in time (53,370 as at September 2016), and 47 per cent of those in temporary accommodation in the capital have been there for a year or more. Interestingly, though, the rate of growth in temporary accommodation use has been lower in London over the past year (nine per cent) than in the rest of England (18 per cent).

The bulk of temporary accommodation placements (83 per cent) are in self-contained housing (both publicly and privately owned). However, although accounting for only nine per cent of the national total, there has been a sharp increase in the use of B&B in recent years. Totalling 6,680 as at 30 September 2016, the number of B&B placements was 13 per cent higher than a year previously and has risen by 250 per cent since 2009.

Figure 2.5.7 **Households living in temporary accommodation in England 2000-2016**



Source: DCLG Live Table 775.

Signs of stress are also evident in growing use of 'out-of-area' temporary accommodation. As at September 2016 these accounted for 21,400 placements – 29 per cent of the English total, an increase of 15 per cent from the same date last year, and up from only 11 per cent of the total in 2010/11. The overwhelming majority (91 per cent) of out-of-area placements involve London boroughs. Recent case law has increased the requirements on local authorities to fully justify such placements and to demonstrate that thorough investigations have been made of the implications of the move for the tenant.[16]

After a steady and substantial increase in the years to 2010/11, Scotland's temporary accommodation placements have subsequently remained fairly steady, in the range 10-11,000 households at any one time. Most temporary accommodation placements in Scotland are in ordinary local authority stock, although single person households are more likely than families to experience hostels and B&B hotels.[17] Local authorities across Scotland have reported substantially lengthening periods of time spent in temporary accommodation, and from April 2016 there has been mandatory data collection on this (although no statistics are yet available). In Wales, the numbers in temporary accommodation are relatively low (1,923 households in September 2016) and appear to have fallen slightly since the coming into force of the 2014 Act, albeit that officially caution has been expressed about comparing the statistics before and after April 2015. Use of temporary accommodation in Northern Ireland remains relatively high (in part because of high levels of acceptances – see above) with between 2,800 and 3,000 placements made annually.[18]

Despite being a government priority, resources to tackle homelessness are severely stretched, particularly in England. Housing support services, and housing more generally, have been at the sharpest end of cuts in local government finance, which have hit poorer councils much harder than their wealthier counterparts.[19] While spending specifically on homelessness has increased by 13 per cent since 2010,

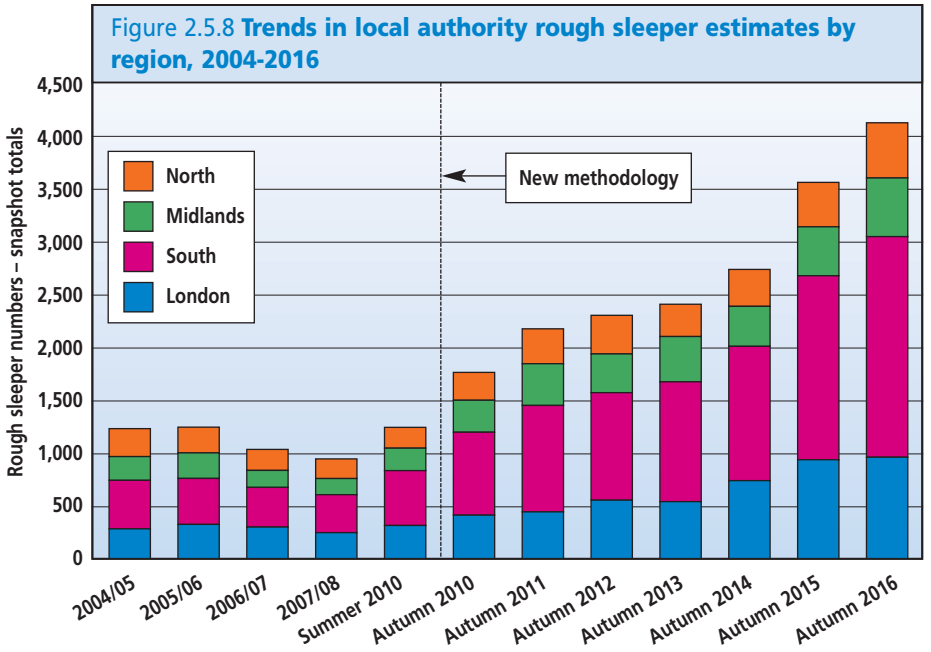
overall spending on housing (not including council housing) dropped by 46 per cent in real terms, with an even larger cutback (67 per cent) in supported housing services. Consequently the availability of suitable options for homeless people with complex needs, such as substance misuse or mental health problems, has been reported in the *Homelessness Monitor* as diminished in many areas. Research commissioned by London Councils has highlighted 'spiralling' costs of temporary accommodation in the capital. Whereas in the past, it was possible for boroughs to make long-term leasing arrangements with private landlords, more expensive 'nightly rates' are now said to dominate the market (see Figure 2.5.7). With the local housing allowance rate and additional management fee subsidy for temporary accommodation frozen since 2011, but rents rising sharply, London boroughs have to meet the shortfall – estimated at £170 million in 2014.[20] More generally, from April 2017 the funding mechanism for temporary accommodation will change, with an upfront allocation given to all councils rather than an additional 'management fee' recouped via housing benefit. This is being presented as an opportunity to give local authorities greater flexibility to invest in homelessness prevention.[21]

