



Thematic Report 3: Capability and Resilience among Young Homeless Populations

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This report is one of the deliverables of the CSEYHP project: Combating social exclusion among young homeless populations: a comparative investigation of homeless paths among local white, local ethnic groups and migrant young men and women, and appropriate reinsertion methods. The project is funded by the European Union Seventh Framework Programme under the Socio-economic Sciences and Humanities theme.

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This is one of the reports in a series produced by the Combating Social Exclusion of Young Homeless Populations (CSEYHP) project. There are four thematic reports:

- Trajectories into homelessness and reinsertion points
- Social exclusion and homelessness in Northern, Southern and Central Europe
- Capability and resilience among homeless youth
- Gender, ethnic group and migrant dimensions of homelessness

The four reports are complementary and it is recommended to read the full set.

Other CSEYHP publications include:

- Four national reports on the situation regarding homeless youth in Czech Republic, Netherlands, Portugal and United Kingdom
- A comparative Report on Youth Homelessness and Social Exclusion in the Czech Republic, the Netherlands, Portugal and the UK
- Methodology Annex on Working with Co-researchers
- Methodology Annex on Life Trajectory Interviews

All of these publications can be downloaded from the project website at www.movisie.nl/homelessyouth

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NB: This introduction is common to all four thematic reports.

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1. Young homeless people at risk in European countries

The 27th November 2009 resolution of the Council of the European Union proposed a new framework for European cooperation in the field of youth beginning this year, 2010, and continuing until 2018. The framework includes: mainstreaming youth issues into other policies, reaffirming the European Youth Pact (March 2005 European Council) and its role in promoting the Lisbon objectives for jobs and growth, and supporting the Renewed Social Agenda which targets youth and children as a main priority. Much of its evidence derives from the EU Youth Report 2009 ¹ and Member States through the successful use of the open method of co-ordination. The two primary objectives of the resolution are to:

- '(i) create more and equal opportunities for all young people in education and in the labour market, and to
- (ii) promote the active citizenship, social inclusion and solidarity of all young people.' (p3).

Whilst the resolution respects Member States' responsibility for youth and the voluntary nature of co-operation in the youth field, to achieve these two primary objectives requires a dual approach of both specific and mainstreaming initiatives. Both the specific initiatives – including non-formal learning participation, voluntary activities and youth work – and the mainstreaming initiatives in education and training, employment, health and culture, are of particular importance to young people interviewed for the CSEYHP research project. The four thematic reports address the challenges of these objectives in the context of a study of homeless young people who have had fewer opportunities than other young people. These reports on the situation of young people experiencing homelessness in the Czech Republic, Netherlands, Portugal and UK form part of the evidence base for co-operation in the youth field.

The thematic reports are presented in the context of previous research into young people's transition to independent adulthood in Europe. The UP2YOUTH project (Youth – Actor of Social Change, funded under the Framework 6th

¹ Referenced as 9008/9 ADD

Research Programme, www.up2youth.org) brought together the findings of European research in the field of youth and reported on the difficulties facing young Europeans seeking to achieve the three traditional markers of transitions from youth to adulthood through success in the labour market, in family formation and active citizenship. The most recent European Youth Report of 2009 reports on the comparative situation of youth in member states based on data from European surveys and also reports previously funded European research projects.

Young people without family support – young people who have been in the care of government authorities and those who rely on formal and informal support structures outside the family setting – face even more difficulties in making these transitions. Questions to be asked include: Is their education level sufficient? Do they have training for work opportunities? How will they find and maintain low cost housing? Two current European Commission Framework 7 research projects are aiming to research and to address some of these issues: the YIPPEE project on young people leaving care and the CSEYHP project on young people who are homeless. The CSEYHP project has collected information on early life experiences, family and other support systems, experience of education, homelessness and work, and life aspirations and achievements and will test both early intervention methods and case work methods in its 3rd Phase.

1.1 The CSEYHP study in CZ, NL, PT and the UK

Phase I: In the first phase of the CSEYHP project each team reported on the particular issues facing homeless youth in their country through a review of secondary literature and interviews with agency workers in the field of youth homelessness. Average European youth unemployment (15-24yrs) was 15.4% in 2008 but the Netherlands had the lowest rate of youth unemployment at 6%, then CZ at 11%, UK at 14%, and PT at 17% (EYP 2009). UK and NL have higher rates of people not born in the country (10.6%, OECD) and the UK has the highest rate of teenage pregnancy.

Each of the four countries has protective legislation for children and young people; in PT the core legislation was passed in 1911, in the UK in 1989, in CZ in 1991, and in NL new legislation has been passed recently to enable the Ministry for Youth and Families to support families through family and youth centres

(CJG). PT, NL and UK in particular have attempted to counter the risk of young people falling out of education. Both NL and UK have targeted pre-school children as well as school-age children in order to reduce educational disadvantage whilst in PT education support has concentrated on children aged 6-18. In CZ, high rates of educational engagement has led to policies that provide financial support for the poorest rather than general educational intervention.

Of the four countries the UK has the lowest age of criminal responsibility (England and Wales, 10 years of age) and imprisons more young people; CZ also has a punitive approach. Both NL and PT take a less punitive approach to young offenders; NL has developed early intervention programmes whilst PT has a small youth prison population.

Each country team also interviewed key workers and agency managers. Their understandings of the issues facing homeless youth in touch with or supported by their agencies are reported in the Comparative Report, Section 1.5. In CZ key workers reported that unemployment amongst their clients was not the most problematic issue (in 2009); the issues of most importance are the quality of the employment they achieve, their ability to maintain their employment and their lack of qualifications. The lower salaries that the young people receive because they are in poor quality employment leads them to a housing crisis; they cannot afford adequate housing in Prague and are living in squats, poor quality hostels and other types of temporary accommodation.

Dutch key workers reported a major problem of insertion into adult life for young people in the Netherlands because of the break in social support that occurs at 18 years of age; leading young people to be seen as entirely responsible for their own situation in a country where the labour market has demanded greater levels of qualifications and more young people are living at home. Young people aged 19-24 years frequently move to or within the city.

Of the four countries Portugal has the lowest proportion of young people with secondary qualifications and the highest proportion of young people leaving school early, particularly young men. A large majority (80-90%) live with their parents and 18% of young people aged 20-24 years are supported by their families. Key workers in PT are particularly concerned by the situation of youth

living in social housing areas in which half the people are aged under 30 years, with few years of schooling, and many having been reported for youth crimes. Many of these young people have limited institutional connections having dropped out of school very early.

The UK presents a divided picture. The proportion of young people who complete secondary education is similar to NL (80%) but the proportion of young people who are not in employment, education or training (NEET) is the highest in this study. An important concern for key workers is the proportion of young people growing up in workless households (the highest proportion in Europe). Polarisation of opportunities is marked in all areas of life for young people in the UK. Those who can live at home stay at home for longer and longer periods but those who cannot must either find affordable housing in the private rental market or move into homeless hostels. The age at which young women have children has risen but the proportion of disadvantaged young women having children is the highest in Europe.

One manager of a supported housing project in the Medway towns (Thames Gateway, a predominantly UK born white ethnic area) identified a problem of motivating and engaging young people from family backgrounds in which no adult works and who live in areas of predominantly social housing among other workless households. But managers of Birmingham supported accommodation identified the same problem with black ethnic youth born in the UK. Key workers in the UK were more likely to identify young people not born in the UK as being more motivated to do well.

The other issue identified by key workers in the UK is the increasing number of young people coming into homeless hostels with a criminal conviction. Anti-social behaviour orders have been used to control the behaviour of people in communities, predominantly young people; these are civil court actions but if the young person breaches them they are taken through the criminal court. In CZ and the UK young people with criminal convictions are disadvantaged in finding employment.

Phase 2: The CSEYHP second phase included interviews with 54 young homeless people in each country undertaken by trained co-researchers who were themselves homeless or ex-homeless youth. As far as possible each country

sample was to include 18 young people from the dominant ethnic group of that country, 18 from minority ethnic groups, and 18 migrants including refugees – each quota should include equal numbers of young women and young men. Only the Portuguese sample achieved this precise breakdown (18,18,18). The Dutch sample interviewed more young people from the ethnic dominant and migrant groups, and slightly fewer from the ethnic minority group. The UK sample interviewed more young people from the ethnic minority group and slightly less from the ethnic dominant and migrant groups. The Czech sample – because of the particular circumstances of CZ- was predominantly composed of ethnic dominant youth.

Figure 1.1. Structure of the Sample

Sample Quota	UK	PT	CZ	NL	Total
Born in country/ethnic dominant	17	18	44	20	99
	(8F/9M)	(9F/9M)	(14F/30M)	(8F/12M)	(39F/60M)
	7,9%	8,3%	20,4%	9,3%	45,8%
Born in country/ethnic minority	21	18	3	15	57
	(12F/9M)	(9F/9M)	(0F/3M)	(7F/8M)	(28F/29M)
	9,7%	8,3%	1,4%	6,9%	26,4%
Immigrant	16	18	7	19	60
	(7F/8M)	(9F/9M)	(1F/6M)	(8F/11M)	(25F/35M)
	7,4%	8,3%	3,2%	8,8%	27,8%
Total	54 (25%) (27F/27M)	54 (25%) (27F/27M)	54 (25%) (15F/39M)	54 (25%) (23F/31M)	216 (100%) (92F/124M)

Note: F - Female; M - Male

Age and gender: The UK and PT samples have equal numbers of young women and men, the CZ sample includes 15 young women and 39 young men and the NL sample includes 23 young women and 31 young men. Therefore the total survey population comprises 92 young women and 124 young men. A third of the sample are aged under 20 years, and two thirds 20 years and above, but 61% of the UK sample are aged under 20 years, a third of NL and PT (35% and

30%) and 7% of the CZ sample. Women are younger than men; 46% of women are aged under 20 years compared with 24% of men.

Ethnic minorities: Ethnic minority youth in three of our samples reflect the colonial pasts of those countries. Ethnic minority youth born in NL include those with Surinamese heritage (7 young people out of 15), in PT those with Cape Verdean heritage (4), and in the UK young people with Caribbean (11) African (2) or Asian heritage (2). Many young people in the NL, PT and UK samples are of mixed heritage either having one parent from the dominant ethnic group or from another ethnic minority group; in the UK the majority of the ethnic minority group (12 of the 21) are of mixed heritage. In PT and CZ the ethnic minority sample include young Roma: 8 in PT and 3 in CR.

Not born in the country: In CZ the large majority of young people (47) are born in that country: others are from Slovakia or Moravia. In the other three samples there is a variety of countries of origin among young people not born in that country. The Netherlands sample has the greatest range of birth countries including: other European (3), Turkey (2), North Africa (2), Horn of Africa (2), South America (2), other Africa (3), Indian Sub-Continent (2), and Suriname (1). In Portugal other birth countries include: other European (1), the PALOP countries of Africa (Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, Sao Tome - 13), South America (Brazil - 2), and 1 from Congo and 1 from Afghanistan. In the UK sample other birth countries include: the Horn of Africa (Eritrea, Ethiopia, Somalia - 9), Africa (4, including one from Guinea Bissau via Portugal therefore a European migrant), St Lucia (2), and other European countries (1).

Most young people from other countries arrived through channels outside the asylum process. In UK 6 of 16 young people reported they had come as asylum seekers; in the Netherlands 8 out of 19, and in Portugal 3 out of 18. In the UK the majority arrived through family reunification.

Religion: The majority of young people in our sample report having a particular or a general faith (57% vs 43% none); 38% of the sample reported being Christian, Catholic or a member of an Evangelical Christian church, 8% are Muslim whilst 9% report a general belief in a God. In the CZ sample a majority of young people (55%) report no faith compared with 43% in the UK and NL samples and 32% in the PT sample. This is partly associated with different

number of migrants born outside Europe in the four samples. In the UK a majority of both the ethnic dominant and ethnic minority groups report having no faith (58%, 59%) whilst 100% of those born outside Europe report having a faith, and this samples includes 5 Pentecostal migrants persecuted in Ethiopia for their faith. In the NL a majority of ethnic dominant youth report having no faith (80%) but not the ethnic minority group (13% none) nor the migrant group (23% none). These differences are important when we consider the structures of support that can promote resilience.

Current accommodation situation: Another major difference between the four samples is the degree to which young homeless people were drawn from those currently living in the street or emergency accommodation or those living in long term accommodation. Within the CSEYHP project we are dealing with homeless youth and youth at risk of homelessness. Due to the lack of social provision specialised with young homeless (PT, CZ), the situations of homelessness are, in some cases, broader in terms of the roofless and houseless FEANTSA ETHOS categories. Young people were included for interviews if they were living in one of the following conditions: *without proper and/or legal housing, sleeping rough or sleeping with friends, in hostels or other accommodation intended for less than one year; depending on support services; living in care or move on support; social council tenant having experienced family homelessness (inadequate housing) followed by re-housing (PT).*

The sample of young homeless people recruited in CZ was drawn from young people either living in unfit accommodation such as squats or on the streets (88%) compared with 11% in NL (6 young people living on the streets), 9% in PT (6 young people living in shanty accommodation), 7% UK (4 young people living on the streets). By comparison the sample of young people recruited in the UK was drawn from young people living in long-term supported accommodation (foyers, hostels; 72%), compared with 17% in NL and PT and 0% living in that type of accommodation in CZ. These two samples demonstrate the extreme differences in provision in these two countries – almost no recognition of youth homelessness and provision for young homeless people in CZ and a recognition of the risks of youth homelessness and supported accommodation provision specifically for youth developed over 40 years (particularly in the last 25 years)

in the UK. Of the remaining UK young people, 20% were living in accommodation rented from a social landlord (municipal or housing association).

