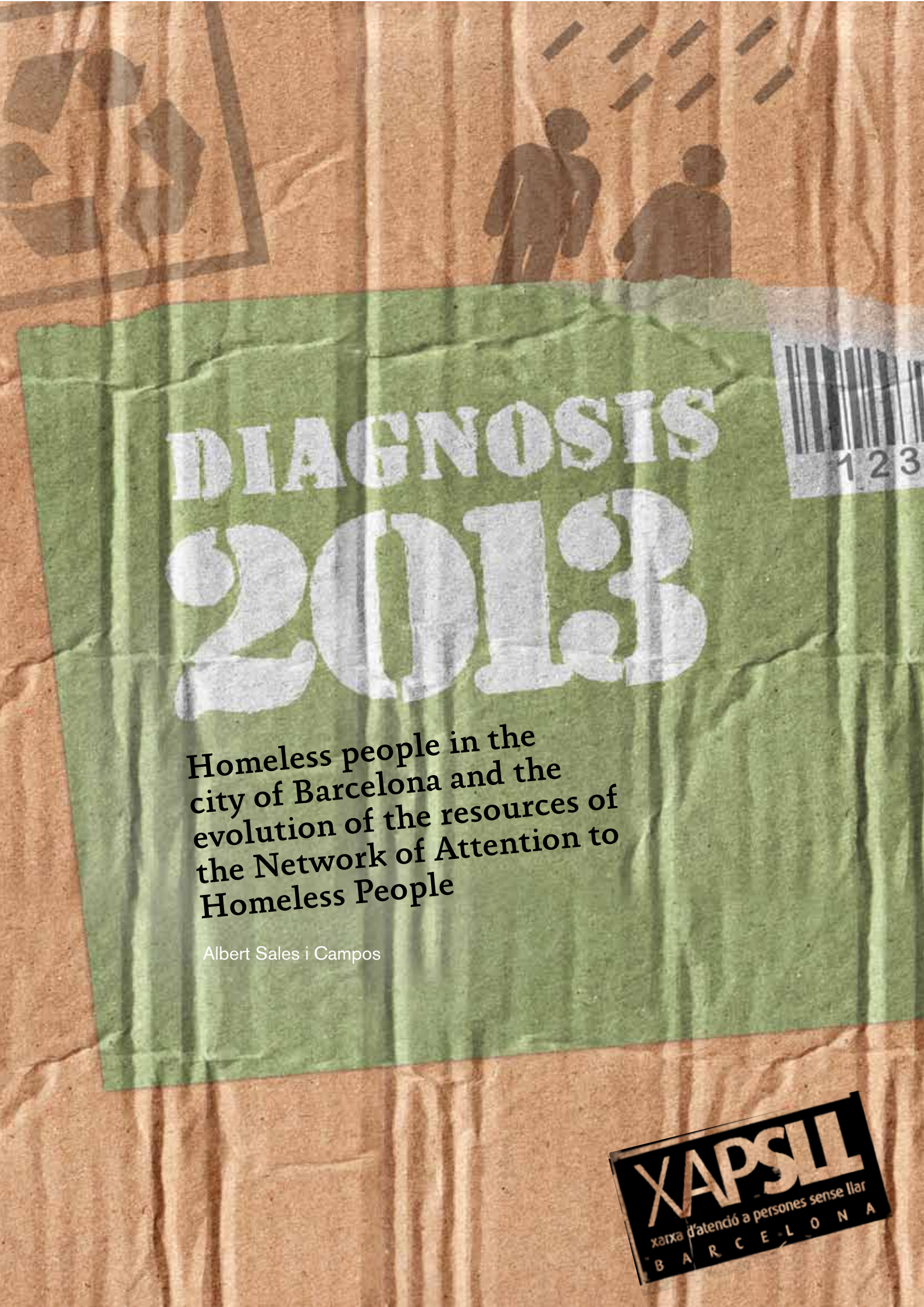

Homeless people in the city of Barcelona and the evolution of the resources of the Network of Attention to Homeless People

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XAPSLL
xarxa d'atenció a persones sense llar
BARCELONA

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Introduction

The stereotyped image of a drifter who lives on the street because of his bad lifestyle, his addictions or his unwillingness to work has little to do with the diversity of profiles and life journeys of the people sleeping rough today in big cities or in shelter facilities. To end up in a homeless situation a person needs to have accumulated different disadvantages and types of social exclusion. Sleeping rough is the result of becoming unable to afford the price of housing, the continuous exclusion from the labor market, a deterioration of social support networks, a breakdown of family solidarity and, in some cases, a disease, mental disorder or addiction. The increase of people on the street is one of the most visible and extreme symptoms of the vulnerability affecting the majority of the society in Barcelona.

Housing exclusion, a phenomenon which signifies more than just being homeless, is a consequence and also the cause of social exclusion processes. If a lack of income can lead to not having access to appropriate housing, the fact of not having a private space of intimacy and social life can condemn people and families to poverty. It's not only about not having a place to sleep. Not having a home means having no place to keep their belongings; for developing the personal and intimate relationship; for resting safely. Homeless people live in a continuous temporary situation, unable to generate stable social relationships, without daily routines, without an address.

This report updates data on homelessness in Barcelona, which is collected annually by the Xarxa d'Atenció a Persones Sense Llar –XAPSLL- (Network of Attention to Homeless People) of the city, conformed by entities and the City Council. Since 2008, every March 12th, basic statistical information about people sleeping rough is registered in all the care facilities specialized in the night attention of homeless people. The result is a static annual picture of the traits of users of these facilities. To complete the observation, in 2008 and 2011, XAPSLL started organized citizen counts, consisting in groups of volunteers walking through the city on the same night to count all the people who were sleeping in public areas or rough. Nevertheless, this report has been made using the data of analysis of the Social Insertion Service (SIS) of Barcelona City Council. The street teams for SIS draft monthly reports about their activity and outline the number of different people they've made contact with on the street throughout the month. Duplicities in the count are avoided through the knowledge of every case by the SIS professionals. The range of statistical information provided by them is wider than the counting of just one night. On a quantitative level, this report infers that the people sleeping on the street on the night of the 12th March 2013 are the same whom SIS contacted throughout March.

All the entities and administrations working together in fighting homelessness are certain that you must have knowledge to be able to intervene. Civil solidarity, crucial to rebuild the ties and bonds of people in severe social exclusion, must be led by a thorough knowledge of the reality which citizens and political law-makers don't always have. The following paragraphs expose a theoretical approach on housing exclusion and the impact of the crisis on the reality of homeless people, aimed to complement the theoretical revision of the document Diagnosis 2011 (Sales, 2012); the presentation of the count results made by the entities of XAPSLL and the statistic results available about homeless people who lived in the city during march 2013 based on SIS data; the updated data on resources from XAPSLL and a review of the latest proposals on intervention and improvement of the public policies in fighting against homelessness.

Having a systematized and wider knowledge of the reality of homeless people in the city is a commitment which stems from making important changes in the perspective of public policies addressed to the hardest forms of social exclusion. Institutional intervention in homelessness has been maintained for a long time between criminalization and persecution, shaped by the "Law of lazy people and villain", and the caring assistance of specialized entities which used to work alone. It wasn't until the democratization and the approval of the Law of Social Services of Catalonia in 1985 that the right for social services was accomplished for the entire population. With this step, an approach model with a public order and welfare perspective began a transition towards a model of public responsibility. To achieve this, the local administration launched collaboration frameworks with entities which had been filling in for the inactivity of the public sector for decades (Cabrera, 2008) and developed its own services and resources to reach a wide range of the vulnerable and unattended population.

With the approval of the City Plan for Social Inclusion 2005-2010 and the signing of the Citizen Agreement for an Inclusive Barcelona and the subsequent approval of the City Program of Attention to Homeless People, the City Council of Barcelona embraced the challenge and commitment to extend the services and resources for homeless people, to strengthen the orientation of the services towards the construction of personal inclusion plans and to consolidate its collaboration with the specialized entities of the society with the joint creation of the Xarxa d'Atenció a Persones Sense Llar (Network of Attention to Homeless People).

The Network, which is integrated by twenty seven social action entities of the city, was founded with the main objective of strengthening the "city's action capacity with the aim to accompany homeless people in the process of recovering as much as possible their personal autonomy and rebuilding social and interpersonal bonds".

Objectives of the Network
Sharing knowledge, experiences and information, as well as fostering dialogue and reflection, to improve the orientation and efficiency of the services and resources.
Acting in a collective and coordinated way through specific projects.
Boosting innovation.
Raising awareness among the citizens about the situations of need and the interventions which are carried out.

Source: Presentation of XAPSLL. http://www.bcn.es/barcelonainclusiva/ca/xarxa2.html

The members of the Network meet at least three times a year to assess, analyze and prioritize the common actions which will be carried out through diverse working teams who intervene under the direction and supervision of the plenary session. These are the actions launched in the last few years by XAPSLL working teams:

- Two diagnosis-counts of the homeless people in the city (2008 and 2011).
- Two congresses. The first, entitled "Mental health and homeless people", taking place in 2009 and the second, named "Imagine in 2015 nobody sleeping on the street", and organized in 2010.
- Creating the catalog of services and resources of the Network (2009-2010).
- Report about the usage of XAPSLL services (2010).
- Outlining proposals for the improvement in the social and health care of homeless people with mental disorders (2009-2011).
- Systematizing the data collected from the activity (2009).
- The raising awareness campaign "Imagine in 2015 nobody sleeping on the street" (2010-2015).
- Publication and presentation of the report Diagnosis 2011. *Homeless people in Barcelona on November 8th and the evolution of housing resources.*

1. HOME-
LESSNESS

1. Homelessness

The exclusion from housing, homelessness, is identified as one of the most extremes ways in which poverty manifests itself in our cities. The European Economic and Social Committee Report on the "Problem of homeless people" outlines five types of factors which influence the risk of people suffering severe social exclusion and dwelling exclusion:

- structural factors: evolution of the economy, immigration, citizens rights and housing market;
- institutional factors: intervention of social services, performance of help schemes, procedures and institutional bureaucracy;
- interaction factors: family situation, relationship networks, breakdown situations;
- personal factors: health conditions, dependency situations, age;
- discrimination or absence of a legal status, a factor that can affect individuals and some ethnic minorities such as, for example, Romany communities

These factors broaden or minimize the individuals' probability to become homeless, but it's the confluence of experiences of rupture and its whole manifestation in the development of their life cycle which can trigger the process towards dwelling exclusion or living on the street. The trigger factors can also be linked to the professional, institutional, personal, relationship or legal area and have different levels of importance according to the moment they impact on people's lives.

Table 1.1. Risk factors and triggering circumstances of the homelessness

Area	Risk factor	Trigger
Structural	Economic processes (poverty, unemployment...)	Delays in paying the rent or mortgage. Eviction from their own home (owned or rented). Loss of housing Change of place of living
	Housing market	
	Social Protection	Arriving in a new country. Change of the legal status or the administrative situation. Impossibility of accessing an affordable house. Impossibility of accessing social protection.
	Immigration and citizens' rights	
Institutional	Scarcity of appropriate services or lack of coordination between existing services, to find out the demands and needs properly.	Interruption of institutional support or failing to adapt to emerging needs.
	Mechanisms for assigning resources.	
	Institutionalization (living in a shelter, prison, centre for mental disorders, etc.)	Discharge from prison. Loss of home after admission in a centre.
	Administrative procedures linked to institutionalization (admission or discharge from centres, transitions...)	

Table 1.1. Risk factors and triggering circumstances of the homelessness

Area	Risk factor	Trigger
Relationship	Family status (socioeconomic situation, labor...)	Leaving the family home
	Relationship with the family (conflict with parents or other relatives, abuses, mistreatment...)	Sexist violence
	Ruptures (divorces, death, separation...)	Living alone
Personal	Diversity of functions; chronic or long-term diseases, mental health problems.	Illness episode or relapse. External support breakdown or problems in getting access to networks support. Relapse or increased substance abuse.
	Low educational achievement and professional capability.	
	Addictions (drugs, alcohol, gambling...)	

