

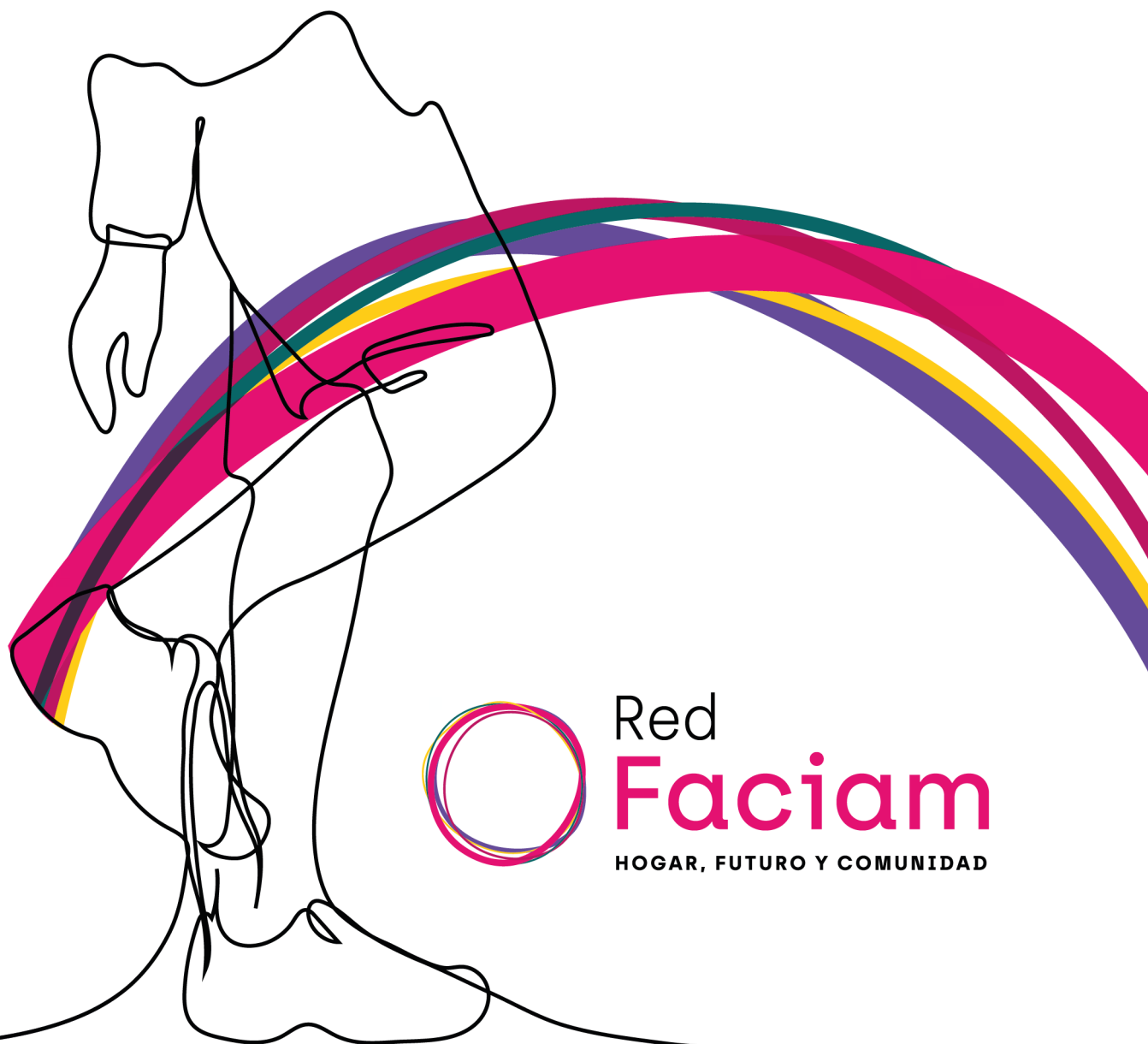
RELATIONAL BONDS AND SOCIAL SUPPORT IN HOMELESSNESS:

Keys to intervention

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RESULTS REPORT



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Relational bonds and social support in homelessness: Keys to intervention

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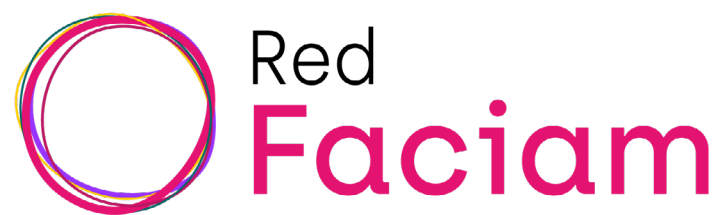
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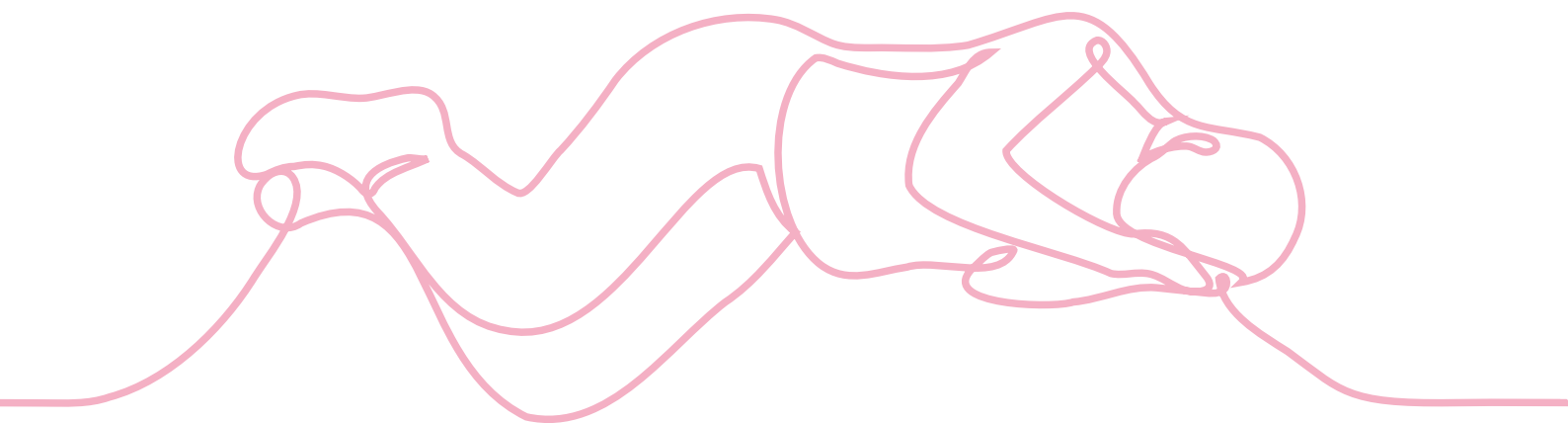


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“A faithful friend is a sturdy shelter; he who finds it finds a treasure. A faithful friend is beyond price, no sum can balance his worth”

Sirach 6.14-15





• 01 •

Introduction

Social exclusion has three characteristics that are fundamental to understand its causes and consequences on people and societies: its structural origin, its processual nature and its multidimensional character.

The structural origin of exclusion goes beyond the individualistic conception in which the responsibility for the situation is attributed to the individual. In order to study and understand this characteristic, a macro-analysis is required of those axes which configure the integrating capacity of a society (the transformations produced in the labour market, the transformations in the forms of coexistence and the current evolution of the Welfare State itself).

Furthermore, when speaking of process (instead of using a more static term such as "situation"), the existence of itineraries rather than sealed scenarios is highlighted, that is, it is a question of understanding social exclusion not as a reality of inequality that affects a group of people with different characteristics to the majority population, but as a process of separation of some individuals with regard to the core of society.

The multidimensional character tries to overcome the economicist vision of the term poverty by proposing a dimension that takes into account aspects such as health, housing, employment, access to rights, motivation and sense of life, etc. In this sense, it is worth highlighting that the specialised literature - both in the international⁰¹ and national⁰² spheres - refers to the relational dimension as one of the most relevant when it comes to explaining the processes of inclusion-exclusion.

There are few research experiences⁰³ relating to the analysis and measurement of this area in homelessness (homeless or in a situation of housing exclusion). The scarcity of proposals in this sense is due to the initial hypothesis that people in a situation of homelessness hardly have relationships capable of facilitating access to goods or resources that promote processes of social inclusion. This leads to the fact that the references made to the subject in the few studies and research on this population tend to focus more on approaches linked to psychology or health (emotional well-being, effects of loneliness, etc.), leaving aside other aspects characteristic of sociology (such as access to goods and resources or mobility within the social structure). The truth is that, in many cases, homeless people access to relevant resources both through their relationships with reference entities and with public social services; and, in some cases, through relationships with relatives, neighbours or friends. There are other spheres such as communitarian ones (potential or de facto) and some personal relationships that have been weakened or deteriorated, which could be activated and become active sources of social capital. In this sense, the approach from which this proposal is developed tries to build a solid analysis where the complementarity of social capital and relational goods is absolutely new.

The term **social capital** is one of the most widely used terms in the specialised literature in recent years, similar to how the term "human capital" was emphasised by neoclassical economists in the 1960s. This highlights that, in order to understand and analyse the processes of social mobility, it is insufficient to focus exclusively on economic capital.

It is a suggestive concept which, with little need for explanation, is easily understandable as it refers to the positive effects of sociability and in particular to the socio-relational as a resource for social mobility and development. The efforts made by prestigious sociologists such as Pierre Bourdieu, James S. Coleman, Robert D. Putnam and Alejandro Portes are an evidence of this.

The relational element is important for the study of social exclusion, as there are aspects that are at the basis of macro phenomena linked to participation and democratic commitment, and of other micro phenomena such as privileged access to relevant information. Moreover, there are many dimensions and possible consequences of having what is called a social network. This is the case of issues such as trust and credibility.

01 Castel (1995), Paugam (2007), Sassen (2015) ...

02 García Roca (1998), Tezanos (1999), Subirats (2004), Laparra et al (2005) ...

03 Some references to take into account are: Ayuso (2022), Contreras-Montero, et al (2024) and Reina, Gutierrez & Cruz (2024).

However, only some of the goods based on social relations represent capital in the strict sense of the word, as they are fundamental when explaining the activation of upward mobility processes in which they play a clearly recognisable role. Other elements also linked to social relations have a high potential in terms of combating exclusion or satisfying human needs, but they are not equivalent to what we can consider capital. While the components into which we can break down social capital are immediately available for use and application, the so-called **relational goods** require a previous re-elaboration and a process of "fermentation" which leads us to consider them as intermediate goods.

Finally, it is necessary to mention that we find ourselves in a family-oriented country (and its corresponding welfare state) where primary and secondary relationships make up a crucial capital for labour market insertion and social mobility. Therefore, the analysis of sociability and the relational aggregate (social capital + relational goods) of people experiencing homelessness is crucial for understanding access to the resources that make possible (or limit) the trajectories and processes of success in terms of social inclusion.

The following pages will attempt to describe the access that people experiencing homelessness have to these resources.

The relationship between three areas of knowledge (social capital, exclusion and homelessness) generates spaces of intersection where challenges appear at the present time; the capacity that we, as a society, have to resolve them satisfactorily will determine the future different scenarios. It will undoubtedly determine what kind of society we are and what kind of society we want to be.





• 02 •

Objectives, hypotheses and methodology

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The GENERAL OBJECTIVE of this research is to analyse the potential of the relational aggregate (social capital + relational goods) as a possible resource to reinforce the integration processes of homeless people.

Initially, the following SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES were also set out:

- » SO 1: to measure the relational aggregate of homeless people.
- » SO 2: to identify current and potential sources of social capital and its different components.
- » SO 3: to identify current and potential sources of relational goods and their different components.

All of them have remained valid throughout the research process; however, SO 1 has been complemented with a new SO 1b inasmuch as the expected measurement of social capital and relational goods has been disaggregated separately and according to some characteristics of the population universe that we have considered relevant.

The established HYPOTHESIS is based on the understanding that social exclusion is a dynamic and multidimensional process linked to different personal spheres. Relational resources play a crucial role in social integration processes. In the case of homeless people, the relational sphere is weak in terms of access to social capital but stronger in terms of access to other intangibles (relational goods) with a high potential in terms of social inclusion and in the satisfaction of human needs. The strengthening of this dimension in the two aforementioned aspects (especially through the community spheres), acquires a relevant role in order to promote successful processes (abandoning homelessness or avoiding falling into it). The measurement of these aspects and their relationship can help to build a more or less standardised prevention/intervention model that can lead to specific policy proposals, as well as to recommendations for social intervention and even community involvement.

In order to carry out this project, the following research METHODOLOGY⁰⁴ has been developed:

- » Specialised bibliographic review.
- » 573 surveys of participants. Convenience sampling, establishing quotas derived from the application of the following variables/processes:
 - Operational definition of homelessness: Homelessness (ETHOS 1 and 2) and Residential exclusion (ETHOS 3 and 4).
 - Sex: male/female.
 - Nationality: foreign/non-foreign.
 - Age.
- » 4 discussion focus groups with participants of the projects.
- » 1 discussion focus group with professionals and volunteers of the FACIAM projects.

⁰⁴ ANNEX I provides the fact sheet of the survey carried out, as well as the focus groups held.



• 03 •

Characteristics of people experiencing homelessness

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On the basis of the sample (573 people surveyed), it can be considered that there is sufficient representativeness to describe the entire population experiencing homelessness (roofless or houseless).

Despite the fact that, in Spain, many more people are in the categories of insecure or inadequate housing⁰⁵, the data provided correspond to a population that is mainly in ETHOS categories 1 or 2 (86.7% compared to 13.3%), as this is the most common profile in FACIAM projects.

05 According to data from the latest FOESSA survey (EINSFOESSA21), the 18% of the population is affected by one of the indicators of ETHOS categories 3 or 4. In the following tables, we offer the data from this study and a comparison (whenever possible) with the data offered by the National Statistics Institute (INE) in the Survey of Homeless People for the year 2022 https://www.ine.es/prensa/epsh_2022.pdf

Table 1: ETHOS categories

ETHOS categories	FACIAM	INE Data
ETHOS 1 or 2	86.7	83
ETHOS 2 or 3	13.3	17
TOTAL	100	100

Source: Authors' own elaboration and Homeless People Survey (National Statistics Institute (INE) - 2022)

Sex

The gender distribution of the respondents is 71.4% male and 28.6% female.

Table 2: Sex

Sex	FACIAM	INE Data
Male	71.4	83
Female	28.6	23
TOTAL	100	100

Source: Authors' own elaboration and Homeless People Survey (National Statistics Institute (INE) - 2022)

Age

The average age of the persons surveyed is 45 years, with a median age of 46 years. The age range is between 17 and 77 years.

The average age of respondents with Spanish nationality is 51, although the median age is 54. On the other hand, the average age of those surveyed who have a different nationality is 40 years and the median is 38 years, which shows a difference in the distribution of ages according to nationality, as those with Spanish nationality are older than those with a different nationality.

Table 3: Age

Age Group	FACIAM	INE Data
Menos de 18	0.2	0
From 18 to 29	19.9	21.1
From 30 to 44	27.2	30
From 45 to 64	44	43.3
Over 64	8.7	5.5
TOTAL	100	100

Source: Authors' own elaboration and Homeless People Survey (National Statistics Institute (INE) - 2022)

Nationality

Out of the 573 people surveyed, 38.6% have Spanish nationality and 61.4% have a different nationality (29.1% from America, 25.3% from Africa, 3.1% from Europe and 1.6% from Asia⁰⁶).

Within the countries of origin, the highest percentages are found in the following countries: Morocco (15.7%), Peru (7%), Colombia (6.5%) and Venezuela (6.1%).

Table 4: Nationality

Nationality	FACIAM	INE Data
Spanish	38.6	50
Other EU (excluding Romania and Bulgaria)	2.1	8.5
Other del resto del mundo	59.3	41.5
TOTAL	100	100

Source: Authors' own elaboration and Homeless People Survey (National Statistics Institute (INE) - 2022)

⁰⁶ People of Asian origin are of Armenian, Georgian, Bangladeshi, Pakistani, Iranian or Kazakh nationality.

Administrative status

With regard to administrative status, 53.5% of migrants are in a Poor situation in Spain, while 46.5% are not (34.4% are in the process of regulation).

Marital status

With regard to administrative status, 53.5% of migrants are in a Poor situation in Spain, while 46.5% are not (34.4% are in the process of regulation).

In terms of marital status, 68.9% of the sample is single, 21.6% is separated or divorced, 1.7% is widowed and 7.8% is married or in a civil partnership.

Table 5: Marital status

Marital status	%
Single	68.9
Married-civil partnership	7.8
Widow	1.7
Separated - divorced	21.6
TOTAL	100

Source: Authors' own elaboration

Religious self-definition

The majority of people experiencing homelessness declare themselves to be religious believers. Those who identify themselves as Catholics stand out with a 38.6% share. However, other religious affiliations also have a considerable presence: a 21.6% consider themselves Muslims and a 8.7% Evangelicals, a 1.2% Orthodox Christians and a 3.8% identify themselves as believers of other religions. On the other hand, a 7% identify themselves as spiritual without being linked to a specific religion. Finally, the presence of agnostics and atheists in the survey is of a 6.3% and a 6.8% respectively, and that of indifferent people is of a 7.2%.

Table 6: How do you define yourself when it comes to religion?

Religion	%
Catholic	38.6
Muslim	21.6
Evangelical	8.7
Other religions or spirituality with no link to any other specific religion	10.8
Agnostic, atheist or indifferent	20.3
TOTAL	100

Source: Authors' own elaboration

Regarding their religious practice, a 37.7% say that they never attend mass or other religious services (excluding occasions related to social ceremonies). A 14.8% attend weekly and a 11.2%, Several times a week.