The two samples from NL and PT are more mixed but equally different. The NL sample includes young people who were living in short term accommodation (less than three months, 37% NL), long term supported accommodation (17%), rented from private landlord (9%), refuge (7%), living with partner (6%), social landlord (4%) and others. The PT sample includes young people who were living with parents in owner occupied accommodation (11%), social housing (19%), private rented (19%), long term facilities (17%), squats/shanty accommodation (9%), and living with a partner (7%).

Figure 1.2. Previous Accommodation Arrangements

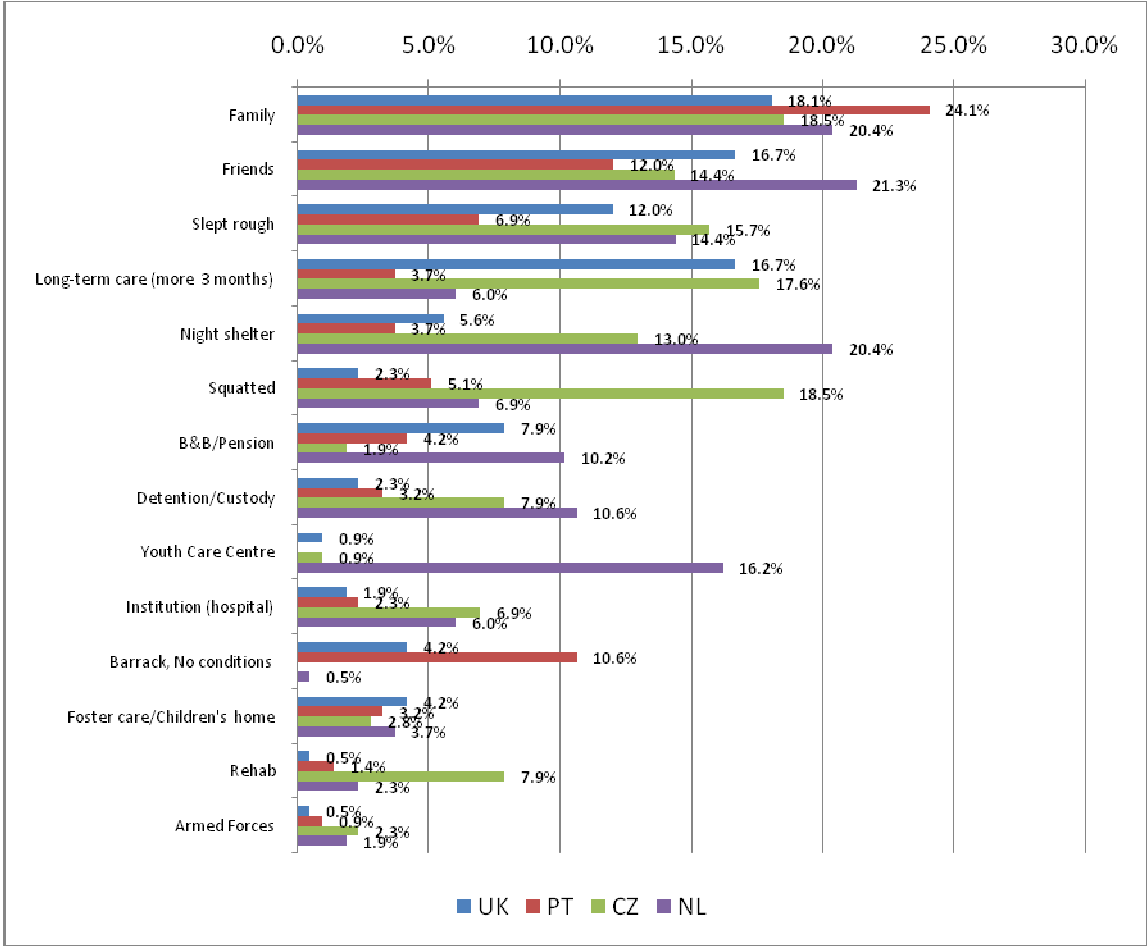


Figure 1.2 reports on all the different circumstances that our 216 young people have lived in after they left their last permanent home. Some had spent time living with family members, particularly in PT (24%) and NL (20%), whilst others had lived with friends (between 17%-21% in each country). Rough sleeping

squatting, as well as rehab are more common among the CZ interviewees (respectively 15,7%, 18,5%, 7,9% in CZ). Detention and custody have a higher presence in CZ (7,9%) and NL (10,6%). PT has a higher proportion of young people who lived in inadequate housing (houses without minimum comfort conditions, unfit for habitation) (10,6%).

Current domestic situation: Less than half of the PT sample reported they were single (44%) compared with 56% NL, 61% UK and 72% CZ. In total 50 young people identified they were parents, and 4 young women were pregnant and 5 young men reported that a partner was pregnant.

Table 1.3: Age, partnership status, parenting status in percentages

	Country sample				Gender	
	UK	PT	CR	NL	Female	Male
Age						
16-19 years, 33%	61	30	7	35	46	24
20 yrs & above, 67%	39	70	93	65	54	76
Partnered						
Single	61	44	72	56	46	68
Partnered	39	56	28	44	54	32
Has child						
No child, 72%	82	48	71	87	58	82
Yes, living with, 14%	6 (3 cases)	39	4 (2 cases)	7	28	3 (4 cases)
Yes, not living with, 10%	6 (3 cases)	7 (4 cases)	23	4 (2 cases)	9	11
Pregnant, 2%	4 (2 cases)	2 (1 case)	0	2 (1 case)	5 (4 cases)	0
Partner pregnant, 2%	4 (2 cases)	4 (2 cases)	2 (1 case)	0	0	4 (5 cases)
Total cases - Has Child	51	54	52	54	89	122
Missing cases	3	-	2	-	3	2

In all therefore 28% of the total sample reported they were a parent or about to become a parent, a similar result to a study of young homeless people in Birmingham, UK (Smith, 2000). But the pattern was very different across the country samples. Of the 29 young people who report that their child was living with them, 21 are in the PT sample; of the 21 who report that their child was not living with them, 12 were from the CZ sample. This pattern follows differences in levels of family support reported by the four country samples (see Thematic Report 3, Capability and Resilience), but also gender differences as just over a quarter of young women were living with their children but only 4 young men.

1.2 The four country samples in context: welfare regimes and young people at risk

The sample of young homeless people in each country was not intended to be representative but to reflect the range of young people across Europe who are homeless or at risk of homelessness. Quotas allowed us to ensure that, within a limited sample size, more young people born outside of the host country could be included. Including the full range of young homeless people allows us to reflect life trajectories of homeless youth, on processes of social exclusion, capability and resilience , and gender and ethnic differences across country samples but also between young men and young women, and young people from different ethnic and migrant backgrounds.

However, from this brief introduction it is apparent that the contexts in which young people become homeless are quite particular to each country. In 2008, the Up2Youth project compared the structure of welfare policies, education and training systems, labour markets, youth unemployment policies, gender relations and representations of youth across the EU27 countries. They argued that attaining adulthood has become more problematic, as has the timing with which it is attained. Many young people experience a reversible transition to adulthood, in which they may return to the parental home and become dependent once more; the current life courses of young people are destandardised, fragmented and diversified. Moreover these transitions take place within distinctly different welfare regimes for young people: Liberal (Anglo-Saxon); Universalistic (Nordic); Sub-protective (Mediterranean); Employment-centred (Continental) and Post-socialist (Central and Eastern European). In Figure 1.4 we reproduce the main characteristics of these five regimes which will be discussed in thematic reports 2 and 3.

Figure 1.4 Transition regimes across Europe

Dimension Regime	Country	School	Training	Social Security	Employment Regime	Female Employment	Concept of Youth	Concept of Disadvantage	Focus of Transition Policies	Policy Trend
<i>Universalistic</i>	Denmark Finland	Not selective	Flexible standards (mixed)	State	Open Low risks	High	Personal development, Citizenship	Individualised and Structure-related	Education Activation	Liberal (more labour market orientation)
<i>Employment-centred</i>	Austria Germany France Netherlands	Selective	Standardized (dual)	State / family	Closed Risks at the margins	Medium	Adaptation to social positions	Individualised	(Pre-) vocational training	Liberal (more activation)
<i>Liberal</i>	Ireland UK	Principally not selective	Flexible, low standards (mixed)	State / family	Open, High risks	High	Early economic independence	Individualised	Employability	Liberal (more education)
<i>Sub-protective</i>	Italy Portugal Spain	Not Selective	Low standards and coverage (mainly school)	Family	Closed High risks (Informal work)	Low	Without distinct status	Structure-related	Some Status (work, education, training)	Liberal (deregulation) and Employment-centred (training)
<i>Post-socialist countries</i>	Bulgaria Czech Rep. Romania Slovakia Slovenia	Principally not selective	Standards in process of transformation (mixed)	Family / state	Closed High risks	Low (except Slovenia)	Mixed	Mixed	Mixed	BG, RO: Employment-centred SK: Liberal SI: Universal

In our policy report we summarise our findings of the four thematic reports in relation to the fields of action identified in the November 2009 Council resolution: Education and Training; Employment and Entrepreneurship; Health and Well-Being; Participation; Voluntary Activities; Social Inclusion; Youth and the World: Creativity and Culture. We particularly emphasise the overall thematic priority for the youth field for the period 1 January 2010-June 2011: employment. Over half of our sample are unemployed and looking for work at time of interview and employment initiatives are of particular importance.

2. Capability and Resilience among Homeless Youth

From the 216 interviews achieved in 2009, the CSEYHP project teams are delivering four associated thematic reports including this report on Capability and Resilience whose approach is informed by that of a UK research programme (Bartley 2007) that focussed on exploring capability and resilience among different populations in relation to health outcomes. This programme brought together the capability approach as developed by Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum with research on resilience in order to understand how health outcomes were improved for more resilient communities. Similarly this report seeks to address questions of both capability and resilience among young homeless populations and discusses the support required to develop these qualities sufficient for future lives of value to them.²

Being equally focussed on capability and resilience this research report has attempted to build a balanced approach to the exploration of our data. However it is important to stress that the concepts of capability and resilience are complexly intertwined. Whilst capability refers to the ability to successfully engage with the world and develop alternative ways of functioning, resilience refers to the ability to cope and recover from adverse events and rebuild one's life. Exploring both capability and resilience in people's lives frequently appears to be exploring similar aspects (work, education, social engagement) from different perspectives. To function requires resilience whilst resilience is built through functioning adequately in society. Capability includes aspects of maintaining a personality that is sufficiently confident and effective to be able to engage in a range of activities i.e. to have robust self-esteem.

There is an added dimension to these questions in this study. Our four samples of young homeless people included 60 young people not born in the country in which they were interviewed; 49 were born outside Europe and 11 in European countries other than the one in which interviews took place.

² Bartley, M. ed, (2007) Capability and Resilience: Beating the Odds at www.ucl.ac.uk/capabilityandresilience.

2.1. The Capability Approach (CA)

The Capability Approach (CA) is derived from the work of Amartya Sen (1992) and Martha Nussbaum (1995) in the field of development studies. For Amartya Sen capability 'reflects the person's freedom to choose from alternative livings' in relation to the values that the person has;³ a person's well-being is bound up with their freedom to live valued lives and to fulfil their potential. Sen's work, both in philosophy and in development studies, focuses on 'quality of life' outcomes for people and on non-monetary ways of assessing someone's well-being or level of deprivation. Sen's assessment of well-being is not based on the level of income that the person has but on whether this income gives them the means to live a life they value and their achievement in doing so. Similarly a society is judged not by economic growth but through the quality of life of the people of that society, their enhanced ability to live a life they value and freedom to do so. Poverty is capability deprivation.

The CA approach has had little impact in the study of homeless populations although it could be of considerable importance for a study of homeless people, propelling policy and service providers towards the question of what is the life that this person values? Their value can be towards fulfilling a particular potential or rebuilding their family life or gaining access to overcome substance dependency. In this way the CA approach complements the Eight Step Model (ESM) approach to key working which is a strength based model looking at the assets of homeless people rather than their deficits (lack of a job, lack of life skills etc).⁴

Practically, the capabilities of a person are measured in terms of what that person achieves rather than their potential. Sen has argued that capabilities are demonstrated in 'functionings', in beings and in doings, what someone is and what someone does.

Robeyns (2005) argues that CA takes account of the diversity of human beings in two separate ways: first the plurality of functionings and capabilities of

³ Sen A. (1992) *Inequality Reexamined*, Oxford University Press.

