TERRITORIAL STIGMATIZATION AND HOMELESSNESS:

The Impact of Public Service Placement
on Social Marginization

A Madrid Case Study

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines how the location of assistance centers for homeless people influences processes of marginalization and social exclusion in urban areas. A poorly planned location can exacerbate the very vulnerabilities these services aim to address, perpetuating social and territorial exclusion.

Using Madrid as a case study, this research analyzes the socioeconomic and spatial dynamics of the city, revealing that in most cases shelters are situated in areas of high social vulnerability. This evidences how the planning of our cities generally prioritizes the interests of a specific segment of the population, often under the guise of ensuring urban security and order. As a result, centers are placed in remote or stigmatized zones, further hindering accessibility and deepening exclusion.

The thesis critiques these approaches and proposes a decentralized and multi-functional service network. This model integrates centers into the broader community, reducing stigma and fostering inclusion through participatory and transparent planning.

KEY WORDS

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INTRODUCTION

Homelessness is a complex phenomenon that transcends the simple absence of a roof. It constitutes a direct violation of the fundamental human right to decent housing. This right was first established in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948)[1] and has been further affirmed in various international instruments over time. These documents collectively emphasize that adequate housing is not a commodity or privilege but a fundamental human right essential for dignity and well-being.

This phenomenon is increasingly conditioned by structural factors such as the housing crisis, evictions and gentrification processes, among others. These not only increase the incidence of homelessness, but also expose a growing number of people to the constant fear of housing exclusion. In this context, it is essential to analyze how these dynamics manifest themselves in the territory. Cities, and those who manage them, play a central role through territorial planning and, especially, through the distribution and location of public services, including those for the homeless. The location of these services, instead of mitigating exclusion, can in some cases intensify the marginalization and segregation of both the beneficiaries and the urban environment in which they are integrated. It is therefore essential to adopt an approach that combines territorial analysis with a qualitative perspective to understand the spatial and social inequalities that perpetuate precariousness and exclusion. Only in this way will it be possible to effectively address the conditions that aggravate inequalities and ensure an inclusive response to this problem.

From a sociological and territorial planning perspective, this phenomenon reflects the interaction of structural, political and cultural factors that have shaped our cities in ways that perpetuate discriminatory and exclusionary environments. In this sense, the location of public services for the homeless plays a fundamental role in the reproduction of marginalization and vulnerability, not only of the direct users, but also of the communities and territories in which they are inserted. The concentration of these services in disadvantaged areas strengthens territorial stigmatization, generating a vicious circle of exclusion that reinforces social segregation. Thus, the location of the facilities not only impacts the immediate conditions of the beneficiaries, but also perpetuates dynamics of spatial and social segregation that deepen the vulnerability and isolation of both the affected individuals and the neighborhoods or areas where they are located.

Over the years, our cities have been transformed under the logic of privatization and commercialization of public space, which has reduced access to a fundamental right: public space as a place of belonging and community. For homeless people, this expropriation of space has disproportionate consequences, as their condition defies prevailing notions of the "ideal citizen". This stigmatization generates barriers that hinder social and territorial inclusion, aggravating inequalities that affect both those living in homelessness and society as a whole.

Globally, there has been a significant change in the approach to managing homelessness. While welfare strategies that offered temporary and uniform solutions used to predominate, new approaches are moving towards personalized solutions that promote the autonomy and social integration of individuals. Models such as Housing First, which prioritize immediate access to housing, represent a paradigm shift by focusing on guaranteeing fundamental rights and generating sustainable

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1. "Article 25(1), Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted on December 10, 1948, by the United Nations General Assembly, Resolution 217 A (III): 'Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.'"

solutions that go beyond palliative measures.

However, the management of homelessness today faces key challenges, including the lack of resources and time needed to consolidate these more inclusive approaches. It is imperative to redesign existing public service networks to ensure immediate and effective responses that are adapted to the diverse realities of those affected. An inclusive city should not be understood as a static entity, but as a dynamic space that responds to the needs of its community. In this sense, it is essential that services for the homeless be located strategically, avoiding excessive centralization in marginalized areas that only perpetuates stigmatization and social exclusion.

This thesis approaches the phenomenon of homelessness from a critical, multidimensional and qualitative perspective. To this end, it is structured in several stages. First, a conceptual framework is presented that examines the sociological, spatial and territorial concepts relevant to understanding homelessness and provides a solid basis for the analysis of the case study. This is followed by a chapter focusing on the management of homelessness from an operational and institutional perspective. In this section, the strategies and practices implemented at the global level are analyzed, as well as the organizations specialized in this problem, evaluating their current approaches and points of attention.

With these two bases -conceptual and technical- the development of the case study proceeds. This is centered on the city of Madrid, with the aim of analyzing how the location of assistance centers for homeless people can perpetuate social marginalization. The analysis is carried out in several phases.

First, the socioeconomic, territorial and spatial dynamics of the city are contextualized, identifying the physical, social and symbolic barriers faced by homeless people through a spatial and sensory analysis. Subsequently,

statistics and current monitoring of the phenomenon in Madrid are examined, establishing an empirical basis on its magnitude and distribution. Thirdly, institutional responses are analyzed by studying the strategies and plans implemented at state and municipal level, assessing their effectiveness and detecting gaps in their implementation.

Finally, an exhaustive analysis is made of the centers belonging to the network of services for homeless people in the municipality, considered as the materialization of public policies in this area. This analysis allows to identify contradictions and inefficiencies derived from the location of these services and how they affect the social and territorial integration of their users, delving into their contribution to segregation and marginalization.

In the case of Madrid, the distribution of services for the homeless evidences the limitations of a model that tends to concentrate the assistance centers in disadvantaged areas. This practice perpetuates territorial segregation and hinders the social integration of users. In addition, the dependence on third sector organizations, such as Caritas and the Red Cross, to cover the basic needs of this population reveals a lack of guarantee of rights on the part of public institutions. Although these organizations play a fundamental role, their services should be integrated into a comprehensive approach based on human rights, beyond a welfare or charitable model.

Therefore, this research seeks to provide a deeper understanding of homelessness, promoting strategies that reflect the collective responsibility of our cities and societies. It also highlights how an adequate distribution of public services can be key to fostering inclusion and reducing urban inequalities.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Homelessness is a global problem that transcends geographic, cultural and economic boundaries, disproportionately affecting the most vulnerable populations. These include people who already face systemic and structural disadvantages, such as those living in extreme poverty, migrants, victims of domestic violence, or those suffering from mental health problems. As Busch-Geertsema, Culhane and Fitzpatrick (2016) point out, *"homelessness is both a consequence of structural inequalities and a symptom of social exclusion, reflecting failures in multiple social protection systems."*

In this context, it is essential to analyze not only the violation of the right to housing, but also how, directly or indirectly, the right to public space has been equally affected, becoming a violated right for society as a whole. These two dimensions - housing and public space - are particularly compromised in the case of homeless people, evidencing a network of exclusion that impacts both individually and collectively.

This conceptual framework is structured in several key sections. First, it will examine the processes that have transformed public space, such as privatization, commercialization and securitization, along with the territorial stigmatization and the unequal distribution of services, including facilities for people in vulnerable situations. It will analyze how these urban dynamics perpetuate inequalities and affect those who live in the city.

Secondly, it will explore how space use norms and urban design reinforce existing inequalities, limiting access to and appropriation of public space for both homeless people and citizens in general. This approach aims to highlight the interconnection between both rights and how their violation contributes to deepen the dynamics of social exclusion in the urban environment.

In addition, social phenomena associated with homelessness, such as territorial

stigmatization, advanced marginality and intersectionality, will be addressed. It will be argued that these dynamics cannot be understood in isolation from the physical and symbolic space in which they develop. To this end, it will draw on texts and theoretical frameworks of experts such as Harvey, Mitchell, Wacquant, Sevilla, among others, who have provided critical perspectives on urban space, social exclusion and territorial dynamics.

By understanding homelessness as a profoundly territorial phenomenon, we hope to provide a comprehensive perspective that allows us to both understand and address this issue from an urban and sociological approach. The following chapters will develop these concepts in greater depth, offering an exhaustive analysis of the relationships between space, the city and fundamental rights.

DISRUPTION OF THE RIGHT TO PUBLIC SPACE

Since the beginnings of urban planning, the regularization of public space has generally followed an approach aimed at its democratization. However, the concrete application of this discipline over the years can be analyzed from critical perspectives that reveal inherent contradictions.

The right to public space faces multiple challenges derived from phenomena such as *privatization, securitization* and *commercialization*. These dynamics have profoundly transformed the inclusive and collective character of these urban environments, subordinating them to economic, political and social interests that limit their access and emancipatory potential. Álvaro Sevilla Buitrago, in his book *"Against the Commons: A Radical History of Urbanism"*, defines the "commons" as shared spaces and resources managed collectively by a community, which

are oriented towards collective well-being and cooperation. These commons represent an alternative to dynamics such as privatization and commercialization, and are deeply linked to the idea of accessibility and social justice. In his analysis, Sevilla Buitrago argues that the commons, when expropriated or regulated, lose their emancipatory character, becoming instruments of state control and social normativity. This process not only limits physical access to these spaces, but also redefines the social interactions that occur in them, aligning them with the hierarchies and interests of dominant groups.

The **privatization** of public space is manifested in the growing reliance on spaces managed by private interests pretending to be public, such as shopping malls and semi-privatized plazas. David Harvey, in his book "*Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution*", explains that this phenomenon responds to a capitalist logic that prioritizes capital accumulation over collective welfare. These spaces appear to be inclusive but in reality condition access through consumption dynamics, excluding those who cannot participate in these economic activities. Thus, the function of public space as an egalitarian meeting place is distorted and it becomes an environment that perpetuates inequalities and privileges those who can meet the implicit requirements of the ideal consumer.

A tangible example is the proliferation of gated communities and private clubs that, under the argument of offering security and comfort, segregate their inhabitants from the rest of the city. These structures not only fragment the social fabric, but also create urban "macro barriers" that limit the permeability of the environment, hindering transit and interaction between different sectors of the population. In addition, services that should be universally accessible, such as parks and leisure spaces, are incorporated exclusively in these private developments, restricting their use to residents and generating exclusion dynamics

towards "outsiders". This configuration not only reinforces segregation, but also transforms these spaces into closed urban microcosms, where interaction is only between people who share a similar socioeconomic level, perpetuating structural inequalities and eroding the inclusive nature of public space.

The phenomenon of **securitization**, characterized by the deployment of surveillance and control devices, seeks to "pacify" urban spaces, often justified under the argument of guaranteeing security. However, this approach reinforces exclusion dynamics by stigmatizing vulnerable communities. This phenomenon is increasingly analyzed by critical urbanism scholars such as Don Mitchell, who has explored how control over public spaces limits their accessibility, militarizes environments and reinforces social inequalities. According to Sevilla Buitrago, securitization turns public spaces into scenarios of surveillance and discipline, restricting individual freedoms and consolidating structures of exclusion that perpetuate the status quo. Moreover, this process reflects a profound change in the conception of public space from a meeting place to an extension of urban stratification and control policies.

Hostile architecture, such as benches with dividers to prevent people from sleeping on them, fences in squares and irrigation systems designed to deter the presence of homeless people, exemplifies how urban design reinforces these exclusions. This technique, used all over the world, not only conditions homeless people, but also affects us all. Street furniture, for example, is deliberately designed to prevent long stays in public space, creating uncomfortable benches or structures that hinder activities such as eating or conversing in a group in a comfortable way. In emblematic places such as the Gran Vía in Madrid, it is possible to find this type of benches that at first glance seem "normal", but whose design is intended to prevent anyone from lying down on them. These physical and symbolic strategies prioritize consumption and

order over community interaction and inclusion, limiting the possibilities for a more humane and collective use of public space.

The logic of **consumption** has profoundly transformed public spaces, a phenomenon that can be observed around the world and has been the subject of increasing analysis. As Mitchell explains, "*urban public spaces are increasingly designed to serve consumption and spectacle, leaving little room for those who cannot or do not want to participate in these activities*" (Mitchell 1997). Areas historically conceived for socialization and recreation have been reformulated to respond to economic interests, including the proliferation of activities and events that prioritize income generation over inclusive access. For example, in cities such as Madrid, emblematic squares such as Plaza de España, despite their modern renovations and green spaces, are frequently occupied by commercial activities such as high-cost Christmas markets, open-air movie screenings that require payment, and skating rinks with restricted access. Even access to these areas during certain events may involve the purchase of tickets, turning public space into a commercialized place that privileges the consumer and excludes those who cannot participate financially. This predominantly commercial use not only limits spontaneous and accessible interaction, but also reinforces exclusionary dynamics by transforming these spaces into scenarios governed by the implicit rules of consumption, restricting their inclusive and collective character.

These phenomena of privatization, securitization and commercialization erode the collective character of public space, limiting

its accessibility and perpetuating inequalities. When analyzing our cities, it is evident how the configuration of public space limits and conditions us, using it is justified and accepted only when there is a situation of direct consumption. The absence of urban furniture, shaded areas or air-conditioned zones, even the absence of plugs to charge devices are just a few of the direct manifestations that the use and meaning of public space are dictated by power dynamics.

THE INDOCTRINATION OF PUBLIC SPACE

Following the logic of regulation, control and privatization of public space discussed above, urban planning, in addition to physically altering the configuration and use of public spaces, has generated regulations that shape social behavior and restrict freedom in these spaces. Álvaro Sevilla Buitrago argues that the expropriation of the commons not only seeks physical control, but also ideological control that reinforces social hierarchies and behavioral norms.

The term "indoctrination" is particularly appropriate to understand this transformation. Indoctrination refers to the process of inculcating ideas, attitudes or a specific ideology in a way that restricts critical thinking or alternative perspectives. In the context of public spaces, it encompasses the way in which these spheres are not only regulated, but also used as instruments to impose social norms and hierarchies, often favoring dominant social groups and marginalizing others. The regulation of public spaces has not only been a tool to impose social norms but also a mechanism that reinforces the exclusion and marginalization of homeless people. This can be observed from the design of the first public parks to contemporary urban policies. An emblematic example of this dynamic is New York's Central Park, inaugurated in the mid-19th century as the first public park in the United States. Designed by Frederick Law Olmsted and Calvert Vaux, Central Park was conceived as a democratic space for the entire population. However, this idealistic vision coexisted with strict regulations that limited behaviors allowed in the park, restricting access to different areas based on age, gender, and other social variables. According to Sevilla Buitrago, these norms were established by the dominant class and reflected their needs and ambitions rather than those of the broader population.

The design of spaces such as Central Park served to consolidate dynamics of exclusion, prohibiting activities such as gambling, sleeping in the park, and other actions associated with poverty. These restrictions not only excluded those who did not fit the "ideal citizen" of the time but also helped to mark a clearer distinction between the public and the private. Moreover, these measures of control, today fully normalized as security or public cleansing measures, have a

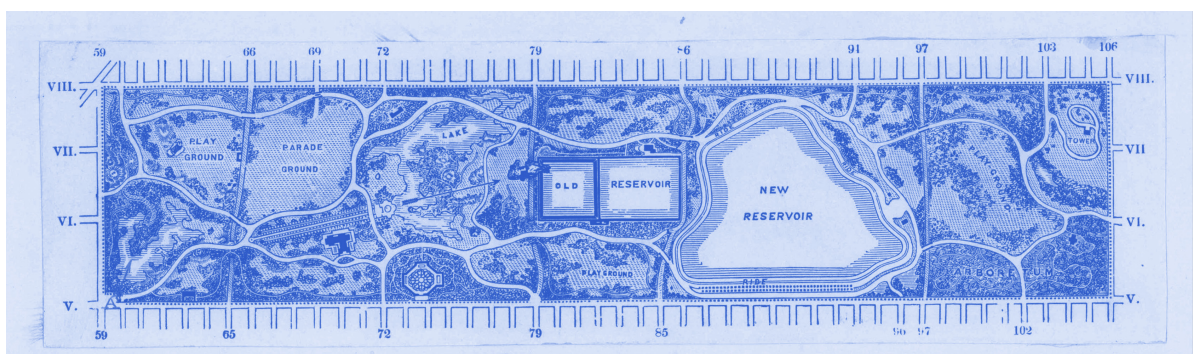Figure 2.   Map of Central Park, c. 1858. (NYC Municipal Archives, 2025)

fundamental impact on social reproduction by limiting how people interact with public spaces and perpetuating inequalities in access and use of these collective resources. As Sevilla Buitrago states: "The regulation of public spaces reveals how urban planning serves as a mechanism of social stratification and alienation, affecting not only marginalized groups but also the collective capacity to use and define shared spaces" (Sevilla Buitrago 2022).

Don Mitchell's analysis of People's Park in Berkeley, California, further illustrates the exclusionary dynamics of public spaces. People's Park originated in the 1960s, a period of intense social movements in the United States. In 1969, activists, students, and local residents transformed a vacant lot owned by the University of California into a community park. This act sought not only to provide a space for recreation and gathering but also to challenge institutional control of urban spaces. However, authorities responded with violence and evictions, underscoring their desire to maintain control over public space at the expense of its community use. Mitchell argues that these developments reveal a persistent dynamic: public space is not truly "public" if its use is conditioned by power relations that marginalize and exclude certain groups, especially those who do not fit traditional roles of "good citizens."

Mitchell further asserts that the exclusion of homeless people is emblematic of this dynamic. Urban policies and social norms often prioritize those who engage in consumption and conform to expectations of order and behavior, while the homeless are shunned because their very presence challenges those norms. According to him, "the homeless are relegated because their very existence challenges the norms of order and consumption that define modern public spaces" (Mitchell 1997).

Current examples reflect the continuation of this dynamic. In many cities, "quality of life measures" include hostile architecture, mentioned above, which not only prevents its use by homeless people, but also materializes laws that criminalize acts such as sitting or lying down on public streets (sitting or lying down ordinances). On the other hand, these strategies limit the use of public space, making it uncomfortable for citizens and establishing the idea that public space is a place to pass through, not to stay for long periods. The citizen, not being comfortable and not having the services and conditions he needs to be comfortable in it, internalizes and modifies his use of public space, using it for very short periods of time or even avoiding it.

The indoctrination of public space is also manifested in the way these spaces are designed and perceived. In small communities, where the sense of collectivity is more present, public spaces function as places of gathering and social cohesion. However, in large cities, these dynamics are constrained by regulations that promote order and "good behavior" over spontaneity and diversity. Moreover, the

eviction and closure of self-managed centers in the name of order should be understood not as a solution to disorder, but as the manifestation of a lack of community spaces. In several cases, communities occupy large abandoned infrastructures to develop self-managed facilities, such as gyms or community centers. The criminalization and closure of these spaces, even when they are properties abandoned by the State itself, reflects a resistance to self-management and social organization that could generate cohesion and collective well-being. If effective communication between the State and communities were fostered, this gap could be closed, rather than widened, creating more inclusive and functional spaces for all.

As Sevilla Buitrago explains, these regulations respond to an ideological project that seeks to consolidate a model of the ideal citizen, restricting behaviors that defy established norms. This limits freedom and encourages exclusion, transforming public spaces into normative and controlled environments.

Although urban planning theoretically seeks to democratize the use of public spaces, in practice, the policies applied tend to reinforce inequalities and exclusions. In order to move towards truly inclusive urban environments, it is necessary to question the rules governing these spaces and design strategies that respond to the diverse needs of the population.

Public space should be a place for meeting, learning and free expression, not a scenario regulated by dominant economic or social interests. As a scenario for social interaction, it is essential that these spaces do not reject or isolate people, since their configuration has a direct influence on society, generating possible stigmatization and hindering acceptance and understanding among citizens. The management of public space is not only reflected in people's behavior, but also in the creation of situations of exclusion that limit cohesion and collective well-being. Rethinking

the relationship between planning and inclusion is fundamental to creating urban spaces that foster community, diversity and collective well-being.

TERRITORIAL STIGMATIZATION AND ITS IMPACT ON HOMELESSNESS

Territorial stigmatization is a phenomenon that profoundly affects urban dynamics, consolidating inequalities and perpetuating social exclusions. This concept, developed by the social scientist Loïc Wacquant, describes the process by which certain territories are symbolically marked as problematic, dangerous or degraded, affecting both the spaces and the people who inhabit them. In this chapter, we will explore how this stigmatization impacts homeless people, linking this problematic with the dynamics of exclusion and control addressed in the previous chapters.

In his work "Urban Outcasts: A Comparative Sociology of Advanced Marginality", Wacquant argues that territorial stigmatization is not only based on the collective perception of a space as "marginal" or "conflictive," but is also sustained by political and economic structures that reinforce these narratives. This process has a twofold effect: first, it delegitimizes the communities that inhabit these spaces, presenting them as incapable of self-management or coexistence; and second, it justifies political, urban planning and police interventions that deepen existing inequalities.

Wacquant points out that these symbolic marks are not merely discursive, but have direct material consequences. Stigmatized territories are often the object of urban "revitalizations" that, far from improving the quality of life of their original inhabitants, seek to replace

them through processes of gentrification and displacement. In this context, these territories, which sometimes already have large-scale infrastructural barriers, tend to be revitalized under commercial interests or ignored and further isolated, exacerbating exclusion. Homeless people, already facing inherent social stigma, are doubly affected by being associated with these "troubled" spaces and systematically displaced from the areas they occupy. This reinforces the dynamics of marginalization in the urban fabric and highlights how spatial composition and planning decisions can perpetuate cycles of social exclusion.

Public space becomes the main arena where this territorial stigmatization materializes. In many cities, homeless people are forced to occupy peripheral areas or invisible spaces due to urban policies that criminalize their presence in central areas. This not only excludes them physically, but also reinforces their social stigma by associating them with the "degradation" of these territories. Securitization and hostile architecture, discussed in the previous chapter, are key tools in this process. Divided benches, fences, irrigation systems and police measures are implemented in public spaces to discourage the presence of homeless people. These urban designs and policing practices not only perpetuate exclusion, but also convey a symbolic message: certain bodies and behaviors are not welcome in the city.

An emblematic example of how territorial stigmatization operates is the treatment of neighborhoods historically associated with marginality. In cities like Madrid, areas such as Puente de Vallecas, Lavapies or certain areas of the Centro district have been labeled as "problematic" due to the concentration of vulnerable populations, including homeless people. This narrative legitimizes urban interventions that seek to "clean up" public space through coercive and gentrification measures, displacing these communities to even more peripheral and precarious areas.

At the same time, we observe how exclusion spaces become planned containment zones. Many cities locate homeless assistance services, such as shelters and soup kitchens, in areas previously marked by the stigma of poverty, consolidating a geographic pattern that perpetuates marginalization. These urban planning decisions not only reinforce the symbolic association between space and poverty, but also hinder social integration by concentrating these services away from areas of greater activity and urban visibility. Moreover, the externalities of this concentration - such as the deterioration of the immediate environment, the reinforcement of prejudices towards those who live in or transit these areas and the stigmatization of the services themselves - contribute to perpetuating a circle of exclusion and precariousness. This phenomenon will be analyzed in the case study, exploring how the location of these services impacts both the people who use them and the urban structure of the cities.

Territorial stigmatization has a profound impact on the subjectivity and social relations of the people affected. For homeless people, this means not only facing physical barriers in accessing public space, but also a constant delegitimization of their presence and rights. This process reinforces the idea that they are "outsiders" whose existence must be relegated to invisibility. In addition, the poverty of relationships plays a central role in this phenomenon, as homeless people represent the clearest manifestation of marginalization by being isolated from even the most basic social networks. This isolation not only limits their possibilities for social interaction, but also reinforces the dynamics of exclusion by making it difficult to access opportunities that could break this cycle. By isolating these people, and adding the multiple marginalities they face, the possibility of interaction is progressively reduced, generating not only material but also relational precariousness. This issue, which will be discussed in greater depth below, shows how social isolation is not only a result of exclusion,

but also a factor that perpetuates it, affecting both marginalized people and the social fabric as a whole.

Moreover, territorial stigmatization contributes to the perpetuation of urban segregation. Policies that seek to "beautify" public spaces frequently prioritize the interests of the middle and upper classes, while ignoring or marginalizing the needs of vulnerable populations. This creates a fractured urban fabric, where inclusion is conditioned by the ability to comply with consumption and behavioral norms imposed by commercialization dynamics.

The effects and causes of territorial stigmatization are profoundly complex, reflecting a multifaceted problem that encompasses both material and symbolic aspects. Counteracting this phenomenon is not a simple task, but it could be addressed through the implementation of small actions sustained over time, such as the inclusive redesign of public spaces or the promotion of policies that encourage interaction and coexistence. These measures, although partial, could have a positive impact not only on the physical structure of cities, but also on society as a whole, promoting greater cohesion, acceptance and appreciation of diversity. Although these proposals do not represent a definitive solution, they do offer an initial framework to begin to disarticulate the dynamics of exclusion and rethink urban space as a place of encounter and equity.

In this sense, it is crucial to promote urban design strategies and public policies that prioritize equity and universal access to public space. This approach has been employed in numerous cities around the world, where projects have been implemented that seek to make public space an inclusive and accessible place for all. This includes not only the elimination of hostile architecture, but also the design of urban furniture that invites interaction and relaxation, the creation of multifunctional green spaces, and the organization of cultural activities that promote coexistence among diverse social groups. However, although these strategies represent significant advances, it is important to recognize the multiple barriers they face in order to fully materialize. From economic interests to social and political resistance, the challenges to implementing an equitable redistribution of urban resources are numerous and complex. Therefore, rather than a definitive solution, these projects offer a framework for exploring possible scenarios and reflecting on how urban design can contribute to counteracting structural exclusion. In the end, the goal is not to achieve an immediate utopia, but to take concrete steps towards creating cities that celebrate and value diversity as an essential strength for the urban fabric.

PUBLIC SPACE MANAGEMENT AND STRUCTURAL EXCLUSION

The management of public spaces, far from offering inclusive solutions, often reinforces existing structural exclusions. In many cities, urban zoning policies not only impose restrictions on homeless people's ability to sleep, eat or stay in these spaces for extended periods of time, but also make their basic needs invisible by criminalizing their existence. These limitations, combined with the absence of essential services such as shelters, public toilets or adequate social assistance, perpetuate the marginalization of these groups and condemn them to even greater vulnerability.

As mentioned in previous chapters, authors such as Mitchell (2003) have highlighted how the control of public space reflects and reinforces unequal power dynamics. According to the author, the growing privatization and regulation of common spaces has the effect of excluding the most vulnerable populations, restricting their access and visibility. These practices not

only criminalize poverty, but, as Wacquant (2008) points out, transform urban space into an "instrument of social segregation" where the dynamics of exclusion are intensified.

It is paradoxical that many of these basic services, such as public toilets, rest areas or climatic shelters, are universal needs that any citizen faces at some point, regardless of whether or not he or she has a home. However, the provision of these services remains insufficient, underutilized or inaccessible in most cities. For example, when a citizen needs a public restroom, he or she is often forced to enter a restaurant and consume something in order to use it. For a homeless person, this option is unattainable, either for economic reasons or because of the prejudices that hinder their access to these spaces.

The lack of services affects even those who have housing, but lack amenities such as heating, air conditioning or adequate space to meet their basic needs. This problem is aggravated in the current context, where climate change intensifies heat and cold waves, leaving a significant part of the population unprotected. As Harvey (2012) argues, unequal access to urban resources, including basic services, is not only a consequence of urban policies, but an active tool for perpetuating structural inequalities.

Instead of designing urban policies that promote inclusion, many current strategies reinforce barriers between those who have more access to the city and those who are relegated to its margins. In this way, they perpetuate a cycle of exclusion and inequity that contradicts the fundamental principles of equity and urban justice (Soja 2010).

The distribution and location of basic services: a tool of control and segregation

The absence or quality of basic services in certain urban spaces is not only a matter of inefficient management, but often acts as a tool for control and marginalization. The location of these services responds, in many cases, to economic and political logics that perpetuate spatial and social inequalities, relegating people in vulnerable situations to the margins of the city. As Wacquant argues, urban geography becomes a device that reinforces existing social hierarchies, relegating marginalized populations to spaces of exclusion that limit their access to basic resources and opportunities.

Homeless shelters should be designed and located with not only the basic functionality of providing a roof and a bed in mind, but also the promotion of social reintegration. Adequate

Figure 5. "bathroom for exclusive use by customers". (Clarín, 2019)

infrastructure must be interconnected with other basic services open to the entire population, such as health centers, libraries, community kitchens, recreational spaces, and even areas where equipment can be charged and internet access is available. It is essential that these services be distributed equitably throughout the city to ensure accessibility and promote more effective integration.

Studies have shown that large-scale shelters, often designed as multi-service mega-centers that more closely resemble hospitals or correctional institutions, are not effective in serving homeless people in a dignified manner. For example, a report by Housing First Europe Hub (2021) highlights that small, decentralized spaces are more successful in fostering a sense of community and mutual support among users, while reducing the stigma associated with going to these services. In Finland, one of the pioneer countries in the implementation of strategies such as "Housing First", priority is given to the creation of small, integrated housing in regular neighborhoods, avoiding macro-shelters and promoting social inclusion.

The intention behind these spaces should not be limited to supplying immediate needs, but should also promote autonomy and social integration. A successful example is found in Denmark, where homeless shelters often include workshops, community activities and spaces for interaction with neighbors, facilitating the construction of social networks and the gradual reincorporation of these people into the community. "*The spaces of homelessness are not simply locations where homeless people are found but are actively produced and regulated through societal norms, policies, and practices that often exacerbate their marginalization and exclusion.*" (Cloke, May and Johnsen 2010, 3) these models reinforce the idea that spatial design can transform social relations and combat urban exclusion.

While assistance services such as shelters and soup kitchens are necessary, especially to address emergencies, many organizations are shifting the focus to long-term strategies that seek to address the root causes of homelessness. Initiatives such as the Housing First model, implemented in many countries -also in Spain- focus on providing a permanent home to the homeless without imposing preconditions such as sobriety or participation in mandatory programs. This strategy is based on the premise that a stable home is the necessary foundation for people to work on their recovery and autonomy.

In this model, individuals have discretion over their daily lives and have government support to access mental health services, education or employment, but the pace of their progress is self-determined. According to some studies, 85% of people who accessed housing under this scheme remained in it after two years, demonstrating the effectiveness of the model vis-à-vis traditional welfare systems.

However, it is crucial to recognize that supportive services will continue to be necessary. For example, not all people experiencing homelessness can immediately access permanent housing due to mental health issues, severe addictions or emergency situations. This is where assistance services must be redesigned, transforming them into friendly and welcoming infrastructures that, in addition to meeting immediate needs, promote socialization and contact with the community.

Unfortunately, most of these services are located in isolated areas, where land prices are low and the urban context is unfavorable: areas without green areas, with deteriorated infrastructure, poor public transport connections and poor proximity to other basic services. These locations reflect an economic logic that prioritizes budgetary savings over the needs of the users and, at the same time, reinforce social exclusion.

In Madrid, for example, many shelters and soup kitchens are located in peripheral

or industrial areas, far from urban centers and without integration with the city's general services. This physical disconnection not only makes access to services difficult, but also sends a symbolic message of exclusion, relegating these people to the margins of urban space. As Harvey (2012) points out, spatial segregation is not only a consequence of social exclusion, but an active tool to perpetuate it. The distribution of these services and the territorial and socio-demographic analysis of the areas where they are located will be further analyzed in the last chapter of this thesis with the analysis of the case study: Madrid.

NIMBY phenomena and their impact on basic services and social segregation

The problem related to the planning and location of these assistance centers is directly connected to the NIMBY (Not In My Back Yard) phenomenon, where local communities oppose the construction of homeless shelters or services in their neighborhoods. This rejection is often based on prejudice, fears of insecurity, or the perception that these services devalue nearby properties. According to Dear in his article "*Understanding and overcoming the NIMBY syndrome*", NIMBYism not only limits the expansion of essential services, but also perpetuates stigmas that hinder the integration of homeless people. (Dear 1992)

An illustrative case is the attempt to build a shelter in the Chamberí neighborhood of Madrid, which faced strong neighborhood opposition in 2018. Residents argued that the shelter would bring insecurity problems to the area, despite the fact that the project included measures to ensure coexistence and was designed to serve a limited population. This type of resistance evidences the need to educate the population about the importance of these services as tools for social cohesion and urban justice.

The Assistentialist Model in Response to Social Exclusion

In the case of Madrid, assistentialist policies have been implemented as an immediate response to social exclusion. However, all these policies focus on the most visible effects of poverty without touching deeper causes. This assistentialist approach, while well-intentioned, promotes institutional dependency and limits the possibilities for autonomy among those affected.

David Harvey, in his neoliberal policy analysis, suggests that assistentialism is mainly used as a means of poverty management without interfering with the dynamics of exclusion responsible for its very generation. As Harvey says, "these policies do not aim to transform the system which produces inequality but to maintain social order by addressing only the most disruptive symptoms of poverty" (Harvey 2000). The outcome in Madrid is a model of shelters that can offer only temporary shelter, nutrition, and limited services but can hardly offer the possibility of recovering socially and economically from homelessness.

Amartya Sen underlined, among other things, how social policies, when restricted to assistentialism, would fail to succeed in increasing real freedom. In this respect, Sen's development-as-freedom perspective postulates that "economic deprivation is only one dimension of poverty; equally important are the lack of access to opportunities and the capacity to exercise agency" (Amartya 1999). In such a regard, the cares in Madrid should be developed to an enabling and transforming concept in mitigating resource deprivation besides enhancing the individual and collective capability of homeless persons.

The fundamental issue with assistentialism, in my opinion, lies in the division it creates between "them" and "us." Many of the services provided for homeless individuals are, in reality, basic necessities that should be accessible

to everyone. Facilities like shelters, public restrooms, or community kitchens should not be perceived as acts of charity but rather as fundamental rights guaranteed to all citizens. The moment society recognizes this—that such services benefit everyone, enhance urban life, and improve overall quality of life—phenomena like NIMBY would likely become far less prevalent.

In this sense, recent policies aim to go beyond assistentialism. A good example is the Housing First program: autonomy and freedom, because housing is considered a right, and there are no prerequisites that might condition the access to a home, but rather eliminates obstacles and places people in the core of the solution. Its execution entails great complexity and requires time, funding, and coordination, so its development is long or still in process.

While these strategies take place, an emergency network of public services should be maintained. Shelters are still needed in our society because they respond to immediate needs of homeless people, even if they are assistentialist-based. Yet, these services should be designed in ways that adapt to real users' needs and eliminate the sense of exclusion. This is why decentralization of public services is so important, ensuring their quality across the city. Accessibility can make them open to the whole population, thus diffusing the line that separates "them" from "us." In that respect, these services would cease being perceived as a favor or a form of charity but understood for what they truly are: a citizen's right.

ADVANCED MARGINALITY: THE INTERSECTION OF HOMELESSNESS, SOCIAL EXCLUSION, AND PUBLIC SPACE

The configuration of urban environments is never neutral; rather, it is a reflection and reinforcement of broader socio-political structures that rule public life. As mentioned in previous sections, cities are often designed in ways that exclude or marginalize certain groups through physical barriers, policies, and entrenched social norms. This phenomenon, which limits and restricts the use of public space, affects all citizens to a greater or lesser extent. However, for homeless people, these restrictions are much more acute and sharply define not only their relationship with the urban landscape but also reinforce their social exclusion. The intersection of homelessness, public space, and broader structures of marginality creates a form of "advanced marginality" (Wacquant 2007), a condition marked by spatial relegation, social isolation, and systemic disenfranchisement.

Understanding the relationship between homelessness and public space requires consideration of the complex pathways that lead people to become homeless. Rarely can becoming homeless be attributed to a single event; it usually results from a combination of structural forces and personal crises. Economic instability, unemployment, mental health challenges, domestic violence, and discrimination have been major contributors, as indicated by the findings presented by (Fitzpatrick, Bramley and Johnsen 2012). Yet, over and above these structural determinants, relational factors are highly important.

Homelessness often represents the breakdown of social networks and support systems. In instances of homelessness, one is likely to have experienced severe forms of relational poverty, where the absence of family, friends, or community support increases one's vulnerability astronomically (Desmond 2016). This kind of isolation creates a self-reinforcing

cycle of exclusion in which accessing resources, finding housing, or rebuilding stability becomes increasingly impossible. As (Wacquant 2007) suggests, advanced marginality does not pertain to economic deprivation but also to social capital and civic disinvestment. The absence of such networks significantly raises the threshold of societal reintegration.

