

## Chapter II

# Reversing the unfairness of homelessness: an examination of service users' experiences of housing first and traditional services in eight European countries

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## Introduction

For some people who enter homelessness it is very difficult to exit, and their homelessness becomes a chronic situation of extreme unfairness and inequality. Traditional responses to long-term homelessness such as emergency and temporary accommodation, have managed the problem but not solved it. In recent years, an alternative model of homeless services, Housing First (Tsemberis, 2010) has taken root in many European countries. In this chapter we describe a study of homeless services users' experiences of Housing First and traditional homeless services in eight European countries. Our aim was to contribute to the evidence base for the efficacy of Housing First for reversing homelessness in the European context. In this chapter, we first briefly describe the key differences between Housing First and traditional homeless services and review relevant research on the effectiveness of HF for reversing homelessness. We then describe the Study of Service Users' Experiences, which formed the basis of the Work Package 3 component of the larger Home-EU project that was described in Chapter 1.

## Background and Aims of the Service Users Study

Individuals who experience long-term homelessness typically engage with homeless social services that are aligned with what is commonly referred to in Europe as the "staircase model". This model rests on the assumption that chronic homelessness results from bad judgment, especially in regard to mental health treatment or the use of alcohol or other substances, which causes housing loss. Individuals who lose their housing ostensibly for these reasons are deemed not "housing ready" (Lyon-Callo, 2008; Manning & Greenwood, 2019), and traditional homeless services are usually configured in ways that are meant to get people "housing ready". For example, in congregate and supervised living situations, residents demonstrate their readiness for independent living by complying with alcohol or substance abuse treatment and following house rules (Gulcur, Stefancic, Shinn, Tsemberis, & Fischer, 2003). When they do comply, they may be recommended for more independent forms of accommodation, if and when such accommodation becomes available to them. However, for individuals engaged with

staircase services, this process is slow. On average, it takes about 10 years for a given individual to exit homelessness through staircase services this way (Feantsa & Fondation Abbé Pierre, 2018). In reality, too many people spend years cycling through an “institutional circuit” of homelessness, hospitals, jails, and prisons before they exit homelessness, if they ever do (Hopper, Jost, Hay, Welber, & Haughland, 1997). Homelessness becomes very difficult, sometimes impossible, to reverse, for individuals who get caught in this institutional circuit.

The Housing First model was developed as an alternative to the staircase approach (Tsemberis, 2010) and is built on the assumption that housing is a human right. In HF programs, the typical order of services is reversed, so that individuals are offered access to independent, scatter-site housing, first. A multi-disciplinary team provides client-led, recovery-oriented, wraparound supports in vivo without treatment or sobriety preconditions (Tsemberis, 2010).

The North American evidence base for Housing First is substantial. Across studies conducted with different methods in different geographical contexts, participants in HF programmes consistently get housed faster and maintain their housing longer than participants in traditional staircase services (e.g., Tsemberis, Gulcur & Nakae, 2004). And, although the evidence for other outcomes is more mixed (e.g., Baxter et al., 2019), HF has demonstrated greater efficacy compared to TS on a range of indicators including, but not limited to psychiatric symptoms (Greenwood et al., 2005) and community functioning (Aubry et al., 2015).

HF is spreading across Europe as new or reconfigured programs (Busch-Geertsema, 2014). As support for HF grows and the number of programs increases, it is important to understand how service users experience them compared to TS programs. Do HF programs in Europe achieve the same outcomes as have been reported in North American contexts? Previous research has demonstrated that participants in HF programmes consistently report experiencing greater choice in housing and services (Greenwood et. al, 2005; Tsemberis et al., 2004), and some research has shown that choice is the mediating factor that explains the relationship of HF to psychiatric functioning community integration and problematic substance misuse (Greenwood et. al, 2005; Greenwood & Manning, 2017; Manning & Greenwood, 2019b). Building on previous research, we hypothesized that in the European context, participants in HF programs would experience greater choice in housing and services. We also sought to explore whether participants' experiences of HF programs were different from experiences of TS programs in terms of their rates of satisfaction with services and perceived housing quality.

We not only wanted to determine whether service users experience these kinds of programmes differently. We also wanted to know whether these experiences of services were associated with differences in their recovery from homelessness. Recovery of stable housing, of psychological well-being, and of community integration are highly relevant in the context of homelessness. Based on previous research, we hypothesized that participants in HF programs would report more recovery on these four indicators. We were also interested in a fifth indicator of recovery: an individual's ability to live a good life, to be who they want to be and to do what they wish, as defined in the capabilities approach (Nussbaum, 2011; Sen, 1999; 2010). According to Sen, in situations of greater equality, capabilities are maximized for all social groups, while in situations of inequality, capabilities are constrained for some groups and not others.