Source: European Review of Statistics on Homelessness, 2010

This array of circumstances and life experiences create a wide range of pathways towards situations of social exclusion and poverty, whose hardest facet is living on the street or becoming homeless. But housing exclusion is more diverse. FEANTSA *(European Federation of National Organizations aimed to work for the Homeless people)* proposes an assessment of housing exclusion by outlining a classification of the situations of housing deprivation which identifies different grades of exclusion and breaks the classic distinction between the majority of society who have got a home and the people who spend the night on the street or in hostels for homeless people. The typology of situations, named ETHOS *(European Typology of Homelessness and Housing Exclusion)* exposes that access to housing has three dimensions: from a physical point of view, it consists of having an adequate place belonging exclusively to a person and his family; from a social point of view: having a private place to develop social relationships and from a legal point of view it consists of owning a home or having a rental contract.

According to the conditions of habitability of the place where a person lives, the private and social life it permits and the legal framework of the housing's usage, four situations or categories can be defined:

- Rooflessness: the person hasn't got a physical place to live in.
- Houselessness: the person has a physical place to live in, although doesn't have the necessary privacy conditions to be considered his own place and the occupant doesn't have ownership. A person who stays overnight in public facilities or social entities is considered homeless.
- Insecure accommodation: the person has got a physical place to develop his private life, but hasn't got a legal license of usage.
- Inadequate housing: the person lives in a place which doesn't have adequate conditions of habitability. He has got a physical place where he can develop his private life, with legal license of usage or ownership, but with inconveniences brought about by the deterioration of the infrastructure.

These four categories have been made operational by identifying thirteen specific situations which cover all the forms of deprivation of the right to dignified housing. It's worth presenting the concepts of the different typologies established in FEANTSA's framework, since this is the classification being adopted over Europe by the entities and public administrations to tackle the problem of housing exclusion.

Table 1.2. Classification ETHOS

Situation	Conceptual category	Operational category	Type of housing
Homeless	Roofless	1. People sleeping rough	1.1. Public place or external space
		2. People who spend the night in accommodation places for the homeless	2.1. Night shelter
	Houselessness	3. People who live in accommodation for the homeless	3.1. Residences and hostels for homeless 3.2. Temporary accommodation centres 3.3. Transitional supported accommodation
		4. People who live in women shelters	4.1. Women shelters
		5. People who live in immigrant accommodation centers	5.1.In reception or short term accommodation centers 5.2. Immigrant workers accommodation
		6. People due to be released from institutions	6.1. Penal institutions 6.2. Medical institutions 6.3. Children shelters
		7. People receiving longer-term support (due to homelessness)	7.1. Residential care for older homeless people 7.2. Supported accommodation for formerly homeless people
Housing exclusion	Insecure housing	8. People living in insecure housing	8.1. With friends or relatives 8.2. Sub-tenancy 8.3. Illegal occupation of land
		9. People who live under threat of eviction	9.1. Orders of eviction are operative for non-payment (rented) 9.2. In repossession process (owned)
		10. People who live under threat of violence	10.1. Homes with previous sexist violence or police recorded reports
	Inadequate housing	11. People who live in 'non conventional' and temporary structures	11.1. Mobile homes, caravans 11.2. Non-conventional building 11.3. Temporary structures
		12. People who live in unfit housing	12.1. Unfit housing for daily life
		13. People who live in extreme overcrowding	13.1. Housing occupied until overcrowding situations

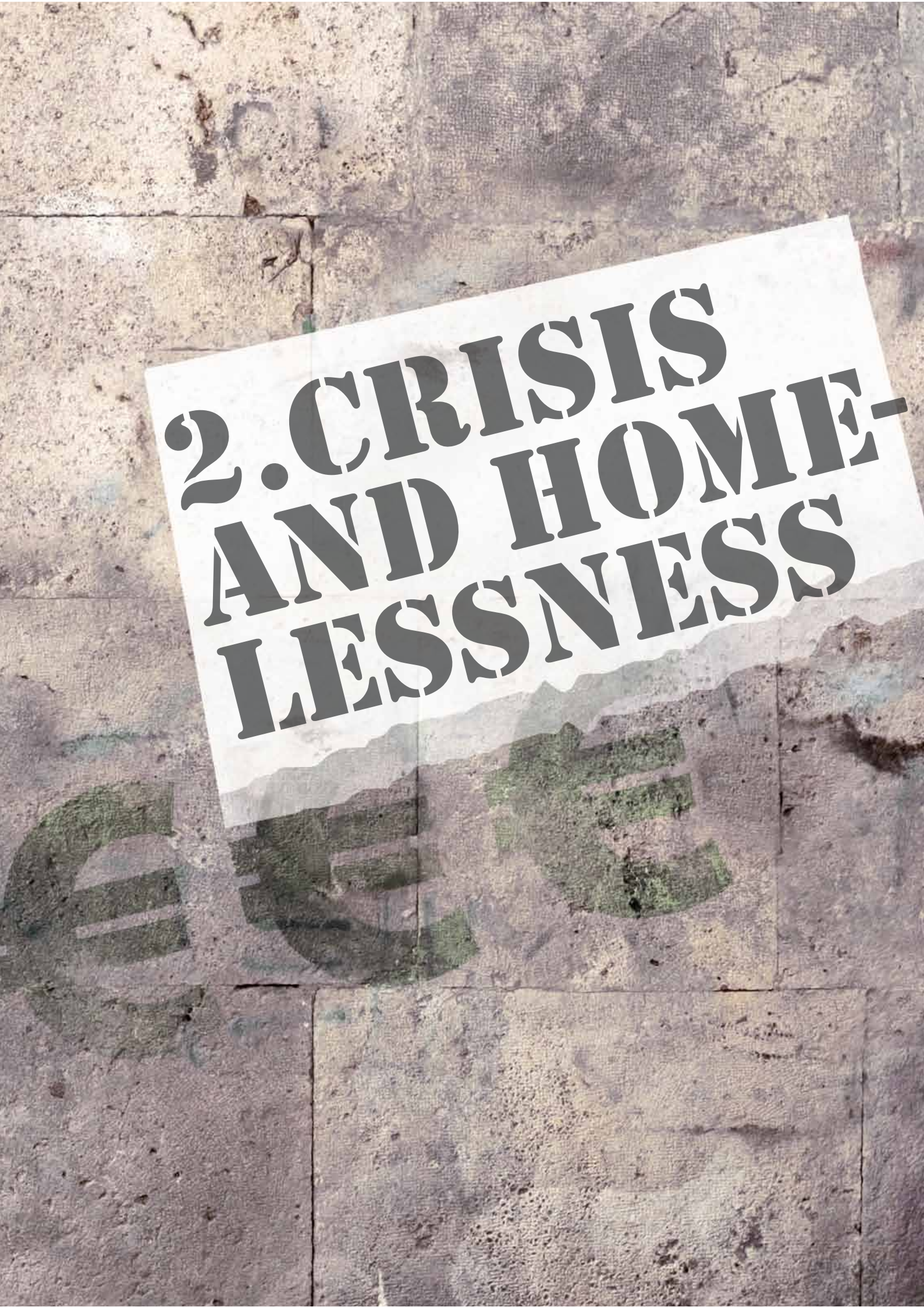
Font: FEANTSA

Even though these categories multiply the diversity of sources needed to tackle the challenge of quantifying the social phenomenon of housing exclusion, entities and administrations committed to the fight against homelessness all over Europe are developing tools to be able to consider the problem in its full complexity.

The very description of the categories shows us that the homeless situation is attached to many other situations of social exclusion. Serious deficiencies in the physical space where a family lives, as well as overcrowding, are the direct consequence of economic deprivation. Living in residential centers for women who have suffered sexist violence is not only a symptom of having experienced this social scourge; in many cases the weakness of the support networks makes it strictly necessary to provide housing for the affected. Living in residential centers for immigrants is the main consequence of the legal exclusion suffered by immigrants. Living in insertion flats owned by the council or a social entity is the response to a serious situation of exclusion (Sales, 2012). The intensity of social exclusion which an individual suffers is strongly linked to housing access. Being in a homeless situation means having run out of the personal and social resources needed to access a stable accommodation, which would permit a satisfactory private and social life. It is therefore, the result of a series of social exclusion factors that accumulate and turn situations of marginalization progressively more severe until the person loses his ties with society.

At the same time, the difficulties in accessing housing constitute a powerful factor of social exclusion and generational replication of poverty. Housing ownership is conditioned by a family's economic capacity and inherited estate. Due to the configuration of the Spanish housing market system and as a result of the policies which for decades have encouraged the purchase of houses, renting has been until now a minority option. In 2008, a research (Sarasa and Sales, 2008), on assessing the life path of 348 people in situation of social exclusion revealed clearly that the purchase of a house, once paid, was a guarantee against the risk of falling into a homeless situation. The same research showed that people who had suffered severe situations of social exclusion had experienced much more difficulties in accessing housing than the rest of society. The increase of prices, along with the absence of family patrimony, had presented an unbreakable barrier and an intergenerational reproduction of housing exclusion. Low grades at school and leaving the educational system early strengthened an early transition towards adult life, leading people without chances of a stable job to a precarious emancipation or remaining in the family home for many years of adulthood.

In general young people who have difficulties in paying the rent, due to unemployment or other personal circumstances, are usually helped by parents or ultimately go back to their parents' home, whereas people from very humble families who leave their parents' home at an early age, with very low income and educational attainment, don't have this family support. That's how the risk of becoming homeless is increased amongst the most vulnerable layers of our society. People in poverty or exclusion situations who didn't emancipate themselves had a high risk of becoming homeless when the owners of the house they were living in -usually their parents- died with the possibilities of subrogation exhausted. This path towards severe exclusion was also influenced by the low educational level and long periods of labor inactivity or unemployment. In this context, paying rent at market prices was impossible and, having no family patrimony, people were forced to live in small sub-tenancy rooms or on the street.



2. CRISIS AND HOMELESSNESS

2.Crisis and homelessness

Homelessness has been traditionally disassociated from problems in accessing housing, acknowledging that ending up on the street was the end of a long process of social exclusion where economic vulnerability was added to a continuous exclusion from the labor market, the deterioration of supportive social networks, breakdowns in family solidarity and mental disorders or addictions. The collective imagination sees homeless people as drifters, tramps, vagrants; social outcasts who are integrated in the urban landscape, caused by the individual circumstances of those involved and to personal pathways, featuring so-called reprehensible activities, like small-scale delinquency, illegal drugs consumption or alcohol abuse. If in the society of abundance it was difficult to transmit that a broadening of risks concerning poverty situations was emerging, trying to convince society about a wider risk of becoming homeless was impossible. The explosion of the mortgage crisis and the succession of foreclosure procedures and evictions have changed this feeling of invulnerability for a great part of the public in terms of housing exclusion.

Although it's right to say that the situation experienced by people who sleep in public places requires the failure of many other factors of social protection than just housing access, a life route marked by the incapability of affording dignified housing leads in all probability to suffer exclusion in other dimensions of human relations (Sarasa and Sales, 2009; CESE, 2011). In Catalonia, housing access was a privilege beyond the reach of a good amount of society. In 2006, the Special Envoy of the United Nations on the Right for an Adequate Housing, Miloon Kothari, visited Spain, and submitted a report where he concluded that the right of housing had been systematically made more vulnerable with the collaboration and tolerance of the Public Administrations (Colau and Alemany, 2012). The report claimed that the State housing sector had been extremely commercialized.

Extremely easy access to mortgage credit and public policies -like the application of the 'Right of Urban Renting'- which fostered the purchasing in the housing market and converted renting into an uncertain and financially unattractive option created access problems. Those on lower incomes couldn't deal with the demands of a mortgage despite the concessions offered by banks. Among these social groups it was found that there were lots of young people who were already suffering the deterioration of labor conditions in their own lives and adults with unstable labor situations or recurring unemployment. In this second group, difficulties in stabilizing their housing situation were added to other factors of social exclusion and increased the risk of becoming homeless. If, in 1997, homes with a mortgage devoted 37,6% of their income to pay the mortgage fees, in 2007 the proportion had risen up to 51,2% (Colau and Alemany, 2012, page 54). The research made by Sarasa and Sales (2009) about pathways and factors of social exclusion in the city of Barcelona revealed that people who were suffering severe forms of social exclusion had repeatedly found obstacles to access dignified housing throughout their life due to their low financial capacity and having no family support or patrimony to access to a property.
If the lack of housing access represents a factor of social exclusion by increasing the poverty risk, enduring a foreclosure procedure and eviction constitutes a turning point in people's lives that worsens and can make the poverty situation chronic, leading to non-payment of credit fees. It's true that an evicted family doesn't automatically start to sleep on the street. In general, family, local and institutional resources protect people who are expelled from their houses from sleeping rough, but these resources can deteriorate easily if social inclusion paths aren't found. The Spanish law which permits the bank debt to become impossible to pay doesn't help expelled families to rebuild their lives[1].