Table 7: Religious practice frequency

Religious practice frequency	%
Never	37.7
Almost never	12.4
Several times a year	13.6
Twice or three times a month	10.3
All Sundays and religious holidays	14.8
Several times a week	11.2
TOTAL	100

Source: Authors' own elaboration

It is interesting to note that, according to the CIS (Sociological Research Centre) Barometer of November 2023, the religiosity of the general population (59%) is 20 points lower than the results obtained for homeless people in this survey (79.7%). This does not mean that homelessness can be explained from religious belief (as this would be a reverse causality error), but it can be affirmed that it is a noteworthy variable.

Table 8: Religious practice frequency according to religion

Religion	Several times a week	All Sundays and religious holidays
Catholic	5.4%	26.7%
Muslim	31.5%	7.3%
Evangelical	22%	22%
TOTAL	100	100

Source: Authors' own elaboration

The same occurs with the level of practice, which is 36.3% for homeless people (grouping the last three items together) and 25.7% for the general population, a difference of more than 10 points. The presence of Muslim believers (21.6%), a 31.5% of whom say they practise religion Several times a week, and evangelicals (8.7%), a 22% of whom say they do so Several times a week, raise the level of religious practice overall (only a 5.4% of Catholics say they practise Several times a week).

In other words, we find a population with a strong religious identification and a high level of practice. This is significant in terms of social intervention (given that it does not imply resignation, but rather the vital importance of religion).

“We have to learn from everything and if you are here it is because God brings you here and you go by His hand. For me those words were, I mean, lips that began to illuminate that tunnel and that's when I started to move forward”.
(FF2)⁰⁷

“He interrupts the class to go and pray because praying is considered more important than the Spanish class”.
(MPV5)

⁰⁷ In order to identify the people who participated in the focus groups, we have used a nomenclature that allows us to preserve their privacy but providing some relevant information for interpretation. Thus, the first letter indicates the sex (F: female and M: male). The second letter refers to origin (S: Spanish and F: foreigner). The number refers to the focus group. Finally, the identification PV refers to the group of professionals and volunteers.

“ I have a team like one from an Ukrainian church, Christians. They give me love, a lot of help and kindness”.
(FF1)

Education and studies

The educational level of the surveyed persons provides an important insight into the degree of educational training. From the sample, a 4.2% did not complete Primary Education, while a 21.5% did. A 23.7% of the people have completed Compulsory Secondary Education and a 22.5% have completed the Baccalaureate, a 16.4% have an Intermediate or Higher Degree and an 11.5% have a university degree.

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Table 9: Educational level máximo alcanzado

Educational level	%
Cannot read or write	0.2
Did not complete primary education	4.2
Has completed primary education	21.5
Has completed compulsory secondary education	23.7
Has completed the Baccalaureate	22.5
Has completed an intermediate/ higher level degree	16.4
Holds a university degree	11.5
TOTAL	100

Source: Authors' own elaboration

Employment

In terms of employment status, the majority of those surveyed (a 54.3%) were looking for a job, a 9.6% were working with a contract and a 5.8% were working without a contract. In terms of benefits, 3.7% were receiving a retirement or pre-retirement pension and a 2.8% another type of benefit.

Table 10: Situation in relation to employment ⁰⁸

Employment situation	%
Working (with contract)	9.6
Working (without contract)	5.8
Looking for a job	54.3
Studying (even if on holiday)	3
Receiving a retirement pension or pre-retirement income	3.7
I was doing housework	0.7
Permanent disability	3.1
Receiving a pension other than retirement or early retirement income	3.7
Performing unpaid social work, charitable activities	0.5
Not working (but in a situation other than those mentioned above)	7.5
Other situations	9.1
TOTAL	100

Source: Authors' own elaboration

Health

The analysis of the perception of health in the last twelve months shows that a small percentage, equivalent to the 5.2%, described their health as "very bad". On the other hand, the 11.5% of people surveyed described their health as "quite bad". The 30.7% of the responses were in the "poor" category. And in the "quite good" category are the majority of respondents with the 40.3%, and only the 12.2% described their health as "very good".

⁰⁸ The data provided by the INE are, in this case, aggregated into five categories: Employed (5.4%), Unemployed (71.2%), Pensioner or retired (4.1%), Disabled (6.4%) and Other situation (12.9%).

There is a higher proportion of respondents who think that they have a "quite good" perception of their health, but if we compare these data with those provided by the INE for 2017, we find that the general population, as a whole, has a considerably better perception of their health than those experiencing homelessness.

Table 11: In the last twelve months, how would you rate your health?⁰⁹

Health	FACIAM	INE Data General population
Very bad	5.2	1.6
Quite bad	11.5	5.5
Poor	30.7	18.9
Quite good	40.3	47.4
Very good	12.2	26.6
TOTAL		100

Source: Authors' own elaboration and National Statistics Institute – (National Health Survey (INE – ENS) Data (INE – 2017).

In addition, there are differences according to sex, with a higher percentage of men (44.5%) rating it as "quite good", while the majority of women (36%) rate it as "poor".

With regard to having visited a health centre in the last year, an 80.3% have visited one, and a 31.1% have required hospital admission in the last twelve months¹⁰. A 42.6% of those surveyed stated that they had a diagnosed serious illness, a chronic health problem or a disability and 19% stated that they had a certificate of disability. Of the 573 people surveyed, an 87.4% had a health card.

With regard to the consumption of tobacco, alcohol, medicines and other substances, we found that, approximately, half of the respondents, a 49%, admitted smoking every day. In addition, a small percentage smoked intermittently, either 2-3 days a week (2.1%), 4-6 days a week (1.6%), or only one day a week (1%). On the other hand, 46.2% stated that they do not smoke.

Regarding alcohol consumption, the majority, an 82%, indicated that they had not consumed alcohol in the last week. However, a 9.8% had consumed alcohol.

⁰⁹ Data provided by the INE in the 2017 National Health Survey reveal that the 55.8% of homeless people report having good or very good health, while the 14.9% perceive their health as bad or very bad.

¹⁰ For the general population, according to data from the National Health Survey (INE), the 51.4% of the population has attended a health centre more than four weeks ago and less than a year ago. This same survey quantifies hospitalisations at an 8.3% (7.20% for men and 8.84% for women).

Regarding the use of tranquillisers in the last week, a 33.2% said they had taken them, while the remaining 66.8% said they had not.

Finally, with regard to the use of psychoactive substances in the last week, an 8% of those surveyed admitted having used them, while the majority, a 92%, stated that they had not done so. Of those who used a psychoactive substance, the majority used cannabis (5.9%).

In terms of mood, the majority of respondents (37.5%) said they felt "good", followed by 36.5% who said they felt "good". This was followed by a 36.5% who rated their mood as "poor". On the other hand, a lower percentage of respondents, a 5.9%, described their mood as "very bad", while a 13.6% described it as "bad". In terms of mood perception and sex, the highest percentage of women is "poor" (36%) and that of men is "good" (40.1%). Women have a worse perception of their mood than men.

Table 12: In the last twelve months, how would you rate your mood?

Mood	%
Very bad	5.9
Quite bad	13.6
Poor	36.5
Quite good	37.5
Very good	6.5
TOTAL	100

Source: Authors' own elaboration

Social support¹¹

The social support is divided into three categories: low, medium and high. The majority of survey respondents (64%) reported having a low level of support, followed by a 30.2% who are in the medium social support range and a small percentage of a 5.8% who report having a high level of social support. The highest percentages are in the low and medium values. It is worth noting the increase of more than six points in the number of people who show a low level of support compared to the year 2021.

11 In continuity with the methodology used for the measurement of social support in the report: The impact of the pandemic on the health, well-being and living conditions of homeless people, the questionnaire used in the research incorporates a standardised measure of social support, called the Oslo Social Support Scale (OSSS-3), a three-item version. Regarding this section, the review by Ayuso Leno (2022) is also recommended.

Table 13: Present levels of social support among participants

	2021	2024
Low support	57.8%	64%
Medium support	34.7%	30.2%
High support	7.4%	5.8%
TOTAL		100

Source: Authors' own elaboration y FACIAM (2021)

When compared between sexes, low levels of social support are observed in both of them. On the other hand, in terms of age, older age groups (45 years and older) are in the highest social support category, which is in line with the employment association, as those receiving a retirement pension also perceive more social support than those in contract work and those in housework.

Table 14: Level of social support according to sex and age

Sex	Low	Medium	High
Male	64.1%	29.8%	6.1%
Female	64%	31.1%	4.9%

Age	Low	Medium	High
Under 18	-	100%	-
From 18 to 29	66.7%	31.6%	1.8%
From 30 to 44	69.2%	27.6%	3.2%
From 45 to 64	61.9%	30.2%	7.9%
Over 64	54.0%	34.0%	12.0%

Source: Authors' own elaboration

The perception of social support among people from Africa and Asia is in the lowest category, while among people from the American region the perception of support is medium¹². This difference could be related to language, as people from the American countries tend to have fewer language problems and more established migration networks.

“ They (referring to people coming from Latin America) in the first month, even when they leave the airport, they already have their networks. However, African migration... they don't have money, they don't have the most basic resources, they don't have networks”

(FPV5)

Situations of violence

The majority of respondents, with a percentage of a 54.8%, have admitted having experienced some kind of violence (physical, psychological, discrimination or being a victim of hate speech) at some point in their lives. This data highlights the prevalence of violent experiences among the survey respondents.

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Table 15: Have you ever suffered violence?

Has suffered violence	%
Yes	54.8%
No	45.2%
TOTAL	100

Source: Authors' own elaboration

The data provided by the INE for 2022 show that a 50.3% of homeless people have been victims of a crime or aggression. The most frequent crimes and aggressions have been insults and threats, robberies and assaults.

If we relate this to the sex variable, we can see that there is a very marked difference between men and women, as a 46.2% of men have suffered

¹² The 76.6% of people from Africa and the 77.8% of people from Asia have a low level of social support, while the 57.5% of people from the American countries have a medium level of social support.

violence in their lifetime, the percentage corresponding to women is considerably higher, a 76.2%.

Intimate partner violence

The 22% of the people surveyed, admitted experiencing some kind of violence from their couple. Within this violence, there is a disaggregation of the type of violence, finding that: a 19.7% of people have suffered psychological violence, a 12.9% physical violence, a 5.6% sexual violence and a 4.7% economic violence.

Table 16: Have you ever suffered violence from your couple?

Has suffered violence from a couple	%
Yes	22%
No	78%
TOTAL	100

Source: Authors' own elaboration

When the sex variable is related to intimate partner violence, a marked disparity is evident. While an 11.2% of the men surveyed reported having experienced intimate partner violence, the corresponding percentage for women rises considerably to a 48.8%, representing almost half of the women surveyed. The differences in the types of violence within the gender category are striking, especially with regard to sexual, physical and economic violence, where they occur more significantly in women.

“ I had a home of 16 years of aggression”
(FF4)

“ I am here because of domestic violence”
(FF1)

“ I never listened to her, until I reached the bottom
and realised that it was true, if I continued with
that person I was going to be dead. It is because of
that advice that I came to this country, because of
gender-based violence”
(FF4)

. 04 .

The social capital of people experiencing homelessness¹³

Some of the goods supported by social relations constitute capital in the strict sense, as they are fundamental when it comes to explaining the activation of upward mobility processes in which they play a clearly recognisable role. Thus, **social capital (SC)** is the aggregate of material goods, information, and influence and network of contacts, which the members of a group make available to the rest of the members.

In order to carry out a measurement, it is necessary to reflect on the quantity and quality of goods that can be available for belonging to a specific group. Bourdieu in 1985 elaborated a proposal on social capital, categorising it as: the aggregate of real or potential resources linked to the possession of

¹³ ANNEX II provides all the information on the concepts of social capital and relational goods, as well as the theoretical model developed to measure both.

a durable network, more or less institutionalised, in which there is mutual knowledge and recognition of the other members of the group.

Therefore, a group will have more capital available to the extent that its members have more capital (more economic goods with which to help the other members of the group, more privileged information and a wider network of contacts). In other words, the social capital available to a person will depend on the groups to which he or she belongs (and on the capital possessed by its members, that is, more or fewer goods, of higher or lower quality, etc.).

According to the definition and oriented to the population under study, the components of social capital are as follows:

- » Material assistance: economic benefits, accommodation, food, clothing or any other material good or service.
- » Information: about courses, employment exchanges, projects, entities...
- » Influence and access to other relationships: recommendations for jobs, contact with people in a higher economic position who can offer some kind of support, etc...

Once disaggregated into components and applying the measurement methodology (see ANNEX II), the first thing to note is that a 54.1% of the people surveyed have a low or very low social capital, a 38.6% have a medium social capital and only a 7.3% have a high or very high social capital¹⁴.

Table 17: Nivel Medium de Social capital

	Low or very low	Medium	High or very high
People experiencing homelessness	54.1%	38.6%	7.3%

Source: Authors' own elaboration

The average is 13.4 points out of a possible maximum of 35.6. This is due to the fact that, in many cases, people experiencing homelessness have lost part of their relationships and that, even in those cases in which the number of relationships is abundant (with family, friends or the neighbourhood), these take place among people in similar situations, which considerably limits access to goods or resources that generate relevant economic improvements. In terms of social capital, the relative economic position is key, which is why a large part of it comes from those who have a clearly

¹⁴ The social capital scores can reach a maximum of a 35.6 points (see Table 65 in Annex II). The following score ranges have been established: above 28.4 points, high or very high; under 14.24 points, low or very low; the range between 14.24 and 28.4 points is considered a medium level of social capital.

higher position: the professionals and volunteers of the projects in which they participate¹⁵.

In order to explore these issues in more depth, the origin of social capital is analysed:

Table 18: Origin of Social capital

Social capital	%
Family	15.4%
Friends	18.8%
Neighbours	5.1%
Work	2.5%
Religious centre	5.2%
Professionals and/or volunteers from Red FACIAM projects	31.1%
Professionals and/or volunteers from other projects	5.2%
TOTAL	100

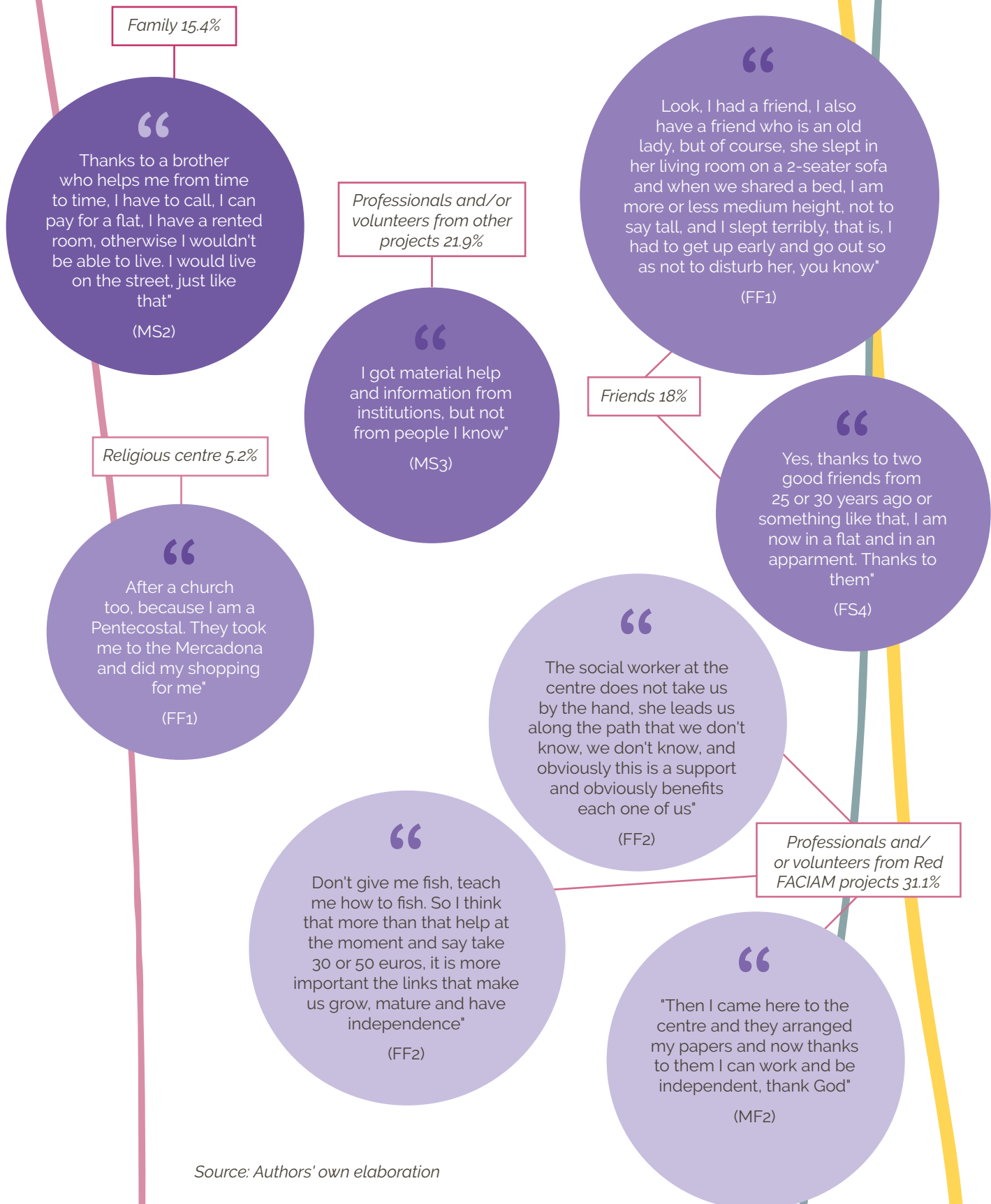
Source: Authors' own elaboration

We find that more than half of their social capital comes from their relationship with professionals and volunteers (31.1% from FACIAM and 21.9% from other projects). This is followed by friends (18.8%) and family who contribute the most (15.4%). The contribution received from the neighbourhood, from work colleagues (when there are any) or from other people from the same religious centre is not very significant in this sense.

