

## Diversity in older age – Older homelessness

The characteristics of older homelessness can change rapidly over time and may differ significantly from place to place. This review will focus on older homelessness in England. In England older homelessness is currently on the increase and the number of older street-homeless has doubled in the five years from 2010 to 2015.

### Homelessness

The European Typology of Homelessness and Housing Exclusion (ETHOS) provides a useful framework within which to consider homelessness.<sup>1</sup> ETHOS sees a home as having three domains – an adequate living space which is accessible only to the household who live within it (Physical Domain); a living space in which a household can enjoy privacy and their emotional life (Social Domain); and a living space which a household has a legal title to occupy (Legal Domain).

Within the ETHOS framework, homelessness can take four forms:

Roofless	People living rough People staying in a night shelter
Houseless	People in accommodation for homeless people (including temporary accommodation) People in women's shelters People in accommodation for immigrants People due to be released from institutions (prisons and hospitals) who are at risk of homelessness due to support needs, and people who are unable to move on from institutions due to a lack of 'move on' housing People receiving support (due to homelessness ie in supported accommodation, including those unable to move on from supported housing due to a lack of suitable accommodation)
Insecure housing	People living in insecure accommodation (squatting, illegal camping, sofa surfing or sleeping on floors, staying with friends or relatives) People living under threat of eviction People living under threat of violence
Inadequate housing	People living in temporary / non-standard structures People living in unfit housing People living in extreme overcrowding

From: Jones A and Pleace N (2010) *A review of single homelessness in the UK*

### Older homelessness – a demographic overview

Homeless people generally have poorer health and worse mortality than the population as a whole and it is therefore commonly accepted by researchers that 'older', in the context of homeless people means those who are aged 50/55 and over.<sup>2</sup>

There are three main approaches to assessing the number of homeless people in the United Kingdom: 'statutory' homeless households, rough sleepers and the 'hidden homeless' who stay in hostels and similar accommodation.

<sup>1</sup> Jones A and Pleace N (2010) *A review of single homelessness in the UK*, Crisis

<sup>2</sup> Crane M and Warnes A M (2010) *Homelessness among older people and service responses*, Reviews in Clinical Gerontology, 20; 354-363

‘Statutory homeless’ and rough sleepers are the most visible form of homelessness but they may be far outnumbered by the ‘hidden’ homeless population; people who stay in hostels, bed-and-breakfast hotels, squats or stay on the floor of friends’ accommodation.<sup>3</sup> In this review it is estimated that, in England, while on any one night, around 400 older people aged 55 and above may be sleeping rough, at least ten times that number will be spending the night in short- and long-term homelessness accommodation - figures comparable with those for the mid-1990s.<sup>3</sup>

Patterns of homelessness vary widely between countries and over time. According to Crane and Warnes<sup>2</sup>, in the United Kingdom, in the earlier half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, older people (aged over 50) predominated in the homeless population. That is no longer the case and older people (aged 60 and above) currently form just 4% of statutory homeless households, and older people (aged 50 and above) make up between 9% and 12% of rough sleepers and homeless-hostel dwellers. That contrasts with the USA where one half of homeless people are said to be aged over 50.<sup>4,5</sup> Examples include in San Francisco where, in 2016, approximately half of single homeless adults were aged 50 and older compared with 11% in 1990<sup>6</sup> and New York where, in homeless accommodation, older age and arrest history were found to be the strongest predictors of longer stays.<sup>7</sup>

It is predicted that, around the world, as populations age, the numbers of older homeless will increase,<sup>8</sup> however, the very different demographic, social and political contexts would suggest caution in translating the lessons learned from international studies into the UK.

Even within the UK the experience of homelessness varies widely between locations. The London Borough of Westminster experiences a very high prevalence of street homelessness but a large proportion of these are migrants who report lower levels of personal trauma and vulnerability than other street homeless people.<sup>9</sup>

### **Statutory homeless**

Local Authorities in the UK have a statutory obligation to provide accommodation for certain particularly vulnerable households, including on the grounds of old age, who are accepted as ‘homeless’ and the numbers accepted are published by the Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG) in England, and through the devolved administrations in Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland.

---

<sup>3</sup> Crane M (1999) *Understanding older homeless people*, Open University Press, Buckingham

<sup>4</sup> Sorrell J M (2016) *Aging on the Street: Homeless Older Adults in America*, Journal of Psychosocial Nursing and Mental Health Services 54 (9) : 25-29

<sup>5</sup> Lee C T, Guzman D, Ponath C, Tieu L, Riley E and Kushe M (2016) *Residential patterns in older homeless adults: Results of a cluster analysis* Social Science & Medicine 153 (March) : 131-140

<sup>6</sup> Brown R T, Goodman L, Guzman D, Tieu L, Ponath C and Kushel M B (2016) *Pathways to Homelessness among Older Homeless Adults: Results from the HOPE HOME Study* PLOS One

<sup>7</sup> Caton C et al (2005) *Risk Factors for Long-Term Homelessness: Findings From a Longitudinal Study of First-Time Homeless Single Adults* American Journal of Public Health 95 (10) : -

<sup>8</sup> Crane M and Joly L (2014) *Older homeless people: increasing numbers and changing needs*. Reviews in Clinical Gerontology (24) 255-268

<sup>9</sup> Fitzpatrick S, Johnsen S and White M (October 2011) *Multiple exclusion homelessness in the UK: key patterns and intersections* Social Policy & Society, vol 10, Pt 4: pp 501-512