⁴ Having been adopted by three quarters of hostels in the Netherlands ESM is being tested in Phase III of the CSEYHP project in CZ, PT and UK.

different individuals; second, the different personal and socio-environmental conversion factors of that individual and the society in which they were raised and/or currently live⁵. Robeyns (2005) has described three 'conversion factors': personal, social and environmental which allow or disallow the development of functioning capability. *Personal conversion factors* include physical ability and health including mental health (the issue of poor mental health is of great importance among homeless people and damages capability through damaging resilience). *Social conversion factors* include the social norms of a society including gender policies and public policies: can this young person receive a grant for education and training purposes? Can this young woman be allowed to work? *Environmental conversion factors* would include an inadequate supply of supported accommodation, evident in two of the countries involved in this study (PT and CZ) and insufficient social housing accommodation evident in three (CZ, PT and UK). The most important aspects of social and environmental conversion factors for the young people in our study are summarised in the five welfare regimes for youth from the Up2Youth project (www.up2youth.org) mentioned in the Introduction.

For our study it is also important to emphasise a fourth conversion factor – that of *the historical period* in which a young person becomes an adult in a society. In many developing societies this present period may be the best for young people, at least for young men (in many societies freedoms for women have been reversed). However, in most European countries young people similar to many in this study would never have become homeless prior to the 1980s. Between the Second World War and the 1980s young Europeans were more likely to grow up in two parent families, to marry, to have children within that marriage and almost all, whatever their education level, would have found work training and developed work capability. In Northern Europe, at least, they would have found low-rent private rented accommodation, even private rooms, or low-rent social housing. Changes in European societies have polarised the opportunities open to young people, between those with education, skills and

⁵ Richard Wilkinson in his foreword to '*Capability and Resilience: Beating the Odds*' (Bartley, 2007) makes the point in relation to resilience that although resilience is associated with positive social, emotional and educational experience, supportive communities and families are more difficult to achieve in a situation of material disadvantage.

training and those without, prolonging the period of dependency and transition to adult life. The Up2youth project has summarised these transformations reported in previous European research.

Our study of capabilities among the homeless populations in our four samples is necessarily tentative. As reported in the Introduction our four samples are not representative but based on quotas of young people and our total sample holds only 216 cases. This limits the weight we can put on our evidence and in the tables that follow we do not report every percentage difference but only those that are so large as to be indicative of a potential real difference. Particular questions are referred to in the table and main percentages in relation to country, sample group, and gender are reported. If one of those variables is not reported that is because there are no indicative differences.

2.2 CSEYHP Young Homeless People and Nussbaum's capability set

Taking a CA approach to understanding youth homelessness raises the question of the set of capabilities necessary for individual well-being. Martha Nussbaum (1995) proposed an initial list of ten basic capabilities (a 'capability set') and adequate levels of each. Robeyns (2005) also works with Nussbaum's approach.⁶ Paul Anand (2005) has worked with several European teams to operationalise the Sen-Nussbaum approach to welfare beginning with testing sets of questions from existing surveys such as the British Household Panel Survey and other surveys that would allow an assessment of a person's functionings. The eight domains investigated by this multi-national project include: happiness, success, health, intellectual stimulation, social relations, environments, personal integrity and a person's overall options. The project (Anand, 2005) has modelled both satisfaction with overall options and individual achievement and successfully

⁶ 'Functionings include working, resting, being literate, being healthy, being part of a community, being respected, and so forth. The distinction between achieved functionings and capabilities is between the realized and the effectively possible; in other words, between achievements on the one hand, and freedoms or valuable options from which one can choose on the other. What is ultimately important is that people have the freedoms or valuable opportunities (capabilities) to lead the kind of lives they want to lead, to do what they want to do and be the person they want to be.' (Robeyns, 2005:95)

demonstrated the possibilities of measuring capability in developed countries through survey responses, particularly in relation to health.

Nussbaum's (1995) capability list includes: a normal length of life; good health, nutrition and shelter; bodily integrity and choice in reproduction; senses and thought informed by education; attachments; practical reason and planning life; affiliation, and social interaction; respect for other species; play and recreation; control over one's environment politically and materially. ⁷The responses to several questions in our study give us information about Capability distribution within the four samples in relation to Nussbaum's capability set. For example the question '*What would you do with an extra £20/ 20 euros?*' provided evidence on standards of nutrition, need for shelter and planning for the future. In the UK 64% reported they would use this extra money to buy food, much higher than any other country whilst 19% in CZ reported they would use it to buy a dormitory place. In CZ and PT a higher proportion would save the money (presumably for emergencies) than in the UK or NL (Table 2.1).

However, our research focuses on the development of young people across a transition stage from 12 years of age to their present, in order to discuss appropriate interventions. Given our respondents' situations when interviewed by our co-researchers - many were street homeless and/or living in squats, living in short or long term hostels or struggling with independence - understanding their capability requires an understanding of their past lives and future possibilities. What educational levels had they achieved under their particular circumstances? What were and are their aspirations? What is the evidence for their engagement in training, work and work skills? What are their interests and their engagement in their communities?

⁷ United Nations: *The Human Development Report* (2001, 2002 and subsequently). The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has developed their own shorter human poverty index as the basis of their measurements of different countries' development. For developed countries the measures adopted were: life expectancy below 60, lack of functional illiteracy among adults, low long-term unemployment rate, and a population below an income poverty line of 50% of median disposable household income in that country. Considering the outcomes for adult homeless people in the European Union there is evidence that three out of four of the UNDP capability set for developed countries is not met. Therefore an emphasis in this report is on the services that support young people in exiting homelessness.

Table 2.1 : Capabilities among young homeless populations, CSEYHP sample 2009-10

Capability Set, following Nussbaum (1995)	Capability amongst the CSEYHP total sample, based on responses to survey questions to 216 young people.	Capability findings in relation to specific CSEYHP youth homeless populations – by member state, (ethnic) quota group, gender.
A normal length of life;	Unknown but adult homeless people live shorter lives than the general population	
<p>Good health, nutrition and shelter;</p> <p>Health issue: <i>Experiencing now</i></p> <p><i>What would you do with another 20 pounds / euros?</i></p>	<p>Physical Health: 17% report current need for physical health services</p> <p>Mental Health: Current experience of stress (55% yes), depression (40%), anxiety (35%), suicide attempts (8%), self harm (8%), trouble sleeping (47%), problems with drugs (21%), problems with alcohol (24%)</p> <p>11% registered as having a disability</p> <p>Nutrition: 39% reported they would spend it on food.</p> <p>8 young people (4%) reported they would spend it on alcohol or drugs.</p> <p>Shelter: 10% would buy a dormitory place.</p>	<p><u>Highest prevalence non-EU migrants</u> 20%; but specifically PT sample, 35%.</p> <p><u>Health:</u> CZ sample highest proportion reporting current attempted suicide (15%), self harm (13%), problems with drugs (44%) and problems with alcohol (32%). EU migrants most likely to report stress (8 of 11, 73%), trouble sleeping (7 of 11), problem with drugs (55%).</p> <p><u>Problem with drugs:</u> male 25%, female 15%</p> <p><u>Problem with alcohol:</u> males 17%, females 10%.</p> <p><u>Registered as having disability:</u> NL 19%, 10% PT and CZ, 6% UK. Ethnic dominant 13%, non-EU migrant 12% ethnic minority 7%, EU migrant 0%. Male 12%, female 9%.</p> <p><u>Spend on food:</u> 64% UK sample vs 39% to 22%</p> <p><u>Spend on drugs:</u> 5 in CZ, 3 in NL.</p> <p><u>Spend on shelter:</u> 19% in CZ and 13% PT vs 6% UK and 0% NL.</p>
<p>Bodily integrity and choice in reproduction, Being able to live one's own life</p> <p><i>Do you feel unsafe in the</i></p>	<p>Bodily integrity – Choice in reproduction: Young mothers in our sample argue that it led to homelessness through overcrowding or arguments with parents.</p>	<p><u>Choice in Reproduction:</u> See Life Trajectory Report. 51 young people are parents; 4 pregnant. However not all have responsibility nor can we be certain about the choice afforded in this matter.</p> <p><u>Unsafe now:</u> Highest proportion in PT, 43%. Higher</p>

<i>present?</i>	Feel unsafe now? 31% Yes, 72% No	proportion both EU and Non-EU migrants (46%, 40%).
Senses, imagination and thought informed by education;	Education level: 4% had been in or could proceed to tertiary (higher) education. Currently involved in education services: 27%. In UK related to conditions of accommodation.	<u>Higher education level:</u> 9 young people, 6 in CZ. <u>Current involvement in education:</u> 52% UK, 28% NL and PT, 0% CZ. Non-EU migrant 39% ethnic minority, 35% ethnic dominant 18%. 34% female vs 22% male.
Emotions, attachments;	Spend £20/ 20 euros /on children: Give £20 / 20 euros to relative or partner. 5 young people in PT	22 young people (18%) would spend it on their children.
Practical reason and planning life;	Save £20 / 20 euros /: 17%. Would spend £20/ 20 euros on training or drivers licence.	<u>Save money</u> highest in CZ and PT, lowest in UK (2). Spend on training, drivers licence: 5 young people in PT, 2 in U K and 1 in NL.
Affiliation, social interaction;	Faith affiliations: 57% some faith, 43% none In contact with faith organisation? 25%	<u>Faith:</u> ethnic dominant least likely to report a faith, ethnic minority and non-EU migrants most likely. In contact faith organisations: 46% CZ (for services?), 26% UK, 15% PT and 11% NL.
Respect for other species;	No information	
Play and recreation;	Group of friends, yes 74%	Highest in CZ, 83%: UK 76%, NL 70%, PT 69%. Ethnic group: lowest in non-EU migrants, 70%.
Control over one's environment politically and materially	In contact with accommodation services? Yes: 39% No: 61%. Employment at present; 48%. See Tables 2.4, 2.6.	<u>In touch with accommodation services</u> 59% NL and 52% UK vs 33% CZ and 11%PT. Non-EU migrant most likely to be in touch – 55%.

2.3 Education and work engagement in the past

Education: There has been a continuing upward movement in the proportion of young Europeans with higher qualifications. In the age group 25-29 years, nearly 80% will have completed formal education and at age 19, 60% of young Europeans are still in formal education (EYP, 2009: 25). However the proportion of early school leavers is nearly 15% and only one third of young people who have a disadvantaged socio-economic background complete higher education (EYP, 2009). In Table 2.2. it is noted that only 4% of our sample had an education level sufficient to enter higher education, help gain employment, or were currently in tertiary education. Six of these 9 cases are from the CZ sample, reflecting the high education standards in that country. This demonstrates the difficulties of understanding the functioning education capabilities of young people in our sample in each country (Appendix 1). Although the ISCE standard of education applies across all countries the significance of a particular education level relates to the general education level of the country.

Case 1: Tomas, male, born in CZ, dominant ethnic group, living in temporary accommodation, education standard 5-6.

Tomas's parents divorced when he was 7 years old; he was living with his mother at 12 years when his mother got a boyfriend. His grandmother died when he was 16 years old. and he started running away from home. There was no family violence but arguments between him and his mother's boyfriend and mother. Now he sees his younger sister regularly and his mother once every six months; he would like *'to talk with my parents again'*. He has a girl friend he sees 2-3 times a week. He liked high school and reached the first stage of tertiary education. He wanted to be a technician and work as a laboratory assistant. He has worked as a cleaner, in a fast food outlet and in a bank but now would love to go to university and study music. He writes music for the piano. He has both physical health problems (heart disorder, mild brain damage) and mental health problems. He has no key worker but is seeing a psychiatrist and starting a therapy group. He reports that his psychiatrist is someone he can talk to when he has problems.

Another aspect of ISCE classification of educational standards, reported current engagement in education is skewed by some young people engaging in education and/or training whilst living in supported accommodation. Table 2.2 reports that half of young people in the UK (52%) were currently engaged in education but this is often a necessity in order to claim benefit and maintain their accommodation and is frequently non-formal; being work engaged would

necessitate them paying for their accommodation themselves (c£200-300 a week per hostel place, an amount they could not afford). 72% of young people interviewed in the UK were living in long-term (over 3 months) supported accommodation.

Table 2.2. Education standard reached in the past

International Standard Classification of Education (ISCE)	Distribution within CSEYHP samples
5-6 Tertiary education level.	4%: 9 young people, predominantly from CZ, 6 of 9.
3-4 Secondary or post-secondary non-tertiary education.	26%: Proportion with some qualifications higher in UK (37%) and CZ (34%).
0-2 Early leavers. End of compulsory education. (NB: We report as an 'early leaver' young people at ISCE standards 0-2 rather than 0-3c).	70%: Proportion of early leavers in PT (80%) and NL (89%) samples much higher than UK and CZ. NB. 43% of PT sample did not advance beyond level 1.
TOTAL CASES	215 (missing 1)
Currently engaged in education? 27% (Skewed by UK current engagement proportion which is associated with 72% living in long-term supported accommodation.)	<u>Current involvement in education:</u> 52% UK , 28% NL and PT, 0% CZ. Ethnic groups: 39% Non-EU migrant, 35% born in country ethnic minority, 18% ethnic dominant. 34% female vs 22% male.

Work: Reported current work engagement is similarly skewed by the conditions of young people's accommodation and welfare payments in UK. It is necessary to report young people's work histories as well as current engagement including: the work they had wanted to do when they left school/ formal education, what work they had done in the past and what they were doing now.