The qualitative analysis corroborates the quantitative approach. The vast majority of the accounts of social capital are based on social resources and, secondly, on the support of family and friends

¹⁵ It is understood that these aids do not come from the personal resources of professionals and volunteers, but rather are institutional aids (in accordance with the functioning of the entities and projects) through which these relationships are established.

Graph 1: Narrativas de procedencia de Social capital



A comparison of the SC components for the case of FACIAM provides the following results:

Table 19: Origin of disaggregated social capital

Social capital	Material support	Information	Influence	Total
Professionals and/or volunteers from Red FACIAM projects	12%	12%	7.1%	31.1%
Professionals and/or volunteers from other projects	8.4%	8.4%	5.1%	21.9%

Source: Authors' own elaboration

Through participation in FACIAM's projects and resources, people obtain the 12% of its material support, the 12% of its information and the 7.1% of its influence. Professionals and volunteers from other projects receive less of these same resources.

A comparative analysis according to some characteristics of the population reveals the following:

- » Men have a slightly lower SC score than women (13.4 and 13.5 points respectively).

Table 20: Average level of social capital by sex

	Low or very low	Medium	High or very high
Male	53.5%	40.1%	6.4%
Female	55.5%	34.8%	9.8%

Source: Authors' own elaboration

- » In terms of age, the 30-44 age range has the highest SC value (14.3 points), followed by the 45-64 age range (13.4 points). Younger and older people have lower scores (13.1 and 12.1 points respectively).

Table 21: Social capital by age

Social capital	Score
Under 18 years old	11.1
Between 18 and 29 years old	13.1
Between 30 and 44 years old	14.1
Between 45 and 64 years old	13.4
65 and over	12.1

Source: Authors' own elaboration

- » Nationality shows that the Spanish population has slightly lower SC values (13.3 points) than the rest of the nationalities (13.5 points).

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Table 22: Average level of social capital by nationality

	Low or very low	Medium	High or very high
Spanish	53.8%	39.4%	6.8%
Other EU (excluding Romania and Bulgaria)	58.3%	41.7%	0%
Other from the rest of the world	54.1%	37.9%	7.9+%

Source: Authors' own elaboration

- » The analysis by continent of origin shows that the population from Asia has the highest SC values (17.9 points), followed by the American population (14.1 points), the African population (12.9 points) and finally the European population (10.9 points).

Table 23: Average level of social capital by continent of origin

	Low or very low	Medium	High or very high
America	49.1%	40.7%	10.2%
Africa	59.3%	36.6%	4.1%
Asia	33.3%	33.3%	33.3%
Europe	66.7%	27.8%	5.6%

Source: Authors' own elaboration

- » Marital status also shows differences in relation to SC. Therefore, people who are married or in a civil partnership have higher values than those who are single, widowed or separated.

Table 24: Average social capital by marital status

	Score
Single	13.3
Legally married	14.9
Married by other rites	15
Civil partner	16.4
Widowed	12.7
Separated	14.2
Divorced	13.1

Source: Authors' own elaboration

Table 25: Average level of social capital by marital status

	Low or very low	Medium	High or very high
Single	54.7%	38%	7.3%
Married-civil partnership	45%	45%	10%
Widowed	70%	30%	0%
Separated / divorced	54.5%	39.8%	5.7%

Source: Authors' own elaboration

- » In relation to the administrative situation, both groups (regularity and irregularity/ in process) present similar values.

Table 26: Average level of social capital by administrative status

	Low or very low	Medium	High or very high
Yes	54.9%	37.9%	7.1%
No or in process	52.9%	38.2%	8.9%

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Source: Authors' own elaboration

- » There are minor differences in the amount of SC and the religious beliefs of the people surveyed, with Catholics scoring 13.8 points, Muslims 13.6 points, Evangelicals 13.7 points, agnostics 13.6 points and atheists 13.4 points.

Table 27: Average level of social capital by religious belief

	Low or very low	Medium	High or very high
Catholic	50.2%	42.1%	7.7%
Muslim	55.6%	37.9%	6.5%
Evangelical	54%	38%	8%
Agnostic, atheist...	60.3%	29.3%	10.3%
Other	53.2%	45.2%	1.6%

Source: Authors' own elaboration

- » However, there are differences in terms of attendance at religious services, with those who visit several times a year having much higher values than those who never visit (14.8 versus 12 points).

Table 28: Average social capital by frequency of attendance at religious services

Social capital	Score
Never	12
Almost Never	13.9
Several times a year	14.8
Twice or three times a month	14.3
All Sundays and religious holidays	13.8
Several times a week	14.5

Source: Authors' own elaboration

- » In terms of level of education attained, those with a university degree have the highest SC value (13.8 points), while those who have completed Compulsory Secondary Education or Baccalaureate have 13.5 (those who have not completed primary education, 11.3 points).
- » The state of health shows a certain correlation with the level of SC and the quality of health, as those who have a very good health condition have clearly higher values than those who have a very poor health condition. .

Table 29: Average social capital by health condition

Social capital	Score
Very good	13.3
Quite good	14.1
Poor	13.2
Quite bad	12.5
Very bad	11.4

Source: Authors' own elaboration

- » Those who have a diagnosed serious or chronic illness or disability have a slightly lower SC (13.1 points) than those who do not (13.7 points).

Table 30: Average level of social capital by disability status

	Low or very low	Medium	High or very high
Disability/severe illness YES	54.5%	38.9%	6.6%
Disability/severe illness NO	53.8%	38.3%	7.9%

Source: Authors' own elaboration

The mood in recent months is also correlated with SC. Thus, those who have had a good or very good mood (13.7 and 14.8 points respectively) have a higher level of SC than those who have had a bad or very bad mood (12 and 12.5 points respectively).

Table 31: Average level of social capital by mood state

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	Low or very low	Medium	High or very high
Very bad	61.8%	35.3%	2.9%
Bad	60.3%	35.9%	3.8%
Poor	52.6%	40.2%	7.2%
Good	53.5%	39.1%	7.4%
Very good	45.9%	35.1%	18.9%

Source: Authors' own elaboration

- » In those people who have suffered violence (physical, psychological, discrimination, hate speech...) we find slightly higher SC values (13.6 points compared to 13.2 points) than those who say they have not suffered any of these situations.

Table 32: Average level of social capital due to having suffered violence

	Low or very low	Medium	High or very high
Yes	52.9%	39.8%	7.3%
No	55.6%	37.1%	7.3%

Source: Authors' own elaboration

» Something similar occurs when the violence comes directly from the couple (13.6 versus 13.2 points). Although this relationship (level of SC - having suffered violence) seems contradictory, it is likely that the situation experienced has generated the need to seek other types of support (personal, community or institutional) that have generated an increase in the levels of SC.

Table 33: Average level of Social Capital for having experienced intimate partner violence

	Low or very low	Medium	High or very high
Yes	51.6%	40.5%	7.9%
No	54.8%	38%	7.2%

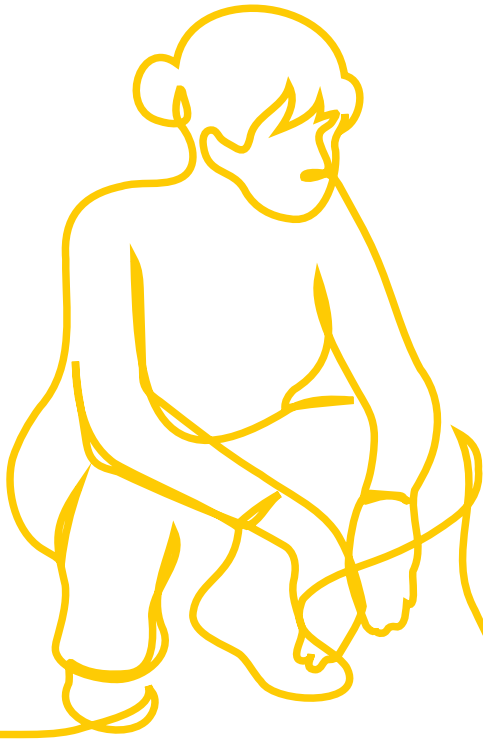
Source: Authors' own elaboration

» Finally, it should be noted that there are significant differences in SC depending on the ETHOS category in which they find themselves. Hence, people in situations in ETHOS 1 or 2 have a SC of 12.9, while those in situations in ETHOS 3 and 4 reach a value almost 4 percentage points higher (16.7).

Table 34: Average level of social capital by ETHOS category

	Low or very low	Medium	High or very high
ETHOS 1 or 2	57.7%	37.2%	5%
ETHOS 3 or 4	30.3%	47.4%	22.4%

Source: Authors' own elaboration



• 05 •

The relational goods of people experiencing homelessness

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As has already been pointed out, only some of the goods supported by social relations constitute capital in the strict sense, as they are fundamental in explaining the activation of upward mobility processes in which they play a clearly recognisable role. If we speak of relationships (stable, trusting, and where there is a certain level of reciprocity) such as to receive privileged information, economic help or similar support from them, we can refer to them as carriers of social capital.

Other elements also linked to social relations will not be considered as such: they are referred to as **relational goods (RGs)** and not as social capital. Reference is made to:

- » Socio-emotional goods (affection and security): this is one of the most defining contributions of strong relationships, such as family or friends. For the population under study, we also consider the

contributions of professionals and volunteers in the projects in which homeless people participate.

» Frames of reference and vital meaning: it is through social relationships that our vision of the world and of ourselves is shaped. Elements such as values, beliefs, personal convictions, perception of others and of oneself, identity, motivation and resilience... are built and nurtured in the relational world. They are also crucial when it comes to developing certain potentialities, but they are neither considered as constituting social capital, even though some of these elements are understood by some authors as another type of (symbolic) capital. This is the case of Bourdieu who refers to it as "any property (any type of capital, physical, economic, cultural, social) when it is perceived by social agents whose categories of perception are of such a nature that they are able to know it (distinguish it) and recognise it, and confer some value on it". For his part, Díaz-Salazar, unlike Bourdieu, refers not only to social values but also to a series of identity traits that provide subjects with knowledge, judgement, opinion and resilience.

Once disaggregated into components and applying the measurement methodology (see ANNEX II), the first thing to point out is that 61.4% of the people surveyed have low or very low relational goods, 32.8% have a medium level and only 5.8% have high or very high relational goods¹⁶.

Table 35: Average level of relational goods

	Low or very low	Medium	High or very high
People experiencing homelessness	61.4%	32.8%	5.8%

Source: Authors' own elaboration

The average is 9.2 out of a maximum of 21.1. Despite the relational weaknesses mentioned in the SC section, when we talk about RGs we find important differences, since issues such as affection, values or identity are not directly related to socio-economic position, which makes it possible to obtain proportionally higher scores for RGs than for SC.

In a similar way to what we have previously done, we now analyse the origin of these relational goods:

16 The scores obtained in the relational goods can reach a maximum of 21.1 points (see Table 66 in Annex II). The following score ranges have been established: over 16.88 points is considered high or very high; under 8.44 points, low or very low; the range between 8.44 and 16.88 points is considered a medium level of relational goods.

Table 36: Origin of relational goods

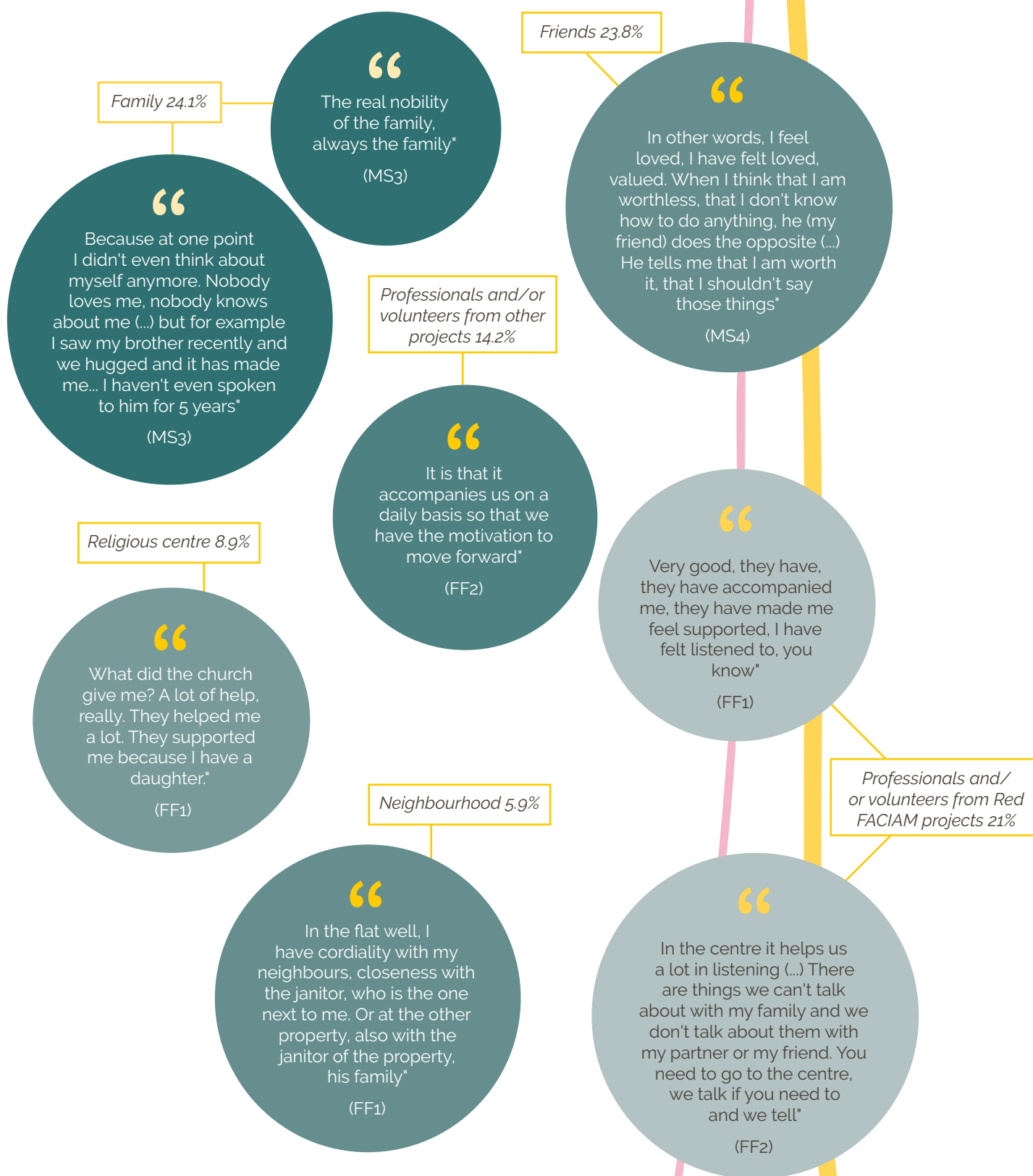
Relational goods	%
Family	24.1%
Friendships	23.8%
Neighbourhood	5.9%
Work	2.1%
Religious centre	8.9%
Professionals and/or volunteers from Red FACIAM projects	21%
Professionals and/or volunteers from other projects	14.2%
TOTAL	100

Source: Authors' own elaboration

It is noted that 24.1% of their RGs comes from their family relationships and 23.8% from their friends. Next, it is FACIAM professionals and volunteers who contribute the most (21%), followed by those from other projects (14.2%) and from their religious environment (8.9%). The contribution received from the neighbourhood and work colleagues (if any) is not very significant in this respect.

In the discussion groups, this weighting of relational goods is clearly shown. It is particularly significant that family experiences, in many cases, refer to the past, while current experiences refer to FACIAM projects. The evocative potential of relational goods is very present as a memory of affection, values and identity in reference to the family and, very current, in reference to FACIAM's professionals and volunteers.

Figure 2: Relational goods origin narratives



Source: Authors' own elaboration

A comparison of the RGs components for the case of FACIAM provides the following results:

Table 37: Origin of disaggregated relational goods ¹⁷

Relational goods	Affect	Values	Identity	Total
Professionals and/or volunteers from Red FACIAM projects	9.6%	5.7%	5.7%	21%
Professionals and/or volunteers from other projects	6.4%	3.9%	3.9%	14.2%

Source: Authors' own elaboration

Through participation in FACIAM's projects and resources, people obtain 9.6% of their affection, 5.7% of their values and 5.7% of their identity. From professionals and volunteers from other projects, they receive less of these same resources.

A comparative analysis according to some characteristics of the population reveals the following:

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- » Women have, as was the case for SC, a slightly higher level of RGs than men: 9.3 and 9.2 points respectively.

Table 38: Average level of relational goods by sex

	Low or very low	Medium	High or very high
Male	62.1%	32.3%	5.6%
Female	59.8%	34.1%	6.1%
TOTAL	54.1%	38.6%	7.3%

Source: Authors' own elaboration

¹⁷ The contribution of professionals and volunteers is analysed in different studies, as is the case of the work carried out by Reina, A., Gutierrez, S., & Cruz, C. (2024; p. 161): "In this context, an additional objective of this research was to investigate the support networks available to homeless people. Two main categories have been identified: the first one refers to the supports provided by the technical staff in charge of the care of homeless people, and the second one is related to the supports provided by other homeless people".

- » In terms of age, the 30-44 age group has the highest RGs value (9.8 points), followed by the 18-29 (9.3 points) and 45-64 (9.1 points) age groups. Those aged 64 and over have the lowest scores (8 points).