Despite big difficulties in registering and comparing data on homelessness in the different European countries, FEANTSA has been making an effort for a long time to systematize the information available and to identify tendencies. In the report *On the way home?* (FEANTSA, 2012), it states that the number of homeless people has risen in fifteen of the twenty-one member states represented in this federation. In three of the states no tendencies were identified; in Denmark, the number of homeless people has remained stable and only in Finland and the Low Countries is a

1 According to data of the Social Observatory of the City Council of Barcelona..

decrease on the impact of homelessness detected. The German region of North-Rhine-Westphalia and Scotland also show a reduction. The rise is attributed to the economic crisis and the widening of social vulnerability it has created all over Europe, though there are variables. Entities and experts of FEANTSA maintain that countries who have registered a decrease in the number of homeless people have implemented specific policies based on rigorous data collection and put the need for housing at the center of the attention for homeless people (housing-led policies)[2] .

On a quantitative level, the European Commission (2013) estimates that 410.000 people sleep on the street on any one night in the EU. Moreover, 4 million citizens of the EU are considered to be exposed to a roofless or homeless situation at one time or another moment throughout the year. The Eurobarometer in 2010 indicated that more than 3 million European citizens claimed they felt the risk of becoming homeless[3] .

In the Spanish state, between the survey made by the NSI in 2008 in the homeless services and the one carried out in July 2012, the number of housed people had risen in 15,7%. In this survey, people sleeping rough are not taken into account. Therefore, there's an interaction between the increase in supply and the increase in demand that makes it difficult to reach conclusions. In Barcelona, the 2008 count revealed there were 2.013 people in a roofless or homeless situation or spending the night in support facilities, whereas the 2011 count recorded 2.791 (Sales, 2012).
FEANTSA confirms that "countries most affected by the crisis, like Greece, Portugal and Spain, have experienced a dramatic increase in homelessness" (FEANTSA, 2012, p. 30). The profiles of homeless people identified by the entities and social services from the different European countries are also affected by the crisis. Six of the 21 countries assessed by FEANTSA display an increase of homeless families; in ten countries an increase of women; in 14 an increase of foreign immigrants and in ten an increase of young people. In 4 of these countries -Spain, Italy, Portugal and Greece- "new falls" in homeless situations directly linked to the crisis are registered. In the Spanish state, all the tendencies currently existing in the rest of Europe –with the exception of the increase of families with children- are displayed. As a result, the homelessness reality in the State turns out to be more diverse and reflects an incidence even bigger than the last economic period on new arrivals. The stereotype of the middle-aged man, drifter, with alcohol problems because of his social isolation and permanent exclusion from the labor market, ending up on the street, is getting further and further from reality.

2 Impact of specialized policies and suggestions and discussions at European level are handled in the next summary.
3 Special Eurobarometer on poverty and social exclusion drafted by the European Commission in December 2010

3. GENERAL EVOLUTION OF HOUSING EXCLUSION IN BARCELONA

3. General evolution of housing exclusion in Barcelona

XAPSLL data sources used to identify housing exclusion tendencies in Barcelona are limited. Of the 13 ETHOS categories, the network can record fairly complete information from categories 2, 3, 7 and 8. The information collected and handled by SIS provides an accurate knowledge of categories 1 and 8, people living in a public space or rough and people living in settlements and shacks. We've also got partial information of category 4, living in women's shelters, due to the partial specialization of one of the network's entities, but that's only an incidental piece of data in the wider reality of these support services in the city administrated by entities which don't belong to XAPSLL.

Even though XAPSLL is still not able to monitor the evolution of all the ETHOS categories, the willingness to understand that different realities of housing exclusion are intrinsically linked urges us to consider them as the reference for knowledge creation about homelessness and housing exclusion in Barcelona.

If we look carefully at the figures, the number of 2.679 homeless people counted by us in November 2008[4] (official date of the last count) has risen to 2.933 people in March 2013. The number in 2012, 3.126 people can't be considered a decisive point after which there is a regression due to the counting complexities. Unfortunately, the differences between 2012 and 2013 are, as detailed further on, methodological.

The most reliable indicator to point out the general tendency is the number of people contacted by SIS on the street. This number is not conditioned by methodological changes, nor modifications in the handling policies of the problematic issue by the entities or administration. The rise in ETHOS category 1 is clear and more marked in the last year than the year before. From 726 people contacted by SIS in November 2011, we have moved on to 870 in March 2013. The increase occurs concurrently with the amplification of places in shelters, allowing a rise of people in ETHOS category 2, reaching 259 people. In total, the number of homeless people in Barcelona, according to FEANTSA conceptualization, would reach 1.129 in March 2013, compared to 923 in November 2011.

4 Per comparar el 2011 amb el 2012 i el 2013, hem considerat la xifra de persones dormint al carrer estimada pel SIS enlloc de la que s'extreia del recompte ciutadà del 8 de novembre per mantenir la comparabilitat de la sèrie.

Table 3.1. Number of homeless people in the city of Barcelona according to ETHOS classification

	Operational category	Number of people November 8th 2011 (according to count)	Number of people November 8th 2011 (according to SIS observation)	Number of people March 11th 2012 (1)	Number of people March 11th 2013 (1)
Rooflessness	1. Living in public space or rough	838	726	731	870
	2. Making use of overnight hostel and/or forced to spend the day in a public space	197	197	230	259
Houselessness	3.Living in hostels or accommodation for homeless people. Temporary housing.	320	320	281	333
	4. Living in women shelters	*nd*	*nd*	20	4
	5. Living in temporary accommodation for immigrants or asylum seekers	*nd*	*nd*	*nd*	*nd*
	6. Living in a housing institution or long term accommodation prospect of being dismissed in a deadline without shelter housing available	*nd*	*nd*	*nd*	*nd*
	7. Living in a continued support accommodation for homeless people.	342	342	332	356
Insecure accommodation	8. Living in insecure tenancy housing. Without paying rent.	399	399	698	499
	9. Living under threat of eviction	*nd*	*nd*	*nd*	*nd*
	10. Living under threat of family violence	*nd*	*nd*	*nd*	*nd*
Inadequate housing	11. Living in temporary or non-conventional structures	695	695	834	595
	12. Living in legally inadequate housing	*nd*	*nd*	*nd*	*nd*
	13. Living in overcrowned housing	*nd*	*nd*	*nd*	*nd*
TOTAL		**2791**	**2679**	**3126**	**2916**

Sources: SIS reports. Counts made by XAPSLL on 8th/11/2011, 11th/3/2012 and 11th/3/2013.
(1) Data of categories ETHOS 1 and 11 come from observations made by SIS. Don't belong to a night count, but to the identification of different people in the streets of Barcelona during March.

If we recuperate the simplified classifications that were used in previous XAPSLL reports, an increase of 47% between 2008 and 2013 of people sleeping on the street is observed, a very notable increase, 125%, in the population of settlements and an increase of 23% in the people sleeping in homeless shelter facilities provided by XAPSLL. On the 12th March 2013 it is estimated that there are 2916 people without a home in the city. Of these, 870 sleep on the street, 595 in settlements and temporary structures and 1468 in residential resources of the network.

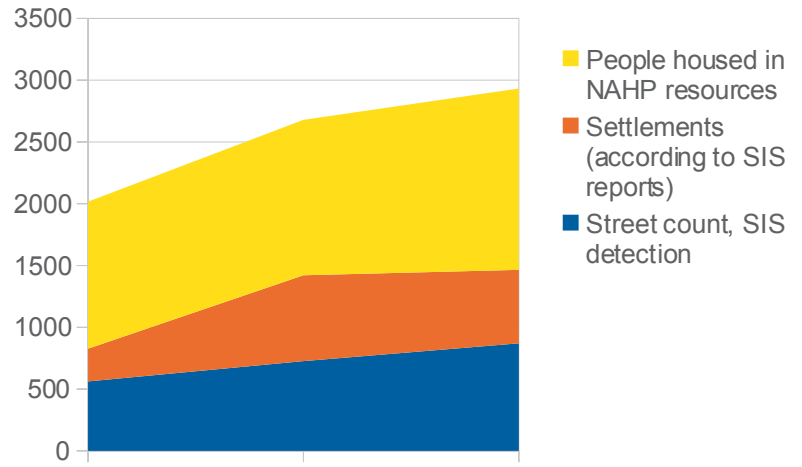
To explain the evolution of the rest of the categories, the interrelation between supply and demand of services and the orientation of attention policies for homeless people must be considered. There are different focuses of attention in this sense. A slight increase can be seen in category 3, belonging to the evolution of places available and the creation of a new resource which is discussed further on -in the annex devoted to available resources. Regarding the number of people classified in category 8, embracing men and women living in hostels or sub-tenancy flats with financial and social support from the city council social services or entities, the fluctuating evolution answers especially to a decrease of the number of people housed in this type of resource by Caritas, which has launched 63 one-family accommodation units where families who were living in sub-tenancy rooms have been housed. Lastly, it is very difficult to determine the real change in the number of people counted in settlements, due to the complexity of the situation in the industrial units in Poble Nou. In this area, the economic activity of scrap recycling is shared with situations of extreme exclusion and the capacity of the attention teams to quantify people who live there or stay overnight there is limited.

Table 3.2. Number of homeless people in the city of Barcelona, 2008, 2011, 2013.

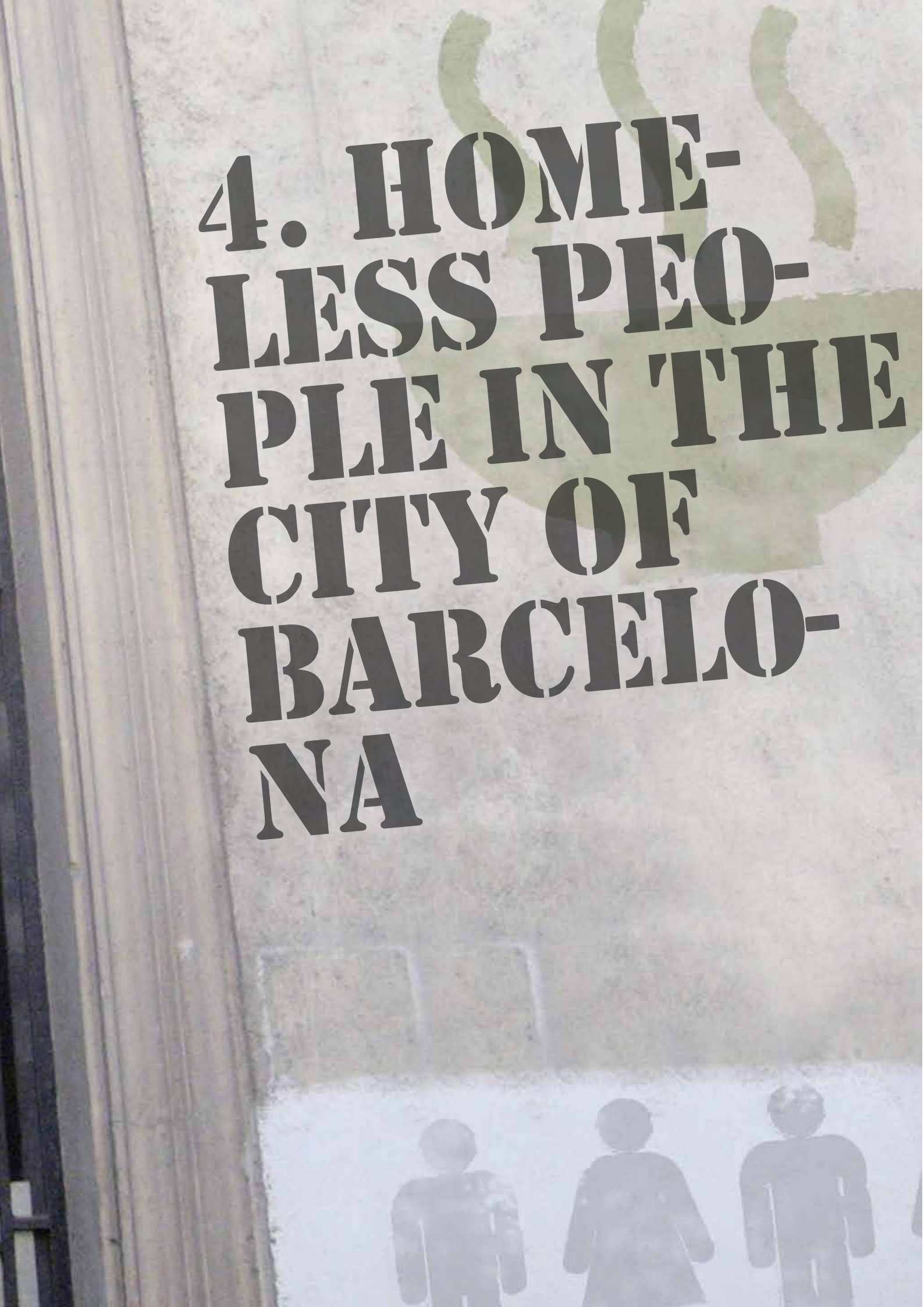
	2008		2011			Variation 2008-2013 %
	According to the counting made the night of March the 11th 2008	According to SIS estimation	According to counting made the night of November the 8th 2011	According to SIS estimation	According to SIS estimation	
Counting on the street, SIS detection	658	562	838	726	870	46,8%
Settlements (according to SIS reports)	265	265	6956	955	95	124,5%
People housed in housing resources of NAHP	11901	190	1258	1258	1468	23,4%
Amount homeless people2	**113**	**2017**	**2791**	**2679**	**2933**	**43,4%**