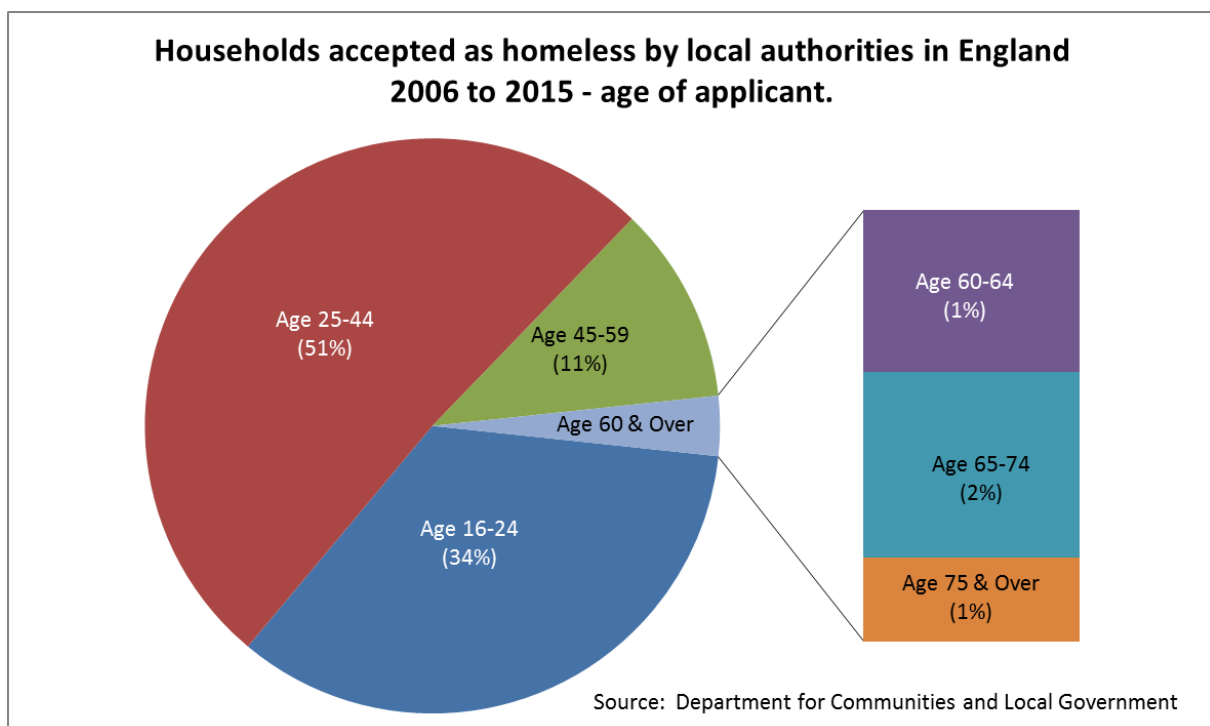
Local authorities do not have a duty to provide accommodation for all homeless people, only for those who are judged to fall within certain categories of ‘priority need’ including where they, or any person who resides or who might reasonably be expected to reside with them, is vulnerable because of *old age*, mental illness, handicap or physical disability.<sup>10</sup> If an older person is not viewed as vulnerable within the framework of the Housing Act, they will only be entitled to advice and assistance, which may be limited.<sup>11</sup> Ironically a more positive view of ageing among Local Authority Housing Options Service (LAHOS) professionals has made age itself less likely to contribute to an assessment of vulnerability.<sup>11</sup>

In 2015 around one half (49%) of all applications to Local Authorities for accommodation on the grounds of homelessness, were accepted. One quarter (25%) being deemed not homeless, 17% homeless but not in priority need and 9% intentionally homeless.<sup>12</sup> Pressures on local authorities mean that some households, who are turned away at an early stage, are never recorded.<sup>13</sup>

The large majority of statutory homeless households are in the younger age groups and older people make up a very small proportion of the total.

In the decade to the end of 2015, only a small minority (4%) of households accepted as homeless by Local Authorities in England had an applicant / head of household aged 60 or over. [Figure 1]

In 2015, out of the total 56,500 acceptances, there were 2,220 accepted applicants aged 60 and over (3.93%) of whom 810 were aged 60-64, 980 aged 65-74 and 430 aged 75 and above.



**Figure 1**

<sup>10</sup> House of Commons Communities and Local Government Committee (2016) *Homelessness, Third report of session 2016-17*

<sup>11</sup> Alden S (2017) *Public-sector service provision for older people affected by homelessness in England*, Ageing and Society, vol 37, no 2 pp 410-434

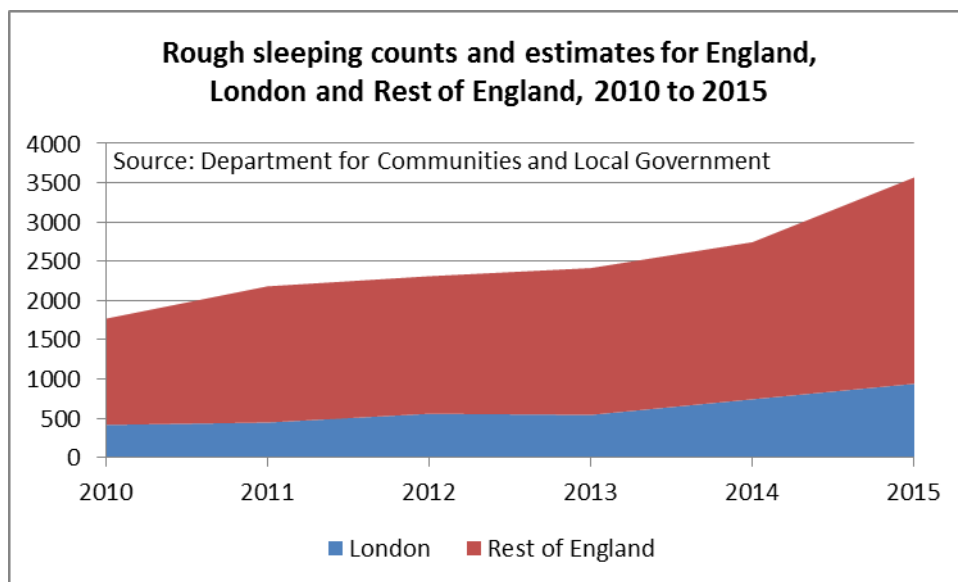
<sup>12</sup> Homeless Link (2015) *Support for single homeless people in England - Annual Review 2016*

The non-statutory or ‘single’ homeless are made up of rough sleepers, hostel dwellers and the more deeply hidden homeless who stay temporarily with friends and relatives.