Table 39: Relational goods by age

Relational goods	Score
Under 18 years old	10.4
Between 18 and 29 years old	9.3
Between 30 and 44 years old	9.8
Between 45 and 64 years old	9.1
65 and over	8

Source: Authors' own elaboration

- » Nationality reveals that, similarly to SC, the Spanish population has lower RGs values (8.8 points) than the rest of the nationalities (9.5 points).

Table 40: Average level of relational goods by nationality

	Low or very low	Medium	High or very high
Spanish	65.6%	31.2%	3.2%
Other EU (excluding Romania and Bulgaria)	75%	25%	0%
Other from the rest of the world	58.2%	34.1%	7.6%
TOTAL	54.1%	38.6%	7.3%

Source: Authors' own elaboration

- » The analysis by continent of origin shows that, as in the case of SC, the population from Asia has clearly the highest RGs values (12.5 points), followed by the population from America (9.7 points), Africa (9.4 points) and finally Europe (7.4 points).

Table 41: Average level of relational goods by continent of origin

	Low or very low	Medium	High or very high
America	55.1%	37.1%	7.8%
Africa	62.1%	32.4%	5.5%
Asia	33.3%	22.2%	44.4%
Europe	72.2%	22.2%	5.6%
TOTAL	54%	38.1%	8%

Source: Authors' own elaboration

- » Marital status also shows differences in relation to RGs. Thus, married or in a civil partnership have higher values than those who are single, widowed or separated.

Table 42: Relational goods Medium por Marital status

Relational goods	Score
Single	9.2
Legally married	10.9
Married by other rites	12.3
Civil partner	12.2
Widow	8.4
Separated	9.8
Divorced	9.3

Source: Authors' own elaboration

Table 43: Average level of relational goods by marital status

	Low or very low	Medium	High or very high
Single	61%	34.7%	4.3%
Married-civil partnership	42.2%	33.3%	24.4%
Widow	90%	10%	0%
Separated - Divorced	67.5%	28.5%	4.1%
TOTAL	54.1%	38.6%	7.3%

Source: Authors' own elaboration

- » Regarding administrative status, both groups (regularity and irregularity or in process) show similar values.

Table 44: Average level of relational goods by administrative status

	Low or very low	Medium	High or very high
Yes	58.8%	31.3%	9.9%
No or in process	57.3%	37.6%	5.1%
TOTAL	54.1%	37.9%	7.9%

Source: Authors' own elaboration

- » Unlike the SC, in terms of RGs, there are differences in relation to the religious beliefs of the people surveyed, with Catholics scoring 9.4 points, Muslims 9.9 points, Evangelicals 9.7 points, agnostics 9.1 points and atheists 8.4 points.

Table 45: Average level of relational goods by religious belief

	Low or very low	Medium	High or very high
Catholic	60.6%	33.5%	5.9%
Muslim	57.3%	34.7%	8.1%
Evangelical	48%	48%	4%
Agnostic, atheist...	73.3%	22.4%	4.3%
Other	60.3%	34.9%	4.8%
TOTAL	54.1%	38.6%	7.3%

Source: Authors' own elaboration

- » There are also differences in terms of practice, with those who attend more regularly having higher RGs values than those who do not.

Table 46: Average social relational goods by frequency of attendance to religious services

Relational goods	Score
Never	8.1
Almost Never	9.2
Several times a year	10.1
Twice or three times a month	10.2
Every Sunday and holidays	9.8
Several times a week	10.5

Source: Authors' own elaboration

- » According to the level of education attained, the trend does not exactly match the one detected in the SC, since, although the lowest levels of education obtain lower scores in RGs, from the completion of Primary Education the trend is not maintained in a regular manner.

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Table 47: Average relational goods by level of education

Relational goods	Score
Cannot read or write	4.8
Did not complete primary education	7.9
Completed primary education	9.6
Completed Compulsory Secondary Education	9.2
Completed Baccalaureate	9.5
Completed intermediate or higher education	9
Completed university studies	9

Source: Authors' own elaboration

- » Health status shows some correlation with the level of RGs (similar to the trend detected in the SC) to the extent that those in very good health have clearly higher values than those in very poor health.

Table 48: Average relational goods by health status

Relational goods	Score
Very good	9.7
Quite good	9.7
Poor	9.1
Quite bad	8.5
Very bad	7.6

Source: Authors' own elaboration

- » Those who have a diagnosed serious or chronic illness or disability have a slightly lower RGs (8.7 points) than those who do not (9.4 points).

Table 49: Average level of relational goods by health status

	Low or very low	Medium	High or very high
Disability Yes	64.3%	31.1%	4.5%
Disability No	59.3%	34%	6.7%
TOTAL	54.1%	38.6%	7.3%

Source: Authors' own elaboration

- » The mood of the last months shows that those who have had a worse mood have less RGs: good or very good 9.3 and 11 points respectively; bad or very bad 8 and 8.6 points respectively.

Table 50: Average level of Relational goods by mood

	Low or very low	Medium	High or very high
Very bad	64.7%	32.4%	2.9%
Bad	74.4%	23.1%	2.6%
Poor	61.2%	32.5%	4.7%
Good	60%	35.3%	4.7%
Very good	40.5%	40.5%	18.9%
TOTAL	54.1%	38.6%	7.3%

Source: Authors' own elaboration

- » In those who have suffered violence (physical, psychological, discrimination, hate speech...) we find slightly lower GR values (9.2 versus 9.4 points) than those who say they have suffered none of these situations.

Table 51: Average level of Relational goods for having experienced violence

	Low or very low	Medium	High or very high
Yes	61.8%	32.8%	5.4%
No	61%	32.8%	6.2%
TOTAL	54.1%	38.6%	7.3%

Source: Authors' own elaboration

- » Something similar happens when the violence comes directly from the couple (9.2 vs. 9.3 points).

Table 52: Average level of Relational goods for having suffered intimate partner violence

	Low or very low	Medium	High or very high
Yes	62.7%	32.5%	4.8%
No	61.1%	32.9%	6%
TOTAL	54.1%	38.6%	7.3%

Source: Authors' own elaboration

- » Finally, it should be highlighted that, as in the case of SC, there are significant differences in RGs depending on the ETHOS category in which they find themselves. Thus, people in situations included in ETHOS 1 or 2 have RGs of 8.9 points, while those in situations included in ETHOS 3 and 4 reach a value almost 4 percentage points higher (11.6 points).

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Table 53: Average level of relational goods by ETHOS category

	Low or very low	Medium	High or very high
ETHOS 1 or 2	65.8%	30%	4.2%
ETHOS 3 or 4	32.9%	51.3%	15.8%
TOTAL	54.1%	38.6%	7.3%

Source: Authors' own elaboration



• 06 •

The meanings of the relational aggregate: perceptions and tensions

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Homelessness, even in very extreme situations, does not eliminate (although it clearly undermines) the relational dimension of people. Even if they are weak - in terms of social capital or relational goods - relationality is a basic dimension that is present in people experiencing homelessness as a core element of their personal and group processes. This is the essential conclusion that emerges from this research in general and from the qualitative analysis in particular.

In this section we want to examine in depth, from the symbolic and expressive charge that discourse analysis allows us, some particularly significant dimensions of the relational aggregate of people experiencing homelessness. First of all, we will present what the interviewees ask from interpersonal relationships. To a certain extent, it is an enquiry into the "idealised" relationships that they crave or have experienced.

Secondly, we will analyse the tension between social capital and relational goods: what role do they play in social intervention? Which ones stand out as a priority? Relational goods or those of access to material goods, information or influence (SC)?

We will continue by showing the ambivalence that exists in peer group relations. In other words, what do they think of the relationships between people who are living a similar situation at the moment. Are these relationships positive and necessary for inclusion processes? Or are they rather shown to be negative?

Fourthly, we present what people experiencing homelessness value about FACIAM's professionals and volunteers, which is essential for assessing our intervention.

And finally, we will consider the experience of loss, which is becoming more complex and plural nowadays. People experiencing homelessness not only refer to losses due to death or breakdown, but also to the social distance resulting from migration processes and the trauma of having fled from places where the dead are piled up in the streets due to armed conflict and structural violence.

6.1. Basic dimensions of personal relationships

People experiencing homelessness clearly express the contours of a good personal relationship. They understand that this relationship must be (Graph 3) based on respect, trust, sincerity, honesty and companionship, as fundamental dimensions. These relationships appear fundamentally in their narratives as experiences with family, friends and with FACIAM professionals and volunteers (Graph 2). It can be observed that in many cases, these relational experiences appear under an idealised memory of what they were, rather than from a judgement about experiences in the present. This idealised memory, as we will see below, becomes much stronger when they refer to relevant people, but who have lost their vital closeness for various reasons (Graph 7).

Graph 3: The contours of the "good relationship"



Source: Authors' own elaboration

The respect, mentioned profusely in all the focus groups, is the central element of interpersonal relationships, whether in everyday life contexts (friends, peer groups, family, work, etc.) or in institutional environments (Social Services, Health Centres, FACIAM, etc.).

Respect that people describe from a triple dimension: to oneself, to other people and to their opinions.

“Respect, respecting opinions, respecting oneself
as a person, respecting others”

(FF4)

The processes of social exclusion lead to a notable increase in physical and psychological insecurity and social and existential uncertainty that generates contexts of distrust. For this reason, trust appears as a significant factor in the discourses on what is desired in a personal relationship. Trust is experienced as a process of permanent dialogue and listening.

“ Trust is gained, it is gained along the way as one engages in dialogue with a person”

(FF2)

“ Trust is knowing how to listen to people. It is important that they can listen to you and that you can also give advice or give your opinion about what the person may say or vice versa”

(FF2)

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Respect and trust are the key dimensions and take on a very strong meaning in social intervention processes. A productive relationship for intervention processes is not possible without a deep respect and a trust built "along the way".

“ With regard to listening? Yes, the difference between this centre and others is like night and day”

(FF2)

“ What contributes is the same respect, the same trust, willing you to be well. This depends on values, on principles”

(FF2)

“ I don't know exactly what it is, but I notice that there is a special connection, a mutual understanding, a bonding. They even leave the centre and come back to see you and you remember them. It's true that it doesn't happen with everyone, but that bond of trust is within those sincere emotions that there is an involvement in his/her process”

(FPV5)

6.2. Access goods and rooting goods

In the early years of the 21st century, a debate intensified around social intervention that aimed to move it away from the mere 'resource logic' (Aliena, 1999) centred on the 'need-resource' paradigm; from the oligopoly of certain social actors (especially public administrations); and from some professional disciplines to open it up to other more complex and relational logics (Renes et al., 2007; Vidal, 2009).

Renes et al. (2007) proposed that the logics of access, which may well represent what we call social capital in this research, should be articulated with the logics of rooting, which would represent relational goods. In synthesis, the approach alluded to the fact that access to social capital (material aid and resources, information and influence) and rooting in relational goods (socioemotional and of sense) were recursive logics that could not occur one without the other. They should grow in an articulated way to enable personal and collective social transformation processes.

However, since the Great Recession (2009), the impact of COVID19 and the inflationary crisis, social emergency programmes have been redefined (Mora & De Lorenzo, 2021), centred on the logic of resources and social urgencies. This resignification, to a certain extent, retakes a certain linear imaginary ladder that so much hovered over the world of intervention with people in situations of homelessness.

If we analyse the discourse of professionals and volunteers, they show a greater propensity than the people participating in the programmes, for a linear process (Graph 4). It is clear that they do not exclude recursions with the dimension of relational goods, but the most dense discourse appears from an imaginary centred on "survival", which moves in a second moment to work or language, and so on. To a certain extent, this vision is consistent, in the field of homelessness, with the methodologies that were represented in the 1980s with the stages in ladders, as we mentioned, which had an upward or downward direction, but always linear.

Graph 4: Professionals and Volunteers Linear Imaginary



Source: Authors' own elaboration

In social intervention we seem to live in the eternal return of Maslow's famous pyramid (1989). According to this approach, which is widely shared in practice, although without making it explicit, people whose basic needs (physiological and security) are not satisfied cannot have superior experiences of affiliation, morality or spirituality. His proposal of a hierarchy of ascending predominance prescribes a ladder imaginary that would prioritise social capital relations over relational goods, which we have shown does not always appear in this way. For example, as we have seen in this study (Tables 6 and 7) people experiencing homelessness, despite having "unmet" social needs, have a higher level of religious beliefs and practices than the general population who do have these needs covered to a greater extent.

In fact, FACIAM professionals and volunteers are aware of this time of "emergencies" and consider that it would be desirable to get rid of this label, which is often supported by public funding.

“ It is essential to remove the emergency code. Yes, because I think we are a bit of a hybrid and in the end we don't reach or cover one thing or the other. The emergency for a few days, that we manage for the Community of Madrid and we have some places with them which they use, doesn't help. I would remove it”

(MPV5)

However, the participants in FACIAM's programmes, without underestimating the value of access factors - social capital - which in many cases are given prevalence, formulate it in a more articulated and complex way.

“ When a person recommends a Centre, a place that can give you help or can manage something or that is looking for people to work with, that is important. But if it contributes to the same respect, to the same trust, to make sure you are well. Then it depends on values, on principles. Help and empathy is the well-being of the person. In other words, everything contributes. There is a range that is aimed at that harmony that exists in relationships”

(FF2)

“ Both (information and empathy), well I think I loved the way she said it and she told me why I didn't apply for the MLI”

(FS2)

Even in very complex social situations they remember socio-emotional factors more intensely as an impulse to be able to "pick themselves up" and initiate processes.

“ Well, I got up and I said, well, I'm going to go to the social centre and when I came I met my social worker. I threw my arms around her and she hugged me in such a way that I felt... All that went away. And with just one word she said to me”

(FF2)

Some people value professionalism for the ability to find out what your weaknesses are, "beyond money".

“ OK, that's why I was talking about professionalism, because everything that you lose, a professional who helps you has to know how to give it to you. That you have that need and that makes you regain confidence and self-esteem. When someone gives you all that which you lack so much. Well, they have to know that part of their job is to know what your needs are, beyond money, and of course not to treat you badly”

(MS3)

We reiterate that this more complex imaginary, as expressed by people participating in FACIAM's programmes, does not minimise material and resource support.

“ When I say that you go round in circles and they don't come or don't do what you need and I say that it would be better for me just to have more information and to receive help than to be treated with a lot of affection and to be going round in circles...”

(FF1)

Interviewees first and foremost demand "meeting basic needs" and they particularly value this.

“Overnight stay, sleep, even if it's just for a day”

(MPV5)

“It helped me to solve my problems, like with medicines... I had a lot of support”

(FF1)

“I got to know this centre which is the one that helped me to do the paperwork for retirement and to come here to eat and to find a room to rent”

(ME2)

“Then I came here to XXXX and they have arranged my papers and now thanks to them I can work and be independent, thank God”

(MF2)

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However, when asked directly about what they consider to be the most important support or, in other words, what they consider to be the most important, they place themselves in the dimension of relational goods.

“Affection is everything, otherwise life has no meaning”

(MS3)

“Very good, they have accompanied me, they have made me feel supported, I have felt listened to, you know”

(FF)

“ Life is a surprise, I've been in bad health and I've had the great surprise that people I didn't even expect, like one of my colleagues, have helped me. I was in hospital and for me it was a hard experience, because nobody wants to be in hospital, but it has given me great surprises that my colleagues, people, people that I only knew that I hadn't really done anything for them and they have been there every day. They said to me, but how come you don't want to leave the hospital? In reality, nobody wants to be in hospital, but it has been very easy and pleasant because I have been with people and that...”

(FF1)

If there is one thing that people experiencing homelessness express, it is the need to articulate the various dimensions. That the logic of access, although vital and fundamental, is not a sufficient condition for the processes of inclusion and personal development. The meaning of life, affection, trust and links with other people are essential dimensions and priority objectives.

“ Money less. Material things less. If someone wants to help you, if someone wants to do something for you, of course money is important, and even if you were given the choice you would really take the money, but I appreciate much more having what you have never had because, of course, after all, you lose that social relationship with people with whom you have or who appreciate you, so you lose that. Because maybe I was on the street and I had money, but if I have missed anything it has been the affection”

(ME3)

6.3. The ambivalences of "peer groups"

In the focus groups, the relational bonding of the people who participate in these programmes with professionals and volunteers, with their friends and family, who are especially prominent with respect to relational goods, and "peer" relationships, in other words with other people who are also in a situation of homelessness, have been significantly emphasised. Although in all relational spheres there are some negative experiences that are reported as singular anecdotes within a positive normality.