Table 2.3 reports work aspirations and there are distinctive patterns according to country, ethnic groups and gender. The highest proportion of young people who wanted to work professionally, mostly in caring profession such as social work, youth work but also as lawyers, was in the UK (29%) and in the total sample this aspiration was highest among non-EU migrants (32%) and among women (26% vs 9%). Conversely UK men from the dominant ethnic groups aspired to vocational training – skilled manual work, IT and security (army and police) (26%). Young people from CZ were more likely to aspire to working in a hostel, as a cook, in construction etc (despite higher qualifications than other homeless

youth). Nearly half the youth in PT (44%) reported they aspired to 'any job' reflecting the very difficult labour market for young people in PT with low education. There was also evidence of the impact of the media on young people's aspirations in the UK; 18% aspired to work in the media, as a performer, in football, or to 'be famous'. In the whole sample this aspiration resonated most with young people from ethnic minorities (23%). A handful of young men in the NL and CZ samples aspired to their own business or to 'be rich'.

Young people's aspirations (Table 2.3) were in strong contrast to outcomes (Table 2.4). The majority of young people, 69%, had gained work in jobs requiring minimum training. Over one fifth had never worked, had worked as street traders/cleaners or had work placements for experience only (21%). A further 2% had returned to education. In relation to the UK many young people's work histories are very poor, and do not match their aspirations.

From Table 2.4 it is apparent that 33% of all young people in the UK had never worked compared with 17% NL, 6% PT and 2% CZ. However a further 30% of the PT sample and 22% of the UK sample have only had one job. Young people in UK and PT samples who had worked in more than one job had worked generally in low skilled occupations as the story of Christina on page 39 demonstrates. She was one of the young people in PT who had failed at school, wanted 'any job', and was now a single parent mother. The very high level of no work experience in the UK is partly related to the age of the UK sample (61% of the UK sample are aged 16-19 years compared with 33% in the total sample: Table 1.1) and partly related to UK government legislation banning asylum seekers from working. Eight of the eighteen young people with no work experience in the UK sample are non-EU migrants. In NL young migrants without legal papers also cannot work and cannot study; the story of Maryam from Liberia and Guinea on page 55 illustrates this and also how someone with low education levels and lack of opportunities to work and study may have higher aspirations than homeless young people born in a country.

Table 2.3 Work aspirations among CSEYHP homeless populations

What did you want to do when you left school?	CSEYHP	Differences in homeless populations
Professional work – health, social work, youth work, law, pharmacy. Go to university.	16% - <i>Non EU migrants. Female. UK</i>	UK highest proportion – 29%, NL and PT 15% and CZ 6%. Non-EU migrant highest proportion 32%; ethnic minority 20%; Lowest was ethnic dominant youth, 7%. Female 26%, male 9%.
Jobs requiring training: manual trades, IT technician, army, police, hairdresser.	21% - <i>Ethnic dominant and EU migrant. Male. NL</i>	NL highest proportion, 33%; UK and CZ 22% and 21%. PT 6%. Ethnic dominant youth and EU Migrant youth 26%, 27% vs 19% ethnic minorities and 11% non-EU migrants. Male 24%, female 16%.
Jobs requiring some/minimum training: Cook, waiter	14% - <i>Ethnic dominant and EU migrant. Male. CZ</i>	CZ highest proportion, 38%; 15% NL. Ethnic dominant youth and EU Migrant youth 28% and 18% vs 2% ethnic minority and non EU migrants. Male 18%, female 8%.
Media, sports, performance arts, to be famous	9% - <i>Ethnic minority and UK</i>	UK highest proportion – 18%; CZ 9%. Ethnic minority 23%, 8% ethnic dominant. Male 11%, female 7%.
Any job	15% - <i>PT and ethnic minority</i>	PT highest proportion – 44%, others 6%. Ethnic minority 20%; EU migrant 18%; others 11%. Female 16%; Male 14%.
Didn't know	6% - <i>EU Migrant</i>	NL 10%; UK 8%, CZ 6%, PT 2%. EU migrant, 18%.
Nothing	7% - <i>PT and UK; Migrants.</i>	PT 13%, UK 12%, 6% CZ, 0% NL. Non-EU migrant 11%; EU migrant 10%. Female 11%; male 5%.
Return to education, family prevented education	7% - <i>Non-EU migrants</i>	PT and NL 10%; 6% CZ; 4% UK Non-EU migrant, 20%. Gender not significant.
Illness or pregnancy prevented	2%	PT 6%; female 2%.
Own business, to be rich	3% - <i>Male</i>	NL 6%; CZ 4%. Ethnic minority 5%. All cases male (5 cases).
TOTAL CASES	204	

Table 2.4 Work experiences in the past among CSEYHP homeless populations?

What job have you had in the past? Highest level of employment	CSEYHP	Differences in specific youth populations
Professional work; go to university	-	
Jobs requiring training: manual trades, IT technician, army, police, hairdresser	5%	Minimum differences, due to individual. 6% in CZ, PT and UK; 2% in NL. Male 7%, female 2%.
Jobs requiring some/minimum training.	69% <i>NL highest and UK lowest. EU migrant.</i>	Highest NL 85%; CZ 82%; PT 61%; UK 50%. EU migrant, 91%; ethnic dominant, 73%; ethnic minority 67%; and non-EU migrant 60%. Male 73%, female 65%.
Media, sports, performance arts, to be famous		
Any job could get	3%	3 cases in PT, 2 elsewhere.
Return to education	2%	2 cases.
Street trade, delivering papers, house cleaning, baby sitting	9% <i>PT and female</i>	Highest PT, 20%; UK 8%; CZ 6%; NL 0% Female 13%, male 5%.
Nothing	8% <i>Highest in UK and NL</i>	Highest UK, 15% and NL, 14%. PT 6%; CZ 2%. Female 11%, male 7%.
Work Placement		Only in UK, 17%. 9 cases volunteering in charity shops and administrative offices.
TOTAL CASES	212	
Never worked/ work placement/ street work/ delivery/ return to education	21%	33% UK; 17% NL; 6% PT; 2% CZ. 32% Non-EU migrant, 12% ethnic minority.
1 job	19%	30% PT; 22% UK; 6% NL; 17% CZ.
2 jobs	17%	19% all countries; 11% UK.
3 jobs	24%	32% PT; 28% CZ; 22% NL; 13% UK.
4 plus	27%	37% NL; 35% CZ; 20% UK; PT 15%.

We asked young people as to whether they had fulfilled their aspirations and if not why not? Table 2.5 reports that a quarter of young people fulfilled their aspirations; surprisingly young people who wanted to work in media reported they had (56%, yes), whilst young people who wanted to be skilled workers or technicians reported they hadn't (29% yes) and young people who wanted any job hadn't either (29%, yes). Young people who had professional/higher education aspirations were unlikely to have succeeded (15%, yes) but neither had those who wanted to work in the leisure/hospitality industries (15%, yes).

Table 2.5 Reaching their goals. CSEYHP sample, in percentages.

Goals when leaving school reached?	CSEYHP	Differences in samples
Yes	26%	There is little difference between country samples: CZ, NL, UK, 28-27%; PT 22%, Ethnic dominant 33%; Ethnic minority 26%; Male 30%; female 21%.
Had training after school?		
Yes	49%	UK highest 55%; CZ lowest 43%.
Constraints on Life Expectations after School		
No training options available	8%	UK highest 15%; PT 9%; CZ 7%, NL 0%. Non-EU migrants highest, 16%.
No support on school work (maths, reading, etc.)	7%	
Lack of money to continue studying	15%	PT highest, 26%. Non-EU migrant 18%. Females.
Having a child	10%	PT highest, 20%. Females 19% vs males 4%.
Death of a family member	5%	PT highest, 13%. Non-EU migrant and ethnic minority. Males 7%, females 4%.
Family pressure to find a job	5%	Ethnic dominant 7%.
No motivation	21%	PT highest 32%; UK 22%; NL 17%, CZ, 13%. Ethnic minority, 35%; ethnic dominant, 19%; non-EU migrant, 12%; 0% EU migrant. Males 26%, females 16%.
No information on services	9%	PT highest, 22%. Non-EU migrant, 14%, ethnic minority 12%.
Other. Specify: _____	44%	<u>CZ criminal record</u> 5 cases. Alcohol/ drugs 6 cases.

2.4 Current engagement

Young people in the UK were most likely to report there were no training options for the job they wanted (15%), whilst young people in PT reported a lack of money, lack of information or having a child as a reason for not finding work they wanted. However other young people from PT (32%,) and UK (22%) reported having no motivation.

Young people reported their main activity at the time of the interview and other activities as well (Table 2.6). But the 30% of young people who reported being unemployed, looking for work, as their main activity understates the proportion who are unemployed. Overall 52% of young people reported they were unemployed and looking for war at the time of interview but they were also in part time education or on a government scheme, for example, and reported this as their main activity. Portugal had the lowest proportion looking for work (44%) but otherwise the results were similar across country, ethnic group and gender.

Table 2.6 Reported main activity and current unemployment, looking for work status, CSEYHP sample, in percentages.

Current activity – main one	CSEYHP	
In full time paid job (30hrs or more per.week)	6%	NL 9%, PT 7%, CZ 5%, UK 2% (1 case). Non-EU migrant: 12%.
In part-time job	6%	
Government scheme (e.g employment training)	3%	UK 9%, NL 4%.
In full-time education	16%	UK and NL 22%, 24%, PT 15%, CZ 0%. Non-EU migrant, 20%; ethnic minority, 23%.
Volunteering	3%	3 cases in NL and PT.
"Hanging around with friends"	9%	CZ 21%, NL 11%.
Doing something else/ training with ngo		
Current activity – Unemployed, Looking for Work		
Yes, unemployed and looking for work	52%	<u>Highest NL and UK; 57%,56%. CZ 50%, PT 44%.</u>

2.5. Conclusions on Capability

Educational standards among our CSEYHP respondents are low, particularly in the context of the educational standards of their counties; among the samples the young people from CZ have the highest educational standard. The quality of their working lives has also been low. They are too young for us to be able to assess their capability in domestic life, although many are partnered and some have children, particularly as early pregnancy has led to homelessness for some of our female respondents, and having to withdraw from education.

However it would be wrong to view these young people simply as NEETs – not in employment, education or training – although at different times in their lives the majority will have been NEET and half are currently classified as unemployed and looking for work. Their work aspirations compared with their work experiences tell us a different side of the story. One striking difference across the total sample is the desire of some non-EU migrants and some women to become professional workers. By comparison young men from the ethnic dominant groups wanted to become skilled workers.

What can we see in relation to the different welfare regimes that young people live under? Can we, through comparing welfare regimes, identify the different conversion factors that disadvantaged young people experience in attempting to develop their own capability?

The five welfare regimes identified in relation to youth by the Up2youth project are reported in Figure 1.4 (page 14). CZ is identified as a post-socialist country with a closed labour market with high risks. In our CZ sample young people generally received a better education compared with young people in other samples and had a much wider range of job experiences associated with a closed labour market. By comparison young people in the UK sample, in a liberal regime, experienced both an open labour market and high risk; 33% had never experienced real work. They were younger than the CZ sample which will have made a difference but young people can work from 16 years of age in the UK; they also included non-EU migrants who could not work whilst being assessed. However, the young people in our UK sample also had poor qualifications and were competing for work in a labour market which was open to better qualified migrants from across the EU. In the fivefold classification of welfare regimes the

UK was the only country in our study with an open labour market combined with flexible, low standards of training and the impact on local poorly qualified youth is apparent. Further the UK's liberal welfare regime led to a situation where 64% identified the need for additional nutrition.

Both NL and PT have welfare regimes with closed labour markets but NL is an employment-centred regime with extensive training (not one respondent of our NL sample said that their employment problems were associated with a lack of training opportunities) and risks only at the margins (it is notable that 48% of our NL sample had some social care experience). By comparison PT's welfare regime is a sub-protective regime whose closed labour market is a high-risk one for youth, particularly in relation to informal work. Young people in the PT sample reported they lacked knowledge of where to obtain services and also identified a greater need for employment, education and learning, creative learning and even physical health services. In UK and NL some young people had voluntary or work experience placement experiences whilst in PT and CZ they did not; given the range of work experience in CZ this particular form of support may not have been necessary but given the need for further training identified by young people in PT it is apparent that agencies should develop this as a priority. NL young people were more likely to identify a need for support in relation to money management and mental health.

There are work aspirations among the majority of the young people in our samples which have not been fulfilled. Partly this is an issue of *social conversion factors* affecting whole generations of young people – changes in the labour market and closed and open labour markets (young people from the UK were particularly disadvantaged) – but partly it relates to *personal conversion factors* including their own level of resilience and lack of family support. This is discussed in the following section of this report.

3. Resilience among CSEYHP homeless populations

3.1. Understanding and identifying resilience factors

Resilience is concerned with the ability of an individual to overcome, cope, or positively adapt to, adversity, and resilience indicators can be found in personal, familial or environmental factors. Added to this is that resilience is demonstrated by an individual's ability to achieve a 'successful' life established by their 'normal psychosocial development' (Rutter and Rutter, 1993; Masten and Coatsworth, 1998; Newman, 2002; Harvey and Delfabbro, 2004).⁸ Conceptually, resilience is imprecise, does not lend itself to any clear definition and is applied to many phenomena. Therefore the study of resilience is fraught with a number of methodological and conceptual problems (Luthar et al 2000).

