Co-funded by
the European Union

RECONECTING EDUCATION WITH HOMELESS

REALITY OF HOMELESS ADULT YOUTH

STUDY



redREE making projects

smallcodes

"IN-SITU" SOCIAL C-LM

LESVOS SOLIDARITY

RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE

greta

UNDACIÓN espacio Público

Coordinator:
Redtree Making Projects Coop.V.

Written by:
Lourdes Lucía
Ignacio Muro
Irene Bassanezi Tosi

Co-authors:
Raquel Navarro Cerveró
Laura Gómez Estrada
Luis Gómez Estrada
Ramón Mendoza Marcos
Christina Fani
Pierre carrolaggi
Carlo Zoli

This document is the result of the Erasmus Plus project "Reconnecting Education with Homeless People." This project has been funded with the support of the European Commission. This publication reflects the views only of the author, and the Commission cannot be held responsible for any use that may be made of the information contained therein.



Co-funded by
the European Union

All images used are royalty-free.

Creative Commons License: This document is licensed under a Creative Commons



Index

Introduction 3

1. The housing crisis in Europe 4

2. Causes of the growth of homelessness 16

3. Data by country 21

4. Homelessness and migration..... 29

5. Homelessness and impoverishment and social declassing 35

6. Homelessness and women 41

7. Types and inadequacy of aid 48

8. Invisibility and Criminalization 60

Conclusions ..... 63 Bibliography

..... 64

Introduction

Homelessness is one of the most the serious problems of social exclusion in contemporary societies are far from being a marginal or isolated phenomenon. Their growth in numerous European countries reflects economic, social, and political transformations that have hindered access to basic rights, especially the right to decent housing. Rising housing prices, job insecurity, social inequalities, and the shortcomings of social protection systems have contributed to a growing number of people finding themselves in situations of housing vulnerability or even homelessness.

> *The right to decent housing has become the central focus of social exclusion in Europe.*

This report analyzes the evolution of homelessness in Europe from a multidimensional perspective. First, it examines the housing crisis and its relationship to the increase in homelessness. Then, it studies the main causes of this phenomenon and presents comparative data from different European countries. It also addresses the relationship between homelessness and migration, poverty, and social exclusion, paying particular attention to the specific situation of women. Finally, it analyzes existing policies and support programs, as well as the processes of invisibility and criminalization that affect homeless people. The aim is to offer a comprehensive overview that allows for an understanding of the complexity of the phenomenon and the challenges it poses for contemporary European societies.

1. La crisis de la vivienda en Europa

La vivienda se ha convertido en uno de los principales factores de desigualdad social en Europa. Lo que comenzó como un problema de acceso para jóvenes y clases medias urbanas se ha transformado en una crisis estructural que afecta especialmente a los hogares de bajos ingresos, hasta el punto de alimentar el crecimiento del sinhogarismo, la sobreocupación y diversas formas de exclusión residencial.

Los estudios de la Comisión Europea y el Parlamento europeo sitúan el origen en 2015, cuando el problema se acentúa

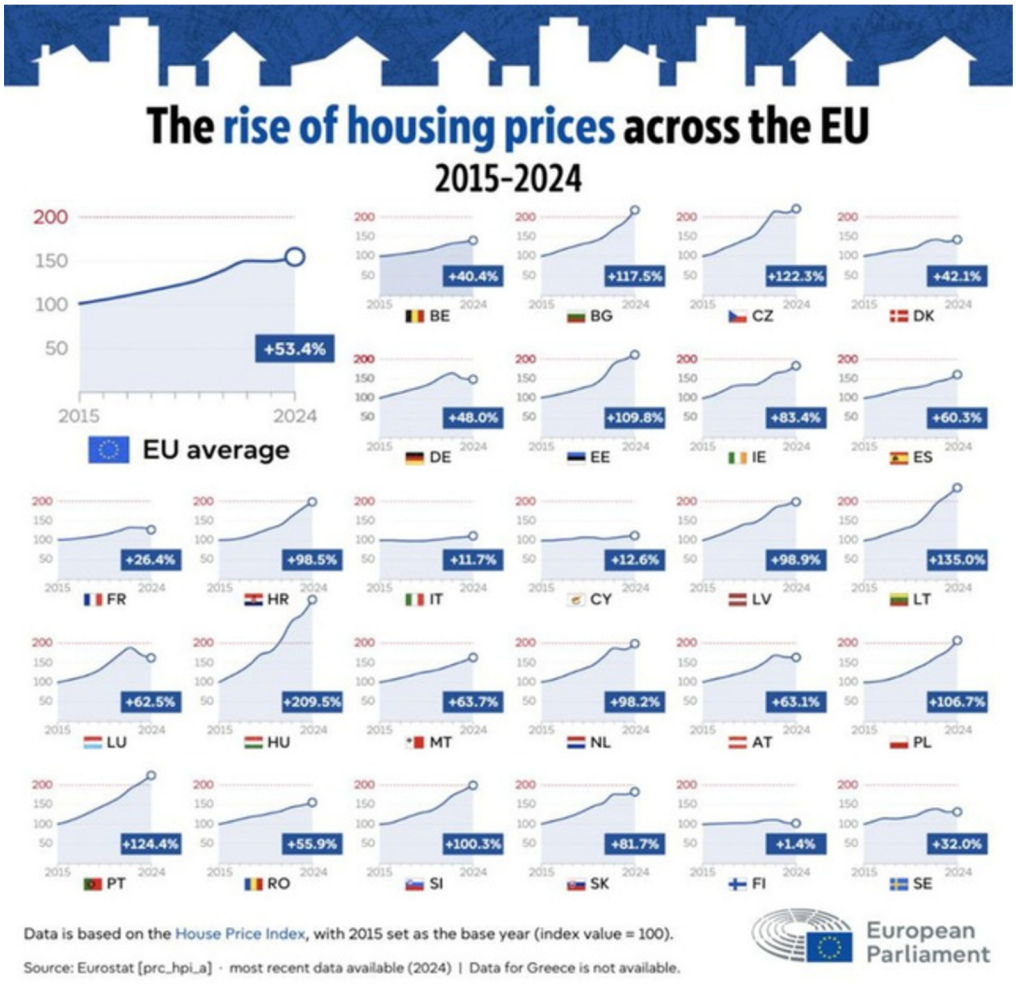


Tabla 1. Fuente: Parlamento Europeo.

1. The housing crisis in Europe

Housing has become one of the main factors os social inequality in Europe. What began as an access problem for young people and urban middle classes has transformed into a structural crisis that particularly affects low-income households, to the point of fueling the growth of homelessness, overcrowding, and various forms of residential exclusion.

Studies by the European Commission and the European Parliament place the origin in 2015, when the problem intensified.

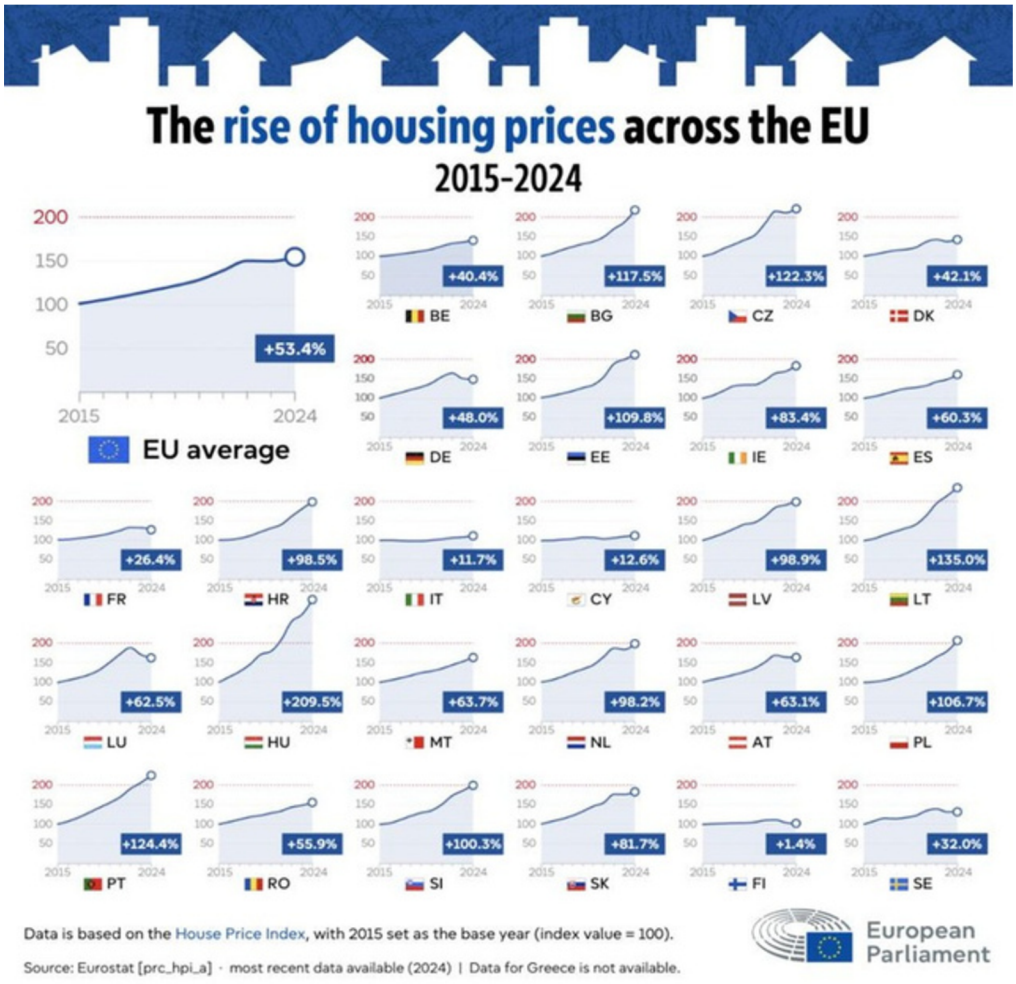


Table 1. Source: European Parliament.

Comparing household income with rental and purchase prices reveals a general decline in purchase prices, but less so in rental prices. These figures are averages and do not account for the varying intensity of the pressures affecting different countries, the unique impact on large cities, or the diverse levels of suffering inflicted on different social strata, particularly wage earners.

Comparación sintética 2015-2025

(Índice aproximado 2015=100)

País	Precio vivienda	Alquileres	Renta hogares	Resultado
UE	165	122	135	Deterioro moderado-fuerte
España	145-155	115-125	125-130	Deterioro fuerte
Alemania	170-180	120-130	130-140	Deterioro fuerte
Francia	120-130	110-120	125-135	Relativamente estable
Países Bajos	180-200	130-140	130-140	Deterioro muy fuerte

Table 2. Prepared by the author. Source: Eurostat. Housing prices and comparative income in the third quarter of 2025.

Growth in the Netherlands stands out among the core EU countries. The combination of strong immigration, the pressure Amsterdam faces as a major tourist city, and insufficient new construction supply are cited as the reasons. Other northern countries, such as the Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, and central countries like Hungary, have also experienced sustained increases in rental and purchase prices during that decade.

France is relatively spared thanks to the strength of its social housing and strict regulation of the real estate market. However, these are average figures that do not change the fact that Paris, Marseille, Lyon, and Bordeaux stand out for their acute problems.

Southern Europe (Greece, Italy, Spain, and Portugal), which, along with Ireland, suffered particularly from the real estate depression caused by the 2008 crisis, has delayed until 2020 the price increase, although since then tensions have accelerated.

Overall, we are faced with a paradoxical situation: although Europe remains one of the richest regions in the world, more and more European workers are finding it difficult to access stable housing.

The causes of this crisis are diverse and should be analyzed separately. On the one hand, there is the increasing perception of housing as a financial asset; on the other, the resurgence of megacities and internal population displacements that create an objective housing shortage. Studies also highlight a significant lag in new housing construction, partly due to the paralysis caused by the 2008 and Covid-19 crises. This also affected the construction of social housing, which has suffered from a growing relative shortage since then. Finally, the real estate market has seen the emergence of new models, largely linked to tourist rentals, which shorten rental periods.
Let's analyze those factors one by one.

1.1. A structural change: from use value to financial asset

If we compare the typical homebuyer 40 years ago with the typical buyer in 2026, we see a substantial difference. Back then, homes were primarily purchased for personal use, and the typical buyer was a family with children or a young couple, usually salaried workers. Prices depended mainly on very specific variables such as population growth, employment levels and wages, and the family's savings or borrowing capacity.

That buyer still exists, but competes with international institutional investors (investment and pension funds, insurance companies) or national investors who use housing as a safe haven investment.

This second type of private investor, sometimes undervalued or mistakenly lumped under the umbrella of investment funds, is particularly relevant. In many European cities, families with substantial wealth spread across various sectors, retirees with accumulated savings, or investors from the middle class are buying homes not to live in them, but to preserve wealth (retirement security, protection against inflation) or to supplement their income.

An estimate on the financialization of housing by the European Housing Coop (Gabor D., Kohl S., 2022) concludes that 40 years ago, institutional investment was practically nonexistent, while private investment represented only 10-20%, with purchases by homeowners accounting for 80-90% of all purchases. However, by 2025, owner-occupancy will represent 55-70%, while purchases as investment are growing year after year. Private investment has grown to between 20-35% of the total, and institutional investment to between 5-15%.

The result is that demand no longer depends solely on housing needs. A growing segment responds to buyers guided by investment criteria that shape international financial flows and assessments of the global financial situation, the monetary policy of central banks, or the wealth management strategies of investment funds and pension funds.

The figures vary considerably depending on the country and city, but the general trend is clear: homes are still mostly purchased for personal use, but a growing portion of price formation comes from buyers purchasing as an investment or asset protection. This phenomenon is particularly visible in Spain, Portugal, Ireland, France, the Netherlands, and Germany.

This transformation is precisely what many economists and sociologists call the financialization of housing.

Analyzed by period, this phenomenon began and grew strongly from 1995 onwards, fueled by financial liberalization, mortgage securitization, and the resulting mortgage expansion. This expansion came to an abrupt halt with the 2008 crisis, a period marked by the emergence of opportunistic funds and the regulation of professional asset management firms, mirroring the logic of US real estate investment trusts (REITs in Spain). Between 2013 and 2020, institutional investment accelerated and consolidated, alongside private investment, to the point of acquiring prime properties in select neighborhoods in the heart of megacities.

Although European statistics still have limitations in accurately distinguishing all purchases intended for personal use from different types of investment, the evidence accumulated since the 1990s shows a transformation very clear: housing has progressively gone from being a durable consumer good acquired by households to also becoming a global financial asset.

According to the ECB, the total volume of residential purchases by institutional investors has more than tripled since 2013. They are concentrating their efforts in major cities: Madrid, Paris, Dublin, Berlin, and Amsterdam are among the most exposed markets. The key point is not that these funds constitute the majority—they don't—but rather that their financial capacity allows them to influence market prices far more than their numerical share would suggest.

1.2. Supply shortage

EU institutions point to a shortage of supply as one of the main factors driving the housing crisis. With not enough new homes to meet demand, prices tend to rise.