“*My mother, I believed in her, I had high hopes but now really, she has been like a stranger to me. So I hope I don't have to see her anymore*”

(MF2)

“*I think that people who don't fit in with us, rather than giving them something, I would take away what causes them to be that way, of course, like a guy who is bitter and comes here and makes everyone bitter*”

(MS3) (about a professional)

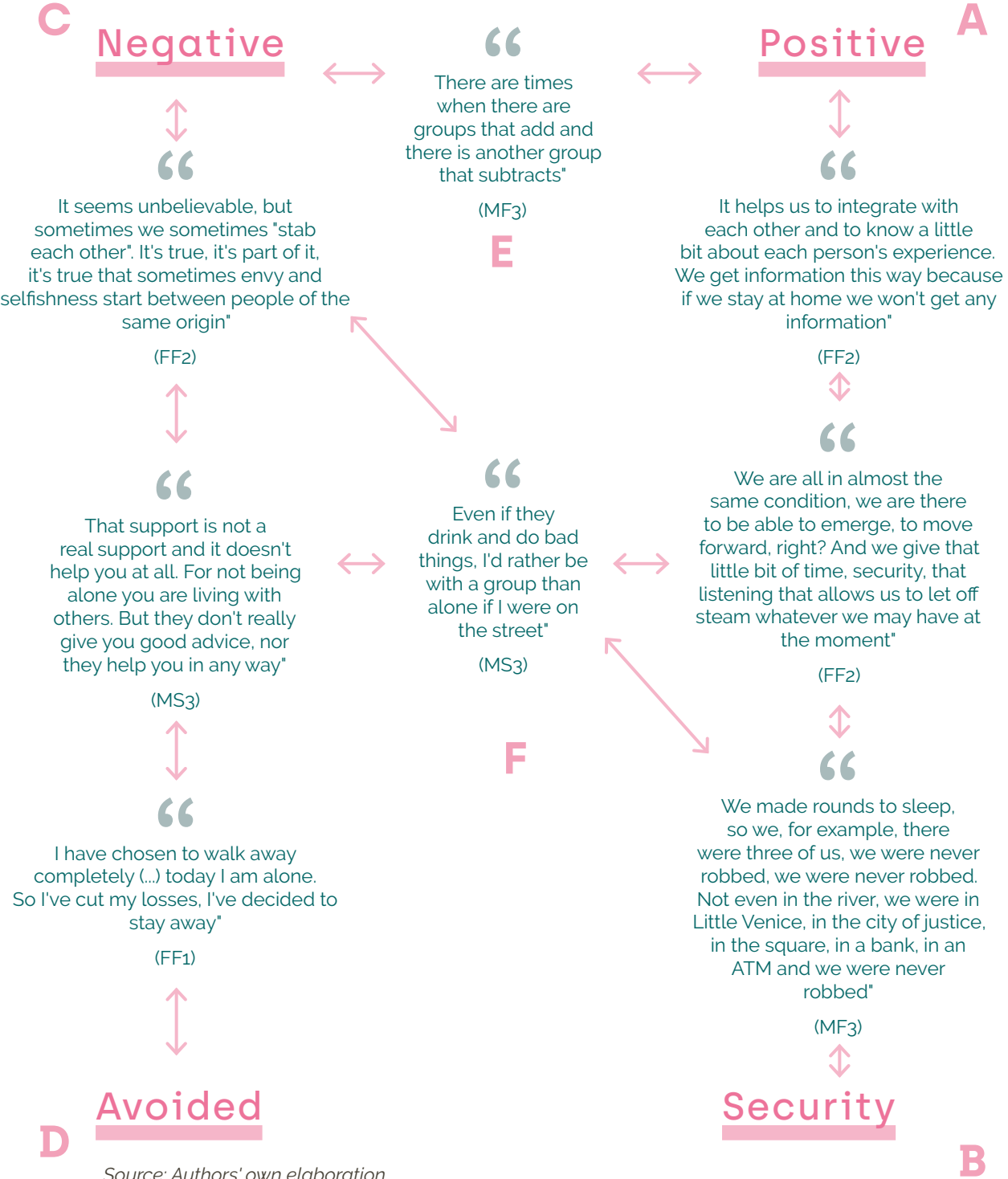
“*There is a person (volunteer) who I don't know what he is doing here. The only thing he does is to stir up trouble and insult*”

(MS4)

Sometimes, the experiences reported about families (despite being reported with a positive normality) are also complex, although in the groups they have been less frequent, with the exception of the situations of gender-based violence mentioned in the first section. However, the experiences of the peer group were very ambivalent and moreover, very frequent.

In summary, we can express peer dynamics with four interrelated poles (Graph 5) that move between positive contributions (A) and those of security (B) and between negative contributions (C) and those avoided (D), passing through intermediate situations (E, F).

Graph 5: Relational dynamics among peers



The peer group is presented as a fundamental support that provides existential security - "we were never robbed" -; trust and listening "to move forward" and group identity, knowing the "each person's experience". But at the same time, it is a scenario of negative "stabbing"¹⁸ from "envy and selfishness", therefore, we must tend to avoid these spaces, "cut my losses". Moreover, even if the spaces are negative, the situation is so tough that, turning the proverb around, it seems that it is better to be "in bad company than alone". The need for security and accompaniment is more important than the goodness of the people.

From the logic of social intervention, the key lies in discovering and promoting the groups that add to you, the E position on the graph, from those that subtract. Because it seems unquestionable that groups are basic in the positive relational aggregate of people in a situation of homelessness.

“ So they can pass me knowledge because someone has arrived before me or after me and vice versa. We give each other information. Look at this, this is what I have been able to get through this social centre and you are also in the same conditions because every migrant who arrives, well, we start...”

(FF2)

“ These groups helped me to overcome the depression I had because of everything I had lived and now I live difficult things, but I handle them in a better way.”

(FF1)

“ And I'm really very grateful and it's nice to meet people here where we all support each other”

(FF2)

¹⁸ And here in this group, my colleagues have given me advice, they have helped me a lot and I am very grateful to God and to be in this group".

“ For me (the street group) was like a big family at that time. So I say it like in all families, there are good and bad people who give you bad advice and those who don't give you good advice, right? And well and no, in the street it's directly the same, we have the good ones who advise you well and those who advise you badly, there are those who add to you and those who subtract from you. In the family it also happens, hey, not all the family is a little box of diamond crystal”

(MS3)

“ And here in this group, my colleagues have given me advice, they have helped me a lot and I am very grateful to God and to be in this group”

(FF4)

6.4. The professionals and the FACIAM volunteers

The people who belong to the organisations linked to FACIAM (professionals and volunteers) are a relevant source of SC and RGs for people experiencing homelessness: 31.1% of the social capital and 21% of the relational goods of the people surveyed come from the projects of these organisations.

A comparative analysis of the percentages of SC and RGs coming from FACIAM, according to different categories of analysis, reveals the existence of differences. Thus, it can be seen that a 31.7% of women's SC comes from FACIAM, while a 30.1% of men's SC comes from FACIAM. In other words, the projects developed by the entities become a slightly more relevant source of SC for women than for men.

In this way, we can identify the characteristics of those people for whom the SC and the RGs provided by FACIAM are more relevant:

- » Sex: women.
- » Age: 65 years and over.
- » Level of education: did not complete primary education.
- » Marital status: widowed.
- » ETHOS category: 1 and 2
- » Level of health: quite bad.
- » Dependency or serious illness: yes.
- » State of mind: very bad.

Table 54: Social capital and relational goods provided by FACIAM

	Social capital	Relational goods
Sex		
Male	30.1%	20.7%
Female	31.7%	21.7%
Age		
Between 18 and 29 years old	30.7%	20.2%
Between 30 and 44 years old	29.4%	19.4%
Between 45 and 64 years old	32.1%	22.3%
65 and over	32.3%	22.3%

Attained education		
Cannot read or write	No data ¹⁹	No data
Did not complete Primary Education	35.7%	26.1%
Did not complete Primary Education	29.9%	19.7%
Completed Compulsory Secondary Education	34.1%	23.4%
Completed Baccalaureate	28.6%	19%
Completed intermediate or higher level degree	30%	19.8%
Holds a university degree	32.1%	22.5%

Nationality		
Spanish	31%	22.3%
Other	31%	19.7%

Marital status		
Single	30.8%	20.8%
Legally married	31.8%	18%
Married by other rites	30.5%	15.9%
Common-law partner	25.9%	18.6%
Widowed	35.6%	24.1%
Separated	29.3%	19.6%
Divorced	33.1%	23.8%

ETHOS category		
ETHOS 1 or 2	32%	21.8%
ETHOS 3 or 4	24.7%	15.4%

¹⁹ The data obtained do not have a sufficient sampling base.

Health status		
Very bad	31.7%	24%
Quite bad	37.1%	25.6%
Poor	30.9%	20.7%
Quite good	29.3%	19.6%
Very good	31.5%	21%

Disability or serious illness		
Yes	32.2%	22.4%
No	30.2%	20%

Mood state		
Very bad	36.1%	25.7%
Bad	34.4%	23.1%
Poor	31.4%	21.1%
Good	28.8%	19.5%
Very good	31.1%	20.5%

Source: Authors' own elaboration

The development of this comparative analysis offers a profile that, in some way, reveals a commitment towards the most extreme vulnerability within the serious social exclusion that homelessness entails per se.

In the focus groups, the positive references to professionals and volunteers were constant and reiterated, with a few exceptions, as mentioned in the previous section. These positive references can be grouped around three concepts: professionalism, closeness and values (Graph 6).

Graph 6: Contributions of FACIAM professionals and volunteers



Source: Authors' own elaboration

The people who participate in FACIAM's programmes recognise the professionalism of the people in the Centres and projects.

In this sense, they recognise on the one hand their contribution in terms of social capital, which is very important for people, especially in extreme situations. In this regard, there are numerous references to issues related to access to goods, information and guidance:

“ Both (information and empathy), because I think I loved the way he said it and he told me why I didn't apply for the MLI”

(FFS2)

“ Personally, in the last year, if I were not here, I would be under a bridge. But I don't know, because I am who I am today. Without them, I would have no job, no studies, no legal papers, so I am very grateful to them”

(HE2)

“ In 2021 I received a support from many people, that was when I lost my job, after the vaccine I had a pulmonary thromboembolism. I lost my job and I never thought I would be in that situation. I was a prosperous, independent, forward-looking woman, and suddenly I found myself without health, without money, alone. Without them...”

(FF1)

“ It helped me to solve my problems, like with the medicines... I had a lot of support”

(FF1)

Moreover, they usually add some kind of adjective: "with heart", "exquisite". There is a qualitative contribution to their professional work that is highly valued and recognised. The warmth received, the respectful treatment or the mere fact that they are addressed by name:

“ *I value the respect with which we are treated*”

(FF1)

“ *With respect to listening? Yes, the difference between this Centre and others is like night and day*”

(FF2)

“ *The technical staff and volunteers are very kind*”

(FF1)

“ *The warmth from the first day I came here. Everyone remembered my name, everyone called me by my name. From the first moment I started at the door and went down and everyone asked me what my name was... It was incredible. That's what affection, warmth and unconditional help is all about because they are volunteers*”

(MS4)

“ *Yes, yes, that remains in the emotional part, it is very kind. You are depressed and you come in here and they always understand you. I mean, they are all professionals at heart*”

(FF1)

Secondly, closeness, in which most of the references are accumulated, which is expressed as warmth, continuous presence and from familiar metaphors ("like my mother"). This closeness is manifested in the time given, the listening and the personalisation:

“ *The social worker who has been with me has always had time to listen to me, even though, well, I have not had an appointment, but in my most difficult moment, she has never, never refused to listen to me*”

(FF2)

“ *I have lived with them for a long time and their availability and willingness is what I value most*”

(MF4)

“ *In other centres the work is more group-based, less individual, they are not so interested in you personally*”

(MS4)

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In fact, when you ask volunteers and workers why they think programme participants value them, they share their opinion:

“ *It would be thank you for the guidance, for the time*”

(MPV5)

“ *Thank you for listening to me and giving me access to your house*”

(MPV5)

“ I don't know exactly what it is, but I notice that there is a special connection, an understanding, a bonding. They even leave the resource and come back to see you and you remember them. It's true that it doesn't happen with everyone, but that bond of trust is within those sincere emotions that there's an involvement in their process”

(MPV5)

After family references (fathers, mothers, grandmothers and sisters), FACIAM professionals and volunteers occupy a very prominent place. The family metaphors "he/she is like family" (FF2) or that of friendship are continuous: "he/she is like a super-friend" (FF2).

From the point of view of social intervention, it is very important to take care of these links, which are the ones that foster possibilities for change. They are not a sufficient condition for a good process, but they are a necessary and distinctive condition for FACIAM. However, at the same time, a warning arises with regard to this closeness and it is the danger of professional paternalism that emerges from an uncared for and unaccompanied relationship. In working with people, the greatest virtues always come close to the greatest dangers.

Finally, it is worth mentioning the sphere of values. The participants consider the work done by FACIAM's volunteers and professionals to be a challenging testimony: "I take my hat off to them", they remain "in spite of the insults". The payment to the contempt, which shocks and questions, is the smile:

“ That's why I say that for me it's always something they really do, because it's their job, but very much out of devotion, for something they really like. You are completely averse to everything they tell you. Any one of us would have said to the other one, well look, fuck you.... And instead they go on and on and on and you fail them and the next day they pay you back with a smile. Even your best friend won't do that to you”

(MS3)

“ *In the centre I have learnt a lot of things and they have taught me to value life, my life*”

(FF4)

“ *Very good, they have, they have accompanied me, they have made me feel supported, I have felt listened to, you know*”

(FF1)

Therefore, one of the fundamental FACIAM factors is the referential capacity of its professionals and volunteers. Something that is perceived by FACIAM's agents themselves:

“ *I don't know exactly what it is, but I notice that there is a special connection, an understanding, a bonding. They even leave the resource and come back to see you and you remember them. It's true that it doesn't happen with everyone, but that bond is within those sincere emotions that there is an involvement in their process*”

(MF4)

“ *I have lived with them for a long time and their availability and willingness is what I value most*”

(FF2)

“ *The social worker is like a family*”

(FF2)

“ *Well, there is always that word, that is, that lifts you up, that sustains you, that gives you that little bit of impetus to continue*”

(MS3)

6.5. Losses, distances, relational and collective ruptures

In homelessness studies, the analysis of so-called **stressful life events** (SLEs) has occupied a prominent place in order to explain the cause of homelessness, in some cases; the psychosocial effects on the people who suffer from them and to indicate some strategies for social intervention (Muñoz et al., 2023). Among the SLEs, those related to losses stand out. Paradigmatically those of a parent, that of a daughter/son or complex couple break-ups.

In this research we have analysed these losses in relation to sc and RGs. In Table 55 we observe that more than an 80% of the people interviewed refer to significant losses in their lives.

Table 55. During your life, have you ever felt the loss (through death or separation) of someone who was particularly close to you?

Yes	82.2%
NO	17.8%

Source: Authors' own elaboration

In an average age group of 45 years, this figure may not be very significant. However, what is most relevant is that a 50.3% say that their current situation is directly related to their situation of homelessness. There are continuous references to the past in order to assess the current situation.

“ My father died a long time ago and I miss him because if my father had been by my side I wouldn't have gone through so many bad things”
(FF4)

“ My brother was a pure soul. He would have avoided...”
(FF2)

Table 56. Do you think that this loss is related to the process of socio-residential deterioration that you have experienced?

Yes	50.3%
NO	49.7%

Source: Authors' own elaboration

The majority of these significant persons (Table 57) are the mother or father (58.2%), followed far behind by partners and children. The figure of grandmothers, in the focus groups, is also very revealing.

“My grandmother came to me. The most important person in my life. She brought me up, gave me love, warmth. She was very open-minded. She has helped me more than material things, for me feelings are more important than money”

(FS4)

“My grandmother, unconditional love, affection, affection. Being with her, that, that's...”

(MS4)

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Table 57. What was your relationship with this person?

	%
Mother or father	58.2%
Couple or child	16.4%
Other relatives	13.1%
Friends and others	12.3%

Source: Authors' own elaboration

The main SC contribution (Table 58) is financial assistance, while information and links to help are almost 10 points lower. It should be noted that the majority of these significant people have not provided SC to people experiencing homelessness, as 52.7% have not helped financially or materially and around a 60% with information or contacts.

Table 58. Dimensions of social capital obtained from significant persons

	%
Financial or material assistance	47.3%
Information on where to get help	38.1%
Contacting people who can help you	39.0%

Source: Authors' own elaboration

Table 59 shows that most of the SC contribution is shared by mothers and fathers.

Table 59. Origin of social capital by significant persons

	Mother or father	Couple or child	Other relatives	Friends
Financial or material assistance	78.5%	50.0%	56.8%	No data
Information on where to get help	66.7%	35.0%	45.9%	No data
Contacting people who can help you	66.0%	37.5%	45.9%	No data

Source: Authors' own elaboration

With respect to the RGs (Table 60) we observe, in the opposite way to the SC, that the contributions are highly significant. Homeless people, in particular, lose RGs from significant persons who are no longer with them. Almost 80% shared affection, closeness; around a 75% were a reference in values and advice and, finally, a 66% gave them a relevant social identity.

Table 60. Dimensions of relational goods obtained from significant persons

	%
Companionship, affection, conversation...	79.9%
Values, advice for a good living	74.8%
Being part of a group	66.1%

Source: Authors' own elaboration

Although paternal and maternal figures continue to be the most relevant, in the RGs the origin is very balanced between the role of the various relationships. There is a greater plurality in the origin, although it is also more complex to replace them, which is less evident in the SC.

Table 61. Origin of relational goods by significant persons

	Mother or father	Couple or child	Other relatives	Friends
Companionship, affection, conversation...	93.8%	92.5%	97.3%	92.9%
Values, advice for a good living	94.4%	80.0%	89.2%	71.4%
Being part of a group	87.5%	72.5%	81.1%	78.6%

Source: Authors' own elaboration

In the focus groups, references to the loss of significant people have been repeated, constant and pronounced, always with a high emotional charge close to crying on many occasions, as in most studies on SLEs. What is relevant has been how the losses have been articulated in a complex web of perceptions, personal and collective experiences and very complex "traumatic" emotions (Graph 7). Undoubtedly, the deaths of significant people, especially family members, as we have pointed out, are a widely shared experience. These losses, sometimes, are very numerous and affect many people in the same family. As mentioned above, these deaths are interpreted as a direct cause of homelessness.