Research into resilience can be said to offer hopefulness in the face of the significant difficulties faced by children and families but at the same time cannot be considered a panacea and should not be used to mask structural inequalities and the deleterious impact of living as destitute, living in fear and or living with violence and abuse (Canavan, 2008). The concept of resilience has been used to understand the relative impact of adversity for children, young people, families and communities. Studies considered here include the Werner and Smith (1992) tracking study of disadvantaged young people, Rutter et al, (1998) looking at resilience in young people from very disadvantaged backgrounds and involved in anti social behaviour, Williams et al (2001) in-depth case studies of five homeless young women, Stein (2005) looking at young people in, and leaving state care, and the International Resilience Project (IRP) which takes a cross-cultural approach to examine individual, interpersonal, family, community and cultural factors associated with building resilience.

Werner and Smith (1992) in their longitudinal study of poor 'at risk' children from one Hawaiian island found that 10% developed into confident competent and caring adults at age 18, and who also had high self-control and intelligence.

⁸ What can be considered 'normal' in developmental terms is contested (Robinson, 2007) and caution also needs to be applied given the many value judgements involved in defining concepts and factors associated with resilience such as 'risk', 'vulnerability', 'protective', 'adversity' and 'success' which will depend on cultural perspectives and social norms.

This cohort had acquired qualities of resilience early in their lives, and on the whole did not become immersed in high risk life circumstances at any point. They reported that the resilient cohort were protected from adverse circumstances through supportive relationships, especially within their families in which they experienced affection, emotional support and structure, and that these relationships helped develop high self-esteem. Some of the resilient group also found support from significant adults, other than parents, who served as mentors and role models.

Following the Werner and Smith (1992) life-cycle approach to resilience, Williams et al (2001) undertook a biographical case study of five homeless women in the US, all of whom lacked the protective factors associated with strong positive family bonds, but of whom three made successful recoveries from running away/homeless situations and two had not. Williams et al (2001) found that resilient behaviours can emerge at any time; the three young women who developed resilient outcomes had used their homeless experiences as a learning platform. They used the term 'bottoming out' to describe the situation of the three young women who had turned a corner and developed resilient pathways and whose behaviour had shifted from a negative to a positive trajectory. This process hadn't occurred for the two women who they described as 'submerged' and who continued to engage in high risk behaviours.

While some definitions are concerned with resilience at an individual level, the definition used by the IRP, which collected data from 30 countries, emphasises both the individual's role and the relational, social and cultural factors that must be available and accessible to individuals who face multiple risks. The IRP defines resilience as 'a universal capacity which allows a person, group or community to prevent, minimize or overcome the damaging effects of adversity' (Grotberg 1997:7).

At a policy level, in the UK, the idea of resilience has been used in re-orientating service provision and children's welfare as part of a movement from a protectionist approach to a far more wide-reaching family support prevention model. This refocusing of services has arguably involved an extreme view of resilience to the detriment of protection (Parton 2006). A focus on family

support and enhancing strengths and resilience can mean services are less able to see and respond to situations where children and young people are at risk of significant harm (and in the UK high profile cases of child homicide in recent years may have demonstrated this) (Davies and Duckett, 2008). Within the CSEYHP study of 216 young people 56 young people identified some care experience whilst a further 64 reported they had had a need for Social Services in their childhood and that this service would have made a difference (110 young people, more than half of the entire sample).

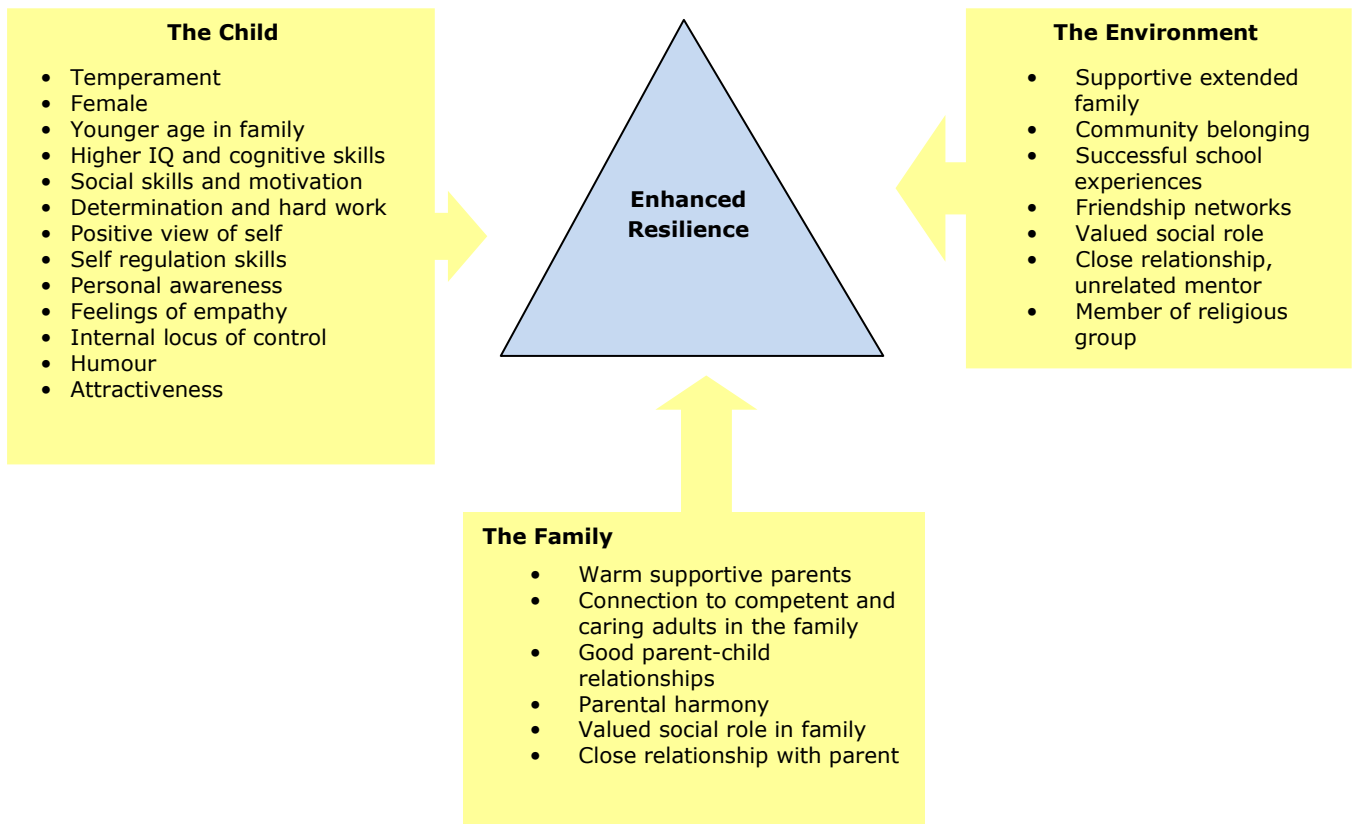
3.2 Resilience Factors and patterns of attachment of CSEYHP homeless populations

Some of the issues that need to be considered in utilising the concept of resilience are that it is multi dimensional, it can be located at the individual, family and environmental level, it is relational and needs to be considered over time and not purely in terms of the immediate outcome of an adverse situation or experience. In fact, coping at one point in time or in one set of circumstances does not mean an ability to cope at another time or in similar circumstances. The identification of resilience in one domain does not mean it exists in every domain of a person's life (Luthar et al, 2000).⁹ Further, some marginalised young people, when resources are inadequate, sustain their well being through what might be considered their problem behaviours (Ungar, 2004:24). In this way some problem behaviours, for example running away may be seen as a coping strategy where, for example, leaving an abusive family environment can lead to opportunities for more positive relationships with caring and competent adults (Williams et al, 2001).

Keeping in mind the issues surrounding resilience as a concept a number of factors can be found that are consistently present in different situations that mean a person is more likely to develop resilience. A framework for considering resilience in this context is found in Masten and Powell, (2001), Rutter et al (1998) and Newman and Blackburn (2002) and is recreated in the following diagram.

⁹ Related to this is how outcomes are defined and used to determine resilience, for example, if resilience is measured by factors such as employment or income; measures we are using to assess capability.

Figure 3.1



Factors that are associated with a likelihood of resilience will be considered in relation to relevant questions in the CSEHYP interview schedule. The aim is to aid understanding of the early lives, transitions and 'turning points' of the young people in the CSEYHP study.

The tables below report on the family (Table 3.1) and environmental dimensions (Table 3.2) of resilience that are more likely to be responsive to positive intervention and change. In reviewing how far young people in our four samples had experienced a positive family life that could build resilience it is apparent that the majority (although not all) had to overcome adverse circumstances: one quarter experienced care (26%), a further 27% would have wanted social services intervention just under one third reported a supportive relationship with their mothers (31%) although a higher proportion reported a good relationship with their mothers.

In order to explore family relationships we created three summary variables: a rating of parent-child relationships with mother and father; a rating of parental resilience based on young people's reports of parents' problems in relation to drugs, alcohol and/or mental health issues; a rating of parental aggression based on reports of verbal and physical aggression (excluding hitting of the young person) in order to arrive at a measure of inter-family aggression.

Summarising the relationships with parents, young people in the PT and UK samples were most likely to report a good relationships with two parents or their lone parent (PT 37%, UK 29%). They were also more likely to report a good relationship with one parent in a couple and a bad relationship with the other (PT 30%; UK 33%). Therefore a majority of young people in the PT and UK samples reported a good relationship with at least one parent (67% and 62% respectively). In the NL sample the proportion reporting a good relationship with at least one parent was 49% whilst in the CZ sample it was 28%. Young people most likely to report a good relationship with at least one parent were non-EU migrants (67%) followed by ethnic minorities (51%). There were no differences between young women and young men.

Young people in PT and CZ were more likely to report a supportive relationship with grandparents, (the KASS project reported a similar finding): 24% young people in the PT sample named them as a supportive person whilst growing up,

Table 3.1 Positive and negative resilience building experiences with the families of CSEYHP homeless populations

THE FAMILY	Circumstances reported by CSEYHP respondents	Findings in relation to specific youth homeless populations
<p>Warm supportive parents</p> <p><i>'When you were growing up who was your main supporting person – the one you could ask for help or advice'</i></p>	<p>In no country sample did a majority of young people live with 2 birth parents at ages 12, 16 and 18 years.</p> <p>26% experienced some periods of care</p> <p>31% identified their mother, 18% grandparents, 11% aunt or uncle and 10% their father.</p> <p>Grandparents: 18%.</p>	<p>In CZ 45% young people were living with both parents at 12 years of age (the highest incidence) compared with 26% PT, 20% UK, 19% NL.</p> <p>48% NL sample experienced care, 24% CZ, 17% in PT and UK.</p> <p>Support from mother highest in the UK (40%), others 28%-32%. Support father highest UK. Support grandparents highest PT (24%) and CZ (21%).</p> <p>Support highest among non-EU migrants: mother (39%) father (18%) and grandparents (18%).</p> <p>Support grandparents: PT 24%, 20% CZ, 17% NL and 7% UK.</p>
<p>A connection to competent and caring adults in the family</p>	<p>Question as above: 62% identified one or more competent and caring adult in the family (including aunts, uncles and grandparents), 38% did not.</p>	<p><i>Caring adult:</i> PT and UK 67%, CZ 59% and NL 56%. Non-EU migrants 80%, ethnic dominant 60%, ethnic minority 54%, EU migrant 46%</p> <p>Male 67% vs female 55%</p>
<p>Good parent-child relationships</p> <p><i>'How would you describe your relations'</i></p>	<p>Good relations with both parents or their lone parent – 22%</p> <p>Good relations with one parent but poor/bad with other –</p>	<p><u>Good relationships with two parents:</u> PT (30%) and UK (25%) vs 7% NL and 4% CZ</p> <p><u>Good relationships</u> with 2 or 1 parents highest in PT (37%) and UK (29%); lowest NL (14%) and CZ</p>

<i>when you were growing up with the following persons ...'</i>	30% Poor relationship two parents or lone parent – 30%. Bad relations with two parents or lone parent – 19%	(6%) Ethnic dominant least likely to have good relations with both or one parents, 14%, compared with non-EU migrants, 39%. <u>Bad relationships</u> with 2 or 1 parents highest in NL (34%), CZ (23%) vs UK (13%), PT (6%).
Parental harmony	Parental aggression scale: low, 46%, medium 17%, and high 37%, reflecting bi-mode experience of parenting.	Low parental aggression: 52% UK and PT vs 44% CZ and 37% NL.
Valued social role (e.g. care of siblings)	In the CSEYHP database care of other siblings not seen as a valued social role. 11 young people reported they had no childhood because they were caring for siblings	8 of the 11 reported caring for other siblings were in NL sample.
Family belonging Question on main supporting person as above	62% report at least one adult in family who supported, including grandparents, 38% no adult support. 19% report sibling support whilst growing up.	As above. Non-EU ethnic minorities most experience of belonging. PT 28%, NL 19%, CZ 15%, UK 13%
Close relationship with one parent Question on main supporting person	31% mother was a support, 10% reported father. Parent support for 38% cases, no for 62%	UK 50% parental support; PT and CZ 35%, NL 33%. Non-EU migrants 47%, others 35-36%. Males 41% vs females 35%
Parent resilience <i>Are any of the following true of the parent/ care givers you lived with..?</i>	Whether parents had non-financial problems whilst young person growing up such as drugs, alcohol, mental health: 32% no problems, 34% 1 problem, 23% 2 problems, 11% 3 or more problems	No problems: 52% UK, 33% PT, 22% CZ, 18% NL. No problems: Non-EU migrants 43%, ethnic minorities 35%, 26% ethnic dominant, EU migrants 9%. No problems = male 37%, female 24%

CSEYHP sample, variables adapted from Newman and Blackburn (2002)

and 20% of the CZ sample. Grandparents were most frequently cited by young people after mother as their main support person whilst growing up, ahead of fathers (including young people who named both parents). The story of Christiana from PT is one in which grandparent support is for the whole family and not a substitute for parental support.

