Psychological and Behavioural Science

The English Homeless Crisis
A Case Study of Cross-Cultural Failure and Success

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1. Context

The definition of homelessness under English law is that of a person who either has no accommodation, or someone who finds their current accommodation unsuitable for further habitation (National Audit Office [NAO], 2017, p. 5). According to two recent reports by the England charity Shelter, by December 2018 there will be 320,000 people in the Great Britain who are recorded as homeless. Of that number, 131,269 are children (Shelter, 2018). Within England alone, the total number of people who are now 'homeless' has increased 169% from 2010 to 2017 (European Federation of National Organizations Working with the Homeless [FEANTSA], 2018, p. 10). Research has shown that being homeless puts an individual at a general greater risk for experiencing violence, feelings of failure, and social ostracization (Brighton House Trust [BHT], 2017, p. 12). Additionally, long-term rough sleeping, sleeping in an open environment due to homelessness, results in a 30-year shorter life expectancy when compared to the general population (FEANTSA, 2018, p. 8). The human cost is therefore considerable, as is the financial, with local authorities spending £1.15bn during 2015-16 alone on the issue. All this despite commitments from both national and local Governments within Great Britain to prevent at-risk people from becoming homeless in the first place and help those that are homeless to reintegrate into society (NAO, 2017). As can be ascertained from this short overview, English efforts to address the societal issue of homelessness have largely failed to date.

The above situation is in sharp contrast to that of Finland, which roughly over the same period, 2008 to 2015, has "observed a 35% drop in the number of individuals experiencing long-term homelessness, making it the only EU Member State to have witnessed a decrease in the number of homeless people." The Finnish Government has largely achieved this through a continuous and constant strategy that involved a "convergence of stakeholders," and implementing a "Housing First" model, by which a homeless person is given a regular self-contained dwelling with a rental contract (FEANTSA, 2018, pp. 27-28).

The Finnish program model was adopted from the work of Dr. Sam Tsemberis, whose "Pathways to Housing" approach constituted "three major components: (1) program philosophy and practice values emphasizing consumer choice; (2) community based, mobile support services; and (3) permanent scatter-site housing" (Tsemberis, 2010). The first component here takes the stance that the consumer, here defined as the person at risk for, or currently, homeless, is a competent individual capable of making his or her own choices, and that choices must be by nature personalized for each individual. However, those choices should have a harm reduction approach applied to them, "meaning that the risks associated with such a choice should be prevented or the harms related to them reduced" (Löfstrand & Juhila, 2012, p. 50). The second component constitutes a program built around both a clinical and housing intervention, in which the individual is given immediate accesses to permanent housing based on

demonstrated need along with continuous support in order to overcome the individual barriers to self-sufficiency. The third component builds on the psychology need of belonging, by placing homeless people in "normal" lease contracts funded by several separate sources (Ministry of the Environment, 2017, p. 4). This last component of "normal" housing, it is argued, avoids the risk associated with "congregate living and on-site services" by which the environment of institutionalization undermines "social integration and independent living" (Padgett, Henwood, & Tsemberis, 2015, p. 5). While the Finnish model of "Housing First" is based on the principles of "Pathways to Housing," they have adapted it and modified it to fit their own specific needs. Given then the success of this adaptation, is it then possible to learn from the Finnish approach in order to implement a similar "Housing First" program here in England, and if so, what are the structural and cultural barriers to accomplishing this?

In an attempt to answer this question we will analyze the issue of homelessness, in both Finland and England, through the theoretical lens of Installation Theory, which states in short that individual human behavior, which we expand to the very state of homelessness itself, is the result of an interaction between three "layers": the physical, objective layer (basically an environment that provides affordances); the embodied, subjective layer, made of the individual skills and competences; and the social layer, in which social norms play a part in guiding and constructing individual behavior. These three layers: physical environment, embodied competences, and social regulation, constitute the singularity of the installation: the unit of analysis that constructs, regulates, and to some extent, controls individual human behavior in a society. This theoretical framework allows us to analyze how current approaches to homelessness in England and in Finland are attributing to the three layers of the installation within the context of homeless prevention, or in some cases, even creation of a homeless problem. This analysis will in turn allow us to provide recommendations to the most relevant stakeholders, in their relation to the construction of the installation, so that they might attempt to modify or change one particular layer through more optimal interventions based on a holistic approach, rather than an atomized one, to the societal problem of homelessness. Therefore, our analysis will be structured on the macro-level, rather than the micro, in order to understand the societal responses to homelessness in both Finland and England.

2. Introduction: Installation Theory and the Analysis of Homelessness

Installation Theory provides us with a powerful theoretical lens through which to view the societal problem of homelessness, as it takes a truly holistic approach in its attempt to explain the construction and regulation of individual human behavior by the dynamic interaction of the individual's environment, inner mental/physiological states, social/societal norms and expectations. These three layers: physical environment, embodied competences, and social regulation, constitute the singularity of the installation, which is ultimately, the unit of analysis that constructs, regulates, and to some extent, controls individual human behavior within a society (Lahlou, 2017).