Destitution, rough sleeping and irregular accommodation

At the extreme of homelessness problems are those who are literally roofless and either sleeping rough or in some sort of illegal or informal accommodation. Until recently little has been known about the overall scale of people becoming destitute, i.e. without enough money to buy food and other basic necessities as well as shelter. But JRF commissioned research to define and enumerate destitution across the UK, and it reported in 2016.[22] Using a consensus-based definition endorsed by the general public, the authors estimated that there were at least 184,500 households destitute and in touch with voluntary sector crisis services in a typical week in the UK in 2015. The annual estimate, subject to additional provisos, was that 668,000 households, containing 1,252,000 people, of whom 312,000 were children, were destitute and in contact with these services during 2015.[23] Destitute households which do not make contact with any crisis services, or make contact with statutory services only, are not included in these figures, but analysis of the use of local welfare funds indicate that the latter group at least is likely to be substantial.

English local authorities make annual counts or estimates of rough sleeping in their areas each autumn. An ongoing upward trend in these officially estimated rough sleeper numbers remained evident in 2016, with the English total up by 132 per cent since 2010 and by 16 per cent since 2015 (see Figure 2.5.8). Compounding a sharp increase in 2015, this leaves the latest England-wide figure having risen by 51 per cent in just two years. Also notable is that, at 21 per cent, the 2016 increase was much higher outside London than in the capital (where the total was up by only three per cent). The longer-term trend has been one of particularly rapid increase in the South of England – 166 per cent higher in 2016 than in 2010. While a few councils attribute their reported rough sleeper statistics to formal street counts, some 87 per cent of 2015 returns were declared as 'estimates' (compared with only 73 per cent in 2014); this means that these national figures have to be treated with extreme caution.[24]

Figure 2.5.8 **Trends in local authority rough sleeper estimates by region, 2004-2016**



Sources: 2004/05-2007/08 – collated from Audit Commission returns; Summer 2010 onwards – DCLG.
Figures for the period to Summer 2010 are not strictly comparable with more recent estimates.

That said, the more robust and comprehensive rough sleeper monitoring data collected by the St Mungo's CHAIN system in London similarly confirms the upward trend since 2010, with London rough sleeping having more than doubled (up 104 per cent) over this period (see Figure 2.5.9). A major contributor has been the growing representation of Central and Eastern European (CEE) nationals among London's rough sleepers. Since 2010/11 the number of CEE London rough sleepers has grown by 182 per cent, as compared with an 84 per cent increase in UK-origin counterparts.