Demand is growing due to many factors. At the national level, the main cause is population growth, especially among those of working age. As the birth rate declines, immigration is directly linked to this new demand, primarily through rental pressures. Countries experiencing strong population growth due to immigration and significant housing price pressures include Ireland, Spain, the Netherlands, Germany, and the United Kingdom, although no studies have been conducted to determine the direct or indirect impact of immigration.

However, other factors are generating demand without population growth. On the one hand, families are having fewer children and therefore demand smaller apartments; on the other, divorces, an aging population, and changing social habits are leading to an increase in single-parent households, meaning more people living alone. This is a slow, structural change, but one with a significant impact. The average household size in Spain has drastically decreased, from almost four members in 1970 to 2.5 people today, and is projected to fall to 2.3 in 12 years.

In all these cases, the market confirms that price pressures are due, in any case, to a delay in the supply of housing that has not kept pace with demand. And to imbalances in the types of supply and demand, with fewer social or affordable rental properties.

This has been influenced by the two recent crises that shook the world. The 2008 global financial crisis led to a significant decline in investment in new housing, including public social rental housing. The COVID-19 pandemic further slowed residential construction by disrupting permitting processes, delaying material deliveries, and causing labor shortages.

The most relevant estimate of the total housing deficit in the EU comes from the European Affordable Housing Plan (European Commission, 2026) carried out by the European Commission itself, which has decided to take ownership of the problem given its scale.

It estimates that Europe needs to build more than 2.2 million homes per year to meet current demand, while approximately 1.6 million are being built. This implies a production shortfall of around 650,000 homes annually.

The Commission paradoxically highlights a surprising fact: approximately 20% of European homes are vacant, while a huge shortage of affordable housing persists. Thus, there is a structural and spatial mismatch that combines various phenomena.

The report identifies three simultaneous problems: a lack of construction in high-growth areas, poor territorial distribution of existing housing, and an extreme shortage of affordable housing for low- and middle-income families. Its most important conclusion is that Europe simultaneously faces a construction deficit and a much larger deficit of affordable housing. The former amounts to a few million homes; the latter affects a substantial portion of the urban working and middle classes, even in countries where the total housing stock appears sufficient.

While the housing shortage is concentrated in large cities, many rural areas face ongoing depopulation. This accentuates the contrast between the growing demand for housing and overcrowding in cities, on the one hand, and the increasing number of empty homes in the countryside, on the other.

This is because the supply of social housing in urban centers has not kept pace with population growth in recent years. In 2021, there were around 14 million social housing units across the EU, representing only 8% of the total housing stock (compared to 11% in 2010). Currently, that percentage has decreased. Only 6% 7% of the EU's housing stock corresponds to social housing, an average with huge differences between countries.

1.3. Reduction of the rental period

The housing shortage has given rise to a new phenomenon: "stressed areas," which are particularly evident in large cities. As cities continue to attract people for work and study, the population is increasingly concentrated in large and medium-sized urban centers. Urban tourism is also becoming a major driver of demand for accommodation, particularly through "tourist accommodation." All of this is incentivizing private and institutional investors to enter the real estate market.

The financialization of housing is not usually associated with strategies that retain properties long-term. In periods of market stress, such as those that have characterized the last five years and are expected to continue into the next decade, the highest returns are obtained through maximum asset turnover. This translates into increasingly shorter occupancy periods and short-term rentals, sometimes lasting only days.

Thus, investors become a powerful lobby of owners who push administrations to reduce the duration of contracts and to grant them the ability not to renew them upon expiration without needing an explicit cause, or to favor new seasonal contracts designed for temporary stays or for tourist apartments.

In megacities transformed into tourist destinations, the housing shortage is where this phenomenon is most pronounced. Given the explosive growth of this market in recent years, a portion of houses and apartments have been diverted to short-term rentals, effectively displacing long-term residents.

Residential supply has decreased due to the rise of short-term rentals in the EU (Rankin J., 2025), which increased by 93% between 2018 and 2024, partly due to the growth of tourism platforms. In 2024, a total of 854.1 million overnight stays were booked in the EU through four major online platforms (Airbnb, Booking.com, Expedia Group, and TripAdvisor), an 18.8% increase compared to 2023 (719.0 million overnight stays), setting a new record.

1.4. The lack of social housing

The relationship between social housing and the housing access crisis is one of the central themes of the current European debate. Looking at the evolution since 2008, a paradox emerges: many countries revised or reduced their social housing policies, and yet those that best withstand the affordability crisis are generally those that maintained a large social or non-profit housing sector.

Before 2008, two housing models could be distinguished in Europe: one model that promoted social housing to represent between 20% and 30% of the housing stock, widespread in the Netherlands, Austria, Denmark, and Germany, and partially in France. Social housing was distributed according to universal criteria; that is, it was not reserved solely for the poorest, but also served the middle class, workers, young people, and retirees.

Other countries, such as Spain, Italy, Portugal, and much of Eastern Europe, viewed social housing as a residual, welfare-based system, representing only 2 to 3% of the total housing stock and exclusively aimed at vulnerable groups. And, as in the case of Spain, these countries allowed for the sale of these properties after 10 years.

The financial crisis had serious consequences for social housing. On the one hand, governments implemented austerity policies in accordance with prevailing economic norms. Public investment was reduced, social housing maintenance programs were sacrificed, and sales were tolerated. On the other hand, evictions increased, and residential poverty rose.

Today, social housing represents approximately 6% to 8% of the total, between 4 and 5 points less than in 2010. This average masks many differences, but, in general, it shows us the deterioration and decrease of social housing in many countries.

From 2012 onwards, something shifted in the dominant discourse projected by Brussels. Northern and Central Europe began to view the social rental housing sector not as a universal and temporary resource for accessing housing, but as a permanent form of assistance associated with the "new poor," identified primarily with the immigrant population. Social housing began to be seen as a solution aimed at combating social exclusion.

Germany can serve as a paradigm of changing behavior. While it had been considered a model with relatively moderate rents, strong tenant protections, and controlled price growth, its evolution since 2012 has led to the most rapid collapse of its social housing stock, reduced to just over one million units, compared to more than three million in the late 1980s. This rapid deterioration materialized through a halt in public housing construction, the non-renewal of expired social housing programs, and the conversion and sale of public assets through privatizations.

The Netherlands is another unique case, having been compelled to restrict and abandon its universal social housing model, which at one point accounted for 34% of the total housing stock, following recommendations from the European Commission itself. Its model relies on non-profit organizations that manage almost all the housing, but with significant public funding, while only a few properties have municipal involvement. Rents, which are not low, are offset by substantial income subsidies.

The Dutch social housing system began in the 1970s and 80s with a clear focus on non-profit organizations and was subject to strict controls. However, in the 1990s, a reform (Brutering) granted them greater organizational independence.

and financial, as well as less public oversight, which led to a degree of financialization of this sector and allowed social landlords to accumulate a considerable volume of assets. These assets were subsequently used as collateral in financial and capital markets to obtain financing on more favorable terms and generate returns on rental income. This phenomenon gave rise to malpractice, which the European Commission has addressed by requiring them to limit social housing solely to housing for people who have difficulty finding accommodation, whether for economic or other reasons.

Austria has managed to avoid the antisocial effects of the housing crisis. There, and especially in Vienna, a significant portion of the population lives in municipal housing or housing built and managed by cooperatives or under other subsidized rental schemes. It is the best European example of how to use public housing to stabilize the market, where free market prices exert less influence on a large part of the population.

France pursued a different strategy that demonstrates its relative resilience. While it hasn't avoided the housing crisis, particularly in its major cities like Paris, Marseille, Lyon, and Bordeaux, it has mitigated some of its most extreme effects. Not only does it maintain one of the largest social housing stocks in Europe, but its centralized regulatory system, uniform across all departments and cities, has also helped to cushion some price increases, offer alternatives to the private market, and reduce the vulnerability of certain groups. France is often cited in comparative studies as a case of relative resilience.

Spain presents a stark contrast: it built millions of homes during the pre-2008 real estate cycle. However, most of these were market-rate homes intended for owner-occupancy, with urban developments heavily influenced by second-home locations, and very little subsidized housing that could later be reclassified as social housing. The market downturn that followed the financial crisis and the sharp increase in the immigrant population have created the paradox of having one of the largest housing stocks per capita in Europe and one of the smallest permanent stocks of social housing, which explains its vulnerability to recent rent increases.

In summary, it can be concluded that countries that maintain a large sector of social rental housing—Austria, the Netherlands, Denmark, or parts of France—have housing affordability problems confined to their major cities. A sufficient stock of social housing is a proven way to reduce the financial burden of first-time homeownership, moderate private prices, promote territorial and social mobility, and limit the risks of homelessness.

Conversely, countries where social housing has declined or never reached a significant scale rely much more heavily on the private market to meet this basic need. When housing prices become decoupled from wages, this dependence becomes a structural source of inequality and residential vulnerability.

1.5. The European response

Housing has traditionally been a national responsibility, but the scale and widespread nature of the problem is driving increasing intervention by the European Union. Both the Commission's "Affordable Housing Plan," presented in December 2025, and the European Parliament's proposals of March 2026 set out concrete measures. As a result, the Commission has launched:

un Plan Europeo de Vivienda Asequible que incluye una futura Ley Europea de Vivienda Asequible prevista para 2026 y programas para ampliar vivienda social y asequible;
estrategias específicas contra la exclusión residencial;
medidas para regular los alquileres turísticos en zonas tensionadas.

El análisis implícito que destila ese Plan y las medidas que anuncia muestran la tendencia de la Comisión a elaborar una estrategia europea que prioriza como solución el aumento de la oferta y calidad de la vivienda asequible y vuelca su trabajo en la coordinación de iniciativas que la impulsen. Más construcción y renovación de viviendas antiguas, más innovación para impulsar viviendas modulares de rápida construcción, mayores incentivos para movilizar financiación y medidas para armonizar normas, digitalizar procedimientos para reducir costes y cargas administrativas.
La Comisión estima que en el marco de una Nueva Bauhaus Europa necesitará construir más de dos millones de viviendas al año para satisfacer la demanda actual, lo que supone unas 650.000 viviendas más al año, y que requeriría una inversión de aproximadamente 153.000 millones de euros al año. Y su voluntad es reforzar la competitividad, la productividad y la innovación del sector.

En un segundo nivel, el marco de la Ley de Vivienda Asequible anuncia que se esforzará en encontrar soluciones a la escasez de viviendas en zonas urbanas tensionadas y prestará apoyo a las autoridades nacionales, regionales y locales para abordar estos problemas, en particular los relacionados con los alquileres a corto plazo. También abordará las preocupaciones sobre las prácticas especulativas y nuevas medidas para abordar los problemas persistentes y complejos de las personas sin hogar.
Las organizaciones sociales europeas valoran positivamente que la vivienda haya entrado por primera vez en la agenda estratégica de la Comisión y que reconozca la dimensión estructural de la crisis de vivienda. Y que se haya lanzado el Plan Europeo de Vivienda Asequible de la Comisión, pero le han formulado críticas importantes pues consideran que el plan sigue atrapado en una lógica de mercado.
Una coalición de ONG liderada por la Federación Europea de Organizaciones Nacionales que Trabajan con Personas sin Hogar (FEANTSA) y por Housing Europe sostiene que el plan corre el riesgo de centrarse excesivamente en “construir más” sin abordar suficientemente las causas estructurales de la crisis asociada a las carencias de vivienda social, la financiarización de la vivienda y a una regulación más fuerte del

- a European Affordable Housing Plan that includes a future European Affordable Housing Act planned for 2026 and programs to expand social and affordable housing;
- specific strategies against residential exclusion;
- Measures to regulate tourist rentals in strained areas.

The implicit analysis distilled in this Plan and the measures it announces reveal the Commission's tendency to develop a European strategy that prioritizes increasing the supply and quality of affordable housing as the solution, focusing its efforts on coordinating initiatives to promote it. This includes more construction and renovation of older homes, greater innovation to promote rapidly built modular housing, increased incentives to mobilize financing, and measures to harmonize regulations and digitize procedures to reduce costs and administrative burdens.

The Commission estimates that, within the framework of a New Bauhaus Europe, it will need to build more than two million homes per year to meet current demand, which represents approximately 650,000 additional homes annually, requiring an investment of roughly €153 billion per year. Its aim is to strengthen the sector's competitiveness, productivity, and innovation.

At a second level, the Affordable Housing Act framework announces that it will strive to find solutions to housing shortages in stressed urban areas and will support national, regional, and local authorities in addressing these issues, particularly those related to short-term rentals. It will also address concerns about speculative practices and introduce new measures to tackle the persistent and complex problems of homelessness.

European social organizations welcome the fact that housing has been included on the Commission's strategic agenda for the first time and that it recognizes the structural dimension of the housing crisis. They also welcome the launch of the Commission's European Affordable Housing Plan, but have raised significant criticisms, arguing that the plan remains trapped in a market-driven logic.

A coalition of NGOs led by the European Federation of National Organisations Working with the Homeless (FEANTSA) and Housing Europe argues that the plan risks focusing excessively on “building more” without sufficiently addressing the structural causes of the crisis associated with a lack of social housing, the financialization of housing, and stronger regulation of the sector.

Private rentals that allow for the mobilization of vacant housing. Their argument is that increasing supply does not, in itself, guarantee affordable housing for low-income households.

They denounce the recurring use of the term "affordable housing" as an attempt to displace "social housing," leaving lower-income households excluded from new programs. They warn that many projects labeled as affordable end up targeting middle-income families rather than the poorest. They cite as examples the experiences of France, where mid-range housing is growing while millions of social housing applications persist, and the United Kingdom, where some so-called "affordable" housing is rented at near-market prices.

For its part, the EU Economic and Social Committee has called for stronger legal recognition of the right to housing within the European framework and for housing to be formally recognized as a fundamental right. It has also called for more flexible state aid rules to facilitate the construction of social housing.

Along similar lines, the European Action Coalition for the Right to Housing argues that the plan fails to adequately challenge the notion of housing as a financial asset and continues to rely excessively on private financing mechanisms and institutional investment. They denounce the fact that the problem is not only the housing shortage, but also that existing housing is increasingly being used as an investment vehicle.

Another point of criticism focuses on the insufficient attention given to homelessness. FEANTSA argues that the plan does not establish quantified commitments or sufficient funding to meet the European objective of eradicating it. It does not adequately address programs to combat residential exclusion, nor does it expand those dedicated to providing housing solutions (Housing First) in cases of eviction, nor does it develop specific financial instruments for public, cooperative, and non-profit housing.

2. Causes of the growth of homelessness

2.1. ??????????????????

The housing crisis cannot be summarized simply by mentioning its high cost. The central problem is that it is acting as an increasingly powerful mechanism of social stratification.

A European Parliament study (O'Sullivan E., 2023) shows that a divide is emerging in Europe today between those who own homes or real estate and those who depend on the rental market. Within this latter group, low-income households face disproportionate pressure that pushes them into increasingly precarious housing situations.

Young people, low-income families, single-parent households, immigrants, and people with disabilities are among the most affected groups.