There are also references to relationship breakdowns of various kinds: with family, friends and acquaintances because "everyone disappears" (FS1). These ruptures are a source of motivation and resilience when they are successfully compensated:

“ Because it got to a point where I didn't think about myself any more either. Nobody loves me, nobody knows about me (...) but for example I saw my brother recently and we hugged and it made me... I haven't spoken to him for 5 years”
(MS3)

Graph 7. Losses, distance and ruptures

“

Look, I've had terrible losses. I lost my mother from cancer and my father, also from cancer. One of my brothers. He was always supporting me. Terrible and another brother with the losses committed suicide"

(FF1)

“

My grandmother, unconditional love, affection, affection. To be with her, that's what it is"

(MS4)

“

I miss a friend. He was like my brother... His loyalty, sincerity, he was there, always, you know"

(MS3)

“

And my family, my parents died and the family bond broke"

(MS2)

“

In my country there is war and many people have died in my village. Seeing people dead and you can't help them. It doesn't go away, you will always think about it as long as you live"

(FF2)

“

Well, yes, of course I didn't have any affection from anyone. I felt very lonely, you know"

(MS3)

“

You are broke and everyone disappears. There are no more friends, acquaintances"

(FS1)

“

The family, which is far away, in my country. And one thing I'll tell you: the pets. It seems silly, but they bring up a lot of feelings"

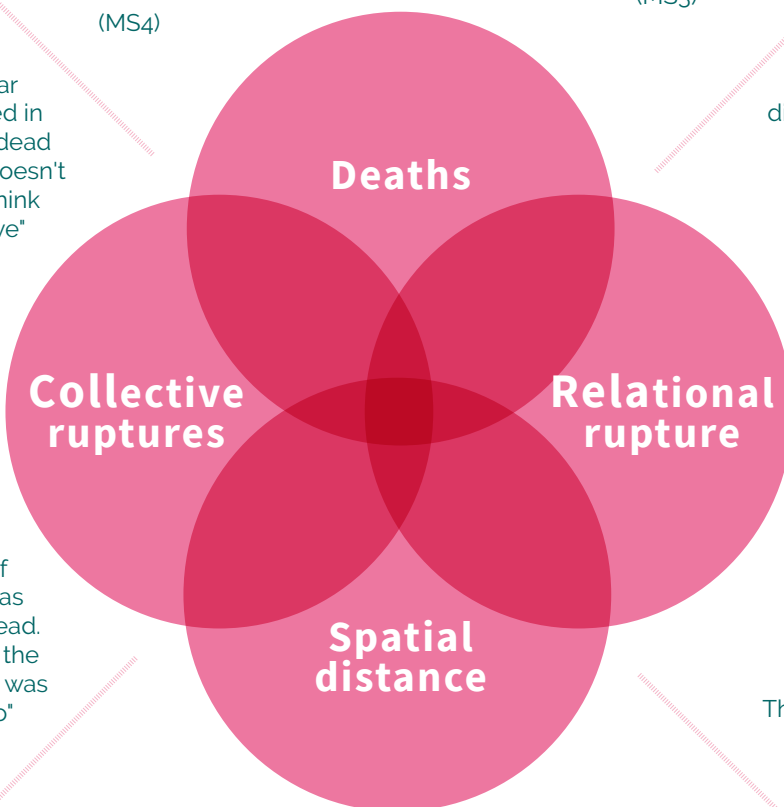
(MF3)

“

One has family back home, I mean, we can talk to our relatives, but we are not going to tell them, we don't tell them. They are far away..."

(FF2)

Source: Authors' own elaboration



In recent years, the socio-demographic profile of people experiencing homelessness in Spain has varied considerably. In the sample of this research, more than the 60% are of foreign origin and the INE puts the number of people of foreign origin in a situation of homelessness at around the 50% mark. This reality intensifies the value of losses due to spatial distance (Graph 7). These are people who are alive and even in relation to them, but distance does not allow them to be a support and a reference. What is more, on many occasions we find that I cannot, or do not want to, share the situation I am going through so as not to worry them,

“ *we are not going to tell them, we are not going to tell them. They are far away...*”

(FF2)

Several participants, when asked about losses, asked: "but do they have to be dead, or are people who are far away OK?"

The losses due to spatial, and therefore relational, distance are particularly vivid because the "wound" is constantly nourished. This "wound" is an essential factor for social intervention, as one of the participants in the group of professionals and volunteers says:

“ *What I talk to them about, above all the migratory mourning. The fact that they had to come here, leaving their family, not knowing anyone, not knowing where their social identity is, even, that is, in the end they are, well, literally naked*”

(MPV5)

“ *Literally naked relationally speaking, which is often experienced as a real trauma: "needs of a different, more emotional type, more of what the colleague was talking about, as a result of the trauma they have suffered. In some cases, they talk to you about needs, about reconnecting with their family, and these are things that go a bit further"*

(MPV5)

Por último, es muy relevante tomar en cuenta otro ámbito de las pérdidas. Finalmente, es muy importante tener en cuenta otra área de pérdida que hemos llamado rupturas colectivas (gráfico 7). Estas tienen que ver con el horror de la guerra y la violencia estructural. No son solo rostros reconocibles, sino también vecinos desconocidos que están "muertos en las calles" (FF2). Tal experiencia nunca será olvidada y "estará siempre allí mientras yo viva" (FF2). Sin duda, estas son expresiones de lo que se llama estrés post-traumático que acompaña a muchos refugiados y que requiere, o debería requerir, especial atención en los procesos de intervención social. Los agentes de FACIAM reconocen esto:

“ *They come with a lot of accumulated trauma* ”
(MPV5)

Las pérdidas, SLEs, son un factor decisivo al analizar el agregado relacional de personas que experimentan falta de hogar, pero al mismo tiempo, deben ser un eje a tener en cuenta en los procesos de intervención. En algunos casos, desde la intervención psicológica especializada, en otros, desde grupos de autoayuda o grupos de origen en los que puedan compartir experiencias de reconstrucción.



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Conclusions

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More than half (54.1%) of the people experiencing homelessness have low or very low **social capital**; the 38.6% have medium social capital and only the 7.3% have high or very high social capital (see Table 17). The average social capital for the people surveyed is of 13.4 points out of a possible maximum of 35.6. This is due to the fact that people experiencing homelessness have often lost a significant part of their social relationships and, even in cases where these relationships occur with some frequency (with family, friends or neighbours), they tend to occur among people in similar situations, which significantly limits access to goods or resources that could significantly improve their economic situation.

In terms of social capital, relative economic position is crucial, so much of this capital comes from those in a clearly superior position: the professionals and volunteers of the projects in which they participate. Thus, more than half of the surveyed people's social capital comes from their relationship with professionals and volunteers (a 31.1% from FACIAM and a 21.9% from other projects)²⁰. This is followed by friends (18.8%) and family (15.4%). The

²⁰ As we said in note 13: "it is understood that these aids do not come from the personal resources of professionals and volunteers, but are institutional aids (in accordance with the functioning of the entities and projects) through which these relationships take place".

contribution of the neighbourhood, work colleagues (when there are any) or people from the religious centre in which they participate is not very significant in this sense. The qualitative analysis corroborates the quantitative approach, as most of the accounts of social capital revolve around the resources of FACIAM or other social resources and, in second place, around the support of family and friends (see Table 18).

Within the contributions of the different professionals and volunteers, it is worth noting that those linked to FACIAM entities make a greater contribution to the different areas of social capital than professionals from other entities (see Table 19).

In relation to relational goods, it can be seen that a 61.4% of the people surveyed have low or very low relational goods, a 32.8% have a medium level and only a 5.8% have high or very high relational goods (see Table 35). The average is of a 9.2 out of a maximum of 21.1. Despite the relational weaknesses mentioned in the section on social capital, when considering relational goods, we find significant differences, since factors such as affection, values or identity are not directly related to socio-economic position, which makes it possible to obtain proportionally higher scores in relational goods than in social capital.

Of these, the 24.1% come from family relationships and the 23.8% from friendships. Next, FACIAM professionals and volunteers contribute with a 21%, followed by other projects (14.2%) and the religious sphere (8.9%). The contribution of the neighbourhood and work colleagues (if any) is also insignificant in this respect (see Table 36).

Similarly to what happened with the SC, the contributions to the components of the RGs of the different professionals and volunteers linked to FACIAM entities are significantly higher than those made by professionals from other entities (see Table 37).

A 31.7% of women's SC comes from FACIAM, while for men it is a 30.1%. In other words, the projects developed by the entities become a slightly more relevant source of SC for women than for men. These differences occur in other categories and analyses and reveal a profile for which the SC and RGs provided by FACIAM are particularly relevant:

- » Sex: women.
- » Age: 65 years and over.
- » Level of education: did not complete primary education.
- » Marital status: widowed.
- » ETHOS category: 1 and 2
- » Level of health: quite bad.
- » Dependency or serious illness: yes.
- » State of mind: very bad.

Participants in FACIAM's programmes highlight the professionalism, closeness and values of the professionals and volunteers of these entities. They recognise the importance of the support received in terms of access to goods, information and guidance, which has been crucial in extreme situations, but positive references to the professionals and volunteers and their way of working and their daily dealings are constant. There is a qualitative contribution to the professional work that is highly valued and recognised. From the point of view of social intervention, it is very important to take care of these links, which are the ones that foster possibilities for change. They are not a sufficient condition for a good process, but they are a necessary and distinctive condition for FACIAM. For this reason, after family references (fathers, mothers, grandmothers and sisters), FACIAM's professionals and volunteers occupy a very important place.

Finally, it is worth highlighting the fact that more than an 80% of the people interviewed refer to significant losses in their lives (Table 55). But it is even more remarkable that a 50.3% say that their current situation is directly related to these losses, which have been articulated in a complex web of perceptions, personal and collective experiences and very complex "traumatic" emotions (Graph 7). Undoubtedly, the deaths of significant people, especially family members as we have pointed out, are a widely shared experience.

The relational dimension is configured as a space of vulnerability for people experiencing homelessness; situations of loneliness and lack of social support, the loss of important people, the existence of distance due to migratory processes... interfere directly in their reality of social exclusion; but they are also seen as an opportunity in terms of specific support and motivation for change. Issues such as affection, values and a sense of belonging are consolidated as effective and efficient resources that do not detract resources from the material help offered and yet significantly enhance it.

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Findings

All these questions must be taken into account in the process of social intervention, both to gauge the suitability and sufficiency of the social capital provided, as well as the relational quality of FACIAM's distinctive intervention. To this end, we have compiled a series of findings that can serve as a starting point prior to reflection and the construction of intervention proposals.

Finding 1

Through participation in FACIAM's projects and resources, people obtain a 12% of their material help, a 12% of their information and a 7.1% of their influence. They receive less of these same resources from professionals and volunteers from other projects. In other words, the network of organisations specialised in working with homeless people provides a greater amount of social capital than public social services or organisations specialised in caring for migrants.

Finding 2

A 24.1% of their RGs come from their family relationships and a 23.8% from their friends. Next, FACIAM professionals and volunteers contribute the most (a 21%). The relational factor must be taken into account in social intervention programmes given its influence in many processes.

Finding 3

In social intervention we seem to live in the eternal return of Maslow's famous pyramid. People experiencing homelessness, despite having "unmet" social needs, have a higher level of religious beliefs and practices than the general population who do have their needs met to a greater extent.

Finding 4

The access to social capital (material support and resources, information and influence) and the rootedness of relational goods (socio-emotional and sentimental) are recursive logics that could not occur one without the other. They should grow in an articulated way in order to enable personal and collective social transformation processes.

Finding 5

The people who make up the linked entities are a relevant source of SC and RGs for people in situations of homelessness, especially in extreme situations. From the point of view of social intervention, it is very important to take care of these links, as they are the ones that promote possibilities for change. They are not a sufficient condition for a good process, but they are a necessary condition. A warning regarding this closeness is the danger of professional paternalism that arises from an uncared for and unaccompanied relationship.

Finding 6

The logics of access, although vital and fundamental, are not a sufficient condition for the processes of inclusion and personal development. The meaning of life, warmth, trust, and the connection to other people are essential dimensions and priority objectives.

Finding 7

Respect and trust are key dimensions and take on a very dense meaning in the processes of social intervention. A productive relationship is not possible for intervention processes without a deep respect and trust built up throughout the process.

Finding 8

In the logic of social intervention, the key is to discover and promote the groups that provide assets to the processes of inclusion. Because there is no doubt that groups are fundamental in the positive relational aggregate of people experiencing homelessness.

Finding 9

Losses due to spatial and therefore relational distance are particularly vivid because the "wound" is constantly being nourished. This "wound" is an essential factor for social intervention.

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Finding 10

It is very important to take into account another sphere of losses that we have called collective ruptures. These have to do with the horror of war and structural violence. They are expressions of the so-called post-traumatic stress that accompanies many refugees and which acquire, or should acquire, special attention in the processes of social intervention. All these issues must be taken into account in the process of social intervention, both in order to gauge the appropriateness and sufficiency of the social capital provided, as well as in the quality of FACIAM's distinctive treatment.



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Recommendations for further discussion

Following the elaboration of the report, and still with an exploratory character, we make a first proposal of in-depth study lines that should - thanks to the subsequent work of the FACIAM members - become concrete proposals and recommendations to be developed. For the moment, they serve only as guidelines to initiate a necessary process of reflection.

Recommendation 1

The group dimension appears on very few occasions throughout the narrative that has been built up in the different focus groups. It is an area that, from the point of view of projects and social intervention, seems to have little visibility. This occurs both with the group dimension "among peers" (with people with similar life circumstances) and "among different people" (these relationships being the bearers of the greatest potential social capital).

It is not possible to talk about inclusion processes without a "linking first" that is capable of working on the bonding among equals (bonding link) with a therapeutic and socio-emotional approach and, on the other hand, the bonding with other groups in differentiated spaces (bridging link).

To think of inclusion only in terms of SC factors, for example, access to work, is to promote a process without the substance of rootedness. This is certainly not a new approach, but under the current conditions it is an essential requirement.

Recommendation 2

There are hardly any references to participation in the management of the centres/projects. Somehow, this issue has been incorporated into the agents' discourse (more so in professionals than in volunteers) to a much greater extent than in the day-to-day practice of the entities.

Social research has highlighted the positive impact of participation in the management and design of social programmes for homeless people (Jordi, 2011, 2018; Rutenfrans-Stupar, 2019). Both in the therapeutic aspect for people experiencing homelessness as well as in improving the impact of projects and services, participation is essential. Moreover, participation in projects can be a channel for the construction of the political subjectivisation of people in exclusion (Mora, 2020).

The issues of social identity, which are so relevant in the social field at present, have been little studied in the field of homelessness. And this dimension could be a field to reinforce or recreate in FACIAM's organisations. In this sense, scales of participation can be proposed for people in exclusion based on contrasted models, as developed in "Voces insólitas" (Mora, 2020).

Recommendation 3

The perspective adopted in the process of social intervention should certainly be holistic, avoiding fragmenting people into mere "components" or independent dimensions, because all of them are always related. However, through this (and other studies) it is clear that there are dimensions that need constant specialised intervention.

Especially the situations of 'migrant bereavement', 'post-traumatic stress', 'gender-based violence', 'mental health' and 'addictions'. The challenge is to attend to these dimensions, with the required professional rigour, without constituting a divided person. In other words, how to build a plural service for people and not a plurality of services for people's specificities.

The existing tendencies to divide services according to people's profiles quickly expire in time due to the complexity and acceleration of social

trends; but, on the other hand, closing one's eyes to specificities is inefficient in practice and ethically irresponsible.

Recommendation 4

In the identity discourse there is a firm commitment to the intangible, to relational goods. However, there is often a glimpse of a model that sometimes prioritises attention to needs in the style of Maslow's pyramid. It is important to remember that FACIAM agents generally provide a higher proportion of SC than RGs; however, the levels of RGs in the people who attend FACIAM projects are worse than those of SC.

When we live from projects 'on an emergency footing' (Garcia Roca), it is easy to fall into the logic of services and resources. The imaginary of a before and after, based on people's situation, can block more comprehensive processes in which we measure our impact based solely on access to SC.

In this sense, the previous proposals for group work (bounding/ bridging) and the commitment to participation in organisations can be important catalysts for inclusion processes based on the recreation of RGs. It is essential that people, from the beginning, have a certain degree of protagonism.

Recommendation 5

On occasions, the attitude of some agents (both professionals and volunteers) is valued particularly positively. This assessment is based fundamentally on attitudes (quality of treatment, recognition, knowing by name, a certain unconditionality...). These elements are very positive in terms of bonding (participant-agent) and also in terms of motivation (safe space). It is considered important to strengthen these relationship models by making them characteristic of the whole entity and not only of one agent in question.

Undoubtedly, as we have mentioned in the research, the link between people experiencing homelessness and agents, professionals and volunteers, of the organisations is highly valued. There is even a certain idealisation of such relationships in some cases.

The challenge is that these experiences are not only concentrated on specific individuals, but that there is a climate or culture of "good treatment". There is no relationship and bonding without concrete faces, but it is important that it does not stop there.

The attitudes mentioned in the previous paragraph are sometimes a resource themselves. Relational goods are not the elements that are verbalised or demanded in the first place; it is usual that the initial approach is produced by the need for some component of Social Capital; however, they are catalysts of relationships and of the recovery processes

themselves. In fact, when they are not there, they are expressly demanded (their presence does not always add, but their absence subtracts).

This is a key factor and a reference, in our opinion, of FACIAM: the relational goods are never a sufficient condition, but they are always a necessary condition. Only with socio-emotional goods labour insertion processes are not achieved, but without them they are more difficult to achieve and less permanent over time.

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ANNEX I: Fieldwork

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A. Quantitative methodology: Survey

A questionnaire was designed ad hoc and administered to users of different resources implemented by entities belonging to the FACIAM network. The questionnaire consisted of a total of 54 questions grouped into eight blocks:

- » BLOCK A. Identification variables (4 questions).
- » BLOCK B. Sampling variables (4 questions).
- » BLOCK C. Other socio-demographic variables (4 questions).
- » BLOCK D. Education and studies (2 questions).
- » BLOCK E. Employment (3 questions).
- » BLOCK F. Health (13 questions).
- » BLOCK G. Housing (2 questions).
- » BLOCK H. Relationships (22 questions).