While some components of the installations are currently beyond individual or societal control, such as the environmental constant of gravity on earth or the second law of thermodynamics, others can be either totally constructed or "nudged" through the *choice architecture* of Governments, policy makers, urban planners, local Governments, and groups of concerned citizens (Thaler & Sunstein, 2009). Therefore, a functional installation can be constructed through social consensus, and to a large extent is a prerequisite to the creation of functional, and therefore, well-adjusted behavior/individuals within a society. In contrast, a maladjusted installation will lead to maladjusted behavior/individuals, and in turn create social disharmony or societal ills, such as homelessness. Therefore, through a thorough analysis of the three layers of the installation that affects the populations of both Finland and England, physical, embodied, and social, we can better understand how these components contribute to either exacerbating or relieving homelessness. Furthermore, this allows us to view which components of the installation could be altered by significant stakeholders, such as national or local Governments, so that their failures can be addressed with operational, and empirically driven, solutions.

The structure of our essay will be such: first, an analysis of the stakeholders affected by homelessness; secondly, an analysis of homelessness in England and Finland; thirdly, our recommendations and suggestions to the English Government. Finally, we will close with our concluding remarks, limitations, and findings that indicate that the failures of the English approach to homelessness is largely a result of not addressing the three layers of the installation adequately.

3. Analysis

3.1 Stakeholder Analysis

Given the complex nature of homelessness, our focus is on the main stakeholders connected to it, identified either for their power and resources to create interventions, or because of the effect of those interventions, directly or indirectly, on them.

Homeless People

Homeless people are those primarily affected by the failures and successes of political interventions. The pathways to and from homelessness differ for individuals, particularly for men and women due to individual specificities and personal history, including domestic violence, relationship breakdown, and job loss (Bretherton, 2017). In addition to difficulties finding food provision, accommodation and job security, the homeless person's situation can be made

more complex due to mental health issues, which can either be a cause or an effect of homelessness. Lastly, the complex varieties of homelessness are rarely captured as official statistics typically do not include hidden homelessness –not being visibly rough sleeping on the street, i.e. because of couch surfing or sleeping in cars (Pleace & Bretherton, 2013, p. 6).

Government

In both England and Finland, national authorities are the main actors for the creation and funding of social policy and legislation. In England, the Department of Communities and Local Government is in charge with homelessness prevention, intervention and accommodation (NAO, 2017, p.5). In Finland, the Ministry of Environment was responsible for the successful PAAVO I and II programmes (2008-15) targeting long-term homeless people through the extensive introduction of Housing First; it is also the author of the Action Plan for Preventing Homelessness in Finland 2016–2019 (Pleace, 2017).

Local Authorities

In both countries, local authorities face financial constraints due to limited Government funding, as well as limited housing options available; they have to deal with such constraints when implementing strategies at the local level. They have a duty to assess applications and allocate applicants to different housing options, as well as a duty to provide advisory services to the homeless or those at risk of becoming homeless (Ministry of Housing, 2018).

Compared to England, Finnish local authorities are provided with more guidance (although often non-binding) by the Government. They are provided with sub-goals to be put in place at the local level, as opposed to only general long-term goals with complete freedom on the implementation strategy (Pleace, Culhane, Granfelt, & Knutagård, 2015).

NGOs

Non-Governmental Organizations play an important role in providing support and counseling for the homeless (Cromarty, 2018, p. 4). In Finland, the Y-Foundation has been working closely with its Government in providing housing for homeless people (Y-Foundation, 2017). In England, Crisis is the leading source of knowledge about homelessness in addition to providing support for people in need (Fitzpatrick et al., 2018, p. 1).

Citizens

Public consensus in England usually assumes the cause for being homeless stems from individual failures, such as drug addiction or mental health, neglecting the consequences of structural and system failures (O'Neil et al., 2017, p. 39). The public believes that homelessness is inevitable and it is perceived to have negative connotations as it is

associated with undesirable activities, such as begging and drug use (Cromarty, 2018, p. 8; O' Neil et al., 2017, p. 10).

In contrast, Finland has a constructive approach, which encourages local resident to be supportive of people affected by homelessness, and embracing them in the communities (Gray, 2018, p. 2).

Landlords

In England, the end of assured shorthold tenancy is a driving force behind homelessness. Landlords tend not to accept housing benefits, which homeless or low-income individuals use to pay their rent (Shelter, 2016, pp. 52-86). Landlords, therefore, could play an important constructive role in prevention effort directed at homelessness at an earlier stage.