### ***Rough sleepers***

DCLG publishes head counts of the numbers of rough sleepers in each Local Authority area and, in addition, voluntary organisations have carried out more detailed surveys of rough sleepers, most notably the Combined Homelessness and Information Network (CHAIN), in London. The methodology for the Local Authority head counts was made more rigorous in 2010 and so the numbers since 2010 are not comparable with those before. Despite these improvements, the Local Authority head counts were declared, in 2015, to fall below the standards required of ‘National Statistics’.<sup>13</sup>

Local Authority estimates indicate that the number of people who are homeless and sleeping rough in England has doubled between 2010 and 2015. [Figure 2]



**Figure 2**

It is argued that the proportion of rough sleepers who are female is always under-estimated since female rough sleepers tend to sleep away from public places for security and are therefore less likely to be counted.<sup>13</sup>

The most recent of a series of surveys carried out by the Combined Homelessness and Information Network (CHAIN) of people observed rough sleeping by outreach teams in London over the year, found that, in 2015-16, 85% of rough sleepers were men and 11% were aged over 55.<sup>14</sup>

While the CHAIN data provides a more comprehensive and reliable base for comparative analysis of street homelessness over time and within different groups, the numbers, gathered over a year,

<sup>13</sup> Wilson W (2016) *Rough sleeping (England)*, House of Commons Library Briefing Paper

<sup>14</sup> Mayor of London (2016) *CHAIN Annual Report Greater London April 2015 - March 2016*

cannot be directly compared with the single-night snap-shot figures of overnight homelessness provided by DCLG.

By way of comparison, a 1998 study, carried out on behalf of the Social Exclusion Unit by Shelter, also found that the vast majority of homeless people were young and male. At that time around 90% were found to be male and one quarter (25%) were aged 18 – 25. Just 6% of rough sleepers were age 60 or over.<sup>15</sup> This *may* indicate that the proportion of homeless people who are older has risen in recent years, but the figures are not directly comparable.

The CHAIN surveys indicate that, in London, the *proportion* of homeless rough sleepers who are aged over 55 has remained between 9% and 11% since 2005. The *numbers* aged over 55 have however more than doubled, in line with the overall increase in the number of rough sleepers. [Figure 3]

Patterns of homelessness vary widely from location to location, reflecting the presence of particular disadvantaged groups. While in the USA, African Americans are disproportionately homeless, in Canada members of the indigenous population are over represented.<sup>18</sup> In London, in 2015-16, all ethnic groups are under-represented in the rough sleeping homeless population except for ‘White Other’ and Gypsy/Irish Traveller.<sup>14,16</sup>

In London, recent migration patterns are reflected strongly in the rough sleeping statistics. While around four out of ten rough sleepers in London in 2015-16 (41%) were UK Nationals, a further one in ten (9.4%) came from other parts of Western Europe and over one third (36.8%) were nationals of the Central and Eastern European states of the European Union. Of these Romania predominated with one in five (19.5%) of all rough sleepers in London being Romanian nationals.<sup>14</sup>



**Figure 3**

<sup>15</sup> Social Exclusion Unit (1998) *Rough Sleeping*

<sup>16</sup> Centre for Policy on Ageing (2013) *The ageing of the ethnic minority populations of England and Wales: findings from the 2011 census.*

### **Hidden homelessness**

The number of older people who stay with friends and relatives, not through choice but because they would otherwise be homeless, is very difficult to estimate. Older people staying in hostel accommodation are easier to identify. A 2015 survey of people staying overnight in ‘accommodation projects’, short- and long-term homelessness accommodation in England<sup>12</sup>, found that 12% were aged 50 or over which, given the number of available places and overall occupancy rate, would indicate that around 4,000 older people, aged 50 and over, stayed in homeless accommodation each night .

Older hostel residents tend to stay longer in their hostels than younger residents with, at the turn of the century, around 40% of London hostel dwellers aged 60 and over having been in their hostel for more than 5 years.<sup>2</sup>

### **Health and mortality**

The average age at death for a person who dies while homeless in England is just 47 (43 for women).<sup>17</sup> This is not a measure of life-expectancy and reflects the younger age profile and higher mortality at young ages of the homeless population. While a younger homeless person aged 35-44 may have a mortality rate five times that of the general population of the same age, at older ages mortality rates for homeless people and those of the general population converge and become similar.<sup>17</sup> None the less, at all ages, the health and mortality of homeless people is worse than for the non-homeless population and it is often seen that the health of a homeless person is comparable to that of someone ten years older who is not homeless.<sup>18</sup>

It is widely recognised that levels of mental illness among homeless people are significantly higher than in the general population, although exact prevalences are difficult to determine. A 1994 ONS survey of mental health issues in the homeless population of Great Britain aged 16 to 74, set the prevalence of common mental health problems in the previous week at 36.5 per thousand, more than double that in the general population of the same age (16.4 per thousand), while the prevalence of psychotic disorders in the last year was set at 5 per thousand, ten times that in the general population (0.5 per thousand).<sup>19</sup>

In London in 2015-16 46% of street homeless people were found to have mental health issues.<sup>14</sup>

High levels of the prevalence of mental health issues are recorded in the older homeless populations in many countries. A recent psychiatric study of older homeless people in Australia found that 78%

---

<sup>17</sup> Thomas B (2012) *Homelessness kills: An analysis of the mortality of homeless people in early twenty-first century England*, Crisis

<sup>18</sup> Grenier A, Barken R, Sussman T (et al) (2016) *A literature review of homelessness and aging: suggestions for a policy and practice-relevant research agenda*, Canadian Journal on Aging, vol 35, no 1 pp 28-41

<sup>19</sup> Rees S (2009) *Mental Ill Health in the Adult Single Homeless Population: A review of the literature*, Crisis

showed signs of cognitive impairment in tests of frontal lobe function,<sup>20</sup> while a recent study in the USA also found 78% of older homeless people had mental health issues.<sup>21</sup>