Homelessness can be conceptualized as a ‘capabilities failure’ because it strips away people’s abilities to be and to do. Justice-oriented homeless services should be capabilities-enhancing (Shinn, 2015). In the present research, we compared service users’ experiences of HF and TS programs as capabilities enhancing. Because the HF model rests on the assumptions that housing is a human right and that individuals are the best assessors of the kinds of services, treatments, and supports they need, we hypothesized that participants in HF programs would experience their programs as more capabilities-enhancing than participants in TS programs.

## Design of the Service Users Study

In the present study we took a multi-method approach to investigating the experiences of adults engaged with either Housing First or traditional services. We collected questionnaire data at two time points from a sample of adults with significant histories of homelessness eight European countries. We also completed in-depth interviews with a subsample of these participants. Taken together, we hope these findings will be translated into European social policies that will improve the delivery of homeless services, and ultimately reverse long-term homelessness.

In this study we aimed to expand our understanding of the ways in which homeless services users experience Housing First programs in Europe, compared to traditional services, both in terms of program features and in terms of recovery outcomes that are relevant to the context of homelessness, such as stable housing, psychiatric functioning, and community integration. Because the larger project is anchored in the capabilities approach (Sen, 1999), we also sought to investigate whether homeless services users experience Housing First programs as more capabilities enhancing than traditional services. Consortium Partners from France, Ireland, Italy, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Spain, and Sweden committed to collecting questionnaire and interview data from participants engaged with either “Housing First” or “Other Services” programs.

### **Questionnaire-based Study**

We created and agreed a data collection protocol for Consortium Partners to follow to ensure validity and reliability of the quantitative data they collected for the project. Each Consortium Partner agreed to contribute data from homeless services users on measures of 13 key constructs and demographic characteristics. These 13 key constructs, their definitions, and their sources are presented in Table 1. We created a measure of homelessness based on the ETHOS typology (Feantsa, n.d.). We included measures of physical health, mental health, alcohol and substance use, social and community integration, and recovery experiences. We measured their experiences of features of homeless services including choice over housing and services, perceived housing quality, and relationships with service providers. We also included a new measure to assess the extent to which participants experienced their homeless services as capabilities enhancing. This measure was adapted from an existing measure of community mental health services as capabilities enhancing (Sacchetto et al., 2016). Because homeless services users are highly diverse on a wide range of demographic characteristics, the questionnaire included measures of standardized demographic information, including current and past histories of homelessness. Every partner followed best practice guidelines (Beaton, Bombardier, Guillemin & Ferraz, 2001) for translating

the English version of the measures into their own languages, so now all measures are available in Dutch, English, French, Italian, Polish, Portuguese, Spanish, and Swedish.

The Consortium partners also agreed a set of standardized procedures for recruiting participants, collecting and managing data. Researchers recruited adults already engaged with either Housing First programs or with homeless programs aligned with the traditional staircase model. They met individually with participants in locations of their choice, which for Housing First participants was usually their own home, and for traditional services participants was usually an office or living space in a homeless hostel or other homeless service. Researchers introduced themselves to participants and explained the purpose of the study to them. They explained that participation was voluntary and confidential, and asked them if they would like to take part in the study by completing the questionnaire. Those who agreed signed an informed consent form. The researcher used standardized procedures to read each item to the participant and record their responses. Once they had completed the questionnaire, the researcher asked permission to contact the participant to arrange to meet and complete the questionnaire a second time. Participants were compensated with €20 all-for-one shopping vouchers for their time and information. Partners in each country supervised data collection and data entry. A codebook and spreadsheet were created for each partner to enter participants' data. Once all data were completed and entered into the spreadsheet, the data file was copied to a member of the Service Users' Study Team, who cleaned the data files and merged them into a single data set for analysis. These data files were used to test hypotheses about differences in the experiences of HF programs compared to traditional services, and to test hypotheses about differences between participants in HF and traditional services on a set of recovery indicators believed to be important to individuals with histories of chronic homelessness.

### **Interview-based Study**

One of the key objectives of "Homeless as Unfairness" is to gain understanding of the ways in which homeless services users experience the services they receive as enhancing or blocking their capabilities (Nussbaum, 2011; Sen, 1999; Shinn, 2015). We wished to identify features of homeless services users' ecologies that they experienced as enabling or blocking their capabilities, defined as their freedom to be who they want to be and to do what they want to do. To achieve this objective, our aim for the qualitative component of this study was to explore the capabilities sets of ten homeless services users (five Housing First, and five traditional services) in each Partner country. We used the structure of the Capabilities Measure (Sacchetto, Ornelas, Calheiros, & Shinn, 2018) to design an interview guide (See Appendix A) to systematically explore homeless services users' subjective accounts of their central functioning capabilities (Nussbaum, 2011; Shinn, 2015, p. 245). In developing this interview guide, we followed Shinn's (2015) suggestions to examine these capabilities sets in terms of participants' freedom to make choices about what they choose to do as well as what they choose not to do. We also asked them to describe the constraints and affordances, both internal and external, that they experienced as shaping these choices. In essence, we wanted to understand how participants made sense of the opportunities and constraints that affected their freedom of choice over how they express themselves and how they operate on the world around them.