3.2 Case Study: Finland

Introduction

Since 2008 the Finnish Government has built a national response to the societal problem of homelessness anchored in the guiding principles of "Housing First." The Finnish approach to "Housing First" does not view housing as reward for acceptable behavior, but rather a basic human right that lays a foundation by which any reintegration attempt of a homeless person back into society is built upon (Y-Foundation, pp. 10-16). As we shall now see, the Finnish approach to homelessness addresses the physical, embodied, and social needs of an individual holistically, thus creating a functioning installation by which desired behavior can be fostered.

Physical Layer

Led by the Ministry of Environment, the Finnish response to homelessness focused on the physical layer of an installation through the creation of sustainable and permanent housing (see Appendix, Figure 1)**.** This has been achieved through the conversion of "pre-existing homelessness shelters to Housing First units" and housing scheme competitions through the Paavo I program (2008-11) (Pleace et al., 2015, p. 18; Kaakinen, 2012, p. 12). This program saw the reduction of long-term homelessness by 28%, and the creation of 1,519 dwellings and sportive housing units. The Paavo II program (2012-15) improved on this physical layer of the installation by increasing the use of scattered housing alternatives, normal housing units from the private market that are supplemented by state subsidies, in order to supplement any shortfalls in the availability of readily made social housing units (Pleace et al., 2015, p. 21).

Thus, the Finnish approach constructs the material affordance of the installation by which to scaffold Maslow's "Hierarchy of Needs," as the housing unit provides the *safety needs* of a homeless person, the individual no longer has to be "living almost for safety alone," which allows for the creation of "undisrupted routine or rhythm" (Maslow, 1943; see Appendix, Figure 2). This in turn promotes both "embodied competences and social regulations," as the individual under the scheme is ideally nudged from a behavioral trait of dependence to one of stability, financial independence, and finally, social contribution (Lahlou, 2017, p. 180).

Embodied Layer

The embodied layer of the installation was addressed through a series of early intervention and continuous support programs, aimed at sub-groups and individuals that were most at risk for becoming homeless or already sleeping rough, including, but not limited to youths, recently released convicts, and those at risk of losing their current residency through evictions. These early intervention programs accomplished their goal through advisory services that sought to impart the embodied competences necessary for the individual to avoid the hazards of homelessness in the first place. For example, local-Governments produced 3682 management plans of payment with families or individuals at risk of eviction. It has been estimated that these housing advisor services in the city of Kaupunkitutkimus decreased evictions by 32%, and that by helping 148 individuals or families to avoid eviction the local Government saved "over 6M € savings in public finances" (Kaakinen, 2012, pp. 9-11).

These early intervention programs create Vygotsky's Zone of Proximal Development which "is the set of behaviors a learner can perform with the help of someone more skilled, but not without his help," as it seeks to educate, rather than punish, low-income individuals for their lack of financial acumen or ability to maintain their home (Lahlou, 2017, p. 187). The use of management plans also creates social representations: a shared network of ideas, practices, and beliefs which order around a theme and a series of propositions, by which expectations can be scaffolded for at-risk individuals (Moscovici, 1998). For example, desired patterns of behavior, such as decreasing the purchases of non-essential goods in order to pay the rent in a timely fashion, are slowly "internalized, or embodied" with the guidance of a helpful authority figure, in this case the housing advisor. Eventually, this embodiment processes becomes a self-regulating behavior within the at-risk individual, and they can operate without the guidance of the housing advisor (Lahlou, 2017, pp. 192, 203-204).

Social Layer

The open communication of the Finnish Government is a major aspect of its success (Kaakinen, 2012, p. 12). For example, this open communication allowed for a rapid change of the social representations of the homeless

population through effective measures on the local level, such as neighborhood work, which includes information events or deploying former homeless people in tasks focused on taking care of the neighborhood (Y-Foundation, 2017, pp. 81-83). These efforts effectively humanized homeless individuals within Finnish society (Pleace et al., 2015, p. 3).

However, this willingness to change the social representation of the homeless population is likely due to Finland's already advanced attitude towards social-welfare, and the general attitude of societal responsibility towards vulnerable groups - "there seems to be a willingness (...) to put society before the individual" (Robertson, 2016; Khazan, 2013).