Sources: Countings made by NAHP. SIS registers and reports

Graph 3.1. Evolution of the number of homeless people in Barcelona. 2008, 2011, 2013



4. HOMELESS PEOPLE IN THE CITY OF BARCELONA



4. Homeless people in the city of Barcelona

Since the housing exclusion phenomenon has started to be assessed with relative frequency, estimations about the number of homeless people sleeping rough on the streets of Barcelona come from two sources: citizen counts promoted by XAPSLL, made on March the 11th 2008 and November the 8th 2011 and the reports drafted by the Social Insertion Service (SIS) about its interventions, which gather the number and characteristics of homeless people whom the professionals of the service have been in touch with for a specific month. Since there hasn't been any new citizen count, the current report reflects data provided by SIS, taking as months of reference March 2011, March 2012 and March 2013, so as to make the information coincide with the counts made by the XAPSLL units which are shown in the next graph.

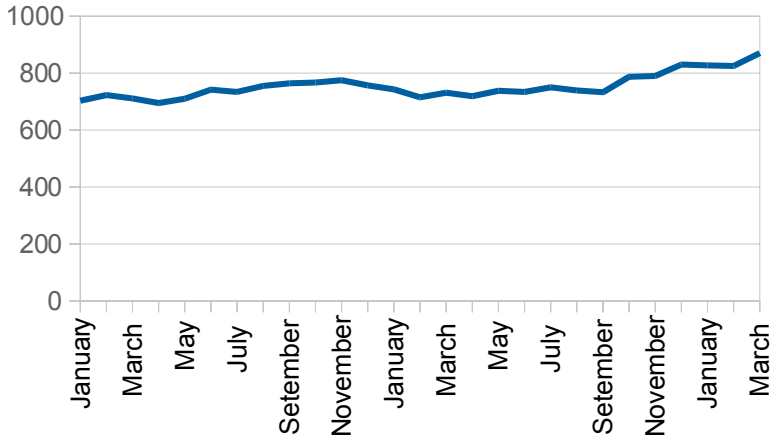
It's worth pointing out that the citizen count, consisting in combing all the city on one night with the help of around 700 volunteers, has recorded, on the two occasions when they have been carried out, figures slightly higher than SIS numbers (between 12 and 16% higher), although the tendencies shown by the two sources were very similar. In March 2008, the citizen count made the night of the 11th identified 634 people sleeping rough, whereas the number of people in contact by SIS this month was 562. In November 2011, the count made the night of the 8th identified 838 people sleeping rough, whereas SIS kept in touch with 726 different people during this month. During March 2013, the number of different people identified by SIS has been of 870, confirming the recent tendency of rising numbers.

Table 4.1. Evolution in the number of people detected by the educators team of SIS-Detection:

	Estimation number of homeless people on the street	Count dataD	esviation
March 2008	562	634	**12,81%**
March 2009	669		
March 2010	619		
March 2011	711		
November 2011	726	838	**15,43%**
March 2012	731		
March 2013	870		

Note: Settlements not included

Graph 4.1
Evolution of the number of different people monthly in contact with SIS. January 2011-March 2013



The distribution of homeless people by districts hasn't changed remarkably over the last few years. Ciutat Vella, Eixample and Sants are still the districts with more homeless people, accounting for half of the people who sleep rough on the streets of the city. The total increase of people between 2011 and 2013 is of 22,4% and, whereas Ciutat Vella and Sants-Montjuic have registered increases in keeping with the municipal average, Eixample has seen an increase of 40,5%. Changes in other districts are not really significant due to the fact that absolute numbers of people sleeping rough are low. However, Nou Barris's figures stand out; the 14 people contacted by SIS in March 2011 have increased to 49 in March 2013. The rise is due to the opening of the Primary Shelter in Marie Curie street.

Table 4.2. Distribution of people contacted by SIS who were sleeping rough in March 2011, March 2012 and March 2013

	2011		2013		Variation
District	Number	%N	umber%		2011-2013%
Ciutat Vella	1251	7,6%	1541	7,7%	23,2%
Eixample	1211	7,0%	1701	9,5%	40,5%
Sants	1191	6,7%	1421	6,3%	19,3%
Les Corts	38	5,3%	38	4,4%	0,0%
Sarrià Sant Gervasi	59	8,3%	75	8,6%	27,1%
Gràcia	21	3,0%	35	4,0%	66,7%
Horta Guinardó	45	6,3%	46	5,3%	2,2%
Nou Barris	14	2,0%	49	5,6%	250,0%
Sant Andreu	44	6,2%	50	5,7%	13,6%
Sant Martí	1251	7,6%	1211	3,9%	-3,2%
Total	7111	00,0%8	70	100,0%	22,4%

Source: Social Insertion Service. Barcelona City Council

Life on the street is usually associated with social isolation. The majority of people spend the night on the street alone. In March 2011, the SIS team registered that 85 of the contacted people who were sleeping rough formed part of 16 small groups. The presence of a family of three people was also registered, one of them under-aged -anecdotal, since the social protection system relating to minors, is very thorough. In this sense, we can state that there are no children living on the streets of the city. Families with under-aged children who are occasionally detected on the streets of Barcelona are immediately referred to the appropriate support services. Therefore, this overnight sleeping is considered occasional and sporadic. In March 2013, despite the increase of people in a 'homeless' situation, the number of groups had decreased to 12 and the number of people belonging to them was 50. We cannot affirm that isolation is on the rise taking into account only this data, but the evolution of the data must be still observed carefully.

Table 4.3. Sleeping rough alone or in group. Barcelona, by districts. March 2011, March 2013

March 2011					
District	People alone	Groups		Families	
		People	Groups	People	Families
Ciutat Vella	100	25	3-		-
Eixample	110	11	3-		-
Sants-Montjuïc	103	13	33		1
Les Corts	38	----			
Sarriá-Sant Gervasi	53	61		--	
Gràcia	21	----			
Horta-Guinardó	40	51		--	
Nou Barris	11	31		--	
Sant Andreu	32	12	2-		-
Sant Martí	115	10	2-		-
Total	623	85	16	31	
March 2013					
Districte	People alone	Groups People	Groups	People	Families
Ciutat Vella	137	17	4-		-
Eixample	170	----			
Sants-Montjuïc	127	15	4-		-
Les Corts	38	----			
Sarriá-Sant Gervasi	66	92		--	
Gràcia	35	----			
Horta-Guinardó	36	----			
Nou Barris	43	61		--	
Sant Andreu	50	----			
Sant Martí	118	31		--	
Total8	20	50	12	--	

Source: Social Insertion Service. Barcelona City Council

Table 4.4. Age of the people who were sleeping rough. Barcelona, March 2011, March 2013

	March 2011			March 2013		
	Men	Women	TotalM	en	Women	Total
<16 years old	0,2%	0,0%	0,1%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%
16-291	1,6%	20,5%1	2,5%	7,5%	18,4%8	,6%
30-444	7,4%	42,5%4	6,8%	47,4%4	3,7%	47,0%
45-643	7,4%	30,1%3	6,6%	40,9%2	9,9%	39,7%
>64	3,6%	6,8%	4,0%	4,3%	8,0%	4,6%
Total1	00,0%1	00,0%1	00,0%1	00,0%1	00,0%1	00,0%
	(604)(	73)(	678)	(776)(	87)(	863)

Source: Social Insertion Service. Barcelona City Council.

The socio-demographic profile of the people in a homeless situation hasn't changed much between 2011 and 2012. Distribution by gender is nearly the same, with 90% men. Distribution by age has remained stable as well. Various European countries have raised the alarm of the increase of young people among the homeless, especially between 18 and 24 years old (FEANTSA, 2012). This tendency is believed to be the consequence of the substantial increase of young unemployment all over the region. However, considering the Spanish State is one of the EU members with the most dramatic situation in terms of young unemployment, we can't certify from data gathered on the street a significant increase of people among this age range between 2011 and 2013. In relative terms, the weight of this age range decreases from 12,5% to 8,6%. The evolution in the coming years must be assessed, in order to know if the tendency gets consolidated, since between 2008 and 2011 an increase of the people detected by SIS sleeping rough between 20 and 30 years old was observed. This increase in three years was of 20%; therefore, lower than the whole of the age ranges, but still alarming taking into account that it was traditionally protected from homelessness by the family networks.

With regard to the nationality of homeless people, there are no significant changes detected between 2011 and 2013. The last date of reference detected 43,1% Spanish people were contacted; 30% from the EU and 26,9% were from non-EU countries. Among them, more than half were in an irregular legal situation. In total, homeless people in irregular situations were 15.17% (only a percentage point less than in March 2011).

SIS experts also register the triggering problem of the homeless situation of every person dealt with. It's important to note that data coming from this register must be interpreted bearing in mind that the information available for each individual is very different. There are people living on the street who are monitored and who have been known for many years; there are people with whom it's been possible to speak to on repeated occasions while with others there's only been sporadic contact, with practically no personal information gathered about them. Accordingly, what is registered is the triggering factor which homeless people themselves attribute their situation to. Consequently, when we say that 22.53% homeless people in contact with in March 2013 charged their situation to social and labor problems, we don't say they aren't enduring other problems or -after an individualized diagnosis is carefully made- there won't appear further and more relevant problems to explain the lack of economic resources. As a consequence, this data can only be compared with its own precedents and allows us to detect tendencies, but not formulate absolute conclusions.