Among the important concepts which converge with homelessness is housing exclusion. This term encompasses the various barriers that prevent individuals from accessing or maintaining adequate, affordable, and secure housing. Housing exclusion extends beyond physical displacement; it encompasses substandard living conditions, overcrowding, and insecure tenures (Baptista and Marlier 2019). Even individuals who technically have a roof over their heads may experience severe residential exclusion, which can manifest in precarious housing arrangements, unsafe environments, or exploitative rental conditions.

Housing exclusion is not just a matter of shelter, but it is also relational. The home is a place where social bonds are nurtured and maintained, providing a foundation for personal identity and emotional well-being. The ontological security - the sense of continuity, order, and stability derived from having a secure place to live - is disrupted when individuals experience housing instability (Giddens 1991). This disruption can lead to heightened anxiety, depression, and social withdrawal, further entrenching individuals in cycles of exclusion.

The exclusionary and overregulatory tendencies of the currently existing state of public space represent a larger failure of urban planning in order to take this theoretical commitment to inclusivity into actionable practice. It is not only criticism that will do the work; the task is to perceive structures that offer other horizons: dignity, equity, and collective well-being. Public space should be a site of social connection and community building, not one of division and exclusion. Advanced marginality requires holistic approaches that recognize the interdependence of housing, social networks, and public space in shaping

human experiences.

HOMELESSNESS AND STIGMATIZATION: THE PERSONAL FAILINGS MYTH

Too often, homelessness is stigmatized as a personal failing, linked to delinquency or substance abuse. This perspective not only dehumanizes homeless people but also misdirects attention from the root causes of the problem. This stigma makes it harder to provide the support and opportunities needed for individuals to rebuild their lives and regain their autonomy and independence. It's a vicious cycle: exclusion and relational poverty feed into each other, trapping people in situations that are incredibly difficult to escape. (Desmond 2016)

Not to be forgotten, recently, the conservative entrepreneur and politician Elon Musk stated in an interview, "*Homeless is a misnomer. It implies that someone got a little bit behind on their mortgage, and if you just gave them a job, they'd be back on their feet… What you actually have are violent drug zombies with dead eyes, and needles and human feces on the street.*" (Woodward 2024)

Such statements reflect, in part, the lack of understanding that exists about this complex phenomenon. It is important to recognize that people on the street face far greater challenges than are sometimes perceived, and it is essential that we look for ways to address the situation with greater empathy and awareness. It is especially relevant that influential figures such as Elon Musk, who has a major global impact, have a deeper understanding of these issues and their social implications.

People experiencing homelessness, in addition to facing extreme marginalization and the denial of fundamental rights such as access to decent housing or public space, must overcome multiple barriers to achieve social reintegration. However, this task proves almost impossible in many cases, perpetuating their situation on the streets.

As evidenced above, Wacquac with concepts such as territorial stigmatization, explores this phenomenon in detail, particularly in degraded neighborhoods. He highlights how structural changes in the economy and politics of post-industrial societies create a combination of mass unemployment, persistent poverty, and territorial stigmatization. Wacquant studies this in the context of ghettos in the United States and the banlieues in France, showing how these conditions make social mobility nearly impossible, creating a cycle of poverty and exclusion that is difficult to escape. This cycle perpetuates advanced marginality across generations. "*Advanced marginality is the product of the decomposition and recomposition of class, ethnic, and state structures in a context marked by growing inequality and the retrenchment of welfare institutions, which together entrench social isolation and spatial relegation.*" (Wacquant 2007)

Advanced marginality manifests as severe relational poverty and extreme vulnerability, making homelessness a complex form of social exclusion. Living on the streets does not only mean lacking a physical space to live; it also involves the loss of one's identity and an encounter with social vulnerability at its most raw form. The loss of identity experienced by homeless individuals is not isolated but rather the result of intersecting variables at both the individual and societal levels.

Destigmatization campaigns play a fundamental role in transforming public perceptions and generating empathy towards homeless people. As has been the case with other causes, such as the LGBTIQ+ rights movements or HIV awareness campaigns, making visible the realities and challenges faced by homeless people is crucial to combat prejudice and promote inclusive policies. These initiatives not only seek to raise awareness, but also to educate the public about the real structural causes that perpetuate poverty and homelessness, such as economic inequality, lack of access to mental health services and barriers in the labor market.

The positive impact of these campaigns translates into greater social acceptance and an environment more conducive to implementing comprehensive solutions. For example, the change in public perception of HIV in recent decades has allowed for greater investment in research, prevention and treatment, significantly reducing the stigma associated with the disease. Similarly, campaigns for LGBTIQ+ rights have paved the way for legislation that protects these communities from discrimination. Applying similar strategies to the problem of homelessness could facilitate access to decent housing programs, job training and psychosocial support, essential elements in breaking the cycle of exclusion and providing real opportunities for reintegration.

Intersectionality: Comprehensive Approaches to Homelessness

Homelessness is fundamentally a social construct, and addressing its complexity requires comprehensive approaches that go beyond quick fixes, as no immediate solution exists. The starting point for addressing homelessness must be the recognition of the right to adequate housing. However, this is just the first step in a long process of reintegration and social recognition. Effective responses require recognizing the multiple layers of vulnerability involved and addressing the systemic causes of homelessness.

As we have seen, homelessness is not simply a matter of lacking a physical space to

live; it is an outcome of advanced marginality, social exclusion, and relational poverty. By adopting comprehensive, evidence-based approaches that consider these multiple dimensions, we can begin to break the cycle of exclusion and provide meaningful, long-term solutions to homelessness.

When discussing the homelessness and the management around this phenomenon, it is impossible not to touch on intersectionality, it is applied to describe the way that several socially constructed categories (such as: race, gender, class, disability, sexuality etc.) combine to form a system more complex than a mere summation of the categories. Considering the phenomenon of homelessness, it is not only the presence of these factors, but their interaction that is important.

For example, the combination of being a woman and of color who is homeless may experience a unique form of discrimination, stemming from being a racial minority and a woman as well, in addition to just being homeless. In the same breath, LGBTQ individuals are discriminated against not just by the society's homophobia or transphobia, but also by familial estrangement which makes them more prone to being housing unstable (Abramovich, 2016). Disabled persons on the other hand are structurally excluded from the labor market as well as housing access exacerbating their already precarious situations (Morris, 2019).

The concept of intersectionality is also very much connected to the approaches that are raised in the current transformation of care for homelessness since it focuses on the personalization of the assistance offered. It therefore considers that each person requires different support and that each process is different.

The starting point for addressing homelessness must be the recognition of the right to adequate housing. However,

this is only the first step in a long process of reintegration and social recognition that requires a multidimensional and sustained approach over time. Effective responses to homelessness require recognizing the multiple layers of vulnerability involved and addressing its structural causes. Only by adopting comprehensive, evidence-based approaches can we overcome the barriers to optimal outcomes and create meaningful, long-term solutions to homelessness.

HOLISTIC APPROACH TO HOMELESSNESS: TOWARDS A COLLECTIVE RESPONSE

Homelessness is not simply a manifestation of extreme poverty or an isolated public policy problem. Rather, it is the palpable reflection of multiple gaps and structural flaws in our societies and institutions. From social exclusion to the commodification of public space, lack of access to basic services, territorial marginalization, ontological precariousness and relational poverty, homelessness exposes the deepest tensions in our economic, social and political structures.

Addressing this phenomenon therefore requires a broad and multidimensional approach that transcends fragmented or welfare responses. It is necessary to build an integrated model that articulates efforts from different spheres, recognizing that homelessness cannot be solved from a single perspective or by a single actor. As Soja (2010) points out, spatial justice not only implies equitable access to tangible resources, but also the recognition of universal rights to space and dignity.

First, from the public management perspective, it is crucial to work towards

an inclusive model of urban planning that promotes the equitable and accessible use of public space, while reinforcing basic services as the backbone of social cohesion. These services must be designed with an approach that not only responds to immediate needs, but also fosters long-term social integration. This implies ensuring universal accessibility, diversity of options and consideration of the multiple dimensions that affect people experiencing homelessness, including economic, social, emotional and relational factors.

In addition, homelessness must be understood as a collective problem, whose solution benefits not only the people directly affected, but also the social fabric as a whole. A city that guarantees inclusive access to services and public spaces is not only fairer, but also more resilient. By investing in comprehensive solutions for those who are most vulnerable, societies strengthen social interconnectedness and move towards collective well-being. This includes recognizing that the impact of social exclusion transcends those who experience it directly, affecting the stability, security and cohesion of the entire community.

However, addressing homelessness requires a significant paradigm shift, both in the way we understand the phenomenon and in the institutional and social efforts required to address it. It is not enough to implement punctual policies or palliative measures; a structural change is required that involves everything from the fair redistribution of resources to the transformation of the narratives that stigmatize the homeless. This change demands a coordinated and sustained effort on the part of governments, institutions, civil organizations and society in general.

Although this comprehensive and ambitious approach involves significant challenges, the potential benefits are undeniable. Effective management of homelessness and urban inequalities not only improves the quality of life of those most affected, but also contributes to creating fairer, more cohesive and sustainable communities. In the words of David Harvey (2012), the "right to the city" is not only a privilege of those who inhabit it, but a call to transform the dynamics that perpetuate exclusion and ensure that collective well-being prevails over individual or economic interests.

The following chapter will focus on analyzing how various institutions and states have addressed homelessness, exploring innovative strategies and successful models that have transformed the reality of those who find themselves in this situation. This analysis will allow us to identify lessons that can be applied and adapted to specific contexts, contributing to the design of a more effective and transformative approach to address this complex phenomenon.

MANAGING HOMELESSNESS: OPERATIONAL AND INSTITUTIONAL PERSPECTIVES

In recent decades, collectives of academics, researchers, governments and others have led to the creation and consolidation of numerous entities addressing homelessness and housing exclusion around the world. It has been shown that one of the best tools for addressing global problems, such as homelessness or residential exclusion, or for developing strategies and tackling complex social challenges, is the exchange of information and experiences.

This chapter seeks to provide an overview of the institutes and organizations that have addressed this phenomenon on a global scale. It also aims to analyze the global situation, initiatives, trends, and strategies that have been developed over time. Special emphasis will be placed on the European situation and regulation, considering that the case study later in this work will focus on the city of Madrid.

While it is evident that services, initiatives, and classifications related to this phenomenon have been developed somewhat homogeneously worldwide, significant differences persist in terms of actions taken, monitoring capabilities, and the "real" management capacity of individual states. For this reason, at the end of this chapter, the most significant challenges to the materialization of strategies to combat this global phenomenon – homelessness - will be briefly analyzed.

Within the recommendations provided in 2019 by the National Policy Synthesis Report Fighting Homelessness and Housing Exclusion in Europe it is stated that *"Existing evidence and research should be built on to support dissemination of evidence- based effective responses and knowledge sharing, taking notably into account identified geographical disparities within Europe."* (Baptista and Marlier 2019). The dissemination of effective evidence-based responses and the sharing of knowledge are key principles today, not only in Europe but worldwide, especially when dealing with global phenomena such as homelessness. This should be ensured and supported by all governments.

Although numerous policies, strategies and initiatives have been developed to combat homelessness, there is no universally accepted definition. Different countries and organizations interpret homelessness through their own lenses, reflecting their specific social, economic, political and cultural realities and needs. "A sound definition of homelessness is a necessary basis for the production of meaningful statistics on the size and characteristics of homeless populations, which are vitally important for informed policymaking." (Amore, Baker and Howden-Chapman 2011, 20) This lack of "coordination" has generated various problems and challenges when sharing data, developing joint strategies and monitoring the phenomenon. Numerous studies and reports have highlighted this lack, underscoring the importance of universalizing both the meaning and the categories associated with homelessness. Currently, the most comprehensive definition developed is ETHOS, which serves as a reference in most global reports. These reports often point out how the definitions and classifications adopted by different countries differ in comparison to this framework.

ETHOS CLASSIFICATION AND TYPOLOGY

One of the most complete definition and classification is the ETHOS classification made by FEANTSA in 2005. It is the European Typology on Homelessness and Housing Exclusion, it is now widely used as the most authoritative transnational reference definition of homelessness by researchers, policy makers, and other stakeholders involved in the fight against homelessness.

This typology is used for different purposes: as a framework for debate in academic or
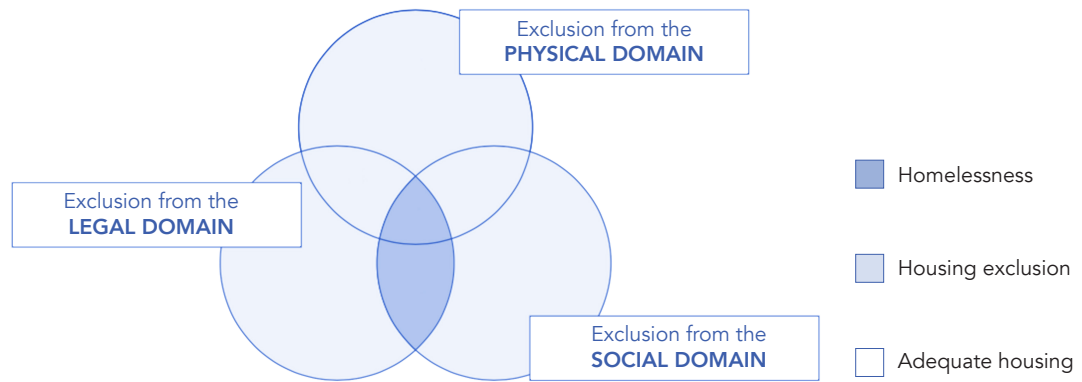
political contexts, for data collection operations and classification, and to stablish a common language of the term and its variables.

There is a variant of this typology that was developed in 2017 - the ETHOS Light - a harmonized definition of homelessness for statistical purposes. It is a pragmatic tool for the development of homelessness data collection, rather than a conceptual and operational definition to be used for a range of policy and practice purposes.

The ETHOS typology begins with the conceptual understanding that there are three domains which constitute a "home", the absence of which can be taken to delineate homelessness. Having a home can be understood as: having an adequate dwelling (or space) over which a person and his/her family can exercise exclusive possession *(physical domain)*; being able to maintain privacy and enjoy relations *(social domain)* and having a legal title to occupation *(legal domain)* (Busch-Geertsema, Culhane and Fitzpatrick, 2016)*.

This system is an important tool for research and public policy formulation related to housing, and offers a structured way of understanding and categorizing the diversity of housing exclusion.

ETHOS Typology Categories

The ETHOS categories are divided into four broad groups that encompass the various forms of housing exclusion and living in precarious housing conditions. These categories are as follows:

1. Rooflessness:

This category refers to people who do not have any kind of shelter or roof. This group is made up of those who sleep outdoors, on the street, without any kind of accommodation. People in this situation are completely unprotected against inclement weather and other threats. Often, these people do not have access to temporary shelters or institutions, so their situation is extremely vulnerable. They are commonly known as people who "sleep rough" or "sleep on the streets".

2. Houselessness:

Unlike the previous category, people who are homeless have a place to sleep, but this is temporary. They may be in institutions, shelters or hostels, which means they have access to a physical space to sleep, but their situation remains precarious due to the temporary nature of these accommodations. In addition, these people may be trapped in a cycle of dependence on these services and face the lack of a permanent solution to their situation.

3. Living in insecure housing:

This category covers people who live in housing that is under threat of loss due to various circumstances. They may be living in an insecure tenancy, in housing where tenancy is uncertain or where they face possible eviction. It also includes people who suffer from domestic violence, which puts them in a situation of housing insecurity. These people may be living in their home, but their stability is at risk due to external factors, such as the instability of the tenancy agreement, threats of eviction or the violence they face within their own home.

4. Living in inadequate housing:

This group includes people who live in inadequate housing conditions. This can range from living in trailers in illegal camps, to being in housing that is unfit for living due to poor structural conditions, lack of basic services or security. It also includes situations of extreme overcrowding, where several people or families are forced to share small spaces due to the lack of affordable housing options. Although these people have a place to live, the housing conditions are so poor that they endanger their health and well-being.

		Operational Category		Living Situation	Generic Definition
Conceptual Category	ROOFLESS	1	People Living Rough	1.1	Public space or external space	Living in the streets or public spaces, without a shelter that can be defined as living quarters
		2	People in emergency accommodation	2.1	Night shelter	People with no usual place of residence who make use of overnight shelter, low threshold shelter
	HOUSELESS	3	People in accommodation for the homeless	3.1	Homeless hostel	Where the period of stay is intended to be short term
				3.2	Temporary Accommodation	
				3.3	Transitional supported accommodation	
		4	People in Women's Shelter	4.1	Women's shelter accommodation	Women accommodated due to experience of domestic violence and where the period of stay is intended to be short term
		5	People in accommodation for immigrants	5.1	Temporary accommodation / reception centres	Immigrants in reception or short term accommodation due to their immigrant status
				5.2	Migrant workers accommodation	
		6	People due to be released from institutions	6.1	Penal institutions	No housing available prior to release
				6.2	Medical institutions (*)	Stay longer than needed due to lack of housing
				6.3	Children's institutions / homes	No housing identified (e.g by 18th birthday)
		7	People receiving longer-term support (due to homelessness)	7.1	Residential care for older homeless people	Long stay accommodation with care for formerly homeless people (normally more than one year)
				7.2	Supported accommodation for formerly homeless people	
	INSECURE	8	People living in insecure accommodation	8.1	Temporarily with family/friends	Living in conventional housing but not the usual or place of residence due to lack of housing
				8.2	No legal (sub)tenancy	Occupation of dwelling with no legal tenancy illegal occupation of a dwelling
				8.3	Illegal occupation of land	Occupation of land with no legal rights
		9	People living under threat of eviction	9.1	Legal orders enforced (rented)	Where orders for eviction are operative
				9.2	Re-possession orders (owned)	Where mortagee has legal order to re-possess
		10	People living under threat of violence	10.1	Police recorded incidents	Where police action is taken to ensure place of safety for victims of domestic violence
	INADEQUATE	11	People living in temporary / non-conventional structures	11.1	Mobile homes	Not intended as place of usual residence
				11.2	Non-conventional building	Makeshift shelter, shack or shanty
				11.3	Temporary structure	Semi-permanent structure hut or cabin
		12	People living in unfit housing	12.1	Occupied dwellings unfit for habitation	Defined as unfit for habitation by national legislation or building regulations
		13	People living in extreme over-crowding	13.1	Highest national norm of overcrowding	Defined as exceeding national density standard for floor-space or useable rooms

Note: Short stay is defined as normally less than one year; Long stay is defined as more than one year.
This definition is compatible with Census definitions as recommended by the UNECE/EUROSTAT report (2006)

(*) Includes drug rehabilitation institutions, psychiatric hospitals etc.

Figure 7.
European Typology of Homelessness and housing exclusion (FEANTSA, 2017)

GLOBAL AND REGIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN THE FIGHT AGAINST HOMELESSNESS AND HOUSING EXCLUSION

At the global level, two of the main organizations directly addressing homelessness are UN-Habitat and the Institute of Global Homelessness (IGH). Both institutions have worked to highlight the importance of viewing homelessness not only as a local problem, but as a global phenomenon that requires international cooperation.

The United Nations is one of the prominent entities that has included homelessness as a priority in the United Nations Human Settlements Program (UN-Habitat). Since its inception in 1978, UN-Habitat has highlighted homelessness as a key component of sustainable urban development, particularly under the New Urban Agenda adopted at Habitat III in 2016. This agenda underscores the right to adequate housing and promotes policies aimed at eradicating homelessness worldwide by addressing its root causes, such as poverty, homelessness and social exclusion.

The advocacy capacity of the New Urban Agenda is reflected at various levels, through this agenda the UN promotes inclusive urban policies that prioritize the eradication of urban poverty and the reduction of inequalities, challenging the economic and social structures that perpetuate homelessness.

The New Urban Agenda also defines the right to adequate housing as an essential human right, which is closely related to SDG 11 "Make cities more inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable". At the political level, this agenda establishes international standards that seek to guide countries in the formulation of national laws on urbanism, territorial planning and housing.

The NUA also promotes the use of technological tools and data to evaluate and monitor the implementation of housing policies. However, its implementation has been a great challenge for many governments due to the lack of adequate financing (especially in "developing" countries), structural inequalities and the lack of coordination, especially between national and local governments, among other obstacles to having a positive impact on the management of this and other phenomena. (UN-HABITAT 2016)

On the other hand, the Institute of Global Homelessness (IGH) brings a practical perspective to addressing homelessness through tools such as its Global Homeless Data Map. This system focuses on collecting key data on homeless people and analyzing relevant parameters, such as the duration of their situation, access to social services and the barriers they face to reintegration. Through this mapping, the IGH seeks to provide governments and local organizations with detailed information that allows them to develop specific evidence-based strategies. The tool also facilitates comparison between countries and cities, helping to prioritize resources and policies in the most affected areas, thereby promoting more effective and targeted interventions.

In Europe, the issue of homelessness has been extensively studied and monitored through institutions such as the European Homelessness Observatory and the FEANTSA network. The Observatory acts as a research center that collects and analyzes data on homelessness in European countries, providing a solid evidence base for the design of effective policies. For its part, FEANTSA, which brings together organizations from across Europe dedicated to working with homeless people, focuses on influencing European Union policies and promoting innovative approaches such as Housing First. Both institutions, working together, have contributed to raising the visibility of homelessness on the continent, as well as promoting inclusive and sustainable strategies to mitigate this problem.

The European Federation of National Organizations Working with the Homeless (FEANTSA). Founded in 1989 with the financial support of the European Commission, FEANTSA is the leading network dedicated exclusively to homelessness, working in partnership with 29 countries, including 22 member states of the European Union.

FEANTSA's main objective is to eradicate homelessness through:
- Ongoing dialogue with European institutions and national governments.
- Research and data collection to understand the causes and solutions to homelessness.
- Promoting the exchange of best practices between organizations and governments.
- Raising public awareness of the complexity and multidimensionality of this problem.

One of FEANTSA's most outstanding achievements is the creation of the ETHOS classification, which has standardized key concepts for measuring and defining housing exclusion, in addition, FEANTSA plays a key role in the implementation of the European Pillar of Social Rights, especially Principle 19, which highlights access to housing and support for people experiencing exclusion. Its platform serves as a resource center, providing data and tools related to metrics on homelessness, health, employment and housing rights.

EUROPEAN SITUATION AND TRENDS

In recent years, HHE have emerged as significant and growing societal challenges across Europe. Reports from most EU Member States highlight a clear upward trend in homelessness over the past decade. This increase has been substantial in many cases, with reported increases in homelessness ranging from moderate to dramatic (e.g. increases of up to 389% in certain countries based on available data) (Baptista and Marlier 2019). While Finland stands out as the only EU Member State where homelessness has steadily declined over the past decades due to a long-term strategic approach, the overall trend across Europe reflects a worsening scenario.

Main drivers of the increase of HHE across the EU

Establishing a cause or a series of causes of HHE is a very difficult task. There are infinite reasons and circumstances for which a person or a family can become homeless or live under housing exclusion. In Europe, one of the main drivers of the increase in HHE is the persistent pressure on housing markets. It has greatly affected society causing a wave of real estate speculation, gentrification, evictions, among a thousand other circumstances that this market without any type of regulation has brought with it. In the European Union, approximately 24% of tenants spend more than 40% of their income on rent, while in Spain, this situation is even more pronounced, as nearly 40% of tenants are in this situation, which represents one of the highest percentages in the EU. (García, 2024)

The shortage of affordable housing and the erosion of social housing systems have been widely documented as primary structural factors. This is exacerbated by sharp increases in property and rental prices, a reduction in public investment in housing and changes to tenancy laws that often disadvantage low-income tenants. Other factors, such as stricter eligibility criteria for accessing social housing and rising evictions, have further contributed to the rise in the number of people facing housing exclusion.

In addition, systemic issues such as poverty, unemployment and exclusion of vulnerable groups from the labor market

exacerbate the risk of homelessness. Individual vulnerabilities (such as mental health problems, substance abuse or family conflict) also play a role, creating a complex web of causes that vary across regions. In recent years there has been an alarming increase in the number of young people experiencing homelessness, as well as in the number of women. From this has arisen the need to study in greater depth both the reasons for this increase and the range of possible solutions for each of the situations.

Main Strategies and Responses to Housing and Homelessness Exclusion (HHE) Across the EU

In Europe, a wide range of strategies and responses have been developed over the years to combat homelessness and housing exclusion (HHE). Until a few years ago, the focus was mainly on emergency services and assistance aimed at addressing the immediate needs of homeless people. Over the years and with advances in research and monitoring, it was determined that this type of approach is not effective in solving the problem in the long term. More recently, therefore, there has been a shift in focus toward long-term, housing-focused solutions, such as Housing First, which prioritizes permanent housing as an initial and essential step in addressing homelessness. This new approach seeks to ensure that the reintegration process is led by the person him/herself, that personalized services are provided to everyone and that they are deinstutionalized. (Panadero, Fernández and Martínez 2023).

Assistance-Based Services: Shelters, Day Centers, and Emergency Care

In earlier decades, most policies to address homelessness relied heavily on assistance-based services. These included:
- **Shelters**: Temporary overnight accommodations designed to provide immediate relief to individuals without housing.
- **Day centers**: Spaces where people experiencing homelessness could access basic services such as showers, laundry, meals, and limited social or psychological support.
- **Soup kitchens and food distribution services**: Efforts to meet immediate nutritional needs.
- **Health and social care centers**: Providing basic healthcare, addiction treatment, and emergency psychological services.

While these services played a crucial role in addressing immediate needs, they were often criticized for their lack of stability and long-term solutions. Many individuals found themselves cycling through temporary services without pathways to permanent housing or reintegration into society. Furthermore, these services often operate under high demand, limited funding, and restrictive eligibility criteria, leaving gaps in coverage and failing to address the root causes of homelessness (Pleace, et al. 2018).

As reflected in the conceptual framework of this thesis, assistentialist policies can perpetuate the problem of exclusion rather than resolve it. This is because these solutions often fail to tackle the root causes of homelessness and instead attempt to neutralize the issue through insufficient programs. Assistance is not personalized and is subject to multiple conditions that individuals must meet to access it. In addition, such services are heavily stigmatized. A shift in perception is crucial: these services should no longer be regarded as mere assistance or charity but as basic public services accessible to everyone in society.

However, it is important to recognize that while strategies such as "Housing First" are gaining more attention and recognition, we cannot overlook the value of supportive services. A key aspect to consider in planning for these services is that they should not be centralized. Often, decentralizing these services can increase their effectiveness by making them more accessible and integrated into the communities for which they are intended. In addition, designing these services with a broader perspective could make them more beneficial not only for people experiencing

homelessness, but also for the general population. For example, public toilets, laundry services or weather shelters (to protect people from extreme heat waves or cold) are services that can benefit all citizens, not only those in vulnerable situations.

These types of services play an essential role in our cities, particularly in contexts where public services are scarce. As mentioned in the conceptual framework, we live in cities where public services are often inadequate, and many of the services currently in place to support the homeless can also provide significant benefits to society at large. By rethinking and improving these services, we can make cities more inclusive and resilient.

Therefore, while Housing First strategies must remain a priority, it is equally important to maintain and strengthen the network of support services that would also guarantee a sustainable transition. These services should be decentralized, made more accessible and evenly distributed across cities, with an emphasis on fostering community interaction. The goal should be to integrate these services into the broader social infrastructure, helping also to reintegrate individuals into their communities. In this way, we not only support those in need, but also improve social cohesion and the functioning of urban environments as a whole.

Housing First Model

In response to the limitations of aid-based services, Europe is increasingly adopting housing strategies that emphasize the provision of stable housing as a basis for addressing other issues related to homelessness. The Housing First model has become the best-known approach within this paradigm.

The Housing First model emerged in the early 1990s, developed by the Pathways to Housing organization, to serve people experiencing homelessness who were facing complex difficulties, such as mental disorders

or addiction problems. This model was born as a response to the limitations of the traditional *Staircase System* approach, which requires meeting prerequisites, such as abstinence or psychological stability, before accessing housing. (Panadero, Fernández and Martínez 2023)

In contrast, the Housing First model prioritizes immediate access to stable, individual and permanent housing, recognizing it as a fundamental right and detaching it from any precondition, such as addiction or mental health treatment. It is aimed especially at people with higher vulnerability profiles, who usually come from street situations or emergency devices, also offering them intensive support in social and health areas. This approach constitutes an alternative to the traditional model, as the intervention does not focus on "treating first" in order to later access housing, but on first ensuring a safe and independent home as a starting point for recovery.

Housing First separates access to housing from the therapeutic process, eliminating any type of conditioning or time limit to stay in housing. From the moment participants enter the program, the housing becomes their home, with the same rights and obligations as any tenant. This includes an "on-demand" mode of care, where individuals are not required to participate in treatment or demonstrate progress in order to maintain their housing.

Sam Tsemberis (2010), creator and promoter of the model, defined the following as basic pillars:
- Recognition of housing as an essential human right.
- Respect, closeness and compassion towards users.
- Long-term commitment, accompanying people as long as they need it.
- Accommodation in dispersed and independent housing, avoiding the stigmatization of homogeneous homeless communities.

- Separation between housing and treatment, guaranteeing access to housing without linking it to compulsory interventions.
- Autonomy and self-determination, allowing people to decide about their lives and the type of support they need.
- A focus on recovery and harm reduction, promoting improvements in quality of life without imposing unattainable goals.

The Housing First model starts from the recognition of the citizenship rights of people experiencing homelessness, promoting a conception that guarantees the "right to shelter" without conditioning this access to comply with specific treatments, objectives or interventions. This vision is aligned with the enforceability of the right to housing as a basic human right.

Countries such as Finland have shown the transformative potential of Housing First. Finland's long-term strategy to reduce homelessness has resulted in a steady decline in the number of HHEs, making it the only EU member state to achieve such success. Housing First schemes in other countries, including Denmark, France and Ireland, have also had positive results in terms of housing stability, cost-effectiveness and improving the well-being of restricted participants. (Fresno, the right link 2024)

Integrated and Preventative Approaches

Another significant development in the EU response to HHE is the rise of integrated and preventive strategies. These approaches aim to address the structural and systemic causes of homelessness while preventing at-risk populations from falling into homelessness. As mentioned at the beginning of this thesis, homelessness is seen as an accumulation of social, cultural, economic and other exclusions. There are several phenomena such as poverty that if not addressed in the right way can lead to homelessness. The study and collaboration

with entities that specialize in the detection of poverty, school dropouts, gender violence, etc. is fundamental.

Key components of these strategies include:
- Homelessness prevention services: early interventions to assist individuals and families at risk of eviction or homelessness.
- Social housing policies: Expanding access to affordable housing through public investments and reforms. Adapting also to users, their profiles, requirements and desires.
- Multilevel governance and collaboration: Coordination between local, regional and national authorities, as well as partnerships with NGOs, to provide comprehensive solutions.
- Housing subsidies and financial assistance: Providing subsidies and financial assistance to help low-income households afford housing and avoid eviction.

It is important to consider that, although the global landscape favors strategies focused on deinstitutionalizing services and providing housing for people experiencing homelessness, basic assistance services must be preserved and upgraded. Emphasis needs to be placed on modernizing and customizing these services, both in what they offer and how they offer it, their location and capacity. Many of these services were designed several years ago, when the needs of the population were different from those of today.

In Spain, for example, it is estimated that 21% of people experiencing homelessness are young people between18 and 29 years of age (Fresno, the right link 2024). This percentage was considerably lower a few years ago. It is essential to recognize that the needs of a young person are very different from those of an older person. Young people need an environment that allows them to change, to choose, to make mistakes, to study or not to study. They also

need to discover how to manage their autonomy and for that they must be supported financially. Many of them do not receive any support from their parents. The same principle can be applied to other population groups, such as women, the LGBTI community or immigrants.

These easily identifiable groups require access to a network of services tailored to their specific needs, both to prevent homelessness and to provide support in emergency situations while benefiting from more definitive strategies. Tailoring these services is crucial to ensure that everyone, regardless of age, gender or identity, has the opportunity to overcome situations of vulnerability.

CHALLENGES IN DATA COLLECTION AND GLOBAL MONITORING

A report by the European Commission's Directorate-General for Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities, published in 2007, addressed the measurement of homelessness at the European Union level. This report examined the strategies used in the various EU countries to measure homelessness, based on the ETHOS methodology. This analysis revealed the limited capacity of most countries to collect data on homelessness and the crucial importance of accurate information for developing effective strategies to address homelessness.

In more recent reports, this challenge persists. For example, the study "Fighting homelessness and housing exclusion in Europe: A study of national policies," published in 2019 by the same European Commission, details the obstacles faced by member states in developing comprehensive and reliable databases on homelessness. It also highlights the lack of

coordination between the European, state and regional levels, both for data collection and information sharing, which hinders a more integrated and effective response to the problem. "At present, there is no consensus concerning the most valid and reliable methods to measure and monitor homelessness and housing exclusion (HHE) in Europe. Definitions and measurements vary significantly across Europe, making it difficult to assess the extent of the phenomenon in comparative terms". (Baptista and Marlier 2019, 23)

Types of measurements and issues

In the European Commission's report that address the measurement of homelessness at the EU level mentioned above, three different forms of measures of homelessness are stablished:

1. Point-in-time homelessness: refers to the number of persons or households who are homeless at a specific point in time (often referred to as the "stock figure").
2. Prevalence of homelessness: Refers to the number of people who have been homeless at some point in time during a specific period (period prevalence). To estimate this prevalence rate, a unique identifier is required to count the number of people who have experienced homelessness, not just the number of episodes recorded. By their nature, prevalence rates are usually higher than the numbers at a specific point in time.
3. Homelessness flow: refers to people who have entered or left a homeless service during a given period; this includes both inflow and outflow.

These three forms of data, at present, could be taken as basic data that each government must ensure, however, with the technology that allows advanced statistical and demographic analysis, it is essential that these data reach the highest possible level of detail. It is essential to

relate all this data to geospatial information, as only in this way can the proposed strategies be best realized.

It is also important to collect as much information as possible from each individual, as this information can be very useful in addressing various structural problems.

On the other hand, it is essential to establish a follow-up of the effectiveness of the services or projects carried out. There is basic information that is not yet available in local contexts such as the availability of places in shelters day and night in real time, there are some examples of methodologies that have been implemented to have access to this information. These are very simple data to collect that would help users a lot, the same with the availability in canteens or simply the presence of assistance centers.

On the other hand, very few countries have a monitoring system because there is a lack of evidence to evaluate the effectiveness of the implementation of strategies, often due to weaknesses in the application of monitoring and evaluation mechanisms. (Baptista and Marlier 2019).

TOWARDS A SUSTAINABLE TRANSITION IN HOMELESSNESS MANAGEMENT

It is clear that the management and management of homelessness is and will be an enormous challenge. This phenomenon accumulates and represents a structural failure in many dimensions: political, economic, social, territorial and ethical. In the book "*Swept Up Lives? Re-Envisioning the Homeless City*", Cloke, May and Johnsen (2010) analyze how

homelessness not only reflects systemic exclusion, but also the way in which urban and social policies control and manage the most vulnerable people. According to the authors, the way in which services are distributed, public space is regulated and narratives are constructed around homeless people perpetuates their stigmatization and marginalization, making it evident that traditional responses to the phenomenon are insufficient.

One of the most significant proposals for managing homelessness is the development of strategies such as Housing First, which breaks with the classic welfare model. This paradigm, which conceives housing as the starting point and not as a reward for people's "progress", establishes a solid basis for their social integration. The authors stress that this approach not only responds to immediate needs, but also promotes autonomy and dignity, elements often ignored in conventional policies. Housing, as they insist, should be seen as a fundamental right and not as a conditional concession.

In this context, overcoming the welfarist model that perpetuates this situation by offering generic solutions, without providing tools or spaces for effective progress, is crucial. However, the transition to new strategies must be sustainable. With the housing crisis in many regions of the world, it seems utopian to imagine that states can immediately guarantee housing for all people experiencing homelessness. However, it is essential to evaluate and adjust existing services so that, while moving towards this ideal, they are transformed into more comprehensive and effective mechanisms.

This implies that current services must be configured, developed and localized in such a way that they can respond both to the needs of users and to the changes and particularities of society. The authors also draw attention to the growing distrust of institutions, pointing out that, although they are perceived as rigid and bureaucratic, they play an essential role in the provision of basic services. The important

thing, according to them, is not to eliminate institutions, but to reform them, ensuring that they act as centers for the provision of essential services: housing, food, health, among others. These spaces should be thought of not as mere places of assistance, but as platforms that allow people to build more stable and fulfilling lives.