Christiana, 24 years old, female, born Portugal, grew up in grandmother's house, one child living with her.

Christiana grew up with her grandmother and mother in her grandmother's house: *'we were happy children, we had difficulties ... there were five of us and we had our granny and my mum but it wasn't poverty because ... (although) we wore hand me downs and shoes the neighbours gave us ... we could eat, not steak, but a bowl of soup.'* She left school without high school qualifications; she reports that she failed after her old school was closed and she had to move school. When she left school she wanted to get 'any job' and she has worked in a hairdresser shop, in a clothes shop, house cleaning, and in telesales. She says she couldn't get a better job because she didn't wear heels or wear the right clothes. She is now a single parent mother and is living in the house she grew up in. She has a room in her mother's house and has made a space in the room for her son; her mother spends most of her time with her partner in another town. She pays rent to the local authority. Her brothers and sisters were 'lucky' because they managed to rent their own houses. She would like to have been an only child so that *'everything was for me'* but her social life and support is through her sisters and brothers. She would like to get social reinsertion income and says she has deserved it because she has worked a lot. She would like to move out of her room to her own house and have a nursery place so that she can work and buy things for her son.

In the total sample one third reported that their parent(s)/carer had experienced no problems in relation to drugs, alcohol and mental health whilst they were growing up and another third that their parents experienced one of these problems. But only a fifth of young people in NL and CZ reported that their parents had no or only one such problem compared with half of the UK sample and one third of the PT sample.

Our evidence on parental aggression is tentative as it excludes responses to the direct question on whether the young person was hit during arguments (see Table 3.3), because we were seeking a measure of family harmony. However it fits the bi-modal pattern that we observe throughout the family variables: low parental aggression in 46% of all cases, medium 17% and high 37%. Young people in the PT and UK samples reported lowest parental aggression at 52% both, then CZ 44%, and NL 37%. However high parental aggression was almost equally distributed: 41% NL and 33-37% other countries. The story of Kelly in

the UK demonstrates the impact of parental aggression on young people. Kelly thought her home life was 'normal', she also became violent herself and at one stage hospitalised her mother. She thinks that both her mother and father had been raised in foster homes and has no knowledge of her wider family unlike Christiana.

Kelly, 19 years old, UK, female, White British, born in UK, lack of parental support, no extended family except siblings, living in long term accommodation, foyer with education support.

Kelly's mother ran away from Kelly's father because of domestic violence. (Both parents were raised in foster homes.) *'So we had nowhere to live, so we had to go into a hostel and it started from there... Because what was happening at home was normal but when I used to stop out at my friend's house it was like totally different than it was at home – it wasn't normal'*. She was hit with a belt and says there was mental abuse as well. She started running away from 14 years of age and thinks a place to stay in an emergency could have helped as well as education support. She moved out of home to a boyfriend, moved back to her mother, then had a fight and put her mother in hospital. She, and her brother, and her sister, are all living in homeless hostels. She has the same boyfriend for four years, she and her siblings are close and she can talk to her mother again – she thinks the family is moving closer. Both she and her sister have used the family mediation services offered by the agency that accommodates her. She left school with some GCSEs and wanted to work with animals. She has worked in bars and a chip shop and has an apprenticeship in hairdressing that involves her in full time education. She would like to go further in education and take an 'A' level in Business Studies.

The other aspect of resilience is related to the *environmental* factors associated with the young person's childhood: was there an extended family relationship? Had they moved home? What were their school experiences?

The availability of extended family support was very different between the four samples. In the PT sample three quarters of young people (76%) had support from adult relatives plus grandparents or a godparent, compared with a minority of young people in the other samples (28% CZ; 24% NL; 19% UK). This means that grandparent support in PT was part of an extended family network whilst in CZ grandparent support was a substitute for parental support and without backing from other family members.

Young people in the PT sample were also most likely to report support from a sibling when they were growing up (28%). But there is some evidence that

Table 3.2 The environmental conditions of the pasts of CSEYHP homeless populations – from Newman and Blackburn (2002)

THE ENVIRONMENT	Circumstances reported by CSEYHP respondents	Findings for specific youth homeless populations
Supportive extended family.	Grandparent plus aunt and/or uncle or other extended relative including godparents	Extended family support: 76% PT vs 28% CZ, 24% NL, 19% UK
Community belonging	Stayed in one place; moved within country; moved country at age 4-16 years. (Including young migrants in own country)	<u>Stayed in one place</u> : 65% CZ, 57% UK vs 46% PT and NL. <u>Moved within country</u> 46% NL, 35% PT, 33% CZ and 22% UK. <u>Moved country</u> 20% UK, 19% PT vs
Successful school experiences <i>Were you ever ...school excluded, truanted, picked up by other kids etc ...</i>	School excluded, 37% Truanted, 37%	<u>Exclusion</u> , Yes: 48% NL; 43% UK; 30% CZ; 26% PT. No: 80% non-EU migrant; 64% ethnic dominant; 53% ethnic minority; and 46% EU migrant. <u>Truanted</u> , Yes: 54% UK; 43% PT; 30% NL; 20% CZ. Yes: 74% ethnic dominant, 67% ethnic minority, 64% eu-migrant; 39% non-EU migrant.
Friendship networks (Positive) <i>A group of friends that you regularly meet</i>	Friends support in the past frequently substituted for parental care: 26 cases (12%) ? Yes: 74% No: 26%	15 of 26 cases name friend(s) as first or only support person <u>Yes</u> : Highest CZ, 83% but all 70% and above. No: Highest among non-EU migrant at 31%
Valued social role (e.g. a job, volunteering)	Reported under capabilities but 'ever worked' quite different	UK: 33% never worked in paid employment except on a very casual (basis baby sitting, cleaning etc).
Close relationship with unrelated mentor(<i>Support, feeling safe qs</i>)	Social workers/ foster parents for NL sample with care experience. PT more commonly a neighbour, a priest, an educator.	NL 13%, PT 11%, CZ 4% (2 cases), UK 2% (1 cases)
Member of religious or faith community	CZ sample may be in contact with Salvation Army because few other services.	CZ sample highest proportion in touch with religious organisations: 46% vs UK 26%, PT 15%, NL 11%,
Available services	See Section 4 Table 4.1	

requires further investigation that young people in the UK and NL samples who rely on their siblings for support do so as a substitute for parental or other adult relative support rather than as an adjunct.

It is important to bear in mind that simply identifying factors associated with resilience will have limited impact, the move from this to practical application and critical evaluation is required in order to have maximum utility for services and young people and their families (Newman and Blackburn, 2002). In reporting the family background that promotes resilience it is also necessary for this study to report on the family background that does not. Previous studies in the UK have reported on the risk of youths becoming homeless in relation to family background (Smith et al, 1998; Breugel and Smith, 1999; Smith, 2000; Quilgars, Johnsen and Pearce, 2008).

Breugel and Smith (1999) compared the family backgrounds of 198 London homeless youth aged 19 years and under with 152 domiciled youth living with their parents on comparatively deprived housing estates in London. The comparison produced an odds ratio of the likelihood of becoming homeless. The top predictive variable was not getting on with mother. In the CSEYHP interviews we asked about relationship with mother – good, fair, poor, bad – and about whether they had been hit frequently during the course of an argument. CZ young people were least likely to have a good relationship with their mother, and most likely to have been hit frequently in the course of an argument, although 70% lived with two or one birth parents at the age of 12 years and 43% described their childhood as good or happy.

Young people in the NL sample were most likely to have lived in care (48%), whilst young people in the UK sample were least likely to report they had led a settled life. Young people in NL and UK were most likely to report that their childhood had been 'bad, terrible', 36% and 33% respectively (Table 3.3).

Table 3.3 Family life that is negative for resilience

The Family: 3 family variables following Breugel and Smith (1999)	Circumstances reported by CSEYHP respondents	Differences in samples
Didn't get on with mother; 13:1	45% had good relationships with mother, 27% fair, 11% poor and 27% bad.	PT and UK most likely to report good relationship with mother (60%, 54%); NL, 42% and CZ 23%. Non-EU migrants 60% good; ethnic minority 50%.
Not living with 1 or 2 birth parents at 12; 5:1	60% two birth parents or one lone parent Vs step-parent, foster, relative	CZ, 70% lived with 2 or 1 birth parents at 12 yrs; UK, 63%; NL, 56%; PT, 50%. 63% ethnic dominant and ethnic migrant.
Hit frequently in course of argument; 4:1	23% reported being hit frequently.	Hit frequently: CZ and NL, 32%; PT 16%, and UK 12%. EU migrant, 46%; ethnic dominant 26%; ethnic minority 18%; non-EU migrant 16%.
Variables in CSEYHP database		
<i>Ever lived in care?</i>	No periods in care 74% vs 26% care.	NL, 48% <u>care experiences</u> vs 24% CZ, 17% UK and PT.
<i>How would you describe your childhood?</i>	Good, happy, 32%; Mixed, mishmash, 21%; difficult situation with a parent or step-parent, 12% ; bad, terrible, difficult 30%; no childhood, caring for other children, 5%	<u>Good/Happy</u> : 43% CZ; 41%, PT, 30%, UK; 13%, NL. <u>Bad, Terrible</u> : 36% NL, 33% UK; 30% PT; and 22% CZ. Caring for other children, 8 cases in NL, 15% of sample
<i>Thinking back over your life? ...</i> <i>Mostly settled, settled and unsettled or unsettled?</i>	Mostly settled: 34%; Mostly settled and unsettled: 12%; Mostly unsettled, 54%	Mostly settled: 52% PT, 37% NL, 34% CZ, 14% UK. Mostly settled and unsettled, 48% UK. Mostly unsettled: 66% CZ, 64% NL, 48% PT and 39% UK

3.3. Young homeless populations with experiences of care, and experiences of migration

Some circumstances demand more resilience than others. This is particularly important in relation to our four country sample: some respondents had experienced the death of a mother or father as a child or young person, others had lost other family members or their whole family. In our survey we asked various questions about their childhood, about disruptive experiences and how they would describe those experiences. There are two particular groups we need to consider here: those with experiences of social care, and young migrants.

Young people with experiences of social care:

Many homeless people have been in care at some point and in this study 26% had this experience. Wade and Dixon (2006) reported on outcomes for 106 UK care leavers 12-15 months after leaving care and found that 44% were unemployed and 31% neither in independent accommodation or supported accommodation; care-leavers most at risk of unemployment and poor housing outcomes were young people with mental health problems, substance misuse problems, disabilities, or persistent offenders.

A review of studies of UK care leavers from 1986-2006 by Stein applied a resilience framework and produced a model that identified three types of young people: *moving on*, *survivors* and *victims*. The *Moving on* group were more likely to have had stability and attachment in their lives and some educational success before leaving care; they were able to make good use of the help they were offered, frequently maintaining contact with former carers. The *Survivors* group had experienced more instability and more likely to leave care with no qualifications, more likely to experience periods of homelessness and unemployment or casual, low-paid employment and problems in their personal life (patterns of detachment and dependency). This group believed their experiences had made them self-reliant but were more likely to be still reliant on agency support for accommodation, money and personal assistance. What made the difference to their lives was the professional support they received after they left care, particularly in relation to maintaining accommodation, and peer mentoring support (Stein, 2005). The *Victims* group was the most disadvantaged

group of care leavers, having had the most pre-care damaging family experiences that care did not compensate for, and the most care placements. They were the least likely to have had a redeeming relationship with a family member or carer, were likely to leave care younger with poor life chances. They were most likely to be unemployed or homeless and to have complex needs.

The terminology of victims has not been adopted in this study as we prefer to refer to young people as being adrift, but Stein’s model provides a way of thinking about resilience among our respondents. However in our sample it is important to not just compare those who had lived in care and those who had not. Although just over a quarter of our total sample of 216 had a care experience, another quarter would have wanted social services intervention when they were growing up. Overall 54% had either lived in care or had wanted social services intervention. Further, some young people who had experienced care episodes would have wanted more social services intervention, earlier.