Table 4.5. Main problem (1) of the people who were sleeping rough. Barcelona, March 2011, March 2013

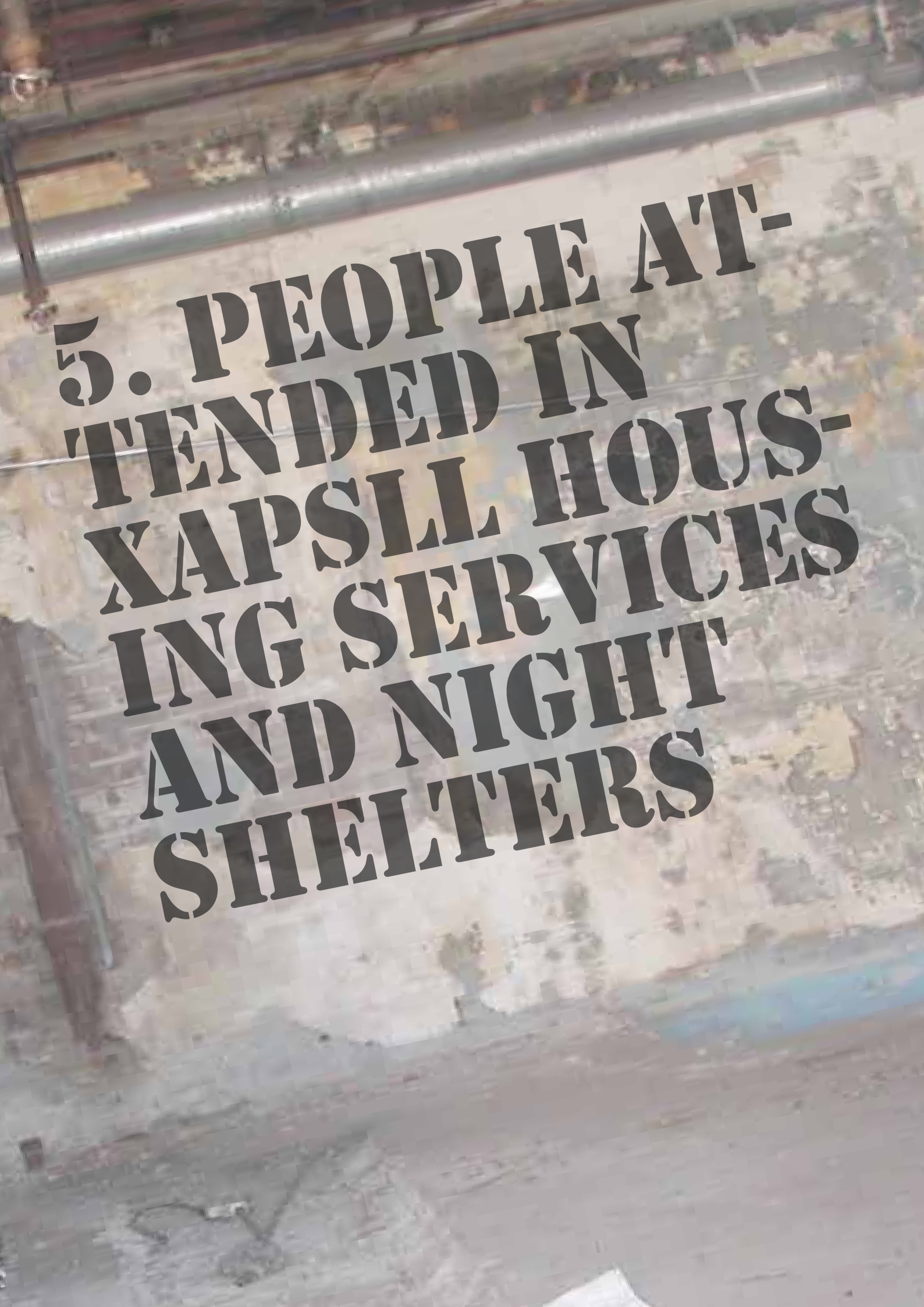
	March 2011		March 2013	
	Nº	%%	Nº	
Socio-economic	1181	6,6	196	22,53
Socio-labour	252	35,44	292	33,56
Alcoholism	199	27,99	215	24,71
Drug-addiction	49	6,89	62	7,13
Alcoholism + drug addiction	50	,7	70	,8
Dual pathology	30	,427		0,8
Mental health	57	8,02	59	6,78
Alternative way of life	28	3,94	32	3,68
Total7	11	100	870	100

Source: Service of Social Insertion. Barcelona City Council
(1) Problem assessed by the SIS team in the moment of intervention

Based on what have been considered triggering factors, more than the half of homeless people (56,9%) attribute their situation to socio-economic and socio-labour conditions, 24,7% point out the alcoholism, 7,1% drug-addiction and remarkably 6,8% address their situation to a mental disorder which becomes registered if diagnosed. As we have mentioned earlier, this doesn't mean that 6,8% of homeless people actually have a mental illness, but it's the proportion of those who suffer one, who have got a diagnosis and, furthermore, who consider it as the triggering factor of their situation of severe social exclusion.

The percentage of mental disorders among the homeless population is much higher. According to the research on mental health among homeless people in Barcelona carried out in 2010, Uribe and Alonso determined, based on standardized questionnaires, that 49% of the people surveyed suffered from some kind of mental disorder (depression, anxiety or others). It was also certified that 16% of the people questioned had taken psychiatric medication aimed at controlling the symptoms of severe mental disorders like schizophrenia or manic-depressive disorders.

5 According to information from the Social Insertion Service of the City Council of Barcelona.


5. PEOPLE AT-
TENDED IN
XAPSLL HOUS-
ING SERVICES
AND NIGHT
SHELTERS

5. People attended in XAPSLL housing services and night shelters

XAPSLL entities[6] counted 1.447 housed people in their support services on the night between 11th and 12th March 2013. Between 2012 and 2013 a decrease in the number of people attended is noted among all the housing services (1.561 to 1.447), due more to changes in the attention policies and counting than a real decrease in the activity of the entities and the demand for places. The main cause of this reduction in the number of people housed -as we have pointed out previously- is the decrease in the number of people housed in sub-tenancy rooms with social and economic support from Caritas. A rise in one-family accommodation to house families in situations of social exclusion which is administrated by the entity has allowed a part of the sub-tenancy rooms demand to be diverted to these facilities, which are more adequate for developing daily life. However, this type of housing hasn't been counted as support services addressed to the attention of homeless people.

The general trends show some stability in the number of housed people in homeless accommodation, with an increase of people who spend overnight in housing centres. As we will see in the next annex, between 2012 and 2013 the increases run parallel to the opening of new centres with more places, which respond to the needs detected by XAPSLL.

With regard to the general counting of people housed, it's worth noting that the decrease in the number of occupied places in inclusion flats is not the cause of a reduction in the number of places but of the circumstances of the night of the count. Despite the fact that officially what we identify as places is the number of beds, flats are resources of variable occupation. Depending on the socio-educational needs of the people living in them, there's some fluctuation in the amount of people who can live there and the possibility of empty beds in flats exists where it's considered that there are enough people living there or the characteristics or personal moment of the person living there advise against someone new entering the flat

6 XAPSLL also includes the City Council of Barcelona

Table 5.1. People housed in homeless facilities. Barcelona, 2008-201 1

Type of homeless facility		March 2008 (1)	March 2009 (2)	March 2010 (2)	March 2011 (2)	Novembre 2011 (2)	March 2012 (2)	March 2013 (2)
Public ownership	Residential centers	3633	53	3563	49	3653	39	401
	Flats	67	64	66	75	94	70	101
	Hostels	1551	22	1101	02	1011	08	98
Total		**5855**	**39**	**5325**	**26**	**5605**	**17**	**600**
Private ownership (4)	Residential centers	1371	36	1331	39	1501	76	207
	Flats	1151	49	1731	72	2482	78	243
	Hostels	69	54	32	50	19	69	57
	Sub-tenancy rooms(3)	2844	12	4043	43	2795	21	344
	Others					2		
Total		**6057**	**51**	**7427**	**04**	**6981**	**0448**	**51**
Total		**1190**	**1290**	**1274**	**1230**	**1258**	**1561**	**1451**

(1) Source: Cabrera et al (2008). Qui dorm al carrer? With revisions from the entities records of XAPSLL
(2) Source: XAPSLL
(3) Caritas for all the series, Arrels from March 2011.
(4) Of the 207 places provided by private entities, 121 places were granted in agreement with Barcelona City Council. This means that the City Council has assumed the total cost of these places. This percentage represents 58% of the amount of places categorized as private.
(5) Along with the places granted, Barcelona City Council maintains several collaboration agreements with many of the private entities, in order to support financially different projects in the area of social action.

When describing the profile of the people attended, it's important to take into account that we don't have the full data of the 1.451 people available. Depending on the availability of data, percentages are based on the amount of people about whom we do know their profile information. These figures are detailed in each of the tables. We have followed the same procedure for all the interpretations. That's why the totals of each table can be different. In general, there are more information gaps referring to people housed in hostels and sub-tenancy rooms. Most adequate, therefore, is to focus on the assessment of relative figures.

With regard to the socio-demographic traits of people housed, there are no significant changes in gender distribution. There is a trend towards a higher presence of women in the last three years, but the variation is not important enough to be able to draw conclusions. With regards to the age of people attended, a two percentage points rise in the proportion of people older than 65 is noted. On March the 12th 2013, almost 63% of the people housed in resources were men; 26% were women and up to 11,4% under-aged (children and teenagers).

Table 5.2. Gender of the people housed in XAPSLL resources

	March 10th 2009	March 12th 2010	March 10th 2011	November 8th 2011	March 12th 2012	March 12th 2013
Men	64,9%	65,2%	65,7%	67,7%	61,6%	62,7%
Women	23,8%	23,3%	22,6%	21,8%	28,9%	25,9%
Minors	11,3%	11,5%	11,7%	10,6%	9,5%	11,4%
Total	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
N (1)	1141	1141	1229	1222	1560	1451

(1) Number of people for whom we've got information

Even though in the residential services we also find a majority of men among the users, the presence of women in situations of housing exclusion is markedly higher than on the street. Whereas SIS data estimated that only 10% of the people sleeping rough were women, in the homeless accommodation services this figure reaches 26%. There is a slight rising tendency in the rate of women in the last few years that seemed very clear in the comparison between 2011 and 2012, but this softens in 2013. We will have to wait to assess longer series to get conclusions, but the increase in the number of women among the homeless population is a phenomenon present in all European societies since the 90s (Casey et. Al 2007), as well as women's higher disposition to get support and housing services when compared to men.

Table5.3. Age of the people housed in facilities

	March 10th 2009	March 12th 2010	March 10th 2011	November 8th 2011	March 12th 2012	March 12th 2013
<18	11,7%	11,8%	11,9%	10,6%9	,4%	11,2%
18-657	9,5%	79,9%	79,9%	80,1%	82,0%	78,4%
66-75	7,9%7	,3%7	,3%8	,1%8	,1%	10,4%
>75	0,9%1	,0%0	,9%1	,2%0	,4%0	,0%
Total	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
N (1)	1121	1110	1228	1220	1561	1451

(1) Number of people for whom we've got information

In the residential services, the age ranges registered don't let us make conclusions about a possible increase of young people between attended people. In various European countries, an alarm has been raised over the increase of young homeless people. In the city of Barcelona we have seen, from SIS data, that in the last two years the proportion of young people aged between 16 and 29 has maintained stable and also in the residential resources in the ranges collected.

Table 5.4. Nationality of people housed in facilities

	March 10th 2009	March 12th 2010	March 10th 2011	November 8th 2011	March 12th 2012	March 12th 2013
Spanish	38,3%	34,9%5	2,8%	52,0%3	7,7%	42,6%
European	9,1%	7,6%1	0,1%	10,0%	8,7%	11,3%
Non-European	52,5%	57,5%3	7,2%	38,0%5	3,6%	46,1%
Regular situation	*14,9%*	*17,9%2*	*0,0%*	*19,2%2*	*3,7%*	*24,5%*
Irregular situation	*37,6%*	*39,6%1*	*7,1%*	*18,7%3*	*0,0%*	*21,6%*
Total	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%1	00,0%1	00,0%
N (1)	11191	121	993	1035	1549	1446

(1) Number of people for whom we've got information

In the report published by the XAPSLL, which gathered data from 2011 (Sales, 2012), a confirmation of one of the trends described in nearly all European countries regarding to the change in the profile of homeless people was noted. It was the detection of the rapid growth of families attended in night care facilities. Between March 2011 and November 2011, the number of people belonging to families attended in these resources had risen from 114 to 178 without any change in the institutional action. The data of people housed in hostels or sub-tenancy rooms weren't included in these figures, so it wasn't possible to calculate the magnitude of the problem; they simply raised an alarm by highlighting a trend. However, from the data taken from care facilities in 2012 and 2013 it is possible to obtain the number of people housed in hostels and sub-tenancy rooms with their nuclear families. This change and the action of entities and social services, who prioritize housing in inclusion flats or specialized facilities -like the Temporary Family Shelter Centre of Navas- makes it difficult to create a statistical series easy to compare. However, differences between 2012 and 2013 point to a continuing increase in the number of families in need of housing. From 343 people attended with their family in 2012, in 2013 this figure rose to 531. Even though the entities and administration have worked harder, the increase is due to the emergency reaction of entities which financially help families in need of housing by paying for a room.