As this transition towards more sustainable and inclusive models unfolds, it is urgent to reformulate current policies, improving their scope and effectiveness. In this thesis, therefore, the case of Madrid will be analyzed, exploring how services for homeless people are managed in the city. The methodology used and the approach adopted in this study will be presented below.

METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes the methodology used to analyze the phenomenon of homelessness in the city of Madrid. The research seeks to explore the dynamics between the location of homeless assistance centers and their implications for territorial stigmatization and social marginalization. This analysis focuses on understanding the spatial and social dynamics associated with these services, as well as identifying the mechanisms that perpetuate the conditions of exclusion.

In order to guide and shape the methodology, specific research questions were formulated. These questions not only address the core of the study but also determined and influenced the tools and approaches selected throughout the investigation. By clearly articulating these questions, the research ensures that the methodology aligns directly with the goals of understanding homelessness from both a social and spatial perspective.

The research questions that structure this study are presented below:

1. How does the location of homeless assistance centers in Madrid influence the social marginalization of individuals who use these services?
2. To what extent does the positioning of these centers contribute to the territorial stigmatization of the areas in which they are located?
3. How do existing public policies, strategies, and urban planning frameworks address or exacerbate homelessness in Madrid?
4. What role do the third sector play in shaping the provision and accessibility of services for individuals experiencing homelessness in the city?

These questions were central to the development of the research methodology, shaping both the quantitative and qualitative approaches used in the study. The methodology adopted allows for the analysis of homelessness from multiple perspectives, integrating statistical data, spatial analysis, and sociological insights to provide a comprehensive understanding of the issue.

The primary objective of this research is to understand how the socio-economic and territorial dynamics of Madrid affect the spatial distribution of homeless services and their implications for territorial stigmatization and the social integration of marginalized individuals. By answering these questions, the study aims to offer insights into how public policies, urban planning, and the actions of non-governmental actors contribute to or mitigate the challenges faced by homeless individuals.

PHASES AND LEVELS OF RESEARCH

The research was developed on the basis of five levels of analysis, each designed to address homelessness in Madrid from different perspectives and disciplines. For each level, the most appropriate methodologies and tools were selected after a prior analysis of their specific requirements. Subsequently, data was collected from various sources necessary for the analytical process at each level.

As the analysis of each level developed, the comments, considerations and interpretations generated influenced the following levels. This process made it possible to progressively build a synthesis and joint interpretation that led to specific considerations on the phenomenon under study.

The following "scheme" details in greater detail the development of these phases in correspondence with the levels of análisis:

1. **Initial Phase: Contextualization and Problem Definition.**

In this phase, the scope of the research was defined and the main questions to be addressed were identified. It also established the need to implement a mixed methodology to explore both the quantitative and qualitative dynamics of the phenomenon. This stage concluded with the delimitation of the five levels of analysis that would guide the study.

2. **Data Collection Phase**

Relevant quantitative and qualitative data were obtained for each level of analysis.

- Level 1: Socioeconomic and territorial data, such as indicators of marginalization and vulnerability, obtained from sources such as the geoportal of the Madrid City Council and INE (Instituto Nacional de Estadística).
- Level 2: Updated statistics on homelessness from official sources, including censuses and municipal reports.
- Level 3: Documentation of strategies and public policies, such as the "Municipal Strategy on Homelessness Prevention and Care 2022-2027".
- Level 4: Information on the homeless assistance network, including characteristics, capacities and location of centers.
- Level 5: Specific data on the areas where the centers are located, such as their land qualification, urban barriers and accessibility to public transportation.

3. **Analysis Phase**

Each level was analyzed with specific tools and approaches:
- For Level 1, cartographic and spatial analyses were conducted to map the distribution of marginalized areas and urban barriers.
- At Level 2, statistical data were classified and represented graphically to reveal quantitative patterns of the phenomenon.
- At Level 3, current public policies were evaluated from a critical perspective, identifying their objectives and limitations.
- Level 4 involved a comparative analysis of assistance centers, considering factors such as capacity, services offered and location.
- In Level 5, territorial data were integrated with accessibility and mobility simulations, identifying specific challenges in the areas studied.

4. **Synthesis and Interpretation Phase**

The results of the five levels of analysis were combined to generate a comprehensive diagnosis. This included conclusions on the influence of territorial dynamics and public policies on the marginalization and stigmatization of assistance center users.

5. **Drafting and Proposal Phase**

Finally, the findings were articulated in proposals that emphasize the need for more democratic and integrated public services. These proposals are aligned with the theoretical principles of the thesis, highlighting the importance of combating territorial stigmatization and promoting community interaction.

QUANTITATIVE METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes the quantitative methodology implemented for the analysis of homelessness in the city of Madrid. This approach allowed us to establish a solid base of objective and measurable data, necessary to understand the dimension of the phenomenon,

the socioeconomic and territorial dynamics of the context, as well as to evaluate the location and accessibility of homeless assistance centers. The integration of statistical, geographic and socioeconomic data was crucial to contextualize and address the research questions from a holistic and territorial perspective.

Data Collection

The first step was to identify and collect data from various reliable sources, both statistical and geospatial:

1. National Institute of Statistics (INE): the latest censuses and statistics related to poverty, unemployment, social exclusion and demographics were consulted, providing an overview of the socioeconomic conditions of the country and, specifically, of Madrid.
2. Transparency Portal of the Madrid City Council: The data on care for homeless people in 2024, available on this portal, provided key information on the evolution of the phenomenon at the local level, the resources available and the characteristics of the population served.
3. Municipal Strategic Reports: The "Municipal Strategy on Prevention and Care for the Homeless 2022-2027" provided both recent statistics and the current regulatory framework and strategies, facilitating the connection between data and current public policies.
4. Madrid City Council Geoportal: This resource was essential for obtaining basic spatial data, such as land use classification, road infrastructure, public transport networks and demographic indicators organized by districts, neighborhoods and census sections. The files downloaded in Shapefile (SHP) format were used to generate thematic cartographies and territorially interpret the quantitative data.

Data Processing

The processing of the data collected included several stages to ensure its quality, consistency and usefulness:

- Debugging and standardization: duplicate or incomplete data were eliminated, and formats were unified to ensure compatibility.
- Thematic classification: Data were organized into categories related to socioeconomic dynamics, territorial distribution and characteristics of the assistance centers.
- Georeferencing and spatial analysis: Spatial data downloaded from the Geoportal of Madrid City Council were processed with QGIS. In particular, demographic and socioeconomic indicators were represented only on land classified as primarily residential. This approach allowed a clearer and more territorialized interpretation of the data, avoiding distortions caused by areas with non-residential land use (such as industrial zones or large green areas).

Quantitative Analysis

The quantitative analysis was developed at several levels:

- Territorial and Socioeconomic Contextualization: the predominant social and economic dynamics in Madrid were evaluated, identifying areas with higher vulnerability and exclusion indexes. The indicators analyzed included population density, aging, relative poverty, unemployment and percentage of foreign population. This contextualization made it possible to identify patterns of inequality and risk of social marginalization.
- Statistical Study of Homelessness: Quantitative data on people experiencing homelessness and available resources, such as the number of places in assistance centers,

provided a detailed view of the scope of the problem and current response capacities.

- Distribution and Accessibility of Services: The location and characteristics of the assistance centers were analyzed in relation to the public transportation network and the areas of greatest vulnerability. Using mobility and accessibility simulations, the ease of access to these centers from different points of the city was evaluated, showing disparities in connectivity and territorial coverage.

Representation of the Results

To facilitate the understanding and analysis of the data, thematic maps, graphs and tables were developed. Some examples include:

- Maps of socioeconomic indicators: These maps depicted data such as relative poverty and population density in residential areas only, highlighting specific patterns of social exclusion and vulnerability.
- Distribution of care centers: Maps were generated showing the location of care centers and their relationship to the most marginalized and vulnerable areas, illustrating disparities in their distribution.
- Accessibility maps: Maps based on public transportation networks made it possible to visualize the ease (or difficulty) of access to services from different strategic points in the city.

Reflection on the Quantitative Methodology

The quantitative methodology not only allowed us to dimension the phenomenon of homelessness, but also to identify patterns and key areas for more effective intervention. Representing the data on residential land, for example, facilitated a more accurate interpretation of the territorialization of inequalities, while the analysis of accessibility highlighted critical issues in urban planning and resource distribution.

This approach also served as a basis for subsequent qualitative analysis, providing specific questions and areas that required further study. The combination of statistical and spatial data made it possible to establish a clear link between socioeconomic dynamics and public policies, laying the groundwork for concrete proposals and recommendations.

QUALITATIVE METHODOLOGY

The qualitative approach of this research was used to interpret the subjective, spatial and sociological aspects related to homelessness in the city of Madrid. This method allowed us to analyze the perceptions, territorial dynamics and interactions between urban spaces, public policies and the experiences of people in vulnerable situations. The qualitative methodology complemented the quantitative data, providing an in-depth understanding of the human and spatial dimensions of the phenomenon.

Objective and Scope

The qualitative analysis focused on understanding:

- The territorial impact of the location of the assistance centers: how their location influences the social marginalization and stigmatization of the territory.
- The coherence and effectiveness of public policies and strategies: Analyzing how current plans respond (or not) to the territorial and human needs of

homelessness.

- Urban dynamics related to homelessness: Including the interaction between residential spaces, urban barriers and public transport networks.

Tools and Sources of Information

The qualitative analysis drew on a variety of sources and techniques to ensure a rich and detailed interpretation:

1. Policy and strategy analysis: Documents such as the *"Municipal Strategy on Prevention and Care for the Homeless 2022-2027"* and related state plans were reviewed. These texts were critically analyzed to identify approaches, objectives and limitations in the management of the phenomenon.

2. Qualitative cartography: Thematic maps were analyzed that included data on the location of care centers, urban barriers (such as road and rail infrastructure) and accessibility in the public transport network. These maps made it possible to identify spatial dynamics affecting social inclusion.

3. Indirect observation: Although no direct field visits were made, satellite images, spatial data downloaded from the Madrid City Council Geoportal and previous studies were used to interpret the physical and urban context of the areas studied.

4. Informal interviews: Reflections from conversations with experts in urban planning, social work and public policies were incorporated, enriching the interpretation of current strategies and territorial challenges.

Phases of the Qualitative Analysis

The qualitative process was divided into the following phases:

1. Documentary review: a critical analysis of current plans and strategies was conducted, identifying their approaches, objectives and their relationship with territorial dynamics. This analysis included:

- The identification of long-term aspirations and their application in the local context.
- Diagnosis of the main challenges and gaps in policy implementation.

2. Analysis of the location of the assistance centers:

- The urban context of each center was studied, assessing its integration into the urban fabric and its connection to services and public transport networks.
- The characteristics of the land on which they are located were analyzed, highlighting the predominance of industrial or non-residential land, and its impact on perception and accessibility.
- The proximity of the centers to areas with high socioeconomic vulnerability was evaluated, identifying patterns of territorial stigmatization.

3. Sociological interpretation of territorial dynamics:

- Using qualitative maps, phenomena such as advanced marginality and territorial stigmatization were examined, studying how urban barriers (highways, railways, etc.) perpetuate fragmentation and exclusion.
- The role of urban spaces in consolidating or overcoming homelessness was reflected upon, analyzing proposals such as the deinstitutionalization of services and the diversification of infrastructures.

4. Relationship between policies and territory:

- It was explored how current strategies influence the territory and social dynamics, questioning the logic of localization of services and their impact on urban cohesion.
- Examples were highlighted such as the Caritas approach to the dispersion of services through local parishes, which although limited, fosters a more inclusive interaction in the territory.

Reflection and Representation

The qualitative analysis not only allowed us to interpret spatial and sociological data, but also to generate critical reflections on how homeless spaces and services are conceived and managed. The combination of maps, documentary reviews and reflections allowed us to identify the following key points:

- Territorial stigmatization: The location of the centers in marginalized and non-residential areas reinforces their social isolation and hinders the integration of their users.
- Urban fragmentation: The presence of urban barriers near these centers accentuates their disconnection from the urban fabric and makes access difficult.
- Need for an integrative approach: The importance of diversifying services and promoting more accessible and connected infrastructures aimed at social inclusion was highlighted.
- This qualitative analysis is directly linked to the conceptual framework of the research, showing how the concepts of advanced marginality, territorial stigmatization and privatization of public space materialize in the territory. In addition, the reflections developed in this section laid the groundwork for the conclusions and recommendations of the research.

ARTICULATION BETWEEN QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE

The articulation between quantitative and qualitative approaches in this research was fundamental to provide a deep and multifaceted understanding of homelessness in Madrid. The research not only benefited from the numerical precision and objective evidence that quantitative analysis offers, but was also able to capture subjective, territorial and social dynamics through the qualitative approach. This integration allowed not only to contextualize the phenomenon at the macro level, but also to explore how it manifests and is perceived in the urban space, through public policies and social realities that cold data alone could not have revealed.

Articulation Strategy

The articulation between the two approaches was structured in several phases and methods that made it possible to connect the numerical data with the subjective, social and territorial aspects of the study:

1. Joint use of spatial and socioeconomic data.
First, data from the Madrid City Council Geoportal were used together with socioeconomic and demographic reports of the city. Spatial data, such as land use and road infrastructure, were combined with information on the location of care centers. These data were visualized and analyzed qualitatively, with a focus on territorial interpretation and how the distribution of the centers coincided with the areas of greatest marginalization and socioeconomic vulnerability, already identified in the quantitative analysis.

For example, through cartographic representation, an attempt is made to highlight the residential areas in which the assistance centers are located. The combination of land use distribution, socioeconomic indicators (density, poverty, unemployment, etc.) and the location of the centers made it possible to link quantitative information with qualitative analysis on how urban design and location policies impact

social exclusion and territorial stigmatization. In this way, quantitative data provided the basis for identifying the most critical areas of study, while qualitative analysis allowed us to interpret the dynamics and effects of these distributions and locations.

2. Mutual reinforcement between statistics and public policy

Statistical data obtained from official sources, such as the Madrid City Council statistics portal and INE reports, provided a clear picture of the current homelessness situation. However, the interpretation of these data did not stop at quantifying the magnitude of the phenomenon, but was expanded with the analysis of existing public plans and strategies in the city.

The review of documents such as the "Municipal Strategy on Prevention and Care for the Homeless 2022-2027" made it possible to connect the political aspirations with the empirical data obtained, by comparing the long-term objectives of the policies with the territorial reality. Through a qualitative approach, deficits and mismatches between public policies and territorial realities revealed by quantitative data were interpreted. For example, while data on the availability of places in assistance centers were identified, qualitative analysis revealed how these centers are located in distant and poorly connected areas, limiting user access and reinforcing their territorial stigmatization.

3. Spatial contextualization through a combination of maps and indicators

A key aspect of the research was the visual representation of socioeconomic data. Through maps, data such as population density, number of foreigners, and relative poverty were visualized, represented only in areas of residential use to obtain a clearer analysis of the affected areas.

At a qualitative level, these maps were interpreted within a broader context of urban barriers and social dynamics. For example, the areas of greatest marginalization on the maps largely coincided with areas where public transportation infrastructure is poor or the presence of physical barriers, such as highways or industrial zones, increases the fragmentation of the territory. Here, the quantitative provided the distribution and spatial basis, while the qualitative allowed interpretation of social conditions and location effects.

4. Critical evaluation of the location of the assistance centers.

The location of the assistance centers is one of the most salient aspects of this research. Quantitative data on the location of the centers were cross-referenced with qualitative perceptions and dynamics on territorial stigmatization and urban barriers. While the maps showed the exact position of each center, the qualitative analysis allowed us to interpret why these locations were problematic: for example, if the centers were located in areas with poor accessibility from neuralgic points of the city, or in areas where road infrastructure and industrial land use were prevalent, contributing to greater social exclusion of their users.

In addition, it addressed how the location of the centers reinforces social marginalization, as they are often located in isolated areas far from major urban services. This combined analysis between spatial data and social dynamics allowed us to argue that territorial planning for homelessness in Madrid not only has a functional impact in terms of access, but also on how such decisions reinforce stigmatization and social exclusion.

5. Critical reflection on the combination of data and theoretical approaches.

Finally, the results obtained from the quantitative and qualitative methods were integrated with the theoretical concepts

described in the conceptual framework of the thesis. Privatization of public space, commercialization of urban territories and social fragmentation were some of the concepts guiding this research. Through the articulation of quantitative and qualitative, it was possible to deepen the relationship between physical space, land use and social dynamics affecting homeless people in Madrid, revealing how concrete data relate to social exclusions generated by urban planning and public policies.

PROBLEMS AND METHODOLOGICAL DIFFICULTIES IN THE CASE STUDY ANALYSIS

The development of the case study faced several difficulties that reflect the complexity of addressing such a multidimensional phenomenon as homelessness. These difficulties not only highlight the challenges in data collection and analysis, but also the limitations of the methodological approaches employed and the quality of the information available.

First, one of the biggest obstacles was the discontinuity in the statistical counting and monitoring systems for homelessness in Spain, which underwent a significant change in 2022. This methodological change made it impossible to make progressive comparisons between years, as the data collected under the previous and current methodologies are not compatible nor do they allow us to identify long-term trends. In addition, recent data are limited and, rather than counting homeless people directly, are based on counts of services provided, making it difficult to understand the real extent of the problem.

Another major challenge was the

discrepancy between national and international statistics. While reports such as those of FEANTSA or documents such as the European Commission's Measurement of Homelessness at European Union Level place Spain among the countries with the worst results in terms of homelessness policies, the data provided by the Madrid City Council show a less alarming situation, but with obvious gaps. These extensive and sometimes confusing documents make it difficult to understand the reality and formulate solid analyses.

With regard to information specific to the assistance centers, significant inconsistencies were identified between sources. For example, the data provided in the geographic information system (SHP) of the Madrid City Council did not coincide with the centers described in documents such as the Dignitas 2022 report. These discrepancies made it necessary to confirm and verify the actual existence of the centers, which represented an additional workload. For this reason, it was decided not to analyze in depth the capacity and services offered by these centers, as the contrasted information made it difficult to reach a clear and reliable conclusion on their current status.

At the methodological level, we faced challenges inherent to both quantitative and qualitative approaches to homelessness. Despite attempts to balance both approaches, achieving a middle ground between them was complicated by the contradictions between numerical data and human and subjective perceptions of the problem. Although a more ethnographic approach, based on direct interviews with homeless people, was initially contemplated, it was decided not to implement it for two main reasons: first, the need to conduct multiple samples to achieve a representative and objective view, which was beyond the limits of the project; and second, the recognition that homelessness is a multidimensional phenomenon, which goes beyond the individual experience and requires a broader structural approach.

In this context, these methodological limitations and challenges not only underline the complexity of the phenomenon, but also open a reflection on the intrinsic difficulties faced by institutions and academia in addressing issues such as homelessness.

Conclusion

The integration of both approaches provided a broader and more complex understanding of homelessness in Madrid by connecting quantitative evidence with qualitative interpretations of urban and social dynamics. The quantitative provided the global view of the phenomenon, while the qualitative allowed us to delve deeper into the lived experience, territorial perception and social dimensions of the problem. Together, these approaches provided a more robust analysis that underpins the conclusions and recommendations of the research.

CASE STUDY: MADRID

Homelessness, as discussed in previous chapters, is one of the most visible phenomena of social exclusion in contemporary societies. It represents not only a material lack of housing, but also an indicator of structural inequalities in access to resources, services and rights. In the urban context, this problem is exacerbated by the interaction of factors such as spatial segregation, real estate speculation and socioeconomic inequalities. In this context, the city of Madrid is a particularly relevant case study for exploring the spatial and social dimensions of homelessness.

In recent years, at both national and local levels, various strategies and plans have been adopted to combat homelessness, such as the Plan Dignitas 2022-2027 and the National Strategy to Combat Homelessness 2023-2030. These policies reflect a growing focus on innovative models such as Housing First, which prioritize the right to housing as a fundamental component to promote independence and long-term personal development. This model, with highly effective results in various international contexts, seeks to move away from welfarist approaches. However, the transition to a Housing Led model in Madrid poses significant challenges, as it requires not only considerable public investment, but also a structural and cultural change that takes time to consolidate. During this transition stage, it is essential to strengthen existing services, identify less effective approaches and ensure that these are aligned with the principle of dignity and efficiency (Panadero, Fernández and Martínez 2023).

Despite the trend towards decentralization and deinstitutionalization, it is also necessary to examine the role of the tertiary sector in managing this phenomenon. While institutions such as Caritas play a fundamental role, it is also relevant to question why the intervention of religious or private entities is indispensable in an area where public management faces difficulties in providing effective solutions close to the population. This analysis allows us to reflect on the structural challenges of social and urban policies.

One of the central aspects of this study is the location of assistance centers. Public infrastructures for the homeless tend to be located in peripheral areas, often in industrial environments or next to highways, perpetuating social exclusion and reinforcing stigmatization. This pattern contrasts with services managed by the tertiary sector, which, often located in the city center, such as in churches, have greater social acceptance and familiarity with the population. This contrast highlights how social perceptions and location decisions can influence the effectiveness of interventions.

The aim of this paper is to carry out a comprehensive analysis of homelessness in Madrid, addressing political, social, economic and spatial aspects. To this end, recent policies and strategies, the main actors involved in the fight against homelessness and the most recent statistics on the phenomenon will be analyzed. This analysis will be complemented by a territorial and socioeconomic approach to identify weaknesses in the location of public assistance centers and link these findings to an urban and social policy framework.

The structure of the study is organized into several sections. First, a general overview of the city of Madrid is presented, considering its territorial configuration, socioeconomic indicators, and segregation patterns. Second, the institutional and social responses to homelessness are analyzed through a three-pronged approach: public policies, the actors involved, and available infrastructures and services. With the territorial and operational understanding of managing this phenomenon, a more in-depth analysis will be conducted on the immediate context of the public infrastructure and services that form part of the network assisting homeless individuals in the city of Madrid. This analysis aims to identify how appropriate or inadequate the precise location of these centers is.

This analysis will be complemented by reflections constructed from interviews with experts in public management, city models, and related topics, in order to enrich the discourse and debate on the management and phenomenon of homelessness. Finally, the results will be connected to the theoretical framework, allowing conclusions to be drawn about the spatial and social dynamics of homelessness in Madrid.

This case study not only seeks to contribute to the academic debate on homelessness, but also to offer tools that promote better planning and management of services for one of the most vulnerable populations in the city.

Figure 8. Districts and municipalities of the Community of Madrid, highlighted the Municipality of Madrid

Source: Original work based on data from the Madrid City Hall Geoportal.

0   10   20   30 km
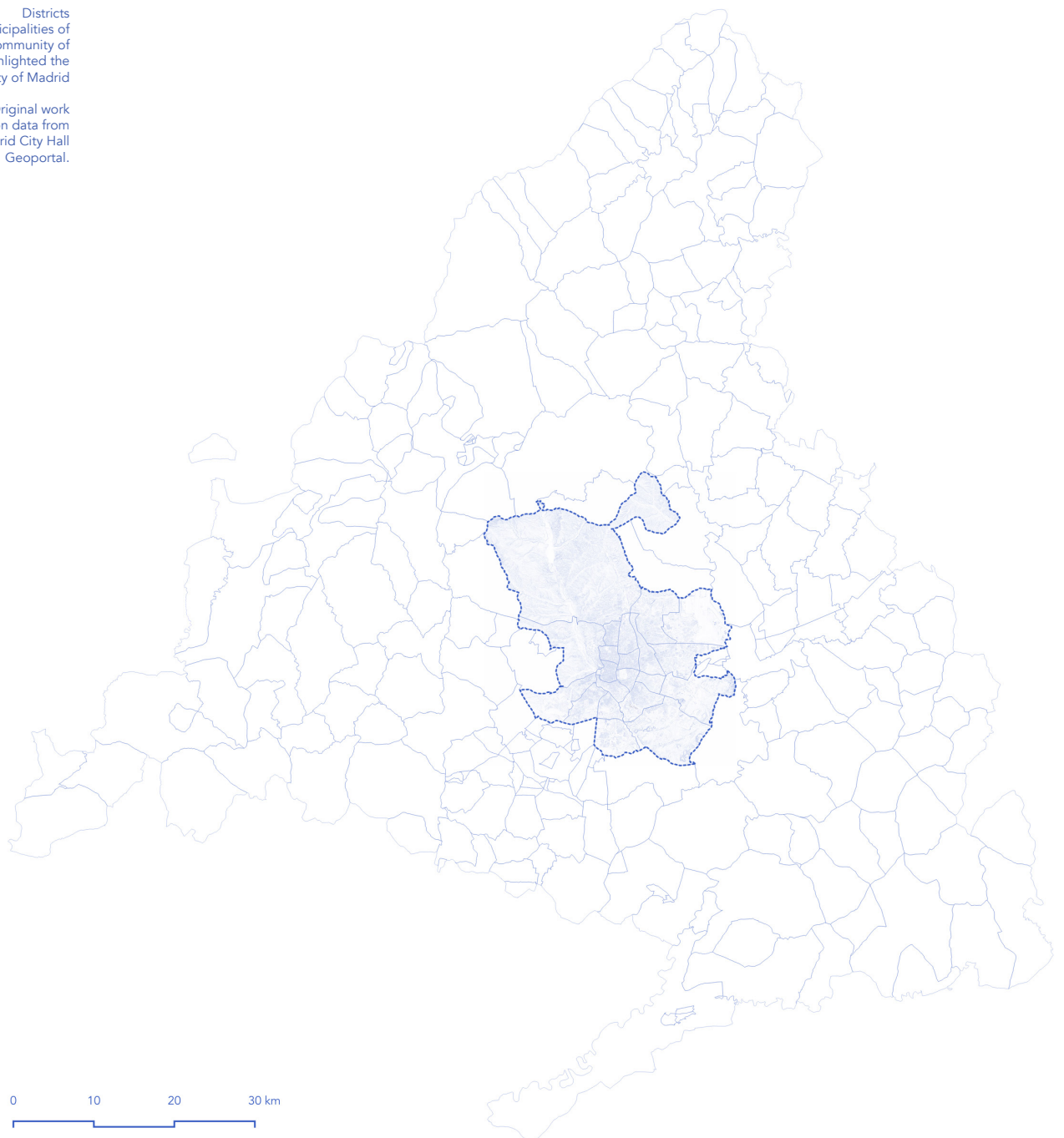
CONTEXTUALIZATION OF THE CASE STUDY: MADRID

The Community of Madrid is one of the seventeen autonomous communities of Spain and is located in the center of the Iberian Peninsula. With an area of approximately 8,028 square kilometers, the region is made up of a total of 179 municipalities, including the municipality of Madrid, which occupies a central position within the community and acts as its administrative, economic and social core.

The municipality of Madrid, indicated on the cartography by a thick blue dotted line, not only houses the capital of the country, but also concentrates a significant part of the population and economic activity of the region. Within it are distributed the 21 districts that make up the city of Madrid, each with particular urban, socioeconomic and functional characteristics that will be discussed below.

At the territorial level, the Community of Madrid presents a highly polarized urban structure, where the capital exerts a strong influence on the rest of the municipalities, generating a radial model of growth. This phenomenon is closely linked to the distribution of transport infrastructures, which connect the central municipality with the peripheral areas and with other strategic points of the national territory.

The municipality of Madrid covers an area of approximately 604 square kilometers, making it one of the largest in the country. This area includes highly urbanized areas, such as the historic center and the metropolitan districts, as well as less densified areas in its periphery, where natural parks, industrial estates and residential areas of lower intensity are located.

In demographic terms, the municipality of Madrid has a population of more than 3.2 million inhabitants, representing more than 40% of the total population of the Community of Madrid.

This figure reflects the high concentration of population in the central core, which has direct implications for territorial planning, accessibility to services and the distribution of infrastructures.

Socio-spatial segregation in Madrid has been a persistent and complex phenomenon, the result of historical, economic and urban processes that have shaped the unequal distribution of the population and resources. Specially, the southern areas of Madrid, such as Vallecas or Carabanchel, have experienced a strong concentration of populations with lower purchasing power, immigrants and families at risk of social exclusion. This has generated neighborhoods with limited access to public services, employment and educational opportunities, consolidating a pattern of urban inequality that perpetuates segregation. Urban evolution in Madrid has been, to a large extent, driven by these processes, reinforcing spatial segregation as an ongoing challenge for current urban policies. (Gabinete Técnico de CCOO de Madrid 2024)

In the following chapters, a socioeconomic and territorial analysis of the city will be conducted to gain a comprehensive understanding of these dynamics and provide a contextualization of the situation. The location of these centers will be studied not only to understand how such decisions perpetuate and deepen the socio-spatial segregation in the city, impacting the entire community, but also to highlight how this situation aligns with principles like Wacquant's concept of "advanced marginality" (2007), characterized by spatial relegation, social isolation, and systemic disenfranchisement. This analysis will reveal how assistance services that adopt a reductive approach can worsen or further harm the most vulnerable populations, such as those experiencing homelessness.

Socio-economic Analysis of Madrid city

In this chapter, indicator analyses will be carried out to explore, in a rough way, the socioeconomic dynamics of Madrid's population. Indicators such as density, proportion of aging,

Figure 9. Districts of the Municipality of Madrid

Source: Original work based on data from the Madrid City Hall Geoportal.

Fuencarral - El Pardo

Hortaleza

Barajas

Tetuán
Chamartín

Moncloa - Aravaca

Chamberí

Ciudad Lineal

San Blas - Canillejas

Salamanca

Centro

Retiro

Moratalaz

Vicálvaro

Arganzuela

Latina

Puente de Vallecas

Carabanchel

Usera

Villa de Vallecas

Villaverde

0   2   4   6 km

concentration of foreigners in the territory, percentage of unemployment and relative poverty will be used in order to contextualize the reader on the dynamics of the city and the identification of the most vulnerable areas and populations. It is important to emphasize that the cartographies produced are our own elaboration based on the data bank available in the geoportal of the Madrid City Council. It was chosen to represent these data only in the urban fabric classified mainly as residential, in order to achieve a more accurate interpretation, contextualizing the data in the territory.

The objective of this analysis is to identify potential correlations between the physical barriers of the territory and the vulnerability indicators of the population. This approach is essential for determining which areas of the city are more or less vulnerable. Adopting the logic of intersectionality and the accumulation of segregation, it is critical to examine these phenomena not only to identify the locations of public services that are difficult to access due to their geographical position relative to transportation networks, but also to understand how principles and phenomena such as stigmatization, privatization, and indoctrination of public space—discussed in the conceptual framework of this thesis—manifest in the context of Madrid. These issues are the direct result of inadequate urban planning policies and strategies, which exacerbate systemic discrimination and inefficient public service management, thereby perpetuating the marginalization and segregation of the city's most vulnerable populations.

Figure 10. Contextual scheme of Madrid, main elements of the territory

Source: Original work based on data from the Madrid City Hall Geoportal.

Fuencarral - El Pardo

A-1

Barajas Airport

A-6

Chamartín

M-30

A-2

Casa de Campo park

Príncipe Pío

City centre

Retiro park

Almudena cemetery

Atocha

M-40

A-3

A-5

M-45

A-42

A-4

M-50

Manzanares River

Demographic Density:

Population density in Madrid presents diverse patterns that reflect both social dynamics and physical characteristics of the territory. For example, the fact that there is a notable concentration of residential fabric in the city center, but with specific areas of low density, could be related to phenomena such as gentrification. This process, typical of urban contexts such as Madrid, could derive from tourist pressure that has transformed central areas into predominantly commercial and recreational destinations. The escalation in living costs and the boom in temporary rentals have led many inhabitants to move to peripheral areas, opting to reside in areas less demanded by tourism.

Likewise, in the territorial analysis of Madrid, infrastructures such as highways, particularly the M-30 and the A-3, play a key role in the configuration of population density. These arteries not only physically divide the urban space, but also mark boundaries where density varies significantly. On one side of these highways, it is possible to find densely populated areas, while, on the other side, neighborhoods can be characterized by a more dispersed occupation or even by environments with low residential density. This may be due to the supply and quality of public transport, which plays a decisive role in the quality of life of citizens and their choice of where to live.

A clear example of this dynamic can be seen in the convergence of the districts of Retiro, Moratalaz and Puente de Vallecas. Here, highways act as territorial barriers that not only hinder integration between neighboring areas, but also generate significant differences in the density and characteristics of the urban fabric.

In this sense, it is evident how the physical characteristics of the territory, together with social processes such as gentrification and tourist pressure, are influencing the configuration of population density in Madrid. These phenomena not only transform the composition of the urban fabric, but also pose important challenges for the planning of public services and the efficient management of space, requiring a comprehensive vision that takes into account both the social dynamics and the physical characteristics of the city.
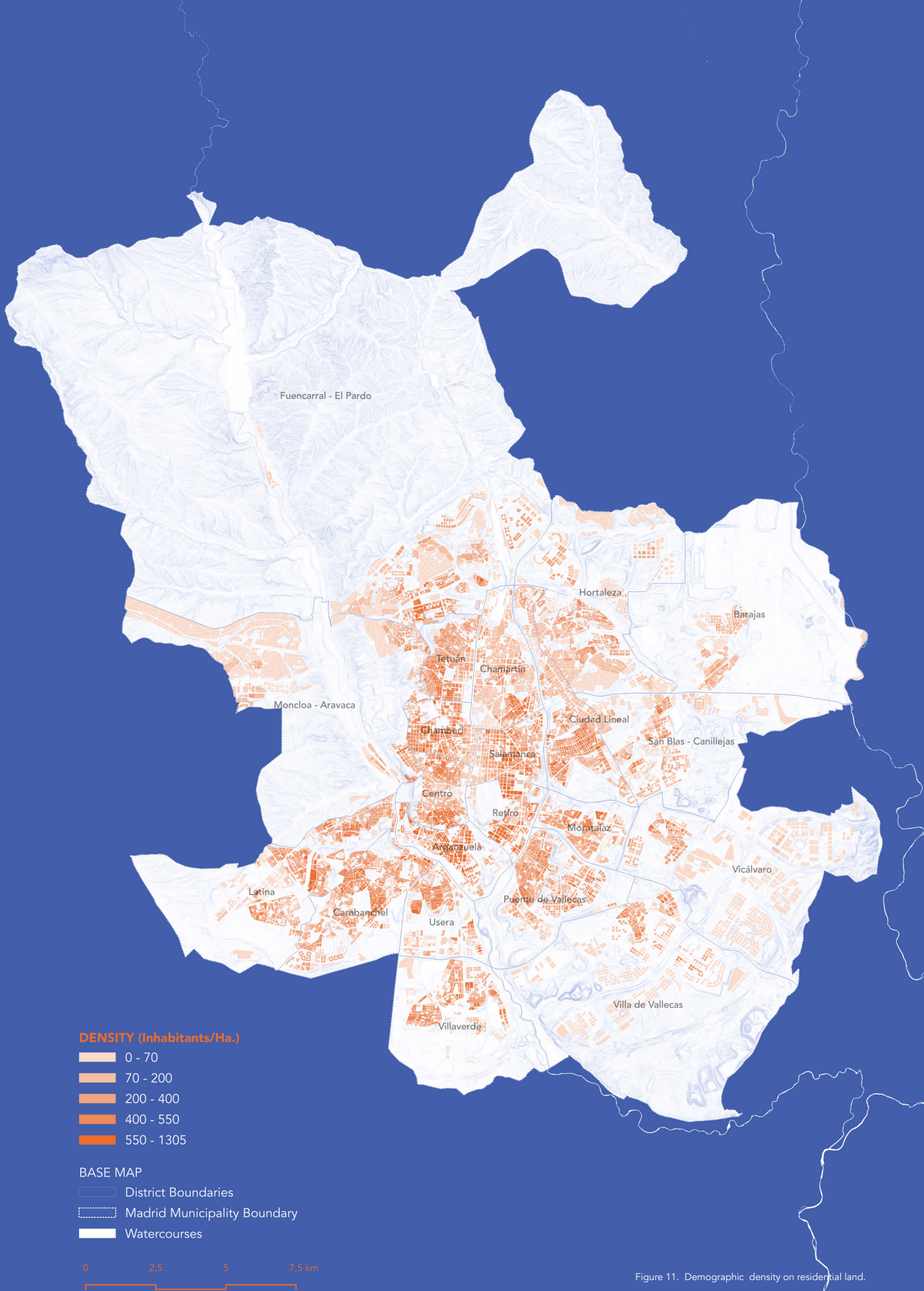
DENSITY (Inhabitants/Ha.)