The rising cost of housing, which affects millions of EU citizens, is particularly impacting young people. In 2023, young people across the EU left their parents' home at an average age of 26.2, but with significant differences between northern and southern countries. While in the Nordic and Baltic countries the average age is below 22, in the southern countries it exceeds 30, a group that includes Greece, Croatia, Italy, Spain, and Portugal (with a record of 33.6 years). In central countries like France and Germany, young people leave the parental home at an average age of 23 or 24.

The lack of social housing and reduced financial support, coupled with precarious access to the job market, are the causes cited by experts. The conclusion is that almost 70% of young adults between 18 and 34 years old had no choice but to continue living with their parents. In Spain, the average age of leaving the parental home is over 31.

The lack of social housing and reduced financial support, coupled with precarious access to the job market, are the causes cited by experts. The conclusion is that almost 70% of young adults between 18 and 34 years old had no choice but to continue living with their parents. In Spain, the average age of leaving the parental home is over 31.

The delay in leaving the family home becomes a structural factor that conditions their lives, as it forces young generations to postpone important decisions, such as starting a family or moving to other cities for professional reasons.

A report prepared by the CCOO economic team in 2024, entitled “Four failed decades of housing policy”, concludes that private free rental, despite

Despite its exorbitant cost, it is the only housing alternative for a large part of the population. Only 18.7% of households live in rented accommodation, but that percentage rises to 34% in households aged 30 to 44 and to 57% in households aged 18 to 29 (CCOO, 2024).

The accompanying table, included in the study, shows, on the one hand, how housing price increases are skyrocketing far above land and construction costs. But, above all, it shows how wage growth is lagging far behind both, creating a widening gap. On average, 6.1 average annual gross salaries are needed to buy a 90 m² home in Spain, and slightly more than half that amount—3.9 average salaries—is needed to buy subsidized housing. Mortgage payments now represent 34% of average income.

TABLA COMPARATIVA DE COSTES DE PRODUCCIÓN, PRECIOS DE VENTA PARA LA VIVIENDA NUEVA Y SALARIOS (PROMEDIO NACIONAL)

Variación acumulada (%)	2015 – 1S 2024	2019 – 1S 2024
Índice de costes del sector de la construcción residencial	+ 23%	+ 20%
Precio del suelo urbano	+ 10%	+ 4%
Precio de venta final	**+ 81%**	**+ 41%**
Salarios	+ 16%	+ 13%

Fuente: Gabinete Económico Confederal de CCOO en base a Ministerio de Transporte y Movilidad Sostenible, INE

Table 3. Source: CCOO Confederal Economic Cabinet

El estudio citado realizado por el Parlamento Europeo confirma una consecuencia evidente: las familias con bajos ingresos se encuentran entre las más afectadas por la crisis de la vivienda: más del 27% de los hogares con bajos ingresos se enfrentan a la mayor sobrecarga de costes y a una grave privación de vivienda.

La situación es aún más grave para los migrantes obligados a vivir en situaciones de hacinamiento: más del 33% de los inmigrantes no comunitarios convive en viviendas superpobladas, una desigualdad que multiplica por 2,4 la existente para los ciudadanos de la UE.

Un informe realizado por el Instituto de Investigación Urbana de Barcelona (IDRA) centrado en las grandes ciudades españolas, Madrid y Barcelona (Pérez Ruiz et al., 2024), dibuja la singularidad del problema de la vivienda para la población inmigrante en grandes ciudades en las que el alquiler es la opción claramente dominante. Mientras que solo el 14% de la población de nacionalidad española vive de alquiler en 2023, esta cifra alcanza el 71,6% en el caso de la población extranjera extracomunitaria, y un 61,3% entre la población procedente de la Unión Europea. La población extranjera residente en España, y en especial los extranjeros extracomunitarios, no tienen la capacidad financiera para acceder a una vivienda en propiedad, teniendo que recurrir al alquiler como solución habitacional de por vida.

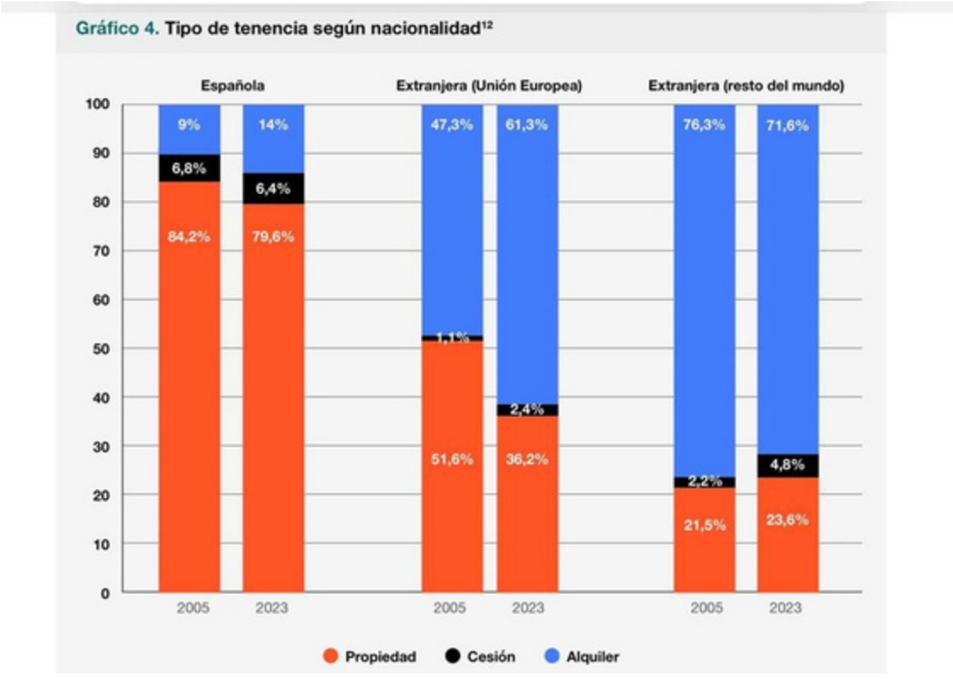


Tabla 4. Fuente: Informe IDRA 2024

The cited study by the European Parliament confirms an obvious consequence: low-income families are among the most affected by the housing crisis: more than 27% of low-income households face the greatest cost burden and severe housing deprivation.

The situation is even more serious for migrants forced to live in overcrowded conditions: more than 33% of non-EU immigrants live in overcrowded housing, an inequality that is 2.4 times greater than that for EU citizens.

A report by the Barcelona Institute for Urban Research (IDRA), focusing on the major Spanish cities of Madrid and Barcelona (Pérez Ruiz et al., 2024), highlights the unique housing problem faced by immigrant populations in large cities where renting is the clearly dominant option. While only 14% of the Spanish population lived in rented accommodation in 2023, this figure reached 71.6% for non-EU foreigners and 61.3% for EU citizens. Foreign residents in Spain, and especially non-EU citizens, lack the financial means to purchase a home, forcing them to resort to renting as their permanent housing solution.

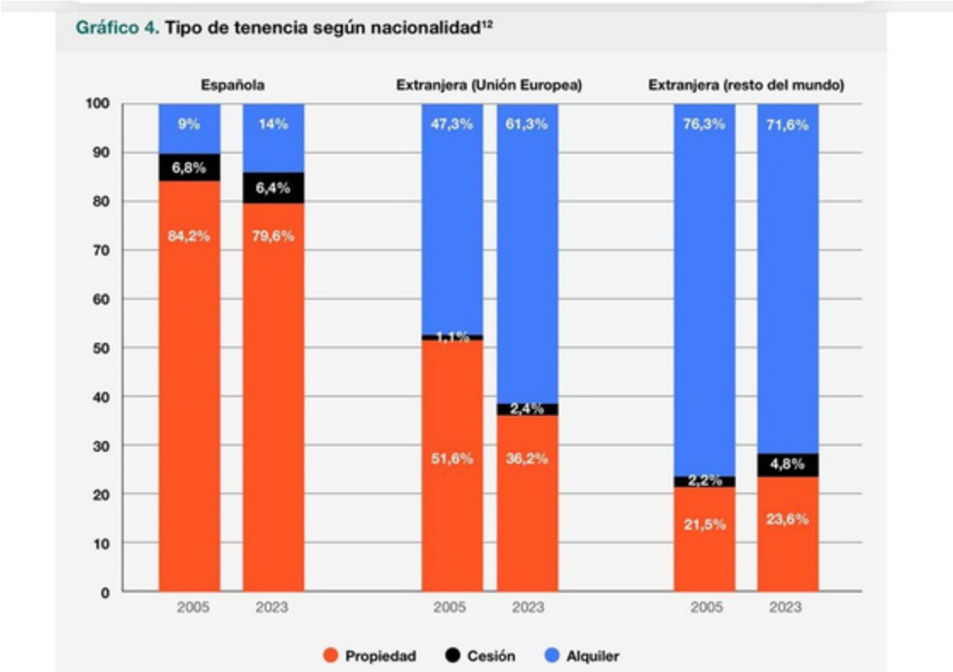


Table 4. Source: IDRA Report 2024

The lack of adequate housing also affects people with disabilities, with less than 29% reporting that their housing meets their needs. This group also experiences higher rates of cost burden than the general population.

2.2. Invisible homelessness, a destiny for growing social strata

FEANTSA, the European Federation of National Organisations Working with the Homeless, is taking a further step in the European Parliament's investigation. It's not just that a divide is emerging in Europe today between those who own homes and those who don't, but that housing acts as a mechanism of

Regressive transfer of income between tenants and landlords: the poorer a household is, the greater the proportion of income absorbed by rents, utilities, and associated costs.

This transfer of income diverts resources from the productive economy, consumption, and investment, which are the main activities of the social majority, to feed the financial logic of wealth holders and has increasing effects on GDP growth and macroeconomic balances in magnitudes that are not sufficiently studied.

This framework is what gives a structural dimension to the problem of the housing shortage. Both Brussels and Strasbourg are beginning to recognize homelessness not as an individual phenomenon affecting marginalized people, but as a social one connected to the housing crisis, its most extreme manifestation. This phenomenon is directly associated, on the one hand, with problems in the labor market and, on the other, with the lack of affordable housing.

On the one hand, those entering the labor market face increasingly precarious and unstable conditions. On the other, when they manage to stabilize their employment, they soon discover that their wages fall far short of the cost of renting a home, especially in large cities. Finally, the shortage of social housing and the exorbitant rents stifle their lives and hinder any medium- or long-term planning.

This general context manifests itself in specific individuals whose profile is much broader than that of lonely, self-marginalized men with alcoholism or other addictions. Increasingly, social groups are experiencing a series of cumulative circumstances that overwhelm them. These include men and women with children going through separation crises, families with children dependent on a single, precarious income, older workers laid off, young people unable to overcome addiction, and migrants or refugees from conflicts awaiting recognition of their political refugee status.

The consequences for these most disadvantaged segments of the population are cumulative. It begins with struggles to survive day to day or to make ends meet if they have a stable income; with the scarcity of resources come sacrifices in food and healthcare; if these deficiencies persist, they begin to seek help in the form of loans from family and friends... or from financial institutions specializing in “easy credit” with usurious interest rates; if the problems continue, they must decide which bills to stop paying, with phone and energy bills being the first options. When the option

The decision to stop paying for housing or the room that serves as a night's refuge has entered the definitive cycle of social exclusion, and the abyss looms. On the horizon is the concern that this vicious cycle will culminate in homelessness.

Many people begin to feel that any accident could push them into homelessness. When this happens, the search for a roof over their heads to rest and sleep is the first sign of hidden homelessness, which, if there is no help or a job that pays enough, evolves into visible homelessness.

This explains why the most recent resolutions of Parliament and the Commission already address affordable housing, residential exclusion and homelessness together within the same social strategy.

3. Data by country

Several recent studies and reports indicate that visible homelessness has increased alarmingly in Europe in recent years, measured by the number of people who sleep on the streets because they do not have a home or accommodation to do so.

Before reflecting the data in Europe, it should be noted that in many cases there is an underrepresentation of the data due to various factors:

a) Homelessness is a hidden phenomenon. Many people do not sleep on the street or use shelters, but instead stay temporarily in the homes of family or friends, occupy unsafe housing, reside in informal accommodations, or alternate between different precarious solutions. These situations are often left out of traditional counts.

b) Methodological limitations of the counts. Nighttime censuses or street counts only capture people who are visible at a specific time. Those who are hospitalized, in prison, in temporary facilities, working at night, or traveling may not be counted.

c) The inclusion of undocumented migrants in official homelessness statistics is not harmonized across Europe. While some countries, such as Finland and Denmark, exclude them from their administrative records, others, such as Belgium, include them in population counts based on the ETHOS Light methodology. This methodological heterogeneity hinders international comparisons and contributes to the underestimation of homelessness among undocumented migrants.

d) Restrictive definitions. In some countries, official statistics only include people who sleep on the streets or use specific services for homeless people. This excludes other forms of housing exclusion considered by the ETHOS (European Typology of Homelessness and Housing Exclusion), such as insecure or inadequate housing.

e) Low utilization of services. Not all people experiencing homelessness use shelters or social services. Some avoid these services due to negative experiences, access rules, mental health problems, substance use, or fear of stigma.

f) Dynamic nature of the phenomenon. Homelessness is not always a permanent situation. Many people enter and leave it in short periods, so a single count may not reflect the annual magnitude of the problem.

g) Lack of integrated information systems. Data from social services, health, housing, justice and third sector organizations are not always coordinated, making it difficult to estimate the total number of people affected.

h) Stigma and fear of identification. Some people avoid being registered for fear of administrative consequences, loss of child custody, immigration problems, or simply to preserve their privacy.

Therefore, it is important to bear in mind that official figures should be interpreted as a minimum estimate of the phenomenon, and not as a comprehensive measure of the number of people experiencing homelessness or residential exclusion.

Considering the above, Finland and Denmark are the two exceptions to this trend, having made progress in reducing homelessness, while France and Germany have seen their homelessness rates double. Finland reduced homelessness by 35% between 2008 and 2015 thanks to collaborative efforts at the local and state levels and a firm commitment to the Housing First model. This approach prioritizes housing over simply finding a home, even if it means resorting to any alternative, including shelters. It is a model that prioritizes the autonomy and self-esteem of each individual.

In recent years, the number of homeless people has steadily increased. Although official data from European institutions on the number of people in these circumstances is unavailable, the European Commission estimated that in 2013 there were 410,000 people sleeping on the streets across the European Union. Since then, the increase has been relentless.

The figures from this historical overview are telling. Between 2010 and 2023, France and England have shown very pessimistic results in their handling of the homelessness problem. According to data provided by the OECD, the number of homeless people more than doubled in these countries between 2010 and 2023: in those 13 years, England went from 52,168 to 109,658 homeless people—almost double. In France, it rose from 141,500 to 333,000. This figure more than tripled in Slovakia. Ireland has also shown a significant increase since 2016, with its homelessness rate doubling.