### The causes of homelessness in older age

There are many different pathways into homelessness in older age including personal factors which may take the form of a gradual decline or a catastrophic event and structural factors within society as whole.<sup>3,22</sup> While these personal and structural situations and events may be contributory factors leading to homelessness, they are not a total explanation. While one older person may have the resilience to withstand adverse events and not become homeless, a second in the same situation may have poorer coping strategies.<sup>22</sup> While homeless older people themselves tend to cite external factors as the reason for homelessness, people working with older homeless people put greater emphasis on the personal attributes of the older homeless person.<sup>22</sup>

Overall, structurally, higher levels of homelessness are associated with local economic decline, higher average housing costs, a higher proportion of single households and the lack of availability of low cost housing, but not with the overall level of poverty.<sup>23</sup>

Older homeless people are however individuals and there is no single personal characterisation of an older homeless person who may have become homeless for a variety of reasons. Studies in the 1990s by Maureen Crane ,Age Concern England and others suggested a possible background of low income and poverty, relationship breakdown, bereavement, a deterioration of mental or physical health, alcoholism, unemployment, leaving the armed forces, a loss of accommodation tied to employment or discharge from psychiatric accommodation.<sup>24,25,26</sup>

It has been shown that the physical and mental health issues and substance and alcohol use/misuse associated with homelessness in later life are not just linked to current experiences but often derive from abuse and trauma much earlier in life.<sup>27,29</sup>

Relationship breakdown and its impact on older homelessness can take a variety of forms including where an older person gives up their home to move in with a new partner in a new relationship that

---

<sup>20</sup> Rogoz A and Burke D (2015) *Older people experiencing homelessness show marked impairment on tests of frontal lobe function*, International Journal of Geriatric Psychiatry 31 (3) : 240-246

<sup>21</sup> Brown R T, Goodman L, Guzman D, Tieu L, Ponath C and Kushel M B (2016) *Pathways to Homelessness among Older Homeless Adults: Results from the HOPE HOME Study* PLOS One

<sup>22</sup> Warnes A M and Crane M (2006) *The causes of homelessness among older people in England* Housing Studies (21), 401-421

<sup>23</sup> Crane M and Warnes A M (2010) *Homelessness among older people and service responses*, Reviews in Clinical Gerontology, 20; 354-363

<sup>24</sup> Age Concern Greater London (1991) *Older Homeless People in London*

<sup>25</sup> Crane M (1990) *Elderly homeless people in Central London*, Age Concern England and Age Concern Greater London

<sup>26</sup> Hawes D (1997) *Older people and homelessness*, The Policy Press

<sup>27</sup> Kim M M, Ford J D, Howard D L and Bradford D W (2010) *Assessing Trauma, Substance Abuse, and Mental Health in a Sample of Homeless Men* Health and Social Work 35 (1) : 39-48



doesn't last.<sup>26</sup> Relationship breakdown, in older age, is becoming more common. Between 1991 and 2011 there was a 73% increase in the divorce rate for men aged 60 and over.<sup>28</sup>

Older women are more likely to cite relationship breakdown as a reason for becoming homeless, while older men associate becoming homeless with job loss and drug and alcohol problems.<sup>22,23</sup>

A 2010 survey of multiple exclusion homelessness (MEH) in the UK found that the MEH related events with the highest median age of occurrence were 'a long-term partner died', 'home was repossessed', 'divorced or separated', 'experienced bankruptcy' and 'evicted from a rented property'.<sup>29</sup>

Although the excessive use of alcohol by older homeless people has always been a problem, until the mid-1990s the use of illegal drugs was rare. Although still less prevalent than its use by younger homeless people, illegal drug use by older homeless people is said to be on the increase.<sup>23</sup>

In London, in 2015-16, for rough sleepers of all ages who were given an assessment, 43% were found to have a need for support for an alcohol related problem, 31% for a drugs related problem and 46% for mental health issues.<sup>14</sup>

Older homeless people in the UK can have experienced their first bout of homelessness at any age. A 1998 study found that older homeless men were more likely to have experienced chronic long-term homelessness with more than half (51%) having first experienced homelessness before the age of 40 although one third (30%) did not first become homeless until after the age of 50. Older homeless women, on the other hand, were likely to have first become homeless later in life with only 16% first becoming homeless before the age of 40 and nearly two thirds (62%) first becoming homeless after the age of 50.<sup>30</sup> A later study of older homeless people in England carried out in 2001-2003 found that two thirds of the participants had become homeless for the first time in later life.<sup>22</sup>

Among reasons suggested for the increases in older homelessness in the UK in 2014 were the recorded increase in alcohol related problems in older age, increased prevalence of gambling addiction leading to financial problems and the increase in the number of older offenders in prisons who, on release may often become homeless.<sup>31</sup> The same study predicted a looming problem of drug use among older homeless people.<sup>31</sup> A study of older homeless people carried out in England between 2001 and 2003 found however that, at that time, gambling and drug problems had a negligible impact.<sup>22</sup>

---

<sup>28</sup> Centre for Policy on Ageing (2014) *Changing family structures and their impact on the care of older people*

<sup>29</sup> Fitzpatrick S, Bramley G and Johnsen S (2013) Pathways into Multiple Exclusion Homelessness in Seven UK Cities *Urban Studies* 50 (1) : 148-168

<sup>30</sup> Crane M (1998) *The associations between mental illness and homelessness among older people: an exploratory study* *Aging & Mental Health*, vol 2, no 3 pp 171-180

<sup>31</sup> Crane M and Joly L (2014) *Older homeless people: increasing numbers and changing needs*. *Reviews in Clinical Gerontology* (24) 255-268



## Issues facing older homeless people

Among the reasons leading to older homelessness is a breakdown in personal relationships and social networks. That may mean that older homeless people are particularly subject to problems of social isolation.<sup>32</sup>