The Consortium partners agreed a standardized qualitative protocol to follow. Partners agreed to recruit

10 individuals, five engaged with Housing First programs and five engaged with traditional services, who had already completed the quantitative questionnaires to complete the qualitative interview. Consortium partners were encouraged to aim gender balance where possible, and aim to have a range of ages represented. We encouraged partners to recruit participants who had engaged well with the questionnaire, who liked to talk, were able to effectively articulate their thoughts, and compellingly tell the stories of their lives.

Researchers again met with participants at a location of their choice. All participants were informed about the study and asked to provide informed consent to participate. Once they agreed to participate, the interview began. All partners used a semi-structured interview to guide their discussion with each participant. At the end of each interview, participants received a €20 all-for-one shopping value in exchange for their time and information.

All interviews were digitally recorded and then transcribed. All transcripts were anonymized. Next, the researcher used a standardized coding scheme to code the transcript (See Appendix B). According to the protocol, two independent coders coded each interview and then met to agree the codes. An example set of codes is presented in Appendix C. Once codes were agreed, they were translated into English, and the two independent coders agreed the English translation of the coded excerpts. The English-language coded excerpts were delivered to the Service Users Study team. Researchers on the Service Users Study team compiled the codes from all eight countries and then examined them to identify patterns in the ways participants talked about the ways in which homeless services were experienced as affording or constraining capabilities in different domains. These findings are reported elsewhere (O'Shaughnessy, Manning & Greenwood, 2019c).

## Critical Reflections

The Service Users Study was an ambitious project that required the expertise, dependability, and good will of busy researchers working in eight different languages, in eight different contexts. It required significant faith in our partners' willingness to follow our agreed protocols for data collection and management. Invariably, more funding would have improved overall implementation of the service users study. Limited finances meant that site visits were not possible during periods of data collection, and research partners were limited in translation and recruitment activities, for example.

Although the overall project had a large budget, there were many expenses associated with the research that were not covered. There was no budget for translation services, which are very expensive and time consuming, and led to decisions that reduced the potential of the data for future research. For example, we do not have a full set of English-language transcripts from the entire qualitative study of service users' capabilities, and these could have been used by other researchers to further our understanding of capabilities and homelessness. Some teams did not have the budget for transcription or translation and so these responsibilities reverted back to the Project Coordinators, who were already overburdened with project-related tasks. As a consequence, we experienced delays in receiving our partners' qualitative data.

That said, the Service Users' study has delivered some very important and useful findings. In our first paper

(Greenwood et al., 2019a) we reported that participants engaged with Housing First programs reported more choice over housing and services, more satisfaction with services, and better housing quality. These features, which distinguish Housing First programs from traditional services, were important predictors of time spent in independent accommodation, psychiatric functioning, and community integration. In our second paper, we report findings that HF programs are more capabilities-enhancing than traditional services (O'Shaughnessy et al., 2019). Finally, we describe the ways in which participants talk about the importance of home as capabilities enhancing in our third paper (Greenwood et al., 2019b). Taken together, these translational findings offer strong support for the further dissemination of Housing First programs across Europe as a method to reverse unfairness and promote equality for people who belong to one of Europe's most marginalized social groups.

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Table 1. Quantitative Measures Administered in “Homelessness as Unfairness”

Domain	Variables	Instruments
Setting and support features	Working Alliance	Working Alliance Inventory – Participant (Horvath & Greenberg, 1989)
	Service Satisfaction	Self-Help Agency Satisfaction Scale (Segal, Redman & Silverman, 2000)
	Choice	Choice in Housing and Services (Srebnik, Livingston, Gordon, & King, 1995)
	Housing Quality	Perceived Housing Quality and Choice/ Control (Toro et al. 1997)
Rehabilitation-related recovery	Housing Status	European Typology on Homelessness and Housing Exclusion (ETHOS) (FEANTSA, 2005)
	Psychiatric Symptoms	Colorado Symptom Index (Shern et al., 1994)
	Alcohol and drug use	Alcohol Use Disorders Identification Test (AUDIT) and Drug Use Disorders Identification Tool (DUDIT) (Babor, Higgins-Biddle, Saunders, & Monteiro; 2001; Berman, Bergman, Palmstierna, & Schlyter, 2005)
	Physical Health	General Self-rated Health (Desalvo et al., 2006)
Growth-related recovery	Mastery	Mastery Scale (Pearlin & Schooler, 1978)
	Capabilities	Capabilities Scale (REF)
	Recovery	Recovery Assessment Scale (Giffort, Schmook, Woody, Vollendorf, & Gervain, 1995)
	Community Integration	Community Integration Measure (Aubry & Myner, 1996; Segal, & Aviram, 1978)
	Distal Social Support	Distal Social Support Scale (Wieland, Rosenstock, Kelsey, Ganguli, & Wisniewski, 2007)