In 2024, according to a study conducted by the Abate Pierre Foundation and FEANTSA (European Federation of National Organizations Working with the Homeless) in the following EU countries: Belgium, Denmark, France, Hungary, Germany, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain and Sweden, approximately 0.250% of their population were homeless.

Outside the EU, the United Kingdom and, within it, countries such as Poland or the Czech Republic are also included in broader reports from the European Observatory of Homelessness, which confirm the growth of homelessness in recent years.

All these figures vary, they are as changeable as the situation of homeless people, who have been evicted from their homes for not being able to pay a mortgage or for not having enough resources to pay the very high rents that rise day by day.

Indeed, homelessness is not a static situation, but rather fluid, changing, and multidimensional. The life trajectories of homeless people often go through different stages, including living on the streets, in shelters, in temporary accommodations, or in substandard housing.

As we have been pointing out, the rise and continued rise in homelessness in Europe stems from the fact that one of the biggest problems is the lack of housing. This problem is growing both in the number of people affected and in the number of countries experiencing it. The data reveals alarming figures, such as the fact that in the EU and the UK alone, more than one million people are homeless every night. These are approximate figures, as FEANTSA warns: "The actual number of homeless people is likely much higher."

This same organization has established several categories to define the most extreme forms of homelessness, focusing on total lack of shelter and living on the streets or in emergency shelters. These categories were created following the ETHOS Light Typology (a framework definition for normative and practical purposes that provides a common language for the transnational effort to harmonize national definitions of homelessness in Europe). The first three of these categories are:

1. Living in public space (Roofless). This refers to the accommodation of people who sleep on the street, whether in parks, ATMs, or places not intended for housing.

2. Emergency accommodation (Night Shelter). This refers to the accommodation of people who stay overnight in night shelters or low-threshold centers, without a regular home.

3. Temporary accommodation for homeless people: people who reside in reception centers, temporary shelters or hostels financed to cover the lack of housing.

It is estimated that homelessness affects more than 150 million people worldwide, and although it is not easy to obtain data on a European scale, it is believed, as mentioned above, that in Europe it affects more than 1.2 million people.

Data on the situation in Europe in 2022-2023 showed significant figures, with Germany standing out at 43.6 people per 10,000 inhabitants. France recorded a rate of 30.7 homeless people per 10,000 inhabitants, while in the Czech Republic and Ireland the rates reached 28.4 and 25.3 per 10,000 inhabitants, respectively.

In Spain and Southern Europe, foster care masks a hidden form of homelessness, while visible homelessness rates remain low, less than 10 people per 10,000 inhabitants. However, in Spain, two reports from the National Statistics Institute (INE)—the 2022 Survey on Homeless People and the 2024 Survey of Centers and Services for Homeless People—indicate a rapid increase in extreme homelessness.

Outside the EU, the UK has one of the highest historical prevalence rates of homelessness, at 65 per 10,000 inhabitants. In the United States, homelessness reached a record high in 2024, increasing by 18% compared to the previous year, with more than 771,480 people experiencing homelessness. Migrants and children are the most affected and growing segments of the population. The country's geographic spread and diversity reduce its average rate to 23 people per 10,000 inhabitants.

The countries with the highest absolute and relative figures are located on the African continent. Syria, embroiled in armed conflicts for the last decade and besieged by Israel, has a peak of over 6 million homeless people in a population of more than 23 million. The measurement system used for developed countries, homelessness rates per 10,000 inhabitants, is completely outdated, as in Syria it reaches 25% of the population.

The same is true in other African countries where homelessness affects up to 10% of the population. In Nigeria, homelessness affects 25 million people out of a total population of approximately 250 million. In Uganda, it affects roughly 4 million out of 53 million inhabitants. In Zimbabwe, it affects around 1.2 million out of 17 million inhabitants. In Asia, Nepal stands out with similar relative figures: around 2.5 million out of 30 million inhabitants.

Natural disasters (which have increased with climate change) and wars have forced hundreds of thousands of people to flee their countries and settle in more prosperous territories. Thus, in recent years, entire populations have had to leave Ukraine after the Russian invasion, millions of people in Syria fled to neighboring countries or to Turkey and Greece, while the population of neighboring Gaza, which has suffered genocide at the hands of Israel, lacks the most basic necessities for life, including shelter. Hundreds of thousands of people arrive in Europe from Africa or Latin America fleeing poverty and seeking a better life.

In another chapter we will dedicate special attention to the issue of migrants and homelessness, but it is worth recalling now to understand that housing in Europe and the US is currently one of the main indicators of inequality. The main causes of this inequality are lack of work (63%), lack of economic resources (26.1%), and administrative problems or "papers" (13.4%).

The financialization of housing and the rapid increase in tourism are other factors, already mentioned in previous chapters, that have clearly contributed to the rise in apartment rental prices. The price of short-term rentals has skyrocketed in major European cities. This crisis affects most large cities, but it is also increasingly prevalent in medium-sized cities. The housing crisis in the EU is a massive and long-lasting phenomenon with far-reaching political and social consequences.

As we have been pointing out, the loss of housing is usually a gradual process of exclusion that can last for years, with periods of precariousness often followed by serious crises. Lack of work, lack of economic resources, divorces and separations, or irregular situations due to lack of documentation (undocumented immigrants) are usually the main personal reasons for losing or being unable to access housing. However, as already mentioned, the fact that housing, a fundamental human right, has become a commodity for speculation is the main economic and social cause of this growing problem.

The profile of homeless people is also changing, and the latest data indicates an increase in young people affected by homelessness. While homelessness remains predominantly male (82%), the presence of women is growing, reaching 18%. Furthermore, a shift in the profile is observed, now including young people between 18 and 30 years old.

Currently (2026 data), it is estimated that in the EU, one in ten households spends more than 40% of their income on housing. Given the two factors mentioned above—the rising cost of living and the increased demand for housing—it is no surprise that rents have risen sharply, evictions are on the rise, there are endless queues for social housing, and the number of homeless people is increasing.

If we take a brief look at the figures for some European countries, we get the following results:

- In France, housing has become a structural crisis: it is estimated that there are approximately four million people who are homeless or lack adequate housing, and that more than 350,000 are living on the streets. Public housing is increasingly scarce, and private sector rents are skyrocketing.
- In Greece, following the austerity measures imposed by the European Commission, along with the ECB and the International Monetary Fund, in 2010, another severe housing crisis emerged within a decade. Construction of social housing ground to a halt, and many families were unable to keep up with their mortgage payments, losing their homes during the financial crisis. Currently, it is estimated that a third of Greek families spend more than 40% of their income on housing.
- In Italy, in major cities like Rome, Milan, and Florence, as well as in many university towns, housing rents have skyrocketed. Approximately one in five renters spends more than 40% of their income on housing.
- In Spain, financial speculation in housing and the rapid increase in tourism are other causes of the increase in housing prices throughout the country, especially in cities like

- Barcelona, Madrid, and Valencia are examples of cities where rents have risen by more than 30% in five years. This increase affects all neighborhoods and districts, but has been most pronounced in city centers, forcing a significant portion of the population to abandon their lifelong homes in the heart of their cities.
- In Germany, the number of people without permanent housing reached a record high in 2025: more than one million were affected. According to estimates from the Federal Association for Assistance to the Homeless (BAG W), just over one million people were homeless in 2024, representing an 11% increase compared to the previous year. In Berlin, housing rents have doubled in ten years, rising from around €7 per square meter to around €15 or €16. This cost is even higher in the city center, where it ranges from €18 to €20. In other words, renting a 100-square-meter apartment can cost around €1,700 or €1,800 per month.
- Countries like Romania present an even more critical situation. In the capital, Bucharest, and in other major cities, rent for a 100 m2 apartment is around 1,000 euros per month, a figure similar to that of some Western European cities, but the minimum wage is much lower.

Returning to Spain, according to a survey conducted by Hogar Sí with 40DB in October 2025, 10.1% of people living in Spain have had to sleep on the street at least once, approximately four million people. This survey was carried out through 1,500 interviews, and its findings were compiled in the report “Social X-ray of Homelessness in Spain: Perceptions, Realities, and Challenges,” which has highlighted that this problem affects far more people than is generally believed.

Finally, the problem has reached such a scale that, at the United Nations General Assembly held in August 2025, the Secretary-General stated: “Homelessness is a universal problem rooted in systemic gaps in housing systems, poverty reduction strategies, health systems, and social protection mechanisms.” And to address the problem: “While emergency shelter and humanitarian aid play an indispensable role in crisis situations, they are not sustainable long-term solutions. Instead, long-term policies must prioritize affordability, habitability, and security of tenure.”

4. Homelessness and migration

The report published by the International Organization for the International Organization for Migration (IOM), during the week of the International Migration Review Forum held a few weeks ago in New York, stated that regular migration contributes to economic growth worldwide. It also declared that restricting access routes for migrants does not stop migration, but rather diverts them to more dangerous routes.

According to this report, there were 304 million international migrants in 2024, a figure that has been increasing in recent years. According to Amy Pope, Director General of the IOM, each country has the right to establish its own migration policies. And this is where substantial differences emerge between the various regions of the world.

Xenophobia and hatred towards people forced to migrate are on the rise in most Western countries and go hand in hand with ideas linked to right-wing and far-right political formations.

Hoaxes, lies, and misrepresentation of empirical data on migration are increasingly influencing public debate and government policies.

The spread of misinformation and disinformation is amplified through social media and tools based on Artificial Intelligence (AI), contributing to the adoption of restrictive measures that undermine rights and social cohesion.

This does not prevent the continued and increasing migration of thousands of people forced to leave their countries of origin due to very serious causes, such as wars, disasters caused by climate change, and poverty. Furthermore, their arrival in destination countries is often irregular and involves the deprivation of the most basic human rights.

This has led to increased displacement in areas such as Sudan, Ukraine, and Gaza, causing immense human suffering. The response from wealthy countries (which have generally exploited the natural resources of impoverished nations) is to close borders, implement repressive and isolationist policies for migrants (such as opening detention centers), and accelerate the development of new AI-powered technologies to prevent migrants from arriving. The use of biometric systems, data-sharing agreements, algorithms, and digital surveillance is on the rise in many countries.

When a person forced to migrate arrives in their destination country, they find themselves in a situation of complete economic hardship. As a rule, migrants end up in the lowest-paying jobs, with very low wages and without respect for their labor and human rights, which naturally also affects their ability to find housing and establish a family. This situation is exacerbated for people who are in the destination countries irregularly, without having their right to live and work recognized.

As we have seen previously, real estate speculation and the lack of social policies to promote access to housing are exacerbated in the case of migration.

We can affirm that migrants are not the primary cause of the housing crisis, but they are certainly the first to suffer its consequences: overcrowding, abuse by landlords, skyrocketing rents, and a lack of legal protection against forced evictions. It is noteworthy that a high percentage of migrants seeking accommodation face discrimination; it is estimated that up to 47% are rejected for rental offers and that some real estate agencies include discriminatory clauses in their contracts. This situation has been exacerbated in countries like Canada and Spain, where the rapid increase in the homeless population has been compounded by the rise in the number of homeless migrants. Furthermore, the situation is even more critical in refugee camps: lack of access to clean water, medical care, and basic hygiene.

Likewise, in many territories affected by aging and depopulation, migrants face difficulties accessing decent and stable housing. Migrant workers frequently reside in temporary accommodations, substandard housing, or spaces provided by their employers, which can lead to situations of dependency, overcrowding, and housing insecurity. These conditions are exacerbated by the scarcity of affordable housing in many rural areas and by administrative, economic, and sometimes discriminatory barriers that hinder access to the housing market. Balakrishnan Rajagopal, the UN Special Rapporteur on the right to housing, presented a report to the Human Rights Council highlighting the significant difficulties migrants face in accessing housing and refuting narratives that blame them for the global housing crisis. In cities, migrants are forced to live in substandard housing, slums, and informal settlements. Another concern raised in this report is the difficulty migrants face in transitioning from temporary to permanent housing. In many countries, social housing policies exclude migrants, forcing them to remain in emergency shelters or to rely on the private market, where they suffer discrimination and face high prices.

Regarding possible solutions, this report highlights initiatives that have proven effective in improving migrants' access to housing, such as regularizing their immigration status to facilitate access to basic rights, implementing rental subsidy programs, and creating inclusive social housing.

In conclusion, the report emphasizes that the housing crisis is a complex problem requiring global and inclusive solutions. Far from being responsible for this crisis, migrants are a vulnerable group that needs greater protection and equitable access to housing solutions.

In the Americas, the magnitude of migration is very large; for example, it is estimated that more than 11 million people cross into the United States from Mexico, finding themselves in a situation of homelessness there.

A similar situation exists in western El Salvador and along the Guatemalan border, which is crossed daily by dozens of foreigners (mainly Ecuadorians, Venezuelans, and other South Americans). These people suffer daily from hunger, homelessness, xenophobia, and physical, sexual, and psychological violence at the hands of criminal groups and the authorities themselves.

Although there are organizations like the 'Scalabrini' Migrant House in Guatemala, which provide temporary shelter, and in El Salvador there is the Migrant Care Management, these entities can barely cover the needs of the thousands of migrants in transit, who pass through these countries generally on their way to the United States.

In Europe we will see below the special case of Greece and Lesbos during the 2015 crisis, the consequences of which last to this day.

More recently, in 2023-2024, the Italian government reached an agreement with Albania to outsource the management of asylum seekers rescued by Italy and transfer them to two centers in Shëngjin and Gjader, Albania. Designed to handle up to 36,000 people per year, these Italian-run centers aim to expedite the repatriation of migrants without asylum status. Italy would cover the construction costs of the facilities located on Albanian territory.

This measure was heavily criticized by Amnesty International and other human rights organizations, as well as by many European countries. But after several legal challenges and criticisms in 2025, the Advocate General of the EU ruled in April 2026 that the agreement is compatible with European law, provided that fundamental rights are respected. And in March 2026, the European Parliament approved rules allowing the creation of these "return centers" in third countries, making the Italian model a benchmark for the EU.

And, as mentioned above, it is worth focusing on a special case when discussing immigration and housing. We are talking about the island of Lesbos (Greece), where the situation regarding migration and homelessness has been critical over the last decade.

In 2015, more than a million migrants and refugees arrived in Europe—most by sea—reaching Lesbos, whose northern coast is just 6 miles (10 kilometers) from Turkey. At the time, Greece was experiencing a devastating economic crisis, and the influx of migrants fueled anger against established political parties and propelled the rise of previously marginal populist forces. The immediate humanitarian crisis—feeding, housing, and caring for so many people at once—evolved into a long-term political crisis.

This influx of men, women, and children fleeing war and poverty unleashed a humanitarian crisis that shook the European Union to its core. In 2025, a decade later, the consequences can still be felt on this island and beyond. Many of these people considered Greece a transit point, and many continued their journey north and west through Europe. A large number of those who applied for asylum were granted international protection, and thousands became European citizens. But many more were rejected, forced to live for years in migrant camps or on the streets. Some had no choice but to return to their countries of origin. Others were expelled from the EU. “The Lesbos crisis in 2015 was, in a way, the birth certificate of European migration and asylum policy,” said Margaritis Schinas, former Vice-President of the European Commission and one of the main architects of the European Pact on Migration and Asylum (EPAM), in 2023.

