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Shelter Inclusion Project:
Evaluation of a new model to address anti-social behaviour

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Acknowledgements

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1   Introduction to Shelter Inclusion Project

In 2002, Shelter and Rochdale Metropolitan Borough Council established a three year pilot project, Shelter Inclusion Project, to test a new approach to addressing anti-social behaviour and social exclusion. The project was designed to provide an alternative model to present enforcement policies and residential schemes, by offering a specialist floating support service to address anti-social behaviour issues associated with support needs and also reduce the risk of homelessness. An independent evaluation of the pilot model was also commissioned, funded by the Housing Corporation and undertaken by the Centre for Housing Policy, University of York.

This first short chapter outlines the policy context within which Shelter Inclusion Project was commissioned and operated. In addition, Shelter Inclusion Project and the evaluation are introduced.

Policy Context

Anti-social behaviour[1] has been a major area of concern for governments and housing and community managers since the mid 1990s. Despite the introduction of a raft of measures to tackle the problem in recent years, anti-social behaviour remains high on the policy agenda and continues to be regarded as a widespread problem in all parts of the UK, affecting individuals, communities and whole estates and areas. Policy and legislative changes to tackle the problem of anti-social behaviour include:

- The Housing Act 1996 - which strengthened social landlords' powers to deal with anti-social behaviour

- The Crime and Disorder Act 1998 - which introduced anti-social behaviour orders (ASBOs), parenting orders and child safety orders

- The Homelessness Act 2002 - giving local authorities the power to deny households the right to a home if they believe the applicant or member of the household is guilty of unacceptable behaviour

- The Anti-social Behaviour Act 2003 – a wide ranging Act covering problems from noise and high garden hedges to the closure of crack houses. The main provisions of the Act with regard to housing include:

  - A requirement on landlords to produce anti-social behaviour policies and procedures;

  - New provisions allowing certain social landlords to apply for injunctions to prohibit anti-social behaviour;

  - Extending the range of bodies that can apply for ASBOs to include county councils and housing action trusts;

- Amendment of the 1985 Housing Act to allow secure, assured and assured shorthold tenancies to be demoted on the grounds of anti-social behaviour.

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[1] See Appendix A for a discussion of definitions of anti-social behaviour.

- The Housing Act 2004 – anti-social behaviour related measures include:
    - Allowing local authorities to extend introductory tenancies for 6 months;
    - Giving landlords of secure tenants the right to refuse mutual exchange applications if either party has been subject to a successful ASB related court action;
    - Suspension of the landlord's obligation to complete a Right to Buy sale where some types of court action relating to ASB are pending;
    - Making it easier for RSLs to receive information from other agencies to assist them in making ASBO applications.

Causes of anti-social behaviour

Research on anti-social behaviour has tended to focus on measures to deal with the problem and the causes of anti-social behaviour are less well understood. Those studies that have considered the characteristics of perpetrators (Brown et al, 2003; Dillane, et al, 2001; Nixon et al, 2000; SEU, 2000;) found that perpetrators of anti-social behaviour are often vulnerable and usually poor and that they often have mental health problems and community care needs and may themselves be victims of anti-social behaviour. Although anti-social behaviour is not tenure specific it tends to be associated with wider social exclusion and problems such as poverty, family stress, community disorganisation, drug dependency, and truancy and school exclusion (SEU, 2000). One in five landlords associated anti-social behaviour with single women tenants, or more specifically, with their children and visiting male friends (Nixon et al, 2003). Women are particularly vulnerable to losing their homes because of the anti-social behaviour of their children and / or visitors (Hunter and Nixon, 2001).

Current initiatives to tackle anti-social behaviour

There is a wide range of initiatives and measures designed to tackle anti-social behaviour but these tend to focus on enforcement and, to a lesser degree, the prevention of anti-social behaviour rather than on the resettlement and rehabilitation of perpetrators. Some social landlords have adopted a hard line approach to anti-social behaviour, for example, using introductory tenancies for all new tenants and taking action in all cases of anti-social behaviour. Those evicted for anti-social behaviour are deemed intentionally homeless and are thus excluded from the housing register (Goulding, undated). As the SEU (2000) has noted, eviction alone will not stop anti-social behaviour but simply displaces the problem.

As noted above, many perpetrators of anti-social behaviour are vulnerable and socially excluded and the impact of eviction and exclusion from social housing may exacerbate their problems leading to a cycle of eviction and homelessness. Many services, including local authorities, social landlords and voluntary agencies work with vulnerable households providing broad packages of support to help people maintain their tenancies or to resettle following homelessness, for example the Shelter Homeless to Home service (Jones et al, 2002). Such low intensity support is a central plank of the Supporting People Programme and the research on such services is considerable. Whilst there is some limited evidence (Jones et al, 2002; Jones and Quilgars, 2004) to suggest that services are effective in helping people maintain tenancies, it has been suggested that some households would benefit from a more intensive direct intervention specifically designed to address the problem of anti-social behaviour, that is to help people to change their behaviour and to minimise the

perverse outcomes of exclusions such as homelessness (ODPM, 2003; Dillane et al, 2001; SEU, 2000). An ODPM study conducted in 2001-2002 found little evidence of such interventions in England (Nixon et al, 2003).

The first service in the UK developed specifically to work with perpetrators of anti-social behaviour was the National Children's Homes' Dundee Families Project, which became operational in 1997 (Dillane et al, 2001). Research currently being conducted by Sheffield Hallam University for the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM) has identified only seven projects developed specifically to work with perpetrators of ASB (apart from Shelter Inclusion Project). These projects are all based in the North of England and provide support to families with children, making Shelter Inclusion Project the only current known intervention working with single people and couples as well as households with children.

Shelter Inclusion Project
Shelter and Rochdale Metropolitan Borough Council developed Shelter Inclusion Project to test a new approach to addressing anti-social behaviour and social exclusion. Shelter Inclusion Project built on Shelter's recent experience of delivering Homeless to Home, a resettlement service for homeless families (Jones et al, 2002). The project aimed:

- To reduce anti-social behaviour;
- To promote social inclusion and community stability;
- To prevent eviction and provide a route back into settled housing.

The principle behind Shelter Inclusion Project was that, whilst many initiatives had addressed enforcement issues, in many instances behaviour deemed anti-social is due to unmet support needs. The service was therefore set up to work with households who had difficulty in complying with the terms of their tenancy agreements, and aimed to provide assessments and packages of support to address issues rendering households vulnerable to eviction and exclusion. The project was able to work with households living in any tenure, including the private and owner occupied sector, although with key referral partners operating in the social sector (see Chapter 2), it was anticipated that more households would be living in the social rented sector[2].

The project employed a project manager, four support staff (two full time and two half time), a children and youth worker team leader, two children and young person's workers (job share), an administrator (part-time) and an office assistant. The manager did not carry a case-load. The project manager line managed the support workers, the team leader and the administrator, whilst the team leader supervised the work of the children and young persons' workers and the office assistant.

The project worked with up to 33 households at a time for an average of 12 months. The staff: user ratio is approximately 1:10-11. The project could work with up to 26 young people at any one time (this would tend to be across fewer households). Most households were allocated a support worker and a children's worker where appropriate (where requested by

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[2] In addition, the project was in large part funded by Transitional Housing Benefit in 2002 meaning that only social tenants could qualify for the service until *Supporting People* was introduced in April 2003.

the family and assessed by the Project as in priority); it was unusual for a household only to have a children's worker. From its inception, the service has been based in a central location in Rochdale however it has worked mainly with people in their own homes.

The evaluation

The independent evaluation of Shelter Inclusion Project was commissioned by Shelter in 2002 to assess the project's development over its pilot period. The overall aim of the research was to evaluate whether the project met its stated aims and objectives. In addition, the evaluation assessed the extent to which the project:

- Helped households address anti-social behaviour;

- Assisted households to maintain tenancies and avoid homelessness;

- Resettled households that have experienced homelessness due to their anti-social behaviour;

- Impacted positively on service users, agencies and the wider community.

The evaluation followed the service's progress over two and a half years (April 2003 to September 2005). A multi-method approach was utilised including detailed monitoring of referrals, interviews with service users (including adults and children) and key stakeholders, tracking cases and assessing cost effectiveness (Appendix B outlines the research methodology in more detail). Two interim reports were produced in 2003 and 2004[3]. This report presents the findings from the full evaluation. In addition, a separate good practice guide, drawing on the lessons learned from the evaluation, will also be produced.

Chapter 2 presents a statistical profile of service users, as well as the views of staff and users on referral procedures. **Chapter 3** reviews the support services being provided by the project through the views and experiences of service users, staff and key agencies. **Chapter 4** provides data and views on the key outcomes of Shelter Inclusion Project. An assessment of the cost effectiveness of the project is presented in **Chapter 5**. Finally, **Chapter 6** presents the conclusions on the success of the Shelter pilot model to address anti-social behaviour.

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[3] The second interim report, and summary reports of both interim reports, are available on Shelter's website: www.shelter.org.uk

2 Referrals to Shelter Inclusion Project: Profile of users and assessment of procedures

This chapter reviews the referrals to Shelter Inclusion Project accepted over the period October 2003 to June 2005. It begins by outlining the referral criteria and referral sources, before presenting a statistical profile of service users using project monitoring information. Finally, the referral and assessment procedures are evaluated from the perspective of service users, staff and key agency representatives.[4]

Referrals to Shelter Inclusion Project

Referral criteria

Shelter Inclusion Project operated a broad-based referral policy that attempted to allow referrals from a wide range of people with alleged anti-social behaviour issues. The main criteria for referral were that:

- Households must be homeless or face homelessness in the near future;
- Households must have a history of anti-social behaviour;
- Households must be willing to engage with the service.

Beyond this, the project was able to accept referrals for:

- Any type of household (ie. single people, families etc);
- Households living in any tenure (social and private rented sector, owner occupied[5]);
- People of all ages, including children and young people.

All referrals had to meet the initial criteria detailed above, however decisions as to who the project would work with were made in accordance with the guidance and the project's capacity to take on new cases. Preference was given to households with a history of homelessness and households consisting of people who had complex needs.

For the first half of the pilot, Shelter Inclusion Project worked on an agency referral basis, that is the project only accepted referrals from formal agencies with knowledge of the households being referred by them. In the second half of the pilot, and onwards, the project changed its referral process to include self-referrals.

Referrals: numbers and sources

Over the period from the project's inception to 30th June 2005, records were available on a total of 74 households who had been referred and accepted to the project. As at 30th June 2005, these records included 45 closed cases (i.e. households that had ceased to use the service) and 29 open cases (i.e. households still receiving the service).

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[4] Appendix B provides further details on research methods.
[5] As noted before, only social tenants qualified for the service in the first year until *Supporting People* funding replaced Transitional Housing Benefit was introduced in April 2003

Table 2.1 shows the main referrals sources for the 74 households. The majority of households (53 households, 72) were referred to Shelter Inclusion Project by Rochdale Borough-wide Housing, the Arms Length Management Organisation (ALMO) which manages the 16,000 units of housing stock owned by the local authority. The next most prominent source of referrals was Bowlee Park Housing Association, which referred 11 households to Shelter Inclusion Project. Bowlee Park is a transfer housing association that was established to take over local ownership and management of the Langley estate from Rochdale MBC with around 2,500 housing units.

Smaller numbers of referrals were received from other housing associations working in Rochdale. The Guinness Trust (4 referrals) is a major social landlord with a presence throughout much of England, within Rochdale it manages 1,400 homes, mainly in the Newbold and Darnley areas. Ashiana Housing Association (2 referrals) focuses on the needs of Black and Ethnic Minority families. While the Ashiana also operates in Blackburn, Bolton, Manchester and Preston, its activities are concentrated in Rochdale, where 1,000 of its 1,400 properties are located. St Vincent's Housing Association (2 referrals) has around 3,000 units of housing stock and works across several locations in the Greater Manchester area.

Table 2.1: Sources of referral to Shelter Inclusion Project

	Number of households	Percentage
Rochdale Boroughwide Housing	53	72%
Bowlee Park Housing Association	11	15%
Guinness Trust Housing Association	4	5%
Ashiana Housing Association	2	3%
St Vincent's Housing Association	2	3%
Other	2	3%
Total	74	100%

As can be seen, referrals were almost always recorded as being from a social landlord working within Rochdale. However, in practice, the routes by which families and individuals were referred to Shelter Inclusion Project were more varied. While the referral would technically come from a landlord, this was sometimes after a professional working for another agency had drawn issues around anti-social behaviour and support needs to that landlord's attention. For example, a Police officer, neighbourhood warden, social worker or health visitor might identify apparent support needs associated with anti-social behaviour and notify the landlord who tended to be the one who made the formal referral to Shelter.

In a few cases, the picture painted by families and individuals when describing their referral to Shelter Inclusion Project did not match what was reported in the project's records. For example, someone might describe the process as being one of self-referral to Shelter Inclusion Project or as being advised to approach Shelter Inclusion Project by a friend or relative, but that referral was recorded as coming from a housing association or Rochdale Boroughwide Housing.

Overall, the monitoring of referrals was not sufficiently detailed to record the sometimes complex routes by which households came to be referred to Shelter Inclusion Project. Only

one stage of the process, the formal referral, could be recorded. In reality, referrals to Shelter Inclusion Project started in many different places and followed many different routes.

A profile of the households referred to Shelter Inclusion Project

Household composition

Table 2.2 shows that the 74 Shelter Inclusion Project households contained 230 individuals, 98 of whom were adults and 132 of whom were children or dependent teenagers. The largest single group of adults and children were within one parent families, representing 43% of households. The next largest group were lone adults (28% of households). Households containing a couple, or extended family group of adults with children, represented 24% of cases.

Table 2.2: The types of household in which service users lived

Household type	Households	Percentage	Average size	Adults	Children	All
Lone adult	21	28%	1	21	0	21
Adults sharing*	3	5%	2	7	0	7
Lone parent	32	43%	4	32	81	113
Adults & children**	18	24%	5	38	51	89
Total	**74**	**100%**	**3**	**98**	**132**	**230**

* Including couples ** Including extended families (a couple living with their children and other adult relatives). **Note:** 16-17 year-olds living with their parent or parents are classified as a child, as are 18 year-olds in full time education.

Table 2.3 shows the composition of households working with Shelter Inclusion Project by gender. Among the children and dependent teenagers, males outnumbered females (58% compared to 42%). Among the adults, however, women substantially outnumbered men (there were 2.5 times as many adult women as adult men among those working with the Project). Women were much more likely to be heading lone parent households than men, and were more strongly represented in all other categories except the small number of adult sharing households.

Table 2.3: The types of household in which service users lived by gender

Household type	Men	Women	Boys/ Male young people	Girls/ Female young people	Total
Lone adult	7	14	0	0	21
Adults sharing*	3	4	0	0	7
Lone parent	2	30	48	33	113
Adults & children**	16	22	29	22	89
Total	**28**	**70**	**77**	**55**	**230**

* Including couples ** Including extended families (a couple living with their children and other adult relatives) **Note:** 16-17 year-olds living with their parent or parents are classified as a child, as are 18 year-olds in full time education.

Table 2.4 shows the age of the children at the point at which their household started to receive support from Shelter Inclusion Project. Boys predominated in the age range 1-4 and were the majority of those aged 5-9 and those aged 16-19. Girls slightly outnumbered boys in the 10-15 age range.

Table 2.4: The ages of the children in the households

Age group	Males	Percentage	Females	Percentage	Total
Less than one	2	50%	2	50%	4
1 – 4	19	73%	7	27%	26
5 – 9	23	56%	18	44%	41
10 – 15	15	42%	21	58%	36
16 – 19	7	58%	5	42%	12
All	**66**	**55%**	**53**	**45%**	**119**

Note: Information on ages was not available for 13 children

There were relatively few households containing a baby at the point they started to work with Shelter Inclusion Project but one quarter of the children were aged under five. Older teenagers, aged 16-19, were not very common within the households. Two households contained a pregnant woman at the point of referral.

Table 2.5 shows the ages of the adults in the households. The largest single group of adults were women aged between 30-39. Only a minority of the users of Shelter Inclusion Project aged less than 22 or aged 60 or above.

Table 2.5: The ages of the adults in the households

	Males	Percentage	Females	Percentage	Total
19 - 21	6	50%	6	50%	12
22 - 29	3	19%	13	81%	16
30 - 39	9	26%	26	74%	35
40 - 49	3	30%	7	70%	10
50 - 59	2	33%	4	67%	6
60 - 69	2	50%	2	50%	4
All	**25**	**30%**	**58**	**70%**	**83**

Note: Information on ages was not available for 15 adults

Table 2.6 shows the age and gender breakdown of the key service users (the adult around whom service delivery was organised) for Shelter Inclusion Project. As can be seen, women predominated, representing 82% of key service users. The average age of key service users was 36.

Table 2.6: Age and gender of key service users

	Number	Average age
Women	61	35
Men	13	41
Total	74	36

Note: Detailed age information was not available for 13 key service users

Four adults within the households were not of UK ethnic origin. Only one adult was someone from a Black or Minority Ethnic group, the others being of White European origin. Social landlords working with high numbers of people with a BME background within Rochdale were among those making regular referrals to Shelter Inclusion Project, but they were generally not referring any tenants who had a BME background during the period of the evaluation.

Economic status

The households were almost all economically inactive at the point of referral. Only three of the 74 households contained someone in employment (4%), two contained an adult in part-time work and one contained an adult in full time work. Table 2.7 shows the socio-economic

status of the key service users at the point of referral (the one adult in full time employment was not a key service user).

Table 2.7: Economic status of key service users at referral

	Number	Percentage
In part time work	2	3%
Unemployed and claiming benefit	22	30%
Unable to work for health reasons	14	19%
Carer for dependent children	33	45%
Other (not economically active)	3	4%
Total	**74**	**100%**

A small number of adults were claiming Incapacity Benefit or other benefits related to disability or long term limiting health problems (Figure 1). Most households were claiming Job Seekers Allowance (JSA) or Income Support, Housing Benefit and Child Benefit.

Figure 2.1: Benefits being claimed at referral (percentage of households)
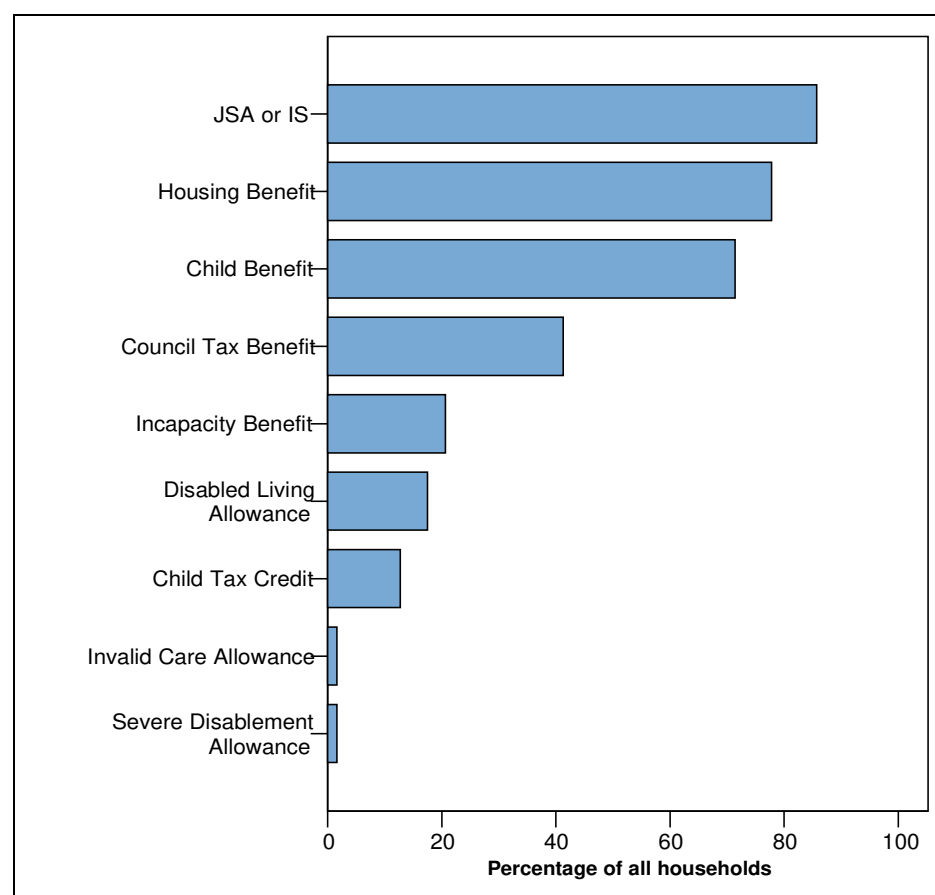
Debt was quite widespread among the households at the point of referral to Shelter Inclusion Project. Just over one third of the households were reported as not having any outstanding debts at the point of referral (37%) (Figure 2.2). However, 25% of households had one debt, while the remaining 38% of households were reported as having one or more debts. Sixteen per cent of households (12 of the 74) reported four or more outstanding debts[6].