- 0 - 70
- 70 - 200
- 200 - 400
- 400 - 550
- 550 - 1305

BASE MAP

- District Boundaries
- Madrid Municipality Boundary
- Watercourses

Fuencarral - El Pardo

Hortaleza

Barajas

Tetuán

Chamartín

Moncloa - Aravaca

Ciudad Lineal

Chamberí

San Blas - Canillejas

Salamanca

Centro

Retiro

Moratalaz

Arganzuela

Vicálvaro

Latina

Puente de Vallecas

Carabanchel

Usera

Villa de Vallecas

Villaverde

0   2,5   5   7,5 km

Figure 11. Demographic density on residential land.

Source: Original work based on data from the Madrid City Hall Geoportal and the INE.

Proportion of Aging:

The proportion of aging in Madrid, understood as the percentage of people over 65 years of age with respect to the total population, is an essential indicator to analyze how generations are distributed in the territory and how these dynamics affect the planning of social, health and urban services, this indicator could also be fundamental to detect phenomena of marginalization or social segregation as it could indicate a demographic imbalance in a context. While in the previous discourse we explored demographic density as a central axis in the configuration of the city, in this case we focus on how aging manifests itself in different areas and what connections can be drawn with the characteristics of the urban fabric previously analyzed.

In districts with high demographic density, such as Moratalaz, Latina and Arganzuela, there is evidence of a significant concentration of an aging population, particularly in the south of the city. This relationship, although not absolute, suggests that high density may coincide with the permanence of older generations in neighborhoods where they have probably settled for decades, creating an urgent need to adapt services and infrastructure to their specific needs.

On the other hand, in peripheral areas such as Vicálvaro and Villa de Vallecas, the proportion of aging is relatively low, aligning with the previously mentioned low density patterns. However, in bordering areas such as the border between Villa de Vallecas and Puente de Vallecas, urban dynamics introduce exceptions. Here, the higher density could be attracting younger populations, while the older ones tend to concentrate in less dynamic areas or areas with less residential pressure.

An interesting case is that of the districts of Retiro, Moratalaz and Puente de Vallecas, where infrastructures such as the M-30 and the A-3 not only fragment the territory, as noted in the density analysis, but also contribute to differentiate aging rates between adjacent areas. These physical barriers hinder interaction between communities and, in this case, underscore the variability in the demographic composition of areas that might otherwise be more homogeneous.

In central Madrid, the proportion of aging is remarkably low. This phenomenon could be interpreted as a direct consequence of processes such as gentrification and the transformation of the urban environment. Many older people have been displaced by the rising cost of living and the commercialization of space, moving to districts such as Moratalaz, Arganzuela or even more exclusive peripheral areas such as Moncloa-Aravaca and Fuencarral-El Pardo. These areas, with single-family homes and certain amenities, have provided a refuge for those seeking a more accessible environment adapted to their needs.

This map represents the percentage of the aging population, calculated based on the age of registered residents in each census section. The indicator is obtained by dividing the number of people aged 65 and over (an age typically associated with the end of active working life) by the total number of registered residents in the same census section.
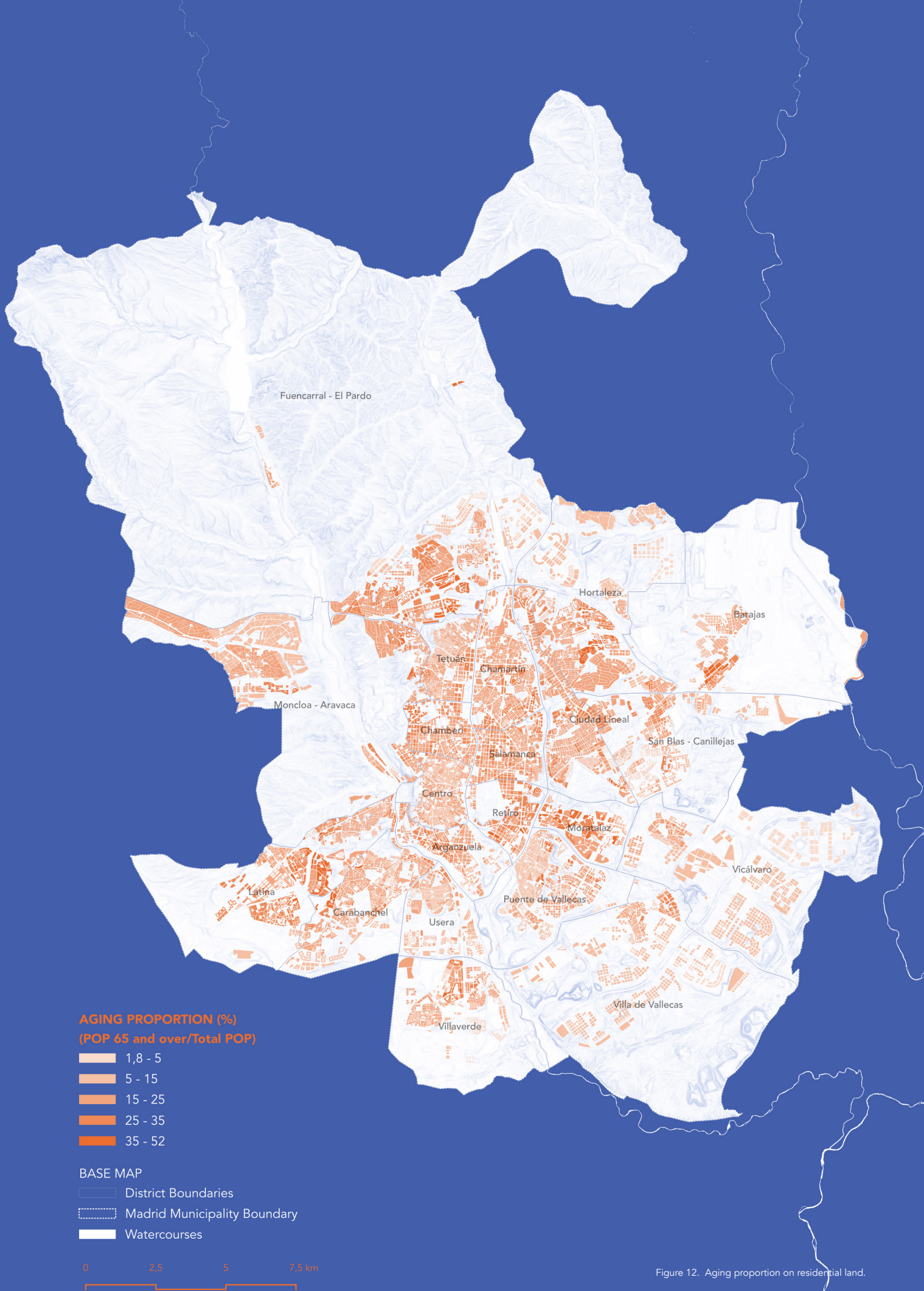
AGING PROPORTION (%)
(POP 65 and over/Total POP)

- 1,8 - 5
- 5 - 15
- 15 - 25
- 25 - 35
- 35 - 52

BASE MAP

- District Boundaries
- Madrid Municipality Boundary
- Watercourses

0   2,5   5   7,5 km

Figure 12. Aging proportion on residential land.

Source: Original work based on data from the Madrid City Hall Geoportal and the INE.

Foreign-only households%:

The analysis of the territorial distribution of households composed exclusively of foreigners in Madrid reveals spatial patterns that reflect the complexity of social and economic dynamics in the city. These patterns connect with previously explored themes, such as population density and aging, by highlighting how social and physical processes interact to shape urban territory.

One notable observation is the concentration of foreign households in central districts such as Salamanca and Chamberí. Although traditionally associated with high purchasing power, the significant presence of foreign population in these areas can be attributed to the phenomenon of globalization and the attractiveness of Madrid as an internationally connected city. Specifically, we observe the arrival of foreigners with high purchasing power, who find in these neighborhoods an opportunity for investment and residence. This influx of population has intensified gentrification processes, causing the displacement of the local population to peripheral areas due to the increase in housing costs.

On the other hand, in more peripheral districts such as Usera, Villaverde, Puente de Vallecas and Carabanchel, the concentration of foreign households is usually linked to groups with lower economic resources. These areas, as will be seen below, are characterized by a lower density of services and employment opportunities, factors that perpetuate phenomena of social exclusion and weaken community cohesion. Between the two extremes, the districts surrounding the center have a higher proportion of Spanish households, probably affected by the displacement associated with gentrification processes.

The territorial distribution of these households evidences a dual pattern that underlines the socioeconomic differences between central and peripheral areas. This phenomenon has direct implications for urban planning, especially in the design of social interventions and the location of key infrastructures, such as homeless assistance centers. As with the other two indicators studied so far, the concentration of foreign population may indicate processes of exclusion and segregation.

The map represents households where all registered residents are of foreign origin. This approach was chosen based on the available census data, which is aggregated by households rather than individuals, making it the most appropriate indicator to highlight patterns of concentration, absence, or distribution of foreign-origin residents.

However, it is important to consider several nuances when interpreting this data. Not all individuals of foreign origin are able to register their residency, and many live in shared households where residents may include both Spanish nationals and individuals of foreign origin. Additionally, households can be composed of diverse family structures, including those with mixed origins. Therefore, while this map provides valuable insights into the distribution of foreign-origin households, it does not fully capture the complexities of population dynamics and residential patterns.
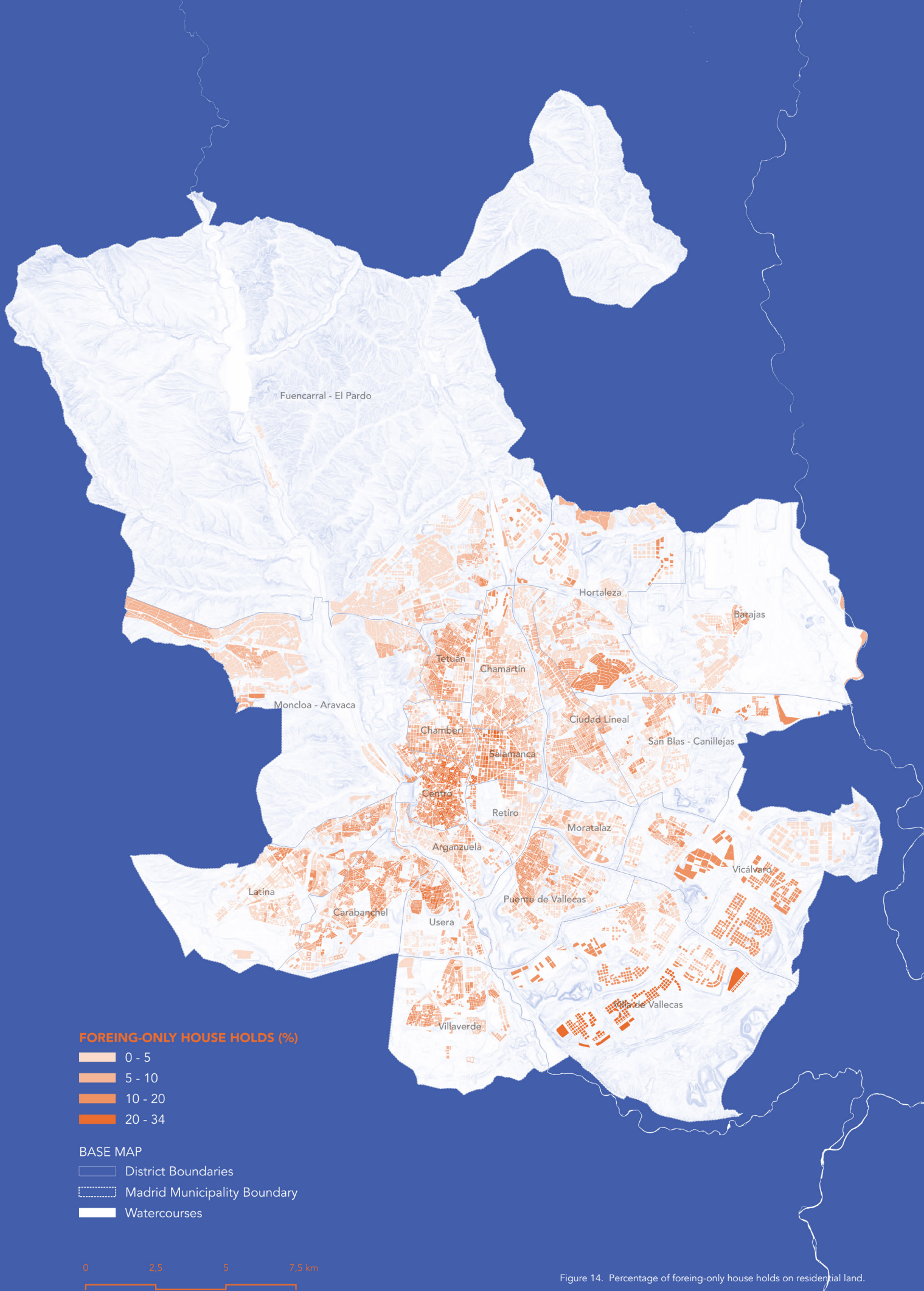
FOREING-ONLY HOUSE HOLDS (%)

- 0 - 5
- 5 - 10
- 10 - 20
- 20 - 34

BASE MAP

- District Boundaries
- Madrid Municipality Boundary
- Watercourses

Fuencarral - El Pardo

Hortaleza

Barajas

Tetuán

Chamartín

Ciudad Lineal

Moncloa - Aravaca

San Blas - Canillejas

Chamberí

Salamanca

Centro

Retiro

Moratalaz

Arganzuela

Vicálvaro

Latina

Carabanchel

Puente de Vallecas

Usera

Villa de Vallecas

Villaverde

0   2,5   5   7,5 km

Figure 14. Percentage of foreing-only house holds on residential land.

Source: Original work based on data from the Madrid City Hall Geoportal and the INE.

Unemployment rate:

The analysis of the unemployment rate in Madrid adds a crucial dimension to the socioeconomic patterns previously identified, providing a perspective that reinforces the notion of multifactorial vulnerability affecting different areas of the city. The uneven distribution of unemployment, like other indicators analyzed above, reflects how spatial, economic and social factors interact to shape a city marked by profound contrasts.

A first notable element is the internal fragmentation of the Centro district, with the southwest showing significantly higher unemployment rates compared to the northeast. This phenomenon highlights the coexistence of disparate urban dynamics: while the northeast would be experiencing gentrification processes that have boosted economic activity, the southwest would be facing structural challenges linked to greater economic and social vulnerability. This pattern resonates with previous observations on the concentration of foreign population in specific areas, indicating how these dynamics directly affect labor inclusion.

On the other hand, districts with high socioeconomic levels, such as Chamberí, Salamanca and Chamartín, have exceptionally low unemployment rates. These data underscore the economic stability of these areas, but also raise questions about the lack of labor and social integration in neighboring districts with fewer resources, such as certain sectors of Tetuán or the south of Hortaleza. Therefore, it could be interpreted that in these areas, physical barriers, such as the Los Pinos park, the M-30 and A-1 highways, and the proximity to Barajas airport, would significantly limit employment opportunities and economic mobility.

The north-south contrast is particularly stark. While northern districts, such as Moncloa-Aravaca and Fuencarral-El Pardo, maintain low unemployment rates, southern districts, such as Latina, Carabanchel, Usera and Puente de Vallecas, stand out for their persistently high levels. This difference, as specified above, is not simply a geographical coincidence, but a reflection of historical and structural processes that have concentrated the dynamics of exclusion and marginality in the south.

Intermediate districts, such as Ciudad Lineal and San Blas-Canillejas, represent a mosaic of realities, combining areas with medium and high unemployment rates. This internal heterogeneity is a clear example of how physical and social barriers can coexist even within the same district, perpetuating inequalities in access to job opportunities and resources.

The overlapping patterns between the unemployment rate and other indicators previously analyzed reinforce the idea that inequalities in Madrid are not only economic, but also territorial. The areas with the highest concentration of foreign population and the lowest social cohesion coincide with the regions most affected by unemployment, which amplifies the challenges of building a more inclusive city.

Moreover, unemployment acts as a factor that aggravates the dynamics of exclusion. In districts such as Tetuán, high unemployment rates could be closely linked to physical and urban barriers that hinder labor integration. This link highlights how urban planning can directly influence economic dynamics and reinforce structural inequalities.

These patterns are fundamental when considering the location of social assistance services, such as centers for the homeless. In areas with high unemployment and

Fuencarral - El Pardo

Hortaleza

Barajas

Tetuán

Chamartín

Moncloa - Aravaca

Ciudad Lineal

Chamberí

San Blas - Canillejas

Salamanca

Centro

Retiro

Moratalaz

Vicálvaro

Arganzuela

Latina

Puente de Vallecas

Carabanchel

Usera

Villa de Vallecas

Villaverde

UNEMPLOYMENT RATE (%)

2 - 3

3 - 5

5 - 7

7 - 9,5

BASE MAP

District Boundaries

Madrid Municipality Boundary

Watercourses

0   2,5   5   7,5 km

Figure 16. Unemployment rate on residential land.

Source: Original work based on data from the Madrid City Hall Geoportal and the INE.

accumulated vulnerability, the implementation of these services could, on the one hand, hinder the labor and social reintegration of users, and on the other, intensify the stigmatization of the receiving neighborhoods. This underscores the need for a balanced territorial approach, combining economic inclusion measures with a more equitable distribution of resources and services, thus promoting greater social cohesion and fairer urban development.

Relative poverty:

Relative poverty mapping in Madrid highlights areas of significant social and economic vulnerability. The classification is based on a comparison between the Census Subdivision (SSCC) value and the total municipal value. Areas are categorized as low, medium, or high vulnerability depending on whether the SSCC value is below 75%, between 75% and 125%, or above 125% of the total municipal value. This approach reflects disparities in socioeconomic conditions and helps identify localized challenges in achieving adequate living standards.

The analysis of this indicator coincides with the dynamics observed in previous mappings, reaffirming the relationship between socioeconomic vulnerability and territorial distribution. The peripheral areas of southern Madrid, such as Latina, Usera, Villaverde, Puente de Vallecas, Villa de Vallecas, Vicálvaro and Moratalaz, present the highest rates of relative poverty. This reinforces the idea of a concentration of vulnerability in the south of Madrid, a region already marked by multifactorial marginality, with high levels of unemployment and significant concentrations of foreign population. However, it is important

to note that data for the districts of Carabanchel and Hortaleza were not available on the INE portal. As a result, these districts have been excluded from the analysis, and for this reason, they appear in blue on the maps.

On the other hand, districts such as Ciudad Lineal and San Blas-Canillejas, although also peripheral, show moderate rates of relative poverty, which evidences a certain internal heterogeneity that distinguishes them from the more vulnerable areas in the south. The northern districts, such as Moncloa-Aravaca and Fuencarral-El Pardo, maintain low rates of relative poverty, aligned with their higher socioeconomic profile and lower exposure to urban barriers or exclusion dynamics.

As in previous analyses, relative poverty patterns are influenced by the physical barriers present in the territory, such as the M-30, urban parks or massive infrastructures, which not only physically separate communities, but also limit their connectivity and access to employment, education and social opportunities. These barriers reinforce socioeconomic vulnerability, consolidate the dynamics of exclusion and perpetuate structural inequalities. For example, it can be observed how the southern areas of Hortaleza and the neighborhoods near Barajas airport, which already face challenges related to relative poverty, are also affected by barriers that isolate them from the rest of the city. This phenomenon not only aggravates the situation of these neighborhoods, but also limits the possibilities of overcoming poverty conditions in the long term.

Understanding relative poverty and its territorial distribution is essential to assess the

....

The poverty index represented on the map was classified into three levels (low, medium, and high) based on a comparative analysis between the value of the Census Subdivision (SSCC) and the total value for the municipality. The classification criteria are as follows:

- Low: When the SSCC value is equal to or less than 75% of the total municipal value (≤ 0.75 times the municipal value).
- Medium: When the SSCC value is between 75% and 125% of the total municipal value (0.75 - 1.25 times the municipal value).
- High: When the SSCC value exceeds 125% of the total municipal value (> 1.25 times the municipal value).

This classification helps identify areas with higher or lower levels of relative poverty within the municipality, allowing for a clearer understanding of spatial disparities in socioeconomic indicators.
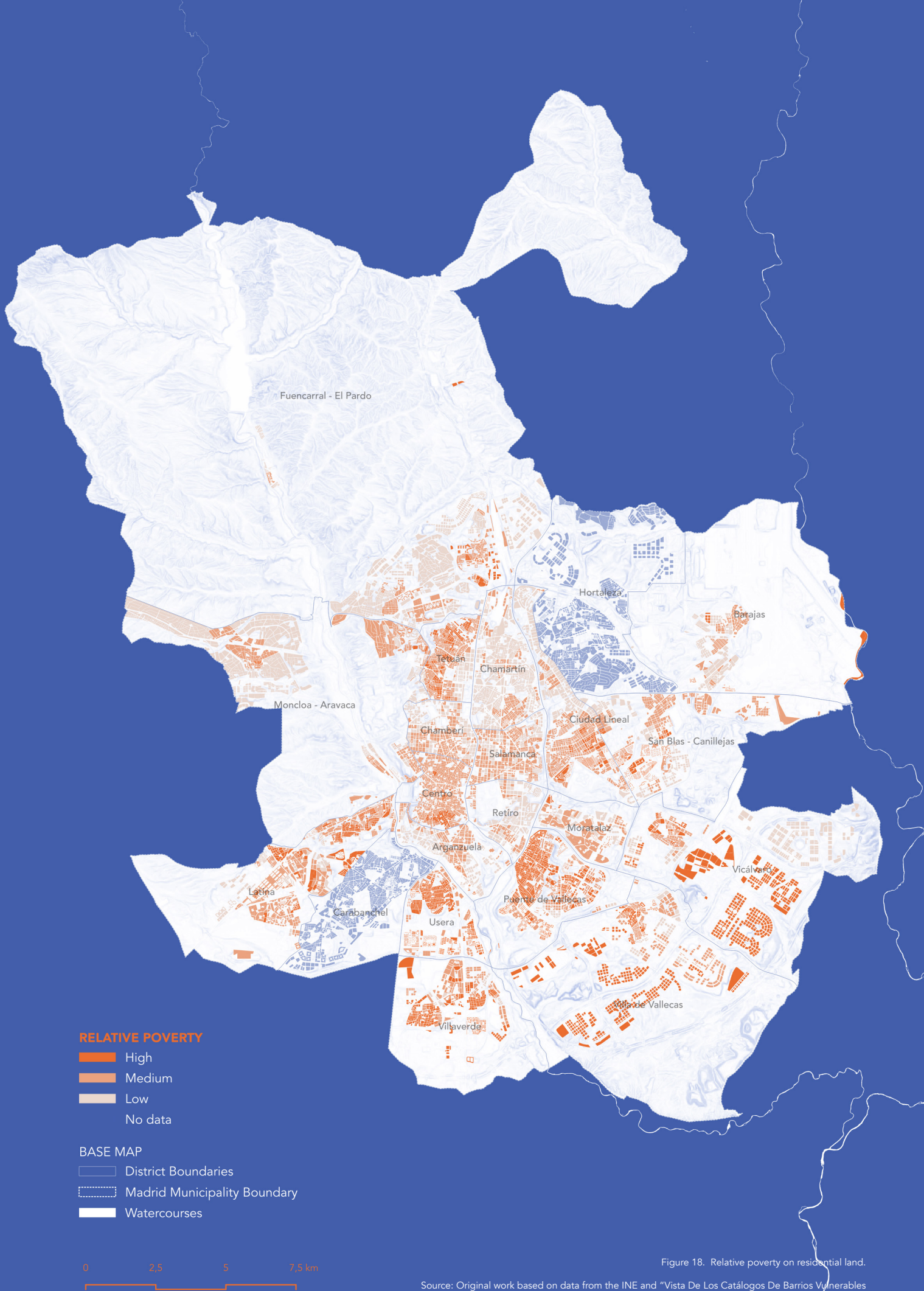
RELATIVE POVERTY

- High
- Medium
- Low
- No data

BASE MAP

- District Boundaries
- Madrid Municipality Boundary
- Watercourses

0   2,5   5   7,5 km

Fuencarral - El Pardo

Hortaleza

Barajas

Tetuán

Chamartín

Moncloa - Aravaca

Ciudad Lineal

Chamberí

San Blas - Canillejas

Salamanca

Centro

Retiro

Moratalaz

Arganzuela

Vicálvaro

Latina

Puente de Vallecas

Carabanchel

Usera

Villa de Vallecas

Villaverde

Figure 18. Relative poverty on residential land.

Source: Original work based on data from the INE and "Vista De Los Catálogos De Barrios Vulnerables De España: Análisis De La Vulnerabilidad En Las Ciudades Españolas Entre 1991 Y 2011.".

feasibility and implications of locating homeless assistance centers. As mentioned above, these centers should be located in places that not only provide access to basic services, but also facilitate social and economic integration. Locating an assistance center in areas with high relative poverty and marginality could generate counterproductive effects, such as the stigmatization of the receiving neighborhood or the consolidation of social exclusion dynamics. On the contrary, if these centers are strategically located in areas with greater social cohesion and accessibility, they can act as engines of inclusion, facilitating the labor and social reintegration of their users without aggravating the pre-existing vulnerability in the most disadvantaged areas.

The analysis of relative poverty in Madrid provides a comprehensive view of socioeconomic inequalities and their territorial implications. By showing how physical barriers and spatial dynamics directly influence poverty, this indicator becomes a key tool for urban planning and public policy implementation. In the context of locating homeless assistance centers, considering this data is crucial to ensure that these initiatives do not perpetuate exclusion, but rather contribute to a more inclusive and equitable city.

The analyses presented thus far seek to contextualize the reader on the socioeconomic dynamics of Madrid, providing a comprehensive view of the factors that contribute to social and economic marginalization in the territory. Through a multidimensional approach, key indicators such as the concentration of foreign population, the unemployment rate and relative poverty levels, which reflect the structural inequalities present in the city, have been examined.

This approach not only makes it possible to identify the areas where conditions of vulnerability are most critical, but also to highlight how these dynamics are profoundly influenced by spatial elements. Socioeconomic marginalization is inevitably linked to an evident

spatial marginalization, marked by the presence of physical barriers, patterns of territorial exclusion and the geographic segregation of different social groups.

Reading these processes is not only essential to understand the city's present, but also to guide urban interventions that promote equity and social cohesion. Recognizing the intersections between the social and the spatial is key to addressing the challenges of exclusion affecting Madrid's most disadvantaged areas and moving towards a more just and inclusive city. This will be followed by an in-depth territorial and spatial analysis of the city of Madrid, and will continue with a study of the strategies and actions developed by public entities to combat or prevent homelessness in the city.

Territorial and spatial Analysis of Madrid city

This analysis will address two main spatial components: the land use of the city of Madrid and the elements with the greatest physical impact on its territory. The analysis of land use will allow us to understand how urban space is distributed, identifying residential, commercial, industrial and green areas. On the other hand, the elements of greatest physical impact refer to physical barriers, such as roads, highways, parks, and large infrastructures, which can generate urban fragmentation and affect the connectivity of the different sectors of the city. These barriers not only limit mobility, but can also have negative externalities in the socioeconomic context, such as spatial segregation and isolation of peripheral neighborhoods.

The permeability of the city is fundamental to ensure equitable access to urban resources and services. Physical barriers tend to deepen socioeconomic problems, hindering labor mobility, connection to educational centers and participation in social activities. Therefore, a detailed analysis of these dynamics is key to identifying the most vulnerable areas and understanding their relationship with economic opportunities or limitations.

With a previous analysis of the general socioeconomic situation of the city of Madrid, this study will be complemented to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the territory and its current dynamics. This approach will make it possible to assess the territorial impact of the strategies developed by the public administration to combat homelessness. Understanding the socio-economic context together with the spatial elements will help to identify the specific Opportunities, Disadvantages, Threats and Strengths in the location of the centers of the homeless assistance network.

Locating these assistance centers in appropriate contexts is crucial to ensure their effectiveness without generating adverse effects. A context-based territorial analysis will facilitate informed decision making, ensuring that the implementation of these centers contributes to inclusive urban development, without perpetuating social exclusion in the most disadvantaged areas of Madrid.

Within the spatial and territorial analysis, it is also essential to consider the study of public transport in the city of Madrid. The interpretation of the physical elements and distances within the territory can be completely altered by the presence or absence of an effective transport network, as well as by the points of connection to this network. Madrid's public transport network is so complex that it is more appropriate to study it in the immediate contexts of the homeless assistance centers. For this reason, this mobility analysis will be developed in the following chapters, where the public transportation services and the connectivity of the environments where these centers are located will be studied in depth.

This approach will allow us to understand how transportation accessibility can influence the effectiveness of the assistance centers, facilitating or limiting access to essential services, employment and social opportunities for people experiencing homelessness. It will also assess how connection to the public transportation network can contribute to the social and economic integration of these individuals, and how lack of accessibility could perpetuate vulnerability in certain areas of the city.

Land use:

The distribution of land uses in the municipality of Madrid is strongly conditioned by its geography. To the north, the extensive mountain range of Madrid limits urban expansion, while to the south and east, this expansion and distribution have been influenced by its hydrographic network, in particular by the Manzanares River, which crosses the municipality from south to north.

The attached map shows the main qualified uses. Districts such as Centro, Salamanca, Chamartín, Tetuán and Arganzuela show a marked predominance of residential use, but lack significant green spaces. An exceptional case is El Retiro Park, in the district of El Retiro, which stands out for its large size, and Casa de Campo, to the east of the Centro district, which, with 1,535.52 hectares, is one of the largest parks in the city.

On the other hand, districts such as Hortaleza, Barajas and, in general, the southern districts of the municipality have large green spaces, although these are usually surrounded by important road infrastructures. The so-called "Facilities - Equipments" are mainly concentrated in the district of Moncloa-Aravaca, where there are important university and sports centers. On the outskirts of the central core, these facilities are also identified, although in a less concentrated manner.

In general, in the peripheral districts there is a greater prevalence of single-use land, creating large homogeneous areas with a single use and generating "patches" between them. The industrial fabric is concentrated mainly in the eastern and southern areas of the municipality. In the east, this concentration is associated with the presence of large transport infrastructures, such as the Adolfo Suárez Madrid-Barajas airport and the nearby dry port, Puerto Seco de Coslada. Similarly, major transport infrastructure is concentrated mainly in the south and east of the capital. However, in other areas of Madrid, infrastructure projects have buried these infrastructures to mitigate their spatial, environmental and acoustic impact.

The purpose of this mapping is not to provide an exhaustive and detailed analysis of land uses, but to contextualize the reader on the general distribution of land uses in the city. In this case, the residential distribution is particularly relevant, which will be analyzed in greater detail in the following mapping. These elements, although essential for urban functioning, can also be considered physical barriers that, as will be seen in the socioeconomic analysis, condition the territory in multiple ways.
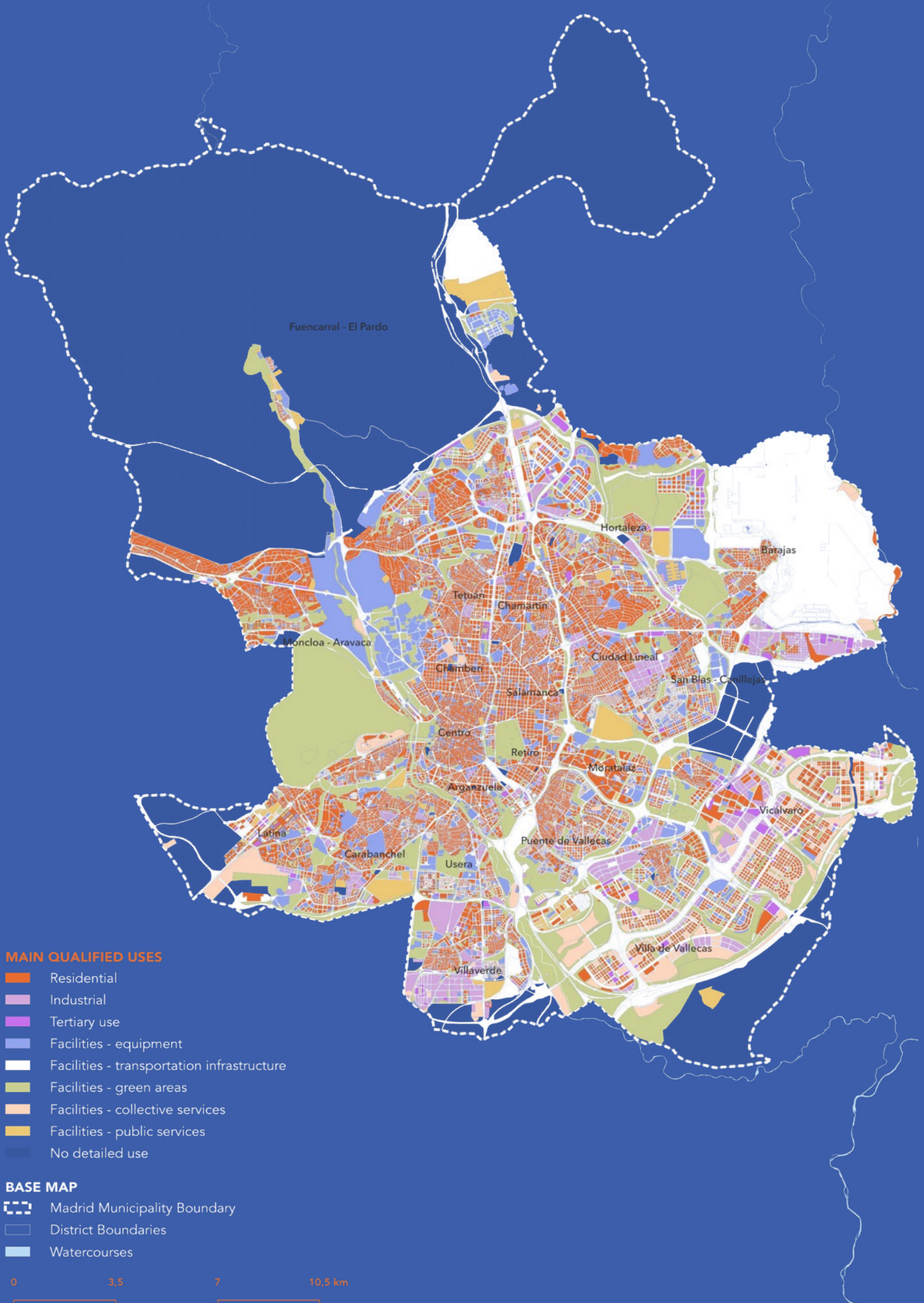
MAIN QUALIFIED USES

- Residential
- Industrial
- Tertiary use
- Facilities - equipment
- Facilities - transportation infrastructure
- Facilities - green areas
- Facilities - collective services
- Facilities - public services
- No detailed use

BASE MAP

- Madrid Municipality Boundary
- District Boundaries
- Watercourses

0   3,5   7   10,5 km

Figure 19. Relative poverty on residential land.

Source: Original work based on data from the Madrid City Hall Geoportal.

Main components of the territory: the territorial fragmentation of the city

The spatial analysis highlights, through the attached mapping, residential areas in blue, green areas in green, and non-underground transportation infrastructure in orange. The goal is to highlight some of the physical barriers present in the city, such as the highways surrounding it, airports and poorly permeable urban parks. However, representing this complex dynamic of spatial permeability through a two-dimensional map can be difficult: often only those who experience the area can concretely identify the physical and functional limits of these elements.

For example, although urban parks represent positive elements for the environment and the citizenry, they can also constitute physical barriers, especially at night. Retiro Park, being an enclosed park, becomes a large rectangle of railings that limits evening access, despite its many entrances. A similar case is observed with the Casa de Campo: although it is an open park, its vast extension makes it perceived as an urban limitation for those living nearby. The same argument can be applied to other spatial elements, such as cemeteries, which act as physical and spatial barriers.

Transportation infrastructure, highlighted in orange, is undoubtedly the most impactful elements in shaping spatial contexts. The map includes the rail network, airports, highways and main roads. When a residential area finds itself surrounded or trapped by one or more of these infrastructures, it suffers significant isolation, particularly with regard to soft mobility (pedestrian and bicycle). This accumulation of barriers negatively affects urban comfort, land value, and the quality of life of residents. Those living in these isolated areas are often forced to rely on private or public transportation, which is not always readily available. Additional natural or man-made barriers include elements such as rivers or hilly areas; in the case of Madrid, an example would be the Manzanares River.

Subsequent studies aim to offer a more complete perception of the territory, integrating aspects that are difficult to represent on a map, such as landscape, subjective perception of spaces, and invisible barriers that affect daily life. These elements are fundamental to inclusive urban planning, especially considering the needs of homeless people, who face both positive and negative aspects of the surrounding public space on a daily basis. The quality of pathways, availability of essential services, and accessibility are central to ensuring a more equitable and livable city.