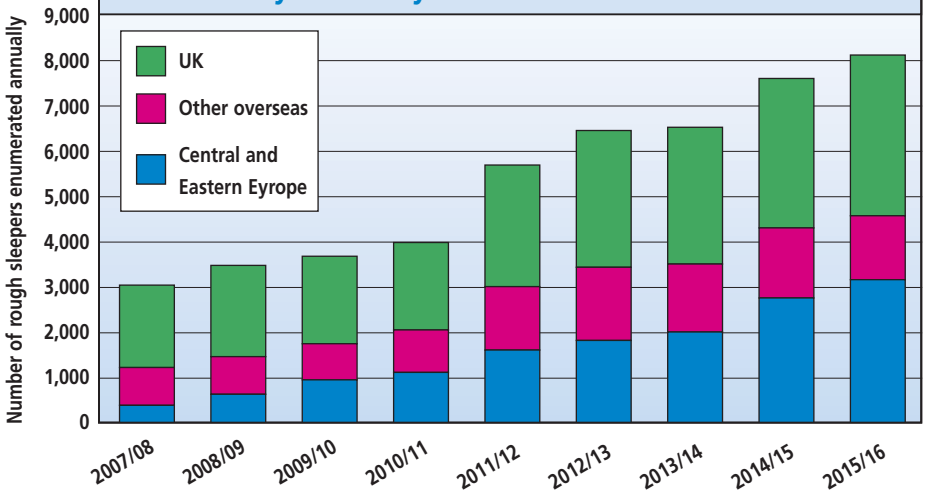
However, the latest CHAIN statistics suggest the possibility of a very recent reversal in these patterns. Data for Q2 2016/17 show a slight decrease in overall London rough sleeping numbers – down from 2,689 to 2,638. Notably, the number of CEE rough sleepers in the capital fell markedly – from 953 (38 per cent of the total) in Q4 2015/16 to 721 (28 per cent) in Q2 2016/17. This sharp contraction in CEE nationals sleeping rough has masked an ongoing and rapid increase in rough sleeping involving UK nationals (up by 26 per cent in the last two quarters alone).

CHAIN-equivalent information is not available for the rest of England. Evidence of rough sleeping in the rest of the UK is also limited. The Scottish Government monitors the scale of rough sleeping through the statutory homelessness returns (providing data that cannot be readily compared with England's). According to these, 1,352 people applying as homeless in 2015/16 reported sleeping rough the night before, half the numbers for 2009/10. However, third-sector monitoring of crisis services in Glasgow indicated that 758 unique individuals slept rough during 2014/15, up substantially on 2013/14 figures (560).[25] Winter night shelter use in Glasgow and Edinburgh also increased substantially between 2015/16 and 2016/17.[26] The picture in Wales and Northern Ireland, though unclear because of limited statistics, remains as reported in this chapter of last year's *Review*.

Letting of social housing tenancies

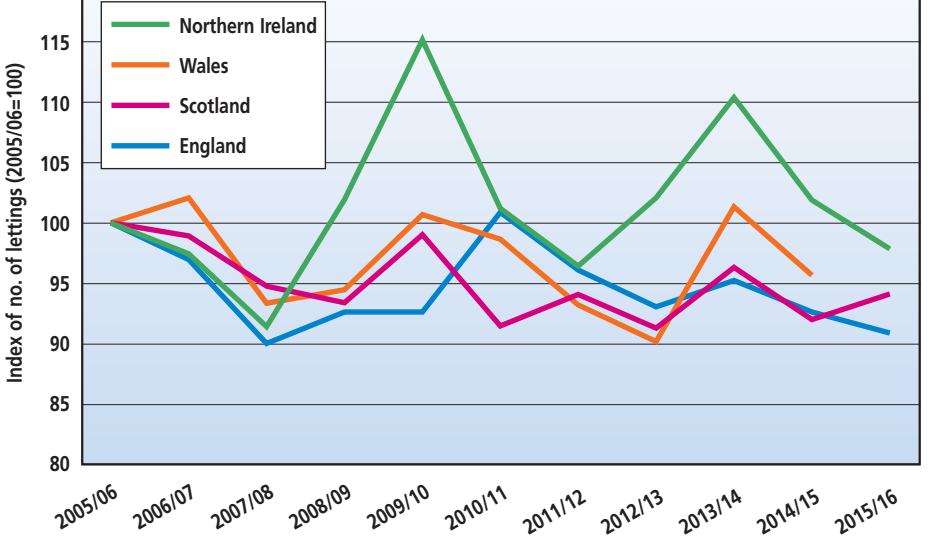
The number of lettings to new social tenants is lower in each of the four nations in 2015/16 (2014/15 in Wales) than it was ten years ago (see Figure 2.5.10). The trend in England was for lettings to fall by ten per cent between 2005/06 and

Figure 2.5.9 **Rough sleeping in London, 2007/08-2015/16: breakdown by nationality**



Source: Broadway 'Street to Home' monitoring reports (http://data.london.gov.uk/dataset/chain-reports) supplemented by unpublished data provided by Broadway. Note: Individuals unclassified according to nationality (600 in 2015/16) have been distributed pro rata to those whose nationality was recorded.