## Appendix A

# Work Package 3: Service Users Study

## Qualitative Interview Guide<sup>1</sup>

**Guidance Notes to Interviewer:** *Please be sure you reviewed the interview protocol before meeting the participant for this interview. In this interview, it is most important to cover each of the capabilities domains and to probe the participant's responses to learn more about a) what they choose to do, choose not to do, and what they cannot do but would like to be able to do in each domain; and b) how they experience aspects of themselves or aspects of their context as facilitating or blocking their capabilities in each domain. Be sure to explore the role of homeless services in the participant's capabilities in each domain. [italicized text in this document is only notes to interviewers and should not be spoken to participants.]*

**Probes:** *For each domain, the following probes are designed to elicit the participant's talk about capabilities in these terms:*

- *Ask the person (neutral questions) about the role of homeless services in each domain.*
- *Probes:*
  - **What things do you choose to do [in this area]?**
  - **What kinds of things do you choose not to do that could help you improve [in this area]?**
  - **What kinds of things are you not currently able to do, but you would like to do, to improve [in this area]?**
    - **What prevents you from being able to do these things?**
    - **What would help you to do these things?**

*We know that not all probes will be relevant to all questions, but please be sure that you've explored each domain as much as you can in terms of these dimensions. We've included in the probes in the first domain (Life) in the interview guide below as an example. For each subsequent domain, you are prompted to use your judgment and use the above probes to elicit further information.*

**Beginning the Interview:** *In the opening comments, we ask you to take a little time to get acquainted and help the participant feel comfortable in the interview situation. We ask you to make a connection between this interview and the questionnaire, to help the participant feel recognized and remembered for the time and effort they've given to the project already. Once you have completed the informed consent forms, the following is a script you can adapt to connect to them and explain the purpose for the interview:*

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<sup>1</sup>A list of prompts are included on the last page of this interview guide.

In the questionnaire you completed with \_\_\_\_\_ <insert name of research interviewer>, you answered questions about the ways in which the services you receive from \_\_\_\_\_ <insert name of service> have affected your life. Today, we want to talk to you more about some areas of your life and the kinds of things you can and can't do in each of these areas. We want to focus on the ways in which the services you receive from \_\_\_\_\_ <service> support or block you in these areas.

Some examples of things that might help you or block you in these areas include service providers' attitudes toward you, their clients, or their job; the rules and regulations that govern the service, and the range of supports the service offers. Some things that could block you from doing all the kinds of things you'd like to do are your income, your access to housing; the availability of affordable housing in your area; housing policy; your education, job training, and employment history; society's attitudes toward people with backgrounds like yours; the decisions taken by local authorities and elected officials; and the economy.. If you think members of your family or friends may help or block you in these areas, we'd like to know about that, too. Finally, some of your personal experiences may help you or block you from being able to do what you want to do, such as physical illness or injury, experiences of violence or abuse, substance use, psychiatric illness, or your prior education, training, or work experiences.

Do you have any questions before we get started?

*Domain: Life.*

The first topic we want to discuss is your quality of life, which means your general health, happiness, and life circumstances.

- How would you describe your general health and happiness? How satisfied are you with your life circumstances?
  - What things do you choose to do that contribute to your health and happiness?
  - Are there any other people or things that contribute to your health and happiness?
- What things do you choose not to do that could improve your health and happiness?
- What are you not currently able to do, but you would like to do, to improve your health and happiness?
  - What prevents you from being able to do these things?
  - What would help you to do these things?

What do you hope your life will look like when you reach old age?

*[this question is about retirement age; adjust the wording to be both respectful and age-appropriate. What we want to know is how people hope their life will look like when they are old, but please phrase carefully appropriate to the participant's age].*

What are your hopes for the rest of your life, into older age?

- Explore further by asking the participant to explain or describe.
- Follow up with probes.

*Domain: Health*

- Next we will talk about ‘health’ and basic needs such as sleep, hygiene, good food, and physical exercise. Can you tell me about your basic health in these areas?
  - Explore each area further by asking the participant to explain or describe.
  - Follow up with probes.

People need access to basic health services for medical, dental, psychiatric, or substance use problems.

Can you describe how easy or difficult it is for you to access the services you need?

What kinds of things can you do to maintain or improve your access to these health services?

- Explore each area further by asking the participant to explain or describe.
- Follow up with probes.

*Domain: Bodily Autonomy*

- The next topic is about how safe you feel, and whether you are safe from violence or any kind of abuse, such as verbal, psychological, physical, or sexual abuse, or if you feel threatened with any type of violence or abuse.
- Would you say that you feel safe where you live right now? Do you worry about violence or any form of abuse? What helps you feel safe?
- What could increase your safety?
  - Explore each area further by asking the participant to explain or describe.
  - Follow up with probes.
- Having sex and being intimate with another person, if you choose to, are important aspects of life. Can you describe the extent to which you feel you have freedom to express your sexuality or be intimate with others?
  - Explore each area further by asking the participant to explain or describe.
  - Follow up with probes.