Table 3.4 Care experiences and requirement for care, CSEYHP data in percentages

Lived in care or wanted care	CSEYHP	
Never in care and didn’t want social services intervention	47%	NL exceptionally low, 24% vs 50% PT, 51% CZ, and 61% UK
Never in care but wanted social services intervention	27%	Highest PT, 33%, NL 28%, CZ 24%, and UK 22%
In care and wanted additional social services intervention as a child	15%	NL exceptional 32%, CZ 13%, UK 9%, and PT 6%
In care	12%	NL 17%, CZ 11%, PT 11%, and UK 7%. Male 14% and female 9%.
Total		

The sample whose young people were most likely to have experienced care was that of the Netherlands (49%). This may reflect the greater proportion of young men in that sample, and that many were living in criminal and street situations.

How different were the family experiences of young people who had never lived in care and never wanted to, of young people who had wanted social services intervention, and of young people who had lived in care? From table 3.5 it is apparent that young people who had never lived in care and never wanted social

services intervention were more likely to report a good or happy childhood, higher parental resilience, that their main support person was their mother and less likely to report high family aggression . However it is interesting that this did not mean that the key relationship for this group was currently their mother – that proportion was similar across all groups.

Table 3.5 Backgrounds of young homeless people without and with care experiences, CSEYHP sample, in percentages

	Never in care	Never in care, wanted social services	In care
Male	47	29	24
Female	47	25	28
Resilience			
Good/ Happy childhood	45	24	16
Parent resilience high – no problems mental health, drugs, alcohol	38	24	28
Good relationships with two parents or one lone parent	28	21	9
Growing up – main support person was mother	44	27	18
Parent family aggression high	27	45	47
Arguments involved hitting frequently	17	26	29
Key relationship now – mother	22	23	26
Key relationship now – my child	10	20	6
Religion - none	39	45	47
Capability			
Level of qualifications – early leavers	67	76	68
Never had a job	12	14	18
Aspirations – professional employment	11	9	10
Aspirations – university/ still in education	16	11	14
Total sample	101	58	57

Young migrants:

Our samples include those not born in the host countries of CZ, NL, PT and UK. These young people are composed of three groups: a) non-European migrants, through family reunification; b) non-European refugees, often from good family backgrounds but terrible experiences in relation to death, loss and war; and c) European migrants, often job-seekers. Of the 60 young people born outside the host country, 11 were from other European countries and 49 from non-European countries.

Table 3.6 Backgrounds of young migrants, CSEYHP data, in percentages

Variables	Born in country	EU migrant	Non-EU migrant
Aged under 20 years	33	0	41
Male	57	82	53
Currently single	50	73	80
Resilience			
Good/ Happy childhood	27	18	49
Parent resilience high – no problems mental health, drugs, alcohol	30	9	43
Good relationships with two parents or one lone parent	17	20	39
Growing up – main support person was mother	31	20	39
Key relationship now – mother	22	20	28
Key relationship now – my child	14	0	7
Religion - none	50	46	18
Capability			
Level of qualifications – early leavers	66	73	82
Never had a job	10	0	33
Aspirations – professional employment	9	9	13
Aspirations – university/ still in education	9	0	34
Total sample	156	11	49

Reporting on 11 young people is difficult but there are clear differences between this group of migrants and the non-European migrants as show in Table 3.7 and therefore these differences must be reported. Young EU migrants were male and older and their family backgrounds were the worst of the three; they were most likely to report parents with problems and least likely to report a good or happy childhood. Although they were slightly more likely to be early school leavers all had work experience.

Agency workers who were interviewed in the UK in Phase 1 of this project reported that they found migrant young people more motivated to do well than young people born in the UK. This is apparently true for non-EU migrants, but not for the few EU migrants in our database. The family backgrounds and life experiences of the young people born in the host country and of the EU migrants are more similar than those of the non-EU migrants. Non-EU migrants are more likely to report a good, happy childhood, good relationship with mother, good relationships with both parents or one lone parents, and high parental resilience. Non-EU migrants are also most likely to report that they have a specific religion or a general belief in God.

Moreover, despite having lower qualifications and being more likely to never have had a job (33%), non-EU migrants have higher aspirations: one third wanted to go to university or were staying on in education (34%) and 13% wanted to have professional employment.

3.4. Current patterns of attachment?

We asked several questions that gave us insight into how young people in our samples viewed their current situation, including whether they currently felt unsafe, and had anyone to turn to if they felt unsafe, the main services they needed now, whether they had ever tried to return home, whether they currently considered themselves homeless or at risk of homelessness. Surprisingly 43% of young people in the PT sample reported feeling unsafe; however they were the sample who had people to turn to, only 9% said they had no one to turn to. Migrants (both EU and non-EU) were most likely to report feeling unsafe and most likely to say they had no-one to turn to.

Young people in the NL and CZ samples were most likely to report that there were times they would have liked to return home but couldn't (67%, 65%) and young people in the CZ sample were most likely to report being homeless or at risk of homelessness (83%).

Table 3.7 Indicators of current resilience

	Circumstances reported by CSEYHP respondents	Differences in youth homeless population samples
Feel unsafe now?	31% reported they felt unsafe now; 69% not	Yes unsafe: Highest in PT sample, 43%; CZ, 35%; NL 28%; UK, 20%. YES unsafe: EU migrant, 46%; Non-EU migrant, 41%; ethnic dominant and ethnic minority, 27%, 28%. YES: Male 33%, female 30%
Anyone can turn to if feel unsafe?	77% yes, 23% no	No-one to turn to: NL, 30%; UK, 26%; CZ, 24%; PT, 9%; No-one: EU migrant, 55%; Non-EU migrant, 11%; ethnic minority, 21%; ethnic dominant 15%. No-one: Male 27%, female 15%
Four main services needed now: Mental health services, Counselling?	19% yes,	Yes highest in NL: 33%; CZ, 20%; , UK 13%; PT 9%. Yes: ethnic groups all 19-20% except EU migrant, 9%. Yes: female 22% vs 17% male
Four main services needed now, self-report: Substance abuse services?	9% yes,	Yes highest in CZ, 15%; 7% in NL and UK, 6% , PT UK. Yes: highest in EU migrant, 18%; 9-10% born in country ethnic dominant and ethnic minority; lowest non-EU migrant 4%.
Four main services needed now, self-reported: Mediation?	7% yes,	Yes, highest in PT, 17% and ethnic minority, 12%
<i>Have there been times when you would have liked to return home but couldn't?</i>	Yes - 56%; No - 43% (1% not applicable)	Yes: 67% CZ and 65% NL vs 44% UK and 46% PT. Yes: 60% male vs 51% female. Yes: Ethnic dominant 58%, ethnic minority 47%, Migrant EU 80% (8 of 10) and 56% non-EU migrant.
<i>Do you currently think you are homeless ...or at risk of homelessness?</i> (Combined questions)	Yes - 54%; No - 46%	Yes: 83% CZ vs 53% UK, 44% NL, 35% PT. Yes: male 61%, female 45%

The key to current resilience is current attachments as well as support through services. To review current attachment among young people in our samples we created three variables on multiple attachments to adult relatives (parents, aunt, uncle, grandmother) and/or to a partner, single attachment to an adult relative or partner, attachment to child only, attachment to friends only, or no attachments except to an agency worker. The majority of PT young people had multiple attachments to family and/or partners (61%), compared with NL and UK, 30% and 28% and only 9% for CZ. However in the UK migrant young people also reported that they were attached to their family abroad.

Table 3.8 Current patterns of attachment, CSEYHP sample, in percentages

Reported attachment	Country sample				Gender	
	UK	PT	CZ	NL	Female	Male
Parent or adult relative						
Yes – 36%	32	54	20	35	44	31
No – 57%	54	33	80	61	51	61
Yes but family abroad – 7%	15	9	0	4	5	8
Girl/boy friend, partner						
Yes – 26%	19	26	24	33	28	23
No – 63%	76	44	67	61	48	73
Attached to child – 12%	4	30	9	6	24	3
Siblings						
Yes – 27%	37	48	4	20	30	25
No – 73%	63	52	96	80	70	75
Family Attachment Scale						
Family/ partner multiple-32%	28	61	9	30	42	24
Family/ partner one-35%	32	26	39	44	28	40
Family not in country-6%	17	6	0	2	5	7
Child only – 4%	4	4	7	2	8	2
TOTAL	54	54	54	54		

3.5 Conclusions on Resilience

In the five welfare regimes identified by the Up2youth project CZ is identified as a post-socialist country with a welfare system based on the family and the state but in our CZ sample young people not only received little support from the state, largely living in temporary squats or on the streets, but also had little support from their families and were largely not in contact with any adult family member. We have noted that CZ and PT young homeless people were more likely to find a substitute adult family member in their grandparents than in the NL and UK samples, but subsequently the family contacts of the young people in

the CZ sample are the most limited; CZ young people were most likely to report that friends, an agency or no-one was close to them (45%). A large majority of our CZ sample, 83%, believed they were homeless or at risk of homelessness. At the other extreme 61% of young people in the PT sample, a family welfare regime, reported multiple adult family members that they were in contact with and close to. During their childhoods PT young people had also had more favourable experiences. Only 35% of young people in our PT sample thought they were homeless or at risk of homelessness but they were the sample most likely to report feeling unsafe.

Young people in the NL sample, a state intervention regime supplemented by family support, had the highest proportion of young people who had any experience of care (48%,) and only 13% described their childhood as good or happy. In the NL sample there was higher attachment to many or one family member or partner, largely because one third had a partner (the highest proportion of the four country samples). By comparison young people in the UK sample, in a liberal regime based on early economic independence for young people, constrained state support and supplementary family support, reported close relationships with an adult relative in a third of cases (32%), and with a partner in a fifth (19%).

Two young people in PT (4%) reported no close ties at all compared with a tenth of both the NL and UK samples (11%) and a fifth of the CZ sample (20%).

4. Understanding, preventing and intervening in youth homelessness

The types of intervention that young people would have liked in their pasts is discussed in Thematic Report 1, Life trajectories, and will also be reported in relation to our findings on Early Intervention Methods (EIM), in Phase 3 of the CSEYHP project. In our interviews for Phase 2 we asked young people about their need for a current range of services, and whether they had a key worker or not.

4.1. Homelessness and the current need for services

One of the most important aspects of their need for services and the possibilities of strengthening both capability and resilience is their current housing situation. Of the four country samples the group most at risk in relation to current housing situation was that of CZ; in the CZ sample all but four young people (8%) were either living in squats or other temporary accommodation or on the streets.

Table 4.1 Housing situation now, CSEYHP sample, in percentages

	Country sample				Gender	
	UK	PT	CZ	NL	Female	Male
Staying in own or partner's accommodation	17	32	0	17	22	12
Long term supported accommodation	74	20	0	20	36	23
Short term accommodation, refuge, refugee accommodation	0	9	4	44	15	14
Staying with friends or family	2	28	4	6	8	11
Staying in temporary dwelling, squats, bed and breakfast, hotels	0	11	57	2	13	20
Streets	7	0	35	11	6	19
Total	54	54	54	54		

A similar proportion of all samples reported a need for housing in UK, PT and NL: 67%, 65%, 61%. Although living conditions for homeless young people were worst in CZ, a slightly lower proportion of that sample reported the need for housing services, 56%. Migrants were slightly higher in their reported need for accommodation services, whilst young men's and young women's were similar (63% and 61%).

What kind of support for **capability** building did young people in the different samples identify? Young people in the PT sample were more securely housed with family and friends or partners, but most likely of all the samples to identify other forms of support they required: education or learning support (74%), employment support (64%), physical health services and creative learning services. What of building their **resilience**? Young people in the NL sample were more likely to identify a need for mental health services or substance abuse services support (39%), followed by young people in CZ (33%).

Table 4.2 Current need for functioning and resilience support through ?

Support Needs: CAPABILITY	CSEY HP	Differences in specific youth populations
Employment support	51% yes	PT, 65%; CZ and UK, 56%; NL 30% Highest non-EU migrant, 57%. Male, female similar, 49%-53%
Education or learning support	38% yes	PT, 74% UK, 39%; NL, 32%; 6% CZ. Non-EU migrants and ethnic minorities, 49%; ethnic dominant 27%; EU migrants 18%. Female 46% and male 32%
Creative learning	14% yes	PT, 26%; NL, 19%; UK, 11%; EU migrant 0% Highest in non-EU migrant, 22% and ethnic minority, 19%. Lowest in EU migrant, 9% and ethnic dominant, 7%. Gender the same.
Money management	30% yes	NL 56%; UK 32%; PT 22%; CZ 9%, Ethnic minority 39%; non-EU migrant, 29%; ethnic dominant, 27%; 9% EU migrant. Male 32%; female, 26%
Physical health services	17% yes	PT, 35%; UK 15%; CZ 11%; NL 7%. 18%-20% except ethnic dominant, 14%. Male 19%, female 15%.
Support Needs: RESILIENCE		
Housing services	62% yes	Highest in UK and PT, 67% and 65%; NL, 61% and CZ, 56%. EU migrant, 72% and non-EU migrant 70%. Gender the same.
Need for mental health and/or substance abuse services	26% yes	Highest in NL, 39% and CZ, 33% vs UK 17%, PT 13%. All ethnic groups 24-26% except EU migrant, 18%. Female 23% vs 27% m.
Has a link worker or key worker?	65% yes	Highest in NL, 83%, ad UK, 74% vs PT, 48% and CZ 45%. Ethnic minority 77%, Non-EU migrant 65%, ethnic dominant 58% and EU migrant, 20%
Would like a link worker if without one? 66 cases without; 46 cases would like, 20 cases would not.	69% yes	85% UK without key worker would like one, two thirds PT and CZ. All non-EU migrants would want one except 1 . But 42% of ethnic dominant and 40% men without wouldn't want one.
TOTAL CASES	216	

4.2 Support through link worker or key worker

Did young people in the four country samples have support from a key worker to help build their capability and resilience? Young people in the NL and UK samples were most likely to have a key worker (83% and 74%) compared with less than half in CZ and PT. In the UK sample key worker support was associated with living in long term supported accommodation but in NL young people not living in long term supported accommodation also had key workers. Sixty-seven young people in the total CSEYHP sample did not have a key worker or link worker and the majority would have wished to have that support.