For the drafting of the report *Diagnosis 2011* (Sales, 2012), the XAPSLL started gathering data on health and dependency situations of the people attended. The methodological difficulties in applying objective indicators about the health situation of rough sleepers and the confirmation that the issue requires specialized research led us to register only those objective variables which are useful enough to maintain statistical series through the years. To this extent, in the services the number of people with recognized disability certificates and dependency grades were noted.

Table 5.5. People with disability certificate in XAPSLL facilities the night of 8th November 12th March 2012, 12th March

	2011		2012		2013	
	N%		N%		N%	
With disability certificate	132	12,8%	237	15,2%	265	18,3%
With disability certificate between 33% and 64%	*45*	*4,4%*	*44*	*2,8%*	*50*	*3,4%*
With disability certificate of more than 64%	*89*	*8,6%*	*193*	*12,4%*	*215*	*14,8%*
Total	1034		1561		1451	

Source: our own research from XAPSLL data

An increase in the proportion of housed people with disability certificates is seen. We could infer a greater vulnerability of the people with functional diversities in the city, but this data shows, above all, a greater effort from experts and users to process the documents needed to receive handicap benefits in the face of other income sources disappearing or public benefits getting more and more difficult to obtain, such as the minimum insertion benefit. In this sense, it's important to point out the launch in 2012 of a specific protocol of collaboration between the XAPSLL and ICASS (Catalan Institute of Attendance and Social Services) entities, made

through the Department for the Attention to Vulnerable People in the area of Quality of Life, Equality and Sports from the City Council of Barcelona, in order to prioritize the procedure of assessing the certificates recognizing handicap grades.

Table 5.6. People with recognition of dependency grade in XASPSLL homeless facilities. 8th November 2011, 12th March 2012, 12th March 2013.

	2011		2012		2013	
	N%		N%		N%	
Amb reconeixement de grau de dependència	32	3,1%	59	5,7%	60	5,8%
Grade 1	*20*	*1,9%*	*34*	*3,3%*	*35*	*3,4%*
Grade 2	*70*	*,7%*	*22*	*2,1%*	*22*	*2,1%*
Grade 3	*60*	*,6%*	*30*	*,3%3*		*0,3%*
Total	1034		1561		1451	

Source: our own research from XAPSLL data

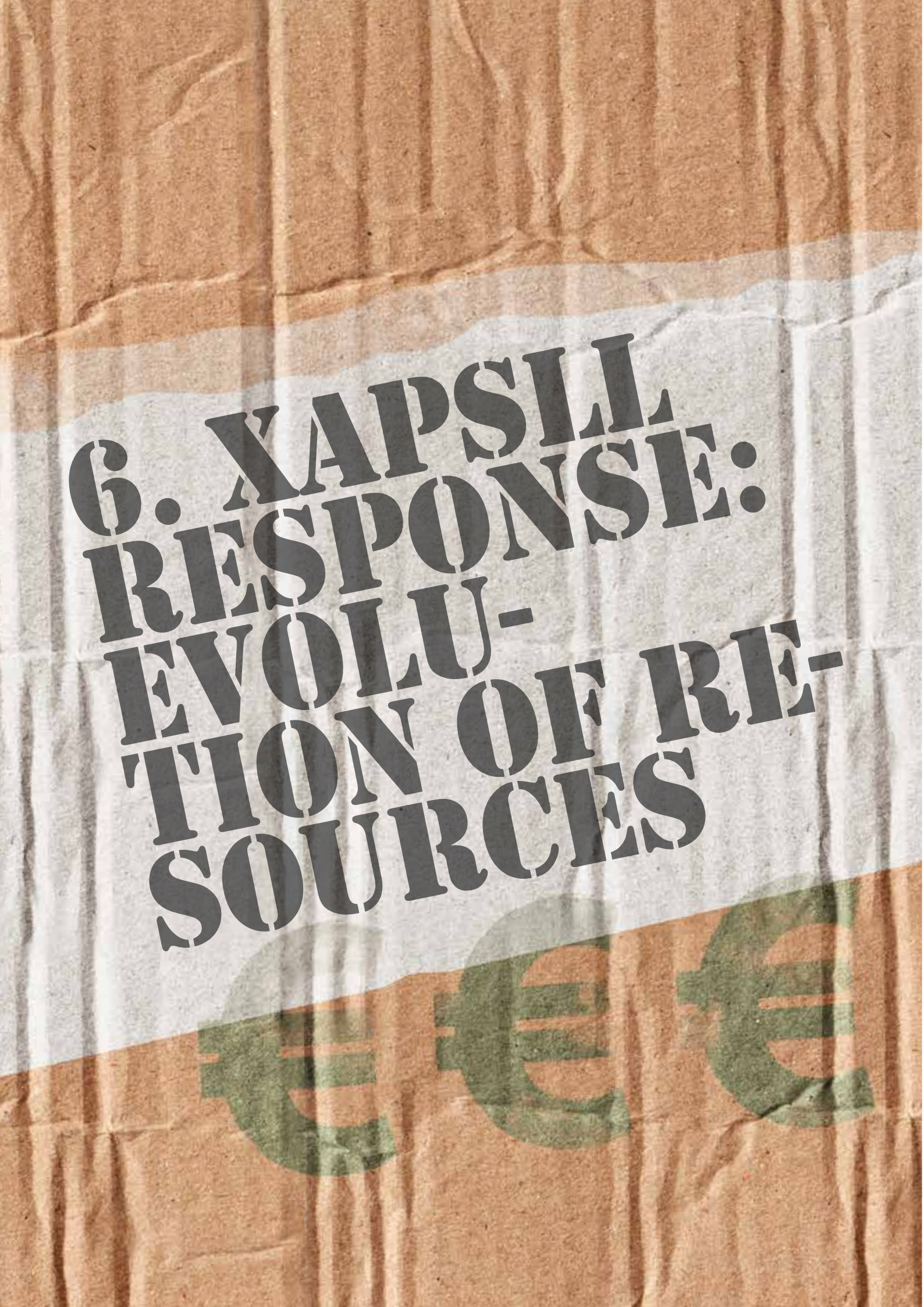
In the 2012 data collection a new variable was included. We have systemized information of the entities on the origin of the incomes, if they exist, of the people attended. It's observed that in 2013 almost 57% of people attended haven't got any income, nearly three percentage points more than in 2012. An increase in the proportion of homeless people receiving some kind of job-related income, understood as any form of income during the two weeks previous to the register of data (March 12th), relating to the payment for a job, also stands out.

Table 5.7. Source of the income of the people housed in XAPSLL services. 12th March 2012, 12th March 2013

	20122		013	
	N%		N%	
People without income	844	54,1%	824	56,8%
Receiving disability pension	32	2,0%	15	1,0%
Receiving non-contributory state p/disability benefit	201	12,9%	183	12,6%
Receiving short-term disability benefit	50	,3%2		0,1%
Receiving unemployment benefit	33	2,1%	42	2,9%
Prison release benefit	60	,4%4		0,3%
Receiving Minimum Insertion Benefit	105	6,7%	84	5,8%
People with earned income	64	4,1%	92	6,3%
People with earned income along with some benefit or pension	14	0,9%	47	3,2%
People with unknown source of income	37	2,4%	23	1,6%
People with other sources of income	142	9,1%	89	6,1%
People uncategorized by lack of information	78	5,0%	46	3,2%
Total	1561	100,0%	1451	100,0%

Source: our own research from XAPSLL data

6. XAPSLL RESPONSE: EVOLU-TION OF RE-SOURCES



6. XAPSLL response: Evolution of resources

Throughout the last few years, entities and organizations of XAPSLL have increased their resources destined to the attention of homeless people, as an answer to the rise in the needs and demand of accommodation places. Residential services, be it public, private or sponsored in agreement with the City Council, have grown prioritizing insertion flats ahead of large-capacity installations, at least until 2012. Between last year and this one, new facilities have been created in response to emerging needs, such as the Temporary Accommodation Centre Hort de la Vila, sponsored by the City Council of Barcelona and administrated by Sant Joan de Déu Social Services, the Mambré Social Hostel, a Mambré Foundation initiative, and the Temporary Housing Centre for Families (THCF), created by the Barcelona City Council.

It needs saying that the difference between public and private ownership relates to the owner of the resource –be it a flat or residential centre-, but the entities have a large number of sponsored places, in a way that the expenses from the people housed are covered by the municipal social service. In both 2012 and 2013, 121 of the places in privately-owned residential centres were sponsored in agreement with Barcelona City Council.

The promotion of inclusion flats continues because XAPSLL entities understand that the current social emergency can't allow the quality of attention to deteriorate, and the possibilities of personalized accompaniment to people attended offered by this type of resource.

The rise in families in a situation of housing exclusion -a reality that has been discussed in previous chapters- has fostered the creation of new inclusion housing. Both the City Council and the entities have noticeably broadened the number of insertion flats during the last five years, turning this type of resource into a core element of their strategy of fighting against social exclusion.

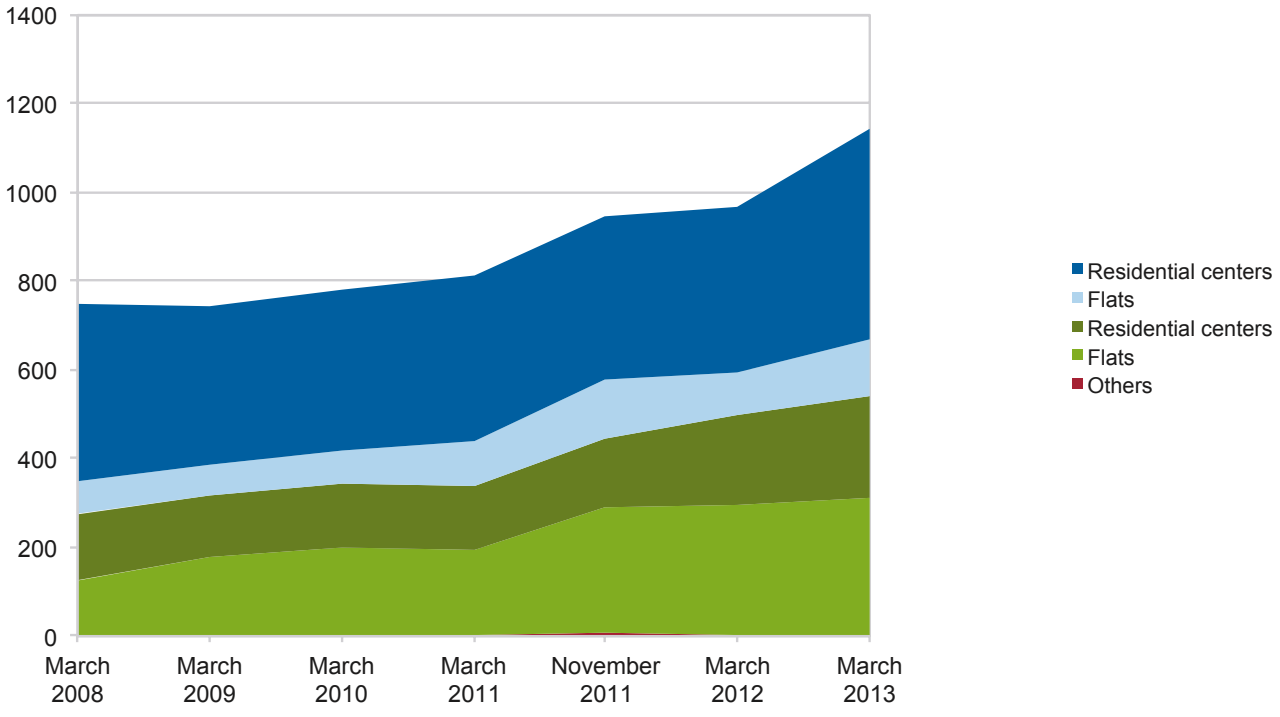
In 2013, Barcelona has surpassed the number of 1.000 places in accommodation for homeless people. Public residential centers have reached 475 places, with new openings and the broadening of existing ones and the City Council boasts 127 places in inclusion flats. The rest of the entities have reached 231 places in residential centers, of which 121 are directly sponsored by the City Council, which means 58% of the places are registered as private. The private entities have 312 places in inclusion flats; more than double the supply available in March 2008, when the systemization of data began.