*Domains: Emotions, Thoughts, and Relationships*

- These next questions are about how you see yourself now and who you would like to be in the future.
- How would you describe yourself and who you really are, right now? Do you feel able to express your true self to others?
  - Can you give an example of a time when you did or did not feel comfortable to express your true self?
  - Are there some situations in which you are more able to express your true self? Is this important to you? Could you give me an example?
  - Is there anything that you do to make it easier to be your true self with others? What would help you or stop you doing this?
  - Are you able to freely express your emotions to other people? Are you able to control your emotions

**when you want to?**

- *Explore each area further by asking the participant to explain or describe.*
- *Follow up with probes.*
- **When you think about your future self, who do you want to become? Who would you like to be, say five or ten years from now?**
- *Explore each area further by asking the participant to explain or describe.*
- *Follow up with probes.*

*Domain: Sense, Imagination, & Thought*

- **Is it important to you to be informed about what is going on in your community, in the country, and in the world? Why or why not?**

*If participant says it is important, then ask:*

- **What kinds of things do you do stay informed on these topics?**
  - **What helps you to do these things?**
  - **Are you able to be as informed as you would like to be? What kinds of things get in your way?**
- **How important is it to you to develop your intellectual capacity, to access further education or training?**
- *Explore each area further by asking the participant to explain or describe.*
- *Follow up with probes.*

*Relationships with Others*

- **These next questions are about your relationships to others.**
- **How would you describe your current friendships and romantic relationship? How are your relationships with your family, like your parents, siblings, cousins, aunts and uncles, and children, if you have any? Can you describe your connections to them?**
- **What kinds of things do you do to maintain or improve your relationships?**
- *Follow up with probes.*

*Domain: Affiliation, Social, and Community Interaction*

**Next, we want to learn more about your experiences of your community and your neighbourhood**

- **Do you feel part of your community?**
  - **Do you interact with and connect to people in your community?**
  - **Or developed new relationships with any people in your community? Could you give me an example?**
- **Do you feel respected by people in your community?**
  - **Which community resources do you use on a regular basis?**
  - *Prompts: Some examples are grocery stores, libraries, cinemas, churches, hairdressers or barber shops, banks, post office.*
- **Is there anything about your relationships in your community that you would like to change or**

improve?

- What things do you do to maintain or improve these relationships?
  - Explore each area further by asking the participant to explain or describe.
  - Follow up with probes.

*Domain: Other Species*

- Next, we want to you to tell us about your opportunities to care for animals or plants, or to go out in nature, like walk or sit in a park, walk in the countryside or at the seaside, of example. Which of these things do you like to do?
  - Explore each area further by asking the participant to explain or describe.
  - Follow up with probes.

*Domain: Play*

- What do you do for fun, like recreation or hobbies? Can you describe a recent time when you had fun? Can you describe a time where you felt joy? Do you feel like you have enough of those kinds of opportunities in your life? Are there opportunities for fun that you choose not to take?
  - Explore each area further by asking the participant to explain or describe.
  - Follow up with probes.

*Domain: Practical Reason*

- Next let's talk about your sense of control over your life. Could you describe how much control and choice you have over your everyday life, such as managing money, paying rent and bills, keeping your home tidy, washing your clothes, and cooking?
  - Explore each area further by asking the participant to explain or describe.
  - Follow up with probes.

*Domain: Control over Environment (Material)*

- Next, we'd like to know how much control you have over your legal, financial, and housing situations. What kinds of challenges are you facing in these areas?
- What kinds of things are you doing to deal with these issues?
- Are you receiving any support in dealing with these issues?
  - Explore each area further by asking the participant to explain or describe.
  - Follow up with probes.

*Domain: Control over one's environment: Political*

- Now, I'll return to a topic that we've touched on throughout this conversation, and that is your experience of choice and control over aspects of your life.
- Overall, how much you feel that your own opinion is taken into account in the decisions that are made about your everyday life, activities, and goals?

- *Explore each area further by asking the participant to explain or describe.*
- *Follow up with probes*
- **Do you express your opinion through voting in elections, or participating in public forums or meetings?**
  - *Explore each area further by asking the participant to explain or describe.*
  - *Follow up with probes*
- **Finally, do you advocate on your own behalf, or on behalf of others, on issues such as homelessness, poverty, social exclusion, substance misuse treatment, mental health treatment, criminal justice problems, or child custody problems?**
  - *If the answer is yes, be sure to ask the participant to explain or describe how they advocate for themselves or for others. Be sure to explore any affirmative responses.*
  - *Follow up with probes.*

Okay, those are all the questions that I have for you. Is there anything you'd like to add or comment on?

Domain(s)	Activities Prompts
Health; Life	Take my medication; see my health provider when I should; eat better; use substances less; go for walks
Bodily Autonomy	Avoid certain areas/people; Use substances less/avoid intoxication; Sexual freedoms e.g., having a private home or breaking curfews/segregation rules in congregate spaces;
Practical Reason	Pay my bills on time; set up a direct debit so that payments go out before I can spend the money;
Control over Environment (Material)	Make and attend appointments; turn up sober
Emotions, Thoughts, and Relationships	Know other people well; having a permanent place to build relationships; building trust; staying in contact;
Affiliation, Social, and Community Interaction	Go out; talk/say hello to other people in the apartment block/street, shop, park.
Other Species	Work to reach agreement with landlord to permit pets/plants.
Play	Save some money; look after health so I am well enough to have fun.
Control over one's environment: Political	Watch/read news, talk to others; go to meetings/residents groups; attend protests.