Of the 20 young people who did not wish to have key worker support 15 were young men, and 13 were ethnic dominant (Table 4.2). Again this confirms the reports from the UK key workers that ethnic dominant young people (particularly young men) are less likely to seek the support they need.

We also asked about the experience of having a link worker or key worker; whether their ideas or suggestions were listened to, appointments were kept, goals were set, motivation was increased. These responses will be reported in our Phase 3 report on key working. In Table 4.3. below we report how far young people with a key worker or link worker were satisfied in relation to specific help they received.

Table 4.3 Key worker or link worker now, CSEYHP sample, in percentages unless otherwise stated

Key worker or link worker	Country sample				Gender	
	UK	PT	CZ	NL	Female	Male
Yes	74	48	49	83	66	60
No – would like a case worker	11 cases	18 cases	13 cases	4 cases	23 cases	23 cases
No – wouldn't like	2 cases	9 cases	6 cases	3 cases	5 cases	15 cases
V. satisfied or satisfied with agency contact in regard to:						
Practical help	73	71	50	79	75	79
Training options	73	71	75	72	67	77
Job options	63	58	81	68	65	68
Housing options	76	50	78	68	65	72
Medical help	72	71	78	77	67	80
Total cases, 127	41	24	20	42	60	67
Legal help	64	54	93	70	59	75
Total cases, 101	33	24	14	30	46	55

Satisfaction was high in the UK and NL but also in CZ. Not surprisingly given the circumstances young people's satisfaction with housing options and job options are lowest among the PT sample.

Maryam's story demonstrates the importance of having a link worker for some young people. She has no other family support having been adopted out of her country, Liberia, into Guinea, when she was 2 years old.

Maryam, Age 22 years, non-EU immigrant living in NL, without papers, supported through a charity.

'My life isn't good ... even from when I was very young there was a war in my country and then I fled. And now I still haven't found a stable place.' Liberian children were taken from Liberia to Guinea (neighbouring country) and placed with foster parents during a war. Maryam lived with foster parents from 2 to 15 years and was frequently hit by them. Her relationships with them were bad but fair with step-brothers and sisters; nobody supported her whilst she was growing up but she had nowhere else to go. She ran away from 14 years, and lived on the streets. She left school at 14 years because she was picked on by other kids. She stayed with friends and then ran to NL and was in refugee accommodation at 16 years and given language courses. She has lived by herself in private rented accommodation through an NL charitable organisation from 18 years. The services that made a difference for her were advocacy, social services, emergency accommodation, counselling and her faith organisation. They prevented her from being homeless in NL through supporting her accommodation and giving financial support. She has only ever cleaned houses as a job and because she has no papers she is unable to go to school in NL which she most wants to do. She wants social services intervention as she has no status or documents, and is uncertain as to whether she will be able to stay in NL. She has no real home but has good friends in NL and now she has a room she feels more stable. She is involved in the Guinean community and they meet regularly and go out together. She says the important people in her life are her biological parents but she doesn't know where they are and has never seen them. Her only attachment is to the worker in the agency. She has a key worker and is very happy with their support. The one thing she would like to be doing in the next year is studying and in five years to have finished studying and having a good job. Her main contact with agencies is her mobile phone. Although she had had no childhood she has hopes of having a normal and good life in the future.

4.3. Methods of contacting agencies and use of new technologies

How do young people access services? Young people in the NL and the UK samples use a range of methods to access services but were most likely to use mobile phone contact (74% in each country) or go direct to agencies (78%, 76%). Young people in the PT and CZ samples were equally likely to go direct to agencies but less likely to use mobile phones – 43% in PT and 19% in CZ. Young

people in the CZ team were most likely to be in contact with an outreach team (28%). Email account contact and landline phone contact are also more common in the NL and UK samples. In the UK young people were asked which method they preferred and 60% preferred being contacted by mobile.

Table 4.4. Methods of contacting agencies among CSEYHP samples in percentages

	Country sample				Gender	
	UK	PT	CZ	NL	Female	Male
Contact with agencies through						
Mobile phone	74	43	19	74	58	48
Landline phone	22	15	4	35	17	20
Email account	43	15	17	50	32	31
Letters	63	15	2	35	35	24
Go directly to agencies	76	77	73	78	75	77
Outreach team	11	6	28	6	9	15
Total cases	54	54	54	54		
Preferred method ... UK only						
Mobile phone	60				67	52
Go directly	17				10	24
Letters	14				14	14
Other ...	9				9	10
Total	42					

An important question is how far the young people in the CSEYHP sample are linked into modern technologies necessary for them to pursue social and economic integration? Do agencies in CZ not use mobile phone contact because the young people do not have them? As reported in Table 4.5 a minority of young people in the CZ sample had their own mobile phone (39%) whilst at least 87% of young people in the other samples had a mobile phone. Similarly a third of the CZ sample had a Facebook or Hi5 account compared with at least 61% in the other samples. However young people in the CZ sample claimed to have access to computer equipment and the internet as frequently or more frequently than in other samples. They also reported knowing the names of telephone helplines or young person websites more frequently than young people in the PT sample – only 13% of young people in the PT sample reported knowing websites for young people.

Table 4.5 New technologies available to young people in the CSEYHP sample

	Country sample				Gender	
	UK	PT	CZ	NL	Female	Male
Do you have a...?						
Mobile phone - yes	94	87	39	93	85	73
Email account - yes	82	72	67	93	80	76
Access Internet - yes	63	72	80	80	75	73
Access computer equipment - Yes	67	72	74	82	73	74
A Facebook or Hi5 account - yes	61	65	33	72	62	55
Do you know any names of						
telephone helplines? - yes	57	24	61	44	46	47
Websites for young people? -yes	43	13	45	56	37	40
Total sample	54	54	54	54	92	124

4.4 Strengthening capability

There are different types of interventions that we need to consider in order to strengthen the capabilities of young people who become homeless. In relation to the development of their capabilities through education and work the samples of young people from Portugal and the United Kingdom appear to be at most disadvantage, despite the highest proportion of young people in care being in the NL sample, and the least family support in the CZ sample.

- Poor families lead to poor schooling. Early intervention in the family should include financial support to remain in education. In the sample of young people from PT several reported they had to leave school early, against their will, because of family poverty
- Early education is needed to support failing children. Poor school outcomes and school exclusion lead to family trouble. New friends can lead to peer influence becoming more important than parents, school truancy, school exclusion and at worst joining a gang can lead to family breakdown.
- Open labour markets such as the UK leave young people with low or no qualifications without employment. Training routes need to be established similar to those in the employment centred Netherlands, where no young person reported a lack of available training.

- Young people who are trying to re-establish themselves need support to get jobs. Young people in CR could find work but in PT and the UK it was very difficult; apprenticeships through housing associations, NGOs and employers are important.
- There is an important role to be played by the private business sector. In the UK Business Action on Homelessness (BAOH) supports homeless people through Ready for Work programmes and seeks to develop training programmes with the homeless sector.
- Young people in the UK sample living in supported accommodation were disadvantaged if they sought work as their wages would be too low to pay for their accommodation. Therefore they were the most likely to be unemployed. Housing support should not require that young people move out of work engagement.
- Young people in PT demonstrated the highest demand for services that enhanced their education and employment profiles. They need support as they move outside of the family welfare system into the world of work.
- Motivation for young people from European societies is lower than among those not born in Europe. Career support should be an important part of the youth services in each European country.
- One quarter of young people in our sample are early parents. For their children to become capable and functioning adults it is necessary to invest in young people who are currently among the most disadvantaged.

4.5 Strengthening resilience

In this respect also different types of interventions are required for different homeless populations.

- Good risk assessments. Children and young people need to be protected from harm and this can depend on good risk assessments carried out by social workers, police and others who have a role in protecting children. Many respondents in the study said services could have responded sooner and others wanted social service intervention but never received it.

- For young people with limited family support and also for those with family support but in dangerous neighbourhoods it is important to promote community cohesion. For example the Craigmillar project in Scotland undertook comprehensive neighbourhood mapping (CNM) involving agencies and communities imaginatively gathering and interpreting information relevant to young peoples safety within a geographical location. it emphasises safer environments, community safety and social inclusion (Baldwin, 2004).
- Support parents: Where parents are struggling to care for their children there needs to be accessible, non-stigmatising support available to manage difficult situations before these become worse.
- Support grandparents: Grandparents are an important part of their grandchildren's lives and amongst other things the care they provide helps to support children's social and emotional development. This can help children cope with adversity in their lives and therefore build capability and resilience. Increased life expectancy means it is more common for children to grow up with grandparents around. Variations in family structures due to the rise in divorce and cohabitation rates, children born outside of marriage, lone parent families and reconstituted families are situations where grandparents can provide consistency. There are also increased numbers of working mothers creating greater demand for quality childcare. Grandparenting in Europe (2010) is a scoping study looking at how the role of grandparents within family life varies across Europe and how different family policy frameworks across Europe help shape the role that grandparents play. The UK is said to lag behind other European countries in terms of how grandparents' role is valued and supported however from 2011 grandparents providing childcare in the UK will be able to claim national insurance credits. In a number of other EU states grandparents are entitled to paid leave, transferable parental leave and can, in some circumstances, also be paid for the care they provide.

- Although many reports describe poor outcomes from social services care, it is apparent that many young people in our samples would have wished to have social services intervention in their families.
- Adequate provision of shelters in countries without either long term accommodation (UK) or short term accommodation leading to social housing (NL) is a requirement particularly for countries in the situation of CZ. Living in temporary housing unfit for habitation or on the streets damages physical and mental health very quickly. PT young people also lacked access to supported accommodation.
- PT young people turn to their families for support with accommodation but they were most likely to report a lack of other services. Employment and training services for young people require development and signposting in European states that have relied upon the family welfare model.
- In the UK one business charity supports homeless people to gain and sustain employment through a Ready for Work programme. BAOH (Business Action on Homelessness) is creating a toolkit to help employers enhance the emotional resilience of young homeless people they employ. It is apparent that as young people move into employment they continue to require mentoring as well as supervision. Mentoring may be offered by key workers they have known previously as well as by employers. The programme is part of Business in the Community at www.bitc.org.

4.6. Using new technologies to support young people who are homeless

- Mobile phone technology is widely available to young people in three of our samples but not in the fourth, CZ. Mobile phone companies can help in several ways: making second hand mobile phones available to young people through homeless agencies on the payment of a small fee; making second hand mobile phones available to workers in homeless agencies; keeping a record of mobile phone numbers for homeless young people many of whom are at risk of having their mobile phone stolen, or selling them for food, alcohol and/or drugs.

- Young people are likely to have email accounts even if they are homeless. It is important that agencies encourage them to use them and that websites provide them with up to date service information. Arrangements could be made with internet cafes that young people with a card from a homeless agency may log on for up to 30 minutes to check their email at a reduced rate.
- Many young people reported to us that they did not know where to contact services. Websites for young people that give this information need to be widely available and widely advertised. This is especially important in PT.

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Appendix 1 Converting educational standards into functionings

CZ education levels are among the highest in the EU (EYP, 2009) therefore CZ young homeless people with education levels higher than in PT and UK could be more disadvantaged in CZ. Below we report both the education level at the ISCE standards and also an assessment from our national teams as to whether young people in their sample are low risk, medium risk and high risk at their particular education level according to whether they can proceed to further education or be gain employment.

Table A1. Past education capability

International Standard Classification of Education	Distribution within CSEYHP samples
5-6 Tertiary education level	4%: 9 young people, predominantly from CZ, 6 of 9.
3-4 Secondary or post-secondary non-tertiary education	26%: Proportion with some qualifications higher in UK (37%) and CZ (34%)
0-2 Early leavers. End of compulsory education. (NB: We report as an 'early leaver' young people at ISCE standards 0-2 rather than 0-3c).	70%: 43% of PT sample did not advance beyond level 1. Proportion of early leavers in PT (80%) and NL (89%) samples much higher than UK and CZ
TOTAL CASES	215 (missing 1)
Past Education Capability – our estimates based two questions	Does this level of education allow young people into further study or into employment?
1. Low risk, education at Higher Education level	4%: as above. All ethnic dominant or ethnic minority born in the country, but that is expected given dominance of CZ young people.
2. Medium risk, education at a level which would allow to seek work or further qualifications	33%: Proportion at this level is highest in NL (63%), then UK (37%), PT (20% and then CZ (13%)
3. High risk, education levels low and disqualify from higher education entry or anything but most casual work	63%: Proportion is highest in CZ (87%), then PT (80%) vs 57% UK and 26% NL.