Older homeless people also have particular problems in gaining access to health care and social services and to benefits for which they may be eligible.<sup>32</sup>

Older homeless people have particular needs in respect of safety and security, both on the streets and in hostels where they may be subject to bullying by younger homeless people.<sup>18,23</sup>

Some older homeless people can be successfully re-housed, particularly those with a more stable background, but surprisingly a 2007 study in England found no link between resettlement outcomes and mental health or alcohol problems<sup>33</sup>

## Preventing homelessness in older age

As we have seen, homelessness in general and among older people, is currently on the increase. Programmes to combat street homelessness can however be effective and in areas that adopted the Coalition Government's *No Second Night Out* approach 67% of people were helped off the street after one night, and 78% of these did not return.<sup>34</sup>

Particularly avoidable are cases of homelessness in older age that arise from Housing Benefit administration problems, and the failure to share information about the risk of homelessness between agencies.<sup>35</sup>

Suggested measures to improve the prevention of older homelessness include: monitoring rent arrears for signs of exceptional risk or vulnerability; help with social security benefit and financial problems; assessing for vulnerability in primary healthcare settings; and collaborative working between professional agencies.<sup>35</sup>

While not specifically aimed at older homeless people, the Homelessness Prevention Bill 2016-17, currently before parliament, will extend the period during which an authority should treat someone as threatened with homelessness from 28 to 56 days; clarify what a local authority should do when someone receives notice of intention to seek possession from an assured shorthold tenancy (the most common form of private renting); create a new duty to prevent homelessness for all eligible applicants threatened with homelessness; a new duty to relieve homelessness for all eligible

---

<sup>32</sup> Warnes A, Crane M, Whitehead N and Fu R (2003) *Homelessness Factfile* Sheffield Institute for Studies on Ageing, University of Sheffield; Crisis

<sup>33</sup> Crane M and Warnes A M (2007) *The outcomes of rehousing older homeless people: a longitudinal study* Ageing and Society, vol 27, part 6 pp 891-918

<sup>34</sup> Homeless Link (2014) *No second night out across England*

<sup>35</sup> Crane M, Warnes A M and Fu R (2006) *Developing homelessness prevention practice: combining research evidence and professional knowledge* Health & Social Care in the Community, vol 14, no 2 pp 156-166

homeless applicants; and a new duty on public services to notify a local authority if they come into contact with someone they think may be homeless or at risk of becoming homeless.<sup>36</sup>

Many older homeless people in hostel accommodation are ready to move on but unable to do so because of the lack of suitable, affordable main-stream accommodation. The most effective overall long-term strategy in preventing, and helping to combat, older homelessness may be in improving the supply of 'sub-market' affordable housing and/or the value of benefits in older age.<sup>37,38</sup>

## Summary

Older homeless people in England are predominantly men and although they are a minority of the homeless population, their numbers have more than doubled since 2010, in line with the overall rise in homelessness.

There are ten times as many 'hidden' older homeless, in hostels and temporary accommodation, as the more obviously visible older street-homeless population.

The make-up of the older homeless population varies significantly over time and between locations and countries, so international lesson may not be easily transferrable to the UK.

Older homeless people have poorer health and mortality than older people in general and, in particular, have a much higher prevalence of mental health issues.

Older homeless women frequently become homeless for the first time later in life following relationship breakdown whereas older men are more likely to have known longer term or recurring homelessness and are more likely to cite alcohol and employment problems as the reason.

Older homeless people face particular problems with respect to social isolation, personal safety and security, access to health and social care services and in claiming pensions and other benefits.

Older homelessness can be reduced by addressing the administrative and societal and structural issues that contribute to older homelessness and by helping individual older homeless people with their own personal issues. Improved inter-agency working in recognising homelessness and its precursors would help, as would at-least maintaining the availability of short-term hostel accommodation while seeking longer-term improvements in the availability of affordable housing and/or improvements in housing benefits.

---

<sup>36</sup> Wilson W and Barton C (2016) *The Homelessness Reduction Bill 2016-17*, House of Commons Library Briefing Paper

<sup>37</sup> Jones A and Pleace N (2010) *A review of single homelessness in the UK*, Crisis

<sup>38</sup> Homeless link (2014) *Let's make the difference: A manifesto to end homelessness*

## References and readings

- Abbott J (1997) Generation of outcasts, *Inside Housing* (26 Sep) : p 15
- Abdul-Hamid W (1997) The elderly homeless men in Bloomsbury hostels, *International Journal of Geriatric Psychiatry* 12 (7 - Jul) : 724-727
- Age Concern Greater London (1991) *Older Homeless People in London*,
- Alden S (2017) Public-sector service provision for older people affected by homelessness in England, Cambridge University Press *Ageing and Society* 37 (2 - Feb) : 410-434
- Benbow S M and Cohen P R (2006) Invisible and ill: three case reports of homelessness in older adults, *The Journal of Adult Protection* 8 (3 - Nov) : 12-15
- Béphage G (2006) Meeting the healthcare needs of older homeless people, *Nursing Times*, vol 102, no 10 102 (10 - 7 Mar) : 38-41
- Betal D; ORC International; St Mungo's ([ 2004 ]) *Getting a LIFE: helping homeless people get back on their feet*, London: St Mungo's : unnumbered
- Blood I; Help the Aged; Housing Associations Charitable Trust - hact (2002) *Sheltered housing and the resettlement of older homeless people: a report for Help the Aged/hact*, London: Help the Aged : 48 pp
- Blood I; Help the Aged; Housing Associations Charitable Trust - hact (2002) *Sheltered housing and the resettlement of older homeless people*, London: Help the Aged : 6 pp
- Blood I; Help the Aged; Housing Associations Charitable Trust - hact (2003) *The discharge of older homeless people from hospital: a report for Help the Aged/hact*, London: Help the Aged : 23 pp
- Brown R T, Goodman L, Guzman D, Tieu L, Ponath C and Kushel M B (2016) Pathways to Homelessness among Older Homeless Adults: Results from the HOPE HOME Study, *PLOS One*
- Burns V F (2016) Oscillating in and out of place: Experiences of older adults, *Journal of Aging Studies* 39 : 11-20
- Burns V, Grenier A, Lavoie J-P, Rothwell D and Sussman T (2012) Les personnes âgées itinérantes — invisibles et exclues. Une analyse de trois stratégies pour contrer l'itinérance, *Frontières* 25 (1) : 31-56
- Caton C L M, Dominguez B, Schanzer B, Hasin D S, Shrout P E, Felix A, McQuiston H, Opler L A and Hsu E (2005) Risk Factors for Long-Term Homelessness: Findings From a Longitudinal Study of First-Time Homeless Single Adults, *American Journal of Public Health* 95 (10)