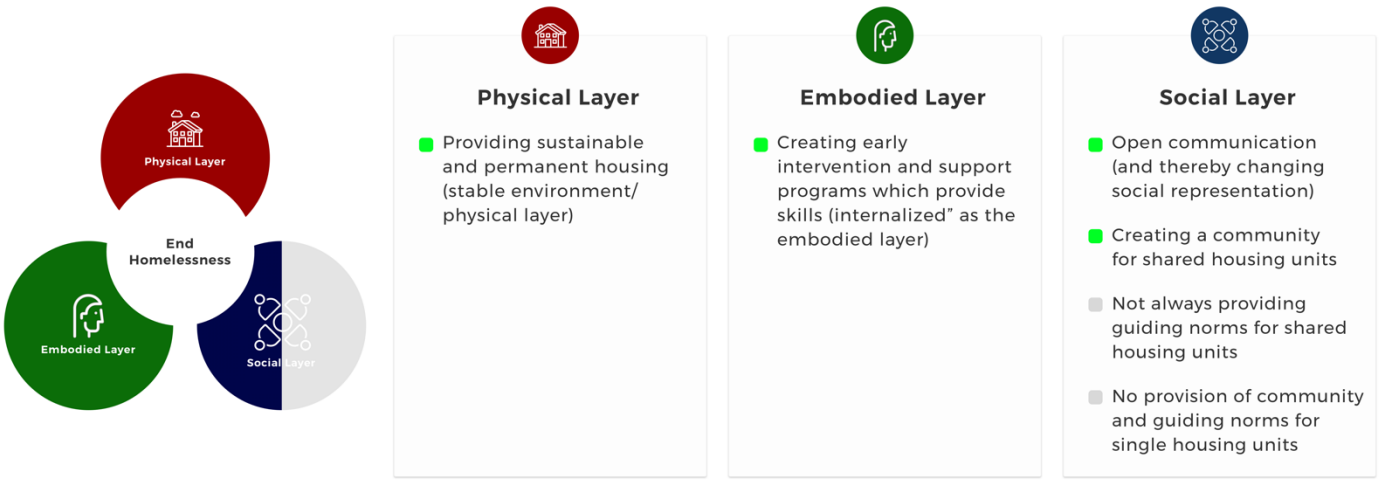
While the Finnish approach delivers community values for former homeless people in shared housing, it tends to find difficulty creating community values for those who have chosen to live in private housing. Additionally, living in shared housing units can create a sense of stigmatization for most residents, as they tend to lump all homeless individuals together, regardless of their circumstances which led to their homelessness (Y-Foundation, 2017, pp. 27-28). These shared housing options can also create a high risk of harmful social norms, which subsequently might create an extra barrier for integration within the general population (Lahlou, 2017, p. 151).

Conclusion

We can therefore draw three conclusions from the Finnish approach. First, it creates a **sustainable and permanent housing**, which in turn promotes a stable environment/**physical layer**. This foundation **promotes both "embodied competences and social regulations**".

Second, Finnish **early intervention and support programs** provide the individual with the **skills and knowledge needed for the fostering of "desired patterns of behavior"**, which are eventually "internalized" as the **embodied layer** of the installation.

Finally, as Finnish society possesses positive perceptions of the welfare state they can more effectively **communicate openly** about intervention programs for the homeless to the public. For example, **supporting neighbourhood work** helps create a positive **social representation of the homeless population**. However, these efforts to establish a **community** do not always **create** guiding norms, supportive relationships, or positive **community values** for former homeless people **within** shared housing units. In addition, these aspects have not been fully addressed for individuals living in single housing units as well.



3.3 Case Study: England

Introduction

In contrast to Finland, approaches to homelessness in England typically follow a staircase model, in which permanent housing is only the last step on the ladder of requirements that one has to climb: in most cases, one needs to follow a prescribed set of rules such as being "sober, to follow their treatment regularly and to be sufficiently independent before they are provided with housing" (FEANTSA, 2018, p. 21).

In the few instances of Housing First being applied in England, attempts have rather led to a form of housing that we would describe as *Housing Only*, where material affordances (the provision of a physical house) have been overemphasized at the expense of the equally relevant embodied and social layers.

Physical Layer

The English Government simply allocates budgets to local authorities and lets them handle the homelessness problem independently with little oversight and assessment. The local authorities prioritize their budget on temporary accommodation such as B&Bs and hostels, which do not take into consideration the limited material affordances that such unstable environments actually provide. For example, temporary accommodations do not allow individuals or families to link with their community in a meaningful way, or progress beyond a state of anxiety about the future of their housing situation (NAO, 2017, pp. 7-24).

In the limited cases where England has provided permanent housing in lines with the 'Housing First' Model, these pilot projects have rarely succeeded. This is likely due to not following all of the 'Housing First' core principles, such as continuous support and social reintegration (Bellis, & Wilson, 2018, pp. 15-28). Therefore, the failures of these projects in England is that they employ 'Housing First' as if it were 'Housing Only,' which is just providing people with the lowest levels of Maslow's hierarchy of needs, such as those of *physical* and *safety* (Maslow, 1943). This approach neglects to create the conditions by which individual competences are produced, as it inadequately addresses both the embodied and social layers of the installation.

Embodied Layer

In the English staircase approach, one has to be judged "ready" by developing the skills necessary to be independent, such as embodied competences or "*lata*" *(*interpretive mechanisms carried by the subject), as a prerequisite condition of getting long-term housing support (Lahlou, 2017, p. 102). This makes efforts to achieve embodied skills a sisyphean task, as individuals are not able to embody correct behavior or sufficient independence due to a lack of environmental stability or the support of a social layer as they would have under a true "Housing First" program (Tsemberis, 2010).