The sampling design has been developed by convenience, establishing quotas derived from the application of the following variables:

- » Operational definition of homelessness: homelessness (ETHOS 1 and 2) and residential exclusion (ETHOS 3 and 4).
- » Sex: male/female.
- » Origin: foreign/non-foreign.
- » Age.

The questionnaire was administered in person at the resources/devices of the entities.

A total of 573 questionnaires were collected with the participation of 25 resources/devices of the FACIAM Network. The territorial distribution was as follows:

Table 62: Territorial distribution of fieldwork. Survey

Province	No. of surveys carried out	%
Madrid	276	48.2
Barcelona	133	23.2
Zaragoza	25	4.4
Asturias	58	10.1
Burgos	23	4.0
Valencia	27	4.7
Cantabria	31	5.4

Source: Authors' own elaboration

B. Qualitative Methodology: Discussion Groups

Four discussion groups have been held with more than 30 participants from different projects:

- » 1 women's group in Barcelona.
- » 1 group of Spanish men and women in Zaragoza.
- » 2 groups with a varied profile in Santander and Valencia.

The qualitative sampling was guided by criteria of socio-structural representativeness, being non-probabilistic, intentional and theoretical.

The contents addressed in the groups were as follows:

- » What is basic and essential in a personal relationship?
- » What can a personal relationship bring?
- » People who have given you positive advice for your life.
- » Does being part of a group help you in your life?
- » And who has facilitated issues such as affection, security, values, way of facing life...?
- » Most relevant help received: financial, information about places and projects where you could get some kind of help or the name of people who could help. Who has provided this help?
- » Significant life losses.
- » What does "this particular project" bring... in terms of material help, in terms of information, in terms of connecting you with other people/professionals/groups, in terms of values and affection and security?
- » What do you value the most about being in this centre/project? Differences with other centres or projects.
- » People with whom they have had a significant relationship.

In addition, 1 group of 8 professionals and volunteers from the projects was held in Madrid. The contents addressed in the groups were as follows:

- » What do the people assisted demand?
- » What is given to them?
- » What do they really need?
- » What do they value the most?
- » Needs not covered by the project.
- » Beyond the material aspect, do you detect other needs among the participants?

- » How do they live their relationship with the participants?
- » Do they provide something non-material in their daily work?
- » Do they miss something they could do?
- » What do they think has led to a very good relationship with some of the users?
- » How are their team/institution relations and do they affect in any way the relationship with the users?

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ANNEX II: Theoretical framework and measurement model

11.1. Social capital and relational goods

In general terms, **the capital** is understood as the factor that, in collaboration with others (mainly labour), is used for the production of goods. In other words, produced goods which, in turn, serve to create new goods. If social relations are understood as goods capable of conceiving other goods, we could assume that, indeed, **the social has a productive character capable of generating capital**. However, this would mean assuming an important risk: **reducing all that is relational to elements of production**. This would entail a biased and clearly incomplete view, as it would ignore those elements that are generated in relational dynamics and are not convertible into economic units. Elements such as affection, the construction of group

identity, a sense of life or belonging are goods generated and shared within social relations, but converting them into capital would mean emptying them of meaning, as it would mean limiting their capacity to satisfy other types of fundamental needs for all human beings, regardless of the time and place in which they find themselves.

Only some of these goods, based on social relations, constitute capital in the strict sense, as they are fundamental when it comes to explaining the activation of upward **mobility processes** in which they play a clearly recognisable role. That is to say, if we are talking about relationships (stable, trusting, and where there is a certain level of reciprocity) such as to receive privileged information, economic help or similar support from them, they can be referred to as carriers of social capital. Other elements also linked to social relations will not be considered as such: the term **relational goods** should be used rather than social capital.

These goods have a high potential in terms of combating exclusion or satisfying human needs, but they are not equivalent to what we can consider as capital. This decision is based on the need for a prior process of transformation of these goods. While the components into which social capital has been broken down are immediately available for their use (exploitation), the so-called **relational goods** require prior re-elaboration and a process of "fermentation" which leads us to consider them as intermediate goods²¹. In a schematic way we can make the following differentiation:

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Chart 1: Social capital y Relational goods

Social capital	Relational goods
Material help	Socio-emotional goods (affection and security)
Information	Worldview / Values
Influence and access to other relationships	Self-view / Identity

Source: Authors' own elaboration.

Thus, **social capital** is the aggregate of material goods, information, influence and network of contacts that members of a group make

21 As an example, we can say that an adequate level of self-esteem (which we could consider a relational good resulting from stimulating relationships that recognise a person's abilities) enables us to be more competitive in the labour market; however, taking advantage of this resource requires other complementary ones and a certain "manufacturing" before it becomes access to a job (and therefore a good that can be capitalised immediately).

available to the rest of the members. For this capital to be accessible, a series of conditions must be met within the group. Only then will this capital circulate, so that dynamics of social mobility can be established. **Relational goods**, on the other hand, are the aggregate of socio-emotional goods (affection and security), frames of reference and vital meaning (values and identity).

Below, each of the elements included in these categories is developed in order to deepen the understanding of the proposal:

- » **Material assistance (material goods or services):** this is the case of direct financial assistance or in-kind assistance, care from family members that enables work-life balance, or any other type of assistance or favour that occurs within strong relationships (immediate family members, friends, etc.) and that is easily converted into economic capital. After the Great Recession and the crisis generated by the COVID-19 pandemic, there are multiple examples of the crucial role that primary solidarity networks play for many people. In the case of people experiencing homelessness, material support related to food, housing, clothing, etc. would be included in this category.
- » **Information:** the access to privileged information at certain times represents an opportunity to access economic capital. This refers to information whose availability is limited to the general population (or to specific population groups); that is, access to it is achieved exclusively through those who have it (job announcements, scholarships, investments, assistance services, etc.).
- » **Influence and access to other relationships:** the third constitutive element of social capital has to do with those relationships that are the gateway to new social networks (and therefore to new sources of material assistance and information), either by getting a third party to perform the required favour, or by facilitating incorporation into new networks.
- » **Socio-emotional goods (affection and security):** this is one of the most defining contributions of strong relationships, such as those of family or friends, and sometimes also professionals and volunteers in projects. It responds to one of the fundamental needs of every human being. Obviously, they can have a direct relationship with other capitals²², but they are not considered to be part of social capital.
- » **Reference frames and vital meaning:** it is through social relationships that our vision of the world and of ourselves is formed. Elements such as values, beliefs, personal convictions, perception of others and of oneself, identity, motivation and resilience... are built and nourished in the relational world. They are also crucial when it comes to developing certain potentialities²³ but they are not considered constitutive of social capital, even though some of these elements are understood

22 If, for example, we consider that affection generates self-esteem, this is a key element in the job performance of every person.

23 This is revealed by García Roca (1998), Laparra and Pérez (2008), Sen (2000) among others.

as another type of capital (symbolic) by some authors. This is the case of Bourdieu (1997) who refers to it as "any property (any type of capital, physical, economic, cultural, social) when it is perceived by social agents whose categories of perception are of such a nature that they allow them to know it (distinguish it) and recognise it, and confer some value on it". For his part, Díaz-Salazar (1998), and unlike what Bourdieu proposed, refers not only to social values but to a series of identity traits that provide subjects with knowledge, judgment, opinion and resilience.

Despite the nuance, as has been pointed out, it is not considered capital or, at least, social capital, so, for the purpose of reflection, they would not be added to the components mentioned: material assistance, information and influence and network of contacts.

According to what has been seen so far, in the case of wanting to carry out the measurement exercise, one must ask about the quantity and quality of goods that can be available for belonging to a specific group. This is close to the proposal of social capital developed by Bourdieu (1985), for whom, this is the aggregate of real or potential resources linked to the possession of a durable, more or less institutionalised network, in which there is knowledge and mutual recognition of the rest of the members of the group. Obviously, a group will have more capital available, to the extent that the members that comprise it have a greater amount of capital (more economic goods with which to help the rest of the members of the group, a greater amount of privileged information and a broader network of contacts). In other words, the social capital available to a person will depend on the groups to which he or she belongs (and the capital possessed by its members, that is, more or less goods, of higher or lower quality, etc.).

Methodologically, to speak of social capital as an agglutinating concept implies presupposing that the different types of social capital can be summed up in an aggregate whole to which each social relationship contributes equivalent measurable elements. This is not possible, and it is not possible because - although the metaphor is not questionable - we are actually talking about different elements which cannot be compared, nor, even less so, aggregated. The three constituent elements of our social capital proposal (goods, information, influence and network of contacts) are convertible (in economic terms) and can be aggregated as homogeneous units. The rest of the relational aspects, on the other hand, are not.

Although it is still complicated to carry out a measurement exercise, intuitively, it is feasible to think of these three components as elements of a similar nature. On the other hand, how can we add to these elements the affection received at home, the feeling of belonging to a particular group or the number of associations that exist in a particular territory? Trying to add elements of such a different nature pushes us directly to the precipice announced by Fishman (2008), for whom **the aggregation exercise generates an inconsistent and less explanatory indicator than the analysis of the aggregate components**. Therefore, social capital would be reduced to a mere headline, a provocative statement that is impossible to

explain and incapable of explanation. On the contrary, a proposal that is more limited in number of elements is more ambitious in descriptive terms.

11.2. Social capital and mobility

If we go deeper into the development of the proposal set out in Chart 1, the following chart can be used to understand some aspects of the relationships in terms of their mobilising potential²⁴.

Chart 2: Social relations and mobility

	Downward mobility	Stagnation	Upward mobility
Relational strength	Disaffiliation or Toxic Affiliation	Weak	Strong / Weak
Relational diversity	Non-existent- Harmful	Very homogeneous	Heterogeneous
Relational dynamics	Inhibitory	Not very active	Highly Active

Source: Authors' own elaboration

According to the proposed typology, there are three aspects of social relations (strength, diversity and dynamics) that generate differentiated contextual categories in terms of social mobility (downward, upward and stagnation).

Those contexts configured by relational networks and environments in which the absence of ties or the existence of affiliations that could be called toxic predominate are generators of **downward mobility**. This is the case of people who are isolated or who live in contexts in which there are behaviours that generate social rejection or stigmatisation (violence, abuse, alcoholism, drug addiction, etc.).

On the other hand, the contexts of **stagnation** are characterised by weak peer networks. These networks are not very active and have limited resources, so that, in general, they are not networks that generate downward

²⁴ Obviamente, las características de las relaciones que se dan en un contexto concreto no son los únicos elementos explicativos de la movilidad social potencial que se da en su seno. Other elementos no vinculados a lo relacional (por ejemplo, los recursos disponibles) juegan un papel clave en este sentido.

mobility processes, but neither do they have sufficient potential to propel their members to higher social positions. It could be said, therefore, that these relational contexts Betweenennch people in their original position in an immobile way.

Finally, the **upward mobility** social environments have heterogeneous relationships, rich in available resources, and very active.

According to the establishment of these three environments (according to the characteristics of the relationships within them), we find a new categorisation: the one that differentiates the social capital from the relational goods in each of the three contexts mentioned above.

Chart 3: Social capital, relational goods and social mobility

		Downward mobility	Stagnation	Upward mobility
Social capital	Material support	Nonexistent	Occasional - not significant	Stable - Significant
	Information	Disinformation	Autotrophic	Herterotrophic
	Influence	Atrophy	Low potential	High potential
Relational goods	Affect	Isolation or Conflict	Affective precariousness	Affective stability
	Values	Lack of meaning	Weak meanings	Strong convictions
	Identity	Non-belonging	Fragile belonging	Strong belonging

Source: Authors' own elaboration

Therefore, in **downward mobility** environments, the material support that can be accessed is practically non-existent, as is access to relevant information (understood as opportunity). The capacity of influence of these networks is not very significant and they are contexts characterised by a weak motivational structure and negative attitudes; by pessimism and fatalism. The shared identity traits generated within these networks are clearly depressing. In short, they are relational environments that generate downward spirals, which annihilate both the individual's capacity for resilience and his or her motivation for change and trust in others.

In contexts of **stagnation**, each individual only manages the resources that he/she possesses or can generate. Within them, there are relationships of affection and social support understood (now yes) in a broad sense, but

they are not contexts that generate new opportunities, or with the capacity to open new "doors" to other worlds (of meanings, senses, motivations or influences). The traits of belonging are shared, but they do not differentiate the individual from the majority, so that the individual has the feeling of being part of a depersonalised and insignificant whole.

Finally, those spaces considered to be **upward mobilising** provide continuous affective and material social support when this is needed, generating a sense of stability and confidence for the future. They also provide their members with information and influence that they would not be able to obtain on their own. They provide strong identity traits, requiring rituals and symbolism to express the incorporation of each new member. They have shared rules and even their own ideology. The mere fact of belonging to these spaces generates identity and gives meaning. For the most part, reference is made to strong relationships of trust and reciprocity.

Even so, it is important to mention that, on occasions, there are weak relationships which, without requiring the aforementioned access rituals, can play a key role in the generation of upward mobility processes; these are the weak ties which authors such as Granovetter (1973) highlight as being particularly positive. Although it is true that networks are not made up of "strangers" (Wellman, 1991), a diffuse and extensive network of contacts can, at certain times, provide relevant information and can even be a source of influence (although this occurs to a lesser extent, as knowledge and trust in the other person is required to provide them with the capacity to influence in their favour).

These weak relationships can have a great mobilising potential as they can be windows to other worlds (of information, vital meaning...) and can - to borrow Putnam's (1995)²⁵ expression - serve to build bridges that facilitate access to otherwise inaccessible goods. In any case, usually, the immediate potential of strong ties is obviously superior.

Not all contexts (both in a narrow sense and in terms of community or territory) are equally facilitating of social mobility dynamics. Thus, we can distinguish three specific types:

²⁵ Putnam differentiates between Bonding and Bridging Social Capital.

Chart 4: Social capital catalytic, neutral and inhibitory contexts

	Catalytic context	Neutral context	Inhibitory context
Institutionalisation	<i>Defined structure</i> <i>Existence of rituals</i>	<i>Diffuse structure</i> <i>Occasional rituals</i>	<i>Non-existent structure</i> <i>Absence of rituals</i>
Rules	<i>Known</i>	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>Anomie</i>
Sanctions	<i>Robusts</i>	<i>Tenuous</i>	
Trust	<i>High</i>	<i>Low</i>	<i>DesTrust</i>
Reciprocity	<i>High</i>	<i>Occasional</i>	<i>Nonexistent</i>
Commitment	<i>Members and their contacts</i>	<i>Discriminate</i>	
Belonging	<i>Binding</i>	<i>Non-binding</i>	<i>Non-bBelonging</i>
Identity	<i>Strong</i>	<i>Weak</i>	<i>Uprootedness or Contra Identity</i>

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Source: Authors' own elaboration

As mentioned above, context refers to the social space in which social relations take place. That is, we are talking about the groups and clubs referred to by Bourdieu, as well as the communities, neighbourhoods and countries studied by Putnam in his work.

All of them are contexts which, depending on their specific characteristics and dynamics, will facilitate or inhibit the generation of social capital. Thus, the social capital **catalytic contexts** are characterised by structured processes of institutionalisation in which there are internal operating rules that are defined and known by all. Sometimes, membership (always binding and identity-generating) is achieved through rituals that demonstrate the group's or community's agreement to a new person joining. They have clear rules that are difficult to break, with corresponding sanctions for non-compliance. The levels of trust, reciprocity and commitment are high towards the members and also, by extension, towards those for whom the members request it, so that their credibility is subsidiary to their network of contacts.

On the other hand, **neutral contexts** in terms of social capital are those that do not facilitate its creation and exchange, although they do not inhibit the use of what already exists. They are contexts that are not very institutionalised, with little known or weak rules; in other words, they are not very effective. The sense of belonging to them is defined, one is in them, but without the feeling of being part of them, without feeling involved in the construction of these spaces. As a result, the links between members

(trust, commitment, reciprocity, etc.) are weaker, which does not build an own identity.

Finally, **inhibitory contexts** of social capital are characterised by mistrust. They are spaces that are not very institutionalised and that are rejected by their members, as they are part of them with a feeling of imposition. There is no bonding because they are considered spaces that generate deterioration in the living conditions and in the motivation of those who are part of them. Fear and uprooting do not build identity, and if they do, it is contrary to what is supposedly shared. They are, in other words, spaces where the other is perceived as a threat.

Although only three different contexts have been considered (catalytic, neutral or inhibitory), a fourth type of context capable of destroying existing social capital can be pointed out. These are contexts that not only do not generate social capital, but also annihilate existing social capital. In reality, these contexts are those generated (paradoxically) by groups that present the characteristics of those that generate large amounts of social capital for their members, but which in relation to the rest of the people and groups that make up their community, strongly erode (to the point of even destroying) those qualities that are essential for the generation and accumulation of social capital (trust, reciprocity...). A concrete example is the context in which mafias are present.

Once we have seen the relationship between social capital and mobility, and those aspects that facilitate or hinder it, we must enter into the concrete world of relationships and what can be expected of them.

11.3. Which relationships for what kind of needs

Barry Wellman - to whom reference has already been made above - published an article in 1991 with a title similar to this section 'Which types of ties and networks provide what kind of social support?' In it, he made a detailed analysis of the most common strong relationships in a person's life (close family, close relatives, neighbours, friends...), and the types of support received in each of these relationships. He focuses on these relationships and not on others because he considers that strong relationships generate more types of support and because, as Granovetter (1973) says, *"strong ties have a greater motivation to provide help and are usually more easily available"*.