Cavadino P (1980) Bottom of the pile: the plight of the elderly homeless offender, *New Age* 11 (Summer) : 26-27

Central London Outreach Team (1984) *Sleeping out in Central London*, London: Greater London Council : 137 pp

Centre for Policy on Ageing (2014) *Changing family structures and their impact on the care of older people*,

Centre for Policy on Ageing (2013) *The ageing of the ethnic minority populations of England and Wales: findings from the 2011 census.*,

Cheung A M and Hwang S W (2004) Risk of death among homeless women: a cohort study and review of the literature, *Canadian Medical Association Journal (CMAJ)* 170 (8)

Cohen C I and Sokolovsky J (1983) Toward a concept of homelessness among aged men, *Journal of Gerontology* 38 (1 - Jan) : 81-89

Cohen C I, Ramirez M, Teser Ji, Gallagher M (et al) (1997) Predictors of becoming redomiciled among older homeless women, *The Gerontologist* 37 (1 - Feb) : 67-74

Cohen C I, Teresi J A and Holmes D (1988) The mental health of old homeless men, *Journal of the American Geriatrics Society* 36 (6 - July) : 492-501

Cohen C I, Teresi J A and Holmes D (July 1988) The physical well-being of old homeless men, *The Journals of Gerontology* 43 (4) : S121-S128

Cohen C I, Teresi J A, Holmes D and Roth E (1988) Survival strategies of older homeless men, *The Gerontologist* 25 (1 - Jan) : 58-65

Cornes M, Joly L, Manthorpe J (et al) (2011) Working together to address multiple exclusion homelessness, *Social Policy & Society* 10 (4 - Oct) : 513-522

Crane M (1999) *Understanding older homeless people: their circumstances, problems and needs*, Buckingham: Open University Press : 210 pp (Rethinking ageing series)

Crane M (1998) The associations between mental illness and homelessness among older people: an exploratory study, *Ageing & Mental Health* 2 (3 - Aug) : 171-180

Crane M (1996) The situation of older homeless people, *Reviews in Clinical Gerontology* 6 (4 - Nov) : 389-398

Crane M (1994) Elderly homeless people: elusive subjects and slippery concepts, *Ageing and Society* 14 (4 - Dec) : 631-640

Crane M (1994) The mental health problems of elderly people living on London's streets, *International Journal of Geriatric Psychiatry* 9 (2 - Feb) : 87-95

- Crane M (1993) *Elderly homeless people sleeping on the streets in inner London: an exploratory study*, London: Age Concern Institute of Gerontology : 56pp
- Crane M (1990) *Elderly homeless people in Central London*, London: Age Concern England; Age Concern Greater London : 33 pp
- Crane M (1990) Old, homeless and unwanted, *Nursing Times* 86 (21 - 23 May) : 44-46
- Crane M and Joly L (2014) Older homeless people: increasing numbers and changing needs, *Reviews in Clinical Gerontology* 24 (4) : 255-268
- Crane M and Warnes A M (2010) Homelessness among older people and service responses, *Reviews in Clinical Gerontology* 20 : 354-363
- Crane M and Warnes A M (2007) The outcomes of rehousing older homeless people: a longitudinal study, *Ageing and Society* 27 (6 - Nov) : 891-918
- Crane M and Warnes A M (2001) *Single Homeless People in London: Profiles of Service Users and Perceptions of Needs*, Sheffield, UK: Sheffield Institute for
- Crane M and Warnes A M (2001) The responsibility to care for single homeless people, *Health & Social Care in the Community* 9 (6 - Nov) : 436-444
- Crane M and Warnes A M (2000) Policy and service responses to rough sleeping among older people, *Journal of Social Policy* 29 (1 - Jan) : 21-36
- Crane M and Warnes A M (2000) The achievements of a multiservice project for older homeless people, *The Gerontologist* 40 (5 - Oct) : 618-626
- Crane M and Warnes A M; Help the Aged; Crisis (1997) *Homeless truths: challenging the myths about older homeless people*, London: Help the Aged; Crisis : 60 pp
- Crane M and Warnes A M; Sheffield Institute for Studies on Ageing (SISA), University of Sheffield (2002) *Resettling older homeless people: a longitudinal study of outcomes*, Sheffield: Sheffield Institute for Studies on Ageing, University of Sheffield : 70 pp
- Crane M, Byrne K, Fu R (et al) (2005) The causes of homelessness in later life: findings from a 3-nation study, *Journals of Gerontology: Series B, Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences* 60B (3 - May) : S152-S159
- Crane M, Warnes A M and Farlow C; Help the Aged (1997) *Coming home: a guide to good practice by projects helping older homeless people*, London: Help the Aged : 20 information sheets
- Crane M, Warnes A M and Fu R (2006) Developing homelessness prevention practice: combining research evidence and professional knowledge, *Health & Social Care in the Community* 14 (2 - Mar) : 156-166

Culhane D P, Metraux S, Byrne T, Stino M and Bainbridge J (2013) The age structure of contemporary homelessness: evidence and implications for public policy, *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy* 13 : 228-244

DeMallie D, North C S and Smith E M (1997) Psychiatric disorders among the homeless: a comparison of older and younger groups, *The Gerontologist* 37 (1 - Feb) : 61-66