**Appendix B**

## Qualitative Codebook

Please use the WP3 Qualitative Coding Excel Spreadsheet (Appendix G) to document your codes and coding process. We have created a tab for each of your ten interviews in this Excel file. The first tab is where you will document basic information about the interviewer, coders, and participant. You will also record all your coded text in the original language and in English on this tab. On the second tab you will summarize your findings and describe how you agreed the codes, including how disagreements were resolved.

## Capabilities

Please use the following capabilities, actions, and affordances/constraints categories to code WP3 qualitative interviews.

*Please only code text that refers to capabilities that are currently present or absent. We are only looking for evidence of capabilities in the present or future, not capabilities in the past, such as in childhood or adolescence. Past capabilities may be relevant if the participant describes them as constraints or affordances on present or future capabilities. For example, the past choice not to go to university created an internal constraint (lack of skills, lack of undergraduate degree) to work in a job that requires an undergraduate degree. The freedom to choose not to go to university as a young person is an action taken in the past that created an internal constraint; it should not be coded as a present-day capability that the person chooses not to do.*

Please code text chunks that reflect capabilities in one or more of the following domains. **Multiple codes may be applicable to the same text chunk, but please limit the number of capabilities you assign to a specific text chunk to no more than three.** Please complete the grid in the Excel sheet with your coding. Use the bolded terms as codes for each capability domain. The first Irish HF interview and coding is included in Appendix F WP3 Qualitative materials as an example. Although this is in a Word document, we ask that you combine all your coding into the Excel file that we added as Appendix G.

- **Life:** life, general health, happiness, life circumstances, and desire to live to old age);
- **Health:** basic needs such as sleep, hygiene, food, physical exercise, access to basic health services (e.g., medical, dental, psychiatric, or substance use);
- **Bodily Autonomy:** a sense of safety, freedom from: violence / abuse (e.g., verbal, psychological, physical, or sexual), threat of violence / abuse, freedom to have sex and be intimate with another person;
- **Emotions, Thoughts, & Relationships:** the ability to experience & express emotions, to have personal attachments and relationships to things and with others.
- **Sense, Imagination, & Thought:** understanding of what is going on in the community, in the country,

and in the world, and their relationships to others;

- **Affiliation, Social, & Community Interaction:** means having the social basis of self-respect and non-humiliation in experiences of social relationships in the community, neighbourhood and society;
- **Other Species:** opportunities to care for animals or plants, or to go out in nature (e.g., to the park, countryside seaside);
- **Play:** opportunities for fun, recreation, hobbies, and joy;
- **Practical Reason:** involves a sense of control over one's own life, to critically reflect, plan one's life, engage in meaningful social roles, and aspire.
- **Control over Environment (Material):** perceived control over legal, financial, and housing situations;
- **Control over one's environment (Political):** perceptions that their opinion is taken into account in making decisions about their life and goals.

## Actions

*Also code text chunks related to the actions taken in relation to each domain. Excerpts that describe actions in the present or future should be identified: What is the person free to choose (or choose not to do) now or in the future to enhance their capabilities in each domain.*

- **Choose to do** to enhance capabilities in each domain;
- **Choose to not do**, but could enhance their capabilities in each domain (e.g., chooses not to quit smoking, even though it could enhance their capabilities in the 'life' domain). Would like to be able to do, but is currently unable to do, to improve their capabilities each domain (e.g., would like to grow a vegetable garden to enhance capabilities in 'other species', but lives in an apartment block)
- **Would not like to** be able to do something, and are currently unable to do it, to improve experiences (e.g., does not want to vote, and is ineligible anyway, so can't expand capabilities in control over one's environment (Political)).

## Affordances/Constraints

Also code text chunks related to:

- **Internal constraints** on capabilities or actions (e.g., factors within the person that are restrictive);
- **External constraints** on capabilities or actions (e.g., factors in the environment that are restrictive);
- **Internal affordances** on capabilities domains (e.g., factors within the person that are enabling).
- **External affordances** on capabilities domains (e.g., factors in the environment that are enabling).