Thus, Wellman, based on different studies carried out in the 1980s on social networks, community, kinship and social support, analyses five types of relationships:

- » **Relationships between parents and adult children:** these are the most likely to access to support, as both parents and adult children are the members of the network most likely to provide material and financial help, emotional support, childcare or sick care...
- » **Sibling relationships:** these are very supportive relationships, but not as supportive as the previous ones. Unlike relationships between parents and adult children, there is much inequality in support between siblings (strong, intimate relationships are much more supportive than siblings with weak ties). Siblings often have similar shared histories and concerns. In fact, siblings often behave more like friends than like other family members. Even so, sibling bonds are somewhat more instrumental than friendship bonds.
- » **Relationships with the extended family:** The small number of active ties, the existence of weaker relationships, and the low probability of asking for/receiving support, make the extended family a limited source of help for most day-to-day, chronic or acute problems. Still, on special occasions and for specific groups (such as immigrants), the extended family can be a useful source of help. Sometimes, when there are conflicts with the immediate family, the extended family plays a more significant role.
- » **Relationships between friends:** Most friendships offer little variety and amount of support. Less than parents and adult children, but more than siblings and much more than extended family. They tend to play a crucial role for those who do not have active kinship ties but do have close friends who act as direct family. However, Wellman points out that friendship relationships are more problematic than kinship relationships, as they are poorly binding relationships without the support of the committed group. Their voluntary nature implies that the need for constancy and the exchange of support must be reciprocal, so when friends are not helpful, the relationship often ends.
- » **Neighbourly relationships:** In contrast to friendships, neighbourly ties are often more everyday, but weaker. Few neighbours can be considered close friends, although if this is the case, proximity and frequent contact generate dense connections, based on mutual knowledge of problems and frequent support. For Wellman, in the case of women, neighbours are an important source of routine companionship and help (especially when minors are present in the household). A clear contribution of neighbourhood relations has to do with identity, self-esteem and social belonging

Based on Wellman's contributions, and on the classification of social capital and relational goods in the previous charts, we can elaborate the following representation:

Chart 5: Goods provided by the different relationship groups

Social capital			
	Material support	Information	Influence
Immediate family	<i>Usual</i>	<i>Usual</i>	<i>Usual</i>
Extended family	<i>Occasional</i>	<i>Occasional</i>	<i>Occasional</i>
Friends	<i>Occasional</i>	<i>Usual</i>	<i>Usual</i>
Neighbours	<i>Occasional</i>	<i>Occasional</i>	<i>Occasional</i>
Other	<i>Unusual</i>	<i>Usual</i>	<i>Occasional</i>
Relational goods			
	Affect	Values	Identity
Immediate family	<i>Usual</i>	<i>Usual</i>	<i>Usual</i>
Extended family	<i>Usual</i>	<i>Occasional</i>	<i>Usual</i>
Friends	<i>Usual</i>	<i>Usual</i>	<i>Usual</i>
Neighbours	<i>Unusual</i>	<i>Usual</i>	<i>Usual</i>
Other	<i>Unusual</i>	<i>Occasional</i>	<i>Unusual</i>

Source: Authors' own elaboration

Therefore, relationships with the immediate family can be a source of both social capital and relational goods (through all its components), while the extended family is a regular bearer of affection and identity and occasionally of social capital.

In turn, friendships can be a source of relational goods and also of social capital (in terms of material support, they can be considered to be a sporadic source).

Neighbourhood relationships sometimes increase relational goods through shared values and identity. On the other hand, their contribution to social capital is infrequent.

Finally, as already mentioned, there are other contacts that can be strategic in terms of access to relevant information (social capital) but rarely to new value systems and convictions (relational goods).

But beyond the groups mentioned by Wellman, in this situation there are other groups of relations that are also potential bearers of social capital and/or relational goods. Following the same logic, we can point to:

- » The (non-cohabiting) couple, which should not necessarily be seen as comparable to situations where one lives at home with one's family. In this case, it should be seen as a source of both social capital and relational goods.
- » Professionals and volunteers in the projects in which people experiencing homelessness are involved, who can provide social capital (especially in terms of financial support and information) to a greater extent than they can provide relational goods.
- » Other project partners (referred to as participants), with whom identity and information are especially shared.
- » Co-workers, in case of being employed.
- » Other members of the religious centre, if attending regularly, who bring values and identity, and sometimes information and influence.

Despite the generalisation, it is taken into account that there are a myriad of exceptions and casuistries in which other elements need to be taken into consideration. One that plays a crucial role is what the relationships are like (in terms of their strength, frequency and dynamics) and in what contexts they occur. Alongside these aspects, **the social position of the people with whom we establish relationships** is a factor to be considered when interpreting certain processes of social mobility. Thus, if we are part of a group (neighbourhood, city, club, etc.) in which the members have and make available to others high levels of capital (in a broad sense, including social capital itself), it is likely that we can access and increase our level of social capital. Especially if the inner functioning of such a group makes it a catalytic context. On the contrary, being part of networks whose members do not have resources to make available to others, or where commitment, trust, norms, the degree of institutionalisation are not favourable (neutral or inhibiting contexts), means that access to new levels of social capital is anecdotal, so that it would not be easy to develop upward mobility processes²⁶.

To summarise, and according to all that has been said so far, social mobility processes can be affected by the social capital to which one has access. This is composed of three fundamental elements: material support, information and influence and access to new networks of contacts. Access to these goods is produced through social relations; specifically through the characteristics of these relations and with whom they are established (type of relationship and social position). Finally, these relationships occur in specific contexts, which are differentiated by their permeability and their capacity to catalyse or inhibit processes of social mobility.

With regard to relational goods, we must take into account affect, identity and values as integral elements. Similarly, access occurs through social relations, but they are independent of social position. The contexts in which

²⁶ While the social position of those with whom we relate has a direct influence on the potential social capital to which we have access, they do not intervene in terms of relational goods to the extent that affect, values and identity do not increase or decrease with social position.

these relationships take place are also relevant to the extent that they are more or less catalysts of these dynamics.

11.4. Measuring the relational aggregate

The theoretical proposal set out here will be operationalised on the basis of a disaggregated analysis of the components of social capital. This measurement will be carried out taking into account who makes up each person's social network, what social position they occupy and what these relationships are like. These three factors will allow us to construct a basic synthetic index of social capital.

Given that it is also interesting to have access to other elements that directly intervene in the situation and in the processes of exclusion/integration of people experiencing homelessness, a similar analysis will be carried out in regard to relational goods (affective support, values and identity). In this case, only two of these factors will be taken into account: the groups with which a relationship is established and the quality/frequency of this relationship.

Finally, it is essential to clarify the approach adopted in constructing this indicator, as a double decision was required regarding the nature of the indicator:

- » **Potential vs de facto:** two similar 'amounts' of social capital have been given the same value, regardless of whether or a concrete use is being made of it. That is, two people who have similar relationships (in terms of quality, frequency, linked resources, socio-economic position...) should have the same score, even if one of them is benefiting from these resources on a regular basis and the other is not. It is therefore a matter of quantifying 'what he/she could have access to' through their relationships, regardless of whether he/she is currently not drawing on that capital.
- » **Relative vs. absolute:** as is the case with other indicators (relative poverty, social exclusion), a relative index has been developed, this index measures the reality of those who make up its context and especially their capacity to improve (upward social mobility) through this resource. In this way, it is possible to find people with a similar score, even if their relationships are in a different socio-economic position, as the relationships they both have can drive an improvement proportional to the starting points. In fact, the factor responsible for the amount of 'goods to which one has access', is constructed on the basis of the socio-economic position of the person studied, in relation to that of his or her social network. This decision limits in advance the intended result, but the construction of an absolute indicator requires more information (through, for example, a detailed survey).

11.4.1. First factor: the goods associated to the relationships

The first factor to be analysed in the elaboration of the synthetic index for measuring social capital refers to the goods and resources that are usually associated with certain relationships. As mentioned in the previous section, Wellman makes a proposal based on various studies, through which he establishes a correspondence (more or less reiterated) between certain social relations and certain types of resources (see Chart 4). So, each intersection produced by crossing groups (immediate family, extended family, friendships...) with types of goods/resources (material help, information, influence...), corresponds to an established frequency: usual, occasional or unusual.

In the initial proposal, the following values have been assigned to these three categories:

Diagram 1: Scale of assigned values according to relational frequency



Source: Authors' own elaboration

It was decided to use a scale of simple values (from 0.3 to 1), and it was considered that between consecutive categories there is a considerable increase in the relational frequency; therefore, each category has been assigned almost double the value of the one immediately preceding it. Thus, the resulting matrix would be as follows:

Table 63: Relationships and values assigned to social capital and relational goods

	Material support	Info	Influence	Affec- tion	Values	Identity
Immediate family	1	1	1	1	1	1
Couple (<i>not cohabiting</i>)	0.6	0.6	0.6	1	1	1
Extended family	0.6	0.6	0.6	1	0.6	1
Friends	0.6	1	1	1	1	1
Neighbours	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.3	1	1
Profesionals / volunteers	1	1	0.6	1	0.6	0.6
Participants	0.3	0.6	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.6
Co-workers	0.3	0.6	0.6	0.3	0.3	0.6
Religious persons	0.3	0.6	0.6	0.6	1	1

Source: Authors' own elaboration

The lower score on this scale is 0.3 (instead of 0) since, for the disaggregation of cases into different categories relating to score ranges, null values may generate certain problems when performing mathematical operations. In addition, the lowest category (Unusual) has not been identified with a non-existent category (the category Never) to which the value 0 would better correspond, as any existing relationship²⁷ may involve exceptions.

However, the use of 0.3 as a minimum value requires a cut-off threshold above 0, which will emerge from the data analysis carried out.

²⁷ A value of 0 would be given only to situations where no relationships exist, for example, if there is no work, the potential value provided by co-workers would be nil.

11.4.2. Second factor: quality and frequency of relationships

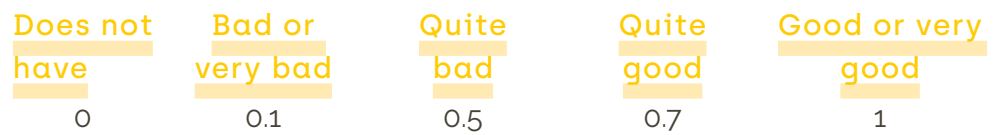
The second factor is based on the quality of relationships expressed by the people surveyed for each of the different groups with which they have relationships. Although certain relationships usually have the potential to provide certain resources, the quality of these relationships means that they are more or less activated. Expressed through an example, it is easy to understand that, although friendships may occasionally offer some kind of relevant (capitalisable) information, if the relationship is infrequent or excessively weak, the likelihood of this happening is clearly lower.

The scale used for this factor follows a similar logic to that of the previous factor, but with two nuances: the quality and frequency of the relationships do not increase the values of the previous factor, but rather, in the best of cases, very strong and very active relationships will make it possible to get the most out of what exists. Therefore, value 1 will be given to this situation. It is understood that not even the best-case scenario generates new resources (if it did, we would have assigned a value higher than 1), but rather enables maximum access to those potentially available.

The second nuance has to do with the fact that, on this occasion, the value 0 can be used, but only for those cases in which there is no specific relationship (therefore, it does not even contain a potentiality). As an example, it is easy to understand that a person who does not have an extended family cannot expect any resources from them, neither in the present nor in the future. If there is a relationship, but it is weak or not very active, the score will be 0.1.

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Diagram 2: Scale of values assigned based on relational quality



Source: Authors' own elaboration

An improved scale of values would be continuous. In this case it has been decided to use only the five values listed in the diagram because the assignment of intermediate values should be carried out with clear and objective criteria, in other words, a series of well-described categories should be created that allow the characteristics of the relationship to be clearly distinguished. In order to carry out this process, once again, a larger number of data records would be needed.

Finally, in the present study, only relationships in the household have been taken into account in cases considered ETHOS 3 or 4 since ETHOS 1 and 2 situations cannot be considered to be of the same nature.

11.4.3. Third Factor: Socioeconomic position

The last of the factors considered in this aggregate model of social capital (not for relational goods, as we have mentioned above) refers to the socioeconomic position of an individual, compared to that of each of his or her relationship groups.

The starting premise behind the construction of this scale is that: the resources to which one has access through networks in similar socioeconomic positions provide little margin for social mobility. Their effect is reduced to what could be called instrumental support.

Thus, joining networks with a superior position considerably increases the potential for access to capitalisable resources. Translated to concrete examples, this would mean that an unemployed person who relates to friends in a similar situation is unlikely to receive privileged information from them that will enable him or her to find a job.

On the other hand, entering a relational circuit in which there are better resources than those available to a person enables him/her to access them (depending, of course, on the two factors mentioned above) and to possible processes of socioeconomic improvement.

Hence the scale, on this occasion, is constructed in a similar way to the previous ones (omitting the value 0 for the reasons explained for the first factor) but reaching the value 2 as the top of the scale.

Diagram 3: Scale of values assigned according to socioeconomic position



Source: Authors' own elaboration

This factor actually implies the quantity of resources that are made available to a person through his or her relationships. This quantity will be affected by the quality and frequency of these relationships and by the group as a potential provider of these resources.

11.4.4. Factor combination model

Once the different factors that make up the synthetic index of social capital and relational goods have been described, it is necessary to detail how they interrelate to offer a concrete value. It is a question, therefore, of establishing a combination model that allows us to determine what each person obtains (and to what extent) from each of his or her relationship groups; which, as has been explained, will allow us to measure the amount of social capital (aggregate of its three components) and try to replicate it to obtain a score of the relational goods that he or she possesses.

The objective is to obtain a matrix in which there is a score for each of the intersections (cells) between relationship groups and disaggregated components of social capital and relational goods. In other words:

Table 64: Social relationships and types of goods provided. Values obtained

	Material support	Info	Influence	Affec- tion	Values	Identity
Immediate family	x1	x1'	x1''	y1	y1'	y1''
Couple (<i>not cohabiting</i>)	x2	x2'	x2''	y2	y2'	y2''
Extended family	x3	x3'	x3''	y3	y3'	y3''
Friends	x4	x4'	x4''	y4	y4'	y4''
Neighbours	x5	x5'	x5''	y5	y5'	y5''
Profesionals / volunteers	x6	x6'	x6''	y6	y6'	y6''
Participants	x7	x7'	x7''	y7	y7'	y7''
Co-workers	x8	x8'	x8''	y8	y8'	y8''
Religious persons	x9	x9'	x9''	y9	y9'	y9''

Source: Authors' own elaboration

This will enable two types of measurements to be made through summation: by component and by relationship group. That is, it will be possible to know how much 'Material support' a person has available through all his relationship groups ($X_n = X_1 + X_2 + X_3 + X_4 + X_5 + X_6 + X_7 + X_8 + X_9$), also, how much social capital is potentially available through each particular relationship group (for example, social capital available through his friendships

$X_4 + x_4' + x_4''$). Similar values can be obtained for each group, for social capital, relational goods and for each of the disaggregated components that integrate them.

To calculate each of the scores for the different intersections indicated, the value of the three corresponding factors will be multiplied.

As an example, the resultant of the material support to which a person potentially has access through his group of neighbors will be obtained by multiplying the value obtained for his First Factor (in this case the generic value would be 0.6), by that of the Second Factor (0.5 in the case that the established relationships are strong and active) and by that of the Third Factor (2 in the case that they are in a socioeconomic position clearly superior to that of the individual in question).

The resultant will express how these three factors combine, the socioeconomic position being the amount of available resource. This will be more or less (potentially) accessible depending on which group has the resource, and how we relate to it²⁸. Once the corresponding sums have been made, we will be able to make comparisons of various types.

²⁸ As we have already explained, the value 0 will only be assigned for those groups that do not exist.

11.4.5. Maximum potential scores

Although the methodology used for the combination of factors is the same in the case of the SC and the RG, the social position factor does not operate in this second case. Therefore, the maximum scores that can be obtained are different.

The following tables are obtained from Chart 4, complemented with other relationship groups specific to the population of this study and incorporating the rest of the factors that apply in each case:

Table 65: Relationships and values assigned to the social capital

	Material support	Information	Influence	TOTAL
Immediate family	2	2	2	6
Couple (<i>not cohabiting</i>)	1.2	1.2	1.2	3.6
Extended family	1.2	1.2	1.2	3.6
Friends	1.2	2	2	5.2
Neighbours	1.2	1.2	1.2	3.6
Profesionals / volunteers	2	2	1.2	5.2
Participants	0.6	1.2	0.6	2.4
Co-workers	0.6	1.2	1.2	3
Religious persons	0.6	1.2	1.2	3
TOTAL	10.6	13.2	11.8	35.6

Source: Authors' own elaboration

Table 66: Relationships and values assigned to relational goods

	Affect	Values	Identity	TOTAL
Immediate family	1	1	1	3
Couple (<i>not cohabiting</i>)	1	1	1	3
Extended family	1	0.6	1	2.6
Friends	1	1	1	3
Neighbours	0.3	1	1	2.3
Profesionals / volunteers	1	0.6	0.6	2.2
Participants	0.3	0.3	0.6	1.2
Co-workers	0.3	0.3	0.6	1.2
Religious persons	0.6	1	1	2.6
TOTAL	6.5	6.8	7.8	21.1

Source: Authors' own elaboration

A partir de las dos puntuaciones máximas potenciales, se establecen las siguientes categorías de clasificación:

Chart 6: Based on the two maximum potential scores, the following classification categories are established:

Social capital	
Very low	<i>Up to 7 points</i>
Low	<i>Between 7.01 and 14 points</i>
Medium	<i>Between 14.01 and 21 points</i>
High	<i>Between 21.01 and 28 points</i>
Very high	<i>More than 28,01 points</i>

Source: Authors' own elaboration

Chart 7: Levels of relational goods according to score obtained

	Relational goods
Very low	Up to 5 points
Low	Between 5.01 and 10 points
Medium	Between 10.01 and 15 points
High	Between 15.01 and 20 points
Very high	More than 20.01 points

Source: Authors' own elaboration

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