This mapping is essential for the development of this analysis, since the correlation between socioeconomic dynamics and urban phenomena reflects, in a coherent manner, the spatial fragmentation of the city. Therefore, in the next chapter, a socioeconomic analysis of the Madrid population will be carried out, using various indices to approach a clearer understanding of the social vulnerability of the population.

This analysis is crucial for several reasons. First, understanding context-specific dynamics and needs is indispensable for efficient urban decision-making, especially with regard to the distribution of care services. In an ideal scenario, as mentioned before, care centers would be decentralized and evenly distributed throughout the territory, with the aim of facilitating social integration and ensuring broader and more satisfactory service coverage.

However, the reality in Madrid is far from this ideal. Care centers are centralized, and the supply is scarce in many areas of the territory. For this reason, it is essential to understand the motivations that justify the choice of one place over another for the location of these centers, considering both the dynamics and spatial composition and the socioeconomic situation of each context.

It is important to emphasize that, after this socioeconomic analysis, all the factors identified will be taken up again, as well as the location

MAIN COMPONENTS OF THE TERRITORY

- Transportation Infraestructure
- Urban Green
- Residential Land Use

BASE MAP

- District Boundaries
- Madrid Municipality Boundary
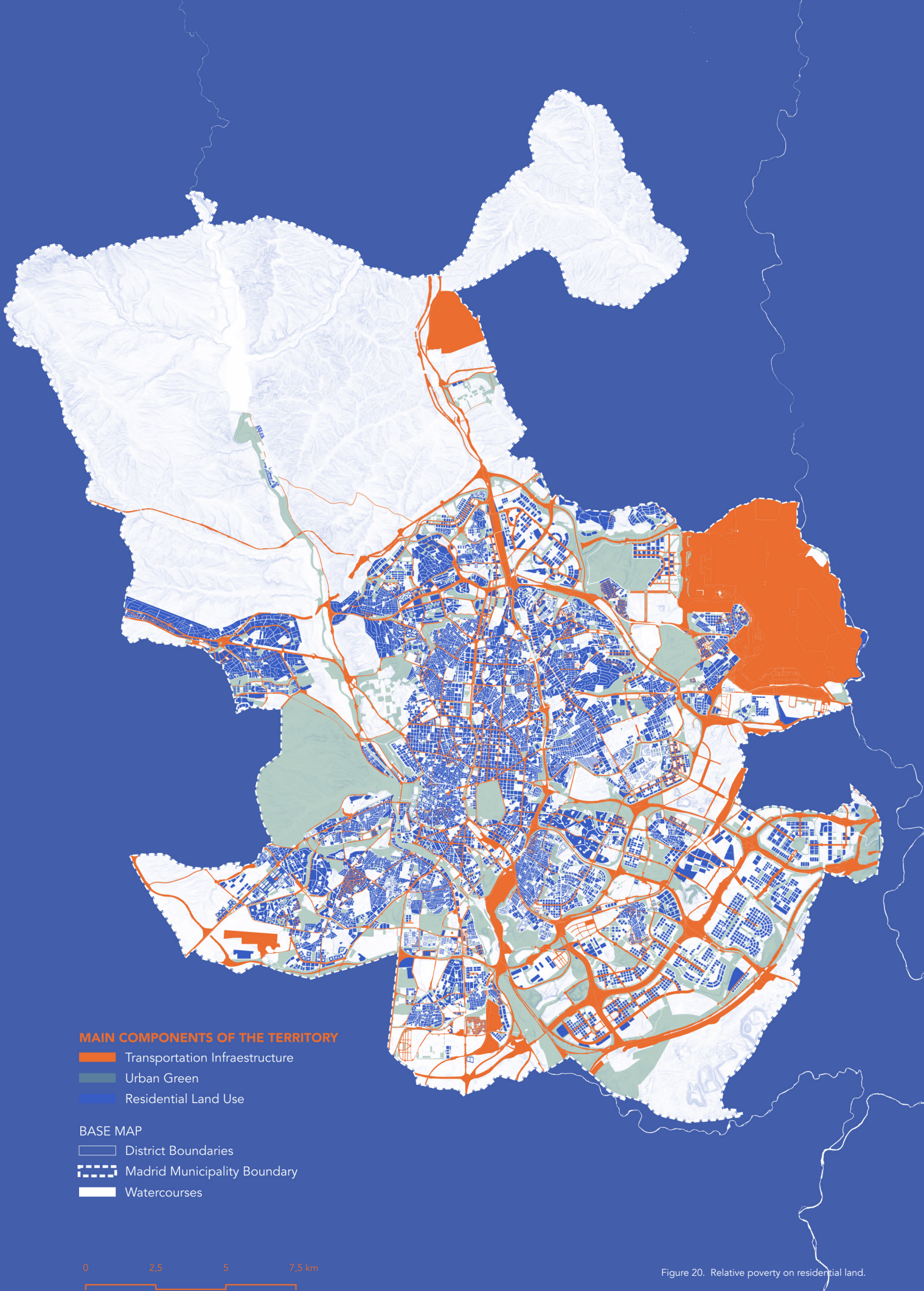- Watercourses

0   2,5   5   7,5 km

Figure 20. Relative poverty on residential land.

Source: Original work based on data from the Madrid City Hall Geoportal.

of the existing centers, in order to carry out a comprehensive reflection on the functioning of these systems and their impact on urban life. It is not a matter of proposing concrete solutions, but of understanding the dynamics of the city as a complex system, where the interactions between the different elements shape the current social and spatial structure.

The principles of Housing First are based on people's capacity and choice, promoting an effective transition from assistance to autonomy. In this sense, a homeless person should not only be able to choose the center he or she wishes to go to, but also have the concrete means to do so, avoiding long trips or crossing the entire city. Moreover, it is essential that they are not forced to expose themselves to contexts that already present high levels of vulnerability and marginalization.

To conclude this socioeconomic and territorial contextualization of the city of Madrid, it is important to consider several points. First, through the analysis of various socioeconomic indicators in relation to the composition and structuring of the territory, it is possible to identify various phenomena of socio-spatial segregation. Although the main purpose of this thesis is not to evaluate the territorial and social vulnerability of the Madrid context, we can observe that the sum of social dynamics assigns a much higher degree of vulnerability to the southeastern contexts of the city. With the joint interpretation of these cartographies, it can be deduced how some of the most significant elements of the territory, such as Barajas Airport, highways and rail networks, as well as large urban parks, can both enhance and perpetuate dynamics of segregation and poverty, reflecting in greater vulnerability.

This analysis is fundamental for the understanding and interpretation of the following chapters of the case study, since an analysis will be made of the strategies and policies developed by public administrations for the management, prevention and assistance of homelessness. Likewise, an analysis will be made of the tertiary entities that, together with the public administration, play a crucial role in the provision of services and assistance to the most vulnerable people, as well as the advantages and disadvantages that this entails.

Subsequently, the assistance centers of the Madrid City Council's homeless assistance network will be analyzed spatially. This analysis will be carried out critically, based precisely on the socioeconomic and spatial study carried out in this chapter, also deepening the analysis through a more detailed study of the immediate contexts of each center.

This holistic analysis of the phenomenon of homelessness in the city of Madrid, with an in-depth contextualization of the city and an analysis of its strategies and actions aimed at the control and eradication of the phenomenon, will allow a key conclusion for this context. With an approach from urban and social policy and management, and joint reflection with professionals in the field, it will be possible to conclude this thesis by determining the key aspects that can emerge within the management of this phenomenon.

HOMELESSNESS PHENOMENON IN MADRID

Homelessness in Madrid is a multifaceted phenomenon that has been on the rise in recent decades. According to data from the last official night count conducted in 2018, 650 people were identified sleeping on the streets, in addition to 1,250 housed in homeless care centers, 675 in supervised apartments or Housing First programs, and 234 in shelters for immigrants. In total, these figures add up to more than 2,800 people in various forms of homelessness (FACIAM 2019). Despite the seriousness of these numbers, the current picture is even more worrying: the count conducted in 2023 under a new methodology revealed an average of 1,032 people sleeping rough, an increase of 16% in five years, with peaks of up to 1,145 in certain months. (Ayto. Madrid 2023)

Homelessness is not only a housing problem, but also a reflection of deeper social inequalities. In Madrid, this phenomenon is aggravated by factors such as the crisis of access to housing, the lagging effects of the COVID-19 pandemic, migratory flows and the limitations of a care system that, in many cases, manages the problem without solving it. The Homeless Survey of the National Institute of Statistics (INE) of 2022 indicates that 59% of the people assisted by the street teams in Madrid were migrants and that 40% had been homeless for more than three years, which reveals the chronicity of this situation.

Despite these data, the institutional response has been criticized de muchas maneras, ya sea por cambios de metodologías de conteos nocturnos en lo que a partir de 2018 fueron completamente institucionalizados eliminando no solo la participación de voluntadios y de universidades, si no que también opacando la transparencia de los procesos y datos que caractizaba las metodologías se venian haciendo desde hacia mas de 10 años. A lo largo de cambios y oposiciones políticas se ha también polemizado la gestión del tema, que también se han criticado diversos criterios en la instauración de servicios y de decisiones con respecto a los centros de asistencia como la adopción de macro centros en las periferias de las ciudades. Madrid was a pioneer in conducting nightly counts of homeless people, a practice that began in 2006 and which, for more than a decade, provided detailed data on the magnitude of the phenomenon and made the problem visible. However, this initiative was suspended in 2018, coinciding with a change of municipal administration. Since then, the City Council has opted to use a continuous monitoring model based on data collected by street teams, which makes it difficult to compare figures longitudinally and reduces the transparency of the process. Although the new method has been validated by the Ministry of Social Rights, its implementation has not been without controversy, especially due to the absence of presentation of these data (Plaza 2024). The count carried out until 2018 included the participation of social entities and universities together with the Madrid City Council, which generated a collaborative environment that enhanced the visibility of the problem and promoted citizen awareness. However, this type of exercise has significant limitations in terms of data accuracy. Given the decision to institutionalize this statistical exercise, it is crucial to prioritize transparency in the data collection process and in the presentation of its results. For the development of this thesis, it has been a challenge to access these data, in contrast to the availability of information from previous registries.

Currently, the Madrid City Council website includes information on the number of people served by social services and the programs implemented but does not publish detailed data on counts of homeless people or clear reports on the real impact of these interventions. This lack of transparency, monitory and/or accountability feeds the perception that public policies against homelessness are insufficient and, in some cases, mere institutional communication tools.

This case study aims to analyze the phenomenon of homelessness in Madrid from a critical perspective. The following subchapters will present a detailed analysis of the most relevant facts and figures, linking them to the territory and the services provided by the City Council. This approach will make it possible not only to visualize the dynamics of homelessness in the city, but also to evaluate whether the strategies implemented respond adequately to the needs detected, identifying possible gaps and opportunities for improvement.

Recent Data and Reports on Homelessness in Madrid

As mentioned above, in 2022 the new Municipal Strategy on Prevention and Care for People Experiencing Homelessness (2022-2027), called "DIGNITAS", was approved. This municipal plan establishes a roadmap to address homelessness in the city of Madrid, focusing on three main axes: prevention, adaptation of resources and intervention methodologies, and the promotion of empowerment, autonomy and participation of affected people. It also includes measures to raise society's awareness of this reality and promote social innovation in this area. (Ayto.Madrid 16)

Among its novelties, the strategy introduces a new methodology for nightly counts of homeless people. It is proposed to carry out these counts in odd-numbered years, using a new methodological framework.

However, this methodological change makes it difficult to make a direct comparison between the 2023 data and those obtained in previous years, as the values are not directly comparable. Previous reports (2006-2018) were mainly based on the direct analysis of people in street situations, while the current report focuses its attention on the use of services and assistance to institutions. This approach generates uncertainty regarding the actual number of people experiencing homelessness, as the data reflect more access to services than the full extent of homelessness.

The following subchapters will present the data from these reports along with a brief analysis of each.

As can be seen in the graph 1, this year the total number of people served by the municipal network ranged from 2,134 people in March, the month with the fewest users, to 2,414 people in June, the month with the highest number of

People served by the Municipal Network for Homeless Assistance 2024
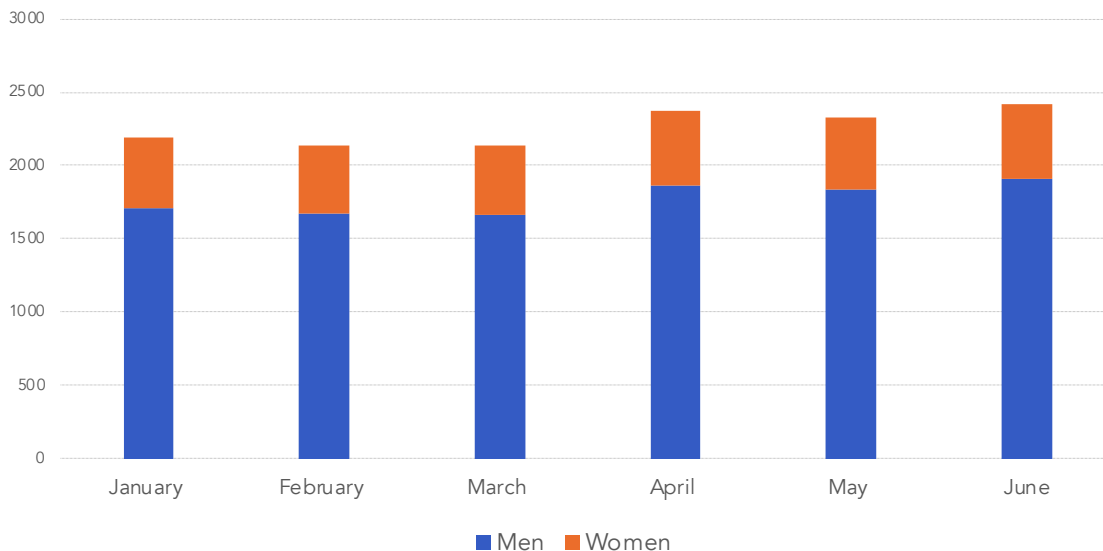
users recorded in this period. In all months, the percentage of female users ranged from 21% to 22%.

These data reflect all types of assistance that the program offers, from support services to those based on deinstitutionalization, with programs such as *Housing First* or Housing Led.

These data may indicate both positive and negative factors, as their stability and continuity could point to various issues. The first hypothesis is that the users, in all months, are basically the same, with slight entries and exits of new users. This would indicate a kind of "stagnation" in each person's process. The other hypothesis is that the data are so constant because each month these services become saturated and almost completely occupy their number of places or availability of care. Since it is not clear whether or not the people counted can be recounted each month, these data are difficult to interpret.

This chart (Graph 2.) shows the number of people who used the shelters of the homeless assistance network in the municipality of Madrid. In the first half of 2024, the number of users fluctuated between 640 and 664, reflecting a clear stability in the flow of the centers. This,

like in the previous chart, could indicate service saturation or a stagnation in the process of assisting each individual.

On the other hand, the percentage of female users ranged from 30% to 32%, which is a much higher percentage compared to the previous chart. This suggests that within the assistance provided by the municipal network, the proportion of women seeking emergency services such as shelters is higher than that of men using these services.

The following chart (Graph 3.) shows the number of people assisted by programs such as Housing First or Housing Led, which aim to deinstitutionalize homeless assistance services. In Madrid, the number of people benefiting from these services ranges around 248 people in the first half of 2024. With this data, several points can be raised:

Firstly, the number of people assisted by these programs is relatively low. It is clear that, at both the national and even European level, the priority in strategies to manage this phenomenon focuses on long-term solutions that personalize assistance for each person in need, such as Housing First or Housing Led programs. However, compared to the number of people using shelters, which amounts to

Number of people served in the Shelter Centers 2024
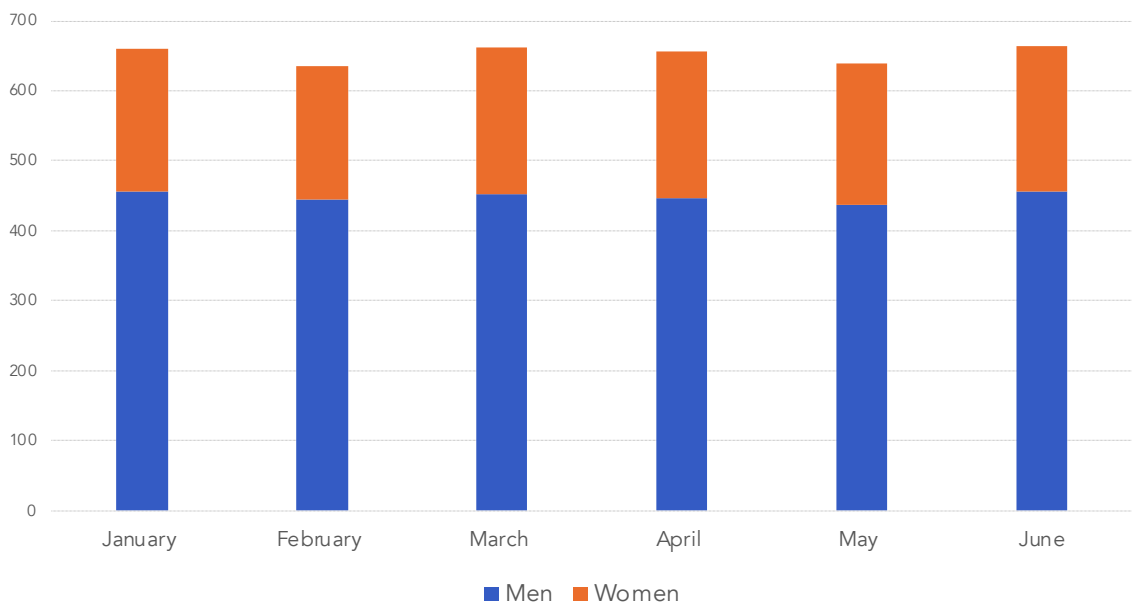
Graph 2. Number of people served in the Shelter Centers 2024

Source: Original work based on data from the Transparency portal of the Madrid City Council.

approximately 664 people, those benefiting from non-institutionalized housing programs are significantly fewer—almost half the number of those who turn to shelters.

On the other hand, in this case, the percentage of women benefiting from these programs represents only 20-23%. Once again, it is evident that women's chances of accessing this type of high-quality help are lower than those of men.

This choropleth map shows the concentration of people experiencing homelessness who are assisted by Madrid's *Street Team*. The data includes individuals living in groups and settlements, as well as those sleeping near the Adolfo Suárez Madrid-Barajas Airport. Thanks to this detailed methodology, it has been determined that the updated average number of people in street homelessness in Madrid is 1,032.

The districts with the highest concentration of individuals in this situation are, in descending order: Centro (17.6%), Arganzuela (9.8%), Tetuán (8.2%), and Barajas (7.7%). These figures reveal a clear trend: areas with greater daytime and nighttime activity tend to attract more people experiencing homelessness. A possible explanation for this is that these areas, being busier, are perceived as safer, especially at night.

One notable and striking case is the Adolfo Suárez Madrid-Barajas Airport located in Barajas district. Its facilities, open 24 hours a day, 365 days a year, provide access to restrooms and heated spaces. Although these facilities are not designed to function as emergency shelters, the fact that many homeless individuals sleep there highlights the lack of adequate and sufficient services to meet their needs. This pattern underscores the urgency of creating specific alternatives to ensure shelter and safety for these individuals without relying on places not intended for this purpose.

Iconic streets or squares like Gran Vía or Plaza Mayor, situated in Centro district, further illustrate this reality. During the day, this main thoroughfare is bustling with pedestrians, both locals and tourists, making it a common space where many homeless individuals ask for help or beg for alms. At night, this same area becomes one of Madrid's hotspots for people sleeping on the streets. This phenomenon demonstrates how social, economic, and urban dynamics influence the choice of these locations, not only

Number of people assisted in Non-Institutionalized Housing Programs 2024
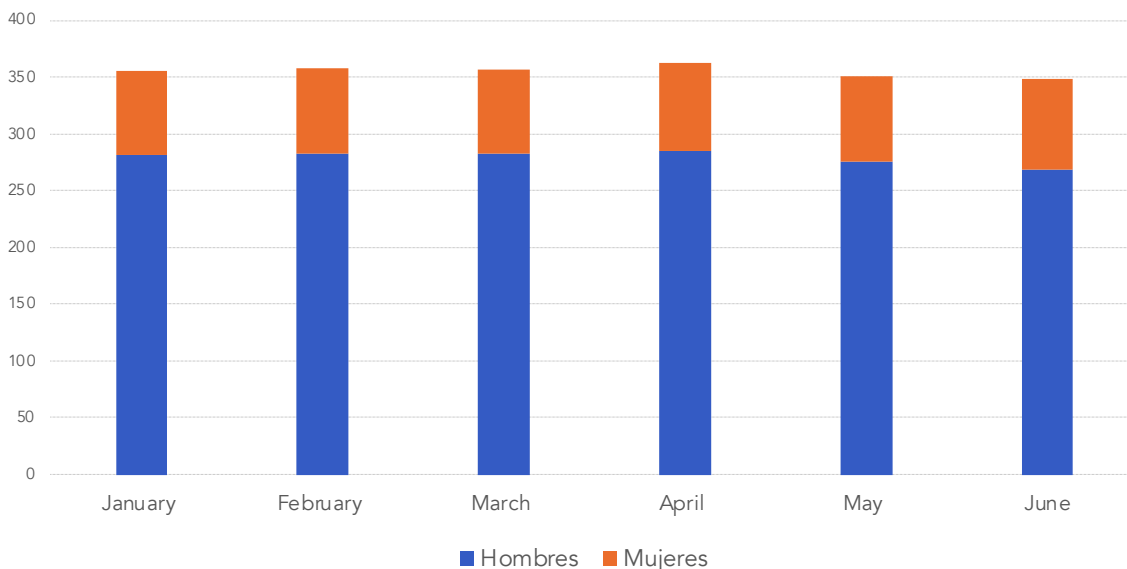
Graph 3. Number of people assisted in Non-Institutionalized Housing Programs 2024

Source: Original work based on data from the Transparency portal of the Madrid City Council.

NUMBER OF UNIQUE
INDIVIDUALS SERVED BY STREET
TEAMS IN A STREET SITUATION
(BY DISTRICT). JUNE 2024

- 17 - 35
- 35 - 65
- 65 - 100
- 100 - 155
- 155 - 221

BASE MAP

- - - - Madrid Municipality Boundary
───── Watercourses
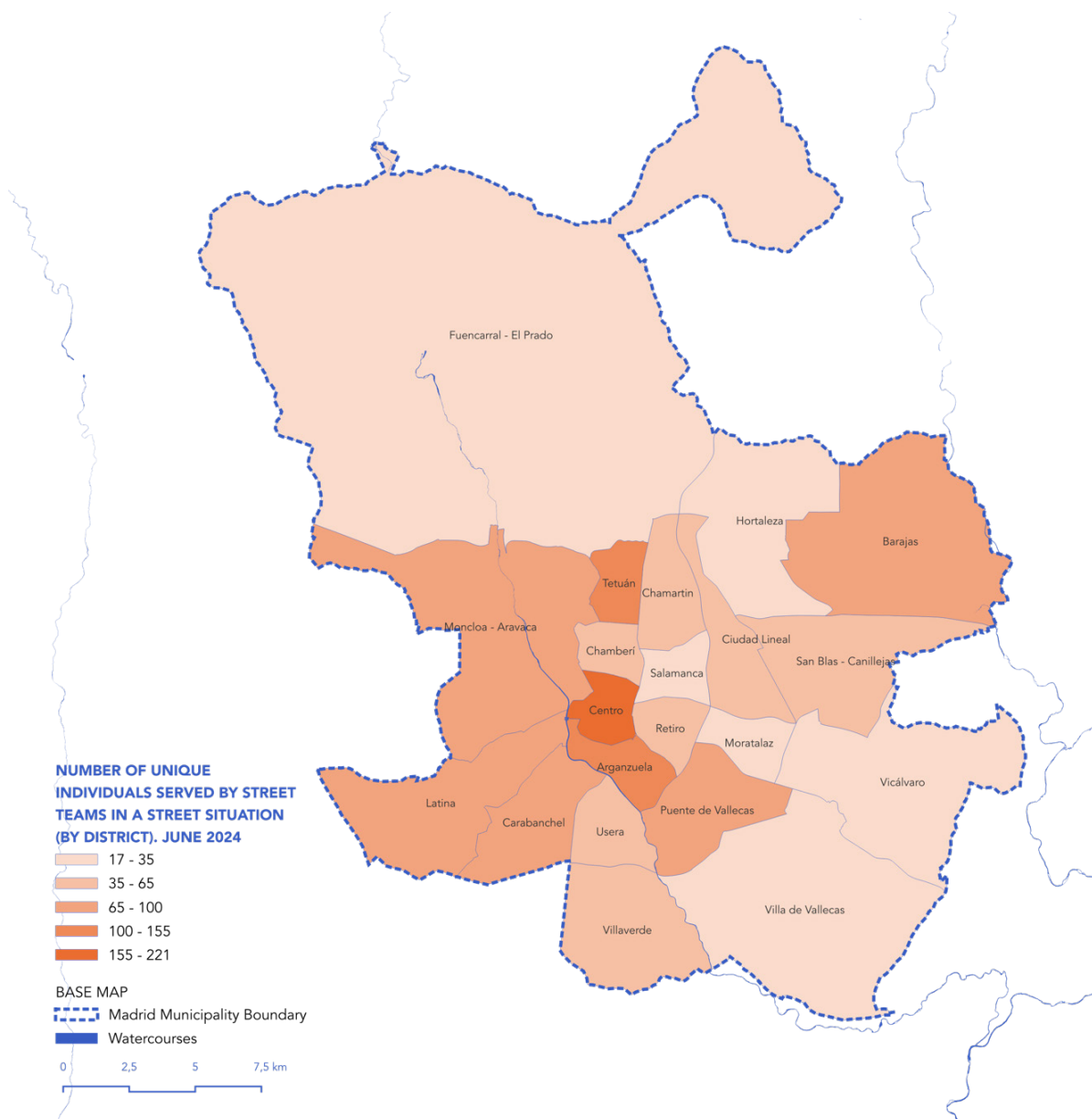
0   2,5   5   7,5 km

Figure 21.   Number of
unique individuals served
by street teams

Source: Original work
based on data from the
Transparency portal of
the Madrid City Council.

due to perceived safety but also because of access to potential resources during the day.

Based on the data showing the distribution of people sleeping on the streets of Madrid, it is possible to identify areas with "higher" or "lower" demand for essential services such as shelters, canteens, and other support mechanisms. It is fundamental to consider that the approach adopted in this thesis attempts to be consistent with the reality of the city. It is clear that the most advisable approach is not only to avoid welfarism, but also to develop programs such as Housing First in a more effective manner.

However, understanding the difficulties that this entails and acknowledging the real and immediate situation of the city, this thesis starts from a more feasible basis—at least in the medium to short term—and that is the conception of "assistance" centers. These should be different: decentralized public services aimed at the entire population, not macro-centers where the only beneficiaries are people in extreme marginalization. As discussed in the previous chapter and in the conceptual framework of this thesis, a paradigm shift is necessary for the reintegration process of society as a whole and for the generation of community.

Understanding that the right to the city is, to some extent, an often violated right for many, and recognizing that basic services are fundamental and indispensable in our cities, is only the first step in addressing the

systemic problem we face. With this in mind, the following subchapter aims to analyze the currently existing care services with the intention of understanding the criteria adopted by public administration, especially in the selection of their locations, as well as developing a brief spatial and socioeconomic diagnosis of the city to make a much more contextualized analysis.

INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSES TO THE HOMELESSNESS PHENOMENON IN MADRID

This subchapter will look at the main strategies and plans that focus on the management of homelessness, whether at the European, national, regional or municipal level. This is intended to give an idea and contextualization of what policies and objectives have been put in place over the years, as well as the approach taken at each level. This analysis will allow a better understanding of how the various initiatives articulate with each other and their impact on the territory, providing a basis for the critical study of the actions implemented in Madrid.

National and European Strategies

The Comprehensive National Strategy for Homelessness 2015-2020 (ENIPSH-I):
The ENIPSH-I, approved in 2015, represented Spain's first nationally coordinated effort to address homelessness comprehensively. This strategy was a collaborative effort involving the General State Administration, Autonomous Communities, and local corporations. It established a common framework focused on four primary objectives:

1. **Raising Awareness:** Promoting public understanding of homelessness as a social issue rather than an individual failing. Efforts included national campaigns, educational initiatives, and community programs designed to destigmatize homelessness and highlight its structural causes.

2. **Combatting Discrimination:** Addressing stigma and fostering inclusive attitudes toward homeless individuals. This aspect involved legal measures, anti-discrimination campaigns, and fostering societal acceptance of formerly homeless individuals reintegrating into communities.

3. **Ensuring Safety:** Prioritizing the life safety and well-being of homeless people. Emergency shelters, health services, and safety-net mechanisms were bolstered to provide immediate support to individuals in crisis.

4. **Strengthening the Care System:** Enhancing resources, services, and access to support networks. This included funding increases, training programs for social workers, and improving coordination across various levels of government and NGOs.

The strategy also introduced innovative housing models, including **"Housing First"** and **"Housing Led"**, which prioritize stable, permanent housing as a precursor to addressing other challenges. Unlike traditional models that often required individuals to meet specific conditions before accessing housing, these approaches emphasized dignity and autonomy by providing housing first and then addressing related social and health issues.

National Strategy to Combat Homelessness 2023-2030
Building on the ENIPSH-I, the National Strategy to Combat Homelessness 2023-2030, launched in alignment with the European Pillar of Social Rights, reinforces the government's

commitment to eradicating homelessness by 2030. This strategy adopts a holistic approach with key axes:

1. **Prevention:** Proactively addressing factors that lead to homelessness, such as poverty, unemployment, and lack of affordable housing. Specific measures include financial assistance programs, affordable housing projects, and early intervention services.
2. **Access to Housing:** Expanding affordable, permanent housing options through public-private partnerships, incentives for housing development, and expanding the availability of rental assistance programs.
3. **Deinstitutionalization:** Transitioning from institutional care to community-based solutions, emphasizing the importance of integrating individuals into regular housing environments rather than isolated or temporary facilities.
4. **Collaboration:** Fostering partnerships among governmental, private, and tertiary sectors to amplify the impact of interventions. A multisectoral approach ensures resources are effectively allocated and programs are tailored to local needs.

This strategy emphasizes the integration of comprehensive social services with housing to support personal autonomy and sustainable reintegration into society. It also places significant focus on research and data collection to monitor progress and refine policies.

European Platform to Combat Homelessness (Lisbon Agreement, 2021)

At the European level, the **Lisbon Agreement** established a shared commitment to combating homelessness across member states. It highlights key principles, including:

1. The prevention of homelessness

through proactive measures and support systems.
2. Minimizing prolonged stays in temporary accommodations by creating pathways to stable housing.
3. Ensuring stable housing as a fundamental right, supported by comprehensive social services tailored to individual needs.

The Lisbon Agreement underscores the importance of sharing best practices among member states and leveraging EU funding mechanisms to support innovative programs and projects.

Regional and Municipal Strategies

Homeless Inclusion Plan of the Community

of Madrid (2016-2021)

The **Homeless Inclusion Plan** was a critical regional initiative aimed at addressing homelessness through a multifaceted approach. Its key priorities included:

1. **Prevention:** Early intervention to mitigate risks of homelessness. Programs focused on identifying individuals and families at risk and providing tailored support to prevent eviction, job loss, or social disconnection.
2. **Support System Reinforcement:** Strengthening regional services and resources, including expanding shelter capacities, enhancing mental health and substance abuse services, and improving the coordination of support services.
3. **Social Reintegration:** Facilitating pathways for individuals to re-enter society and regain independence. Efforts included vocational training, employment assistance, and community-building initiatives to support long-term integration.

This plan fostered coordination between regional institutions and local entities, enabling

a more robust and interconnected support network. Specific programs under this plan also targeted the unique needs of vulnerable groups such as women, migrants, and youth.

<u>LARES Municipal Strategy (2015-2020)</u>

In Madrid, the LARES Municipal Strategy marked a turning point by consolidating the Municipal Network of Care for Homeless People. Key features of LARES included:

1. **Cross-Cutting Approach:** Addressing homelessness through collaboration across sectors, including housing, healthcare, education, and employment.
2. **Participatory Framework:** Involving diverse stakeholders, including homeless individuals, in policymaking. This approach ensured that policies were grounded in lived experiences and addressed real challenges.
3. **Empowerment and Awareness:** Promoting self-reliance through skill-building programs and reducing public stigma through educational campaigns and public engagement.

LARES laid a strong foundation for subsequent municipal policies by emphasizing prevention, inclusion, and sustainable care models. The strategy also introduced digital tools to improve service delivery and streamline communication among stakeholders.

<u>Municipal Strategy "Dignitas" (2022-2027)</u>

The **Dignitas Strategy** reflects the transformation of Madrid's homeless care network, aligning it with modern social service paradigms. Anchored in the **New Public System of Social Services** (2022), it aims to:

1. **Center Policies on People:** Focusing on individual rights, needs, and dignity. This involves creating individualized care plans, recognizing the unique circumstances of each person.
2. **Ensure Quality Care:** Providing integrated and preventive services through a multidisciplinary approach. This includes partnerships with healthcare providers, mental health services, and educational institutions.
3. **Foster Adaptability:** Addressing 21st-century challenges with innovative solutions, such as leveraging technology for service provision and enhancing data-driven decision-making.

Dignitas incorporates lessons learned from prior strategies, enhancing coordination, resource allocation, and inclusivity within the city's homeless care ecosystem. The strategy also emphasizes building trust between service providers and homeless individuals, fostering long-term engagement and positive outcomes.

Main strategies and approaches to addressing homelessness in Madrid

A review of the main strategies at the European, national, regional and municipal levels reveals a key consensus: the importance of promoting personal autonomy as a central axis in the management of homelessness. All the initiatives analyzed highlight the need to guarantee access to stable housing as a basis for social reintegration and the eradication of homelessness. Strategies such as the "Housing First" or "Housing Led" model reflect a significant shift towards approaches focused on individual rights and prevention, moving away from purely reactive interventions.

At the municipal level, strategies such as LARES (2015-2020) and Dignitas (2022-2027) stand out for their commitment to innovation and adaptability of assistance systems, consolidating support networks that respond to the specific needs of the most vulnerable groups. These policies reinforce the importance of collaboration between key actors, such as public administrations and the tertiary sector, in the provision of comprehensive services (Ayto. Madrid 2022).

As for assistance services, the intention to decentralize and deinstitutionalize them is evident in each of the plans analyzed. As discussed in previous chapters, the decentralization of services is fundamental, since it allows for greater permeability of urban

space and avoids the creation of physical barriers. If carried out homogeneously and with well-defined criteria, this territorial distribution not only guarantees more equitable access, but also reinforces social cohesion by consolidating service networks that cover large areas of the city.

On the other hand, deinstitutionalization, although beneficial in terms of collaboration with the tertiary sector, poses a challenge. This approach, while promoting efficiency, could be interpreted as a trend towards neoliberal policies, where the State delegates its responsibility for guaranteeing basic rights to external entities. Ensuring minimum quality standards in the services provided remains a primary obligation of government institutions.

Finally, although programs focused on personal autonomy, such as the "Housing Led" models, are essential, they should not be implemented to the detriment of traditional care services. The two approaches should complement each other, working together to address individual needs and ensure overall well-being. However, analyses of the plans suggest that autonomy programs are being led mainly by tertiary entities, underscoring the need for the State to take a more active role in managing and guaranteeing these services.

THIRD SECTOR ENTITIES FIGHTING HOMELESSNESS IN MADRID

In Spain there are numerous associations, entities and networks that share the same social purpose of fighting against homelessness and residential exclusion. These associations or entities of different scales have had a relevant importance in the fight against this phenomenon, either from a strategic or informative point of view. Some of them also have political influence and work in partnership with public bodies to produce reports or projects. Some of the most influential are listed below:

- **HOGAR SÌ, RAIS foundation** is a social initiative, non-profit, independent and plural, statewide entity created in 1998. With its four principles - Innovation, Alliances, Focus on Rights and Transparency - it seeks to ensure that no one lives on the street. With innovative projects such as Itinerarios Para La Inclusión, Derechos a la Vivienda and H4Y FUTURO, they apply methodologies based on housing as a first step, on community work and on the recovery of each person's autonomy in an independent and personalized way. It has achieved political influence, for example with the approval of Law 12/2023, of May 24, for the right to housing, or with the development of the National Strategy to fight against homelessness 2023-2030. In addition, thanks to its principle of transparency, it produces multiple reports that provide fundamental data for the analysis of this phenomenon.