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[6] A debt was defined as owed money. Payments were not necessarily overdue on these loans, although active recovery of rent arrears and recharges was underway by landlords.

Figure 2.2: Household debts at referral (number of reported debts)
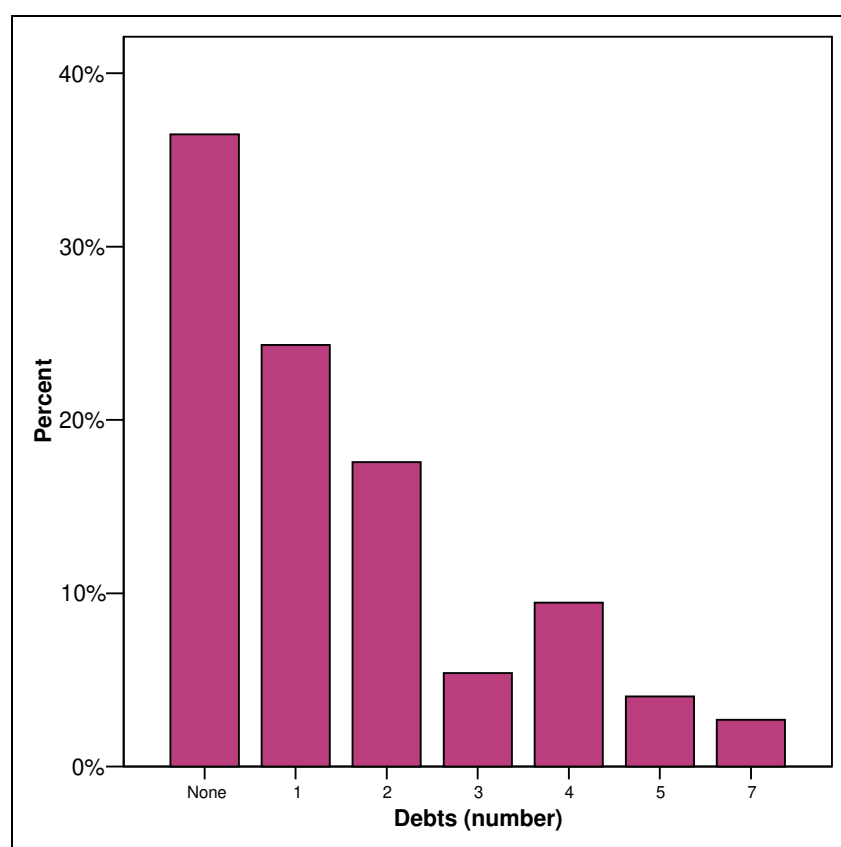
Forty per cent of the households had a Social Fund budgeting loan and another 25% had a Social Fund crisis loan (Figure 2.3). Rent arrears with their current landlord were reported among 20% of households. Other forms of debt were less common, with between 10-15% of households reporting loans or debts to a former landlord. A small number of households were being recharged for damage to properties (recovery of repair costs) by their current and former landlords.

Figure 2.3: Types of household debt at referral

Chart: horizontal bar chart showing percentage of all households

Type of debt	Percentage of all households (approx)
Social Fund budgeting loan	42
Social Fund crisis loan	25
Rent Arrears current landlord	20
Utilities bill	18
Recharging by current landlord	11
Bank loan	9
Loanshark	9
Loan from shop	9
Credit card debt	6
Rent Arrears previous landlord	4
Recharging by past landlord	3

X-axis: Percentage of all households (0 to 100)

Housing situation and history

Eighty-nine per cent of the households were described as being at risk of losing their housing when they were referred to Shelter Inclusion Project. Table 2.8 shows that just over one third of the households had received one or more written warnings about anti-social behaviour prior to their referral to Shelter Inclusion Project (35%). Another ten households (13%) were in the process of being evicted for anti-social behaviour. Verbal warnings were also common. A number of households were statutorily homeless, but had been referred to Shelter Inclusion Project because they were also exhibiting anti-social behaviour. Thirteen households were assessed as at risk of homelessness because their individual needs for care and support placed their capacity to sustain their tenancy at risk, although these households were also characterised by anti-social behaviour.

Initially, Shelter Inclusion Project worked on the basis that referrals arrived at the point at which formal warnings had been issued due to anti-social behaviour. As time passed, referring landlords began to see potential for Shelter Inclusion Project to undertake a more preventative role. This meant that towards the end of the evaluation period, referrals began to arrive before action for anti-social behaviour had been taken. This change accounted for 11% of the households that were referred to Shelter Inclusion Project which were not described as currently facing risks to their housing.

Table 2.8: Risks to current housing at referral

	Number	Percentage
Written warning(s)	26	35%
Notice of Seeking Possession served	10	13%
Other forms of risk*	13	18%
Verbal warning(s)	9	12%
Not at immediate risk (early referral)	8	11%
Statutorily homeless	7	8%
Awaiting homelessness decision	1	1%
Total	74	100%

* Risks to tenancy sustainment linked to households' needs, characteristics and experiences which existed alongside issues with anti-social behaviour.

Housing history at referral

The households reported a mixture of experiences in terms of their housing history. Although their housing situation was quite precarious in many instances, one quarter of the households (26%) had been in their current home for more than five years at the point of referral (Table 2.9). Another 24 households (34%) had been in their current home for 2-5 years. However, almost one third of households (30%) had only been resident in their current home for less than one year.

Table 2.9: Time in tenancy at referral

	Number	Percentage
Less than 1 year	21	30%
1 to 2 years	7	10%
2 to 5 years	24	34%
5 to 10 years	12	17%
More than 10 years	6	9%
Total	70	100%

Note: Information on time in tenancy was not available for four households.

Twenty-eight households (38%) reported that they had been homeless at least once before at the point of referral to Shelter Inclusion Project. Eleven of these had been homeless more than once, representing 15% of the 74 households with which Shelter Inclusion Project worked. These findings showed a history of housing instability among a significant minority of households (Figure 2.4).

Figure 2.4: The number of times households with past experience of homelessness had been homeless
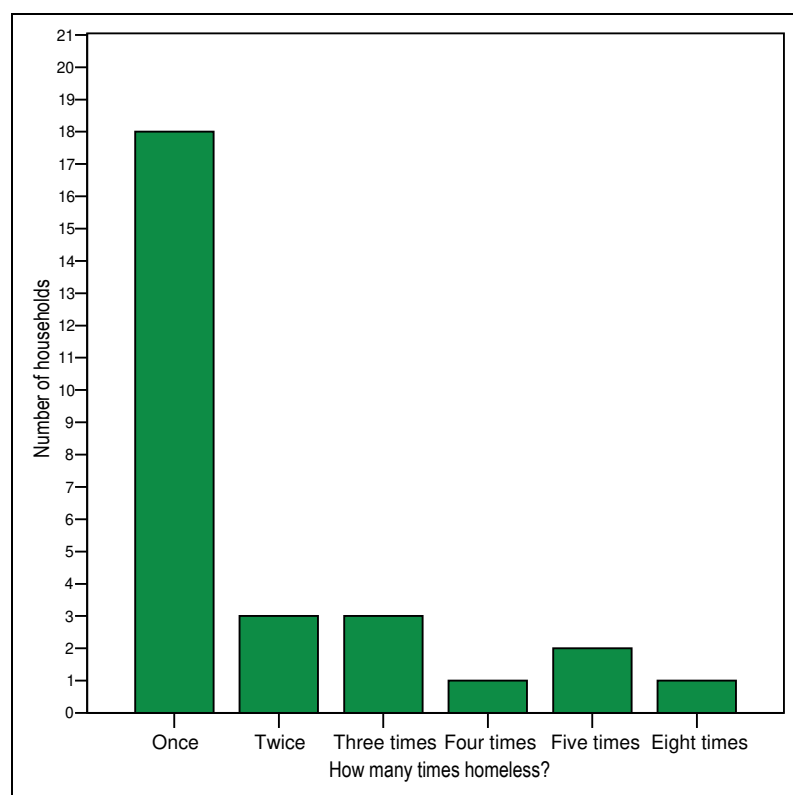
Base: 28 households with experience of homelessness

Most of the households had been residents of Rochdale for some time at the point of their referral to Shelter Inclusion Project (Table 2.10), with 68% of households reported living in Rochdale for more than five years. All of the households were asked whether they had a history of living as travellers or as part of a gypsy community. Three reported having a household member who had lived as a traveller at some point in their lives (4%).

Table 2.10: Time resident in Rochdale

Time living in Rochdale	Number of households	Percentage
Less than a year	4	7%
1 to 2 years	4	7%
2 to 5 years	11	18%
5 to 10 years	8	13%
More than 10 years	33	55%
Total	60	100%

Note: Information on time for which resident in Rochdale was not available in 14 cases.

Housing situation at referral

Almost all the households were living in the social rented sector on referral to the project, the one exception was a household living in private sector accommodation.

The views of the households were generally that their accommodation was of reasonable standard, but the localities in which it was situated were quite often unacceptable in one or more ways from their perspective. In a few instances, both the condition of the housing and the area in which it was situated were both viewed very negatively by a household.

Households were often living in undesirable areas at the point of their referral to Shelter Inclusion Project. Some of these areas, including specific estates, had very poor reputations within Rochdale itself. In the 2004 English Indices of Multiple Deprivation, calculated by the Office for National Statistics, Rochdale was ranked as the 25th most deprived of the 354 local authorities in England (source: ONS). Half of the households (50%) reported trouble from teenagers in their area (Figure 2.5). One third reported 'lots of crime' (30%) and one third reported 'lots of drugs' (30%) in their area. 'Lots of vandalism' was reported by 20% of the households. Only one-fifth of households (19%) reported that they were 'happy with the area' in which their current home was located while only 10% reported that they 'felt quite safe' in their area.

Figure 2.5: Negative aspects of the area in which they were living reported by the households at referral
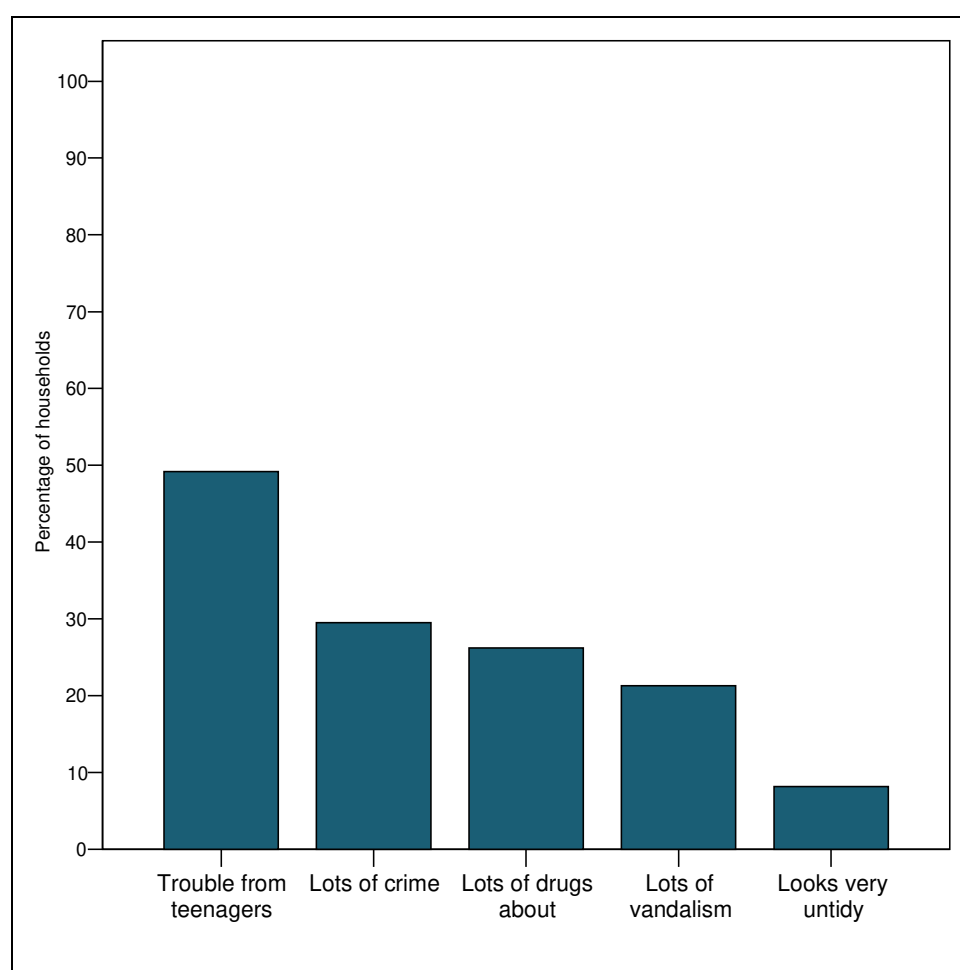
Just under one half of the households (46%) reported that their current home was in 'good condition' at the point at which they were referred to Shelter Inclusion Project (Figure 2.6). Thirty-seven per cent reported that their housing needed decorating, but the numbers reporting a need for minor repairs (22%) were not as high. Serious problems such as a requirement for major repairs, cold, damp or an infestation (of insects or rodents) were less common. A few households did report that their housing was in generally very poor condition.

Figure 2.6: Views of households on their current home at referral
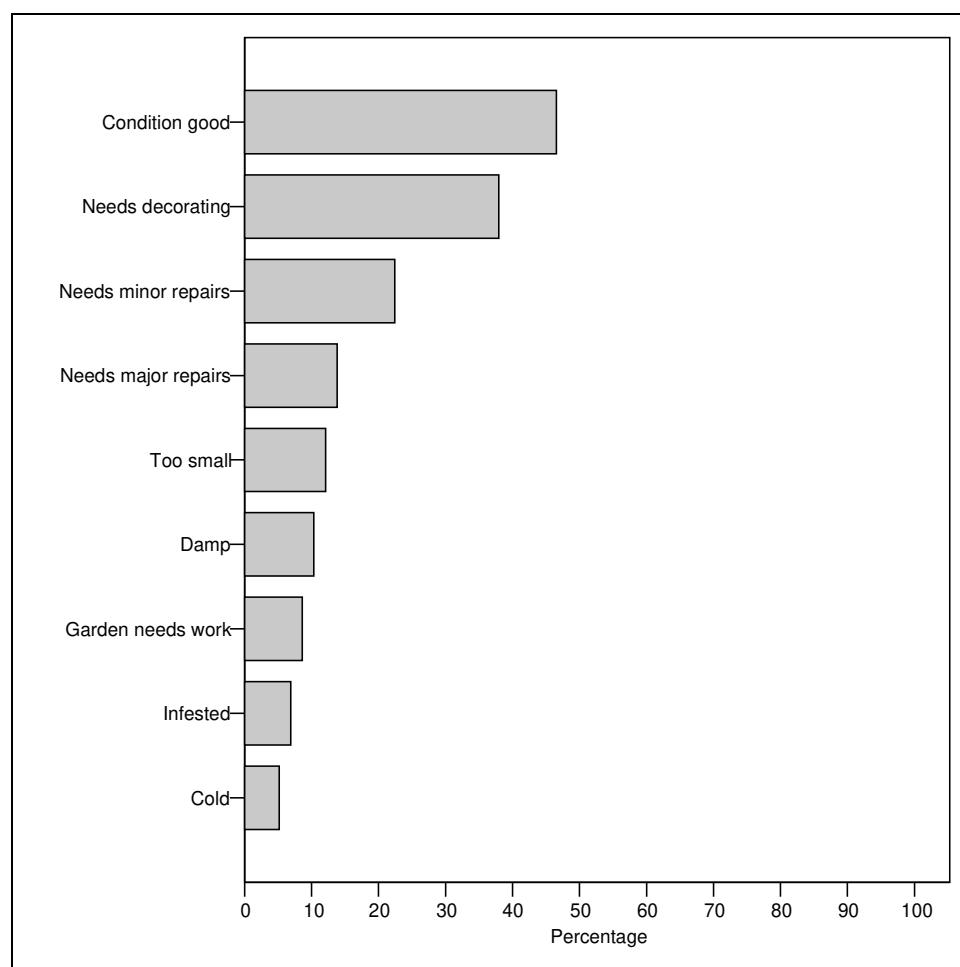
Anti-social behaviour at referral

Table 2.11 shows the broad patterns of involvement in anti-social behaviour by the number of households involved. In 70% of cases, Shelter Inclusion Project was working with households were anti-social behaviour was only being committed by an adult. In 18% of cases (13 households) anti-social behaviour was being committed by at least one adult and one or more children or young people. Shelter Inclusion Project was working with nine households where anti-social behaviour was only being committed by children and young people. These nine households were divided between six lone parent households (19% of the lone parent households) and three households containing a couple with children (17% of households containing two or more adults and children). Two-thirds of the children and young people in the households were not reported as being involved in any form of anti-social behaviour at referral (95 of the 132 children and young people, 72%).

Table 2.11: Patterns of involvement in anti-social behaviour

Who involved in anti-social behaviour?	Number of households	Percentage
Adults only	52	70%
Adults, young people and/or children	13	18%
Children and young people only	9	12%
All	**74**	**100%**

The types of anti-social behaviour in which households were involved at referral

Figure 2.7 summarises the types of anti-social behaviour in which households were involved at the point of their referral to Shelter Inclusion Project. The most common forms of anti-social behaviour reported were adult involvement in noise nuisance (38 adults, 41% of all adults) and youth nuisance being committed by children and young people (33 children and young people, 25% of all children and young people). Neighbour disputes involving adults (26 adults, 27% of all adults) were also among the more common forms of anti-social behaviour.

Figure 2.7: Types of anti-social behaviour being committed by adults, children and young people at referral to Shelter Inclusion Project
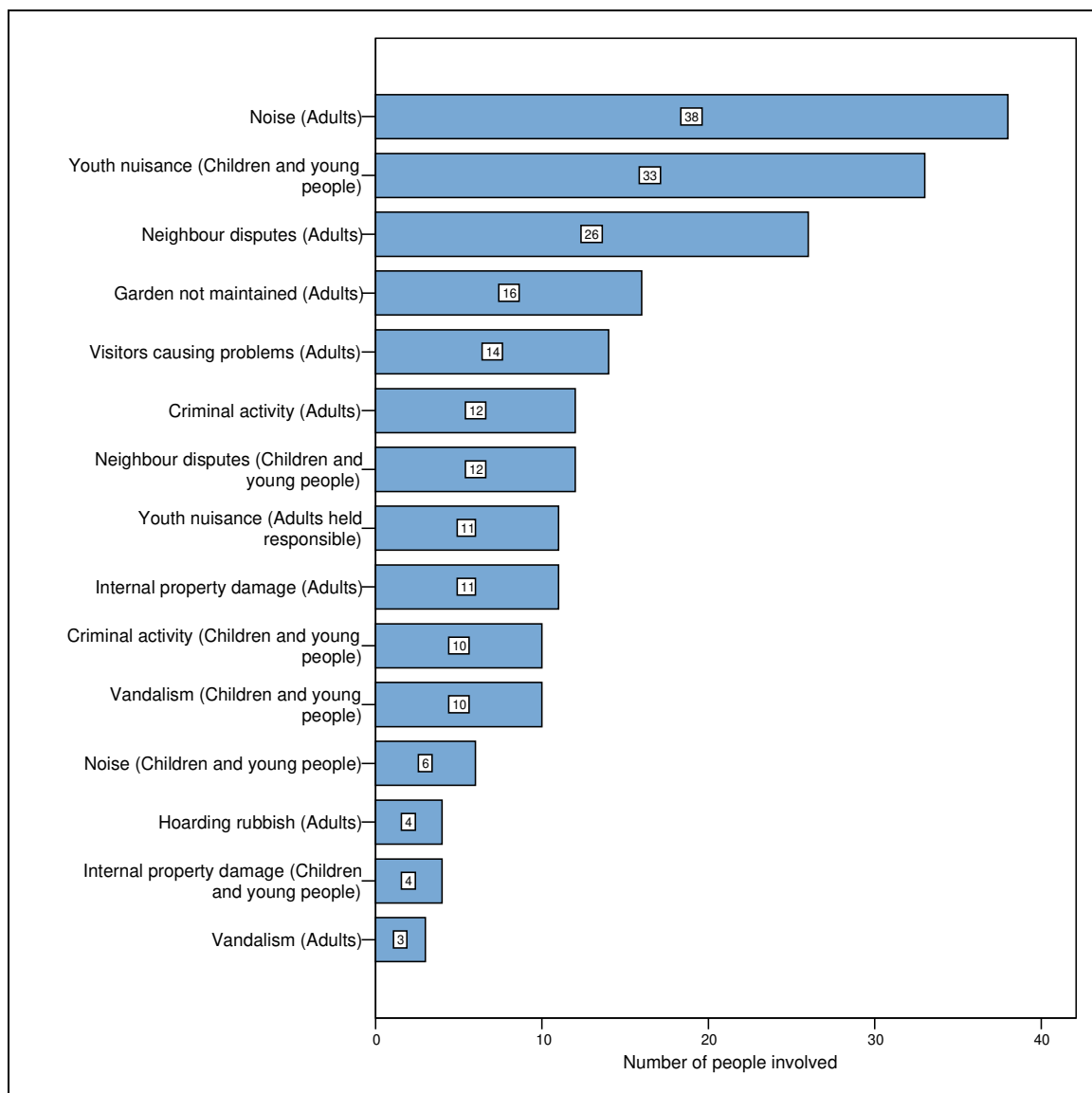
There were various other forms of anti-social behaviour reported. Sixteen adults were reported as failing to maintain their garden (16% of all adults). Another 14 adults (14% of all adults) were reported as unable to keep disruptive visitors under control. The interviews showed that this usually involved a woman who was having difficulty in keeping a violent or

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abusive former partner away from her home, or a vulnerable person who was able to exercise little or no control over who entered their home. Eleven adults were held responsible for youth nuisance being committed by their children and 11 had caused or allowed damage inside their tenancy (each 11%). Children (10 individuals, 8% of all children and young people) were marginally more likely than adults to be involved in exterior vandalism.