The second way to access support in the England model is to be judged as in "priority need". Priority need entails vulnerability, e.g. being pregnant or having severe disability (NHAS, 2015), therefore creating a relatively high threshold through which categories like single unemployed persons are automatically disadvantaged when seeking help. One could argue that this latter threshold creates the conditions by which learned helplessness, where an individual faces repeated evidence that they have no control over a situation and therefore stops trying to change it (Seligman, 1972), is embodied. This occurs particularly in the shelter environment, in which little freedom of choice was found to be correlated with a feeling of little control over one's own housing and employment opportunities (Burn, 1992).

Furthermore, implementation issues arise even when it comes to intensive case management teams, as it becomes more difficult to measure intervention outcomes when working with an itinerant population, such as rough sleepers or those in temporary housing (Homeless Link, 2015).

Social Layer

A recent study by the FrameWorks Institute has demonstrated, English people see homelessness through the lens of individualism and fatalism, i.e. the public's tendency to perceive homelessness as an individual failure and an

unsolvable problem. This negative social representation of homelessness as an individual failure can lead to alienation, decrease empathy and increase stigma as well as the embodiment of such misrepresentations by the homeless people themselves in a vicious cycle of interaction between social and embodied layer (O'Neil et al., 2017, p. 47).

Furthermore, the Government's focus on providing temporary accommodation fails to re-integrate the homeless population into society, as the transitory nature of temporary accommodation makes it difficult to foster social skills or build meaningful relationships within a community.

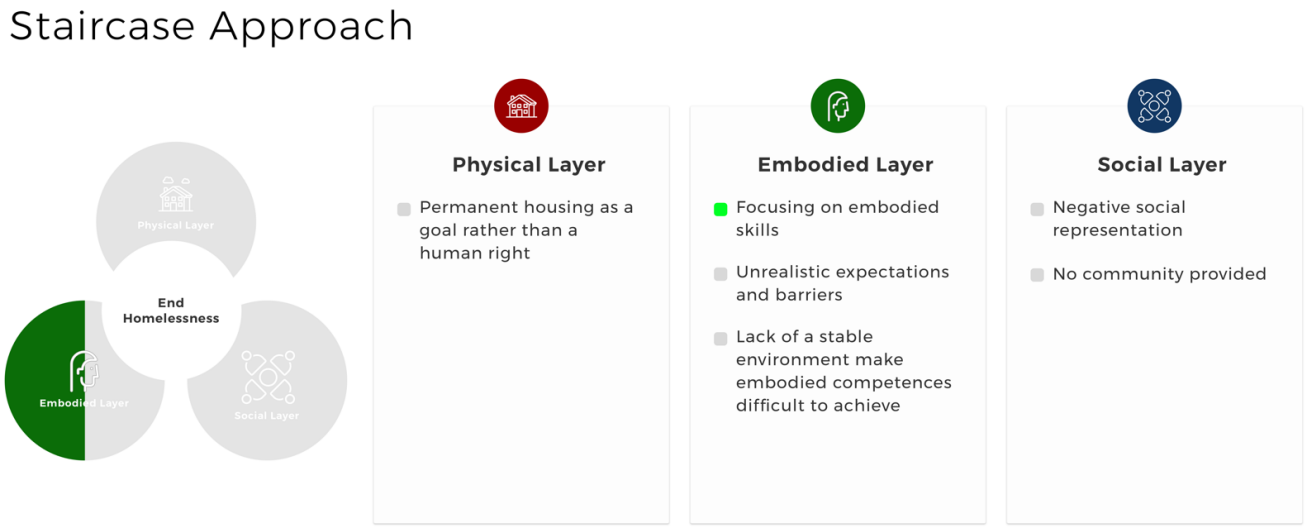
This situation is further exacerbated by weak coordination efforts of The Department, and their "light-touch" policy in giving directives to local authorities, as well as poor data collection, resulting in an incomplete picture of the homeless phenomenon, as the task is often deferred to less resourceful agents like NGOs and charities (FEANTSA, 2018, p. 30; National Audit Office, 2017).