## Appendix C

## Qualitative Coding Example

time / line no's	Capabilities	Actions	Affordance/ Constrain	Text Chunk
43-46, 50-53	Life & Health	Choose to do (e.g. listen to music)	Internal Affordance (e.g., being motivated by music)	When any person loses any parent...you're in shock. You want to wake up, and it's all over, but it's actually happening. Now I look forward to waking up each morning. Each morning I wake up, I'm so happy to be able to get up. Music motivates me personally, in the mornings and the 80s...Whitney Houston because I'm emotional and passionate with music and feelings. I'm a very emotional person deep down inside
81-87	Life & Affiliation, Social, & Community Interaction	Choose to do	External affordance (e.g., using community resources)  Internal affordance (positive attitude to participating)	We're doing it the last 3-4 months, culinary skills, well I have them naturally anyway, but that was to get out of the house, and then positive mental mindness on a Thursday in the library. They're finishing now next week, but I have to see a man because the culinary ends in April, I'm going to keep going till April and I have to see a man on Thursday...just for counselling and guidance...I'm hoping to get me another course just to keep me keep myself occupied...

time / line no's	Capabilities	Actions	Affordance/ Constrain	Text Chunk
120-136	Practical Reason & Affiliation, Social, & Community Interaction	Choose to do (e.g., talks to others, forms relationships with others, uses community resources, refrain from gambling)	External affordance (e.g., having someone to talk to); External constraint (e.g., budget)  External affordance and constraint: food banks  External & internal constraint: pull of the 'old way of life'	<p>P1: Just being able to talk to somebody in private, in private, with confidentiality, and just being able to talk. See the first few months would have been shaky because...I was still adjusting, getting used to budgeting, for example, because I have a very low budget trying to run a house</p> <p>Ronni: - really hard -</p> <p>P1: I support a daughter, paying maintenance like,, I mean, I come out of the Post Office, 60 70 quid every week for feeding myself, that after getting the gas, and the maintenance, and ESB. You see I have to feed myself out of that, but there is great support service for extra bits, but, but I like to be independent. I like to go to the shop and buy my own stuff.</p> <p>Ronni: of course, of course, yeah -</p> <p>P1: Going to these food banks, is the word I'll use, you come across a lot of negativity, and it's very easy to fall back into, back into that way of life.</p>
221-234	Control over material environment	Choose to do (e.g., saving)	External affordance (e.g., help from HF to save money)	<p>... Housing First are great because I can put away a little each week, but I'm going to meet them on a Wednesday, give them a few quid, maybe give them 20 quid, but they all add up there. I'll be coming off my presents for my daughter pretty much, yeah.</p>

time / line no's	Capabilities	Actions	Affordance/ Constrain	Text Chunk
395-402	Health, Practical Reason	Choose to do	Internal affordance (e.g., makes a plan, go to appointments )	<p>Ronni: Has Housing First helped you do things like get to the dentist or link up with the dentist?</p> <p>P1: No, I did all that by myself. I've done all that myself because, I believe all the time I spent in the dream world is the way I put it, in gambling, I try to, my attitude is, what can I do tomorrow? And I write things down right there in front of me and then I say I'll do the things I can do, do you know, like missing out going to the dentist, going to the doctor, just all the things that I used to miss, appointments.</p>
404-416	Control over one's environment - material; practical reason; Affiliation, social & community interaction	Choose to do	External affordances (e.g., support from Housing first, own, independent home)	<p>Ronni: do you think moving into this house... that helped you be able to do those things?</p> <p>P1: Yeah I have my own space now. I can work on my own head, make my own decisions. I have responsibility back in my life. I have my daughter back in my life. I mean, I have nieces in and out on the weekends. I have grandchildren or nephews and nieces and, I have a two year old granddaughter I just found out. I have a son in [another part of the city], he's been in touch with me after years...And so it's a lot responsibility, and not having it for years, but I always had, it but I didn't worry about it. I was gambling, you see. I was in that world digging deeper holes..</p>

time / line no's	Capabilities	Actions	Affordance/ Constrain	Text Chunk
465-480	Bodily Autonomy, Practical Reason, Sense of control	Wants to do, but can't (e.g., get a dog)  Choose to do (e.g., participate in his family activities)	Internal affordance (e.g., prioritize family, making plans)  External constraint (e.g., finance)	<p>Ronni: do you feel like you have enough feeling of safety, or is it something that you would feel that you'd like to increase?</p> <p>P1: Safety, yeah maybe next year, that's part of the plan. I want a little dog for out there (garden)... but as I say, only 7 months, so much has happened in this 7 months, going to courses, there was another death in the family recently after my mother...so there's massive responsibility there, because...I'm representing my mother, going to christenings going to all these masses...I used to always go to these family things with my mother...But now, I'm representing, trying to be responsible and go on her behalf, because that's the way she'd wanted...as I said, I'm stretched to the limit. I'm building toward next year, doing a bit of work Monday to Friday, save a bit more for the following year, maybe go on a holiday the following year, and put an alarm in the house... there's loads of things, you know. Maybe I want to be driving after three years, three and a half years.</p>
545-560	Emotions, thoughts, relationships	Choose to do (e.g., trust professionals)	Internal affordance (e.g., has trust in professionals);  External affordance (e.g., relationships with trusted professionals).	<p>Ronni: do you feel like you can express who you are freely to other people, be yourself?</p> <p>P1: Depends on who I'm speaking to. If it is on a professional basis yes, I can be straight up to whatever the question is.... depending on who the people are. On a professional basis I can open up because they're the people that actually help me along the way, to be introduced to the next stage, people like keyworker, like Housing First like you from UL, what you're doing.</p>