Households were often been involved in more than one form of anti-social behaviour. On average, the 74 households were reported as involved in three forms of anti-social behaviour at the point of referral to Shelter Inclusion Project.

Twelve adults and 10 children were involved in criminal activity at the point of referral to Shelter Inclusion Project. This criminal activity could be serious, involving acts such as arson, violence, theft and drug dealing[7] (Table 2.12). Overall, 16 of the 74 households referred to Shelter Inclusion Project contained one or more of the 22 adults, children and young people involved in criminal activity (22% of all households).

Table 2.12: Criminal activity at referral to Shelter Inclusion Project by household type

Household type		Involved in criminal activity
Lone adult	Number	5
	Percentage of all households of this type	24%
Adult couple	Number	1
	Percentage of all households of this type	33%
Lone parent	Number	6
	Percentage of all households of this type	19%
Couple with children	Number	4
	Percentage of all households of this type	22%
All households involved in crime	**Number**	**16**
	Percentage of all households	**22%**

The actions being taken against households for anti-social behaviour at referral
Figure 2.8 summarises the 149 actions that had been taken against the 74 households for anti-social behaviour at the point of their referral. Sixty-one of these actions (41%) were verbal warnings and another 60 (40%) were written warnings. Seven households contained someone who had been served with an ASBO (5%).   Eight households had been about to be subject to eviction for anti-social behaviour at the time of their referral to Shelter Inclusion Project (5%).

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[7] For ethical and legal reasons, it was not possible for the evaluation team to have sight of detailed information on the offences committed by these household members.

Figure 2.8: The actions against anti-social behaviour to which adults, young people and children in the households had been subject at referral to Shelter Inclusion Project
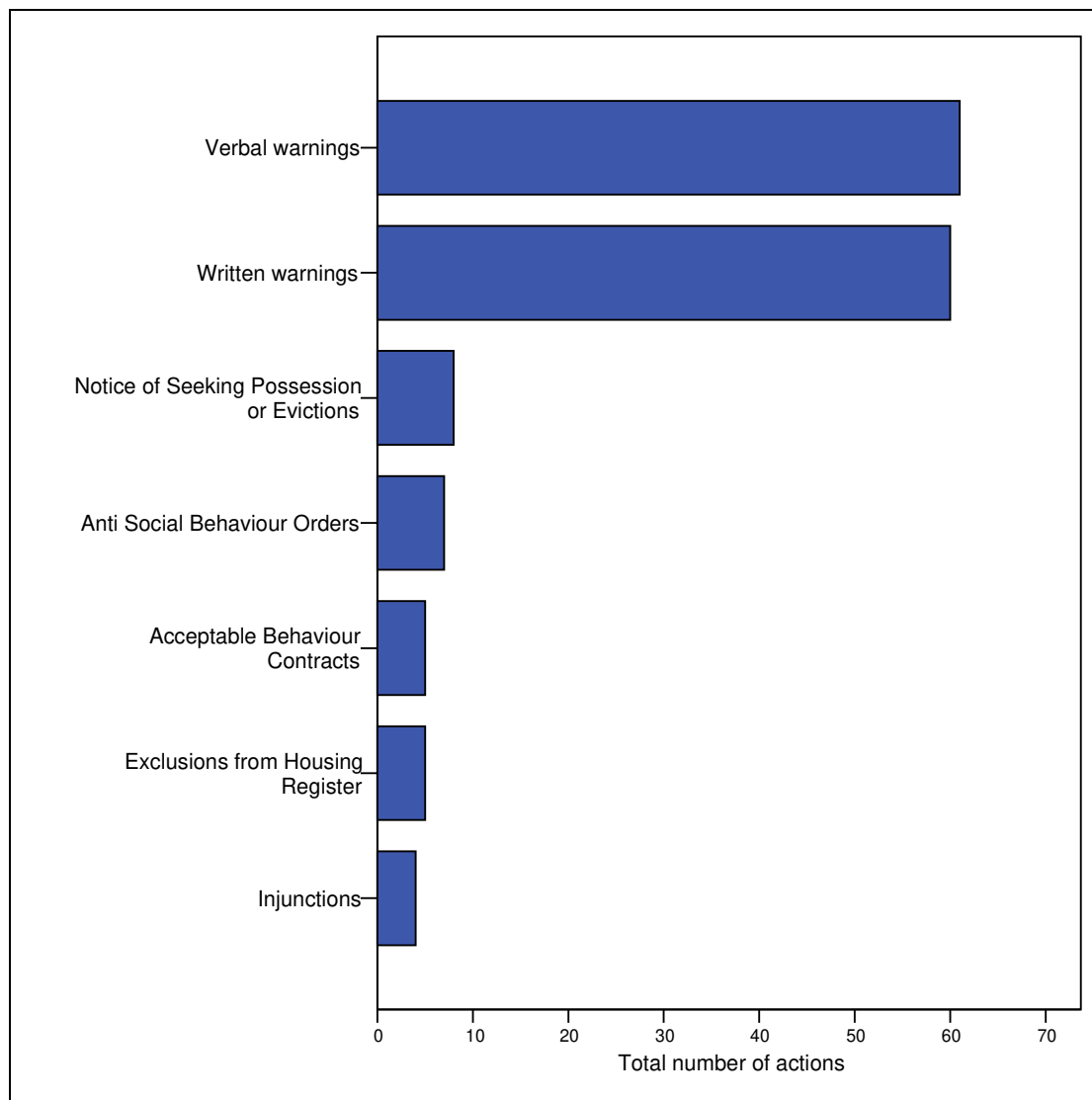
As Table 12 shows, the majority of actions taken against households as a result of anti-social behaviour were against adults (67% of all actions). A further 15% of actions were taken against at least one adult and at least one child or young person in a household. The remaining 17% of actions were taken against children or young people.

Table 2.12: Actions for anti-social behaviour by person(s) subject to those actions

Person(s) subject	Number of actions	Percentage of all actions
One adult in a household	79	53%
More than one adult in a household	21	14%
Adults, young people and/or children in a household	23	15%
One child or young person in a household	18	12%
More than one child or young person in a household	8	5%
All	**149**	**100%**

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Anti-social behaviour to which the households were subject at referral

Anti-social behaviour quite often involves more than one household. It is not unusual for two or three households to make counter accusations against one another. Unusual behaviour, such as might be exhibited by some people with mental health problems, can both be seen as anti-social behaviour and provoke anti-social behaviour in response.

Just over half of the 74 households reported being subjected to anti-social behaviour at the point of their referral to Shelter Inclusion Project (42 households, 57%). The most common form of anti-social behaviour mentioned were neighbour disputes (24 households, 32%) (Figure 2.9). The interviews with households often included claims that their anti-social behaviour was being 'exaggerated' by hostile neighbours who were behaving unreasonably in filing complaints against them. In other cases, households using Shelter Inclusion Project would claim that a kind of 'vendetta' had been taken up against them without good reason. Some of the users of Shelter Inclusion Project who were interviewed seemed genuinely distressed by what they saw as the hostility around them.

The other instances of reported anti-social behaviour against the households included youth nuisance (16 households, 22%) and being subject to criminal activity from people in neighbouring households (12 households, 16%). Nine households (12%) reported being subject to visitors' anti-social behaviour. This could cover a range of issues. For example, in a few cases, the 'visitor' was a former male partner who sought access to a woman who had escaped a violent and abusive situation. In other cases, poor gate-keeping skills among some vulnerable people allowed in disruptive individuals, such as groups of young people. Some households reported being subject to vandalism (8 households, 10%). The households referred to Shelter Inclusion Project were quite unlikely to report being subject to anti-social behaviour by their neighbours involving noise (3 households) or damage to their garden (1 household).

Figure 2.9: Types of anti-social behaviour to which households reported being subject at referral
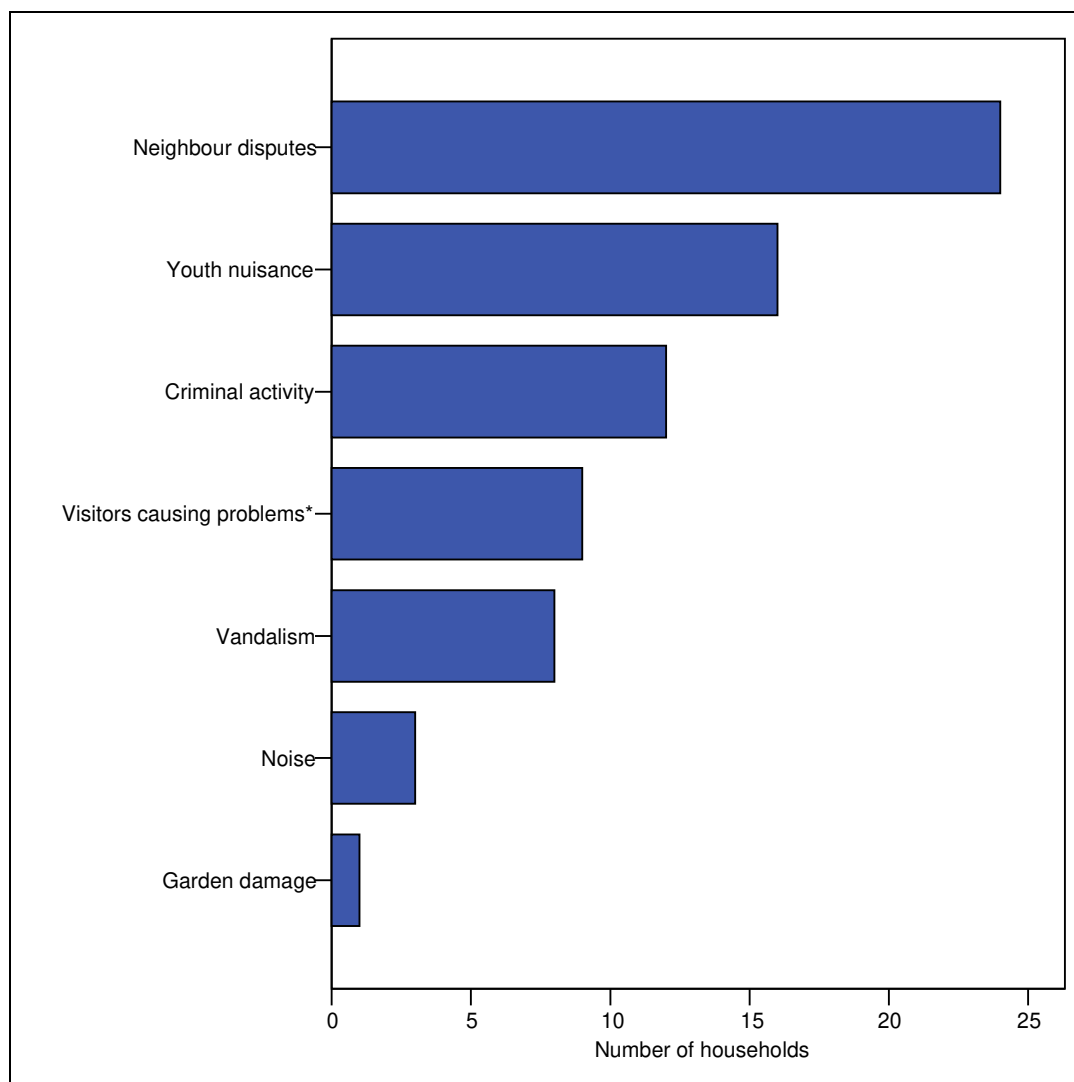
Support needs of households on referral

Just under one third of the households contained an adult with a limiting illness or disability (21 households, 28%). Drug and alcohol dependency among adults were also quite common, with one in four households containing an adult who was drug and/or alcohol dependent (17 households, 23%). The most commonly reported health problem among adults was depression, with more than half the households containing an adult with depression at the point of referral (42 households, 57%). Figure 2.10 summarises the health problems and support needs reported by adults at the point of referral to Shelter Inclusion Project, showing the numbers of adults with particular needs by household type.

Figure 2.10: Health problems reported by adults by household type
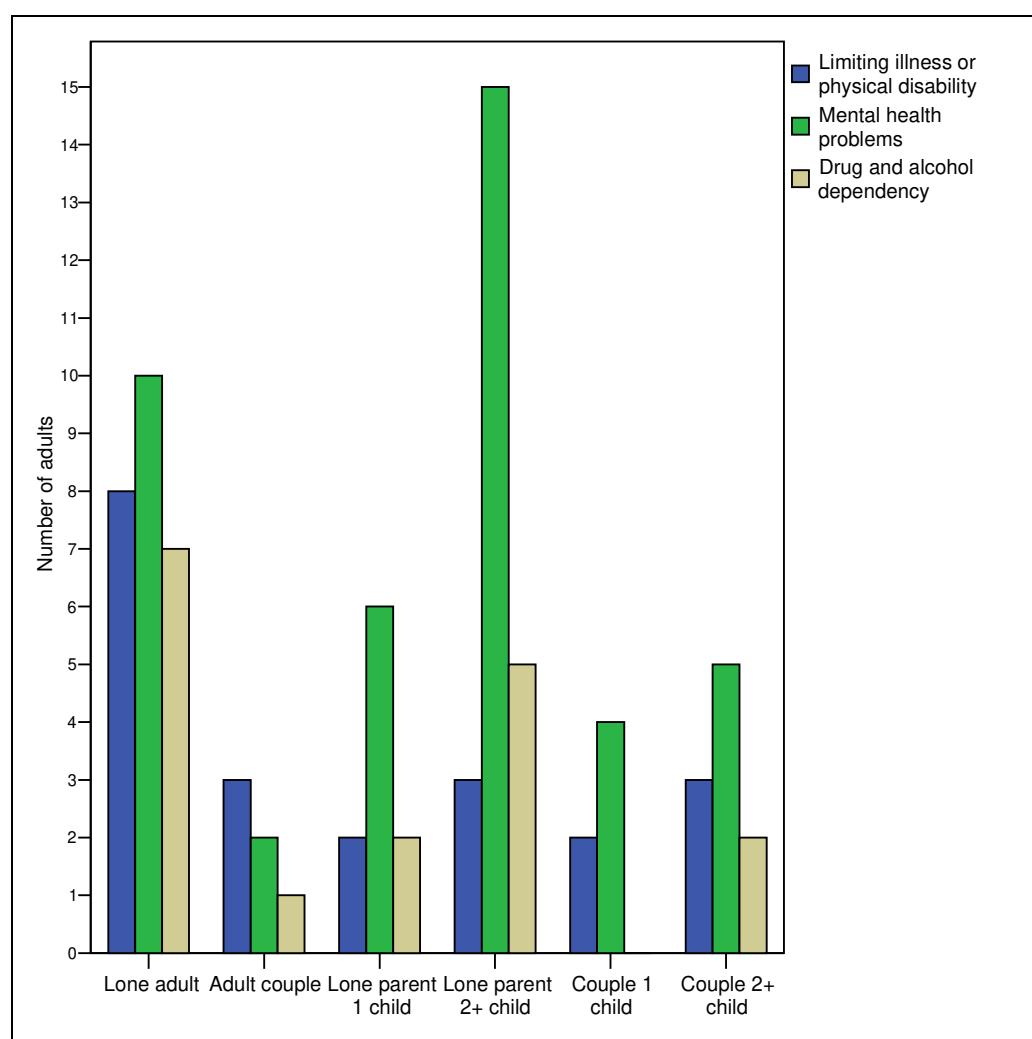
Despite high levels of reported health problems, forty-nine of the households (66%) had *no contact* with support or care providers at the time of their referral to Shelter Inclusion Project. Only eight households reporting depression or other mental health problems were in contact with mental health services at referral. Contact with social services was rather higher (16 households) with around one in five of the lone parent families and one in five of the couples with children reporting contact with social services at referral. Contact with social services was more unusual for lone adults (at 10%). Ten households were in contact with drug and alcohol services, although one third of lone adults had a drug/alcohol worker. Contact with Probation services was quite unusual among the adults (5 of the 98 adults (5%).

Children's support needs

The children in the households generally had better health status and fewer support needs than the adults. Most of the children were not reported as having any health or personal care needs. Six children were reported as having either a disability or a long term limiting illness (8% of all children). Reports of childhood asthma were quite high (11% of all children). Behavioural problems (including mental health problems) were reported for 17 children (14%).

Information was available on the educational status of 96 children of school age at referral to Shelter Inclusion Project[8]. Just under half of these children were attending school without any reported problems at referral (45 children, 47%), with another quarter of the children attending school, but reported as experiencing 'some problems at school' (24 children, 25%) (Figure 2.11). Just under one quarter of the children were experiencing more severe problems at school or were absent from school (23 children, 24%). Of these children, 13 had been temporarily or permanently excluded (14%), another 5 (5%) were regularly playing truant and 5 (5%) were attending Pupil Referral Units (for children with behavioural problems). These figures suggest that the children in the households quite often experiencing considerable disruption to their education. A small number of children (4 children, 4%) were reported as having been given a Special Educational Need statement.

Figure 2.11: The educational status of children at referral
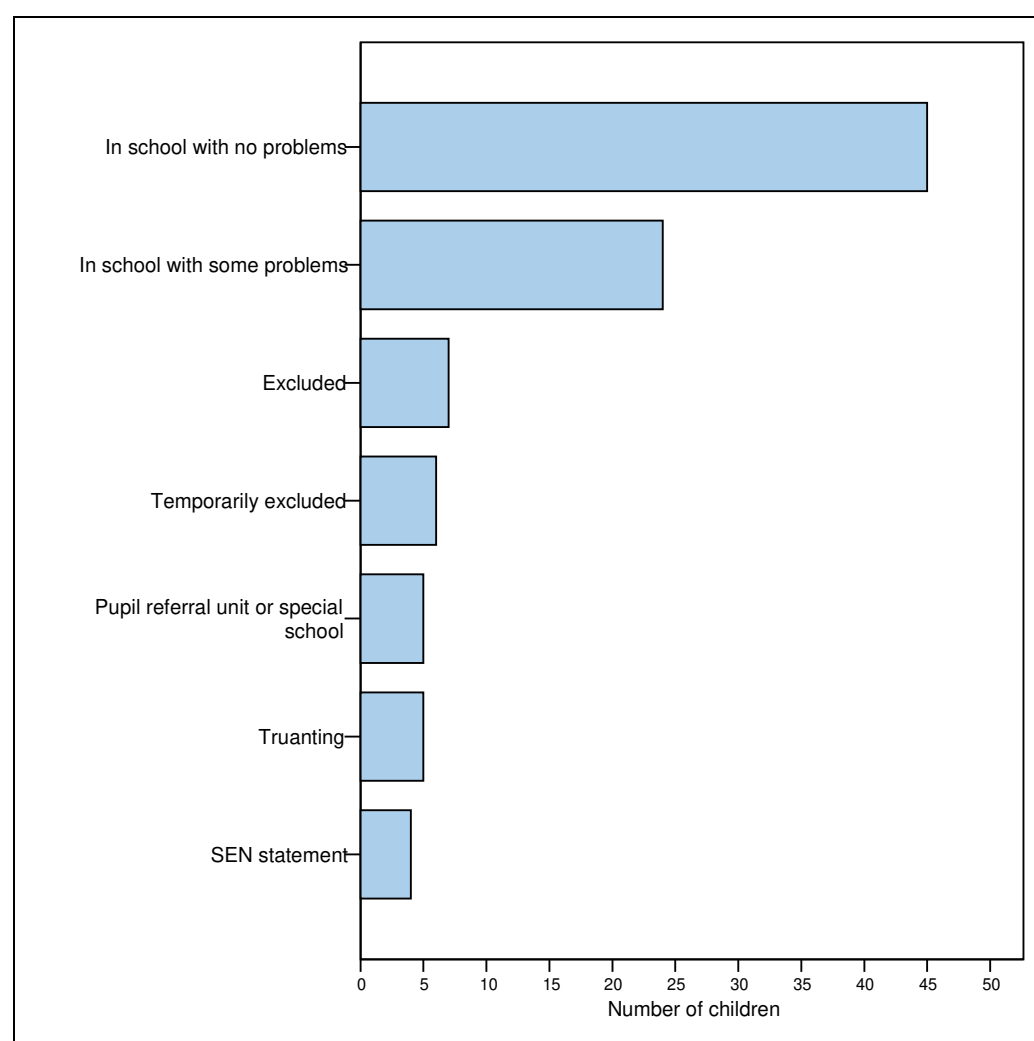
Note: information was not available on the educational status of six children

Relatively few children had contact with specialist children's services. Only three children were reported as receiving Sure-Start services and only three were in contact with a Connexions Personal Advisor (from a population of 132 children) (Figure 2.12). Contact with

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[8] 30 children were too young to attend school. The educational status of six children of school age was not recorded.

local youth projects was slightly higher, with 17 children (13%) working with one of several estate-based projects. Eleven of the 102 children and young people of school age were in contact with educational welfare services (11% of those of school age).