Dennis C B, McCallion P and Ferretti L A (2012) Understanding implementation of best practices for working with the older homeless through the lens of self-determination theory, *Journal of Gerontological Social Work* 55 (4) : 352-366

Department for Communities and Local Government - DCLG; Department of Health - DH (8 December 2006) *Hospital admission and discharge: people who are homeless or living in temporary or insecure accommodation*, Electronic format : 9 pp

Dietz T and D Wright J D (2005) Age and gender differences and predictors of victimization of older homeless, *Journal of Elder Abuse & Neglect* 17 (1) : 37-60

Dietz T L (2009) Drug and alcohol use among homeless older adults: predictors of reported current and lifetime substance misuse problems in a national sample, *Journal of Applied Gerontology* 28 (2 - Apr) : 235-255

Duffy M E, Bissonnette A M, O'Brien E (et al) (1996) Ending elder homelessness; one city's solution, *The Journal of Long Term Home Health Care : the PRIDE Institute Journal* 15 (4 - Fall) : 38-47

Fellow G and Marshall M (1979) Services for the homeless elderly, *Social Work Today* 10 (35 - 8 May) : 16-17

Fitzpatrick S, Bramley G and Johnsen S (2013) Pathways into Multiple Exclusion Homelessness in Seven UK Cities, *Urban Studies* 50 (1) : 148-168

Fitzpatrick S, Bramley G and Johnsen S (2012) *Multiple Exclusion Homelessness in the UK: An Overview of Key Findings, Briefing Paper No. 1*, Heriot Watt University; ESRC

Fitzpatrick S, Johnsen S and White M ( 2011) Multiple exclusion homelessness in the UK: key patterns and intersections, *Social Policy & Society* 10 (4 - Oct) : 501-512

Gelberg L, Linn L S and Mayer-Oakes A (1990) Differences in health status between older and younger homeless adults, *Journal of the American Geriatrics Society* 38 (11 - Nov) : 1220-1229

Gorton S (2007) The hidden needs of long-term hostel residents, *Housing, Care and Support, vol 10, no 3* 10 (3 - Dec) : 29-34

Grenier A, Barken R, Sussman T (et al) (2016) A literature review of homelessness and aging: suggestions for a policy and practice-relevant research agenda, Cambridge University Press *Canadian Journal on Aging* 35 (1 - Mar) : 28-41



Hamilton S and Small C (eds); Health Action for Homeless People (1997) *Making services work for homeless women: a report of a conference held on 9 July 1996 at Friends' Meeting House, London*, London: Health Action for Homeless People : 32 pp

Hawes D (1997) *Older people and homelessness: a story of greed, violence, conflict and ruin*, Bristol: Policy Press : 28 pp

Help the Aged (2003) Housing, homelessness and older people, *AGEToday* 4 (Autumn) : whole issue

Help the Aged; Housing Associations Charitable Trust - hact (2003) *The discharge of older homeless people from hospital*, London: Help the Aged : 5 pp

Homeless Link (2015) *Support for single homeless people in England - Annual Review 2016*,

Homeless Link (2014) *Let's make the difference: A manifesto to end homelessness*,

Homeless Link (2014) *No second night out across England*,

Homeless Network (1996) *Central London street monitor, May 23 1996*, London: Homeless Network : 32 pp

House of Commons Communities and Local Government Committee (2016) *Homelessness, Third report of session 2016-17*,

Johnson L J and McCool A C (2003) Dietary intake and nutritional status of older adult homeless women: a pilot study, *Journal of Nutrition for the Elderly* 23 (1) : 1-22

Jones A and Pleace N (2010) *A review of single homelessness in the UK*, Crisis

Kelling K; Age Concern Greater London (1991) *Older homeless people in London*, London: Age Concern Greater London : 61 pp

Kim M M, Ford J D, Howard D L and Bradford D W (2010) Assessing Trauma, Substance Abuse, and Mental Health in a Sample of Homeless Men, *Health and Social Work* 35 (1) : 39-48

Kisor A J and Kendal-Wilson L (2002) Older Homeless Women: Reframing the Stereotype of the Bag Lady, *AFFILIA* 17 (3 - Fall) : 354-370

Lee C M, Mangurian C, Tieu L, Ponath C, Guzman D and Kushel M (2017) Childhood Adversities Associated with Poor Adult Mental Health Outcomes in Older Homeless Adults: Results From the HOPE HOME Study, *The American Journal of Geriatric Psychiatry* 25 (2 - Feb) : 107-117

Lee C T, Guzman D, Ponath C, Tieu L, Riley E and Kushe M (2016) Residential patterns in older homeless adults: Results of a cluster analysis, *Social Science & Medicine* 153 (March) : 131-140



Lemos G; Lemos & Crane; Thames Reach (2010) *The meaning of money: why homeless and vulnerable people see money as a route to security, respect and freedom: a Lemos & Crane report and workbook*, London: Lemos & Crane : 68 pp

Linehan T and Crane M (1993) Old and forgotten, *Nursing Times* 89 (26, 30 Jun) : 16-17

Lipmann B (2009) Elderly Homeless Men and Women: Aged Care's Forgotten People, *Australian Social Work* 62 (2)

Mayor of London (2016) *CHAIN Annual Report Greater London April 2015 - March 2016*,

McGhie L, Barken R and Grenier A (2013) *Literature Review: Housing Options for Older Homeless People*, Gilbrea

Means R (2007) Safe as houses? ageing in place and vulnerable older people in the UK, *Social Policy & Administration* 41 (1 - Feb) : 65-85

Morbey H, Pannell J and Means R (2003) Life at the edge [social exclusion of older homeless people], *Community Care* 1485 (14 Aug) : 36-37

Mott S P W (2012) *Modelling patterns of shelter use at the old brewery mission: Describing program populations, and applying a typology of homelessness*, McGill Centre for Research on Children and Families

O'Connell J J, Roncarati J S, Reilly E C (et al) (2004) Old and sleeping rough: elderly homeless persons on the streets of Boston, *Care Management Journals* 5 (2, Summer) : 101-106