Currently, in the years 2025-2026, the situation has not improved much; it remains critical and complex, marked by a tightening of migration policies, increased surveillance, and a high volume of arrivals, although the epicenter of maritime migration has now shifted further south, specifically to Crete and Gavdos.

Lesbos remains a key entry point. Violent pushbacks by the Greek coast guard prevent migrants from reaching the shore. Since 2020, more than 3,500 boats have been turned back.

Homelessness and uncertainty are the two constants that await many migrants, who live in a constant state of waiting, with very few job opportunities and an uncertain future in Europe.

To this must be added the limitations of medical care, the lack of medicines and the unsanitary conditions that are constant problems in the camps.

The current situation in Europe is characterized by growing tension between the need for labor, migration restrictions, and a severe housing affordability crisis. These are the elements that will shape the situation of homelessness and migration in Europe at the beginning of 2026. And in this situation, what has the EU done? In June of this year, the full implementation of the EU's New Pact on Migration and Asylum (PEMA) comes into force, which aims to tighten border controls and expedite the return of migrants. The main measures established in this Pact aim to:

- Increase border controls very strictly: identity checks, health checks...
- Expansion of the fingerprint database to record entries,
- including minors (Eurodac).
- Implementation of mandatory solidarity mechanisms so that member countries share the burden of first-arrival countries, allowing financial contributions instead of direct reception.
- Strengthening cooperation with third transit countries to reduce irregular migration.

In other words, these are not provisions aimed at welcoming and facilitating the reception of people who have been forced to migrate or leave their countries in search of asylum. Rather, they are measures aimed at expelling these people, measures that have been criticized by human rights organizations.

In the case of Spain, a special situation has arisen following the extraordinary regularization announced by the Podemos political party on January 26.

of 2026 and approved by the Government in the Council of Ministers on May 14 of the same year. This measure may affect more than 1 million people who can prove they have lived in Spain for at least five months prior to their regularization application. It is estimated that approximately 70% of these people come from Latin America.

The application period ends on June 30, 2026, and it benefits applicants who will be able to obtain authorization to reside and work in Spain, with all the rights that this entails.

In conclusion, the key factors in the migration-homelessness relationship can be highlighted as follows:

- The irregular status of many migrants is a cause of social exclusion. Access to formal employment, decent housing, and social services are common challenges for these individuals.
- Soaring rents, unemployment, and job discrimination
- They force many migrants to live on the streets or in substandard housing.
- Racism, xenophobia, and social isolation are on the rise, further hindering their housing options.

[1] Although the government had initially planned to regularize approximately 500,000
For migrants, the number of applications for regularization is around 1.2 million migrants (Castellano, 2026).

5. Homelessness, impoverishment and social declassing

As cited in previous chapters, the Commission the International Organization for Migration (IOM), during the week of the International Migration Review Forum held a few weeks ago in New York, stated that regular migration contributes to economic growth worldwide. It also declared that restricting access routes for migrants does not stop migration, but rather diverts them to more dangerous routes.

According to this report, there were 304 million international migrants in 2024, a figure that has been increasing in recent years. According to Amy Pope, Director General of the IOM, each country has the right to establish its own migration policies. And this is where substantial differences emerge between the various regions of the world.

Xenophobia and hatred towards people forced to migrate are on the rise in most Western countries and go hand in hand with ideas linked to right-wing and far-right political formations.

Hoaxes, lies, and misrepresentation of empirical data on migration are increasingly influencing public debate and government policies.

The spread of misinformation and disinformation is amplified through social media and tools based on Artificial Intelligence (AI), contributing to the adoption of restrictive measures that undermine rights and social cohesion.

This does not prevent the continued and increasing migration of thousands of people forced to leave their countries of origin due to very serious causes, such as wars, disasters caused by climate change, and poverty. Furthermore, their arrival in destination countries is often irregular and involves the deprivation of the most basic human rights.

In several countries, the increase is particularly noticeable: Ireland is registering record numbers of homeless people. Germany has surpassed half a million people without permanent housing according to its statistical definitions. Denmark and Finland are showing increases after years of relative stability.

The reason is the expansion of a new type of “invisible” residential exclusion that doesn't appear in traditional homelessness statistics, which typically refer exclusively to people sleeping on the streets and those using emergency shelters. However, there is another, hidden form of homelessness that broadens this circle to include people temporarily staying with relatives, those forced into shared rooms, or those sleeping on rented beds. It also includes those living in commercial spaces converted into housing without proper occupancy permits, or those living in overcrowded conditions.

This form of housing exclusion is growing rapidly in southern Europe. It manifests as the difficulty of finding stable housing due to the complete inability to generate sufficient income to pay for it. Thus, the housing crisis does not affect everyone equally; it disproportionately harms the poorest segments of society.

The delayed emancipation of young people is one of the consequences already mentioned in this study. In 2023, young people across the EU left their parents' home at an average age of 26.2, but with significant differences between northern and southern countries. While in the Nordic and Baltic countries it is below 22 years of age, in the southern countries it is over 30, a group that includes Greece, Croatia, Italy, Spain, and Portugal (with a "record" of 33.6 years). In the central countries of France and Germany, young people leave home between 23 and 24.

This statistic alone is a clear manifestation of invisible homelessness. Another is overcrowding, a common and growing situation among low-income individuals, primarily migrants and refugees. Living in shared apartments or renting rooms, which particularly affects skilled workers and young professionals, is the third manifestation of hidden homelessness.

The report Homeless in the European Union (O'Sullivan et al., 2023) published by the European Parliament's Research Service at the request of the Committee on Petitions (PETI) reinforces the idea that the traditional approach has failed because it treats homelessness as an individual problem (addictions, mental illness, personal breakdown) when in reality it is fundamentally a structural problem of access to housing.

This means that, while previously limited to people with serious addictions, mental health problems, or extreme situations of social breakdown, it now increasingly includes people forced out of the rental market due to employment issues: the working poor, migrants with informal jobs, older people unable to escape chronic unemployment, and young wage earners with temporary jobs that prevent them from leaving their parents' homes. Single-parent families—headed by a man or a woman—complete another at-risk subgroup.

This means that the transformation of homelessness since 2015 is not only quantitative but also qualitative, as it connects three interrelated crises: social downward mobility, job insecurity, and the difficulty of accessing housing. It means acknowledging that employment no longer necessarily guarantees residential integration. And that the new homelessness is increasingly linked to the so-called working poor, a vulnerable group comprised of people who, despite maintaining some connection to the labor market, are unable to secure stable housing. A disconnect is emerging between labor market integration and residential integration, two phenomena that previously went hand in hand.

This fracture is marked by gentrification and residential displacement to the peripheries. Numerous urban studies document processes of expulsion to metropolitan peripheries following a typical pattern that stratifies social problems as a consequence of urban disintegration, which is a precursor to homelessness.

If investment in housing focuses on properties in city centers, rising rents force people to move to the suburbs, increasing commute times for workers. In Germany, essential sectors (care, retail, hospitality) are facing growing difficulties finding it difficult to live close to their workplaces.

5.1. The residential precariat

As already noted, between 2012 and 2015, in northern and central Europe the social rental housing sector began to be conceived not as a universal and temporary resource for accessing housing but as something welfare-based and permanent associated with social exclusion and the "new poor," especially the immigrant population.

If we analyze Germany and France since 2015, we observe two distinct but converging trajectories: in both countries, what some sociologists call residential insecurity (France) or housing insecurity (Germany) is on the rise. This does not always lead to homelessness, but it does imply a loss of housing stability for increasingly larger segments of the working and lower-middle classes.

In Germany, labor reforms at the beginning of the century introduced so-called minijobs, which combined low-wage employment, temporary contracts, and involuntary part-time work. At the same time, rents and purchase prices have risen far faster than wages. Several studies by the German Institute for Economic Research (DIW Berlin) (Kohl et al., 2026) show a sharp increase in the housing burden for low- and middle-income households. The proportion of income spent on housing has risen particularly among urban renters. Eurostat uses the indicator "housing cost overburden," which measures households that spend more than 40% of their income on housing. In Germany, this problem is especially concentrated among young people, single-parent households, low-wage workers, and recent immigrants, particularly in the large cities of Berlin, Munich, Hamburg, and Frankfurt, which experienced sharp rent increases as their populations grew.

France maintains one of the largest stocks of social housing in Europe. However, waiting lists have grown considerably, with unmet demand affecting service workers, single-parent families, and young people entering the workforce—groups that could be classified as lower-middle class but who assume they cannot afford private housing in metropolitan areas. And they are now beginning to appear among those applying for housing assistance.

France has one of the largest social housing stocks in Europe, with over four million units managed by HLM (Habitations à Loyer Modéré) agencies. This has acted as a buffer, although its relative weakening is causing an explosion in waiting lists, demonstrating that the number of applicants has steadily increased over the last decade, now well over two million households. The strain on the social housing system shows that demand clearly exceeds supply, with certain groups being the most affected: temporary workers, platform workers, single-parent families, and young wage earners. This situation is concentrated in the Paris region, Lyon, Bordeaux, Toulouse, and Nantes.

As young households and private tenants are forced to resort to the market, they allocate an increasing proportion of their income to housing, as shown in studies by the Institut National de la Statistique et des Études Économiques (INSEE, 2025).

Therefore, in both Germany and France, the academic debate has gradually shifted from “housing shortages” to residential security: the ability of households to maintain adequate housing without unduly compromising their standard of living, social mobility, or family stability. In both countries, this residential security has clearly weakened over the last decade, although France has been better able to mitigate the impact thanks to its social housing stock and more intensive public intervention.

5.2. Residential precarity and invisible homelessness in Southern Europe

Southern Europe has a very important peculiarity compared to the north and center of the continent: social declassing and residential precarity often manifest themselves for a long time before becoming visible homelessness.

While in countries like Germany or the United Kingdom, residential breakdown can lead relatively quickly to shelters or homelessness, in Spain, Italy, Portugal, or Greece, family mechanisms exist that cushion the fall. This reduces visible homelessness but greatly expands less visible forms of residential exclusion. The delay in leaving the parental home—in all these countries, beyond the age of 30—or income transfers as family support from parents' pensions also mask the existing precariousness of housing.

Greece is the most extreme case of social descent. No other European country suffered a comparable social contraction after the debt crisis: a massive drop in income, extraordinarily high youth unemployment, cuts in social spending, and a surge in foreclosures. Nowhere else is there such a clear link between the impoverishment of the middle class and housing exclusion.

Sleeping on the streets was often the last visible stage in a chain of residential degradation. Returning to the parents' home, overcrowding, and forced multigenerational cohabitation were its early manifestations, made possible because many households retained ownership of their family home.

In Italy, the term "nuovi poveri abitativi" (new poor people living in housing) reflects the national way of describing a widespread problem affecting the same groups as in other countries. Its labor and housing markets are heavily influenced by territorial disparities and an economy with low growth rates and virtually stagnant wages. Milan, Rome, Bologna, Florence, and Turin are the cities with particularly high prices. Newer generations and a significant portion of the urban majority are reliant on renting, far from viewing housing as a means of accumulating wealth.

Spain is the country where the housing problem has been worsening most rapidly in recent years. A favorite tourist destination with almost 100 million visitors a year, high housing prices are even making it difficult to find workers to provide services during the peak season, especially in the Balearic and Canary Islands.

The recovery of employment after the severe housing crisis has been characterized by low wages driven by high unemployment. The lack of social housing, the influx of immigrants averaging nearly 500,000 people per year, the scarcity of new housing construction, the entry of institutional investors prioritizing profitability with short-term contracts, and the growth of tourist accommodations that reduce the supply of residential rental properties are all factors that, together, are putting upward pressure on rental prices. For all these reasons, Spain is probably the country where the concept of residential precariat best fits.

Multiple studies show the growing importance of rentals
Rooms for extended periods, delayed emancipation, situations of forced cohabitation, and frequent moves. And, of course, the inability to save enough to aspire to own a home.

On the positive side, the fact that the family continues to be a safety net reduces visible homelessness compared to some northern countries, but it also hides deep forms of residential vulnerability.

Portugal is another example of a country where economic growth, low wages, a booming tourism sector, a program to attract foreign residents, and added pressure on the real estate market due to the influx of institutional investors all coexist. Lisbon and Porto are the cities where the gap between prices and wages has widened the most, and where some traditional middle-class sectors have begun to experience housing access problems and forced suburbanization.

In short, countries in the Global South share a downward spiral that affects sectors of the middle class and younger generations, precisely those with higher levels of education but less access to housing. Dependence on family members, temporary accommodations, precarious and insecure housing, overcrowding, and the threat of evictions are the symptoms of the invisible homelessness already described.

The new homelessness in Southern Europe does not stem primarily from extreme marginalization, but from the progressive deterioration of living conditions for increasingly broad sectors of workers, young people, and vulnerable households. Downsizing and precarious housing appear as pre-existing and structural phenomena, while street homelessness constitutes their most visible manifestation.

6. Homelessness and women

"Women have always been poor, not only during "not "two hundred years, but since the beginning of time," said British writer Virginia Woolf.

It is estimated that by 2026 the world's population will have exceeded 8.3 billion people. Of this figure, approximately 50% are women. That is, half. Therefore, we cannot discuss homelessness without including a gender perspective; that is, how many women lack a home, what percentage they represent, what are the specific circumstances surrounding them... And all this without forgetting the invisibility, subjugation, exclusion, and discrimination that women, simply for being women, suffer and have suffered throughout history.

Given this, it is not surprising that the first problem we encounter in carrying out this work is that women are also underrepresented in studies and reports on homelessness. Data suggests that more than a third of homeless people in Europe are women. In 2012, in Spain, the National Institute of Statistics (INE) estimated that approximately 20% of homeless people were women. However, this figure should be viewed with caution, because behind these numbers lies the general invisibility of women, as previously mentioned.

Similarly, some European data suggests that 30% of homeless people are women. However, this figure may be a significant underestimate, as there are several obstacles to obtaining an accurate picture of the situation. For example, women often prefer not to use emergency shelters and frequently seek support from friends and family.

This lack of data is also due to the fact that women often develop other strategies before sleeping on the street: they take refuge in garages, abandoned houses, or places that offer some protection. Many work as live-in domestic workers, a situation chosen by many migrant women who are alone and have no nearby home, family, or support network.

Let us not forget that, in addition, the gender inequalities suffered by women, both in the public and private spheres, also affect LGBTQ+ people.

Men who live and sleep on the streets are generally visible, but not women, which highlights the complexity of female homelessness, a reality often relegated to oblivion in research and social awareness.

The fact that the experiences of women living on the streets, though often invisible, are frequently absent from statistics and studies contributes to a lack of understanding of the true magnitude of the problem. According to data published in the National Strategy to Combat Homelessness in Spain for the period 2023-2030, the number of young women under 29 years of age experiencing homelessness has increased by 36.1% in the last 10 years. These women are primarily in a situation of hidden residential exclusion, living in substandard or unsafe housing.