Six children in three households were on the Child Protection Register at the time of referral to Shelter Inclusion Project. Four of these children were in one household and the other two were each in separate households.

Figure 2.12: Children's contact with services at referral to Shelter Inclusion Project
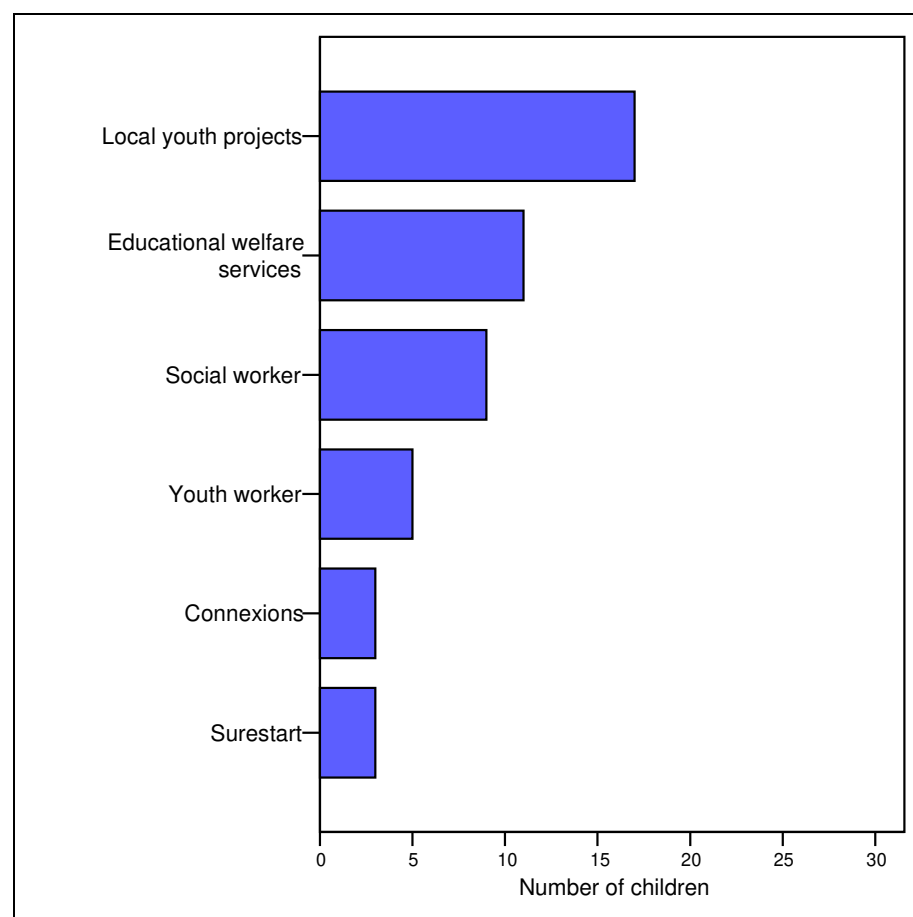
Referral and assessment procedures: Perspectives of service users, staff and agencies

Referral procedures

Overall, service users reported similar experiences of the referral experiences throughout the pilot period. Most service users interviewed over the course of the pilot said that they had been referred to Shelter Inclusion Project by 'the council' (some service users were unclear about who their landlord was) or their housing officer. Other respondents said they had been referred by a social worker, by workers in the homeless unit, a school nurse and two respondents said they had contacted the project themselves (see Table 2.1).

Many respondents said they were referred to Shelter Inclusion Project following complaints to their landlord by neighbours and a number had received Notices of Seeking Possession. Other households said that a member of the household had an Anti-Social Behaviour Order

(ASBO) or were the subject of Acceptable Behaviour Agreements (ABCs). Not all service users mentioned anti-social behaviour issues and some said that they had been referred for more general support e.g., help with children or help in securing a new tenancy. A small number of respondents were unsure why they had been referred and a number asserted that they seemed to be taking the blame for the anti-social behaviour of others or that their housing officer 'had it in' for them.

Many service users (in the three rounds of interviews) explained that they had initially mixed reactions to the idea of working with Shelter Inclusion Project and some felt that they had little choice but to accept the service if they were to keep their homes. Nevertheless, a number of service users said that they were pleased to have been offered support. The following comment was typical:

> *The council said something about help with the children – it was either that or get evicted…I was a bit nervous at first…it was like all my children were naughty and out of control and I was a bad mother, but then I realised that they were just trying to help.*
>
> (Service user)

Project staff confirmed that the referral process, as experienced by individual households, had altered little over the pilot period and that they were generally satisfied with the arrangements. However, there was some concern that referral agencies did not explain the role and nature of the project to households (or possibly that households did not listen) and that prospective service users thought the service was part of the enforcement process and that they were being compelled to take it up.

Staff explained that referral routes had become more diverse with referrals being made by a wider range of agencies. Staff hoped to see more referrals from the Police, Probation, Youth Offending Team (YOT) and from the private rented and owner occupied sector in the future. Staff had been concerned that no BME households had been referred to the project in the first two years. The project had taken steps to try to address this through the active promotion of the service in BME communities and through community consultation and since then one BME household had been referred and accepted for support.

There was concern early in the pilot that some agencies were making inappropriate referrals or not making referrals until a very late stage when households were almost at crisis point. Staff felt that this situation had improved in part because of the work the project had done to promote the service and its aims and objectives and partly because there was less of a backlog of high profile anti-social behaviour cases than there had been when the pilot started. Project workers explained that they had worked with households with varying levels of anti-social behaviour issues. At times, staff suspected that some housing officers were only referring households that they believed would be easy to engage with, but overall most of the households referred had complex support needs. Towards the end of the evaluation workers reported that they were working with more individuals with mental health and substance misuse issues.

Overall, representatives of agencies (including housing officers and managers) felt that the referral process worked well, their main concern was that the project did not have the capacity to work with as many cases as they would like and were not always able to provide support immediately. It was clear, however, that there remained some misunderstanding about the referral criteria and what the project could do to support households, especially among those working on the ground (who would be responsible for making referrals). Some respondents thought the project would not accept households with a history of violence and others believed that Shelter Inclusion Project mediated in neighbour disputes. A couple of people remarked that it was extremely difficult to keep up with all the new interventions and services in Rochdale and one housing manager said that he and his colleague (responsible for 1,000 properties) simply did not have the time to make assessments of who might benefit from the support of Shelter. A number of respondents at managerial level believed that despite the efforts of project staff to raise the profile of the project, this had not filtered down to individual housing managers.

Assessment procedures

Very few service users remembered their first meeting with support workers and the initial assessment in any detail. Most said that they remembered being asked what sort of help they required and being told what Shelter Inclusion Project could help with, although few could remember exactly what had been said at the time. A number said that they remembered having to sign some forms and had to answer questions on a form but none of the respondents complained that this was particularly onerous.

Project staff explained that service user assessments were completed on a rota basis and therefore, the worker who did the initial assessment would not necessarily be allocated the case. Project staff felt that the initial assessment could be intimidating for new service users and, although they recognised that the information required was important, they felt that there were too many questions (partly for evaluation purposes). This made the first meeting very structured and formal and workers suggested that some of the questions could be asked at subsequent meetings.

Risk assessments were carried out for all new cases, but the level of information provided by agencies to assist this process, differed on a case-by-case basis. The project tried to involve service users in risk assessment wherever possible but was still reliant on information provided by other agencies e.g. social services. Some staff felt that overall a high level of information was provided by agencies, whilst others felt that they did not always have all the information they required. Project staff recognised that some referring agencies simply did not have relevant information but in some cases it was thought that agencies were reluctant to share information, or did not appreciate its relevance to workers who would be meeting service users in their own home and challenging their behaviour. No households had been turned down to date for having too high a risk profile and the project was able to provide an appropriate service to all those referred. However, staff were concerned that they had far less time to support households because they had to make accompanied visits to some service users.

Anonymised information relating to the risks posed by individual households was shared with the research team by Shelter Inclusion Project. In a few cases, households had been

described, following assessment, as presenting potential risks to the project workers who were engaging with them. Usually the perceived risks were derived from a history of violent and abusive behaviour patterns from one or more individuals within a household, including a history of domestic violence. Where a particular risk existed, workers would not make lone visits to a household and in a very small number of cases they would not provide a service at their tenancy, but would instead meet the individual or household in a neutral area, such as a daycentre. This was clearly necessary for the safety of the workers but staff were concerned that this reduced the time they had to work with service users and suggested that volunteers or social work students might accompany them on visits instead. A small number of households included individuals who had used or attempted to use weapons as part of a wider pattern of criminal activity. In one instance, one member of a household had a history of firearm offences and in another, an individual with mental health problems had attempted to use explosives within their tenancy. Households with these characteristics were unusual within the Shelter Inclusion Project caseload, but they were nevertheless part of that caseload.

Conclusion

The households working with Shelter Inclusion Project were quite diverse, key service users were most often female, white and heading up a lone parent family. A significant minority had experience of previous homelessness, and the vast majority were assessed as at risk of losing their tenancy at referral. Anti-social behaviour was predominately noise related, neighbour disputes, youth nuisance or anti-social behaviour caused by visitors. However in 16 cases, the anti-social behaviour of a household was also linked to criminal activity. A high proportion of households referred had mental health problems, a limiting illness or disability or another form of health related problem. Staff and service users reported a relatively smooth referral and assessment process, although knowledge of some referral agencies of Shelter Inclusion Project could still be further improved.

3   Delivering a support service

This chapter focuses on the delivery and appropriateness of the service provided by Shelter Inclusion Project from the perspective of project users, staff and key agency representatives (see Appendix B). The chapter considers the delivery of the service under the following areas:

- Type of support provided to the household
- Support provided to children and young people
- Inter-agency working
- Ending support

Types of support delivered by Shelter Inclusion Project

Figure 3.1 shows that Shelter Inclusion Project provided a wide range of support and interventions to households. The two most common forms of support were debt and money management (42%), followed by support with anti-social behaviour (36%). Many of the other forms of support provided by the project, such as help with 'anger management' (8%), 'getting on with other people' (11%) and 'learning increased self-confidence' (11%) were directly related to anti-social behaviour. In other cases, interventions were focused on care and support needs which were linked to anti-social behaviour, for example 22% of households were given support with depression or stress. Support with re-housing (19%) and settling into a new home (8%) was also reported. Practical support was also an important element of the service delivered, particularly help with decoration (26%) and managing a garden (20%). Assistance with accessing benefits and other services (including education and training) was also significant. A range of help with children and parenting was also a particularly prominent part of the support provided.

Service user views

Most service users described receiving various forms of support and advice ranging from help with practical matters to emotional support. Most service users reported receiving a range of support from Shelter Inclusion Project, although two service users said that although they were visited regularly by a Shelter worker this was just for a 'chat'.

The majority of service users said that they had received appropriate help or advice on a number of issues as well as being involved in activities and events organised by the project. A few service users in the first and second round of interviews suggested that although the project had been supportive, the main cause of their problems had been the behaviour of older children or young adult members of the household who had little or no contact with Shelter.

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Figure 3.1: The kinds of support received by households from Shelter Inclusion Project
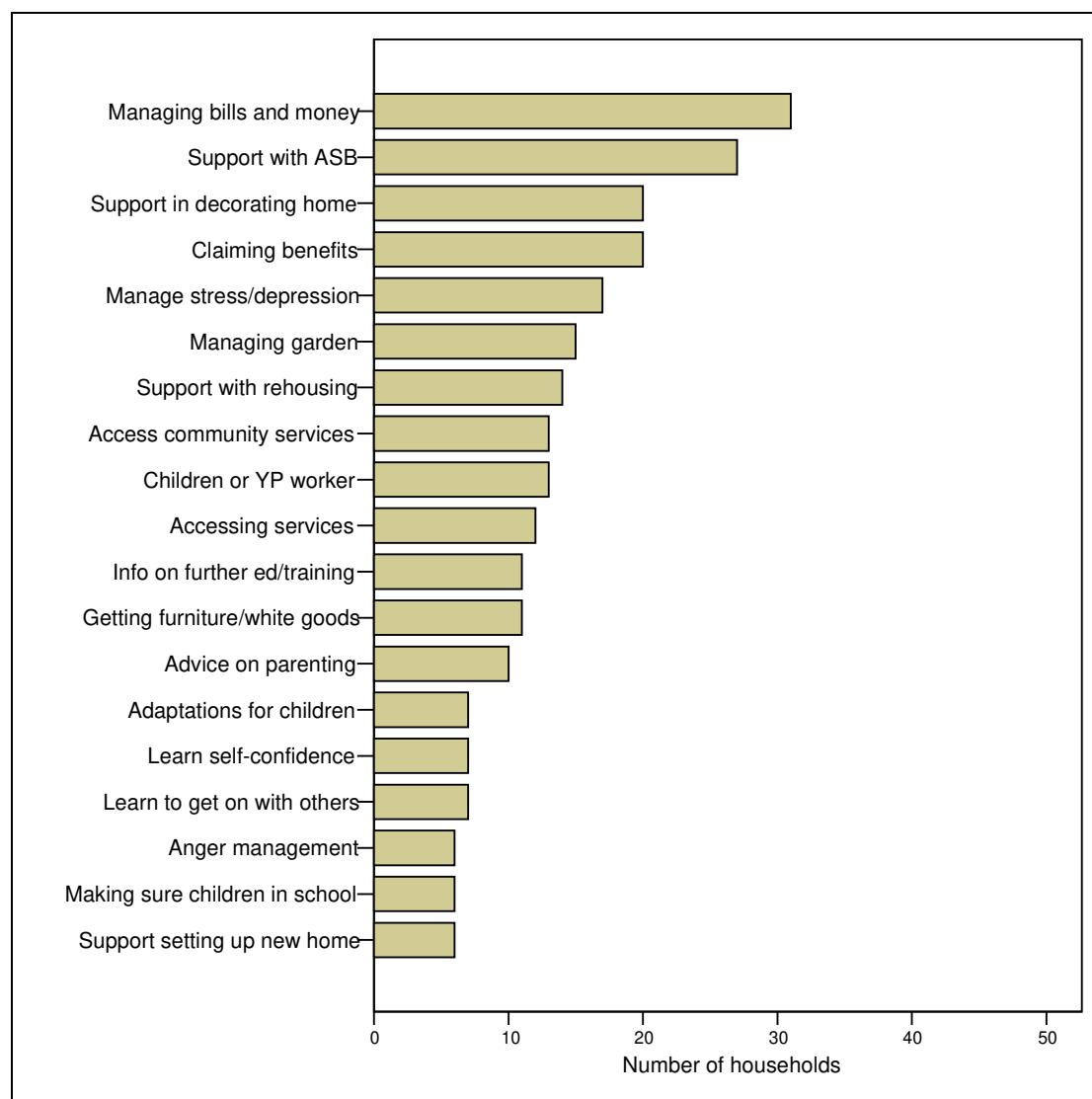
A number of key support areas were seen as particularly useful by service users. Some service users explained how the project had helped by liaising with their landlord with respect to complaints of anti-social behaviour made against them. Many felt that they had initially not been listened to by their housing provider but that Shelter's support meant they started to receive fairer treatment. In a number of cases respondents explained that the problems with their landlord effectively stopped once they had agreed to take up Shelter Inclusion Project support (although many were still on a 12 month probation period).

> …when I am struggling it is easier to talk to [support worker] and to go through Shelter than to talk to them [housing] myself because I always get told 'no' whereas [support worker] can do it

(Service user)

The project workers also advocated for service users and/or helped service users access other services, including solicitors, counselling services, anger management courses,

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schools, and youth projects. Some service users explained how project workers helped with addressing problems with neighbours, unwelcome visitors or other problems faced by their household. Service users described how support workers helped them find approaches to better deal with these problems, including how to deal with neighbour disputes and to control their anger in certain circumstances.

> *I've not rose to the shouting and screaming, I've not shouted back and I've walked away, and I've known that, instead of shouting back, I can be the bigger person, I can go and phone [worker], I can go and phone the Police, I can go and write an incident diary…I feel like I can rise above it now, be a bigger person…*
>
> *(Service user)*

Service users also tended to stress the practical nature of much of the support provided by the project, including help with repairs, gifts of beds for the children and decorating vouchers. As chapter 2 showed, most households were in some form of debt and therefore help in kind was much appreciated. Service users also often explained how project workers were assisting them to better manage their money and how repayment schemes had been set up with support workers to repay rent arrears, utility bills and other debts.

A number of adult service users were being supported in parenting skills usually with the support of the children's worker. In a few cases, this parenting support was quite intensive, but despite its interventionist nature it was highly appreciated by parents. Service users described how this support and advice had both helped them control their children and to feel better in themselves.

> *[Shelter Children's worker] told me about time out and star charts and stuff like that, they all worked and I generally felt more of a better parent with the things that they told me to use.*
>
> (Service user)

Some service users, particularly in the final round of interviews, mentioned that their support worker had provided advice about volunteering opportunities, education, training or employment. Three service users said that they and/or their partner had started training courses or new jobs whilst others were planning to do so. One respondent also mentioned that Shelter had provided decorating vouchers but had encouraged her partner, who had been suffering from depression and was unable to work, to do the work himself. This helped boost his spirits and gave him a feeling of independence.

Finally, a number of service users highlighted the nature of the relationship between the support worker and themselves. Almost without exception, service users said that they liked the workers and found them friendly and easy to get on with.

Service users often viewed their relationship with Shelter workers much more positively than those with statutory services or their landlord, which service users generally found more formal and difficult. The service users often talked about the importance they attached to the

Project workers treating them with 'respect' and 'not looking down' at them and also often reported the importance of the worker being there to 'listen'.

> *The support...just having someone to listen to, not making judgements on you, you just know that they are there to listen to you and not to form any judgement on anything. She became more of a friend in the end, that I could confide in and that was brilliant, when there was nobody else there, Shelter was.*

(Service user)

It should be noted that although service users generally felt at ease with their support workers and were willing to share their problems, the development of trust took some time and a small number of service users said that they had not yet told support workers about all their problems. For the most part, service users understood that support workers were there to 'do a job' and not simply to befriend them.

Staff and agency views

Project staff initially described the support they provided as general resettlement, a non-specific service that was based on the kinds of tenancy support provided to homeless households at risk of homelessness. Over the course of the pilot the workers reported that there was an increased focus on anti-social behaviour issues and that the service began to change shape and adapt to the specific requirements of working with often vulnerable households with anti-social behaviour.

Staff commented that they had received no specific training around anti-social behaviour because the only training available had been on legal and enforcement issues. Nevertheless, they felt that their work and approach to anti-social behaviour and more general issues had developed considerably over the pilot period and that the project had been successful in meeting its aims and objectives.

> *I think if they are going to replicate it then there does need to be some kind of idea how It is done, because we have never been told how to work with people around anti-social behaviour, it is always something we have developed ourselves. But if anyone is setting up another project they really have to look at how they are training and supporting staff to do that and not expect people to work it out on their own.*

(Project staff)

The workers explained that many people had urgent and pressing problems that required intervention before issues such as anti-social behaviour could be addressed, further it often took some time to build up a relationship and gain the confidence and trust of service users.

> *We have had so many families referred to us in absolute crisis sometimes it is quite difficult to sit down and focus on a support plan, they have very immediate and definite needs – they just want to stop the bailiffs.*

(Project staff)

Project workers explained that they provided a wide range of advice and support as well as practical help but that the main aim of all interventions was to address anti-social behaviour and/or the underlying causes of anti-social behaviour. In many cases seemingly simple interventions had a positive impact.