time / line no's	Capabilities	Actions	Affordance/ Constrain	Text Chunk
608-626	Emotions, thoughts, and relationships	Choose to do	<p>External affordance (e.g., HF support)</p> <p>External constraint (e.g., budget, low income)</p>	<p>Ronni: Did Housing, how did Housing First help you with that, with gambling?</p> <p>P1: Just checking up on me once a week, and 'how did you go this week?' 'Did you gamble?' And at first, I'd say yeah, gave 'em a tenner. What's happened now as you see, my responsibilities are in the house you see, and like it's like what I say that I mean I get paid in the morning now, it's not ok right, gas ESB, they're all automatically taken out, I have it set it up that way. Food, you know ?, tobacco, another 20 quid, you know, like, like trying to get another about a few pounds saved. I still have another bit to go, 20 after that you know, so you don't have much room to manoeuvre so there's a little bit of pressure, which can be easily turn you back to the casino because of the pressure.</p> <p>Ronni: Do you talk about that feeling pressure?</p> <p>P1: I do, with [my keyworker] he knows the story. It's like what I say, I just want to keep my head down for this Christmas. I'm not really into Christmas spirit because, first of all, first Christmas after my mother, second, come back and forth, it's only a short bit of time, christenings masses for me to go to attend them was an effort draining me just to go to these events.</p>
650-654	Affiliation, social, community	Choose to do	Internal affordance (e.g., efforts to make friends)	<p>That girl's coming up here next week, the Ethiopian girl, with her husband, so they're coming out for dinner, like just mashed potatoes, sausages, and beans. That's no bother, you know</p>

time / line no's	Capabilities	Actions	Affordance/ Constrain	Text Chunk
812-829	Affiliation, social, community	Choose to do	External affordance (e.g., friendly neighbours)	<p>...there was a little bit of a gap in my life where I wasn't around for years. I was here, was a young kid like, I was gambling from a young age you see...My neighbours probably remember me. Always gambling...people can see a difference in me now, they see me come back with the shopping bags, do you know, little things like that, and I feel a part of the community... it's important to me, very important. I wouldn't be comfortable here if I didn't feel part of the community... Like the woman who got off the bus the other day. She had a baby in a pram trying to carry a box, getting off the bus...so I carried the boxes for her [and she said] thanks very much. Little things like that..</p>
919-936	Other species	Wants to do, but can't (e.g., getting a puppy)	<p>Internal constraint (e.g., not yet ready)</p> <p>Internal affordance (e.g., ready for a fish)</p>	<p>Ronni: You mentioned something like you'd like to have a puppy?</p> <p>P1 I'd love to have a puppy if I had the time for walking. There's a dog walk over there. Think about that next year because right now I have so much to do.</p> <p>Ronni: It's in your plan</p> <p>P1: A little fish tank is what I was thinking of. A nice little fish I think electric, not a little plastic one, you know it would be very soothing...</p> <p>I'm very domesticated... but it's early yet, I have a lot to do. I have a lot of my mother's belongings that need to come down here, a big television, that's my television will go upstairs in my bedroom. There is a lot of manoeuvring to do. I have to go, I have to get a big coffee table, my mum's coffee table. There's a stereo to come out as well, you know proper stereo, now proper stereo now.</p>

time / line no's	Capabilities	Actions	Affordance/ Constrain	Text Chunk
959-970	Play	wants to do, but can't (e.g., fun activities)	External constraint (e.g., budget)	<p>Ronni: what kind of fun things do you do?</p> <p>P1 at the moment, I don't have much space for fun because of the finances...I'm working on the finances. Next year I hope to be, early next year, little bit wherever they decide to put me (in terms of employment).</p> <p>Ronni: what are you looking forward to doing?</p> <p>P1 to be honest I'm looking forward to meeting a partner, just to go on a spin on the bus ... or go away and have a bite to eat ... and spend the day out and come back again, things like that, you know, just normal stuff like just go shopping together, just doing simple things, that's what I really like.</p>
992-1001	Control over material environment		Internal Affordance (e.g., Motivated to keep house)	<p>Ronni: so legal, financial, housing situations. So you've got this place, it's pretty secure?</p> <p>P1: Right this is my base. I'm working for here and as long as I'm breathing I'm going to stay here</p>
1010 -1028	Control over political environment	Chooses not to do	Internal constraint (e.g., lack of interest)	<p>R: ...can you talk about how much control you have over other aspects of life? Would you be one that would go out and vote in elections or participate in public forums or meetings or anything like that?</p> <p>P1: no. no.</p> <p>Ronni: you're not interested in that?</p> <p>P1: no, I'm not going to be someone who I'm not</p> <p>Ronni: fair enough. So what is it about that that turns you off?</p> <p>P1: none of those people ever did me any favours. None of them helped me along the way. Pen pushers</p>