- **Provivienda** is an association that has been working since 1989 to ensure that all people enjoy the right to housing under equal conditions. Together with HOGAR SÍ, they developed the Habitat program, which is based on the Housing First methodology and has been applied in several autonomous communities in Spain. Provivienda also plays an essential role in the prevention of homelessness, addressing structural problems such as the difficulty of access to housing, the rising cost of the real estate market and discrimination in renting. In addition, it actively collaborates with public administrations and other entities to implement solutions adapted to the needs of the most vulnerable groups.

- **Cáritas**, one of the largest non-profit organizations in Spain, has been addressing homelessness since 1957. Among its main services, Caritas has a network of shelters and canteens

in different cities of Spain, with a high economic investment for the management of this phenomenon. These services, at least in the city of Madrid, are characterized by being provided in religious structures such as churches or parishes, this makes them have a large territorial scope due to the large number of these structures in the city.

It is important to highlight that these religious structures and parishes, often associated with third-sector entities such as Cáritas, are usually located in central areas or places with diverse uses and greater dynamism. This is particularly significant because these areas tend to concentrate the highest number of people in situations of homelessness, as seen in the case of Madrid. These central points not only facilitate access to basic services like food and shelter for those in need but also promote other key aspects such as social integration, visibility, and, ultimately, contribute to combating the stigma associated with homelessness. By operating in areas of high visibility, these points of assistance not only meet immediate needs but also foster societal awareness and collective responsibility toward solving the problem.

- FACIAM acts as a network that brings together several local associations in Madrid. Its actions include basic services such as canteens, showers and clothing, as well as legal support to guarantee the rights of homeless people. In the case of Madrid, the entities participating in this network are Albergue San Juan De Dios, Apostólicas del Corazón de Jesús Comunidad de Obras Sociales (Luz Casanova), Cáritas Diocesana de Madrid, Fundación Benéfica San Martín de Porres, Fundación Social Hijas de la Caridad and O. H. San Juan de Dios - Santa María de la Paz. Most of these are religious entities that play a fundamental role, especially in the provision of emergency assistance.

As is evident, there are many programs, entities and projects working to control homelessness and residential exclusion. Some of these are developed by public and private entities, churches, volunteers and many others. The phenomenon, however, although it has been the main focus for many years, continues to deeply affect the population.

In terms of legislation, there have been notable advances to contribute to the control of this phenomenon, projects such as Habitat have helped to achieve much more satisfactory results in the long term, however, people who visit or live in Madrid are witnesses of the number of people living on the street, especially in the center of the city in streets or touristic spots such as Gran Via or Plaza Mayor. It is a shocking reality because in these touristic spots of the city highlights the duality of realities, people visiting or shopping in the big city along with people who at nighttime set up their tents with a couple of cartons and blankets.

The Role of the Third Sector in Managing Homelessness in Madrid

In Madrid, the third sector plays a crucial role in mitigating the effects of homelessness. Organizations such as Cáritas, RAIS Fundación, and Hogar Sí are prominent examples of how these entities provide direct assistance and advocate for the rights of homeless individuals. However, their prominence also highlights the shortcomings of the public system and the need for a more balanced approach.

The flexibility and community-focused strategies of these organizations enable them to effectively address specific problems, reaching areas underserved by public administration. Moreover, these aid entities have adapted and evolved, incorporating new methodologies aimed at restoring personal autonomy. For instance, a novel food delivery model provides preloaded cards to individuals or families after an evaluation, allowing them to purchase food

independently and fostering a sense of self-management and personal dignity. These initiatives yield immediate benefits, especially for the most vulnerable members of society. However, they also create inequalities due to their reliance on limited resources and the heterogeneity of service provision. Additionally, the predominance of religious entities in managing these resources raises ideological and practical barriers that may restrict access for certain users.

The current model perpetuates a perception of homelessness as a charitable issue rather than a fundamental right. Fragmented responses and the lack of a robust data collection system hinder the monitoring of the phenomenon, the evaluation of interventions, and strategic planning. This situation underscores the urgency of an approach where the state assumes a more active and coordinated role.

On January 13, 2025, an interview was conducted with Dr. Agustín Hernández, an architect and professor in the Department of Urban Planning and Land Management. He addressed the relationships between public facilities and the community. During the conversation, Dr. Hernández emphasized the need to evaluate services across quantitative, qualitative, and functional dimensions. He also noted that a reductionist administration, such as the case of night shelters or temporary facilities, merely perpetuates the problem.

Dr. Hernández also reflected on the placement of care centers: while those managed by religious entities are often located in the heart of the city, public centers tend to be situated on the outskirts. Phenomena such as NIMBY ("Not In My Back Yard") and the stigmatization of public centers exacerbate this situation, but trust in third-sector organizations facilitates their acceptance.

Finally, he emphasized that facilities should be multifunctional, transparent, and managed with integrity to foster community ownership of public spaces. This approach, he argued, would prevent reductionist visions that perpetuate exclusion and social conflicts.

Deinstitutionalization and Autonomy Programs

Deinstitutionalization has promoted collaboration with the third sector but also represents a challenge. This approach can be seen as a trend toward neoliberal policies, where the state delegates its responsibility to external entities. Ensuring minimum quality standards remains a governmental obligation.

Programs focused on personal autonomy, such as "Housing Led" models, are essential but should not come at the expense of traditional care services. Both approaches must work together to address individual needs and ensure overall well-being. However, the management of these programs, primarily led by third-sector entities, highlights the need for greater state involvement.

While the third sector is indispensable in managing homelessness, its predominance reveals the necessity for stronger state commitment. A balanced approach combining public provision with third-sector collaboration is crucial to ensure equitable, sustainable care aligned with the fundamental rights of homeless individuals. Only through such an approach can structural barriers that perpetuate social exclusion be overcome, paving the way for a more inclusive society.

ANALYSIS OF ASSISTANCE CENTERS FOR THE HOMELESS IN MADRID

This subchapter aims to analyze the emergency and assistance services currently

available in the municipality of Madrid, addressing their location and coherence with the territorial and socioeconomic context of the city. Although the homeless population is expected to decrease significantly in the coming years, the assistance centers must remain operational, adapted and ready to provide effective help to those who need it most. Currently, the municipality of Madrid has these types of shelters and services:

- **Multi-service centers**, which offer comprehensive services such as meals, laundry, health care and accommodation.
- **Specific centers**, which function as social support points or canteens.
- **Night shelters** are centers that have a night schedule, generally from 8 p.m. to 9 a.m., the rest of the day they remain closed.
- **Temporarily activated centers**, such as those operating during the Cold Season (November to April).

In addition, the network of services combines public resources with social initiatives, implementing interventions ranging from street contact and initial reception to support for employment integration. These resources are managed through the centralized system known as the Single Entry Door (Puerta Única de Entrada - PUE), which organizes the available spaces and ensures that each person is referred to the resource that best suits his or her needs. This system is complemented by the Street Teams (Equipos de Calle), which carry out direct interventions and act as a bridge between people in street situations and the available resources.

However, this model, although designed to maximize effectiveness, faces significant challenges. On the one hand, the bureaucratic procedures required to access services can become barriers, especially for people in situations of extreme vulnerability. Often, requirements such as sobriety or the active search for employment are demanded, which limits access to those who need it most, reducing the effectiveness of the assistance available. In addition, even if all the requirements for accessing the program are met, the time and

	Operatin hours and period	Accomodation			Day center
		Number of mixed-use beds	Number of beds for women	Number of beds for men	
Temporary Shelter Center for Immigrants in San Blas	Open all year round 24h	120	/	/	yes
Shelter Center Juan Luis Vives	Open all year round 24h	140	/	/	yes
Low-Threshold Shelter Puerta Abierta/Pinar de San José	Nov 23 – Mar 31	150	/	/	yes (40 seats)
Municipal Shelter Center San Isidro	Open all year round 24h	268	/	/	yes
Shelter Center La Rosa	Open all year round 24h	35	/	/	yes
Shelter Center Beatríz Galindo	Open all year round 24h	/	50	/	yes
Emergency Shelter of the Cold Weather Campaign for Homeless People Villa de Vallecas	Nov 23 – Mar 31 (9:30 PM – 9:30 AM)	/	/	140	no

Figure 22. Summary table of services

Source: Original work based on data from the Transparency portal of the Madrid City Councill.

steps necessary to do so require management and organization on the part of the user. This can be especially complicated for those who are already in a situation of vulnerability, which can discourage access or even the attempt to access the program.

It is important to emphasize that the current perspective should focus on developing policies and supports that are tailored to individuals. However, it seems that the strategies currently adopted prioritize the simplification of institutional management instead of focusing on the user, his or her needs and limitations.

Regarding the number of accommodation spots and day centers, the following table summarizes some of the key data available on the official website of the Madrid City Council. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the latest nighttime count recorded just over 600 people sleeping on the streets, while slightly over 1,000 individuals were registered as users of assistance centers. Although reports from the City Council state that these centers have not reached full capacity, there is a certain inconsistency in the figures. Based on the services listed in the table, the 600 individuals living on the streets, even if they wished to access these centers, would be unable to do so due to the limited availability of spots. Furthermore, it is worth noting that two of the largest centers operate on a seasonal basis, being open only during the coldest winter months.

Another concerning issue is the disparity in the availability of spots for men versus women. The only men's center offers nearly three times the number of spots as the sole center dedicated to women. As previously highlighted, there has been a significant global increase in women and young people experiencing homelessness. Through the lens of intersectionality, it is clear that women in such conditions are far more vulnerable than their male counterparts.

Additionally, it is crucial to consider that in Madrid, the effects of global warming have led to increasingly unbearable summer heatwaves for the entire population. There is a severe lack of public climate-controlled spaces that could serve as shelters during extreme weather conditions. The fact that some centers are only operational during the colder months may not align with the current demands of Madrid's climate.

The discussion in this thesis, however, focuses on the geographic location of these centers, as it is considered a fundamental factor for the effective functioning of the system. By creating an interconnected, accessible network that covers a broad range of needs, the distribution of services could adapt flexibly to the changing requirements of society. For this reason, the following chapters will analyze the context in which each of these centers is located, taking into account the spatial and socioeconomic dynamics of the city previously analyzed. This with the objective of evaluating and reflecting on the suitability of the current locations of these assistance centers.

As noted above, locating these services in neighborhoods marked by high socioeconomic vulnerability can reinforce patterns of exclusion, making it even more difficult for homeless people to reintegrate. Following Wacquant's principles, this phenomenon, known as "advanced marginality," highlights how the negative externalities of such socioeconomic contexts can exacerbate social fragmentation, affecting both service beneficiaries and surrounding communities.

Effective urban planning must be accompanied by a robust and territorially coherent network of public services. As demonstrated, discrepancies in the location and design of these services can perpetuate inequities and marginalization, rather than address them. In the following chapters, Madrid's urban fabric will be analyzed from a holistic perspective that integrates both spatial and socioeconomic considerations. The aim is to identify strategies to optimize the service

network, combat poverty, reduce exclusion, and foster a more equitable and inclusive city.

This map shows the location of the centers that make up the network of homeless assistance services in the municipality of Madrid. Before carrying out a specific analysis of each of the contexts associated with the centers, two observations arise from a broad perspective.

First, with respect to the supply-demand relationship, in the traditional planning of public services, the establishment of a facility is usually based on an analysis of social need and demand. In simple terms, if saturation of the hospital network is detected in a given area, the construction of a new hospital center is considered. However, when analyzing the map showing the concentration of homeless people served by the street teams in Madrid, the location of the centers does not seem to respond to this logic of demand.

For example, the Centro district, which has one of the highest concentrations of homeless people according to the map of individuals served, lacks assistance centers, as do districts such as Arganzuela or Barajas. In contrast, peripheral districts such as Villa de Vallecas or Vicálvaro, with lower concentrations of this population, have resources available. This shows a disconnection between the location of the centers and the socioeconomic and spatial dynamics of the city.

It is also relevant to consider the situation of Barajas airport. Although there is no concrete data available on the number of people who spend the night in its facilities, personal experience and various journalistic reports have addressed this problem. Some headlines include: "Some 170 homeless people spend the night in terminals T-4 and T-1 on a daily basis" or "Night workers endure robberies, fights, threats and even, they say, relieve themselves and take drugs at the check-in counters" (Telemadrid 2024). This situation, which has been going on for years, contrasts with the fact that the shelters are located far away from the airport. This highlights a serious incongruence between the supply of assistance centers and the real needs of the population.

Secondly, most of the centers are located in the southeast and southwest of Madrid. These areas not only have a low number of homeless people who spend the night on the street, which makes their location untimely in terms of demand, but they are also areas with a high degree of vulnerability, according to the socioeconomic analysis of the city. These regions already face high levels of marginalization and a lower quality of life.

It is understandable that, in the face of high vulnerability, there is a greater possibility of reaching an extreme degree of social exclusion leading to homelessness. However, these centers are for emergency and assistance, not prevention, so their location in these vulnerable districts would not have a strong justification either.

From the intersectionality approach raised in the theoretical framework of this thesis, it is evident that the combination of the principle of intersectionality inherent to homelessness and the principle of advanced marginality generates a deeply problematic situation. Furthermore, it is hypothesized that phenomena such as NIMBY ("Not In My Backyard"), together with the privatization and commodification of public space, could have influenced the choice of locations, prioritizing criteria that do not consider people's well-being or service optimization.

Therefore, the question arises: What were the criteria used to determine the location of these centers?

Next, a brief contextual analysis of each of the centers will be carried out with the objective of evaluating their suitability in relation to their location and the socioeconomic dynamics of the environment.

Fuencarral - El Pardo

Hortaleza

Barajas

Tetuán
Chamartín

Moncloa - Aravaca

Ciudad Lineal

Beatriz
Galindo

△ San Blas

San Blas - Canillejas

La Rosa
△△ San Isidro

Salamanca

Centro

Retiro

Moratalaz

Juan Luis
Vives

⊙ S.S.C
Valdebernardo

△ Vicálvaro

Arganzuela

□ Soup Kitchen
Santa María
Josefa

Latina

Carabanchel

Usera

Puerta
Abierta

△

◇ C. C.F Villa
de Vallecas

Villa de Vallecas

Villaverde

Services of the Municipal Network for
Homeless People Assistance

△   Day and night shelter center

△   Day and night shelter center for women

△   Day and night shelter center for Immigrants

◇   For men

⊙   Social Service Center

□   Soup Kitchen

BASE MAP

▭   District Boundaries

▰▰▰▰   Madrid Municipality Boundary

▬▬▬   Watercourses

0   2,5   5   7,5 km

Figure 23. Location of the services of the Municipal Network for Homeless People Assistance

Source: Original work based on data from the Madrid City Hall Geoportal.

The selection of the location of assistance centers: how a strategy of assistance can enhance or perpetuate social marginalization.

In this section, each of the shelters in Madrid's homeless assistance network will be analyzed individually. The analysis will first focus on socioeconomic indicators, followed by spatial indicators, to provide a comprehensive understanding of the contexts in which these centers are located. Each analysis will include cartographic representations zooming in on the shelters to illustrate the data visually.

For the socioeconomic indicators—such as population density, population aging, percentage of households inhabited only by foreign members, unemployment rate, and the relative poverty index—a scale of 1:80,000 will be used to provide a broader view of the local socioeconomic conditions. For the spatial indicators—including land use classification, presence of physical barriers, and connection to the public transportation network—a scale of 1:40,000 will be employed to capture the immediate urban context and accessibility challenges.

This dual approach will allow for a detailed assessment of how each shelter's location interacts with the surrounding environment, identifying patterns of marginalization or integration. The goal is to evaluate whether the placement of these shelters supports the social reintegration of their users or, conversely, perpetuates cycles of exclusion.

1. Population Density
Population density is a crucial indicator when assessing the suitability of a shelter's location. High-density areas typically offer a broader range of services, such as retail stores, public facilities, and transportation options, which can enhance accessibility for users. However, these areas may also pose challenges, such as increased competition for resources or heightened visibility that can lead to stigmatization of shelter users by the community.

Conversely, shelters located in low-density areas often lack essential services and public infrastructure, increasing the isolation of their users. Sparse population zones may reflect suburban or peri-urban contexts where public transportation is limited, and access to employment opportunities and community services is more challenging.

By analyzing population density, planners can identify whether a center's location aligns with its objectives. For instance, moderate to high-density mixed-use areas with accessible infrastructure tend to strike a balance between anonymity, access to services, and integration into the community, fostering better outcomes for users.

2. Population Aging
The age distribution in the areas surrounding assistance centers provides important clues about the social fabric and potential opportunities for interaction. Neighborhoods with an aging population may indicate limited workforce dynamics, reduced vibrancy, and potentially fewer community-driven resources aimed at younger or working-age demographics.

For homeless individuals, proximity to younger, economically active populations can be beneficial, as it increases the likelihood of exposure to job opportunities, skills training, and dynamic social networks. On the other hand, areas with a high concentration of older residents might have stronger local community bonds but could lack active support systems for reintegration, such as vocational training programs or youth-focused activities.

3. Percentage of Foreign-only Households
The proportion of households occupied exclusively by foreign residents reflects patterns of migration and social integration within the city. Areas with a high percentage of foreign-

only households often coincide with lower-income neighborhoods marked by precarious housing, social exclusion, or linguistic and cultural barriers.

For assistance centers, these areas can represent both challenges and opportunities. On the one hand, they may offer solidarity networks among marginalized populations who share similar struggles. On the other hand, such areas might lack broader integration into the urban economy and infrastructure, further isolating shelter users.

The spatial concentration of foreign households often overlaps with what Wacquant describes as "territorial stigmatization," reinforcing marginalization. Careful consideration is needed to ensure that centers located in these areas provide access to diverse urban opportunities rather than becoming enclaves of compounded exclusion.

4. Unemployment Rate

Unemployment is a direct indicator of economic precarity and marginalization. High unemployment rates in the vicinity of a shelter often correlate with limited economic opportunities, reduced public investment, and weaker community resilience.

For shelter users, being situated in areas of high unemployment can trap them in cycles of poverty, as these neighborhoods typically lack the resources or networks necessary to break free from exclusion. Conversely, centers located in areas with low to moderate unemployment rates offer greater opportunities for job placements, training programs, and economic mobility.

Understanding local unemployment rates is crucial to determining whether a shelter's location enables users to transition out of homelessness by connecting them to economic opportunities or further entrenches them in poverty.

5. Relative Poverty Index

The relative poverty index provides a broader perspective on the socioeconomic disparities within the city. Areas with high poverty levels often coincide with urban enclaves characterized by limited infrastructure, underfunded public services, and social stigmatization.

For homeless assistance centers, being located in areas of concentrated poverty can reinforce exclusion and limit users' ability to access diverse networks or support systems. Such locations may also perpetuate Wacquant's concept of "advanced marginalization," where individuals are confined to spaces of economic and social failure.

Conversely, locating shelters in areas with lower poverty rates—such as mixed-income neighborhoods—promotes integration and challenges the territorial segregation of vulnerable populations. These areas provide better access to quality services, social capital, and upward mobility pathways, aligning with Harvey's concept of the "right to the city."

6. Land use classification

The classification of the land where each center is located has a direct impact on its functionality and potential to foster social integration. Ideally, care centers should be located in mixed-use neighborhoods where residential, commercial and recreational activities coexist. Such environments encourage interaction between center users and the surrounding community, which fosters opportunities for reintegration and reduces the stigma often associated with these facilities.

In contrast, monofunctional zones, particularly those for industrial or logistical purposes, create isolated environments with minimal pedestrian activity, few public services and little urban vitality. These zones exacerbate social alienation and do not respond to the needs of downtown users. Conversely, integrating care centers into mixed-income or more dynamic neighborhoods can expose

users to broader opportunities and reduce their segregation from mainstream society.

Proximity to complementary services is equally critical. Care centers should be close to essential facilities such as health centers, pharmacies, grocery stores, and public services. Locations far from these resources impose logistical and financial burdens on vulnerable populations, compounding the challenges they already face. A more equitable distribution of facilities in neighborhoods-including wealthier or mixed-income areas-promotes shared responsibility and challenges social stigmatization.

7. Presence of physical barriers.

Physical barriers such as major highways, railways, large industrial zones or natural obstacles such as rivers often fragment urban areas, creating pockets of isolation. These barriers make accessibility difficult, especially for users who rely on walking or public transportation. Care centers located in such disconnected areas risk further alienating their users by exacerbating their difficulties in accessing help.

A cohesive and permeable urban fabric is vital for the effective location of centers. For example, centers surrounded by highways or poorly integrated green spaces can inadvertently create a sense of disconnection from the city. To counter this, urban design strategies should prioritize pedestrian walkways, safe crossings and proximity to green spaces that enhance mental well-being without acting as barriers.

8. Connection to public transport

Mobility is a key factor when analyzing the accessibility of shelters and their integration into the city, as it directly impacts the ability of vulnerable individuals to reach essential services and resources. According to the study by Roderick et al. (2021), the functional capacity of homeless individuals is often significantly limited, which affects their walking speed and, consequently, their interaction with the urban environment.

The Six-Minute Walk Test (6MWT) used in the study revealed that only 38% of participants were able to complete the test, highlighting considerable physical limitations within this population. Although the study does not specify an average walking speed, it emphasizes that homeless individuals tend to walk at significantly slower rates compared to healthy adults, whose average walking speed ranges between 1.2 and 1.4 meters per second. Contributing factors include health issues, fatigue, adverse environmental conditions, and the burden of carrying personal belongings.

In the specific context of Madrid, extreme weather conditions—particularly during summer heatwaves and cold winters—further exacerbate the challenges faced by individuals with limited mobility. These conditions not only make walking longer distances physically demanding but also increase the health risks for vulnerable populations. Shelters that are poorly located or far from essential services force individuals to navigate these conditions, potentially worsening their physical and mental well-being.

These limitations have direct implications for the planning and location of shelters. Shelters situated far from basic services, public transportation, or in areas with significant physical barriers may exacerbate accessibility challenges and perpetuate isolation. Limited mobility underscores the importance of locating shelters in urban areas with direct access to essential services and infrastructure that minimizes mobility barriers, such as wide sidewalks, safe crossings, and effective connections to public transportation networks.

Moreover, this indicator must be assessed alongside other spatial and socioeconomic factors, as their interplay can influence the degree of exclusion or integration of vulnerable individuals. Understanding and prioritizing mobility not only informs better shelter locations

but also alleviates the physical and mental burden faced by users when navigating the city, especially in extreme weather conditions.

Conclusion

The combination of socioeconomic and spatial indicators provides a comprehensive perspective for evaluating the location of shelters in Madrid. From land use classification, physical barriers, and public transportation access to indicators such as population density, aging demographics, percentage of households inhabited by foreign members, unemployment rate, relative poverty index, and mobility, each plays an interconnected role in determining the effectiveness of these facilities in fostering the social reintegration of their users.

In the specific context of Madrid, extreme weather conditions further underscore the importance of thoughtful shelter placement. Accessibility and proximity to resources are not merely practical considerations but vital aspects of ensuring the safety and dignity of vulnerable populations.

In the last pages of this thesis, maps covering the entirety of Madrid will be included as annexes. These maps will display the location of all shelters alongside the data for each indicator. Including these cartographies as annexes ensures that, if deemed necessary, the more localized analysis of each individual shelter can be compared with a broader citywide scale. This allows for a comprehensive understanding of the relationship between each shelter's specific location and the overall spatial distribution of resources and indicators across Madrid.

The analysis will begin with the shelter Puerta Abierta, followed by C.C.F. Villa de Vallecas, Juan Luis Vives, and San Blas. Lastly, the shelters Beatriz Galindo, San Isidro, and La Rosa will be analyzed together due to their close proximity to one another.

LOW-THRESHOLD SHELTER
PUERTA ABIERTA

Figure 24.   Street view of the entrance to the Puerta Abierta center

Source: Google Maps, 2025
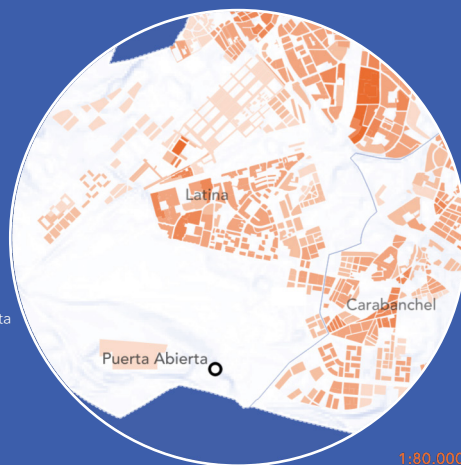
Density

This zoom of the density map shows that the Puerta Abierta shelter is not located in a residential area, so no value is given to this zone; the residential areas closest to the shelter have a low density, according to the classification used in this indicator, and the areas that assume slightly higher values are very distant. This indicates that in this zone the concentration of population is very low or even null, which can greatly compromise the integration process, access to services and many other fundamental components.

Low-Threshold S. Puerta Abierta

DENSITY (Inhabitants/Ha.)
- 0 - 41
- 41 - 208
- 208 - 481
- 481 - 1305

1:80.000
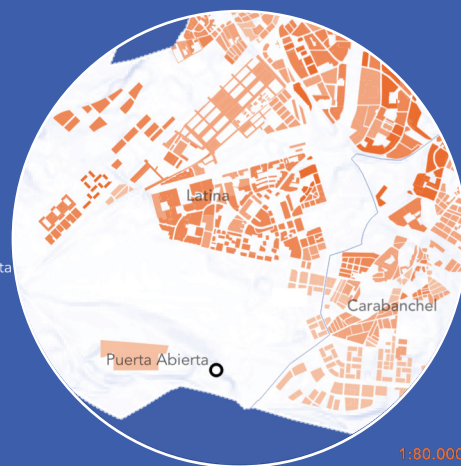
Aging

The shelter is located near the residential areas of Carabanchel, which have a low aging index, indicating a relatively younger population. As we move closer to the city center, passing through the district of La Latina, the aging index rises.

This can bring positive effects, such as a more dynamic community, higher workforce participation, and greater demand for education and social activities. However, it may also present challenges, like higher unemployment rates and limited access to affordable housing.This depends on many other factors such as the quality of public space, supply of services and many others.

Low-Threshold S. Puerta Abierta

AGING PROPORTION (%)
(POP 65 and over/Total POP)
- 1,8 - 5
- 5 - 15
- 15 - 25
- 25 - 35
- 35 - 52

1:80.000

Foreign-only households

The index of foreign-only households in the area could be considered low, although there are certain zones where it tends to rise. However, this index is somewhat difficult to interpret, as not all foreign residents are registered, and households are not necessarily composed only of foreigners. Despite this, we can get a general idea that in denser residential areas with higher aging, there may be a greater concentration of foreign households, although there are many exceptions. This pattern gives us insight into the area's demographic composition, but it should be considered with caution due to the complexities of household demographics.
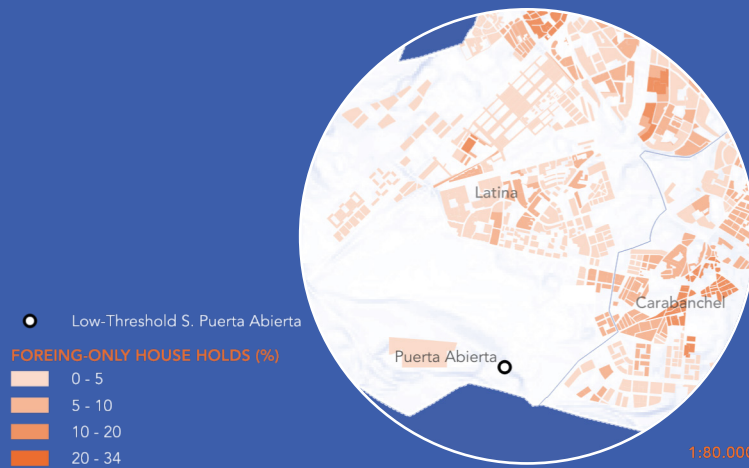
○ Low-Threshold S. Puerta Abierta

FOREING-ONLY HOUSE HOLDS (%)
- 0 - 5
- 5 - 10
- 10 - 20
- 20 - 34

1:80.000

Unemployment rate

The unemployment index, being measured at the neighborhood level rather than by census data like the other indicators, lacks a high level of detail. However, it is clear that the unemployment rate in the area is alarmingly high. When combined with other indicators, such as population density and aging, this suggests a very unfavorable situation. High unemployment can exacerbate social issues like poverty and inequality, and when coupled with high population density, it may place additional pressure on public services and infrastructure. Furthermore, an aging population may imply a reduced labor force, which could make it even harder for those unemployed to find opportunities. Together, these factors point to a challenging environment where economic and social well-being could be at risk.

○ Low-Threshold S. Puerta Abierta

UNEMPLOYMENT RATE (%)
- 2 - 3
- 3 - 5
- 5 - 7
- 7 - 9,5

1:80.000

Relative poverty

The nearby areas to the shelter, within the Carabanchel district, are classified as having a high level of relative poverty. While this index improves in the La Latina district, the overall picture, when combined with other indicators, points to a context of high social marginality around the shelter. The high unemployment rate, combined with the other indicators, paints a picture of an area with significant socio-economic challenges. The high relative poverty in Carabanchel, alongside these other factors, suggests that the shelter is located in a zone where residents face limited access to opportunities, resources, and support systems, contributing to a high degree of social marginalization.
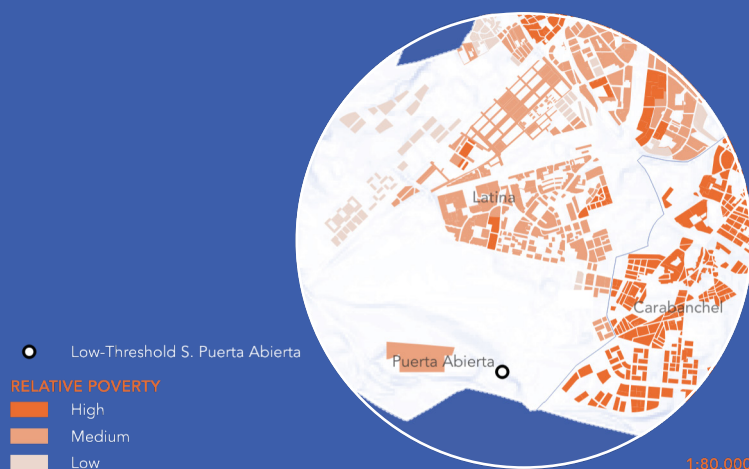
○ Low-Threshold S. Puerta Abierta

RELATIVE POVERTY
- High
- Medium
- Low

1:80.000

Madrid Airport
Cuatro Vientos

Main qualified uses

- Residential
- Industrial
- Tertiary use
- Equipments
- Green areas
- Collective services
- Public services
- Transportation infrastructure
- No detailed use
- Low-Threshold S. Puerta Abierta

1:40.000

M-40

Land Use

The Puerta Abierta emergency shelter is located near the southwestern border of the municipality, within a large equipments use zone. The surrounding area is characterized by extensive green spaces that are not adequately conditioned for public use, largely due to their distance from residential zones. This isolation from residential areas limits the integration and utility of these green spaces for the shelter's users.

To the northeast lies a large industrial zone, which negatively impacts the shelter's connectivity and permeability. Additionally, the proximity of the Cuatro Vientos Airport exacerbates this issue. Although smaller in scale and not used for commercial flights, the airport occupies a vast area, further restricting territorial connectivity.

The area surrounding the shelter has very few mixed-use zones. While a large residential zone exists over 2 kilometers to the west, its size and distance do not provide direct benefits to the shelter's location. Furthermore, the region is dominated by major transportation infrastructures, including the M-40 highway to the south. As observed throughout this analysis, the M-40 is one of the city's most robust yet fragmenting road infrastructures, reinforcing the shelter's isolation.

Overall, the Puerta Abierta shelter is situated in an isolated zone with minimal suitability for residential or social uses. Its lack of proximity to mixed-use or urbanized areas, combined with the surrounding industrial zones, airport, and major highways, makes it a highly disconnected and challenging location for shelter users.

Madrid Airport
Cuatro Vientos

- Urban green
- Transportarion Infraestructure
- Residential areas
- Low-Threshold S. Puerta Abierta

1:40.000

M-40

Spatial fragmentation of the environment

The Puerta Abierta emergency shelter is surrounded by significant spatial barriers, making its context highly challenging for accessibility and integration. The extensive green areas around the shelter, as previously noted, are undeveloped and not conditioned for public use, effectively functioning as empty, unutilized spaces rather than active or connective elements of the urban fabric.

To the northeast, the presence of large industrial zones and the Cuatro Vientos Airport further exacerbates the area's isolation. The airport, while smaller and not commercial, occupies a vast area and acts as a physical and functional barrier that limits territorial connectivity. Industrial zones, with their monofunctional nature, lack pedestrian-friendly infrastructure and create additional challenges
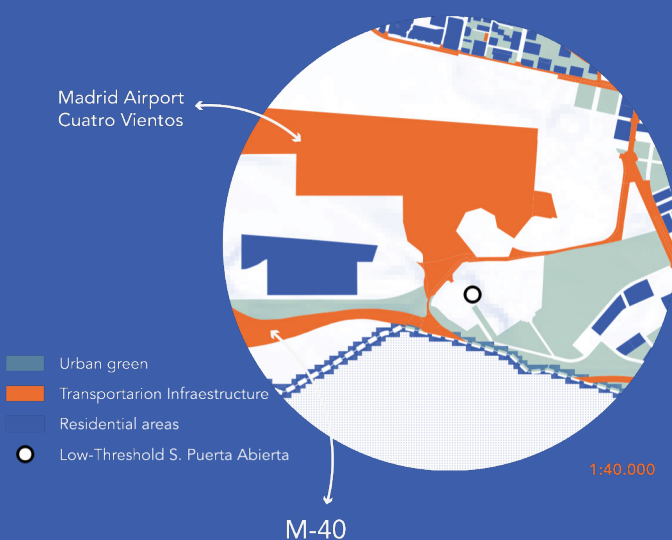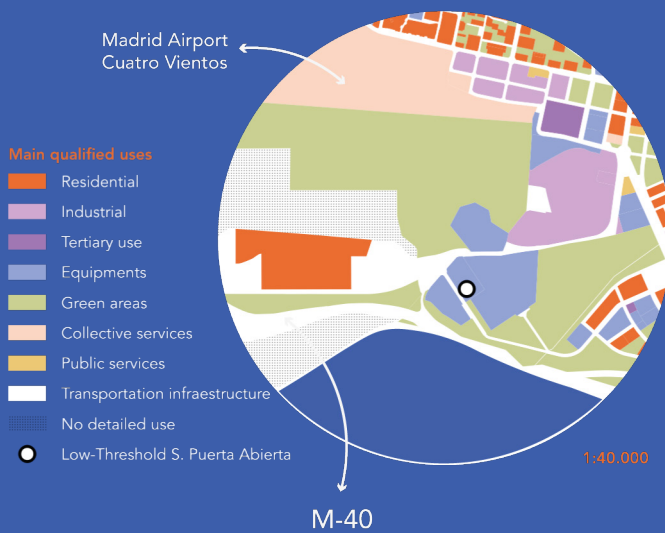
for movement and social interaction.

Adding to these challenges, the M-40 highway runs just south of the shelter. As one of Madrid's most robust and fragmenting road infrastructures, the M-40 contributes to the area's disconnection, creating both physical and perceptual divides. This highway, combined with the industrial zones and airport, results in an environment that is poorly integrated and highly fragmented, posing significant challenges for the shelter's users.

- Metro entrance
- Bus stop
- Low-Threshold S. Puerta Abierta

1:40.000
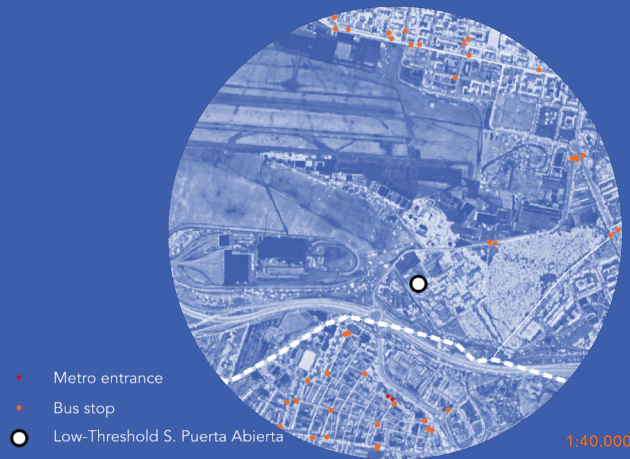
Lines	waiting time
483	10min - >20min
486	15min - >20min
487	13min - >20min

Approximate travel time from the city center (Puerta del Sol)

☀ 50 mins - 1h 10mins approx.