According to a projection published in Germany by the Federal Association for Assistance to the Homeless (BAG W), 74% of the homeless population in 2024 was adults: 61% men and 39% women. The remaining 26% were children and young people under 18, mostly housed in institutions.

Data presented in 2024 by the United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-Habitat) revealed that between 1.6 and 3 billion people worldwide lacked adequate housing. The data also showed that 60% of these homeless individuals were men, and approximately 30% were women.

We cannot forget the growing number of women who are victims of trafficking and forced into prostitution in Europe, so we can say that homelessness and prostitution are deeply connected.

As mentioned above, the vulnerability of women forced to sleep on the streets is very high, and they are often victims of sexual exploitation, which in many cases is a means of survival for them. In turn, the sex trade generates serious situations of homelessness. This situation is addressed by various legislative approaches:

In Spain or Sweden, it is the abolitionist model, which seeks to eradicate prostitution by penalizing pimping and focusing social support on victims of sexual exploitation so that they can access housing alternatives.

The regulatory model is that of Germany and the Netherlands. Sex work is considered a regulated economic activity. It allows access to some labor and health rights, but does not eliminate housing exclusion.

In other countries, such as France, a punitive model is in place that penalizes clients with fines, attempting to reduce demand. But in reality, this only encourages sex workers to seek out more unsafe spaces and hinders support for those experiencing homelessness.

6.1. Specific causes of homelessness in women

In addition to the general causes of homelessness, which we have discussed in other chapters of this report—poverty, wars, migration, housing speculation—gender-based violence is one of the main causes of homelessness among women. Despite the lack of studies and research in this area, we know that gender-based violence is closely linked to female homelessness, both because women who are victims of this violence have been forced to leave their homes and because the support systems for victims of gender-based violence fail to meet their objectives of protection and support in providing these women with an independent life plan. In 2012, according to data from the Spanish National Statistics Institute (INE), 26% of women left their homes due to violence against themselves and their children. However, these figures are not entirely reliable, and this percentage rises to 60% according to a study presented by the Aires Association in 2019.

Let us not forget that for years domestic work and caregiving have been imposed on women as a biological imperative. And the unequal gender distribution of productive and reproductive labor has a significant impact on women's poverty.

Inheritance laws that discriminate against women in many countries, wage gaps against female workers, bank credit policies that often harm women, many customs and traditions, and the lack of economic resources caused by state policies that harm women are the most widespread causes of homelessness among women.

6.2. Consequences

And if all this that we have mentioned represents the most frequent causes of homelessness among women, no less important are the consequences for them of living on the street.

The first consequence is one that we have also seen in the causes: male violence.

Women experiencing homelessness are more vulnerable to gender-based violence and sexual assault. According to a 2019 study by the University of Barcelona, 70% of homeless women have suffered gender-based violence at the hands of a current or former partner. Furthermore, according to the Spanish National Statistics Institute (INE, 2012), 24.2% of them have been subjected to sexual assault.

Sixty percent of homeless women report having suffered a hate crime or incident motivated by aporophobia, a figure that stands at 44% for men. In addition to the specific forms of violence they experience as women, they are also far more exposed to hate crimes and incidents, including intimidation, harassment, insults, and sexual assault.

Several studies, such as the report by the Network of Organizations and Centers for the Integration and Assistance of Marginalized People (RED FACIAM), highlight that 60% of women experiencing homelessness have been victims of some type of crime, primarily sexual offenses. According to the Red Cross in an April 2016 report, 21% have suffered sexual assault, 20% have suffered harassment or stalking, and 35% have experienced humiliation.

These percentages are consistently higher than those for men and show a greater degree of social exclusion and more serious health deterioration, caused by the scarcity of specific resources aimed at women and a smaller number of places in women's sections of shelters and apartments. Therefore, a greater gender perspective is needed when designing and implementing measures against homelessness.

And here we encounter another consequence of homelessness among women: the deterioration of their mental health. Women living on the streets exhibit clearly more vulnerable characteristics, needs, and life trajectories compared to men in the same circumstances. This can be explained, among other things, by the fact that they experience significantly more severe psychological distress, health deterioration, and insecurity. They suffer greater psychological distress. Women experience higher rates of anxiety (with a prevalence of up to 50% in some studies of homeless people), and depression is almost three times more frequent in women than in men.

This leads to a considerable decline in physical and mental health. Furthermore, working women face specific psychosocial and physical risks, including heavy workloads and precarious employment.

Existing scientific literature supports the finding that women in this situation have poorer health and a lower average age. Furthermore, they are more likely to be accompanied by children, which also represents greater worry and suffering.

In Denmark, several studies and investigations have been conducted on the psychiatric situation of homeless people and the interconnections between homelessness and mental health, making it an international reference point in this field. According to these studies, which link the situation of homeless people, psychiatric research, and central crime records, victimization by violent crimes was 3.6 times higher among homeless men compared to the general population, and 7.2 times higher among homeless women, highlighting the heightened risk faced by women. It is worth noting that a US study that collected data on LGBTQ+ individuals suggests that they also face similar risks.

6.3. What to do?

Clearly, ending homelessness among women is part of ending homelessness for everyone. It requires a radical shift in social, cultural, and economic policies in most countries around the world. It demands a complete overhaul of housing policies and the implementation of measures to eliminate discrimination against women, inequality, and poverty. In short, it requires a radical social transformation.

But what about what to do? In the immediate term, what solutions exist to tackle this problem? One of the reports produced in Europe emphasizes the limitations of the data on homelessness, which gives us a misleading picture of the demographic groups at risk. Therefore, the first and most fundamental task would be to improve data collection, which is precisely one of the objectives that EU member states have set for themselves to improve the empirical basis and their commitment to ending homelessness by 2030.

Beyond data collection, taking into account the diversity of experiences of homeless people by increasing research, targeted interventions and prevention, with a focus on housing, is another key to achieving the 2030 goal.

According to a study conducted in September 2025 by Santiago Riesco (Riesco Pérez, S. 2025), supported housing programs, such as Housing First and Housing Led, are effective. The average number of homes allocated to these programs reached 1,086, a 63.1% increase compared to 2022. In December, these homes were occupied by 2,146 people, 647 of whom were women, representing 30.1% of total occupancy in these programs. This percentage is significantly higher than the 24.6% for the overall housing network, indicating that these models offer a more accessible and stable pathway for women's social integration.

Affordable housing remains a key obstacle to ending homelessness. Housing First interventions, which provide affordable, permanent housing without preconditions, along with support services, significantly improve housing stability and have contributed to the decline in homelessness in Finland and Denmark. Data on housing solutions for women experiencing intimate partner violence suggest that shelter accommodation and long-term housing are associated with reduced housing-related stress and improved mental health outcomes, highlighting the opportunity to address the specific vulnerabilities associated with women's homelessness through targeted service offerings and close collaboration with the domestic violence sector.

Housing First Europe recommends adapting Housing First services for women to take into account their specific experiences: considering safety issues related to domestic violence, designing services with women in mind by training staff to support victims of domestic and sexual violence, and creating a gender-diverse workforce.

Beyond accommodation, the INE report details that the majority of centers offered basic services such as information and reception (84.4%) and social support and assistance (80.1%). Catering services also grew significantly, serving an average of 70,343 meals per day (breakfast, lunch, or dinner), 36.9% more than in 2022.

Increasing the number of places for homeless women in the accommodation network is another urgent task in order to be able to care for them with the appropriate measures for the specific circumstances that surround them.

Increasing measures to achieve greater specialization in addressing the needs of women victims of gender-based violence is another priority measure.

These measures should be implemented by public bodies and considered a public service since they benefit society as a whole.

7. Types and inadequacy of aid

As we have been pointing out throughout the report, the homelessness remains a widespread social problem. Although several social protection systems exist in Europe, data shows an increase in the number of homeless people due to various factors such as impoverishment, unemployment, social exclusion, difficulties accessing housing, gender-based violence, and so on.

It is estimated that by 2026 the world's population will have exceeded 8.3 billion people. Of this figure, approximately 50% are women. That is, half. Therefore, we cannot discuss homelessness without including a gender perspective; that is, how many women lack a home, what percentage they represent, what are the specific circumstances surrounding them... And all this without forgetting the invisibility, subjugation, exclusion, and discrimination that women, simply for being women, suffer and have suffered throughout history.

Given this, it is not surprising that the first problem we encounter in carrying out this work is that women are also underrepresented in studies and reports on homelessness. Data suggests that more than a third of homeless people in Europe are women. In 2012, in Spain, the National Institute of Statistics (INE) estimated that approximately 20% of homeless people were women. However, this figure should be viewed with caution, because behind these numbers lies the general invisibility of women, as previously mentioned.

Similarly, some European data suggests that 30% of homeless people are women. However, this figure may be a significant underestimate, as there are several obstacles to obtaining an accurate picture of the situation. For example, women often prefer not to use emergency shelters and frequently seek support from friends and family.

The most widely used European typology for classifying homelessness situations is the ETHOS (European Typology of Homelessness and Housing Exclusion), already mentioned in this report, developed by FEANTSA (European Federation of National Organisations Working with the Homeless). This classification distinguishes between:

1. Rooflessness
2. Houselessness
3. Insecure Housing
4. Inadequate Housing

This broad conception allows us to understand that the problem is not limited only to those who live on the street, but also to those who lack decent housing, people who are in a housing situation at risk of eviction, people in situations of gender violence, people who leave penitentiary structures, migrants in precarious housing situations, etc.

These conceptual categories are divided into 13 operational categories.

1. ROOFLESS

Operational category	Residential situation	Definition
1. People living on the street	1.1 Public space or outdoors	They live on the street or in public spaces without shelter that could be considered a dwelling.

2. HOUSELESS

Operational category	Residential situation	Definition
2. People in emergency accommodation	**2.1** Night shelter	People without a usual residence who use night shelters or emergency resources.
3. Accommodation for people without a home	**3.1** Shelter **3.2** Temporary accommodation **3.3** Accommodation with transitional support	Temporary stay provided as temporary.
4. Reception centers for women	**4.1** Reception center for women	Women received due to gender-based violence, with stay provided as temporary.
5. Accommodation for migrants	**5.1** Reception centers or temporary accommodation **5.2** Accommodation for migrant workers	Temporary accommodation due to migratory situation.
6. People about to leave institutions	**6.1** Penitentiary institutions **6.2** Medical institutions **6.3** Children's centers	They do not have housing when leaving the institution. They remain longer than necessary due to lack of housing. They do not have housing identified when leaving the center.
7. People who receive long-term residential support	**7.1** Residential centers for elderly people without a home **7.2** Accommodation with support for people previously without a home	Long-stay accommodation with support. Generally more than one year.

3. INSECURE HOUSING

Operational category	Residential situation	Definition
8. People in insecure accommodation	**8.1** Temporarily with family or friends	They stay provisionally with other people because they do not have their own housing.
	8.2 Without a legal rental or subletting contract	Occupation of a dwelling without a legal right of tenure.
	8.3 Illegal occupation of land	Use of land without legal rights.
9. People threatened with eviction	**9.1** Court order for eviction from a rental dwelling	There is an enforceable eviction order.
	9.2 Mortgage repossession order	There is a legal order for repossession of the dwelling.
10. People threatened by violence	**10.1** Incidents recorded by the police	Situations in which police intervention seeks to guarantee the safety of victims of gender-based violence.

4. INADEQUATE HOUSING (INADEQUATE)

Operational category	Residential situation	Definition
11. People who live in temporary or non-conventional structures	**11.1** Mobile homes	Not conceived as usual residence.
	11.2 Non-conventional buildings	Improvised constructions, shacks, or makeshift huts.
	11.3 Temporary structures	Cabins or semi-permanent shelters.
12. People who live in uninhabitable housing	**12.1** Uninhabitable occupied housing	Defined as uninhabitable according to construction legislation or regulations.
13. People who live in extreme overcrowding	**13.1** Maximum national overcrowding level	Exceed national standards for occupancy density by floor area or available rooms.

Table 5. Source: FEANTSA

As noted in previous chapters, the Housing First model is the most significant innovation in the design and implementation of services for homeless people in recent decades. This model “uses housing as a starting point rather than an end goal (Pleace, 2016),” meaning that accommodation is provided before any other type of support or social intervention.

In other words, access to housing is the first resource that must be guaranteed to homeless people, subsequently complemented by interventions aimed at improving their health, well-being, and social support networks. This approach contrasts with the traditional staircase model, which assumes that people must first demonstrate their readiness to access housing. Under this approach, the initial focus is on social and therapeutic intervention, requiring users to meet certain requirements—such as abstinence from alcohol and other substances, adherence to medical or psychological treatments, and participation in social integration programs—before offering them stable accommodation (Pleace, 2016).

The step-down model aims to help homeless individuals gradually acquire the skills necessary to access and maintain independent housing. To achieve this, it promotes treatment for mental health problems, modification of behaviors considered incompatible with residential stability, and, especially, abstinence from alcohol and drug use. Access to permanent housing is seen as the final stage of a gradual process of intervention and rehabilitation.

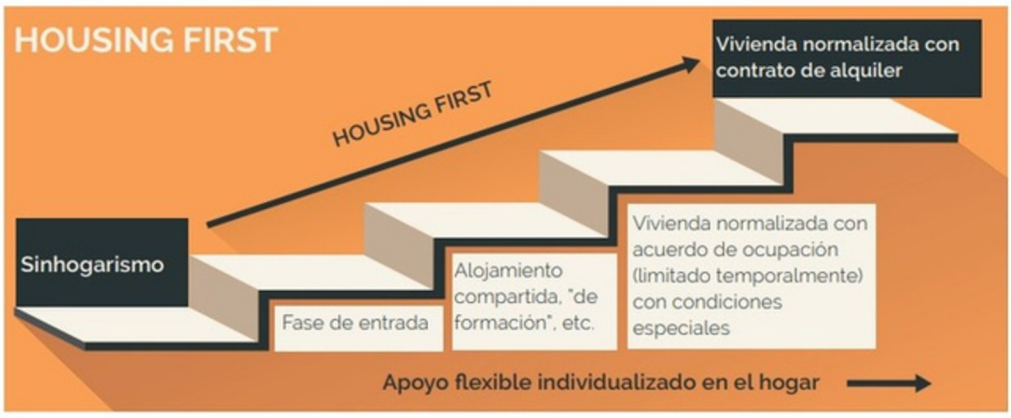


Figure 1. Summarizing the differences between Housing First and stairwell services. Source: Please, 2016

The Housing First approach, developed by American Dr. Sam Tsemberis in the early 1990s, prioritizes immediate access to permanent, independent housing as the starting point for intervention. This model provides stable community-based housing along with mobile support services tailored to each individual's needs. Access to and continued occupancy of housing are not contingent upon abstaining from alcohol or other drugs, nor on accepting specific treatments. Furthermore, losing housing does not result in exclusion from the program; in such cases, services continue to offer support in finding new housing and promoting housing stability.

From this perspective, housing is conceived as a basic right and not as a reward linked to compliance with certain requirements.

From the moment access to housing is granted, flexible support is developed aimed at promoting the maintenance of the accommodation, the improvement of health and well-being, as well as social integration, guaranteeing users a high degree of autonomy, choice and control over their own lives.