Oliver D P, Schwarz B (et al) (2009) Places for palliative care, The Haworth Press, Inc. *Journal of Housing for the Elderly* 23 (1-2) : 129 pp (whole issue)

Pannell J and Palmer G (2004) Coming of age: meeting the challenge of older homelessness, *Housing, Care and Support* 7 (4 - Dec) : 24-28

Pannell J; Help the Aged; UK Coalition on Older Homelessness (2002) *Benefits tangles: problems of the benefits system for older homeless people and those at risk of homelessness: a briefing paper for Help the Aged and the UK Coalition on Older Homelessness*, London: Help the Aged : 23 pp

Pannell J, Means R and Morbey H; University of the West of England, Bristol; Help the Aged; Housing Associations Charitable Trust - hact; Crisis (2002) *Surviving at the margins: older homeless people and the organisations that support them: a report for Help the Aged*, London: Help the Aged : 106 pp

Pastalan L A and Keigher S M (eds) (1991) Housing risks and homelessness among the urban elderly, *Journal of Housing for the Elderly* 8 (1) : (whole issue)

Ploeg J, Hayward L, Woodward C (et al) (2008) A case study of a Canadian homelessness intervention programme for elderly people, *Health and Social Care in the Community* 16 (6 -

Dec) : 593-605

Pronger R T P (chairman) Joint Working Party on Homelessness in the Counties of Gloucester, Somerset and Bristol, Department of Health and Social Security - DHSS (1972) *Report of a Joint Working Party on Homelessness in the Counties of Gloucester, Somerset and Bristol*, London: Department of Health and Social Security : 46 pp

Rees S (2009) *Mental Ill Health in the Adult Single Homeless Population: A review of the literature*, Crisis

Reynolds K A, Isaak C A, DeBoer T, Medved M, Distasio J, Katz L Y and Sareen J (2016) Aging and Homelessness in a Canadian Context, *Canadian Journal of Community mental Health* 35 (1)

Rich D W, Rich T A and Mullins L C (eds) (1995) *Old and homeless: double-jeopardy: an overview of current practice and policies*, London: Auburn House : 142 pp

Rogoz A and Burke D (2015) Older people experiencing homelessness show marked impairment on tests of frontal lobe function, *International Journal of Geriatric Psychiatry* 31 (3) : 240-246

Sale A U (2007) Dishonourable discharges [homelessness and bed-blocking charges], *Community Care* 1663 (8 March) : 26-27

Scottish Council for Single Homeless; Age Concern Scotland (1995) *"We will need to take you in ...." an exploratory study of homeless older people in Scotland*, Edinburgh: Scottish Council for Single Homeless : 43 pp

Small C and Hinton T; Health Action for Homeless People; Lambeth Health Care NHS Trust; NHS Ethnic Health Unit (1997) *Reaching out: a study of black and minority ethnic single homeless people and access to primary health care*, London: Health Action for Homeless People : 42 pp

Social Exclusion Unit (1998) *Rough Sleeping*,

Sorrell J M (2016) Aging on the Street: Homeless Older Adults in America, *Journal of Psychosocial Nursing and Mental Health Services* 54 (9) : 25-29

St Mungo's ([ 2003 ]) *Resettling older homeless people*, London: St Mungo's *St Mungo's Briefings* : 4 pp

Stergiopoulos V (2003) Old and Homeless: A Review and Survey of Older Adults Who Use Shelters in an Urban Setting, *Canadian Journal of Psychiatry* 48 (6)

Thomas B (2012) *Homelessness kills: An analysis of the mortality of homeless people in early twenty-first century England*, London: Crisis

Tompkins C N E, Wright N M J, Sheard L (et al) (2003) Associations between migrancy, health and homelessness: a cross-sectional study, *Health & Social Care in the Community* 11 (5 - Sep) : 445-452

Tully C T and Jacobson S (1994) The homeless elderly; America's forgotten population, *Journal of Gerontological Social Work* 22 (3/4) : 61-81

Tully M P and Mitchell S ( 2014) Homelessness and older people: a review of the risks, *British Psychological Society Faculty for the Psychology of Older People (FPOP) Newsletter* 126 (April) : 53-58

Vijayaraghavan M, Tieu L, Ponath C, Guzman D and Kushel M (2016) Tobacco Cessation Behaviors Among Older Homeless Adults: Results From the HOPE HOME Study, *Nicotine and Tobacco Research* 18 (8 - Aug)

Wake M (ed) (1991) *Housing and care needs of older homeless people: a report by Arlington House*, London: Arlington House : 46 pp + appendices

Warnes A, Crane M, Whitehead N and Fu R (2003) *Homelessness Factfile*, Sheffield Institute for Studies on Ageing,

Warnes A M and Crane M (2006) The causes of homelessness among older people in England, *Housing Studies* 21 : 401-421

Willcock K; Help the Aged (2004) *Journeys out of loneliness: the views of older homeless people*, London: Help the Aged : 83 pp

Wilson D; Age Concern Scotland (1997) *"The first two years" : homeless older people revisited*, Edinburgh: Age Concern Scotland : 60 pp

Wilson D (ed); Shelter (National Campaign for the Homeless) ([ 1969 ?]) *Who are the homeless? face the facts*, London: Shelter : 55 pp

Wilson D; Scottish Council for Single Homeless; Age Concern Scotland (1995) *"We will need to take you in ...." the experience of homelessness in old age*, Edinburgh: Scottish Council for Single Homeless : 122 pp

Wilson W (2016) *Rough sleeping (England)*, House of Commons Library Briefing Paper

Wilson W and Barton C (2016) *The Homelessness Reduction Bill 2016-17*, House of Commons Library Briefing Paper

Woolrych R, Gibson N, Sixsmith J and Sixsmith A (2015) "No home, no place": addressing the complexity of homelessness in old age through community dialogue, Taylor and Francis *Journal of Housing for the Elderly*, vol 29, no 3 29 (3, Jul-Sep) : 233-258