> *We'll provide or do anything where we can see some sustainable outcomes in terms of anti-social behaviour - for example the project will provide beds for children where they do not have one – outcomes are considerable in terms of*
>
> *self-esteem, behaviour, meeting curfews and emotional well-being.*

(Project staff)

Overall, the project was perceived by its staff as reacting flexibly to a diverse set of needs and issues among the households with whom it worked. This flexibility, while it meant that the service might be seen as amorphous when described to outsiders, was seen as a strength by the workers.

Respondents in external agencies did not always know the details of the service that the project delivered. Representatives in senior and managerial posts within the housing sector tended to know more about the project (especially those involved in the project's set up) than housing officers and other agencies. Those agency representatives that had some involvement with the setting up of the project had a clearer idea of the resettlement / enforcement approach adopted by the project, but generally they too were unsure of how the project dealt with anti-social behaviour.

Work with children and young people

Service user views

Where children were being supported in a household, parents unsurprisingly mentioned this support as a key feature of Shelter Inclusion Project and explained how they, and their children, had separate workers. Even where children were not explicitly being supported however, a number of users commented on how much the children (particularly younger children rather than older teenagers) liked the support workers and how staff made an effort with the children, even if just chatting to them when they were at home during a visit. One family had requested a children's worker for her child but this had not been possible due to staffing shortages over the last year; whilst disappointed, this person pointed out that the project worker had tried to compensate for this (e.g. arranging vouchers to attend a play centre during the summer holidays). Most families interviewed also highlighted the occasional family days that they found enjoyable like trips to a zoo or a theme park.

Where a children's worker was assigned to the household, most service users explained that this had been highly valued and that the worker had helped children (and the parent/s) cope better and address difficult situations. This included liaison with schools over attendance problems, behavioural difficulties and instances of bullying, as well as referring on to other services such as a psychologist. Users also explained that the workers spent time doing activities with the children and young people, including after-school clubs, a photography

course, horse-riding and rock climbing as well as the odd trip to the cinema or McDonalds. These were generally enjoyed by children, however there were a few instances were parents reported that older children had not been interested in taking part. This was reported in the first interim report and resulted in the appointment of the Team Leader for Children and Young People.

Few of the children interviewed were able to say much about Shelter Inclusion Project although most were aware that the service was working with their family. A few children said that the project had helped the family to buy goods such as beds and towels and one group of siblings said that they thought their mother 'seemed better' after working with Shelter. Children usually knew the name of the Shelter worker but explained that she tended to visit when they were at school.

Those children who had been involved in activities and trips often seemed confused about who had organised these as they tended to be in contact with more than one support service including youth workers and special projects like *Include*, recently set up to support young people at risk of crime in Rochdale.

Staff and agency views

The project had experienced particular difficulties in recruiting and retaining experienced children's and young people workers. Workers were concerned that staff shortages had meant that many families and children who would have benefited from the support of a children or young person's worker, had not always had access to this support. Shelter Inclusion Project support workers did work to support children as well as adult service users but they did not have the specialist skills of trained children's workers.

Despite staff shortages, project staff explained that the activities provided for young people had developed and expanded and the project had also started to involve parents in activities with their children (in addition to fun days and days out) such as horse riding or trips to nearby countryside. These activities, as project staff explained, were intended to be far more than simply diversionary activities, they were designed both to address behavioural problems, to encourage parents to spend time with their children and to reward good behaviour.

> *…they [activities] are part of a wider programme of support that is about encouraging that child's confidence and self-esteem, but ultimately to be addressing the anti-social behaviour. At the end of that we are getting parents to come out with their children and young people and actually showing them how to spend quality time with their children and how to do things that are affordable in their own area*
>
> (Project staff)

Towards the end of the pilot, workers were supporting individual children more intensively. Group-work had also become more targeted, for example, an after-schools club had not proved very successful due to a low staff-child ratio. Activities from that point forward had attempted to work with small groups of young people, all of the same age, on one task where they had a specific interest like rock-climbing or in addressing particular issues, for

example, bullying. Children were encouraged in activities that involved cooperation rather than competition.

Overall, work with children and young people had become a much more integral and robust aspect of the work of the project towards the end of the pilot period. A number of agency representatives considered the fact that the project could work with both adults and children to be a particular strength of the service. Importantly staff stressed the extent to which they now worked very much as a team, understanding each other's roles much better than at the start of the project.

> …there was a big divide between support workers and children's workers, we didn't know each others roles or what the other did but now we are much more of a team…it feels like a really strong team now…
>
> (Project staff)

Inter-agency working

Service user views

Many service users explained they had contact with other agencies or had had contact with them in the past. Agencies mentioned included YOT, health visiting, social services, school nurses, psychologists and various youth inclusion projects. In general, service users reported that many of these agencies, had provided them with little help. Service users' views on their housing provider varied, understandably there was some hostility towards providers where action was being taken, but there was also appreciation amongst a number of service users of the efforts made by housing officers who referred households to Shelter Inclusion Project or suggested other forms of support.

A number of users spoke about how Shelter liaised with other agencies over and above housing. For example, Shelter appeared to have taken a lead in a multi-agency case conference for two households; in both cases, a number of key agencies were brought together around a table from health, social services, housing and education. In both cases, users explained that social services stopped working with them because they were so well supported by other agencies. Shelter was also seen to be working effectively alongside other workers supporting young people from youth services and other agencies.

Staff and agency views

Project staff felt that, overall, multi-agency working had improved over the pilot period and relations between the various agencies had become easier as the project became established. Staff felt they had developed good working relations with YOT, schools, education, and health visitors and this was supported by agency representatives, most of whom described having good professional relations with the project and staff. Relations with social services had been difficult, largely due to social services being very short-staffed, but although social services were still not up to capacity, staffing levels had improved and as a result working relations had become easier. Information exchange between Shelter and enforcement agencies, particularly important to enable the project to respond as quickly as possible to anti-social behaviour issues, was described as effective. Project staff continued to be involved with the Anti-social Behaviour Panel (representing service users) and the

Case Intervention Group[9]. Staff explained how they had particularly good working relations with certain individuals in different agencies, and particularly with individual school nurses and health visitors.

Staff stressed the importance of agencies having clear delineation from each other in their work so that service users could understand as far as possible which agency could help with which issues as well as avoiding duplication of services. For example, Shelter Inclusion Project had developed a close working relationship with a new project called '*Include'* which had recently been set up to work with young people at risk of becoming involved in crime.

Although project staff felt that the work of the project was valued and respected by many agencies and individuals in Rochdale they thought that some remained sceptical about their work and/or that some individuals/agencies preferred to adopt a more hard-line, enforcement approach to anti-social behaviour. The interviews with agency representatives suggested that there was a good deal of respect for the project but that there were other reasons (such as lack of knowledge, lack of time and some misunderstanding of the project's target group as to why agencies did not always refer to the project (see Chapter 2, Referrals and Assessment). A number of agency representatives pointed out that the courts now wanted to see evidence that landlords had tried different options before resulting to eviction proceedings so it was in the interests of housing providers to refer tenants to the project. One of the strengths of the project was seen as advocating for people and this was not always uniformly well-received where households had been labelled as 'problem' families.

> *[there is] a conflict of interest...it is very important that we maintain good relationships in terms of referrals....but we are still advocates and people don't always find that easy if you are challenging them...and I think for all of us the client comes first...it can sometimes be quite difficult with other agencies.*
>
> (Project staff)

This was a view taken by some agency respondents but it was clear that they felt able to resolve such problems with the project.

> *...there have been some conflicts – in a sense we have different aims, Shelter is there to provide an advocacy role for their clients and it can be really annoying...they are doing their job and I am trying to do mine...but we have a good enough relationship to discuss these issues*
>
> (Agency representative)

Staff explained how they had tried to involve service users in the organisation, for example through focus groups and user groups, but this had proved unsuccessful as the vast majority were simply not interested (although they enjoyed trips and other activities). Staff felt that service users (and former service users) had enough to cope with and that user involvement was an unrealistic ideal of certain funders and not something service users wanted.

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[9] The Case Intervention Group is multi agency panel set up to share information and ensure early intervention in ASB cases.

Views on ending support

Service Users

Most service users understood that Shelter Inclusion Project could not support them forever and that support would gradually taper off as they became more able to cope. However, although service users appreciated that they could not have the service for ever and that other people needed support, this did not always mean that they felt ready to cope.

Overall there seemed to be a better understanding of the closure process than there had been during the early stages of the pilot. Most service users were aware that they would receive support for about 12 months but they were aware that they could or would be able to contact Shelter Inclusion Project if they experienced problems after their case was closed. Most people (whose cases were still open) envisaged that they would continue to need some level of support into the future. A few thought this would need to be considerable, but most thought 'occasional' support would be suitable. A small number of people were concerned that they would get into rent arrears again or struggle with bureaucracy without the support of the project.

Where people's cases had closed, most people felt happy that this was appropriate and understood that they had 'had their time'. One person had understood that her case had been closed but thought the worker would get back in touch to help with one-off issues that they had discussed (accessing education and child's behaviour at a new school) but had not heard from the project.

> *I was very grateful for the time I had with them and there is people probably worse than me now, you know having the problems that I had then, which obviously they need help…they made sure that they'd done all what they could and they asked me a couple of times before they stopped if there was anything else.*
>
> *(Service user)*

A few people remained quite confused about when support would end, but these tended to be people in their early stages of contact with Shelter Inclusion Project. However a couple of service users said that they had not seen a worker or heard from Shelter Inclusion Project for some time and that they were not sure whether their case had been closed or not.

Staff and agency views

Project staff explained that they attempted to be clear with service users about how long support would last and the process of ending support. Ongoing support needs are discussed at three monthly reviews and project staff use this opportunity to introduce the idea of support being gradually tailed off and then ending. Although project staff felt that service users were aware when a case was going to close and understood the process, some service users raised new issues and problems around the time when a case was moving towards closing.

> *… everything has come out, massive child protection issues have been raised, real issues of vulnerability have come up…whether it is only when people realise that we are really going – that it is voluntary and that it is going to end,*

that they suddenly start telling us loads of stuff, or suddenly things start coming to the fore…so it is right that we have extended support.

<div align="right">(Project staff)</div>

There was an unease amongst staff that these support needs were not always reported to them until the service was coming to an end but it was thought likely that some issues required a great deal of trust to be built up between worker and service user. The project tended to extend support for these households to address issues, often working alongside other agencies. Agency representatives tended to know that the service was time limited and appreciated that support could be extended. However, they were unsure whether the time limit was appropriate or not, some respondents felt that 12 months should be adequate and that if people had not changed in a year then they probably never would whilst others were concerned that people would continue having problems throughout their lives.

A second issue that arose for the project was a difficulty in referring some households onto mainstream agencies. Again, it appeared that when trust had been built up over time, some households were extremely reluctant to be 'passed on' to another agency and some refused point blank. This was perceived as a threat to longer term sustainability by project workers, on the whole, agencies seemed to be unaware of this problem and thought that one of the strengths of the service was helping people to access mainstream services.

Conclusion

The project provided a wide range of support and this was extended over the pilot period in response to service users' needs. Targeted support for anti-social behaviour appeared to have increased and there was a clearer understanding of how a whole host of supports could impact positively on people's ability to address their own behaviour. Despite staffing shortages, the work with children and young people had become an integral part of the project and activities for older young people were beginning to be developed. Overall, inter-agency relationships, from the perspective of the project and agencies, were good and had improved over the course of the pilot. Leaving procedures appeared to be becoming clearer over time, although a minority of users were reluctant to lose the support of a trusted and valued service.

4   Project outcomes

This fourth chapter presents the evidence collected to date on the outcomes of Shelter Inclusion Project. Firstly, project monitoring and tracking information[10] is examined to identify progress with addressing anti-social behaviour issues, tenancy sustainment and other key outcomes. Secondly, qualitative information from the interviews is explored, revealing the perceived outcomes of the service from the viewpoint of project users and agency representatives.

Overview of cases

At 30th June 2005, 45 of the 74 Shelter Inclusion Project households were closed cases (i.e. 61% of all households had ceased to use the service) and 29 were open cases (i.e. 39% of all households were still receiving the service on 30th June 2005). This chapter reviews the progress of both closed and open cases, although it is particularly focussed on closed cases as Shelter Inclusion Project intervention was complete.

Table 4.1 shows the length of time households had contact with the project. It was quite unusual for closed cases to have spent less than six months receiving Shelter Inclusion Project services (20% of closed cases). The bulk of closed cases had received the service for between six months and 24 months (74% of closed cases). Only a handful of closed cases had received Shelter Inclusion Project services for more than two years (7% of closed cases).

Table 4.1: Time spent in contact with Shelter Inclusion Project services (open and closed cases)

Time spent with Shelter Inclusion Project service		Open case?		All households
		Yes	No	
Less than 3 months	Number	3	2	5
	Percentage	10%	4%	7%
3-6 months	Number	7	7	14
	Percentage	24%	16%	19%
6-12 months	Number	3	12	15
	Percentage	10%	27%	20%
1 year-18 months	Number	5	9	14
	Percentage	17%	20%	19%
18 months - 2 years	Number	5	12	17
	Percentage	17%	27%	23%
2 years or more	Number	6	3	9
	Percentage	21%	7%	12%
All	**Number**	**29**	**45**	**74**
	Percentage	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**

Note: Open cases were receiving the Shelter Inclusion Project service as at 30/6/05

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[10] See Appendix B for details on methods used.

Table 4.2 shows the time open and closed cases had used Shelter Inclusion Project in terms of the average (mean) number of days for which they had contact with the service and the average time they had spent with the project in years. As can be seen, both open and closed cases typically had contact with the project for around a year.

Table 4.2: Average time spent in contact with Shelter Inclusion Project services

Case type		Days	Years
Open cases	Average time received service	410	1.1
Closed cases	Average time received service	408	1.1

Note: Open cases were receiving the /6/05

As Table 4.3 shows, lone adult households had typically spent less time in contact with Shelter Inclusion Project than other household types. On average, lone adults had been in contact with Shelter Inclusion Project for the best part of one year (298 days, 0.8 years), compared with an average of over one year for lone parents (420 days, 1.2 years) and couples with children (492 days, 1.3 years). The small number of households containing two or more adults, without children, tended to have been in contact with the project the longest.

Table 4.3: Average time spent in contact with Shelter Inclusion Project by household type

Household type	Number of households	Average time with service (days)	Average time with service (years)
Lone adult	21	298	0.8
Two or more adults	3	563	1.5
Lone parent	32	420	1.2
Two or more adults with children	18	492	1.3
All	**74**	**409**	**1.1**

It was not possible to record the actual contact between Shelter Inclusion Project workers and the households during their time with the project. The interviews with households and workers suggested that, typically, project workers tended to visit households once a week, with the frequency of visits declining as progress was made. Those being supported by the children's and young people's worker would receive an additional weekly visit centred on the children or young people in the household.

Further details on the average length of time for service users leaving the project across financial years are provided in Chapter 5.

Addressing anti-social behaviour

Two out of every three closed cases were assessed by the project workers as no longer involved in anti-social behaviour at the time when contact with Shelter Inclusion Project came to an end. Twenty-seven of the 45 closed case households (60%) were reported as no longer being involved in anti-social behaviour when their cases were closed (Table 4.4). This outcome appeared to be very positive. Improvements in anti-social behaviour was reported among another five closed cases (11% of closed cases). This meant that a total of 32 closed cases (71%) were reported as having positive service outcomes in respect of anti-social behaviour.

In a small number of closed cases, anti-social behaviour was reported as being unresolved. According to reports from project workers, in three cases (7% of closed cases), the anti-social behaviour being exhibited by a household had not come to an end following the service's intervention. In a larger number of closed cases (6 households, 13% of closed cases) contact with the project had been ended by a household prior to anti-social behaviour issues being resolved. In some instances these households had moved without informing or contacting the team again after they had moved.

Table 4.4: Progress in dealing with anti-social behaviour (closed cases)

Anti-social behaviour		
ASB ceased altogether	Number of households	27
	Percentage	60%
ASB improved	Number of households	5
	Percentage	11%
ASB not improved	Number of households	3
	Percentage	6%
Household ended contact before anti-social behaviour resolved	Number of households	6
	Percentage	13%
Outcome unclear	Number of households	4
	Percentage	8%
All closed cases	**Number of households**	**45**
	Percentage	**100%**

Based on reports from Shelter Inclusion Project workers

As would be anticipated, many open cases were still working with Shelter Inclusion Project to address anti-social behaviour on 30th June 2005 (16 households, 55% of all open cases) (Table 4.5). Six households (21% of all open cases) were reported as having ceased involvement in anti-social behaviour and another six were reported as showing improvement with respect to anti-social behaviour (21% of open cases). In overall terms, 42% of open cases had either ceased to exhibit anti-social behaviour or had shown improvement. Only one household was reported as having shown no progress with respect to its involvement in anti-social behaviour. The progress reported by Shelter Inclusion Project workers in tackling anti-social behaviour among open case households is summarised in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5: Progress in dealing with anti-social behaviour (open cases)

Anti social behaviour		
Work ongoing	Number of households	16
	Percentage	55%
ASB ceased altogether	Number of households	6
	Percentage	21%
ASB improved	Number of households	6
	Percentage	21%
ASB not improved	Number of households	1
	Percentage	3%
All open cases	**Number of households**	**29**
	Percentage	**100%**

Based on reports from Shelter Inclusion Project workers

Table 4.6 shows the progress that Shelter Inclusion Project had made, as reported by project workers, in addressing anti-social behaviour among those households involved in criminal activity. Seven of the 16 households involved in criminal activity (43%) were

reported as having ceased their involvement in anti-social behaviour or as showing improvement. One third of the households exhibiting criminal activity were open cases as at 30th June 2005 and work was still ongoing at the time the evaluation ended (31%). In four cases, the outcome of the project's intervention had either been unsuccessful or was unclear (25%).

Table 4.6: Progress in dealing with anti-social behaviour by whether involved in criminal activity

Anti-social behaviour		Involved in criminal activity?		All households
		Yes	No	
Work ongoing	Number of households	5	11	16
	Percentage	31%	19%	22%
ASB ceased altogether	Number of households	4	29	33
	Percentage	25%	50%	45%
ASB improved	Number of households	3	8	11
	Percentage	18%	14%	15%
ASB not improved	Number of households	1	3	4
	Percentage	6%	5%	5%
Household ended contact before ASB was resolved	Number of households	1	5	6
	Percentage	6%	9%	8%
Outcome unclear	Number of households	2	2	4
	Percentage	13%	3%	5%
All households	**Number of households**	**16**	**58**	**74**
	Percentage	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**

Based on reports from Shelter Inclusion Project workers

Figure 4.1 summarises the progress reported by Shelter Inclusion Project workers in addressing anti-social behaviour among the households.

Figure 4.1: Progress in dealing with anti-social behaviour (by number of households and open and closed cases)
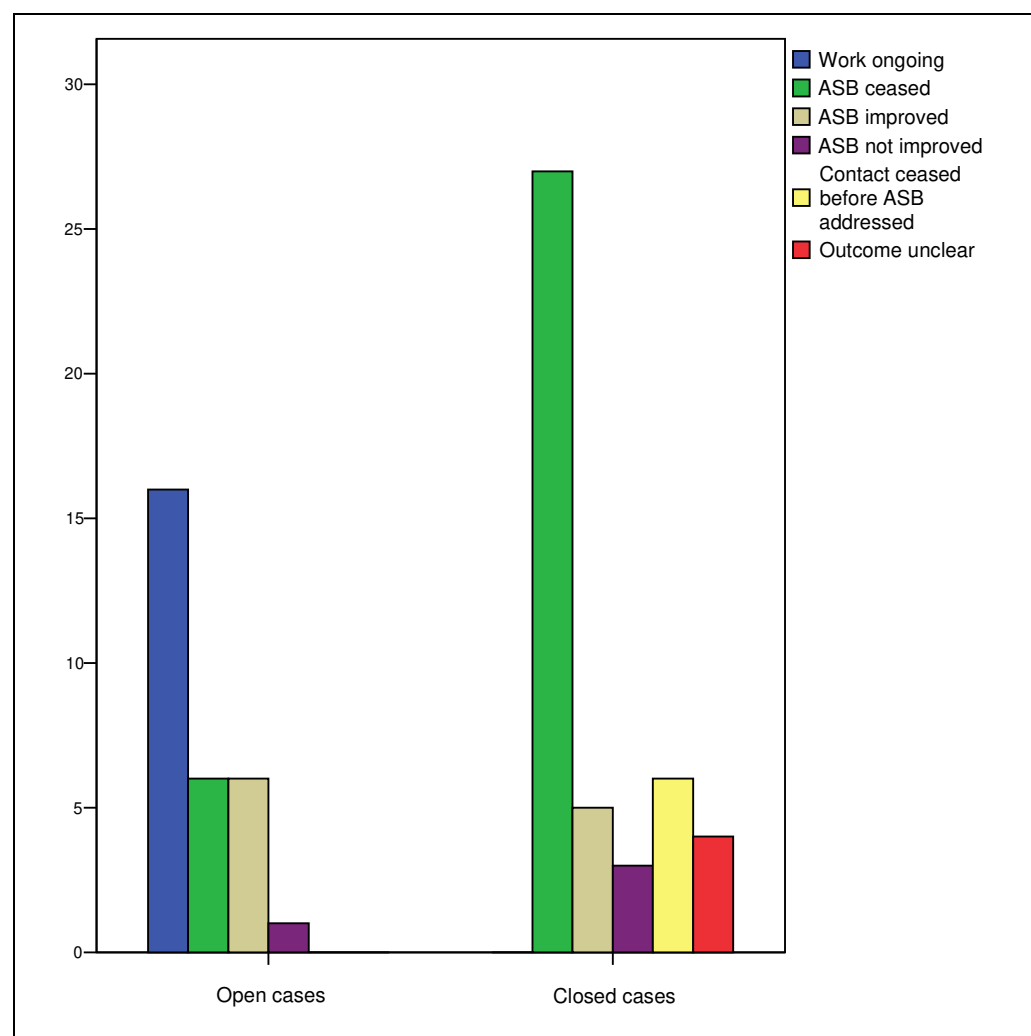
Based on reports by Shelter Inclusion Project workers

Tenancy sustainment

The monitoring conducted by the University recorded the risks that Shelter Inclusion Project workers perceived to households' tenancies at the time at which their contact with the Project ceased. As is shown in Table 4.7, the Shelter Inclusion Project workers assessed 38 of the 45 closed cases (84%) as being at no risk of homelessness following their contact with the service. Only in a small number of cases, just three of the 45 closed cases (7%), did the workers consider there to be a continued threat to the tenancy associated with ongoing anti-social behaviour and other problems.