☾ 1h 10 mins - 1h 40mins approx.

Source: Google Maps

Public Transport Analysis

The Puerta Abierta emergency shelter suffers from poor public transport connectivity due to its remote location and distance from residential areas. The nearest bus stops within the municipality are approximately 800 meters away, requiring a significant walk for users. Additionally, the bus lines serving this area operate with very low frequency, further complicating access.

To the south, there are additional bus stops, but these are located outside the municipality and require crossing the M-40 highway to reach them. This makes them an impractical option for individuals without access to a private vehicle, as the highway acts as a significant physical barrier, further limiting viable transportation options.

Reaching the shelter often necessitates multiple line changes and extended walking distances. For vulnerable individuals, particularly during extreme weather conditions such as summer heat or winter cold, this creates an even greater challenge.

In summary, the shelter's isolated location, combined with limited public transport options and the barriers posed by the M-40 highway, makes it particularly difficult for users to access the shelter efficiently and safely.

COLD WEATHER CAMPAIGN EMERGENCY SHELTER
VILLA DE VALLECAS
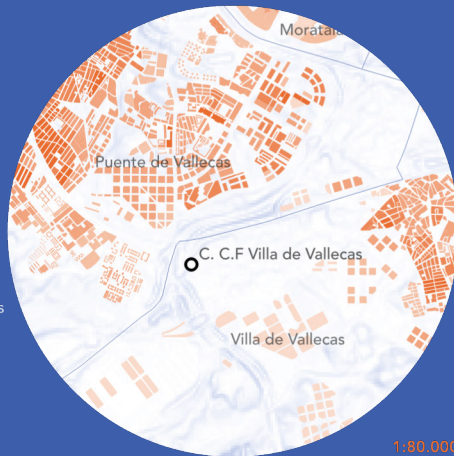
Density

The C.C.F. Villa de Vallecas shelter is located in the Villa de Vallecas district, right on the border with Puente de Vallecas. This area is characterized by the absence of residential land, creating a noticeable void between the two urban centers. While Puente de Vallecas has very high density along its border, this transitions sharply into a void coinciding with the presence of a highway. Overall, the area reflects stark contrasts, but it is clear that the specific location of the shelter lies within a very evident gap in terms of residential density.

● C.C.F Villa de Vallecas

DENSITY (Inhabitants/Ha.)
- 0 - 41
- 41 - 208
- 208 - 481
- 481 - 1305

1:80.000
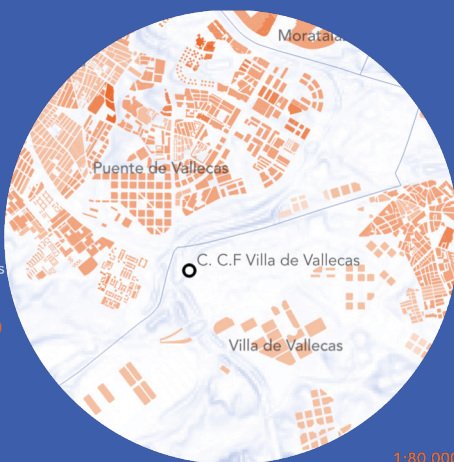
Aging

The aging index in the area surrounding the C.C.F. Villa de Vallecas shelter is generally uniform, showing particularly low levels across the context. This low aging index suggests a predominantly younger population, which could indicate a dynamic demographic with potential for growth and activity. However, it may also point to challenges, such as the need for employment opportunities, affordable housing, and social infrastructure tailored to a younger population. The uniformly low aging index also contrasts with the high density observed in nearby Puente de Vallecas, highlighting potential socio-demographic dynamics worth exploring further.

● C.C.F Villa de Vallecas

AGING PROPORTION (%)
(POP 65 and over/Total POP)
- 1,8 - 5
- 5 - 15
- 15 - 25
- 25 - 35
- 35 - 52

1:80.000

Foreign-only households

The index of foreign-only households in the area shows significant contrasts. Along the border with Puente de Vallecas, the index is particularly low. However, moving further north, closer to the center of Madrid, the index becomes notably high. In the residential areas of the Villa de Vallecas district, the index is very high near the center, while it decreases within the core of the built-up area. These variations reflect a complex socio-demographic pattern, where proximity to urban centers and residential densities significantly influence the distribution of foreign-only households.

C.C.F Villa de Vallecas

FOREING-ONLY HOUSE HOLDS (%)
- 0 - 5
- 5 - 10
- 10 - 20
- 20 - 34

1:80.000
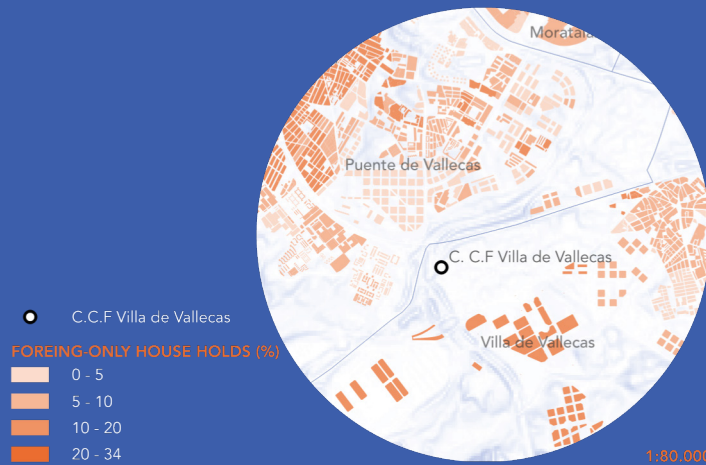
Unemployment rate

Unemployment in the area surrounding the C.C.F. Villa de Vallecas shelter is consistently at the highest levels across nearly all contexts, with only a few exceptions. Combined with the other indices—such as the high contrasts in foreign-only households, the low aging index, and the stark voids in residential density—this paints a picture of a deeply challenging socio-economic environment. High unemployment exacerbates existing vulnerabilities, limiting access to resources and opportunities for those already in precarious situations. This mix of high unemployment, socio-demographic contrasts, and spatial voids highlights the urgent need for targeted interventions and policies to address inequality and foster more inclusive urban development.

C.C.F Villa de Vallecas

UNEMPLOYMENT RATE (%)
- 2 - 3
- 3 - 5
- 5 - 7
- 7 - 9,5

1:80.000
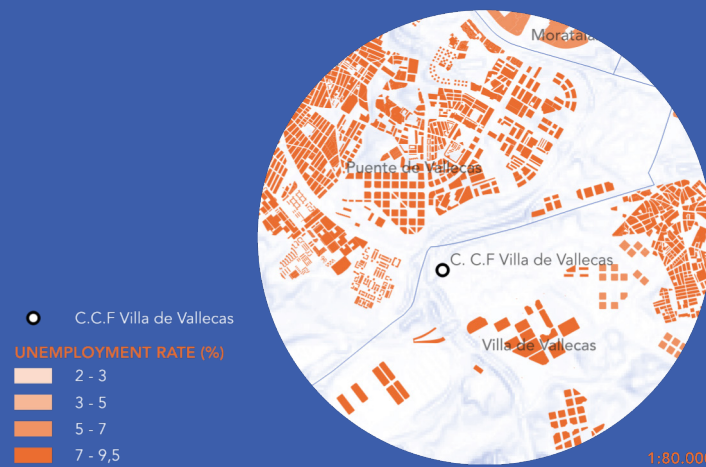
Unemployment rate

The majority of the area surrounding the C.C.F. Villa de Vallecas shelter is characterized by high levels of relative poverty. However, there is a notable contrast with a zone in Puente de Vallecas, near the border with Villa de Vallecas, where the relative poverty index drops to low and medium levels. Despite this exception, the overall trend is a high poverty index, which aligns with other challenging indicators in the area.

C.C.F Villa de Vallecas

RELATIVE POVERTY
- High
- Medium
- Low

1:80.000
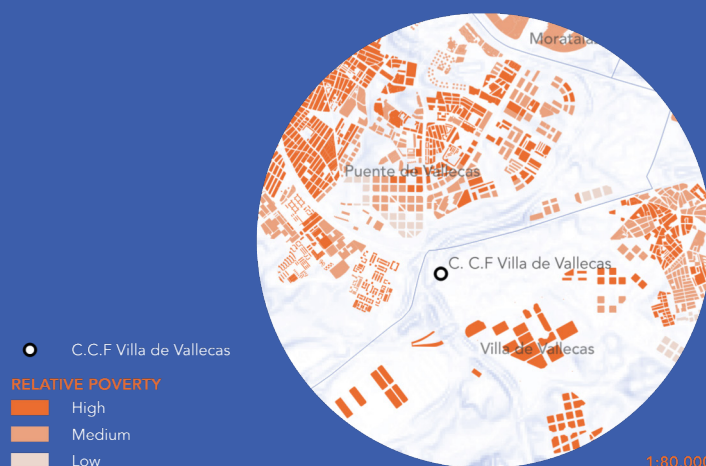
High unemployment across nearly all contexts exacerbates this situation, creating a cycle of limited economic opportunities and increased vulnerability. The low aging index indicates a younger population, which, while potentially dynamic, may struggle to access stable employment and affordable housing, especially in high-poverty areas. The stark contrasts in foreign-only households

further reveal the uneven distribution of migrant communities, some concentrated in areas of high poverty, while others are in zones with slightly better socio-economic conditions. Finally, the evident residential density voids, particularly in the shelter's immediate vicinity, isolate the area further, limiting access to resources and services that are more prevalent in denser urban contexts.

Taken together, these indicators highlight the deep socio-economic challenges faced by the surrounding community. The combination of high relative poverty, unemployment, and contrasting demographic patterns underscores the need for integrated policies aimed at reducing inequality, improving access to resources, and fostering more balanced urban and social development in this area.

Land Use

The emergency shelter of the Cold Campaign in Villa de Vallecas is located in a land whose main qualification is industrial, as clearly evidenced in this cartography. In its immediate surroundings there is a predominance of large industrial estates, which generates an urban context that is not very suitable for the development of social or residential activities. This type of location poses significant challenges, as areas of exclusive industrial use tend to be characterized by very low urban vitality. In other words, these areas lack active public spaces, community services or infrastructures that promote social integration and the well-being of the people who live there.

Main qualified uses
- Residential
- Industrial
- Tertiary use
- Equipments
- Green areas
- Collective services
- Public services
- Transportation infrastructure
- No detailed use
- C.W.C Shelter Villa de Vallecas

1:40.000

Moreover, this segregation of uses directly harms the quality of life of shelter users, who are already in a highly vulnerable situation. The lack of proximity to residential or mixed areas, which are located several kilometers to the east, hinders their access to essential services such as stores, health centers or community interaction spaces. This remoteness reinforces social isolation and limits the possibilities for reintegration of homeless people into urban dynamics.

On the other hand, north of the center, the presence of a large transportation infrastructure adds an additional element of complexity. Although it could be interpreted as a positive point by facilitating access to shelter, this type of infrastructure also generates physical and environmental barriers. Noise pollution, pollution and the lack of pedestrian connectivity in these areas can contribute to the perception of exclusion and uprooting of shelter users.

Spatial fragmentation of the environment

The shelter is located in a context dominated by transport infrastructures, particularly the M-31 and E-5 highways, which create a fragmented and impermeable urban environment. This makes pedestrian access to the shelter virtually impossible, posing significant challenges for

E-5

M-31

- Urban green
- Transportarion Infraestructure
- Residential areas
- C.W.C shelter Villa de Vallecas

1:40.000

its users, especially those in vulnerable situations who rely on ease of mobility within the city.

While there are large green areas nearby, these lack direct access and do not play a meaningful role in enhancing the quality of life for the people in the area. As the zone is predominantly industrial, it does not offer the residential amenities or conditions necessary to make green spaces more functional or accessible. Instead, these areas remain underutilized, further emphasizing the isolation of the shelter's location.

Additionally, the shelter's proximity to major transport infrastructures results in negative externalities such as noise pollution and environmental degradation. These factors make the area even less suitable as a space for recovery and reintegration.

• Bus stop
◉ C.W.C Shelter Villa de Vallecas

1:40.000
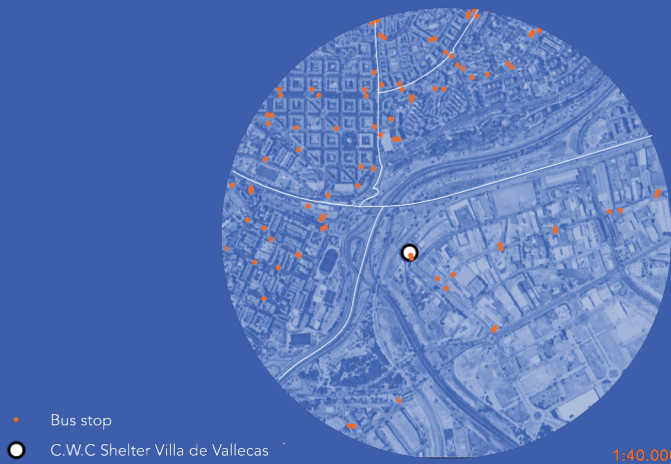
Lines	waiting time
130	4min - >20min
T131	14min - >20min

Approximate travel time from the city center (Puerta del Sol)

☀ 45 mins - 1h 30 mins approx.

☾ 1h40 mins - 2h approx.

Source: Google Maps

Public Transport Analysis

This map highlights the public transport stops available in the area, which, in this case, are limited solely to bus stops. The connection of this zone to the public transport network is therefore quite weak. Although there is a minimal level of accessibility to the network, factors such as long waiting times, especially during nighttime hours, further weaken the area's connectivity. It is important to note that this shelter operates exclusively during the coldest months of the year and only during nighttime hours.

After conducting several simulations using public transport tools like Google Maps and official platforms such as EMT Madrid, it was observed that accessing the shelter often requires several minutes of walking to reach more active stations or stops. This poses a significant challenge for the shelter's users, who, in addition to the economic burden of purchasing public transport tickets, must walk considerable distances in the cold.

An approximate travel time was also estimated from Puerta del Sol, the central point of Madrid's downtown area and the zone where the highest concentration of homeless individuals was detected in previous maps. While this simulation is not exact, it provides a general understanding of the isolation and marginalization faced by individuals attempting to reach this shelter.

SHELTER CENTER
JUAN LUIS VIVES

Figure 26.   Street view of the entrance to the Juan Luis Vives shelter

Source: Google Maps, 2025

Density

Shelter Center Juan Luis Vives

DENSITY (Inhabitants/Ha.)
- 0 - 41
- 41 - 208
- 208 - 481
- 481 - 1305

1:80.000

The Juan Luis Vives shelter is located near residential areas, yet these zones are characterized by very low population density. This low density suggests a less concentrated and possibly less dynamic urban environment compared to denser areas. While the proximity to residential land offers certain advantages, such as potential access to services and integration opportunities, the low density may also indicate limited infrastructure, fewer social interactions, and reduced economic activity in the immediate surroundings.

Aging

Shelter Center Juan Luis Vives

AGING PROPORTION (%)
(POP 65 and over/Total POP)
- 1,8 - 5
- 5 - 15
- 15 - 25
- 25 - 35
- 35 - 52

1:80.000

The percentage of aging in the area surrounding the Juan Luis Vives shelter is low, though not as low as in other zones. This index remains relatively homogeneous within the nearby context, suggesting a balanced demographic with neither an overwhelming aging population nor a predominantly younger one.

This moderate level of aging can have mixed implications. On the one hand, it may indicate a more stable community with a blend of working-age individuals and older residents, which could foster intergenerational social cohesion. On the other hand, it might still pose challenges in terms of meeting the needs of both younger and older groups, particularly in an area with low residential density where access to resources and services may already be limited.

Foreign-only households

The area around the Juan Luis Vives shelter has the highest index of foreign-only households in the nearby context. This contrasts with the northern and northeastern residential areas near Madrid's municipal border and the west, closer to the historic center, where the index is much lower. To the east, the index is more homogeneous and also very high.
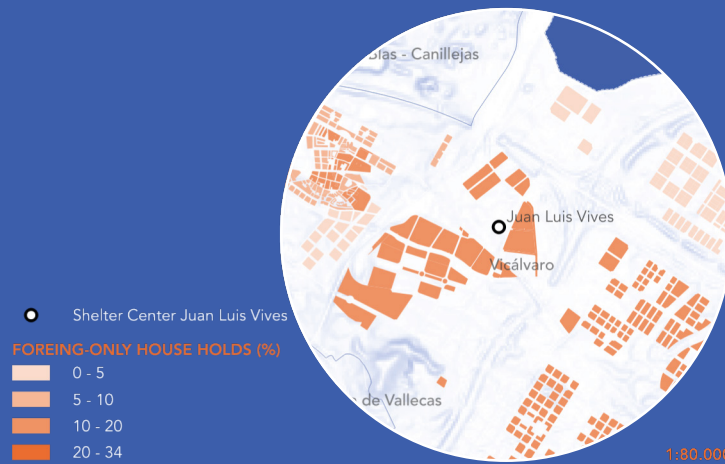
These patterns highlight significant contrasts in the distribution of foreign-only households. The shelter's location in a high-index area reflects a strong migrant presence, emphasizing the need for targeted support and social inclusion efforts in the immediate surroundings.

Shelter Center Juan Luis Vives

FOREING-ONLY HOUSE HOLDS (%)
0 - 5
5 - 10
10 - 20
20 - 34

1:80.000

Unemployment rate

Unemployment in the area around the Juan Luis Vives shelter is the highest in the nearby context. To the north and west, the index is lower, with some slightly better conditions in a western zone. However, overall, the situation remains highly unfavorable. This widespread high unemployment, combined with other indicators like low density and a high concentration of foreign-only households, highlights significant socio-economic challenges in the area, underscoring the need for urgent interventions to improve living conditions and opportunities.
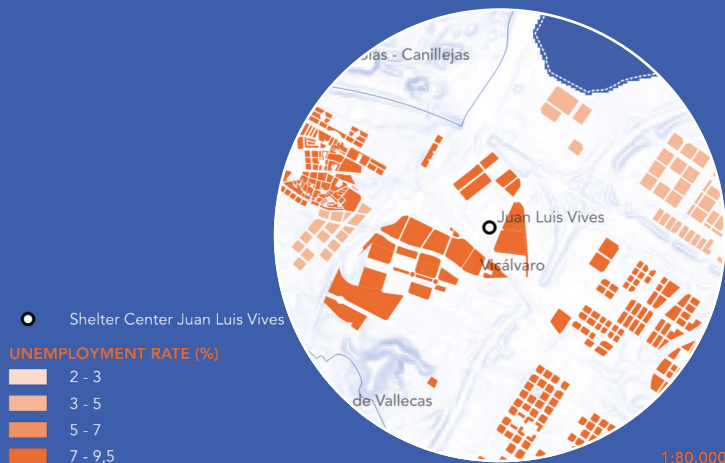
Shelter Center Juan Luis Vives

UNEMPLOYMENT RATE (%)
2 - 3
3 - 5
5 - 7
7 - 9,5

1:80.000

Relative poverty

characterized by high relative poverty. This contrasts with the northern and northeastern areas, which show low poverty levels, and the western zone closer to the center of Madrid, where there is a mix of all three categories. The shelter's location within a high-poverty area, combined with other unfavorable indicators like high unemployment and a high concentration of foreign-only households, reinforces the socio-economic vulnerability of the surrounding context. These contrasts further emphasize the stark inequalities within the area.
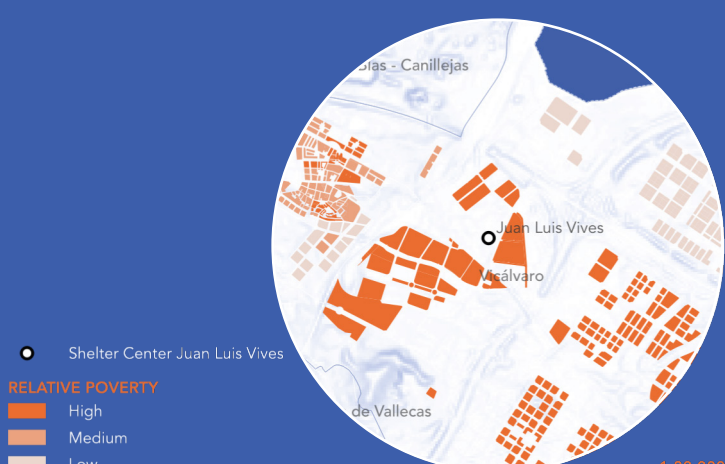
Shelter Center Juan Luis Vives

RELATIVE POVERTY
High
Medium
Low

1:80.000

Land Use

The Juan Luis Vives emergency shelter, located in the Vicálvaro district to the west of the M-45 highway, is situated within a zone classified as equipamental and industrial use. Its immediate surroundings are characterized by a predominance of industrial estates, although some areas are officially designated for residential use. However, upon reviewing the current state of development, it is evident that most of these residential areas remain undeveloped, leaving the shelter surrounded mainly by vacant lots and industrial facilities.

Adding to the challenges, the public services zone located directly to the north of the shelter is occupied by an EMT automobile depot. This facility is entirely enclosed by a perimeter wall, isolating it from the urban fabric and contributing to a sense of disconnection. The depot itself consists of large areas dedicated to parked buses and cars, which further diminishes the vibrancy of the area. Its presence introduces additional negative factors such as noise, visual pollution, and reduced pedestrian accessibility, creating an environment that is even less conducive to social interaction or community integration.

This setting creates an urban environment with low vitality. Industrial areas and service facilities like the depot typically lack active public spaces, community services, and infrastructure that encourage social interaction or integration. The large scale and homogeneous nature of these zones further contribute to an environment that is poorly suited for residential or social activities.

Spatial fragmentation of the environment

The Juan Luis Vives shelter is located in a context significantly shaped by large transport infrastructures, particularly the M-45 highway, which creates a fragmented and disconnected urban environment. This layout presents major challenges for pedestrian mobility, making access to the shelter difficult for its users, who are already in vulnerable situations and often rely on walkability to access city resources.

While there are green areas near the shelter, these spaces are not functional parks or urban gardens. Instead, they consist of elongated, undeveloped strips of land along the margins of major roads. These spaces lack adequate facilities, pathways, or maintenance, rendering them inaccessible and unsuitable for meaningful recreational or community use. As a result, they fail to improve the quality of life for shelter users or provide relief from the industrial and infrastructural character of the area.
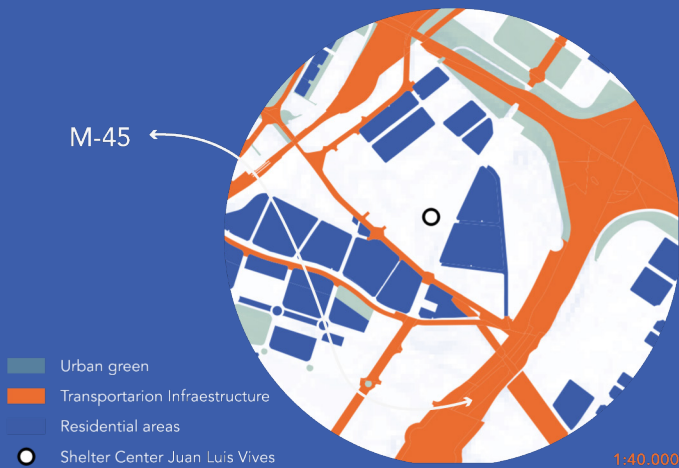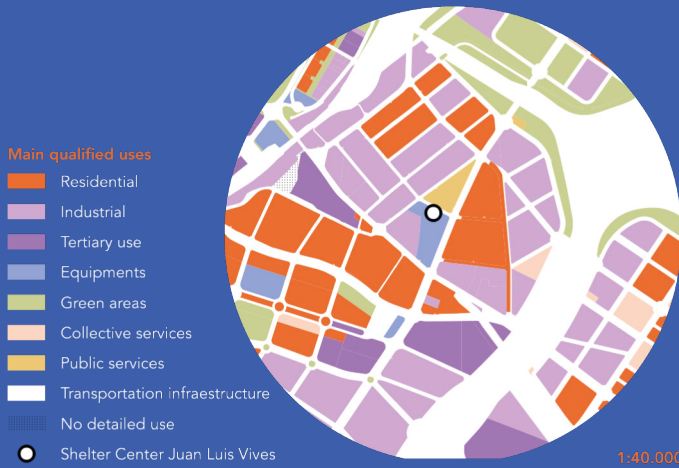
The predominance of large transport infrastructures also brings additional negative externalities, including noise pollution, environmental degradation, and a lack of pedestrian-friendly connectivity. These factors further isolate the shelter and diminish its suitability as a space for recovery and reintegration.

- Metro entrance
- Bus stop
- ⦿ Shelter Center Juan Luis Vives

1:40.000
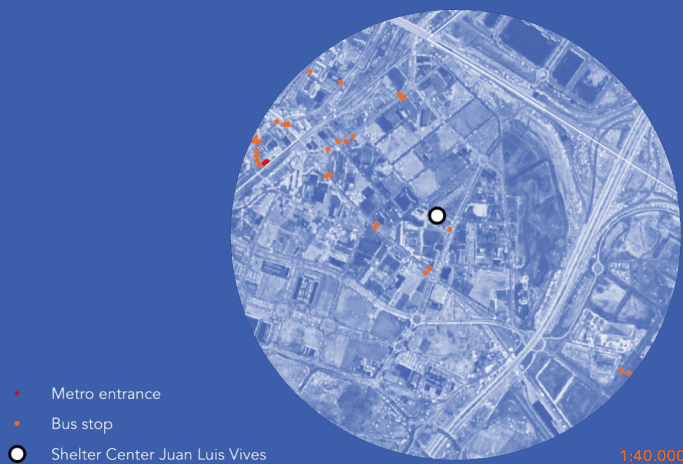
Lines   **waiting time**

T23   10min - >20min

Approximate travel time from the city center (Puerta del Sol)

☀ 45 mins - 55 mins approx.

☾ 1h 30 mins - 1h 40mins approx.

Source: Google Maps

Public Transport Analysis

The Juan Luis Vives emergency shelter, located in the Vicálvaro district, faces significant challenges in terms of public transport accessibility. The only bus line in the immediate vicinity is the T23, which provides limited coverage. The nearest additional bus stops to the west are over one kilometer away on foot and primarily serve intercity routes connecting the area to other municipalities. This limited availability of urban public transport poses a considerable obstacle for shelter users, many of whom may experience mobility issues, carry heavy belongings, or have health problems that make long walks particularly difficult.

Simulations using public transport tools such as Google Maps reveal that traveling from the shelter to central Madrid, specifically Puerta del Sol, requires walking for at least 15 minutes to reach viable connections. It is also important to highlight that these estimated times assume the pace and capability of an average, healthy individual, disregarding the physical and mental vulnerabilities that many shelter users face. This discrepancy underscores how transport access in this area disproportionately affects individuals in precarious situations, amplifying their isolation.

Additionally, the T23 line, while nearby, does not provide robust connectivity to key urban areas, and its limited frequency, particularly during off-peak hours, further complicates access to essential services and resources. Considering that the shelter operates primarily during the coldest months of the year and during nighttime hours, the lack of efficient and frequent transport options exacerbates the difficulties for users, who must contend with longer waits and harsh weather conditions.

The marginalization of the shelter's location is further emphasized when considering the travel times from Puerta del Sol, the heart of Madrid and a central hub for homeless individuals. While the simulations provide a baseline understanding of the time required to access the shelter, they fail to account for the unique challenges faced by this population, highlighting a disconnection between the shelter and the central areas where many users originate.

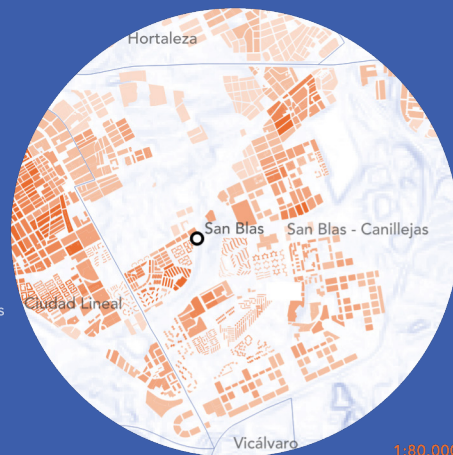# TEMPORARY SHELTER CENTER FOR IMMIGRANTS
SAN BLAS

Figure 27.   Street view of the entrance to the San Blas shelter

Source: Google Maps, 2025

Density

T.S.C Immigrants in San Blas

DENSITY (Inhabitants/Ha.)
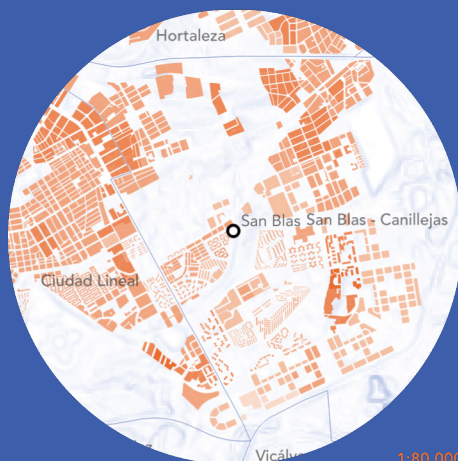- 0 - 41
- 41 - 208
- 208 - 481
- 481 - 1305

1:80.000

The San Blas shelter is located in a much more consolidated area with a smaller urban fabric and greater residential land use. The surrounding context can be characterized as having medium to high density. To the north, it is evident that there is no residential land, creating a clear spatial divide. To the west, the Ciudad Lineal district is significantly denser and features a much more compact urban fabric, highlighting a contrast between the shelter's immediate surroundings and the neighboring districts. This positioning places the shelter in a relatively dense but less uniform urban context compared to its western counterpart.

Aging

T.S.C Immigrants San Blas

AGING PROPORTION (%)
(POP 65 and over/Total POP)
- 1,8 - 5
- 5 - 15
- 15 - 25
- 25 - 35
- 35 - 52

1:80.000

The percentage of aging in the area around the San Blas shelter acts as an epicenter of low aging proportion, with the index increasing as one moves further away, particularly to the west in Ciudad Lineal and to the northeast. To the south, however, the aging index remains quite low, with some exceptions. It is evident that the distribution of residential land directly influences these patterns, as areas with a higher concentration of residential land tend to show higher aging proportions. This highlights how urban zoning shapes the demographic composition of the surrounding area.

Foreign-only households

T.S.C Immigrants San Blas

FOREING-ONLY HOUSE HOLDS (%)
- 0 - 5
- 5 - 10
- 10 - 20
- 20 - 34

The exact area where the San Blas shelter is located has a relatively low index of foreign-only households. However, this percentage increases in patches across the territory. In Ciudad Lineal to the west, the index is noticeably higher, while to the northeast, near the border with the Hortaleza district, it becomes more uniform and leans towards a medium-high level. These variations reflect how local urban and residential patterns influence the distribution of foreign-only households in the region.

Unemployment rate

T.S.C Immigrants San Blas
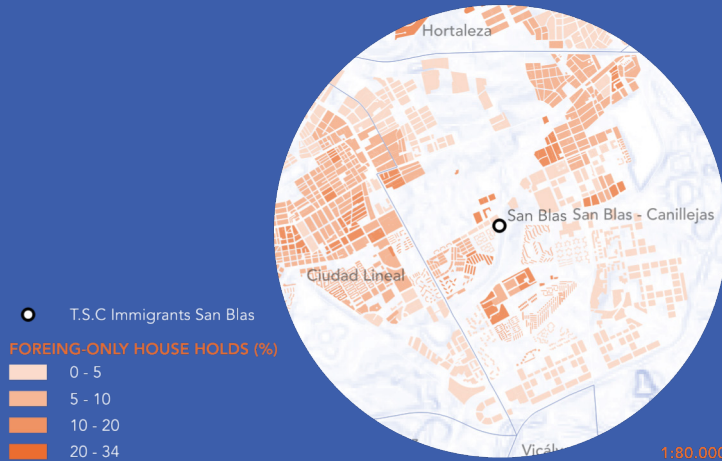
UNEMPLOYMENT RATE (%)
- 2 - 3
- 3 - 5
- 5 - 7
- 7 - 9,5

The unemployment index around the San Blas shelter is relatively uniform from east to west, maintaining a medium-high level. In some areas within the same district (San Blas-Canillejas), the index reaches its highest levels. However, to the north, near the border with the Hortaleza district, unemployment is relatively low. Similarly, to the southeast of the shelter, the immediate surroundings show the highest unemployment levels, but further out, the index drops to a medium-low level. This pattern reflects notable contrasts within the district, shaped by varying socio-economic dynamics across nearby zones.

Relative poverty

T.S.C Immigrants San Blas
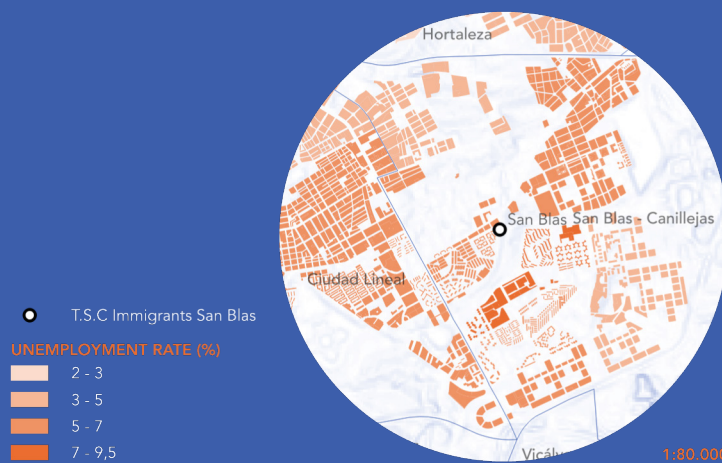
RELATIVE POVERTY
- High
- Medium
- Low

The area around the San Blas shelter is highly heterogeneous in terms of relative poverty, with contrasting clusters across the three categories (low, medium, and high). The specific location of the shelter is classified as medium poverty. To the southeast, there is a cluster of low poverty, while to the west, a high poverty zone is evident. These variations suggest patterns influenced by specific barriers or localized factors, such as shifts in urban fabric, socio-economic divisions, or zoning changes, which shape the disparities in relative poverty across the area.
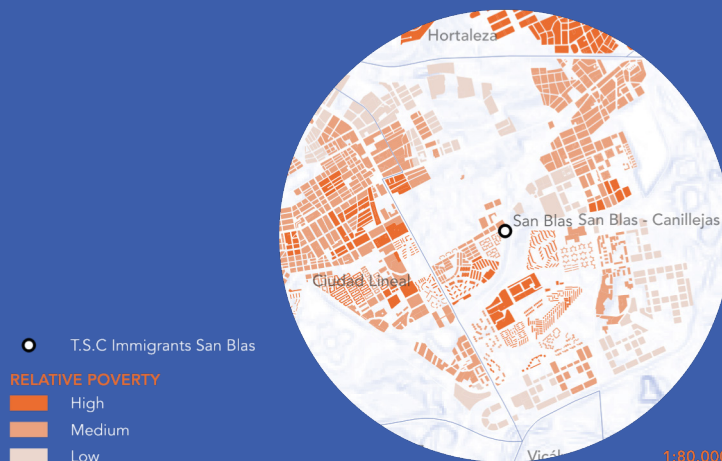
Land Use

The San Blas emergency shelter is located on land designated for equipments use, situated within a relatively mixed urban fabric. The surrounding area is predominantly characterized by small-scale residential neighborhoods, which is a favorable factor for the shelter's integration. These residential zones provide an environment with active public spaces, community life, and access to services that can foster social interaction and support for shelter users. The presence of nearby residential areas facilitates proximity to essential amenities such as shops, schools, and healthcare facilities, improving the overall accessibility and quality of life for the shelter's users.

In addition to the residential fabric, the area includes a few zones designated for equipments, collective services, and green spaces. These elements further enhance the suitability of the location by offering opportunities for social integration and recreational activities. Green spaces, when well-maintained and accessible, can provide a crucial respite for individuals in vulnerable situations, contributing to their physical and mental well-being.