Table 6.1. Places available in homeless facilities. Barcelona, 2008-2011

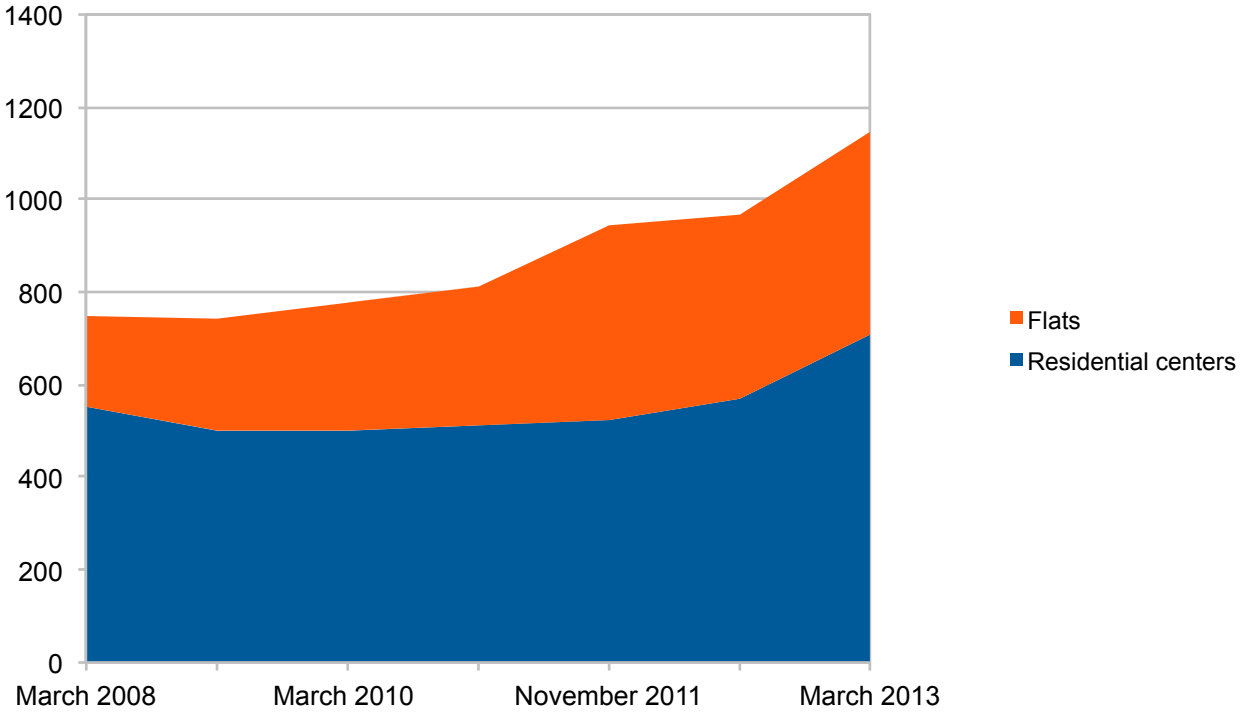
Type of homeless facility		March 2008 (1)	March 2009 (2)	March 2010 (2)	March 2011 (2)	November 2011 (2)	March 2012	March 2013
Public ownership	Residential centers	400	360	3603	70	3703	70	475
	Flats7	26	77	71	04	1319	61	27
	Hostels	*no procedent*						
Total		**472**	**427**	**4374**	**74**	**5014**	**66**	**602**
Private ownership (3)	Residential centers	150	141	1411	42	1562	02	231
	Flats1	26	177	2011	96	2852	97	312
	Hostels							
	Sub-tenancy rooms (3)	*no procedent*						
	Others					6		
Total		**276**	**318**	**3423**	**38**	**4474**	**99**	**543**
Total		**748**	**745**	**7798**	**12**	**9489**	**65**	**1145**

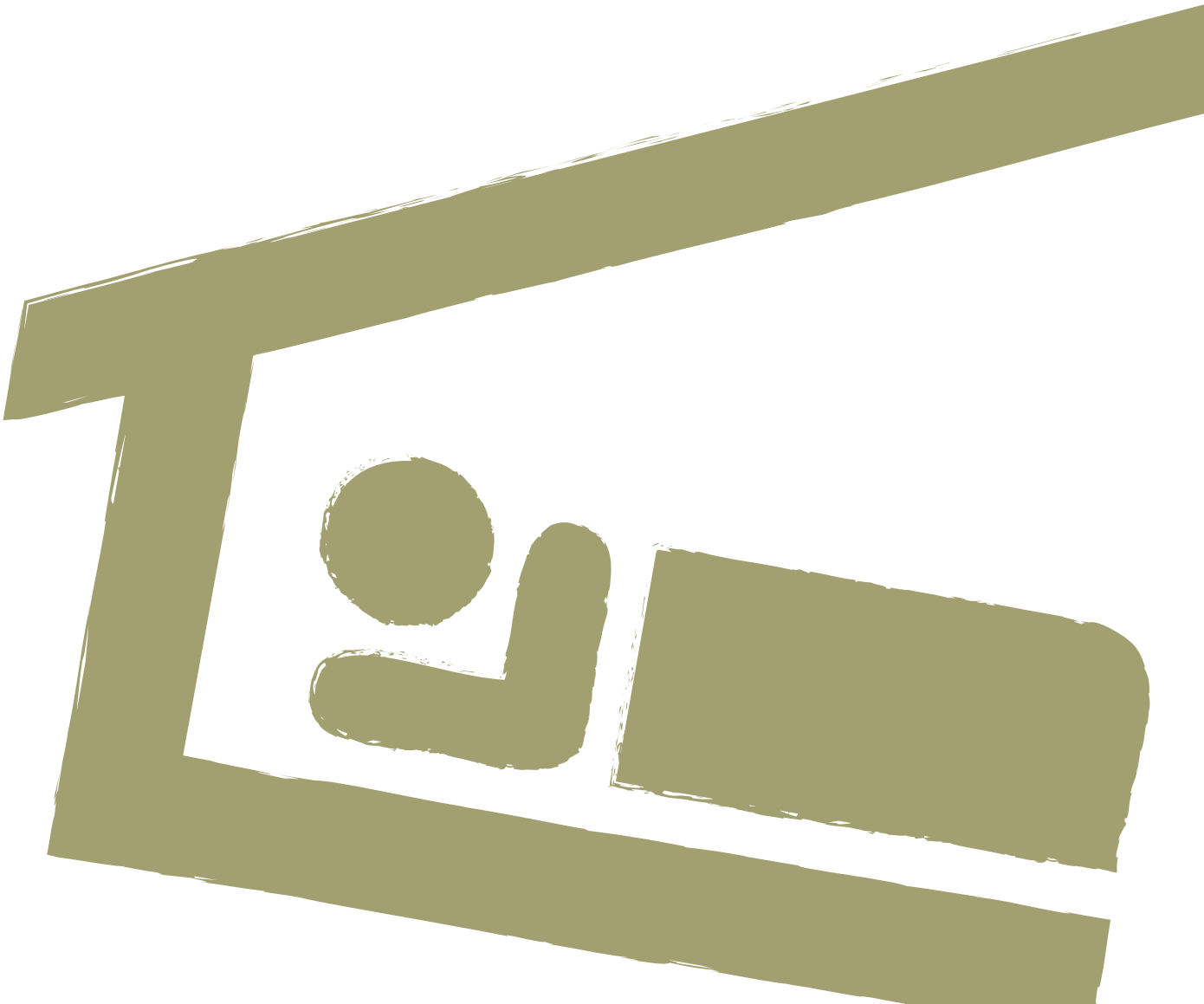
1) Source: Cabrera et al (2008). *Qui dorm al carrer?* With revisions from the entities records of XAPSLL
(2) Source: XAPSLL
(3) 121 of the public places in housing centers were granted by the City Council of Barcelona, which covers the expenses on the 12th March 2012 and 12th March 2013
(4) Of the 231 places provided by private entities, 121 places were granted in agreement with Barcelona City Council. This means that the City Council has assumed the total cost of these places. This percentage represents 52% of the amount of places categorized as private.
(5) Along with the places granted, Barcelona City Council maintains several collaboration agreements with many of the private entities, in order to support financially different projects in the area of social action.

Gràfic 6.1.
Evolution of the number of nights provided in XAPSLL homeless facilities according to ownership. Barcelona, 2008, 2013



Gràfic 6.2. Evolution of the number of nights provided in XAPSLL homeless facilities. Barcelona, 2008, 2013.





7. INTERVENTION POLICIES IN FIGHTING AGAINST HOMELESSNESS

7. Intervention policies in fighting against homelessness

Social intervention which gives support to people living in any kind of housing exclusion situation considered homelessness is only a tiny part of the policies needed to guarantee the right to housing. The homeless resources offered by the social services and entities of the XAPSLL provide the last emergency network for people and families immersed in poverty and social exclusion processes and the first points of support with which they can start recovering the reins of their lives. In the current context, addressing the fight against homelessness faces two great challenges: the increase in the number of people in need of support from the specialized entities and from social services to avoid sleeping rough and the difficulties in consolidating inclusion processes in an environment lacking salaried employment opportunities, and in which incomes from subsidies and benefits are getting less and less.

Despite these difficulties, the European Commission (EC) urges the member states of the EU to launch brave and coordinated policies against housing exclusion. In the communication *Towards Social Investment for Growth and Cohesion*, the Commission states, in agreement with the current empiric evidence, that the access to stable housing is a key tool for the full development of the economical potential of people. Bringing back the idea exposed previously in this report that homelessness is a consequence and also the cause of poverty and social exclusion situations and taking into account the areas of action of XAPSLL, the proposals of the EC and the experience of the entities of the city can shape some recommendations in order to maintain a security network aimed at reducing the personal and social impact of the most severe types of social exclusion in our society.

Prevention: measures for avoiding the loss of housing

The EC acknowledges in its official documents that homelessness prevention measures have an important social and economical return in the long term and create important savings in social services, health and legal systems and contribute to social cohesion. Dutch research carried out in 2011 (Van Leerdam), calculated that, for every euro inverted in preventing homelessness, the society got €2.20 in return. The research pointed out that the areas where savings were made were emergency health treatment, treatment in outpatient clinics, psychiatric services, police interventions, prisons, legal procedures and temporary housing. Other research has confirmed the high cost-benefit ratios of eviction prevention policies. Calculations made in Scotland in 2010 showed that the process of re-housing a family meant an economic expenditure of £5.300 per year, whereas an intervention of mediation between landlord and renter to avoid eviction didn't exceed £600(European Commission, 2011).

The evidence which shows that a great deal of evictions could be prevented is addressed by FEANTSA and the European Commission itself, which recommend launching social intervention mechanisms before foreclosure procedures and evictions, both in the rental and buying market. Policies such as obliging estate agents and banking entities to inform social services before starting a foreclosure procedure, cooperating with municipal administrations to identify renters with difficulties before they accumulate more than two rent payment delays or supplying specialized individual finance administration support to people in risk of non-payment are just some of the policies already in progress in countries as different as Switzerland or Austria.

Without hindering the debates about the model of state ownership and its legal regulation or the assignment in payment as a mechanism to put a stop to unassumable debts to which people suffering a foreclosure procedure are submitted, preventing housing loss in poverty situations and severe social vulnerability can save a lot of suffering to the families, as well as important social expenditure.

Strategies at state-level and country-level

The European Commission urges EU member states to develop strategies at a regional or state-level to cope with homelessness. Social services and the attention given to vulnerable collectives is usually a field that involves the municipal governments, responsible for local level administration. But the processes of social exclusion leading people to housing exclusion are linked to supra-municipal policies. Migration policies, discharges from penitential centers, the relation between social services and health services are examples of the need to establish agreed policy measures.

Denmark, Finland, France, Ireland, the Low Countries, Norway, Portugal, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, Scotland, Wales and the German region Rhine-Westphalia all have integrated strategies to fight against homelessness, with the objective to minimize the impact of housing exclusion. It's important to point out that none of the few territories which have achieved a reduction in the number of homeless people since 2008 have managed it without an action plan agreed on a supra-municipal level.

Predict the processes of discharging from institutions

The moment of leaving certain institutions that provide stable housing over long periods of time (prisons, hospitals, treatment centres...) can become a triggering factor towards severe exclusion and towards a homeless situation (Sarasa i Sales, 2009; Casey et al, 2007). The more detailed strategies for fighting against homelessness draft in advance specific measures for tackling the discharge procedure from institutions of collectives in risk to assure the coordination between housing-type institutions and support services for homeless people.