Table 4.7: Reported risks to tenancy sustainment among closed cases as reported by Shelter Inclusion Project workers

Reported risks to tenancy	Number of households	As percentage of closed cases
Anti-social behaviour ended, tenancy secure	32	71%
Household ceased contact, tenancy secure	6	11%
At continued risk of homelessness	3	7%
Outcome unclear	4	9%
All	**45**	**100%**

The research team sought external verification of the situation of the closed cases with the social landlords that were housing them at the time at which their contact with the project ceased. The information that was secured was quite incomplete, but it did suggest that households assessed by workers as being not at risk of homelessness were not losing their tenancies (information from Rochdale Borough-wide Housing was available on 16 households[11]).

A positive finding was that 14 of the closed cases (31%) who were assessed by the workers as no longer being at risk of homelessness were those families and individuals with a history of homelessness. This suggested that households who had sustained experience of risks to their tenancy may have been helped towards greater security by the role of Shelter Inclusion Project.

Table 4.8 shows the reported risks of homelessness among those households who were open cases as at 30th June 2005. Half the households with whom work on anti-social behaviour was ongoing were reported by workers as being in a situation in which their tenancy was secure, as at 30th June 2005 (14 households, 48% of open cases). The next largest group were those open cases where anti-social behaviour had ceased, all of which were assessed by workers as no longer being at risk of homelessness (10 households, 34% of open cases). Thus, among the cases that were open at 30th June 2005, 83% were assessed by project workers as not being at risk of homelessness. In a small number of cases, work on anti-social behaviour was still ongoing and the security of a household's tenancy was not yet established, or the household was assessed as still being at risk of homelessness (5 cases, 17% of open cases).

Table 4.8: Reported risks to tenancy sustainment among open cases as reported by Shelter Inclusion Project workers

Reported risks to tenancy	Number of households	As percentage of closed cases
Work on anti-social behaviour ongoing, but tenancy secure	14	48%
Anti-social behaviour ended, tenancy secure	10	34%
Work on anti-social behaviour ongoing, housing situation not yet clear	3	10%
At continued risk of homelessness	2	7%
All	**29**	**100%**

The statistics in respect of tenancy sustainment were generally very positive. There was evidence that Shelter Inclusion Project had helped promote tenancy sustainment in many instances, including among households with a previous history of homelessness. However, this assessment is based on reports from the project workers which can only be partly verified, by reference to those households which took part in interviews and by reference to the relevant social landlords within Rochdale. Bearing this caveat in mind, there was some statistical evidence suggesting positive outcomes for the project in promoting tenancy sustainment. This suggested that one of the core functions of the project, to prevent homelessness, was being fulfilled in many instances.

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[11] Additional information is being sought on this question from other landlords and should be available for the published version of the report.

Housing moves whilst with the project

In some cases, there was either a need or a wish for a household to move home as part of the strategy for tackling its anti-social behaviour issues. In a few cases, relationships between neighbours had deteriorated to the extent where it was no longer tenable for a household with whom Shelter Inclusion Project were working to remain in their existing tenancy. In some instances anti-social behaviour had developed into a 'tit-for-tat' exchange, in which an unacceptable action by a household or one of its members received an equal or greater retaliatory response from one or more of its neighbours. In other cases, anti-social behaviour revolved around either an individual or individuals outside the household who were highly disruptive, and the issue was most easily resolved by a move. There were also other problems that could be solved by moving away from an area, for example if housing were inappropriate in design, or if a vulnerable household felt themselves to be at particular risk from crime or anti-social behaviour within their existing neighbourhood.

In all, 16 households had moved during their time with the project. These moves were planned moves, either with the cooperation and support of the project, or at the household's own initiative. For the purposes of this report, a move involved changing between one tenancy and another tenancy in a planned way. There were a handful of cases, four in total, in which households had appeared to abandon their tenancy or at least moved away without informing Shelter Inclusion Project (the group of closed cases with whom contact had been lost). However, this small number of possible abandonments[12] must be treated as distinct from the 16 planned moves, as they could have culminated in homelessness.

The characteristics of the households which undertook a planned move are shown in Table 4.9. None of the adult couples undertook a planned move while with the project, but around one quarter of all the other household types did undertake a planned move.

Table 4.9: Characteristics of the households undertaking planned moves

Reported risks to tenancy	Number of households	As percentage of all households of this type
Lone adult	5	24%
Lone parent	8	24%
Adults & children*	3	25%
All households	**16**	**22%**

* Including extended families (a couple living with their children and other adult relatives).
Note: 16-17 year-olds living with their parent or parents are classified as a child, as are 18 year-olds in full time education.

The monitoring recorded whether or not these planned moves, had, where applicable, helped to address anti-social behaviour issues. In six cases (8% of all households and 38% of those households making a planned move), the move was recorded by project workers as being undertaken primarily to address anti-social behaviour. In five out of these six cases (84%), the move was reported by the workers as having helped to address anti-social behaviour issues.

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[12] The term 'possible abandonments' is used because the households left a tenancy when they were not expected to do so, in some cases, this may have involved a planned move of which Shelter Inclusion Project was not informed, in other cases, a household might of taken flight as a result of being found by a violent male ex-partner.

Making a planned move was not associated with any increased risk of homelessness. Fifteen of the 16 households which had made a planned move were assessed by project workers as not being at risk of homelessness (94% of the households which made a planned move).

Other positive outcomes

Economic status

A small number of adults experienced a change in their economic status while with the project. Four women who were key service users who were carers for their children at home entered full time employment during their contact with Shelter Inclusion Project. Another woman who was a carer for a child entered part time employment and one other woman, also a carer for a child, entered further education as a student. Two other adults (not key service users) also secured full time and part time work, from a situation of unemployment. All but one of those securing paid work was a woman. These eight adults, the total across both open and closed cases, represented 8% of the 98 adults in the 74 households with which the project had worked, or was still working, as at 30th June 2005. Whilst it was not known whether service users retained these jobs over time, 8% of adult services users moving into employment is a significant finding.

The majority of adults had experienced no change in their economic status, most continued to do unpaid work as carers for their children or were not in paid work for other reasons, during their contact with the project. Three women experienced a change in status because a new child had arrived during their time with Shelter Inclusion Project and they moved from being unemployed to being carers for those children.

Debt management

Table 4.10 shows the assessment of project workers as to the extent to which closed case households had made progress in money management. As can be seen, 43% of all households were assessed as having made progress in money management.

Table 4.10: Households reported as making 'good progress' or 'some progress' in money management by Shelter Inclusion Project workers

Number of debts	Number of households reported as making progress	Number of households with these debts	Percentage of households reported as making progress
1 debt	9	18	50%
2 debts	4	13	31%
3 debts	3	4	75%
4 debts	3	7	43%
5 debts	1	3	33%
7 debts	0	2	0%
Total	**20**	**47**	**43%**

Note: This table is based on statistical returns, information from workers and information from service users.

While progress in debt management was recorded, there were some difficulties in respect of recording information as to which debts had ceased to be a problem, whether new debts had accumulated or whether some debts were being more effectively serviced than others.

Children in school

The information collected on changes to children's educational status at the end of their families contact with Shelter Inclusion Project was incomplete. Only 40% of the children in closed case households, 25 school age children, had their educational status recorded at the point at which their household was referred and the point at which their household ended its relationship with the project. The data on changes to educational status among children therefore need to be treated with considerable caution, as they are not representative of the closed case households as a whole, but instead represent only two out of every five households.

Nineteen children were assessed as attending school regularly at the point at which they ceased to work with the project and the same number were reported as being in the same position once contact ceased (76% of the 25 children). However, in a minority of cases the picture was more mixed, as while three children were reported as temporarily or permanently excluded from school at referral (12%), the number in this situation had increased slightly among the same households when contact with the project ceased (five children, 20%).

There are considerable dangers in relying on this incomplete statistical information. The fieldwork showed more than one example of Shelter Inclusion Project intervention enabling one or more children to experience school more positively. In one case, a project intervention meant that three children who had been outside the education system for three years were found school places.

[Note to readers: this section may need deleting or alternatively further details could be supplied by the project to make the section more robust]

The impact of the project: The perspective of service users and agencies

This final section on the outcomes of Shelter Inclusion Project provides an assessment of the impact of the project by service users and agency representatives.

Service user views

Many households explained that they would probably have been evicted from their tenancy if they had not received support from Shelter Inclusion Project. In some cases, service users believed that the act of signing up to the project itself seemed to make housing and enforcement agencies treat them more fairly and more willing to give them a second chance. For others, the support they received meant that anti-social behaviour warnings did not proceed to the point of eviction.

> *I think if they hadn't been around, I think they might have evicted me, I do, yeah, definitely…I think they would have done. That's why I seen my solicitor as I was that worried…*
>
> (Service user)

> *I think the council would have evicted me, I'd have been on a dead end estate bringing up four kids round a load of junkies and my kids would probably be junkies.*
>
> (Service user)

Some people interviewed were still struggling with anti-social behaviour issues (this was particularly the case for households with children who were involved in anti-social behaviour) and some complained that they were still victims of anti-social behaviour. However most users interviewed, particularly those who were closed cases, had managed to address these issues, or were in the process of addressing them. A number of service users explained that complaints against them had been due to the anti-social behaviour of visitors, violent ex-partners or older children. In some cases the problems ceased because the perpetrator moved away (in a few cases the perpetrator had received a custodial sentence for anti-social behaviour or other offences). In others service users, with the support of the project, had learned to be more assertive and to take control over the behaviour of their children or unwanted visitors.

Dealing with anti-social behaviour was usually a long process that included learning how to communicate more effectively with others in their life and wider community. A number of service users described how the process of being supported, and trusted, over time had given them resources on which they could draw to manage their lives better.

> *She's (neighbour) is still continuing...but since I've had help from Shelter I feel more confident about what rights I've got and what she can and can't do to me, so I don't really need to panic anymore or overreact about things...I feel like I can do something about it...without the risk of losing my home. I feel a lot better anyway, I was under the doctor and everything.*
>
> (Service user)

> *...at one time it was just a free for all in here every morning...they'd all be scrapping so I'd just go back to my bed room and shut the door...Now if they are creating and they are up before me I'll get up and sort them out...they are not as bad as they were and I feel better in myself.*
>
> (Service user)

Most households were on a low income and, as shown in Chapter 2, three quarters (75%) were in debt. Whilst debts did not vanish overnight (as project staff recognised), the project had helped many households to stabilise this debt through repayment schedules, in turn reducing the anxiety attached to owing money to others.

> *I think I'd still be where I was...as in debt wise...I don't think I'd have done as much as I have – I wouldn't have sorted my bills out or nowt and would have ended up getting a load of fines and all that...*
>
> (Service user)

The problem of debt and money management did seem to be an ongoing and recurring problem. One service user said she had not told her worker about her debts and another said that she would probably get into rent arrears or other debt again if her support worker was not there to remind her to make payments. One former service user said that she was in rent arrears because of a Housing Benefit mix up, she was due in court but had contacted Shelter Inclusion Project and staff had put her in touch with a solicitor.

Not all service users (including closed cases) had succeeded in transforming their lives and some continued to experience problems. Nevertheless, many believed that things had improved somewhat and that they would have been evicted had they not had Shelter's support. One former service user who had been supported by the project for nearly two years (according to project records) still had an injunction against her for anti-social behaviour. She explained that Shelter Inclusion Project had helped her keep her home, to take more pride in the house and to sort out her life in many other ways, however, no-one, she said, not even doctors, could help her stop drinking.

> *Through my alcoholism, we have had a lot of problems with noise. I had Shelter working with me for 12 months and we did not have one complaint in that 12 months….but when Shelter stopped, there were like 6 months of complaints about us.*
>
> (Service user)

Other former service users were clearly beginning to take control of their lives. A couple of former service users had moved into the private rented sector because they were unhappy in their previous homes but could not apply for a social housing exchange because of ASB problems. Both these service users had found employment, were clearly making an effort to make a home for their families and said they felt much happier. Other service users had started to move towards a fuller participation in society, either entering or wishing to enter the labour market, volunteering opportunities or further education.

> *...I managed to get myself together [after support ended]... The Jobcentre had said for me to go on a discovery week, there was a group of about 20 girls and I thought 'Oh, I don't know, I didn't feel confident and did not want to go there...I was a bit nervous about being on my own...but it was great and that gave me the boost to go to work.*
>
> (Service user)

The overall impact of the project appeared to reach further for some households than just keeping people in their tenancy, resulting in a change in people's attitudes and lives. Whilst not everyone felt this way, a number of users spoke of moving out of depression and beginning to take control of their lives, moving from previously intolerable situations to sustainable lifestyles.

> *They did help a lot, I started sorting myself out once I met them, [the support worker] noticed the difference in the house. She sort of bucked me up and got my life back. I had got to the point where I didn't give a monkey's, I'd get up in the morning and go and have a drink and not worry. Same routine every day. I was always worrying about money but then I'd think 'sod that' and go for a drink. But drinking isn't the answer because the debts are there the next morning plus a crappy head. She were lovely…*
>
> (Service user)

Agency views

Overall, agency representatives spoke highly of Shelter Inclusion Project and believed it to have been successful in meeting its aims. Respondents generally spoke of the professionalism of the project workers and their willingness to work with agencies to overcome any conflicts of interest and there appeared to be a great deal of trust both in the project and individual members of staff (many respondents mentioned Shelter workers by name).

Respondents at a more senior level learned about the project from colleagues, the interim reports on the evaluation and from the project itself.

> *From what partners tell me it is very successful. Those agencies that use it heap praise on it...the way they work with other agencies and housing officers.*
>
> (Agency representative)

Respondents who had made referrals to the project were able to explain individual cases and, although they were not always aware of exactly how Shelter Inclusion Project had helped, they were generally pleased with the outcome both for themselves and their tenants.

> *[tenant] was close to being sectioned, she was in such a bad state. But when Shelter Inclusion Project supported her she was managing her rent arrears, the property was a mess but it was decorated and all sorted with the help of Shelter. She then decided she wanted a fresh start and Shelter helped her…the project also helped her apply for a job, so it really is a fabulous story. Her life was turned round…It was a good outcome for the tenant and a good outcome for us.*
>
> (Agency representative)

> *There was some very positive feedback from some service users. It did seem to me that the people who became engaged with the project did actually benefit from it, 100% non-eviction is a sort of bald statistic, but some people were saying that it had made a difference, but it is sort of soft data*
> *.*
>
> (Agency representative)

> *I have always found them to be very helpful and they seem to have a very high success rate. I mean there are some people that are never going to be helped through unwillingness to help themselves or unwillingness to get involved but where Shelter has been involved they do seem to have been able to bring about some meaningful changes...*
>
> (Agency representative)

Agency representatives were asked about the impact of Shelter Inclusion Project on local communities. Most respondents believed that there had been a great deal of social improvement on many of the estates in Rochdale, including those where Shelter had worked. However, while they felt that the project had had a positive impact on individual households and immediate neighbours they found it difficult to gauge its wider impact especially because there was a wide range of new initiatives – including regeneration, youth services and other types of support – working in Rochdale.

It is difficult to say that any one initiative has been responsible for the change [in certain areas of Rochdale] – it is a multi-agency approach and it isn't any one initiative that sorts a problem out. The Shelter project is part and parcel of a whole package of things that we can put together where we are dealing with a combination of problems that created a bad effect on the estates...Shelter Inclusion Project is unique, it is complemented by other services but it is unique.

(Agency representative)

Conclusion

This chapter has presented evidence that Shelter Inclusion Project is making a positive impact on the lives of its service users and, as part of a multi-agency effort, on the wider community in Rochdale. Most service users had made good or some progress with addressing anti-social behaviour and tenancy sustainment figures suggest that most service users were also successfully managing their tenancy. Service users and agency representatives spoke of the considerable benefits of the project; whilst not everyone's lives had been transformed and some were still struggling, many felt the project had made a significant positive impact on their lives, preventing debt accumulating, eviction and, importantly, helping them to feel better able to cope with life.

5   Shelter Inclusion Project: Costs and cost consequences

This chapter considers the costs associated with Shelter Inclusion Project and some of its potential cost consequences. It starts by presenting the sources of income and types of expenditure incurred during 2003/04 and 2004/05 and budget information for 2005/06. It then presents the costs for two specific 'units' of activity associated with the project – the average cost per client month in 2003/04 and in 2004/05 and the average cost per client leaving the project during 2003/04 and 2004/05 (where a 'client' may be an individual person or all the members of a specific household). To determine whether the project delivers 'value for money' it is necessary to consider some of the costs that may have been incurred had it not existed. The only other completed evaluation of a project addressing anti-social behaviour, the Dundee Families Project (Dillane *et al*, 2001), suggested that if the DFP were not there, the immediate annual costs to housing (management and legal) and to social work (mainly from looking after children in public care) would outweigh the annual costs of the DFP itself. This chapter reviews the potential short-term and longer-term costs to the Exchequer and to society associated with tenancy failure and some forms of anti-social behaviour, and comparing potential 'saved' or 'prevented' costs with the costs of delivering the project, enables some conclusions to be drawn about its financial impact.

Sources of income
Table 5.1 shows the sources of income during 2003/04 and 2004/05. Total income in 2004/05 was about 80% of income in 2003/04. For the most recent full year (2004/5), Supporting People funds accounted for just over three-fifths (60.7%) of income, with almost two-fifths (37.7%) of the income from the Neighbourhood Renewal Fund, and a small proportion form the Children's Fund (1.6%). In 2003/04 just over two-fifths (41.4%) of income had come from Local Authority Grants and just over one-third (36.4%) from other types of Grant Income[13]. The Table also shows that the budget for 2005/06 identifies total income of £309,191, primarily from Supporting People funds (55.3%) and Neighbourhood Renewal funds (36.8%). Thus the income sources for 2004/05 and 2005/06 are broadly similar, although the Project does not anticipate receiving any funding from the Children's Fund in 2005/06.

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[13] Shelter Inclusion Project accounts did not identify particular sources of funding in 2003/4, however it is known that the Neighbourhood Renewal Fund contributed approximately £58,000, the Children's Fund £21,000 and that Supporting People represented about half of the overall income. In addition, the Homelessness Directorate contributed £50,000, and Shelter £6,000.

Table 5.1: Sources of Income

Source	Actual 2003/04		Actual 2004/05		Budget 2005/06	
	£	%	£	%	£	%
Local Authority Grants	148,702	41.4	0	0.0	0	0.0
Local Authority Supporting People	79,699	22.2	175,703	60.7	170,876	55.3
Local Authority Neighbourhood Renewal	0	0.0	109,081	37.7	113,904	36.8
Children's Fund	0	0.0	4,793	1.6	0	0.0
Other Grant Income	130,725	36.4	0	0.0	24,411	7.9
TOTAL INCOME	**359,126**	**100.0**	**289,577**	**100.0**	**309,191**	**100.0**

Source: Shelter

Types of Expenditure

Actual expenditure in 2003/04 was £295,933 compared with £307,127 in 2004/05 (i.e. an increase of about 3.8%). The budget for 2005/06 indicates total expenditure of £314,192 (i.e. an increase of about 2.3% over the previous year). These annual increases are broadly in line with the rate of inflation. Table 5.2 shows expenditure against various headings in 2003/04 and 2004/05 and the budgeted amounts for 2005/06.