However, one of the main challenges for the shelter is the presence of large industrial zones to the north. These industrial estates are characterized by their vast scale and monofunctional nature, which can negatively impact the urban context. Such areas often lack active public spaces and pedestrian connectivity, creating physical and perceptual barriers that isolate them from the surrounding urban fabric. Noise, pollution, and heavy vehicle traffic associated with industrial areas can further degrade the quality of the environment, affecting both the shelter and its users.

Despite this, the San Blas area benefits from being a fully developed part of the city with established infrastructure and urban amenities. This development ensures that basic services and facilities are readily available, reducing the challenges often associated with more isolated or underdeveloped locations.

Spatial fragmentation of the environment

The San Blas emergency shelter is situated in an area with minimal spatial barriers. The presence of a park and a mixed-use, small-scale urban fabric promotes permeability and pedestrian mobility, fostering integration and avoiding isolation.
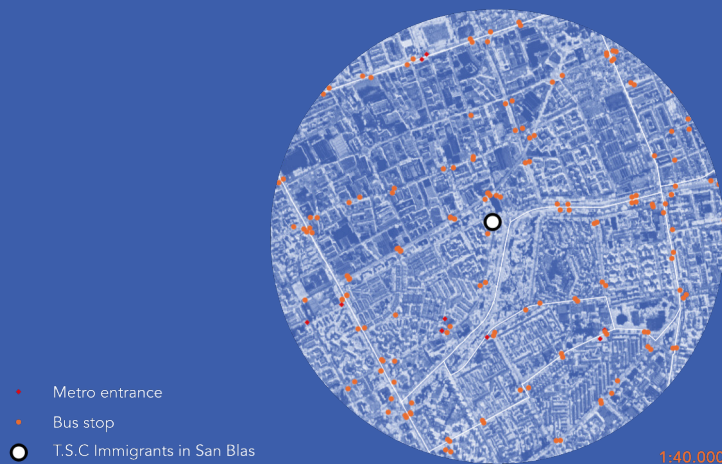
The only notable challenge comes from the large industrial zones to the north, which disrupt the urban fabric and generate environmental issues such as noise and pollution. While these zones affect the broader context,

the shelter's immediate surroundings remain accessible and supportive, offering a more conducive environment for its users.

- Metro entrance
- Bus stop
- ⬤ T.S.C Immigrants in San Blas

1:40.000

Lines	waiting time
109	10min - >20min
28	3min - >6min
L7	3min - >6min

Public Transport Analysis

The San Blas emergency shelter benefits from good public transport connectivity, as evidenced by the presence of multiple bus stops and metro stations in the area. The proximity to Line 7 of the Madrid Metro is a significant strength, as it reduces travel time to the city center. However, the nearest metro entrance is approximately 800 meters away, requiring an estimated 13-minute walk according to Google Maps.

It is important to note that these walking times are calculated based on the pace of an average, healthy individual and do not account for potential physical limitations, age, or other factors that may affect the mobility of shelter users. Additionally, while the public transport network in this area is robust, the overall travel time to the city center remains considerable, which can pose challenges for users who rely on efficient connections for essential activities or reintegration into urban life.

SHELTERS CENTERS
SAN ISIDRO·LA ROSA·BEATRÍZ GALINDO

Figure 28. Street view of the entrance to the San Isidro and La Rosa shelters

Source: Google Maps, 2025
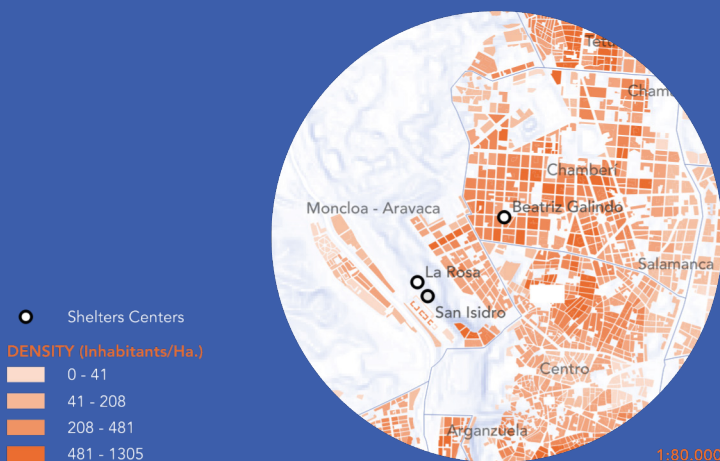
Density

The Beatriz Galindo shelter is located in a central, highly residential area with very high density, offering integration opportunities within a compact urban environment.

In contrast, the San Isidro and La Rosa shelters, though close to the city center, sit at the edge of residential land, where density decreases, and residential use is abruptly interrupted. This creates a more fragmented urban context, with potentially reduced access to services compared to Beatriz Galindo's consolidated surroundings.

These differences highlight varying levels of urban integration, with Beatriz Galindo in a dynamic area and San Isidro and La Rosa facing challenges at the residential periphery.

Shelters Centers

DENSITY (Inhabitants/Ha.)
- 0 - 41
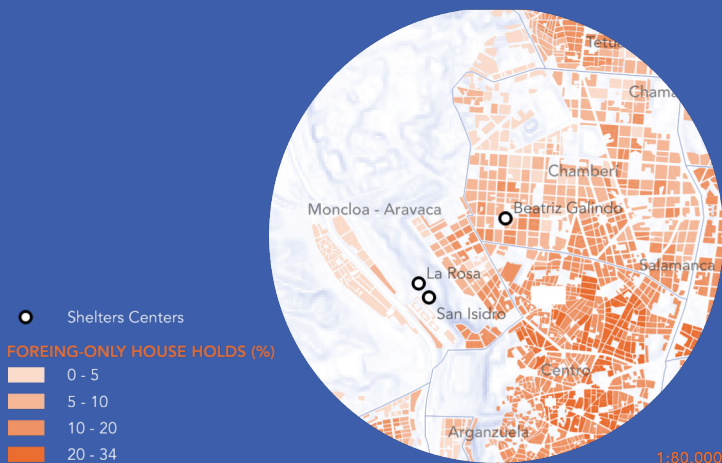- 41 - 208
- 208 - 481
- 481 - 1305

1:80.000
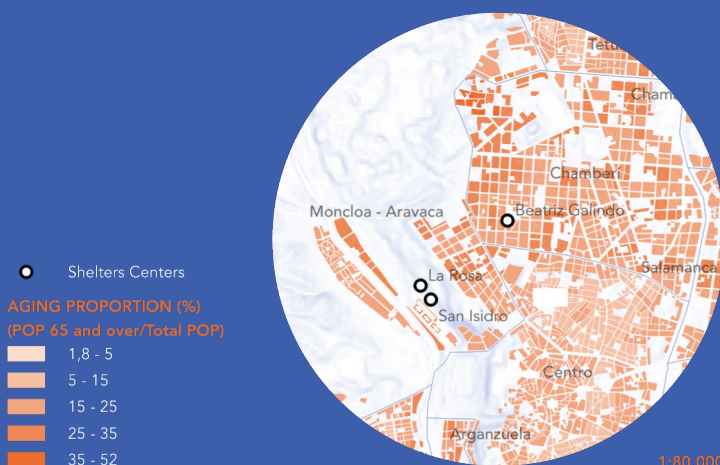
Aging

The Beatriz Galindo shelter is located in an area with a medium/high aging proportion, which decreases and consolidates into medium/low levels as it approaches the city's historic center.

For La Rosa and San Isidro, the surrounding areas also show medium/high aging proportions. However, due to their location in a fragmented residential zone, identifying clear patterns is more

Shelters Centers

AGING PROPORTION (%)
(POP 65 and over/Total POP)
- 1,8 - 5
- 5 - 15
- 15 - 25
- 25 - 35
- 35 - 52

1:80.000

challenging. Overall, these shelters are situated in contexts where the aging proportion can be generally classified as medium.

Shelters Centers

FOREING-ONLY HOUSE HOLDS (%)
- 0 - 5
- 5 - 10
- 10 - 20
- 20 - 34

1:80.000

Foreign-only households

The district of Chamberí, where the Beatriz Galindo shelter is located, displays a highly varied index of foreign-only households, with all percentages represented heterogeneously. Notably, this index tends to increase when approaching the central district.

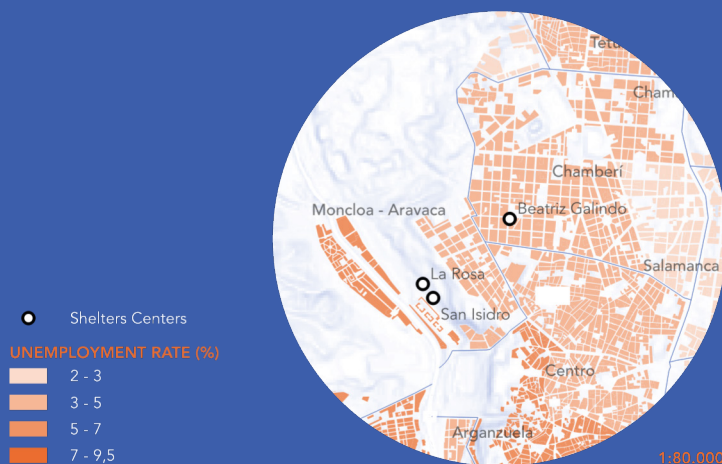In contrast, the La Rosa and San Isidro shelters are in the Moncloa-Aravaca district, which generally has a particularly low index of foreign-only households. However, their location near district borders and in a fragmented zone without residential land reveals noticeable gaps and abrupt changes in the index, reflecting the transitional nature of the area.

Shelters Centers

UNEMPLOYMENT RATE (%)
- 2 - 3
- 3 - 5
- 5 - 7
- 7 - 9,5

1:80.000

Unemployment rate

The unemployment index in this area is generally medium/high. However, as it is represented by neighborhoods rather than census sections, it lacks detail. In Moncloa-Aravaca, where the La Rosa and San Isidro shelters are located, the index worsens, with the residential zone to the west showing the highest percentage.

This highlights a concentration of unemployment challenges near the shelters, particularly in adjacent residential areas.

Shelters Centers

RELATIVE POVERTY
- High
- Medium
- Low

1:80.000
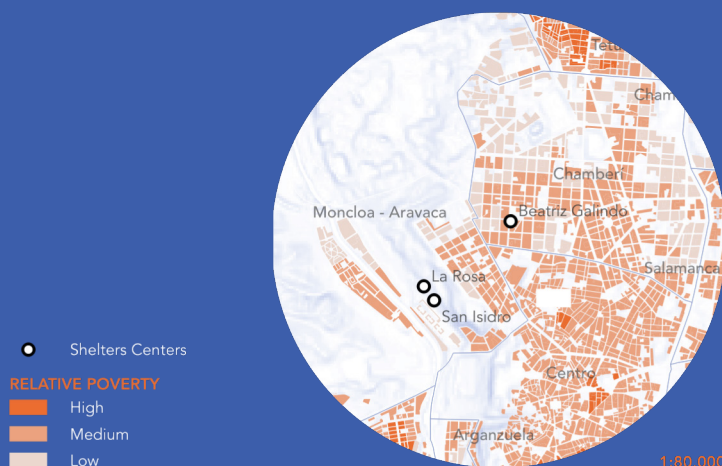
Relative poverty

The relative poverty index in this area is highly heterogeneous but generally ranges from medium to low, with no zones classified as high. This variability reflects a mix of socio-economic conditions, though the absence of high poverty suggests a relatively more stable context compared to other areas.

Land Use

The shelters Beatriz Galindo (BG) and the combined San Isidro and La Rosa (SI & LR) are located in a far more strategic area compared to other shelters, as they are situated close to the city center. However, despite their central location, there are notable differences in the suitability of their respective environments.

Beatriz Galindo is located within a residential zone with a small-scale, permeable urban fabric. It is surrounded by more residential land, making the area ideal for social reintegration and access to basic urban services. The well-connected and human-scaled context offers a supportive environment for the shelter's users.

On the other hand, San Isidro and La Rosa, located near each other, face significant challenges related to their location. While they are technically close to Beatriz Galindo, these shelters are separated from the residential fabric by major urban elements, including the "Templo de Debod" and the "Parque del Oeste". These features create a steep positive slope that limits permeability, making pedestrian access difficult from the lower area where the shelters are situated.

Additionally, to the south of San Isidro and La Rosa, a major railway infrastructure runs through the area. The nearby Príncipe Pío rail station provides transportation options but also acts as a spatial barrier, fragmenting the territory. While the proximity to Casa de Campo, a large urban park, might seem advantageous, this park is not designed for mixed-use activities or basic service access, further limiting its functional contribution to the shelters' users.


Spatial fragmentation of the environment

The shelters San Isidro and La Rosa are located in a context heavily influenced by significant physical barriers, unlike Beatriz Galindo, which benefits from a more permeable environment.

Beatriz Galindo, situated within a residential zone, enjoys a compact and walkable urban fabric, making it relatively free of physical barriers. Its connectivity to the surrounding area is strong, and the permeable nature of the neighborhood allows for easy access to essential services and public spaces.

In contrast, San Isidro and La Rosa face several spatial challenges. To the north, the Templo de Debod and Parque del Oeste create a steep slope that severely limits pedestrian permeability between the shelters and the more accessible residential zones located uphill. The slope acts as a
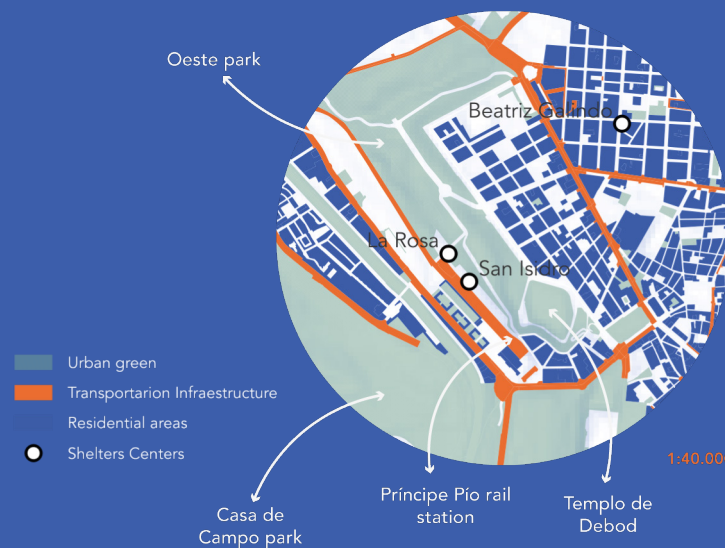
significant physical barrier, making the shelters feel isolated despite their proximity to central areas.

To the south of these shelters, a major railway infrastructure further fragments the area. While the Príncipe Pío commuter rail station is nearby, the railway itself creates a spatial divide, reducing overall accessibility and reinforcing the isolation of the shelters' immediate surroundings.

Finally, the proximity of Casa de Campo, a vast urban park, might seem advantageous at first glance, but its scale and lack of basic infrastructure for public use make it less functional for shelter users. The park's primary use as a recreational and natural area does little to alleviate the practical challenges faced by those staying at the shelters.

- • Metro entrance
- • Bus stop
- ◉ Shelters Centers

1:40.000
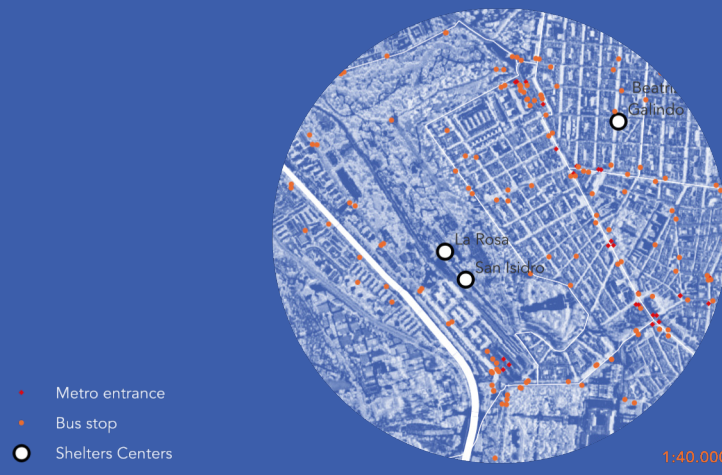
Approximate travel time from the city center (Puerta del Sol)

☀ 25 mins - 30 mins approx.

☾ 25 mins - 30 mins approx.

Public Transport Analysis

The accessibility of public transport varies significantly between the shelters Beatriz Galindo, San Isidro, and La Rosa, with location playing a critical role in shaping the mobility options for their users.

Beatriz Galindo benefits from its location in a well-connected residential zone. The surrounding area is served by multiple bus lines and metro stops, offering relatively easy access to other parts of the city, including the city center. This robust public transport network ensures that users can move efficiently and access essential services with fewer challenges compared to other shelters.

For San Isidro and La Rosa, the situation is more complex. While the map suggests a variety of public transport options both to the north and south of these shelters, accessing them is not feasible due to physical barriers such as railway lines and steep park slopes. As a result, Príncipe Pío emerges as the nearest practical transport hub despite the apparent availability of other stops in the vicinity.

Although Príncipe Pío provides metro, bus, and commuter train connections, reaching it from San Isidro and La Rosa requires a considerable walk, as there are no nearby stops in direct proximity to the shelters. This isolation is particularly challenging for individuals with reduced mobility, health conditions, or those carrying belongings. Despite their seemingly strategic location within the city, these shelters remain effectively cut off from the wider transport network.

In terms of travel times, proximity to the city center mitigates major delays in reaching key locations such as Puerta del Sol. However, for users of San Isidro and La Rosa, the need to walk significant distances to access public transport represents an additional burden. As with other shelters, estimated walking times from digital maps fail to account for the vulnerabilities of this population, making everyday mobility a persistent challenge, especially in adverse weather conditions.

CONCLUSIONS AND COMMENTS

This chapter is structured into three main sections. First, an urban diagnosis will be presented, highlighting various patterns and dynamics identified in the location and distribution of shelters. This diagnosis will provide a basis for understanding the spatial, social, and infrastructural implications of current shelter placement.

Second, based on these findings, a theoretical discussion and critical debate will be developed regarding the management of homelessness and the urban and social dynamics that accompany it. This section will analyze how existing policies and spatial strategies contribute to the perpetuation or mitigation of territorial marginalization.

Finally, a reflection and a set of principles for planning and managing this issue will be proposed. While this section does not aim to develop a specific methodology or model, it will outline key factors that, based on the practical, theoretical, and methodological development of this research, are considered fundamental for implementation.

DIAGNOSIS OF THE CASE STUDY ANALYSIS

The individual analysis of each shelter in Madrid's homeless assistance network reveals significant patterns that highlight how the socioeconomic and spatial characteristics of their surroundings affect their capacity to promote social integration or perpetuate exclusion. These observations help identify common critical points among different centers, as well as specific characteristics that set them apart.

Findings from this study suggest that the location of shelters is not a neutral factor

in the effectiveness of assistance strategies. On the contrary, the urban context in which they are situated plays a decisive role in users' experiences and their chances of reintegration. Some of the most relevant patterns are highlighted below:

1. Concentration in areas of high socioeconomic vulnerability:

One of the most evident patterns is that shelters tend to be located in neighborhoods with high levels of relative poverty, unemployment, and a high proportion of households composed exclusively of foreign populations. While these areas are often more accessible in terms of land availability and operational costs, their status as already marginalized spaces reinforces what Wacquant calls "territorial stigmatization."

This phenomenon is reflected in most shelters located outside the M-30 highway, in the south of Madrid, where the combination of economic precariousness, limited access to public services, and fragmented urban conditions creates additional barriers to user integration. The location of shelters in these contexts often seems to perpetuate cycles of exclusion, as users not only face individual vulnerability but also struggle with an environment that lacks resources to offer effective reintegration opportunities. This pattern is observed in most of the shelters analyzed, except for Beatriz Galindo, San Isidro, and La Rosa. However, in the case of San Isidro and La Rosa, their surroundings also present indicators suggesting potential conditions of socioeconomic vulnerability. Thus, assistance remains limited to a palliative function rather than a sustainable social inclusion strategy.

2. Accessibility challenges in low-density areas:

Shelters located in low-density areas, such as Puerta Abierta, Juan Luis Vives, and Villa de Vallecas, face additional challenges related to urban dispersion. These areas often lack nearby basic services, such as healthcare centers or

supermarkets, increasing users' dependence on public transport systems, which are often insufficient or poorly connected in these locations.

Moreover, low densities limit urban vitality and social interaction opportunities, creating an environment of physical and social isolation that contrasts with the dynamism of more central areas. In this context, shelter users may become disconnected from the support networks necessary for their reintegration.

Considering that homeless individuals lack, arguably entirely, any type of resource, the location of these centers should not only ensure easy access but also align with their needs. These needs go beyond the immediate requirement of a roof over their heads; the process demands effective social reintegration, the creation of new networks, employment opportunities, and a multitude of other factors involving neighborhood activity, proximity, and ultimately, reintegration. The implementation of these centers should not only consider economic factors or land availability but also ensure effective access and the vitality of spaces as crucial elements.

3. **Urban fragmentation due to physical barriers:**

Another recurring pattern is the presence of significant physical barriers near shelters, such as highways, railway lines, or large industrial zones. These barriers not only limit physical accessibility but also contribute to users' perception of isolation and the spatial segregation of shelters.

For instance, in San Blas, Juan Luis Vives, and most shelters located outside the M-30 highway in the south of Madrid, urban barriers hinder their connection to city services. This urban fragmentation not only affects users' mobility but also reinforces their exclusion by keeping them in spaces disconnected from Madrid's social and economic fabric. The only

notable exception is the Beatriz Galindo shelter, which is better integrated into the urban environment; however, it is also the shelter with the lowest availability of places and serves exclusively women.

Considering that physical barriers in a territory already impact anyone living nearby, they generate multiple externalities. These barriers not only affect space functionality and permeability but also physical health due to the noise and environmental pollution they produce, especially in the case of highways, railways, or airports. Additionally, they impact mental health and space perception, influencing overall livability. Living next to a highway, industrial zones, or aggressive urban elements has undeniable consequences, particularly for individuals in extreme vulnerability. In this sense, shelter planning must guarantee not only dignified housing but also a dignified environment, context, and public space.

4. **Weak integration into mixed-use environments:**

The lack of integration of shelters into mixed-use environments also emerges as a significant pattern. Given that the classification presented in the data reflects the primary land use, in many cases, buildings feature a combination of functions, such as ground floors dedicated to commercial activities and upper floors for residential use. However, the general trend indicates that many shelters are located in industrial areas, limiting opportunities for interaction between users and the local community. This isolation reduces users' exposure to diverse social and economic networks, which are essential for their reintegration.

Integrating shelters into dynamic urban spaces with access to job opportunities and community networks could represent a key strategy for strengthening their impact.

5. Unequal connection to public transport:

It is also essential to consider the circumstances and facilities that determine access to assistance services. Since homeless individuals rarely have access to private or motorized transport, territorial planning must ensure effective connections to public transportation, particularly in peripheral areas such as Villa de Vallecas or Juan Luis Vives. Although industrial zones in these areas may generate some pedestrian flow, it is drastically reduced during the hours when shelter users access and leave the centers, primarily at night and in the morning.

The lack of daytime services in many shelters or the limited availability of spaces for such services forces homeless individuals to move constantly around the city in search of essential resources such as food, medical care, and job opportunities. This not only creates individual difficulties but also affects the efficiency of shelter management, urban space use, and public transport organization, resulting in a fragmented and dysfunctional system. In this sense, more integrated and equitable planning could mitigate these difficulties and foster effective user reintegration.

This problem worsens in cases of reduced mobility, not only for individuals with physical difficulties but also for those who, for various reasons, must carry their belongings throughout the city. The additional burden this entails makes long distances and poor public transport connections even greater obstacles. In this regard, locating shelters in poorly connected areas perpetuates structural barriers to social reintegration, making users' daily mobility more difficult and affecting their access to essential resources and support networks.

Final reflections of the analysis

The set of identified patterns suggests that the location of shelters in Madrid is largely determined by land availability and operational costs, prioritizing economic factors over a strategic planning approach focused on social inclusion. However, the placement of these facilities should not be based solely on these criteria but must also consider effective accessibility, the quality of the urban environment, and real reintegration opportunities for users. To improve their effectiveness, it would be advisable to adopt an approach that ensures a more equitable and strategic distribution of shelters throughout the city, integrating them into urban contexts that promote social inclusion and minimize barriers that perpetuate exclusion.

THEORETICAL AND CRITICAL DEBATES

The tendency to cluster homeless assistance centers in areas already marked by economic precariousness generates what are described as "enclaves of poverty"—urban spaces where marginalized populations are trapped without real opportunities for upward mobility. As noted in the conceptual framework of this thesis, this territorial configuration reinforces processes of "territorial stigmatization." According to Wacquant, these territories are not only perceived as zones of social failure, but this perception directly impacts urban policies, economic dynamics, and the self-identification of their residents.

In the case of homeless assistance centers, their location in these enclaves not only perpetuates the stigmatization of these areas but also hinders the social and economic integration of their users. Wacquant frames this as part of what he calls "advanced marginalization," a phenomenon characteristic of neoliberal societies where exclusion processes are deepened and consolidated in specific spaces. By locating these centers far from mixed-use areas, public transportation, and essential services, logistics are created that not only complicate access to necessary resources

but also lock users into urban environments that lack inclusive support networks.

From David Harvey's perspective, this unequal distribution of services can be read as a manifestation of the spatial dynamics of capitalism described in "Rebel Cities." Harvey argues that, under neoliberalism, the city is organized according to the priorities of capital rather than human needs. In this framework, the central and economically valuable spaces of the city are reserved for highly profitable projects, such as real estate or commercial developments, while the most vulnerable populations are relegated to peripheral or economically depressed areas. This logic responds to what Harvey calls the "spatial fix," where capital crises are partially managed through the reconfiguration of urban space in ways that perpetuate structural inequalities.

The findings of this thesis indicate that the placement of homeless shelters in Madrid follows these patterns, reinforcing spatial segregation and limiting the possibilities for social reintegration. In Harveyian terms, this constitutes a form of alienation from the "right to the city," a right that, according to Harvey, involves not only access to urban space but also participation in its construction—an opportunity systematically denied to those living in marginalized and stigmatized areas.

Contradictions in Resource Management

Despite reports suggesting that shelters are not operating at full capacity, the reality of homelessness in Madrid remains a pressing issue. Census data and direct observation highlight the significant number of people sleeping on the streets or in places like Barajas Airport. This discrepancy suggests a misalignment between the availability of shelter spaces and the actual needs of the homeless population.

This inconsistency highlights the need for a fundamental reassessment of management

strategies. Rather than placing the burden of adaptation on homeless individuals, institutions must evolve to meet the realities of their users. While discussions on deinstitutionalization remain relevant, they should not be used to justify the state relinquishing its responsibility to provide fundamental rights and services. A more nuanced approach is required—one that balances institutional support with flexibility, ensuring that assistance systems are responsive to the actual needs of the homeless population. This involves improving accessibility, reducing bureaucratic barriers, and ensuring that available resources are effectively utilized to reflect the on-the-ground realities of homelessness in Madrid.

The Lack of an Effective Public Network vs. the Efficiency of Private Networks

One of the most striking contrasts in Madrid's assistance system is the effectiveness of religious organizations compared to state-run services. Entities like Cáritas have managed to establish a consolidated network of services in the city center, demonstrating a level of efficiency and adaptability that the public administration has struggled to match. This disparity raises critical questions about the rigidity of state-managed assistance programs, the bureaucratic challenges they face, and the potential lessons that can be drawn from more decentralized, community-driven approaches to service provision.

If organizations like Cáritas can provide assistance in some of the wealthiest areas of Madrid, it challenges the argument that public opposition prevents the establishment of state-run shelters in central locations. Instead, this suggests that resistance stems from poor management, lack of public engagement, misinformation, and inadequate transparency. The success of private networks indicates that stigmatization and NIMBY (Not In My Backyard) attitudes can be countered with proper policy strategies and community involvement.

Advances in Public Policy, but with Limitations

Programs such as LARES and Dignitas have introduced important advancements in the recognition of housing as a human right, with a particular focus on Housing First initiatives. While these policies represent a crucial shift toward prioritizing long-term housing solutions over temporary shelter models, it is evident that such a transformation must be gradual and sustainable. Implementing a paradigm shift of this magnitude cannot be achieved overnight. Without a structured transitional process, attempting to fully replace existing assistance models with Housing First initiatives risks creating gaps in essential services. Therefore, rather than a sudden overhaul, a phased approach that strengthens both immediate assistance and long-term solutions is necessary to ensure a coherent and effective evolution of homelessness management.

However, these programs are still in development and face significant implementation challenges. While the Housing First approach represents a promising direction, it is evident that such a profound paradigm shift cannot be implemented overnight. Attempting to replace existing assistance models without a structured transition risks exacerbating service gaps and leaving vulnerable individuals without essential support. It is crucial to guarantee a sustainable evolution in policy rather than pushing for abrupt changes that may lead to unintended consequences.

While the traditional assistance model is not the most effective approach to addressing social issues like homelessness, the real challenge lies in redefining the framework rather than eliminating it outright. Assistance should not be understood merely as state-provided services but rather as the creation of spaces where individuals can find resources to meet their basic needs with autonomy. These spaces must not impose rigid institutional structures but should instead serve as dynamic service hubs, adaptable to the varying needs of the population.

However, in certain cases, particularly when individuals have lost complete independence, direct institutional support remains essential. Assistance should be a voluntary process, recognizing that pathways out of homelessness are not uniform. The principle of intersectionality must also be considered: different groups within the homeless population have distinct needs. For instance, among the shelters analyzed, only one, Beatriz Galindo, is dedicated exclusively to women. Although its location is relatively advantageous as it is not in a marginalized area, its limited capacity highlights the gaps in service provision. Additionally, recent reports indicate that the average age of individuals experiencing homelessness has decreased significantly. Younger individuals face distinct challenges compared to older populations, such as the need for greater mobility, opportunities for integration, and access to dynamic urban environments. A well-structured service network must account for these differences, ensuring that assistance strategies are inclusive and responsive to the diverse realities of the population.

TOWARD A SERVICE NETWORK MODEL

The homeless assistance centers in Madrid are structured within a system called the "Red Municipal de Atención a Personas Sin Hogar," highlighting the broader urban principle of service networks. The importance of such networks is widely recognized in urban planning. For instance, the concept of the "15-minute city" introduced by Carlos Moreno in 2016 emphasizes the need for a decentralized and well-distributed urban environment where

essential services, workspaces, and social infrastructure are accessible within a short walking or cycling distance. This model aims to foster urban cohesion and social inclusion by reducing physical barriers to services and enhancing local accessibility.

Similarly, polycentric urban models, as developed by scholars like Peter Hall and Saskia Sassen, advocate for the distribution of resources across multiple urban nodes rather than centralizing services in isolated areas. Hall, in his studies on regional planning, emphasizes how dispersing urban functions can mitigate congestion and enhance local accessibility. Sassen, particularly in her research on global cities, discusses how the uneven distribution of services reinforces socioeconomic disparities and spatial segregation. These theories collectively underscore the importance of proximity and connectivity in structuring urban services, reinforcing the necessity for an integrated and well-connected system of homeless assistance centers in Madrid.

Despite this theoretical foundation, the current structure of Madrid's network does not function as an interconnected system but rather as a collection of isolated centers. The lack of spatial integration not only diminishes the potential benefits of a networked approach but also exacerbates social exclusion. To align with these principles, the system must adopt a truly networked structure, ensuring accessibility, decentralization, and spatial integration to better support individuals experiencing homelessness.

Similarly, polycentric urban models, as established by scholars like Peter Hall and Saskia Sassen, advocate for the distribution of resources across multiple urban nodes rather than centralizing services in isolated areas. Hall, in his studies on regional planning, highlights the benefits of dispersing urban functions to counteract congestion and enhance local accessibility. Sassen, in her research on global cities, discusses how uneven service distribution

can reinforce socioeconomic disparities and spatial segregation. These theories collectively reinforce the idea that proximity and connectivity are fundamental in structuring urban services.

Given these principles, Madrid's network of homeless shelters should, in theory, function as an interconnected system. However, as observed in this research, these centers operate in isolation rather than as an integrated network, undermining the very essence of what a "network" entails. They remain disconnected from each other and from the broader urban environment, limiting their potential to support social inclusion and mobility. To truly function as a network, Madrid's homeless assistance system must embrace the principles of accessibility, decentralization, and spatial integration, ensuring that individuals experiencing homelessness are not further marginalized by urban design.

Key principles of this model include:

- Decentralization and Spatial Distribution: Instead of concentrating services in a few large shelters, assistance should be dispersed across multiple smaller centers embedded within mixed-use urban environments. This would reduce territorial stigmatization and facilitate integration into local communities.

- Mixed-Use and Social Interaction: Shelters should be incorporated into areas with diverse land uses, ensuring proximity to job opportunities, public spaces, and social networks. Moreover, these centers should serve multiple functions, accommodating not only homeless individuals but also the broader community. By integrating spaces for public activities, workshops, and social services, shelters can foster direct interaction between residents and local communities, reducing stigma and promoting social cohesion.

This approach transforms shelters into active nodes within the urban fabric, contributing to a broader network of public services that benefit the entire city.

- Improved Public Transport Connectivity: A fundamental principle of any public service network is its accessibility at all hours, ensuring seamless connectivity to the urban fabric. Given that homeless shelters often operate primarily at night, it is crucial to guarantee reliable and frequent transportation links, especially during late hours. Homeless individuals rely heavily on public transit; thus, shelters should not be located in areas with poor connectivity, as this further limits reintegration opportunities and access to essential services. A truly integrated network must prioritize mobility as a key factor in reducing social exclusion and enhancing the effectiveness of assistance programs.

- Scalability and Flexibility: The strategies and actions of homelessness intervention plans should evolve sustainably, adapting to the diverse profiles, needs, and personal choices of individuals. This requires maintaining a range of service options that cater to different levels of support and autonomy. Assistance should not be confined to rigid institutional settings but should integrate a variety of support structures, including temporary housing, transitional accommodations, and long-term solutions. A coherent and adaptable approach ensures that services remain responsive to the dynamic nature of homelessness, fostering long-term stability and reintegration rather than imposing a one-size-fits-all model.

- Participatory and Transparent Planning: Community engagement should be a core component of shelter planning. Misinformation and public opposition often stem from a lack of transparency in decision-making processes. Including local communities in planning discussions can foster a more inclusive and supportive urban environment. Moreover, integrating public participation into decision-making not only ensures that projects are more aligned with the needs and desires of the communities they serve but also plays a crucial role in dismantling the stigmatization surrounding homelessness. By fostering direct engagement and dialogue, participatory planning can actively counteract "Not In My Backyard" (NIMBY) attitudes, facilitating more equitable urban policies and reinforcing the role of shelters as essential public services rather than contested spaces.

From the outset, this thesis has not aimed to develop a specific model for managing homeless assistance centers. Rather, it acknowledges that such a task requires a multidisciplinary team with significant prior experience. The success of any service network lies in its consistency and coherence with the particular contexts in which it operates. In this case, through a critical, theoretical, and practical analysis, the aim has been to create a reflection on and highlight the needs and considerations emerging from the management of this complex phenomenon in Madrid.

This contribution, therefore, serves to deepen the understanding of how the current spatial distribution of shelters aligns with long-standing arguments that homeless individuals have been rendered "invisible" and "untouchable." The territorial stigmatization they face is not only social but also spatial—mirroring the political and managerial intent to marginalize them under the guise of assistance.

This is evident in their displacement beyond highways, industrial zones, and the urban public realm—effectively pushing them outside the shared rights and spaces of the city. Addressing this issue requires not just a reconceptualization of service provision but a fundamental rethinking of urban inclusion as a whole.

LIST OF FIGURES AND GRAPHS

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- **Figure 2.** NYC Municipal Archives. "Frederick Law Olmsted — Blog - for the record." *NYC Department of Records & Information Services*, January 17, 2025. https://www.archives.nyc/blog/tag/Frederick+Law+Olmsted

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- **Figure 6.** Amore, Kate, Michael Baker, and Philippa Howden-Chapman. "The ETHOS Definition and Classification of Homelessness: An Analysis." *European Journal of Homelessness* 5, no. 2 (2011). Modified by the author.

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- **Figure 19- 20:** Instituto Geográfico Nacional (IGN). *Geoportal Oficial del Instituto Geográfico Nacional de España*. Accessed December 2024. https://www.ign.es/web/cbg-area-cartografia.
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