Given the positive results achieved with Housing First, especially in the United States and Canada, this social intervention design is also being applied in Europe.

In this regard, it is important to consider the diverse contexts of European countries, which makes a comprehensive analysis of the implementation of the Housing First model in each one difficult. Differences in welfare systems, legal frameworks, housing policies, the availability of affordable housing, models for addressing homelessness, and socioeconomic characteristics all influence the design, development, and outcomes of this approach. Therefore, the implementation of Housing First has unique characteristics that reflect the specificities of each national context.

Consequently, comparisons between countries should be interpreted with caution, as the results obtained are not directly extrapolatable due to existing structural and methodological differences.
Housing First in Europe can be defined by eight fundamental principles, based on the principles developed by Dr. Sam Tsemberis, creator in New York of the first Housing First service:

- Housing is a human right
- Selection and control of users
- Housing separation and treatment
- Recovery orientation
- Damage Reduction
- Active engagement without coercion
- Person-centered planning
- Flexible support available for as long as needed.

European results show that Housing First is more effective in facilitating access to and maintenance of housing. Furthermore, this model can be more cost-effective by reducing the use of high-cost public resources, such as emergency medical and psychiatric services, prolonged stays in shelters for the homeless, and interaction with the criminal justice system. Housing First also addresses various ethical and humanitarian concerns associated with traditional models by considering housing a fundamental right and eliminating prerequisites related to abstinence or mandatory treatment for access.

As noted above, data on homelessness in Europe are underrepresented and should therefore be interpreted with caution. This limitation stems from several factors, including differences in the definitions used, data collection methods, the coverage of administrative records, and the difficulty in accounting for certain situations of housing exclusion, especially those that remain hidden or unrecorded (such as undocumented migrants) or affect people who do not have access to support services. Consequently, the available figures provide an approximation of the phenomenon but do not necessarily reflect its true extent.

The Housing First Europe Hub has a wide network of partners, bringing together 49 partners from 24 countries in Europe and other regions, forming a dynamic and cross-sector community committed to generating lasting change.



Figura 2. Fuente: Housing First Europe

In European scientific literature, it is common to distinguish two main dimensions: the source of housing provision and the residential model.

A) The source of housing provision

This classification refers to the origin of the housing used by the program:

- Public housing: the homes belong to the public administration or public housing companies. This model is common in countries with a large stock of social housing, which facilitates the implementation of Housing First.
- Private housing: the homes come from the private rental market. The management entities establish agreements with private owners or real estate agencies to facilitate access for participants.
- Mixed model: This model combines public and private housing, allowing for greater flexibility in responding to the existing housing supply in each area. Most European countries use this model, adapting it to their specific context.

B) Residential model

This classification focuses on the way in which housing is distributed:

Scattered-site Housing First: People live in individual homes distributed across different neighborhoods within the community, integrating into ordinary residential environments. This model most closely resembles the original Housing First proposal developed by Pathways to Housing. Congregate Housing First: Several participants reside in the same building or residential complex, although each has an independent apartment. Support services are usually provided within the building itself, which facilitates care, but some authors point out that this model can limit community integration compared to dispersed housing.

The most prominent European case is that of Finland, one of the few European countries that has managed to consistently reduce the number of homeless people over time. This was achieved by making Housing First the cornerstone of the national policy against homelessness in 2008. The Y-Foundation's involvement was crucial in consolidating Housing First, as was that of ARA, the Finnish Housing Finance and Development Centre, through financing new housing and rehabilitating existing properties, in addition to providing housing advice to municipalities.

According to data from the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and the Housing First Europe Hub, the total number of homeless people fell from over 8,000 in 2008 to around 4,000 in recent years, representing a reduction of nearly 50%. Similarly, long-term homelessness decreased by approximately 68% between 2008 and 2022, from around 3,500 people to about 1,000.

As a result, the use of emergency and temporary accommodation, such as shelters, hostels and transitional support housing, has been significantly reduced in Finland.

[2] In 2016, the Y-foundation of Finland together with FEANTSA created the Housing First Europe Hub. However, it should be noted that in Finland, services are not provided to migrants who are in an irregular administrative situation.

Between 2008 and 2017, the number of homeless people residing in shelters or guesthouses decreased by 76%. This reduction is attributed to the widespread adoption of prevention strategies, as well as the replacement of older models of assisted collective housing with Housing First approaches and direct access to housing, which largely replaced emergency shelters. (Boone et al., 2021; Housing Europe Hub).

In France, evaluations of the Un Chez-Soi d'Abord program, run by the interministerial delegation for housing and access to housing, showed that around 85% of participants maintained stable housing two years after joining the program, in addition to registering improvements in mental health, social integration, and quality of life. This program, initially implemented in four cities, has since expanded to over 40, offering more than 3,000 housing first placements.

In addition, specialized units were created, such as:

- Youth Housing First (UCSD Jeunes): Launched in 2021, this program is aimed at young people facing serious mental health problems and prolonged vulnerability.
- Pilot program in rural areas (2025): A new experimental initiative is being developed to implement Housing First in rural areas, using 25-place devices designed for territories with low population density.

Furthermore, the integration of peer workers—people with lived experience in similar situations—into Housing First teams is being promoted nationwide. This strategy reinforces a rights-based approach, participation, and personal recovery processes. (Dihal, 2017; Housing First Europe Hub).

In Spain, the implementation of the Housing First approach began in 2014 with the Habitat Project, promoted by HOGAR SÍ3 in collaboration with Provivienda. This initiative constituted the first systematic experience of applying this methodology in the country and was initially developed as a nationwide pilot project in the cities of Madrid, Barcelona, and Málaga.

Based on this pioneering experience, the model has progressively expanded, reaching more than 500 Housing First places in different Spanish locations.

The results obtained by the Habitat Project have been consistent with international evidence, registering high rates of housing maintenance and significant improvements in areas such as personal autonomy, health, well-being, and community integration of the participants (HOGAR SÍ, 2019; Pleace et al., 2019). These results helped consolidate Housing First as an effective alternative to traditional models of addressing homelessness.

Inspired by the success of this experience, in 2015 the Barcelona City Council launched Primer la Llar, the first Housing First public service in Spain. This program marked a milestone in the integration of the model into public policies addressing homelessness and facilitated its subsequent expansion to other cities and autonomous communities.

Spain also has the National Strategy to Combat Homelessness 2023-2030, which promotes the transformation of the traditional care model, historically focused on residential and institutional resources such as shelters and reception centers, towards a community-based approach focused on access to stable housing. This strategy aims to provide personalized support tailored to each individual's needs, with the goal of fostering their autonomy, social inclusion, and participation in the community, in line with the State Strategy for a New Model of Community Care.

In Portugal, the Housing First approach began implementation in 2009 through the Casas Primeiro program, initially developed in Lisbon. Evaluations have shown housing maintenance rates exceeding 85%, along with improvements in health, community integration, and reduced use of emergency services. These results have facilitated the model's gradual expansion to other cities in the country (Ornelas et al., 2019).

The National Strategy for the Integration of Homeless People (2017-2023) formally recognized Housing First as an innovative and promising solution to homelessness, actively promoting its implementation throughout the Portuguese territory.

In 2024, Portugal had 13 Housing First projects distributed across 10 cities.

Although the National Strategy provides institutional recognition and support to the local teams responsible for its implementation, the long-term sustainability of these programs still depends on a combination of public and private funding (Housing First Hub Europe).

Greece has more recently incorporated Housing First as part of its strategies to address homelessness and housing exclusion. Although its implementation is less established than in other European countries, pilot projects in cities like Athens have shown promising results in terms of residential stability and access to support services, helping to position Housing First as an innovative alternative within the country's social policies.

International evidence indicates that Housing First programs typically achieve occupancy rates of between 80% and 90%, significantly higher than those obtained by traditional models based on temporary accommodation or staggered integration processes. These results have made Housing First a benchmark for public policies to combat homelessness in at least 19 European countries.

At the supranational level, the European Commission has promoted several initiatives to coordinate the responses of Member States. Among these, the European Platform to Combat Homelessness stands out, created in 2021 with the aim of promoting the exchange of best practices and advancing towards the eradication of homelessness in the European Union. Likewise, the European Parliament has repeatedly urged Member States to strengthen social housing policies and the prevention of residential exclusion.

Most European countries have national strategies or specific frameworks for addressing homelessness. Likewise, the Housing First model has evolved from a pilot program in certain regions to become a benchmark for public policies on residential inclusion in numerous European countries. However, significant differences persist in the degree of implementation, funding, and coverage of these programs.

Despite the success of Housing First's implementation in various countries, European public policies aimed at homeless people are still insufficient and face significant limitations. One of the main ones is insufficient investment in social housing (see Chapter 1).

In many countries, the supply of public housing is significantly lower than the existing demand, hindering the reintegration of homeless people. Rising housing prices and rents in major European cities have exacerbated this situation, increasing the risk of housing exclusion even among employed segments of the population.

Another significant weakness is institutional fragmentation. Responsibilities related to homelessness are often distributed among different levels of government and multiple public agencies, hindering the coordination of actions. Furthermore, public policies tend to focus on managing the consequences of the problem rather than its structural causes, such as poverty, job insecurity, a shortage of affordable housing, or mental health issues.

Specialized organizations, particularly FEANTSA, have also highlighted the need to strengthen preventative policies. Among the proposed measures are expanding the stock of social housing, strengthening social protection systems, preventing evictions, and improving community support services. These actions would reduce the number of people entering homelessness and promote more lasting solutions.

It is also important to consider that the financialization and commodification of housing have permeated the social sphere, transferring the logic of the financial market to social policy. As a result, housing has been commercialized, transforming a social good that should guarantee a human right into an asset subject to market dynamics.

In conclusion, European public policies have evolved from models focused on emergency assistance to more comprehensive approaches based on access to housing and social inclusion (such as Housing First). However, the persistence of homelessness demonstrates that current measures remain insufficient. The shortage of affordable housing, limited public funding, and a lack of institutional coordination continue to pose significant obstacles. Therefore, experts agree that eradicating homelessness requires more ambitious, preventative public policies aimed at the effective recognition of the right to housing.

8. Invisibility and criminalization

Homeless people often go through processes of social invisibility and criminalization increase their social exclusion and leave them out of spaces of social, political, and economic participation (Busch-Geertsema et al., 2010). In other words, their voices and demands are not heard in decision-making spaces or receive scant attention from institutions.

In this sense, the participation of affected people in the design and evaluation of public policies is very limited. This prevents them from actively impacting their own living conditions.

Furthermore, as we have been pointing out, the difficulty in obtaining accurate data on the different types of homeless people contributes to their invisibility. The ETHOS typology developed by FEANTSA has highlighted that many situations of homelessness remain hidden, especially those related to unsafe, temporary, or inadequate housing (Edgar et al., 2004).

Social stereotypes also contribute to the invisibility and criminalization of homeless people. Often, we refer to those affected as responsible for their own situation, citing a lack of willingness to work, substance abuse, or other circumstances. However, as this report has shown, homelessness is a much more complex reality and is linked to structural causes such as social inequality, impoverishment, unemployment, a shortage of affordable housing, gender-based violence, social exclusion, precarious employment, and so on.

The criminalization of homeless people and their expulsion from public spaces contribute to their social exclusion. In other words, regulations that aim to remove homeless people from public spaces, relegating them to more peripheral areas of cities, justifying this in terms of security or civic coexistence, contribute to further impoverishing those affected.

Furthermore, hostile urban architecture contributes to the criminalization of poverty. These types of urban strategies, designed to prevent people from lingering or resting in public spaces, exemplify how some cities attempt to shift the visibility of poverty away from certain urban environments (Housing Rights Watch, 2017). These practices violate the dignity of those affected and reinforce their social exclusion.

This criminalization is reinforced by the way law enforcement treats homeless people, with frequent checks, evictions from informal settlements, and administrative sanctions. These actions, although generally protected by law, generate insecurity among those affected and distrust of social services, further creating barriers to accessing specific support resources.

The invisibility and criminalization of homeless people are manifested not only through restrictive policies or attitudes of social rejection, but also through various forms of violence. People living on the streets face a significantly higher risk of suffering physical, verbal, and psychological abuse due to their vulnerability and constant exposure in public spaces (FRA, 2018).

According to the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), a significant proportion of homeless people report having suffered threats, insults, or physical assaults due to their housing situation. Furthermore, the lack of specific recording mechanisms means that many of these incidents remain invisible and are not included in official statistics (FRA, 2018).

The organization FEANTSA has warned that hate crimes against homeless people are a persistent phenomenon in Europe. The European Monitoring Centre for Homelessness documented that between 2008 and 2020, more than 400 violent deaths of homeless people were recorded in various European countries, many of them related to physical assaults, arson, or attacks perpetrated while the victims were sleeping on the streets (FEANTSA, 2021). France, Germany, Poland, the United Kingdom, and Spain are among the countries where these types of incidents have been most frequently reported.

In the case of Spain, the report "Aporophobia and Hate Crimes" prepared by the Ministry of the Interior shows that people living in poverty and social exclusion are among the groups most vulnerable to crimes motivated by social rejection. Although official figures remain lower than the true extent of the problem due to underreporting, the data show a growing trend in the identification of incidents linked to aporophobia, understood as the rejection of poor or excluded people (Ministry of the Interior, 2023).

Institutional violence constitutes another relevant dimension. Several European reports have highlighted situations of forced evictions from informal settlements, confiscation of personal belongings, and police actions that disproportionately affect homeless people (United Nations Human Rights Council, 2015). These practices can exacerbate social exclusion by hindering access to social services, personal documents, and support resources.

Similarly, so-called hostile architecture has spread in numerous European cities through the installation of benches with metal partitions, sloping surfaces, spikes, or other elements designed to prevent people from lingering or resting in public spaces. These measures do not solve the problem of homelessness, but simply shift its visibility and reinforce the stigmatization of the homeless population (Housing Rights Watch, 2017).

The existence of these forms of violence highlights that homelessness not only implies the absence of housing, but also a situation of special vulnerability to discrimination and the violation of fundamental rights.

For this reason, international organizations and specialized entities have called for public policies aimed at preventing hate crimes, effectively protecting victims, and raising social awareness to combat prejudices associated with poverty and social exclusion.

Conclusions

The report highlights that homelessness in Europe is a complex phenomenon that cannot be explained solely by individual circumstances, but is closely linked to structural factors such as the housing crisis, economic insecurity, social inequalities and the limitations of public protection systems.

The delay in the age of emancipation of young people, shared apartments and the rental of rooms, the use of basements or warehouses without a certificate of occupancy or overcrowding in its multiple forms are already ways of an invisible homelessness that, sometimes, is only the prelude to living on the street or in social shelters.

The increase in the number of people living in precarious housing conditions and the rise in homelessness in numerous European countries are two sides of the coin that demonstrate the inadequacy of policies implemented to date in preventing and reversing this situation. The deterioration and reduction of social housing stock is one of the most significant causes, as is the market-driven use of social housing.