Table 5.2: Breakdown of expenditure

	Actual 2003/04		Actual 2004/05		Budget 2005/06	
	£	%	£	%	£	%
Staff Internal	184,346	62.3	193,477	63.0	216,574	70.9
Staff External	15,217	5.1	684	0.3	4,000	1.3
Staff Related	10,372	3.5	36,375	11.8	9,898	3.3
Total Staff Costs	*209,935*	*70.9*	*230,534*	*75.1*	*230,472*	*75.5*
Premises Related	9,531	3.2	9,267	3.0	10,643	3.5
Furniture & Fittings	2,014	0.7	1,720	0.6	1,250	0.4
Computing	0	0.0	911	0.3	0	0.0
Vehicles	3,282	1.1	3,578	1.2	3,000	1.0
Publishing	725	0.2	451	0.1	375	0.1
Advertising & Promotion	32	0.0	480	0.2	3,000	1.0
Campaigns & Media	982	0.3	407	0.1	350	0.1
Office Costs	7,735	2.6	6,999	2.3	7,099	2.3
Professional Fees	0	0.0	2,507	0.8	1,050	0.3
Miscellaneous	24,089	8.1	19,601	6.4	16,002	5.2
Admin Recharge	37,608	12.7	30,625	10.0	32,138	10.5
Total Non-Staff Costs	*85,998*	*28.9*	*76,593*	*24.9*	*74,907*	*24.5*
TOTAL EXPENDITURE	**295,933**	**100.0**	**307,127**	**100.0**	**305,379**	**100.0**
Funds Transfer – flow to Restricted Fund	*11,330*		*105,166*		*8,814*	

Source: Shelter (discrepancies are due to rounding – bold data reflect values provided by Shelter)

Staff costs comprise about three-quarters of expenditure (ranging from about 71% in 2003/04 to an expected 76% in 2005/06). Costs associated with permanent staff account for most of this expenditure and agency staff account for a low proportion (which is sometimes unusual when projects of this type are becoming established). Staff related costs were relatively high in 2004/05 due to recruitment costs of almost £27,000.

The non-staff costs are generally similar across the three years. Computing costs seem relatively low, though this may be because spending on hardware and software occurred in 2002/03 whilst the Project was being set-up. The miscellaneous costs include hardship payments of approximately £5,000 - £7,000 each year. Evidence from Shelter Inclusion Project indicated that this money could be used to pay for one-off items which the household was unable to afford but which could have a significant impact on helping the household

reduce its anti-social behaviour. Examples included buying a school uniform for a boy who was truanting from school (resulting in regular school attendance) and hiring a skip to enable a household to clear its garden, which had become a local dumping ground due to its untidy state. Both of these examples show that problems can start and then escalate for want of a relatively modest amount of money, but one that is beyond the household at the time.

The admin recharge is made to Shelter to cover costs associated with the project that are paid centrally. These are about 10% of the total expenditure each year. In addition, various transfers are made to or from the Restricted Fund each year, partly determined by the extent to which income exceeds (or is exceeded by) expenditure. However, the analysis of unit costs below concentrates on the actual expenditure associated with the project in 2003/04 and 2004/05, as this reflects the values of the resources required for its delivery.

Unit Costs

Two main unit costs were calculated:

- The cost per client month (for 2003/04 and 2004/05);
- The average cost per client leaving the project and the associated range of costs (for clients discharged in 2003/04 and 2004/05).

The timeline diagram in Chart 5.1, which covers all of the project's clients from 1 October 2002 to 30 June 2005, provides the basis for the calculations. Methodological details are provided in Appendix B.

Chart 5.1
Shelter – Rochdale
All Clients

Client	2002			2003												2004												2005						Total Days	Total Mon
---	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	J	---	---
1	2						15																											225	7
2	21																						22											702	23
3	23											11																						414	14
4	23																		9															595	20
5	28																						30											764	25
6	30											2																						398	14
7		1											16																					472	15
8		5										8																						398	13
9		5																	16															650	21
10		7		20																														105	3
11		14										21																						341	11
12		14																				25												711	23
13		19									23																							430	14
14		2															5																	520	18
15		5																									26							783	26
16		16														22																		554	19
17		20																																923	32
18			27								13																							290	10
19			30																									31						822	27
20				5																														876	29
21				7																	20													591	19
22				11																			8											636	21
23				18		24																												65	2
24					13																	30												628	20
25					21																													832	28
26					25								18																					359	12
27					26																													827	28
28					26			1																										97	4
29					26																	30												615	20
30					28			2																										96	4
31					28													1																553	19
32					31							29																						364	12
33						1	2																											62	2
34						4																												818	27
35						7															23													504	16
36							20						17																					302	10
37							18															23												743	25
38								10															23											502	16
39								8											9															306	10
40									29																						12			622	20
41										14																	4							448	15
42										15																								624	21
43										16																				24				586	19
44										20					2																			105	4
45										24																								615	21
46										24									28															248	8
47										31									28															241	8
48											5																							603	20
49											14								14															213	7
50											23											13												325	11
51												2																						576	19
52												17																						561	19
53													4																					512	17
54													13																					474	16
55														16																				440	15
56														30															4					308	11
57															24																			371	13
58															25																			370	13
59																			6				17											133	4
60																				27														246	9
61																				30			14											107	4
62																					9													233	8
63																						8												204	7
64																						14				25								162	5
65																							21											160	6
66																							28											153	6
67																								1										149	5
68																									11									111	4
69																									11									111	4
70																									15									107	4
71																									16									106	4
72																											19							72	3
73																										5								56	2
74																																7		23	1
Total	6	17	19	19	22	31	33	33	33	32	33	34	39	42	41	40	39	37	39	38	34	34	32	31	30	26	28	27	27	29	30	28	29	Days	101

Table 5.3 provides a summary of the activity data. It shows that the project provided 436 and 375 client contact months, respectively, during 2003/04 and 2004/05. The frequency and intensity of contact with clients each month is not known. Sixteen clients left the project during 2003/04 and 25 during 2004/05. The Table also shows that the average duration of contact with the project was 9.3 months (with a range of 2 to 14 months) for those leaving the project in 2003/04 and 16.4 months (with a range of 4 to 27 months) for those leaving in 2004/05. It is not surprising that the average duration of contact is longer for those leaving in 2004/05, as some of these clients had been involved in the project since its inception and required a longer period of contact with the project. In addition, the Table provides a breakdown for each of the four client categories. The small numbers mean that any generalisations should be made with considerable caution, though the data do suggest that lone adults are likely to have shorter contact times with the project than the other categories and that family groups may tend to require a longer duration of contact with the project than lone parent households.

Table 5.3:   Summary of activity data for clients

Client Category	No.	Client Months: 2003/04	Client Months: 2004/05	Clients D'chgd: 2003/04	Clients D'chgd: 2004/05	Contact Duration: Clients D'chgd 2003/04 [range]	Contact Duration: Clients D'chgd 2004/05 [range]
Lone Adults	21	76	96	8	4	9.4 mths [2 – 14]	10.8 mths [4 – 20]
Adult Couples	3	20	30	0	1	n/a	19.0 mths [n/a]
Lone Parents	33	195	157	7	10	12.7 mths [10 – 15]	15.0 mths [4 – 26]
Family Groups	17	145	92	1	10	4.0 mths [n/a]	19.9 mths [7 – 27]
All Clients	**74**	**436**	**375**	**16**	**25**	**9.3 mths [2 – 15]**	**16.4 mths [4 – 27]**

Table 5.4 shows some unit costs based on the aggregated data for all clients. Unit costs have not been calculated for each of the four client categories as this would require assuming that a lone adult, for example, would receive the same amount of input from the project in a month as a family group, which is unlikely. Detailed information on the amount of time spent with and working on behalf of each client would be needed over several months to enable further breakdown of the aggregate costs.

The average cost per client month in 2003/04 was almost £680, compared with almost £820 in 2004/05. The higher value in 2004/05 is due to the reduced number of client contact months during the year, not because of greater expenditure. These costs result in an average cost for each client leaving the project in 2003/04 of about £6,280 (with a range of approximately £1,360 - £10,190), compared with an average cost of about £11,900 for those leaving the project in 2004/05 (approximate range: £3,380 - £19,870).

Table 5.4:   Some Unit Costs

All Clients	2003/04	2004/05
Average Cost per Client Month	£679	£819
Average Cost per Discharged Client	£6,281	£11,902
Minimum Cost per Discharged Client	£1,358	£3,276
Maximum Cost per Discharged Client	£10,185	£19,873

Cost consequences and assessment of value for money

To determine whether or not the project delivers "value for money" it is necessary to consider these incurred costs in the context of the wider costs to society (and, more narrowly, to the Exchequer) of failing to sustain vulnerable tenancies and failing to reduce or prevent some forms of anti-social behaviour. Furthermore, a scheme of this type cannot be considered in isolation, due to its interaction with other key agencies and its impact on their ability to meet their targets. For example, a scheme might contribute to improving the safety and desirability of communities and neighbourhoods, improve educational attainment and thus lifetime opportunities, promote better health and healthier lifestyles, reduce current and future criminal activity, and result in more functional families and improved child development.

Below, a review of both short and longer-term cost consequences shows that preventing failed tenancies and homelessness and encouraging children to attend school can have significant financial benefits in terms of "saving" costs that might otherwise have been incurred. Many of the benefits associated with the project will be enjoyed by adults as well as by children and young people, and some are expected to extend over a person's lifetime (and, indeed, may also extend to future generations).

Short-term cost consequences

Tenancy sustainment

A recently published research study on the use of possession actions and evictions by social landlords (Pawson et al, 2005) shows that although the vast majority of such evictions are triggered by rent arrears, a small proportion is to counter anti-social behaviour. Although the study found that few social landlords record or collate extensive data on the costs of possession actions (such as court costs and legal fees, rental losses, re-let costs (which may include repairs), security costs for voids, and staff time), it was estimated that the landlord costs to evict a tenant for rent arrears are £2,000 - £3,000, rising to £6,500 - £9,500 when the eviction is due to anti-social behaviour. However, the authors feel that these figures are underestimates and that landlords' cost-accounting methods show many weaknesses, with many relevant costs being subsumed under generic budget headings.

These values for the costs of evictions can be compared with estimates of the costs of tenancy failure from other sources. For example, the Audit Commission (1998) calculated that the costs of tenancy failure to a housing authority for vulnerable tenants living in the community was £2,100 per failed tenancy. Shelter (2003) estimated costs of £1,913 for "standard" cases and £3,190 for "complex" cases in 2003, while Crisis (2003) estimated the costs as ranging from £1,610 - £4,210.

A housing association in the north-west of England recently calculated that preventing the eviction of a family saved them an average of £4,115 per household (comprising Court costs/legal fees of £500; rental loss of £390 based on an average void turn around of 39 days and a rent of £65 per week; average relet costs of £2,500 where the tenant is evicted; security costs of £120; and a saving of £605 in staff time through avoiding Court preparation time). The housing association pointed out that these figures are only estimates and that they do not take into account the cost savings of complainants not terminating their tenancies as a result of the reduction in anti-social behaviour.

Although they encompass a wide range and have several methodological weaknesses, taken together, these figures show that considerable costs can be avoided for housing departments, housing associations and social landlords by the prevention of tenancy failure.

Anti-social behaviour

A significant review of the economic and social costs of anti-social behaviour was undertaken by Whitehead *et al* (2003). This study considered the costs falling on a wide range of agencies due to anti-social behaviour, not just on housing authorities. In many cases these costs will in part be determined by local policies on when and how to intervene when problems arise. Material is drawn from many sources, and covers the costs associated with responding to activities such as noise, rowdy behaviour, nuisance behaviour, abandoned vehicles, intimidation/harassment and criminal damage/vandalism. The authors state that:

> At the lower end, [unit] costs are of the order of £20 - £50. At the upper end, there are examples of over £1m. For the vast majority of incidents where action is taken however the costs vary between £100 and £10,000. These are very general estimates based on estimates using widely varying approaches. They do not directly reflect costs of non-alleviation such as increased vacancies. Most importantly they exclude any net costs to victims.

A day count of anti-social behaviour undertaken by the Home Office's Anti-Social Behaviour Unit in September 2003 estimated that anti-social behaviour cost agencies in England and Wales at least £13.5 million, which equates to an annual cost of around £3.4 billion. At a more local level, a study evaluating the costs of responding to and preventing anti-social behaviour in Rotherham MBC by Crowther and Formby (2004) estimated that the annual costs were at least £3.3 million and probably closer to £4.0 million. These figures are very similar to the estimate from Leeds Local Authority of annual expenditure of £3 million - £5 million on anti-social behaviour reported by the Social Exclusion Unit (2000). It should be noted that none of these estimates takes full account of the costs to victims (both financial and psychological) of anti-social behaviour.

A recent report by the Audit Commission (2004) on the reformed youth justice system includes a case study of a 15-year old male teenager who has had been involved in criminal behaviour. The case study includes some estimated costs associated with his behaviour, including approximately £13,000 associated with police time, Youth Offending Team (YOT) involvement and Court appearances relating to theft and taking a car and approximately

£51,500 for a six-month custodial sentence in a secure unit. By reducing criminal behaviour, schemes like this project have the potential to significantly reduce its associated costs.

Foster and residential care for children

Although it is not possible to place a financial value on keeping a family together, the financial costs of placing a child in foster care or a Local Authority Home can be estimated. The Personal Social Services Research Unit's (PSSRU) Unit Costs of Health and Social Care 2004 (Curtis and Netten, 2004) estimates that the unit cost per child per week of foster care in 2003/04 was £438 (comprising £254 per child per week for the boarding out allowance and administration; £143 per child per week for social services, including the costs of a social worker and support; and £41 per child per week for other services, including health, education and law and order). This gives a cost of £22,776 over a full year (including a total of £13,208 for the boarding out allowance and administration).

The PSSRU also identify costs of £2,015 per resident week for the establishment costs of a local authority community home for children (of which £1,941 is due to salary and other revenue costs), rising to £2,182 per resident week if the costs of other external services (including health, education, social services and Youth Justice) are included. These result in annual costs of over £100,000 per child.

It is, of course, not known what costs would have been incurred by any of the children in the participating families had the project not existed, however it is possible that a small number of children may have been taken into care without the support of Shelter Inclusion Project and other agencies. Whilst many local authorities are keen to find alternatives to care wherever possible, where there are concerns about issues such as child protection or neglect, a period in care may be essential.

Other potential cost consequences

The Office of the Deputy Prime Minister recently commissioned some research on the Benefits Realisation of the Supporting People programme (Matrix Research and Consultancy, 2004). It considers eight key programmes, including homeless families. This model found that the largest potential benefits related to the maintenance of tenancies in permanent accommodation and securing and maintaining permanent tenancies for families in temporary accommodation. Benefits were valued at £45.92 million per annum, compared with total Supporting People expenditure of £52 million per annum (for around 7,300 household units receiving temporary accommodation and support). Benefits in terms of reduced use of health services were valued at £33.91 million and crime reduction at £1.73 million (i.e. delivering tangible benefits with a total estimated value of £81.56 million from the Supporting People expenditure on homeless families).

However, the authors also cite that there is evidence of many other benefits from working with homeless or potentially homeless families that cannot readily be assigned monetary values. These include greater stability, allowing families to stay together and to deal with other issues in their lives such as education, unemployment, mental health problems and behavioural problems. Children's health and educational achievement may improve, with long-term benefits (for example, research reported by the National Audit Office (2005) shows that non-truants and occasional truants perform significantly better in terms of GCSEs than

persistent truants). Children may also be less socially isolated and at less risk of bullying if they have stable tenancies and do not have to change schools frequently.

Potential longer-term consequences

The cost consequences considered above relate to some of the potential short-term cost consequences of reducing tenancy-related problems and anti-social behaviour. However, it is also important to recognise that problems experienced during childhood are likely to have much longer-term cost consequences.

The financial costs of social exclusion

Members of families engaging in anti-social behaviour are likely to experience social exclusion. A study by Scott *et al* (2002) of the financial cost of social exclusion compared the cumulative costs of public services used through to adulthood by individuals with three levels of anti-social behaviour in childhood. The study followed 142 children from an Inner London Borough from the ages of 10 to 28 years. They were divided into three groups – 'no problems', 'conduct problems', and 'conduct disorder' (i.e. a persistent and pervasive pattern of antisocial behaviour in childhood or adolescence, where typical behaviours include disobedience, tantrums, fighting, destructiveness, lying and stealing). Conduct disorder behaviour is strongly associated with social and educational disadvantage. The study found that crime incurred the greatest costs, followed by extra educational provision, foster and residential care, and state benefits. Health care costs were smaller. By the age of 28, the mean individual total costs for each group were £70,019 for the 'conduct disorder' group, £24,324 for the 'conduct problem' group and £7,423 for the 'no problem' group. Thus the costs for individuals with conduct disorder were ten times higher than for those with no problems. The study concluded that:

> Antisocial behaviour in children is a major predictor of how much an individual will cost society. The cost is large and falls on many agencies, yet few agencies contribute to prevention, which could be cost-effective.

The costs of being 'NEET' at 16 – 18 years

A study by Godfrey *et al* (2002) provides some preliminary estimates of the costs associated with young people being 'not in education, employment or training' (NEET) at age 16 – 18 years. It estimated the additional costs that would occur to a defined group of 157,000 young people who were NEET at the end of 1999 compared with the hypothetical situation that these young people had the same current and future experience as the rest of their contemporaries. Health and crime costs were generally found to be relatively low compared with the costs of educational underachievement, underemployment and unemployment. Two specific case studies based on a hypothetical male and female teenager illustrate how costs can accumulate to about £300,000[14] over a person's lifetime. Many children engaging in anti-social behaviour will have poor records of educational attendance and attainment, and this is likely to increase their probability of being NEET in their late teens. For example, the above-mentioned research reported by the National Audit Office (2005) showed that, at the age of 16 years, 96% of non-truants were in education, employment or training compared with 89% of occasional truants and only 66% of persistent truants.

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[14] This is the undiscounted value, and equates to about £84,000 when discounted at 6%.

Impact on lifetime earnings

Evans and Eyre (2004) have modelled the lifetime analysis of current British social policy. They constructed models of lifetime income streams (from earnings, benefits and pensions) for people with various lifetime experiences. The analysis shows that, based on the current policies in operation, people with low earnings throughout their lives (e.g. due to being relatively unskilled) experience many restrictions in terms of access to financial benefits such as owner-occupation and pension schemes. They are "trapped out of opportunity". This situation is likely to be experienced by many people who are low educational achievers at school. The risk of this will be exacerbated by failed tenancies and anti-social behaviour during childhood.

Conclusion

Although determining the annual income and expenditure for a project and calculating some unit costs is relatively straightforward, identifying and quantifying the benefits is more complex. Some benefits can be given a financial value based on estimates of the short-term costs that are saved by the Exchequer as a consequence of the intervention – such as the costs of a failed tenancy and the costs of placing a child in foster care. These benefits may occur in several local departments, organisations and agencies, including housing providers, social services, the NHS, education, Youth Justice and the Police. The household may "save" the costs associated with becoming statutorily homeless and of having to move into different accommodation. However, there will also be many wider benefits to both the household members and society that cannot be readily quantified, such as the benefits of keeping a family together, improving an adult's employment prospects, and making a neighbourhood a safe and pleasant place to live.

Furthermore, there may be much longer-term benefits from the interventions. The costs associated with social exclusion can be very high. Helping a child to stop truanting and return to school is likely to have lifelong benefits in terms of employment status and earnings opportunities. Addressing a mother's mental health problems may prevent subsequent major health problems and enable her to undertake training and/or become employed as well as helping her to be a more effective parent. These benefits may also be enjoyed by future generations.

These considerations suggest that an average cost of about £12,000 for per participating household in Shelter Inclusion Project in 2004/5 provides good value for money for the Exchequer and for society. Furthermore, it must be appreciated that this project has piloted a new and innovative way of working with problem households, which has inevitably been a learning process. Over time it may be possible to reduce the unit costs by identifying more effective ways of working (e.g. by identifying which interventions work best).   However, it is also important to recognise that each household is different and will require an individually-tailored approach.

6   Conclusions

This final chapter assesses the extent to which Shelter Inclusion Project represents an effective model for addressing anti-social behaviour issues within a community context. First, the details of the model are outlined, and then the key project aims are reviewed in light of the evaluation findings.