Figure 2.5.10 **Social sector lettings to new tenants, 2005-2016**



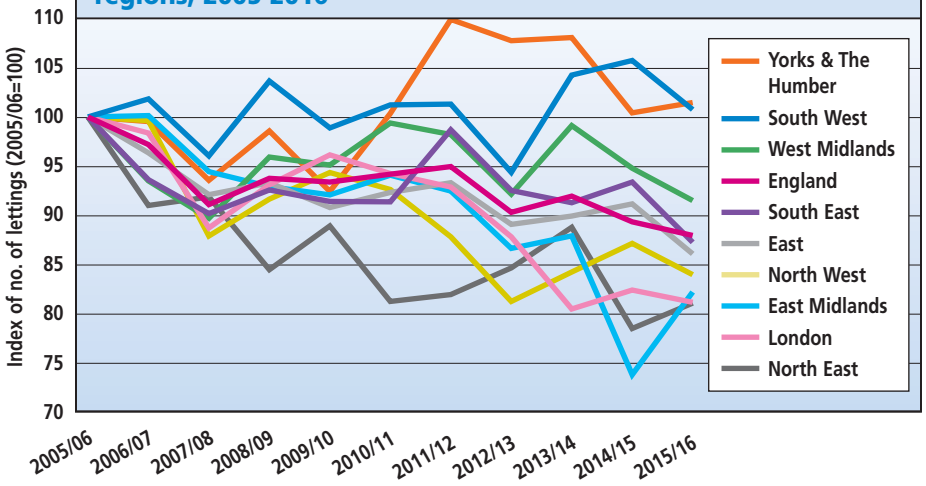
Source: Compendium Tables 99a, 100, 103, 104, 105.

2007/08 before rising back to the 2005/06 level in 2010/11. Thereafter they have fallen back to 91 per cent of the level a decade earlier. In Wales, where lettings have been quite volatile, they fell to 93 per cent of their 2005/06 level in 2007/08 and to 90 per cent in 2012/13, but recovered to (and even exceeded) 2005/06 levels in 2009/10 and 2013/14. Lettings in Scotland display some similarity with Wales. There is rather less volatility in Scotland, but a downward trend is discernible. Northern Ireland displays a different profile. There has been very considerable volatility, but fluctuations are most pronounced in an upward direction. In 2009/10 lettings rose 15 per cent over their 2005/06 level, and were ten per cent over it in 2013/14. In 2015/16 they were more or less at the same level as in 2005/06.

There is also much variation in letting within England (see Figure 2.5.11). Two regions (the South West and Yorkshire and Humberside) ended the period with slightly more lets than in 2005/06. In contrast, four regions (North East, London, East Midlands and the North West) ended the period with lettings 15-20 per cent lower than in 2005/06. The remaining three (West Midlands, South East and East) fell in between with new lets in 2015/16 between 10-14 per cent lower than in 2005/06. The English average is also in this range. In absolute terms there were more than 26,000 fewer new lets in England in 2015/16 than in 2005/06.