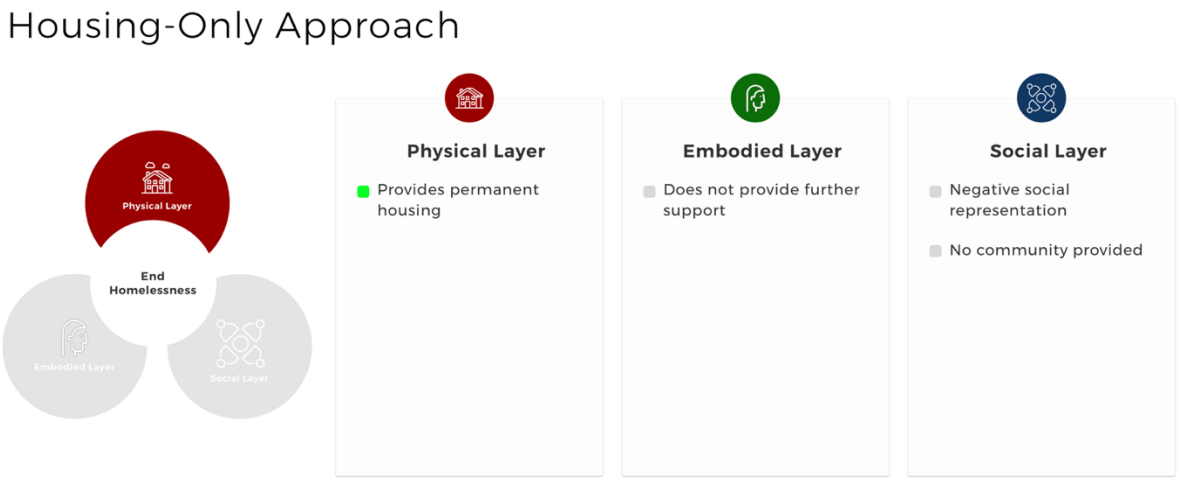
Conclusion

In conclusion, the Government within England is failing in creating a functional installation that addresses all three layers. Firstly, through its implementation of a staircase approach, which places unrealistic expectations and **barriers** to those individuals seeking help, by not treating housing as a basic human-right. Furthermore, the few applications of "Housing First" are largely reduced to *Housing Only*, thereby creating an environment unable to tackle the embodied and social layer, due to placing too much emphasis on the physical layer.

Secondly, the lack of funding for the creation of **permanent housing structures** indirectly neglects the **embodied layer**. This lack of a stable environment results in a situation in which **embodied** competences are **difficult, if not impossible** to achieve, as are **reintegration** efforts by intensive case management teams, resulting in a state of **learned helplessness** amongst some individuals experiencing homelessness.

Lastly, attempts to change negative **social representations** of homeless people, and reintegration efforts into the general population, are further impinged by weak coordination efforts of The Department, and their "light-touch" policies in dealing with local authorities which gives an incomplete picture of the various pathways to homelessness, largely due to poor data collection.





4. Recommendations and Proposed Solutions

4.1 General Guideline for England

As homelessness is a complex societal problem, we will mainly focus on Government & local authorities as our main target group for our proposed recommendations in order to solve the problem, due to their legislative power to implement and fund policy on a societal level.

Physical Layer

From temporary to permanent housing:

The most urgent and necessary step on the physical layer is clearly a funding shift from emphasis on temporary emergency housing to permanent accommodation. This could be implemented in two ways: either by creating and improving flats as part of shared housing structures under national initiative, or by providing the homeless with single, scattered-site flats in regular buildings destined to "normal" rental contracts.

In the case of shared housing, funds should be allocated to buy and build new structures, or convert existing buildings (like B&Bs or Government-funded homeless shelters) into more permanent congregate housing structures, like the Finnish PAAVO I program has extensively been doing (FEANTSA, 2018, p. 27). Single scattered-site housing, on the other hand, mostly requires working on the allocation of a given proportion of flats in regular buildings, so as to rent to former homeless people so that they can be part of the usual rental system alongside other tenants in the building. To do so, a sustainable business model could be created, in which rental surplus is reinvested in construction and maintenance of housing (Y-Foundation, 2017).

Both of these approaches create different housing and social environments that need to be considered when evaluating which one works best for each individual case (Busch-Geertsema, 2014, p. 20).

The creation of scattered-site housing opportunities is complicated by the relationship with potential landlords, given the latter's lack of trust and reluctance to rent their flats to homeless people. To reduce such barrier, change in social representations of the homelessness is needed, which we will address in recommendations within the social layer. A complementary strategy is the facilitation of the link between the homeless and the landlords through "organizational contracts", where social rental agencies or NGOs might mediate, bridge and guarantee the good functioning of the contract (lasting ideally 6-12 months at least, after which it will become a regular rental contract) so as to incentivize landlords to allocate their property to former homeless people.

Embodied Layer

Removing Barriers:

The requirement of being in "priority need" creates circumstances by which certain groups are disadvantaged when seeking help. Additionally, the current system promotes the embodiment of certain behaviors by the individual in

order to meet the current social representation of what constitutes "more vulnerable to the impacts of homelessness in order to seek help under the "priority need" paradigm (Shelter, 2016, p. 16). Thus, by lowering, or even abolishing, the threshold of entry, local authorities could more readily structure and support positive behaviors from the onset of homelessness, rather than waiting until 'vulnerable' behaviors that are antithetical to reintegration efforts are exhibited by the individual.