Shelter Inclusion Project: A new model?
Interventions designed to address anti-social behaviour at both the household and community level remain in their infancy. National policy has tended to focus quite heavily on the development of enforcement practices at the local authority level, supported by a series of legislative changes designed to identify and sanction those committing anti-social behaviour. In addition, a number of measures have reduced the tenancy rights of anti-social behaviour tenants, including an ability for local authorities to demote tenancies (Anti-social Behaviour Act 2003) and not re-housing if they believe the applicant or member of the household is guilty of unacceptable behaviour (Homelessness Act 2002). Present new proposals would further reduce the rights to housing of households exhibiting anti-social behaviour.

Few initiatives have developed to date that focus on resettlement and rehabilitation of people with alleged anti-social behaviour, alongside or instead of enforcement issues. The Dundee Families Project (Dillane et al, 2001) was the first specialist residential anti-social behaviour project that addressed resettlement issues. In addition, a further seven projects have been identified by an ongoing Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM) research project on anti-social behaviour (see Chapter 1) providing a supportive role for families with children.

Within this context, Shelter Inclusion Project represents a unique model to address anti-social behaviour. In particular, it is the only current known intervention working with all types of households, single people and couples as well as households with children. A number of key features of the model can be observed:

- *Voluntary sector management*: users, staff members and agencies considered the independence of the project to be essential to the success of the project, in particular enabling an advocate role to be provided for service users;

- *Voluntary approach to participation*: households could choose whether to participate in the project or not. In practice however, it was a challenge to ensure that households did not feel coerced into participating as the council was the primary referral agency;

- *Floating support*: the delivery of a support service to people's homes irrespective of whether the household lived in the social, private or owner occupied sector. Whilst only a couple of private tenants had been supported and no owner occupiers, this principle was in place and future referrals were expected to be more diverse. In addition, support was floating to the extent that support workers could assist

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households with planned moves and continue to support users in their new accommodation;

- *A focus on anti-social behaviour and support issues:* the central focus of Shelter Inclusion Project's work was to assist with anti-social behaviour issues, both directly and indirectly through the provision of wider support. This distinguished the project from other tenancy sustainment projects, although it was difficult to specify the precise nature of this model;

- *Working with any, and all of the, household*: the project was able to support households irrespective of whether they had children, partners or lived in extended or multi-adult households. The project was able to work with people of any age, although in practice most of service users were adults of working age and younger children. Work with children and young people was an integral part of the project, and despite staffing shortages in this area, a highly valued aspect of the service.

- *Inter-agency partnerships*: by its very nature, the project worked in close partnership with the enforcement agencies and other key stakeholders in Rochdale, both in terms of referral to the project and ongoing work with individual households. The project relied on good inter-agency working, especially in terms of the sharing of information to maximise its effectiveness.

Addressing anti-social behaviour

The first aim of Shelter Inclusion Project was to reduce anti-social behaviour.

There was considerable evidence, from the monitoring information collected by the research team, the interviews conducted with service users and the reports from external agencies, that the Project was demonstrating consistent effectiveness in addressing anti-social behaviour. Almost two-thirds of closed cases (71% of 45 households) were reported as either having ceased being involved in anti-social behaviour or as showing improvements in their management of anti-social behaviour. These households, previously under the potential threat of losing their housing because of anti-social behaviour were secure in their tenancies at the point at which their contact with the project ceased.

Most of the reports from service users were positive about the project and its impact on their capacity to manage anti-social behaviour. Service users generally reported that the project had enabled them to better handle perpetrators who lived outside their household but who committed acts of anti-social behaviour within their home, such as unwanted visitors or abusive or violent former male partners through improving their 'gate-keeping' skills. Where the service user was the perpetrator of anti-social behaviour, it was often the case that the project workers had helped with issues such as anger management, improving social support or helping with issues such as alcohol dependency which was associated with anti-social behaviour. In those cases where a child, children or a young person was the perpetrator of anti-social behaviour but the mother or parents were subject to enforcement, or the threat of enforcement, for that anti-social behaviour, there were often positive reports as to how the work of the children's worker and assistance with parenting had helped to address the underlying issues.

Success was not universal, nor was it always complete, but the weight of available evidence strongly indicated that the project was more often effective in addressing anti-social behaviour than not. The situation and the prospects of a large number of the households

with which the project worked had been improved by the roles the workers adopted in addressing anti-social behaviour and associated support needs.

Promotion of social inclusion and community stability

The second key aim of the project was to promote social inclusion and community stability. This is an ambitious aim of any policy or intervention, particularly a small scale project working with only up to 33 households at any one time.

There was some evidence that Shelter Inclusion Project was having a positive impact on the social inclusion of individual households and household members. The project provided a holistic service to households, addressing immediate crisis issues faced by households such as potential eviction, but also attempting to address longer term priorities of households in terms of their contribution to the wider community. A particular success of the project was that 8% of the supported adults secured employment, education or training during their time with the project. Whilst it was not possible to assess the longer term sustainability of these placements, the movement towards economic independence was clear, with all of its attendant benefits in terms of social inclusion and reduced costs to the Exchequer. Shelter Inclusion Project also addressed a wide range of other aspects of people's lives that impact positively on social inclusion, in particular, via support with financial inclusion issues through addressing the high levels of debt held by households.

There was also some tentative evidence around the increased social inclusion of children, in terms of support with schooling and greater inclusion [Note: this needs further verification]. There was less evidence of the impact of the project on the social inclusion of older young people, with a number of young people breaking ASBOs during their time with the project. However, projects were working effectively with other youth projects and the recent appointment of a Children's and Young Person's Team Leader indicated that this work would be strengthened in the future.

The key positive outcome in terms of community stability was the success with stabilising tenancy turnover for the households involved in the project (see below). It was more difficult to asses the contribution that Shelter Inclusion Project could make to wider community stability. The project did not have the resources to undertake community development work although this could be developed in the future. Nonetheless, agency representatives felt that Shelter Inclusion Project, working alongside a number of other community based projects in Rochdale, was making a positive impact on the stability of deprived communities in a number of areas of the City.

To prevent eviction and provide a route back into settled housing

From the evidence available, the project showed good outcomes in respect of promoting tenancy sustainment. Project workers assessed 84% of closed cases (38 out of 45) as no longer being at risk of homelessness and the available evidence from social landlords in Rochdale suggested that this assessment was correct. Households were tending to sustain their tenancies following contact with the project, a positive outcome when factors such as the fact that 14 of these closed case households had a history of homelessness, alongside the risks that their previous anti-social behaviour had been placing on their tenancies.

It was clearly the case that, beyond addressing the risks to housing associated with anti-social behaviour, the project also assisted with respect to other potential risks to tenancy sustainment. The most significant area in this respect was debt management, wherein the project undertook effective work in enabling service users to repay arrears with current and previous landlords, pay off recharging by current and previous landlords and generally improve money management on what were often very limited budgets. Beyond this, referral to other agencies, to address issues such as individual support needs, including alcohol dependency or mental health problems that were associated with anti-social behaviour or other risks to tenancy sustainment, were also reported as having a positive effect.

Service users often reported that the project had made a positive difference to their capacity to stay within and to successfully manage their homes for several of these reasons. Sometimes the project also assisted by helping to address issues such as poor internal decoration or difficulties in managing the garden, which had a beneficial effect by making service users feel more positive about their homes.

Of course, as is the case with any form of support service, the particular needs of an individual, household or a specific set of circumstances could mean that only limited progress was made in promoting tenancy sustainment for some households. However, those households with whom only limited progress was made were very much in the minority and the overall picture of the project's success in promoting tenancy sustainment was a positive one.

Overall assessment of success

As seen above, Shelter Inclusion Project had met its overall aims and objectives to a considerable extent over the pilot period. The project had enjoyed good inter-agency support at a local level and had already secured funding for its short-term future. Arguably, the project's greatest success was its ability to establish the respect and trust of both enforcement agencies and service users. Enforcement agencies acknowledged that there was a potential tension between an advocacy role and enforcement issues but this conflict had been managed well. Most importantly, most service users had engaged with the project and accepted quite targeted work to address anti-social behaviour issues within a supportive 'no-blame' culture. Whilst the project was not able to address successfully all anti-social behaviour, it was making a positive and sustained contribution to addressing complex situations that had far-reaching effects on local communities. In addition, the potential cost savings associated with reduced anti-social behaviour and tenancy sustainment were clear.

The project was also providing support to highly marginalised households, many of whom had been at the end of their tether in terms of addressing their own behaviour and expectations of living peacefully within their communities. Many households explained that the project had helped them regain control over their lives, and for some had begun to help them gain a sense of self-respect and motivation towards leading a happier, more productive and cooperative life. The longer term impacts and associated cost savings of changing lives was more difficult to measure but were likely to be considerable and attested to the value of the preventative nature of Shelter Inclusion Project.

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Appendix A: Definitions of anti-social behaviour

Although the term 'anti-social behaviour' is widely used in housing, community management, town centre management and the law, it is ill defined and there is no agreed definition of the problem (Nixon et al, 2003; Dewar and Payne, 2003; Bannister and Scott, 2000; SEU, 2000). Nixon et al (2003) found that most Crime and Reduction Disorder Partnerships (CDRPs) that had adopted a working definition used the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 (Section 1 (1)) definition provided for use in considering applications for ASBOs which defines acting in an anti-social manner as:

- a manner that caused or was likely to cause harassment, alarm or distress to one or more persons not of the same household (as the defendant).

The Anti-Social Behaviour Act 2003 defines anti-social behaviour, for the purposes of injunctions, as 'conduct which is capable of causing nuisance or annoyance to any person'[15]. Other definitions of anti-social behaviour include:

- Where the problem is the direct result of behaviour by one household or individuals in the area which threatens the physical or mental health, safety or security of other households or individuals (Scottish Affairs Committee, 1996).

- Behaviour that opposes society's norms and accepted standards of behaviour. This can include criminal acts and less serious nuisance such as dumping rubbish (CIH, 1995).

The Home Office's 'Together' website states that the types of anti-social behaviour that may be included in the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 definition are deliberately not defined in the Act, to allow for the legal remedy of anti-social behaviour orders (ASBOs) to be used in a variety of circumstances and to tackle a wide range of behaviours (http://www.together.gov.uk). The problem of definition, or rather the question of whether a common definition would be helpful or restrictive, has been recognised by government. The then DTLR consultation paper 'Tackling Anti-Social Tenants (DTLR, 2002) outlined the advantages and disadvantages of a statutory definition. The consultation paper suggested that a statutory definition would make it clearer for landlords and tenants and provide the courts with a guide as to what types of behaviour Parliament regarded as anti-social behaviour for any specified purposes. The disadvantages of a statutory definition were that in order to be of value, the definition would have to be framed in particular and comprehensive terms and that this would create a lengthy definition if it were to be inclusive. A definition would also lessen the flexibility of courts and landlords to deal with any behaviour that is anti-social but not included in the definition (DTLR, 2002). In 2003, the Home Office's Anti-Social Behaviour Unit announced its intention to devise a common

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[15] 'Any person' is specified as: anyone who has a right to live in property owned by the landlord; anyone who has a right to live in any other property in the neighbourhood; anyone else lawfully in such property or the neighbourhood – including anyone visiting family or friends, using local facilities, passing through, or working in the neighbourhood.

definition (Mountford, 2003). However, the Home Office Development and Practice Report 26, 'Defining and measuring anti-social behaviour' concluded:

> People's understanding of what constitutes anti-social behaviour is determined by a series of factors including context, location, community tolerance and quality of life expectations…As a result, what may be considered anti-social behaviour to one person can be seen as acceptable to another. The subjective nature of the concept makes it difficult to identify a single definition of anti-social behaviour…(Home Office, 2004b).

As the quotation above suggests, there is also little agreement about what constitutes anti-social behaviour. Studies into the use of legal remedies to tackle anti-social behaviour found that the term is used to refer to a complex phenomenon encompassing a wide range of different behaviours from those causing life-style clashes such as problems with pets and occasional noise nuisance to the clearly criminal, for example, serious assaults and burglary. For Burney (2002), anti-social behaviour has become an all-embracing category with intangible properties and proportions. Manning et al (2004:2), commenting on the 2003 Act, made the point that:

> Without any definitions of what should legitimately be regarded as anti-social, we risk entering a world of legal relativism where any conduct is a legitimate target for government action.

Government policy documents have also tended to use the term anti-social behaviour as a 'catch-all' phrase (DTLR, 2002; SEU, 2000). However, on 10th September 2003 the Anti-Social Behaviour Unit conducted a 'one day count' snapshot survey of antisocial behaviour. For this exercise it was necessary to develop a typology to summarise the kinds of behaviours considered to be covered by the term anti-social behaviour. This typology included a large number and wide range of behaviours including drug dealing, prostitution, joy-riding, verbal abuse, playing games in restricted or inappropriate areas and dropping litter[16].

In addition, various forms of anti-social behaviour are described as 'neighbour nuisance', 'neighbour dispute' and 'youth nuisance[17]'. While for some these labels may be interchangeable, for others the choice of label is important, with the expression 'anti-social behaviour' carrying implications of blameworthy behaviour (Papps, 1998). There has also been concern over the way definitions tend to bracket distinct types of behaviour together as though they were the same thing (Brown, 2004; Nixon et al, 2003). Bannister and Scott (2000) suggest that it is more helpful to see anti-social behaviour as a continuum, at the one end there is, for example, dropping litter and at the other end serious crimes such as racial or homophobic harassment or abuse. Bannister and Scott (2000) identify a spectrum of behaviours comprising of three distinct but potentially interrelated phenomena.

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[16] See http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/docs2/ASB_Day_Count_Summary.pdf
[17] 'Youth nuisance' was not included as a category in the Home Office typology as it was felt that anti-social behaviour should be defined by the nature of the activity and not the age of the perpetrator (Home Office, 2004).

Type of Problem	Nature of Problem
Neighbour	A dispute arising from nuisance, e.g. noise
Neighbourhood	Incivilities within public spaces, e.g. rubbish
Crime	All forms of criminal activity, e.g. housebreaking

This spectrum, they suggest, should be treated as being flexible as neighbour problems frequently blend into neighbourhood problems and legislative changes may lead to a neighbourhood problem being redefined as a crime problem. Further, problems may also be interrelated and failure to deal with any of the problems may lead to a cycle of decline. However, by recognising that anti-social behaviour comprises diverse components, it is apparent that no single measure will provide an all-encompassing remedy (Bannister and Scott, 2000).

Appendix B: Research methods

A multi-method approach was utilised in the evaluation of Shelter Inclusion Project as outlined below:

Collection of monitoring information

The evaluation team asked the project workers to complete a referral form, three-month review forms and end of service form for each household.   These forms were designed to provide basic statistical information on the households receiving the Shelter Inclusion Project service.

Overall, the information collected by the Shelter Inclusion Project workers was comprehensive in scope, however sometimes it was difficult for the project workers to collect and record all the information that was asked for on these forms. This could be because a household would not disclose certain information or because a household had ceased contact with the service before a closure interview could be conducted.   Balancing the demands of day-to-day work alongside quite detailed data collection for the evaluation was not always easy.

The evaluation team therefore added to the information collected in the three forms with information from other sources. Firstly, Shelter Inclusion Project helpfully made available its own referral records, which provided a quite useful source of additional detail on the anti-social behaviour in which households had been engaged. Secondly, the research team supplemented the details recorded on the forms with some additional information the household gave during the interview (see 'interviews' below). Finally, the research team were also able to draw on local authority tenancy records to add some details about the housing history and nature of anti-social behaviour committed by the members of some households (see 'tracking' below).   These various sources of information are brought together in the figures, tables and graphics presented in the report under. In some cases, the records on a household are incomplete, for the reasons described above.

All households were asked to sign a consent form in order to allow the research team to collect and use the monitoring information. In order to maintain confidentiality, information about service users was also passed anonymously from the project to the research team. Households that did not wish to sign this consent form were not included in this element of the evaluation.

Interviews with service users, project staff and agency representatives

A total of 36 households participated in 47 interviews over the evaluation period, representing approximately half of all the households who used the project over the evaluation period. Interviews were undertaken in three tranches in Summer 2003, 2004 and 2005. Households were invited to be interviewed once they had been using the project for at least four months. In addition, services users who had stopped using the project were also

invited to be interviewed in 2004 and 2005: 15 of the 47 interviews represented closed cases. Six of the 15 closed households had been interviewed previously, allowing change over time to be considered. All households were invited for interview at least once, with those unable to participate in 2003 or 2004 asked again whether they would like to be interviewed in 2005.

Thirteen children and young people (aged between eight and 17) from four households, all of whom had direct experience of the project, were interviewed to gain their perspective of the support offered to both them and their parent/s.

Project staff members were interviewed on three occasions (in 2003, 2004 and 2005). This included the project manager, support workers and the children's/ young people workers. Agency representatives who had acted as referrers to the project and/or were working closely with Shelter Inclusion Project in delivering services to households were interviewed in 2003 and 2005. A total of 14 agency interviews were undertaken.

Cost appraisal

Shelter Inclusion Project provided the research team with details on income and expenditure for the pilot periods, in the form of monthly accounts.

Calculation of unit costs

Unit costs were calculated using start dates and, where relevant, close dates for the 74 households, for which data were available, accepted by the project since October 2002 up to 30 June 2005 . These were entered onto a timeline grid, as shown in Chart 5.1. All of these months apart from the final month have been highlighted in colour to represent the household's duration of contact (in months) with the project. Different colours are used for the different types of household:

Lone adults (21) – yellow
Adult couples (3) – purple
Lone parents (33) – orange
Family groups (17) - red

The final month is not highlighted in the chart as this would over-estimate the total amount of contact time with the project. Adopting this approach underestimated the contact time for a family starting their contact near the beginning of a month and finishing it near the end of a month, but over-estimated it for families starting near the end of a month and finishing near the beginning. This was expected to average out over all of a project's clients.

The contact months for each client were summed and recorded (right hand column of grid). The number of "active" clients each month was also summed and recorded (bottom row of grid). The total number of contact months is shown in the bottom right hand corner of the grid. The numbers of client months are summed and recorded for 2002/03 (pink); 2003/04 (purple); 2004/05 (green) and for 2005/06 to date (blue). The numbers of cases discharged (or, for the current year, still active) during each of these four periods is identified. It should be noted that a household discharged in April is classified as having been discharged at the

end of March (i.e. the last month highlighted in colour) and included in the analysis for this previous year.

For 2003/04 and 2004/05, the number of contact months for each family discharged during that year is summed and divided by the number of discharged families for that year to give the average number of contact months for families discharged during the year.

The financial calculations use expenditure data from the accounts for 2003/04 and 2004/05 provided by Shelter. Specifically, the calculations are based on the total expenditure incurred on project-related activities in each year. The average cost per client month (the basic unit cost) for each of these two years is calculated by dividing the total cost for the year by the total number of client months for the year. The average cost per discharged client (the other key unit cost) is also calculated for clients leaving the project in 2003/04 and in 2004/05. For those leaving the project in 2003/04, this is calculated by multiplying the total number of contact months in 2002/03 and 2003/04 for these clients by the average cost per client month for 2003/04 (i.e. it is assumed that the cost per client month in 2003/04 also applied to 2002/03) and dividing this total by the number of clients discharged during 2003/04. For those leaving the project in 2004/5, this is calculated by multiplying the total number of contact months in 2002/03 and 2003/04 for these clients by the average cost per client month for 2003/04 (where applicable) and adding this to the number of contact months in 2004/05 multiplied by the average cost per client month for 2004/05. The resulting total is then divided by the number of clients discharged during 2004/05. No cost calculations are undertaken for ongoing clients in 2005/06 or for clients who have been discharged in 2005/06 as the relevant financial information is not available for the full year.

Collection of tracking information

Whilst the project monitoring information and interviews provided good quality data on service user satisfaction and progress during time with the project, it was necessary to collect additional data to assess anti-social behaviour and housing outcomes of service users fully. The research team therefore attempted to collect data on households for a five year period (October 2000-June 2005) to assess two key outcomes: firstly, changes in anti-social behaviour, and; secondly, changes in tenancy situation.

Three Rochdale agencies assisted this process as follows:

- *Rochdale Metropolitan Borough Council Legal Services and Enforcement* – staff completed an agreed form on anti-social behaviour history over the 5 year period [*note for readers: this information is still be awaited at the time of writing*];

- *Rochdale Borough-wide Housing* – provided access to their tenancy records by researchers for Shelter Inclusion Project clients over the 5 year period;

- *Bowlee Housing Association* – as the second largest referrer to Shelter Inclusion Project, Bowlee HA also authorised researchers to review the tenancy records for Shelter Inclusion Project users over the specified time period.

As with the project monitoring, informed consent to the collection and analysis of tracking information via the above agencies was sought from the households. As this aspect of the evaluation was designed later in the research process, consent was more difficult to obtain

from all users, particularly those who had already left the service. All past and present households were written to, project workers asked current users and researchers asked interviewees, however it was only possible to obtain consent forms from 25 households for this part of the evaluation.