In Finland, one of the countries which has managed to reduce its homeless population despite the economical recession, there is an action program which includes as a special attention group the people discharged from prison. In Switzerland, the current action plan against homelessness has the specific objective of decreasing the number of homeless former prisoners.

The Danish strategy for the decrease of homelessness states that the release of a prisoner must be accompanied by a suitable housing solution for the person. They have designed a model called "Good release", defining the steps which must be implemented and the agents who have to coordinate prison release processes, providing a roadmap for the administrations involved, penitential institutions and city councils (local social services) to reduce the response time and to give coherence to their interventions with the person who reintegrates into conventional life. Data reveals that the program is working: a Danish survey about homelessness records in every edition the number of institutionalized people with the perspective of being released within the next month after the survey. It includes penitential inmates and people receiving hospital treatment. During the sixth week of 2007, 129 people were in this situation in the prisons of the country and 223 in the hospitals. In 2011, figures dropped to 88 and 173 respectively (FEANTSA, 2012).

The British strategy in the fight against homelessness contains important measures like maintaining a subsidy to the imprisoned population with short sentences in order to cover housing expenses, preventing them from losing their return home once released from prison. Recent research showed that discharges from hospitals and treatment centers continue to be a catalyst for housing exclusion in the United Kingdom. In Scotland, the health system and penitential administrations have introduced measures with the clear objective of preventing people released from hospitals and prisons from finding themselves with nowhere to go. There are different accompaniment projects in the deinstitutionization process which prevent people who are discharged, and therefore have a different daily routine, from becoming homeless. In Northern Ireland, all the penitential and detention centers will be committed to accompany the process of re-housing of discharged people from 2014, and there's a special support plan for people aged 16 and 17 who have abandoned the interment centers or hospitals and lack a family network.

Ireland guarantees support, in agreement with civil society organizations, for people coming out of an institutionalized period who don't enjoy family support. Research made by the Irish Penal Reform Trust concluded that the Irish Prison Service has managed to achieve that nobody is discharged from a penitential centre without a reference address where they will be able to enjoy minimal life conditions.

In the Low Countries, the focus of the deinstitutionalization protective measures is on prison releases. Social services professionals work actively with the penitential centers to assure that releases are accompanied by housing, social security and the documentation needed to receive benefits and subsidies.

FEANTSA considers that there isn't any integrated strategy in the Spanish State of attention to homeless people which considers explicitly the issue of deinstitutionalization and the risks of social exclusion suffered by people who spend time in prison or long-term treatment centres.

Guarantee the quality of services

The tragic situation of many homeless people, combined with the good intentions of citizens and entities, has brought about different forms of attention based on volunteering and spontaneity which doesn't always achieve positive results. The sub-sector of attention to homeless people has traditionally lacked regulation and standardization of the conditions services supplied. The gravity of the situations of social exclusion cannot lead us to accept that any help is better than nothing. Core issues such as occupation density of housing services or the number of people needed to administrate properly a service have often been ignored without analyzing the implications in the personal process of the people attended.

Large accommodation services with rooms holding many people with different problems create a 'homeless' identity which can reinforce the breakdown processes of users with respect to society. Some European countries, such as Switzerland, the United Kingdom, Denmark and Finland promote a housing model based on individual rooms in all types of homeless accommodation resources in order to provide a decent level of privacy and intimacy for the people attended (FEANTSA, 2012).

"Housing-led" strategies

In the European Consensus Conference on Homelessness the effectiveness of the so-called "housing-led strategies", or strategies based on housing, was highlighted. These are actions which establish as a priority in the intervention of the attention services the provision of a house for people who become homeless. Confirming that housing exclusion is a relevant risk factor of social exclusion, "housing-led" policies seek to make housing available to people and families, from where they can remake their social ties.

Housing-led policies contrast with the most classical attention policies which set a succession of steps to an independent life which people attended by the assistance services must follow. The classical intervention, usually called "transition staircase" towards an independent life, expects that people without a home enter the attention circuit through lenient night accommodation facilities, shelters and temporary hostels. From these resources -and with socio-educational support- people attended would move into inclusion housing or flats shared with other people following similar paths. After, one-family housing would be provided which permits a certain independency, with a less intense socio-educational support, becoming the last step prior to reinsertion into a conventional housing market, which they would access thanks to the reincorporation in the labor market or obtaining other incomes (Busch Geertsema, 2002).

Among housing-led strategies, the most popular is named *Housing First*, owning this name from a program launched in the United States by the organization Beyond the Shelter in 1988. Initially, the project was conceived to give a response to the needs of families becoming homeless because of socio-economic problems. It started by breaking the vision of the homeless person as someone who can't be trusted to manage his own home and the acknowledgement of the right of every citizen to have access to housing. Inspired by the innovative programs and considering the link –getting stronger and more evident all the time- between socio-economic problems and homelessness in Europe, housing-led policies give a response to families who have lost their house for socio-economic causes and who are in need of a starting point to rebuild their life with minimal socio-educational support.

Over the last decade, Housing First has been also applied to intervene in chronic homelessness situations, providing homeless people who have lived on the streets a long time an independent house first and socio-educational support, in a voluntary way, later. There are several studies that reveal outstanding successes in the United States, but in the case of single chronic homeless people, this is a type of intervention still up for debate (Tsemberis, 2010).

Knowledge to act

Both FEANTSA and the European Commission urge State Members to generate rigorous information about their homeless population with the aim of being able to improve the effectiveness of their policies. The marginal character of the phenomenon until the start of the Welfare States crisis and the trend, present all over Europe, to leave the attention of homeless people out of social policies, considering it an issue for entities and religious congregations, has created a gap in knowledge and also in the systematization of data.

In the Spanish state, INE (National Institute of Statistics) is who has made some surveys on homeless population attended in public housing and resources and by entities. But about the reality of people sleeping rough we only count on municipal area initiatives in Barcelona, Lleida and Madrid. For the design of integrated and coherent policies, on different administration levels, a supra-municipal vision of housing exclusion must be implemented.

The fight against the stigmatization and the criminalization must be a priority: homelessness is not a crime; it's a scandal!

THE FIGHT AGAINST THE STIGMATIZATION AND THE CRIMINALIZATION MUST BE A PRIORITY: HOMELESSNESS IS NOT A CRIME; IT'S A SCANDAL

CONCLUSIONS

Conclusions

Data supplied by the Social Inclusion Service of Barcelona City Council states that there is a stable increase in the number of homeless people in the city. Between 2011 and 2013, the number of people counted in the two first ETHOS categories (sleeping rough or sleeping overnight in hostels and spending the rest of the day on the street), have risen from 923 to 1.129, following the increasing trend of the last five years. The homeless situation is the most extreme version of housing exclusion and reflects the most serious consequences of the deprivation process felt by the city's inhabitants due to the economic recession. The evolution in the number of people counted in the rest of ETHOS categories is strongly influenced by the supply of places in residential housing of the XAPSLL and, as a result, depends on the orientation of the intervention policies of the entities and administrations.

Despite the fact that the total number of people that XAPSLL is able to count as homeless has seen a slight decrease, the reason is not a reduction in the services offered, nor -unfortunately- a reduction of the demand. As we have pointed in more detail before, the opening by Caritas of 63 new one-family inclusion accommodation places that aren't counted as XAPSLL resources has meant that the people who were already housed on Match the 12th were not included in the data, even though, if these flats hadn't been opened, they would be occupying sub-tenancy rooms or hostels and therefore, they would definitely form part of the diagnosis. The decrease in the quantity of settlements and in the number of people living in temporary structures or shacks doesn't necessarily imply a reduction of this phenomenon either. SIS has a better knowledge of the night dynamics of these settlements and has been able to estimate more accurately their dimensions. Even though it's probable that a slight decrease has occurred, the reduction from 834 to 595 comes, largely, from the street team's more reliable assessment of the reality.

Accordingly, a reduction of nearly 300 people in the count could be accounted for by methodological aspects. Considering that officially the sources of this diagnosis tell of 90 people less in the ETHOS categories of which XAPSLL has information, we can state that the rising trend of housing exclusion over the last three years in Barcelona is being maintained.

Despite the efforts by the XAPSLL in broadening their assistance capacity, a different result would have been surprising. Ending up in a homeless situation is a symptom of an accumulation of problems directly affecting people's capacity to mobilize social and economic resources to obtain stable housing. After five years of economic recession, the capacity of families to cope with the economic problems stemming from unemployment and lack of income have been considerably damaged, and the extended family and close social network relationships have lost a great part of their solidarity capacity. The increase of homeless and roofless people is the most visible expression of a generalized economic poverty in our society and a notable extension of social vulnerability. Figures reflect the feeling of entities and municipal social services: economic deprivation and social exclusion processes are continuing to rise, leaving people and families without access to a home. If to the continuous trickle of people in need of attention from specialized homelessness services is added the fact that it's getting ever more difficult to foster inclusion paths for the people attended, the entities and social services face a difficult task ahead in the attention of increasing needs and demands.

The rise of homeless families represents a grand challenge in the way of fighting against housing exclusion. Attention resources aimed at responding to the needs of single people don't meet the needs of a nuclear family or under-aged people. XAPSLL's policy of increasing the number of inclusion flats, creating new accommodation facilities specifically addressed to families and the efforts taken to prevent the most vulnerable homes of the city from losing their housing are the first answers to a reality which is difficult to quantify. We haven't got reliable data to know approximately how many families are running the risk of eviction or foreclosure procedure and neither do we know how many of these have a social or family support network. Until now, the contention resources of the entities and public administration continue to guarantee that there aren't any children or under-aged homeless people in the city of Barcelona, but the key to prevent these resources becoming overcrowded is the preventive action which

keeps families from losing their habitual housing.

Prevention, understood here as intervention whose objective is to prevent an individual or family from losing their house, turns out to be, in all the studies made in Europe, much more effective in halting life paths from heading towards situations of severe exclusion than assistance once these people become homeless.

Both preventative actions and intervention with those already homeless come up against the limits of the municipality. Whereas our system of social services leaves almost all the responsibility of attending people in the hands of the municipal administration, homeless attention policies often exceed the administrative and geographical municipal area. Key factors needed to understand the situations of exclusion experienced by homeless people are found in migration policies, the design of non-contributive benefits in the social security system, the health system or the regulation of the housing market. Geographically, the city of Barcelona is appealing due to its economic activity, which favors the appearance of marginal activities which can help survival, such as scrap metal collection as well as the apparent abundance of assistance resources. Launching an action plan to slow down the rise of homelessness would demand, therefore, a commitment, at least from the local administrations of the Metropolitan Area.

In the journey towards a homeless situation economic problems and the incapacity to pay for housing are becoming more and more important. This fact, along with European experiences, demands the reappraisal of the approach of social inclusion processes. The diverse reality of homeless people requires diversity in the social and educational approaches. When the most important need of a person is housing, mechanisms need to be looked for which put a place to live and develop a social life with a minimum of privacy and autonomy ahead of other interventions. Without wishing to explore the effectiveness of the housing first policies against the more classical profiles, new realities make it vital to shorten the inclusion processes that put own housing at the end of a path guided by professionals of entities or social services.

Worrying about the rise of homeless people must not mean we forget about those individuals who won't be able to follow inclusive paths and who will always require social support from entities or social resources. For their age, for physical or health problems or due to long processes of social destructurization, part of the people who are homeless today will need accompanying by professionals and entities and it must be guaranteed that these people aren't displaced by the new needs coming from the crisis, thus creating a double exclusion. The accumulation of social, personal and health problems affecting the less autonomous people among the homeless population makes it necessary to foresee attention formulas where the efforts of different specialized networks must be coordinated. The health system, services specialized in mental disorders and the services of attention to drug addicts are some of the agents which attend partially or by area these people who can pass successively through different housing resources without finding any adequate for their multiple problems. It's a challenge that is neither new nor motivated by the crisis, but the great demand on resources makes it more urgent than ever.

Resources currently implemented by the XAPSLL are the minimum that cannot be waived in the moment of economic deprivation which our society is living. The strong commitment to the quality of housing services and to a coordinated strategy between entities and public administration place Barcelona at the same levels as many grand European cities. But the intensity of the recession in Catalonia, the impact of housing policies over previous decades and the lack of a supra-municipal strategy places serious limitations on imagining a city where nobody sleeps on the street.

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