Housing Only vs Housing First:

The Housing Only paradigm within England does not provide the necessary support structure in order for an individual to embody the necessary skills to escape from the spiral of homelessness. We therefore recommend that local authorities provide continuous support. For example, assigning case management support teams to each individual or family, in order to help them reintegrate in society and both move away from a state of dependence and avoid a potential relapse into homelessness.

Early Intervention:

As the Department itself "has estimated that households that qualify for temporary accommodation cost eight times as much as cases of homelessness prevention or relief," we would recommend that the Department promotes the embodied layer of the installation on a national level through a rapid increase in funding to early intervention programs on a local level, that ideally, seek to teach financial awareness, budgeting, and other skills, such as job retraining, that might be necessary in order for at risk individuals to embody the skills necessary to prevent the circumstances of homelessness (NAO, 2017). Furthermore, we would recommend that the Department distributes funding for such intervention with the guidelines that those implemented should ideally follow Vygotsky's Zone of proximal development.

<u>Social Layer</u>

Although Finland has developed an advanced approach to address the social layer, few of these learnings have found their way into official Governmental reports. Nevertheless, we want to stress that changing the social representation of homeless population and providing a community for former homeless people is fundamental for the success of the reintegration process.

Changing the Social Representation:

Taking the different cultural conditions into consideration we conclude that England will need a greater focus on the social representation than Finland and we therefore recommend a nationwide campaign, which includes a more systemic and anti-fatalism approach as recommended by the FrameWorks Institute and Crisis. However, looking at Crisis' campaigns, it seems like their approach has failed to reach a broader audience. This could be due to their exclusion of the identifiable victim effect in order to not feed into current homelessness stereotypes, therefore excluding a powerful tool by which to get the public's attention (Jenni & Loewenstein, 1997, p. 235) . Research about why people share content reveals that content is more likely to become viral the more positive it is, especially if it evokes a high-arousal emotion such as awe connected with humor or surprise (Berger & Milkman, 2011, p. 1).

We therefore recommend to modify these campaigns creating a high-arousal positive emotion such as surprise (see Appendix, Table 1).

Providing a community:

Finally, as discussed, one main aspect of the social layer of this installation should be the effort of providing a community for the former homeless people. Building upon the Finnish analysis we recommend to provide a community beyond the shared housing option.

4.2 Specific Solution for the Social Layer: Community Centre

The community centre is a starting point for tackling the missing integration components for homeless people who are trying to find a house in England. It is a way to address the social layer, drawing from the existing communal environment present in Finnish social housing and the lack of it in England. It is composed of the following:

1. Social Space

The community centre provides a physical space for gathering and social activity, e.g. community meetings, in a positive environment within the rules of responsible and non-harmful behavior. On the social layer, stable relationships are encouraged by reiterated gatherings of the same group of people in a safe environment.

2. Support Desk

Advisory services about housing, including rents and benefits available to the homeless, are provided. One section will be dedicated to PO boxes, so that each individual can receive personal and job-related documentation and have a reference address: this will make it easier to connect to labor market opportunities. The PO boxes section will also incentivize the homeless to come back to the community centre and make them more likely to take part in the social and learning activities.

3. NGOs offices

Multiple NGOs will have their own office space where skill-oriented workshops (to develop embodied competences) and facilitation to job market access, ideally a career fair with entities that offer opportunities specific to homeless people, will be organized. Access to workshops and the job market will foster a sense of productivity and value to society. For individuals who are not ready for this step, smaller tasks can be offered, such as neighborhood work.

Commitment and Social Exchange:

Drawing from social exchange theory, we propose to structure the center around the tenets of a University program, so as to engender "feelings of personal obligations, gratitude and trust" (Blau, 1964, p. 94). Homeless people will initially become part of a fellowship by enrolling at the community center, by the end of which they will receive a diploma in a specific skill set of their choice, such as cooking, coding, writing, or auto-repair, etc. Ideally, this diploma could be used to demonstrate commitment to their skill set, which could be used in the future to leverage for internships or more permanent work positions.

Additionally, they will enter an Alumni network that provides two key elements: firstly, creating a supportive structure of individuals that have a shared experience so as to ease the reintegration process; secondly, actively recruiting former members to commit to a pay it forward program, either through donations of time, money, or volunteer work, which would allow for more homeless individuals to benefit from the resources of the Centre (Gray, Ward, & Norton, 2014). Therefore, not only is a knowledge hub created for these individuals, but they will become part of a community that they can choose to actively participate and give back to. Ideally, this will create a sense of reciprocity between the homeless individuals being helped and the community itself. Where the gift of skills and knowledge is given freely, with an understanding from the individuals being helped that at some point in the future they are expected or encouraged to return this gift to others (Mauss, 1925).