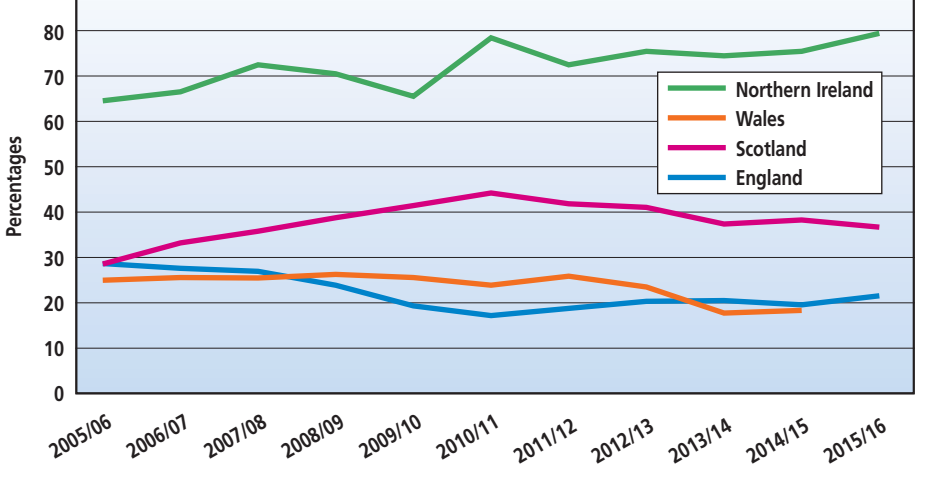
The share of new lets being made to homeless households fell in England and Wales, but rose in Scotland and Northern Ireland over the 2005/06-2015/16 period (Figure 2.5.12). In England, in parallel with sharp falls in the numbers accepted as statutory homeless as a result of the implementation of homelessness prevention (see above), the share of new lets to homeless households fell from almost 30 per cent to one-fifth – of a total number of lets that had declined by 12 per cent over the period. Likewise, in Wales they fell from one-quarter to less than one-fifth of a total number of lettings that had shrunk by five per cent. The rise from just under 30 per cent to 37 per cent in Scotland over the period coincided with ending of the priority need category, but the decline since 2010/11 also indicates the shift towards prevention. The high level of social lets to homeless households in Northern Ireland is at least partly attributable to the inclusion of lettings to older households (see above). In 2015/16 eight in ten new lets in Northern Ireland were to homeless households.

Figure 2.5.11 **Social sector lettings to new tenants, English regions, 2005-2016**



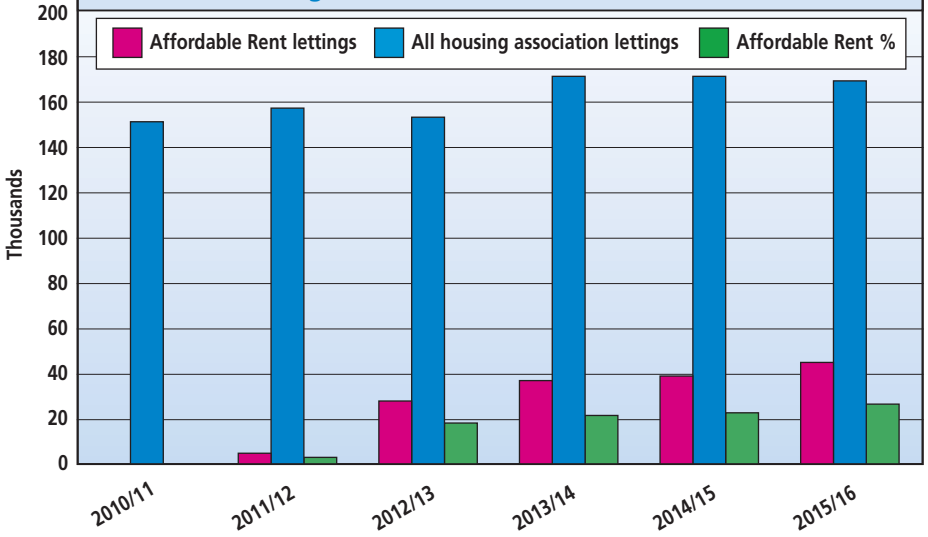
Source: Compendium Tables 98a, 100.

Figure 2.5.12 **Percentage of new lettings to homeless households**



Compendium Tables 97, 99, 103, 104, 105.

Figure 2.5.13 **Affordable Rent and social rent lettings by housing associations in England**



Source: Compendium Table 99.

The nature of social lettings in England is also drifting away from traditional secure tenancies let at social rents. The numbers of lettings at Affordable Rent (AR) by housing associations has risen in every year since their introduction: from 5,000 in 2011/12 to 45,000 in 2015/16. AR lettings now represent more than one in four new lets (Figure 2.5.13).

This chapter of the *Review* normally comments on trends in both waiting lists and in the use of fixed-term lettings. The latter was covered in last year's chapter and it is a theme to which the *Review* will return. However, last year's edition pointed out that, especially in England, waiting lists are an increasingly unreliable barometer of housing need, not least since many councils have used the powers in the Localism Act 2011 to cut back substantially on numbers eligible for their lists. The subject is therefore no longer covered in the chapter, but wider housing need is of course the subject of Commentary Chapter 2.