The report highlights that certain groups, such as migrants and women, face specific forms of vulnerability that require responses tailored to their needs. Similarly, the link between homelessness, poverty, and loss of socioeconomic status demonstrates that the risk of exclusion can affect increasingly broader segments of the population.

Furthermore, the social invisibility and criminalization of homeless people contribute to reinforcing their exclusion and hinder the recognition of their rights. Consequently, it is essential to promote comprehensive public policies that combine access to affordable housing, social protection, personalized support, and the fight against stigmatization.

Only through an approach based on human rights and social inclusion will it be possible to move towards an effective reduction of homelessness and guarantee decent living conditions for all people.

Literature

Ayuso Leno, M. L (coord.) (2022). Women and homelessness. FACIAM. Available at: https://informecovidpsh.faciam.org/mujeres-y-sinhogarismo/

Behboudi, M. (2025). The Greek island of Lesbos, a symbol of the migration crisis in Europe. France 24 hours. Available at: https://www.france24.com/es/programas/en-foco/20251228-la-isla-griega-de-lesbos-un-s%C3%ADmbolo-de-la-crisis-migratoria-en-europa

Boone, L., Cournède, B., & Plouin, M. (2021). Finland's Zero Homeless Strategy: Lessons from a Success Story. OECD ECOSCOPE. https://oecdecoscope.blog/2021/12/13/finlands-zero-homeless-strategy-lessons-from-a-success-story/

Busch-Geertsema, V., Edgar, B., O'Sullivan, E., & Pleace, N. (2010). Homelessness and Homeless Policies in Europe: Lessons from Research. FEANTSA.

Castellano, Nicolás (2026). The extraordinary regularization of migrants reaches approximately 1.2 million applications, double the number in 2005. Available at: https://cadenaser.com/nacional/2026/06/29/la-regularizacion-extraordinaria-de-migrantes-ronda-12-millones-de-solicitudes-el-doble-que-en-2005-cadena-ser/

C. Rosa, I. (2025). Towards a fair perspective on the global housing crisis and migrants. University of Valladolid. Available at: https://sjc.uva.es/2025/02/27/hacia-una-perspectiva-justa-de-la-crisis-mundial-de-la-vivienda-y-los-migrantes/

Chaparra, G. (2026). The hidden homelessness of women: What statistics don't tell you. Article 14. Available at: https://www.articulo14.es/016-ni-una-mas/el-sinhogarismo-oculto-de-las-mujeres-lo-que-no-cuentan-las-estadisticas-20260101.html

Chouza P. (2026). Podemos anuncia un acuerdo con el Gobierno para una regularización extraordinaria de migrantes. El País. Disponible en: https://elpais.com/espana/2026-01-26/podemos-anuncia-un-acuerdo-con-el-gobierno-para-una-regularizacion-extraordinaria-de-migrantes.html

Comer, J., Kattning, T. (2025), For a European Affordable Housing Plan – the contribution of civil society. Disponible en: https://www.eesc.europa.eu/en/our-work/opinions-information-reports/opinions/european-affordable-housing-plan-contribution-civil-society

Comisiones Obreras - CCOO (2024), Cuatro décadas fallidas de política de vivienda. Disponible en: https://www.ccoo.es/3cdb9560b75a9655d655bcd94ca825c9000001.pdf

Consejo de la Unión Europea. (2025). Migration and asylum: Member states agree on solidarity pool. Disponible en: https://www.consilium.europa.eu/es/press/press-releases/2025/12/08/migration-and-asylum-member-states-agree-on-solidarity-pool/

Deutsche Welle. (s. f.). ¿Cuántas y cómo son las personas sin vivienda fija en Alemania? Disponible en: https://www.dw.com/es/cu%C3%A1ntas-y-c%C3%B3mo-son-las-personas-sin-vivienda-fija-en-alemania/a-74780010

DevelopmentAid. (s. f.). Homelessness statistics in the world. Disponible en: https://www.developmentaid.org/news-stream/post/157797/homelessness-statistics-in-the-world

Delegation for Accommodation and Access to Housing - Dihal, (2017). Un chez-soi d'abord. Retour sur 6 années d'expérimentation. Disponible en: https://www.info.gouv.fr/upload/media/content/0001/11/e25df29bcfd575db5afc52c959513f173195070d.pdf

European Action Commission (2026), The European Union's Affordable Housing Plan is a tool for opening up social housing and affordable housing to the financialized markets. Disponible en: https://housingnotprofit.org/second-statement-the-european-unions-affordable-housing-plan/

European Commission (2026), The European affordable housing plan. Disponible en: https://commission.europa.eu/topics/employment-and-social-affairs/affordability/affordable-housing_en

Eurostat (2025) House prices and rents went up in Q4 2025. Disponible en: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/products-eurostat-news/w/ddn-20260407-1

FEANTSA. European Typology of Homelessness and housing exclusion (ETHOS). Disponible en: https://www.feantsa.org/ethos

FEANTSA. (2021). Violence Against Homeless People in Europe. European Observatory on Homelessness.

Fernández, A., & Del Valle, T. (2018). Atlas de las mujeres en el mundo. Clave Intelectual.

Finland Government. Ministry of the environment. Disponible en: https://ym.fi/en/homelessness

Fitzpatrick, S., Busch-Geertsema, V., Watts, B., Wood, J., Haj Ahmad, M.-T., & McIntyre, J. (2022). El sinhogarismo en las ciudades vanguardia. Institute of Global Homelessness. Disponible en https://ighomelessness.org/el-sinhogarismo-en-las-ciudades-vanguardia/

FRA (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights). (2018). Fundamental Rights of Homeless People. Luxemburgo: Publications Office of the European Union.

Gabor D., Kohl S. (2022) The Financialization of Housing in Europe - My Home is an Asset Class. Disponible en: https://www.housingcoop.eu/resources/knowledge/the-financialization-of-housing-in-europe-my-home-is-an-asset-class

Galán Sanantonio, A. (2025). Mujeres en situación de sinhogarismo. Un análisis de género de las intervenciones sociales y las políticas públicas. Obtenido de: https://hdl.handle.net/10550/117419.

Gatopoulos, R.; Pitarakis, L. & Brito, R. (2025). Ten years after the migration crisis in Europe, the consequences resonate in Greece and beyond. Associated Press (AP News). Available at: https://apnews.com/article/grecia-lesbos-union-europea-migracion-dc053ffa302a150ad5c63629ba34efb5

Housing Europe. Available at: https://www.housingeurope.eu/

Housing First Europe Hub. Finland. Disponible en: https://housingfirsteurope.eu/country/finland/

Housing First Europe Hub. France. Disponible en: https://housingfirsteurope.eu/country/france/

Housing First Europe Hub. Portugal. Disponible en: https://housingfirsteurope.eu/country/portugal/

Housing First Europe Hub. Spain. Disponible en: https://housingfirsteurope.eu/country/spain/

Institute of Global Homelessness. (n.d.). Global statistics on homelessness. Available at: https://ighomelessness.org/estadisticas-globales-del-sinhogarismo/

Institute of Global Homelessness. (2026). Global homelessness. Disponible en: https://ighomelessness.org/category/global-homelessness/

National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies – INSEE (2025). Available at: https://www.info.gouv.fr/upload/media/content/0001/11/409aca9e5e36533fd06b63728acc0e536da23d32.pdf

Kohl, S., Steinhardt, M. F., Stella, L., & Voss, S. (2026). Crowding (at) the Margins: Investigating the Unequal Distribution of Housing Space in Germany. Housing Policy Debate, 1–30. https://doi.org/10.1080/10511482.2026.2670542

Lidón-Moyano, C. (2024). Homelessness from a gender perspective. The Conversation. Available at: https://theconversation.com/sinhogarismo-con-perspectiva-de-genero-242518

Martínez Collado, M. (2026). Sexual assault against a homeless woman portrays the vulnerability of women experiencing homelessness. Público. Available at: https://www.publico.es/mujer/violencia-machista/agresion-sexual-valencia-victima-vive-calle-retrata-desamparo-mujeres-situacion-sinhogarismo.html

Matulič Domandzič, M. V., Fustier-García, N., Díaz González, J. M., & González Gómez, E. (2024). Challenging the silence: Homeless women, gender violence and institutional barriers under debate. Prisma Social Journal, no. 44, pp. 4-30. Available at: https://solidaridadintergeneracional.es/files/biblioteca/documentos/592836.pdf

McAuliffe, M., Ceriani Cernadas, P. (2025). IOM Report: Migration drives economies and development, but progress is at risk. International Organization for Migration. Available at: https://www.iom.int/es/news/informe-de-la-oim-la-migracion-impulsa-las-economias-y-el-desarrollo-pero-los-avances-estan-en-riesgo

International Organization for Migration (IOM). (2026). World Migration Report 2026: Key Findings. Available at: https://worldmigrationreport.iom.int/en/world-migration-report-2026-key-findings

Ornelas, J., Martins, T., Zilhão, M., & Duarte, T. (2019).

Housing First in Portugal: From a local experiment to a national strategy. En N. Pleace, I. Baptista, L. Benjaminsen & V. Busch-Geertsema (Eds.), The State of Housing First in Europe (pp. 105–118). FEANTSA & Housing First Europe Hub.

Housing Rights Watch. (2017). Housing Rights and Homelessness in Europe. Disponible en: https://www.housingrightswatch.org/

O'Sullivan E., (2023), Homelessness in the European Union. Disponible en: https://www.europarl.europa.eu/thinktank/en/document/IPOL_STU(2023)755915

O'Sullivan, E., Benjaminsen, L., Busch-Geertsema, V., Filipovič Hrast, M., Pleace, N., & Teller, N. (2023). Homelessness in the European Union, European Parliament. Disponible en: https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2023/755915/IPOL_STU(2023)755915_EN.pdf

Panadero Herrero, S., Martín Fernández, J., & Henar Lomeña, L. (2021). Evaluation of the Housing First methodology in Spain. HOGAR SÍ and Provivienda. Available at: https://solucionesalsinhogarismo.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/12/Housing_first_informeejecutivo_ESP.pdf?utm_source=chatgpt.com

Pérez Ruiz, P., Palomera Zaidel, J., & Ill Raga, M. (2024). From Owners to Renters: A Report on the Growing Inequality in Access to Property. IDRA. Available at: https://idrabcn.com/es/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2024/10/propietarios-a-inquilinos_IDRA_2024.pdf

Pleace, N. (2016). Housing First Guide Europe. Bruselas: FEANTSA.

Pleace, N., Baptista, I., Benjaminsen, L. y Busch-Geertsema, V. (2019). State of Housing First in Europe. FEANTSA & Housing First Europe Hub

Rankin, J. (2025), EU to regulate short-term rentals in plan to tackle affordable homes shortage, The Guardian. Disponible en: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2025/dec/16/eu-to-regulate-short-term-rentals-in-plan-to-tackle-affordable-homes-shortage

Ribotta, S. (2024). Study on the processes of deinstitutionalization and transition towards personalized and community support models. EDI Project. Available at: https://estudiodesinstitucionalizacion.gob.es/wp-content/uploads/2024/05/Presentacion-sinhogarismo-Silvina-Ribotta.pdf

Yahoo News. (n.d.). The number of homeless people is increasing: what is the current situation? Available at: https://es-us.noticias.yahoo.com/aumenta-n%C3%BAmero-personas-hogar-cu%C3%A1l-163128261.html

Riesco Pérez, S. (2025) The number of homeless people receiving assistance has increased by 55%, and one in four are women. RTVE News. Available at: https://www.rtve.es/noticias/20250926/numero-personas-sin-hogar-atendidas-crece-55-cuarta-parte-mujeres/16745517.shtml

Riesco Pérez, S. (2025). The number of homeless people receiving assistance has increased by 55%; a quarter of them are women. RTVE News. Available at: https://www.rtve.es/noticias/20250926/numero-personas-sin-hogar-atendidas-crece-55-cuarta-parte-mujeres/16745517.shtml

Salvador, S., Budian R., (2024). The invisible reality of homeless women. Esade. https://www.esade.edu/es/articulos/la-realidad-invisible-de-las-mujeres-sin-hogar

Sarrión, S. (2026). The number of homeless women is growing: they are invisible and exposed to violence. El Salto. https://www.elsaltodiario.com/granada/numero-mujeres-hogar-crece-son-invisibles-expuestas-violencia

Rojas Morales, R. M. (2024).Finland's “Housing First” Policy successfully tackles long-term homelessness (2008–ongoing). Inequality Solutions portal. Disponible en: https://www.sdg16.plus/policies/housing-first-policy-finland/

The Lancet Public Health. (2023). Homelessness in Europe: time to act. The Lancet Public Health, 8(12). Disponible en: https://www.thelancet.com/journals/lanpub/article/PIIS2468-2667(23)00224-4/fulltext

United Nations Human Rights Council. (2015). Special Rapporteur on adequate housing as a component of the right to an adequate standard of living, and on the right to non-discrimination in this context. United Nations Human Rights.

Whittle H. (2024). Germany: Homeless girls and young women. Deutsche Welle, Available at: https://www.dw.com/es/alemania-ni%C3%B1as-y-mujeres-j%C3%B3venes-corren-m%C3%A1s-riesgo-de-quedar-sin-vivienda/a-70214769

Riesco Pérez, S. (2025) The number of homeless people receiving assistance has increased by 55%, and one in four are women. RTVE News. Available at: https://www.rtve.es/noticias/20250926/numero-personas-sin-hogar-atendidas-crece-55-cuarta-parte-mujeres/16745517.shtml

Riesco Pérez, S. (2025). The number of homeless people receiving assistance has increased by 55%; a quarter of them are women. RTVE News. Available at: https://www.rtve.es/noticias/20250926/numero-personas-sin-hogar-atendidas-crece-55-cuarta-parte-mujeres/16745517.shtml

Salvador, S., Budian R., (2024). The invisible reality of homeless women. Esade. https://www.esade.edu/es/articulos/la-realidad-invisible-de-las-mujeres-sin-hogar

Sarrión, S. (2026). The number of homeless women is growing: they are invisible and exposed to violence. El Salto. https://www.elsaltodiario.com/granada/numero-mujeres-hogar-crece-son-invisibles-expuestas-violencia

Rojas Morales, R. M. (2024).Finland's “Housing First” Policy successfully tackles long-term homelessness (2008–ongoing). Inequality Solutions portal. Disponible en: https://www.sdg16.plus/policies/housing-first-policy-finland/

The Lancet Public Health. (2023). Homelessness in Europe: time to act. The Lancet Public Health, 8(12). Disponible en: https://www.thelancet.com/journals/lanpub/article/PIIS2468-2667(23)00224-4/fulltext

United Nations Human Rights Council. (2015). Special Rapporteur on adequate housing as a component of the right to an adequate standard of living, and on the right to non-discrimination in this context. United Nations Human Rights.

Whittle H. (2024). Germany: Homeless girls and young women. Deutsche Welle, Available at: https://www.dw.com/es/alemania-ni%C3%B1as-y-mujeres-j%C3%B3venes-corren-m%C3%A1s-riesgo-de-quedar-sin-vivienda/a-70214769