5. Conclusion and Limitations

Our analysis of Finland's and England's strategies for tackling the problem of homelessness reveals that England is failing to address the physical, embodied and social layer in a balanced way. Addressing each layer separately and drawing from the Finnish case study, we have given recommendations that will help to readjust the installation to reintegrate the homeless population. Only abolishing the "light touch" approach of the English Government and introducing clear guidelines for local authorities will make the needed improvements feasible.

Finland is creating a stable physical layer by providing permanent housing. In contrast, England is focusing on financing temporary emergency housing, which does not create a stable physical layer on which embodied skills and social reintegration can be developed. Therefore, we recommend a shift from an emphasis on temporary housing to permanent accommodations. Taking the cost of English housing market into account, such as decreased availability of housing in London, this does provide an obvious hurdle for this approach (FEANTSA, 2018, pp. 78-79).

Nevertheless, financing models from Finland should be taken into consideration, as they might offer a helpful guideline for future projects.

On the embodied layer, Finland provides individuals with support to internalize skills. In contrast, the English approach leaves the embodiment of skills to the individual, or even worse, promotes harming behavior in order to be considered in need of help. We recommend lowering this threshold of entry and assigning support teams to each individual by increasing funding to early intervention programs. This would take the diverse reasons for homelessness into consideration, as a "one-size-fits-all" solution for the embodied layer is unrealistic. Providing a flexible, individual but coherent support strategy for the diverse homeless population constitutes one of the most challenging aspects of the reintegration process and requires further research.

Finally, the social layer could be improved upon by both countries. Finland has positively changed the social representation of homelessness and supports community values for individuals in shared housing. However, it could more actively do this for those in private housing as well.
In contrast, England's focus on providing temporary accommodation makes it almost impossible to create a sustainable social layer for the homeless population. As creating positive social layer is a fundamental necessity for a successful reintegration process, we recommend to change the social representation of homeless people through a nationwide campaign. Furthermore, we argue for the creation of positive community values through a community centre. However, one should be aware of unintended spillover effects here, as this could especially apply to a policy that creates a community with own rule setting. Continuous improvement and modifications of the concept will therefore be necessary, ideally through randomised controlled trials (Haynes, Service, Goldacre, & Torgerson, 2012).

In conclusion, from the analysis that we conducted on this complex phenomenon, we believe that there is hope to eradicate homelessness and the burden that homeless individuals face, but this will only be possible with a systematic and coordinated effort by authorities to act sustainably and sensibly on each layer of the installation.

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7. Appendix

Table 1. *Overview of Campaigns.*

Campaign	Description	Source
Current Crisis Campaign	"Everybody In" uses the messenger effect as its most powerful tool by letting 20 celebrities including Tom Hardy, Emma Thompson and Richard Gere read the poem 'If Everybody Is In' by Stefan, which calls for combined action to end homelessness. As of today the youtube video (published on October 9th 2018) has only received 10.000 views.	https://www.crisis.org.uk/get-involved/everybody-in/

Other successful campaigns	Getty Images, on of the worldwide leading stock-photo platforms, and german street magazine fifty-fifty have created a campaign that is supposed to "change the way the homeless community is viewed". Homeless people were hired for the 'Repicturing Homeless' campaign to model in stock photo shoots for some of the most saleable themes on Getty Images – e.g. businessman or cook. By transforming the homeless people into stock-photo worthy representatives of these occupations it challenges the often prejudiced social representation of homeless people. The headphones launch video of Cristiano Ronaldo, which was described my many media article as "homeless prank" has received more than 30 million views. In the video posted Ronaldo is dressed up as a "homeless man" and is playing football on Madrid's plaza - no one seems to care until a boy starts playing with him. The video ends with a the reveal and the little boy on the verge of tears. A great example of the surprise effect, followed with an emotional end used by many viral videos.	https://www.adforum.com/creative-work/ad/player/34563418/repicturing-homeless/getty-images-fiftyfifty https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8H_DSErYUZk
Two Ideas for modifying the Crisis campaign:	• Using the same campaign with subtitles for the "celebrities" (e.g. Richard Gere, Actor and Golden Globe Winner) and revealing in the end, that five of the "celebrities" are actually homeless people who got a makeover. Followed by clear "guidance what to do" (Drawing from the	

	"Repicturing Homeless" campaign of Getty Images) ● Start the video with a "celebrities in disguise" clip - celebrities dressed as homeless people sitting on the streets of London, recording how they are treated by general public- followed by a reveal and the poem and "guidance what to do". (Drawing from the more than 30 Million clicked video of Cristiano Ronaldo described as "Homeless prank")	

Figure 1. *Examples of Supported Housing Units within the Housing First Program in Finland*. Taken from Y-Foundation (2017).

Figure 2. *Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs.* Taken from McLeod, S. A. (2018).