Key reading

Crisis (with support from JRF) publishes the *Homelessness Monitor* for England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland (see www.crisis.org.uk/pages/homelessnessmonitor.html). As well as periodic reports on each of the four countries, last April Crisis published *The homelessness monitor: Great Britain 2016*. The *Review* draws readily from the various editions of the *Monitor*, with permission from Crisis. This chapter draws particularly on elements of the *Homelessness Monitor* contributed by Hal Pawson.

Notes and references

1 Centrepoint (2015) *Beyond Statutory Homelessness*. London: Centrepoint.

2 Clarke, A., Burgess, G., Morris, S., & Udagawa, C. (2015). *Estimating the scale of youth homelessness in the UK*. Cambridge: Cambridge Centre for Housing and Planning Research.

3 Watts, B., Johnsen, S., & Sosenko, F. (2015) *Youth homelessness in the UK: A review for The OVO Foundation*. Edinburgh: Heriot-Watt University.

4 Fitzpatrick, S. *et al* (2017) *The Homelessness Monitor* England 2017. London: Crisis.

5 Fitzpatrick, S. Bramley, G. Sosenko, F., Blenkinsopp, J., Johnsen, S. Littlewood, M. Netto, G. and Watts, B. (2016) *Destitution in the UK: Final Report*. York: JRF.

6 A Supreme Court ruling in May 2015 on the joined cases of Johnson, Kanu and Hotak made significant changes to the 'vulnerability' test for those aged over 18 (see https://nearlylegal.co.uk/2016/09/compendium-vulnerability-cases/).

7 'Housing options approaches' began to be monitored formally in Scotland in April 2014, with two full years of data now available. The number of approaches fell from 62,470 in 2014/15 to 54,005 in 2015/16, but it is not clear whether this reflects a genuine homelessness trend or is an artefact of evolving recording practices (see www.gov.scot/Topics/Statistics/Browse/Housing-Regeneration/RefTables/HousingOptions).

8 See https://www.scottishhousingregulator.gov.uk/publications/housing-options-scotland-thematic-inquiry

9 Welsh Government (2016) *Statistical First Release: Homelessness in Wales, 2015-16* (see http://gov.wales/docs/statistics/2016/160824-homelessness-2015-16-en.pdf).

10 Shelter Cymru (2016) *Reasonable steps: experiences of homelessness services under the Housing Wales) Act 2014* (see https://sheltercymru.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/Reasonable-Steps.pdf).

11 Scottish Government (2016) *Homelessness in Scotland: 2015-16* (see www.gov.scot/Topics/Statistics/Browse/Housing-Regeneration/RefTables/Homelessness201516).

12 It is understood that in large part this category relates mainly to older people subject to rehousing having been judged no longer able to maintain a family home. See NIHE (2012) *Homelessness Strategy for Northern Ireland 2012-2017*. Belfast: NIHE.

13 Welsh Government (2016) *op.cit.*

14 Fitzpatrick, S. *et al* (2016) *The Homelessness Monitor: Northern Ireland 2016*. London: Crisis

15 CIH, DSD & Smart Move (2011) *Making the Most of Northern Ireland's Private Rented Sector to Meet Housing Need*. Belfast: NIHE.

16 Nzolameso v Westminster City Council [2015] UKSC 22.

17 Mackie, P. & Thomas, I. (2015) *Single Homelessness in Scotland*. London: Crisis.

18 It should be noted that, in enumerating the throughput of placements during the cited financial years, the presentation of temporary accommodation statistics in Northern Ireland differs from the more conventional 'stock' measure of placements in Great Britain – i.e. the number outstanding on a given date.

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20 Rugg, J. (2016) *Temporary accommodation in London* (see www.londoncouncils.gov.uk/our-key-themes/housing-and-planning/homelessness/temporary-accommodation-london-report).

21 DCLG (2015) 'Radical package of measures announced to tackle homelessness', DCLG Press Release, 17 December (see www.gov.uk/government/news/radical-package-of-measures-announced-to-tackle-homelessness).

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