



EUROPEAN SOCIAL POLICY NETWORK (ESPN)

National strategies to fight homelessness and housing exclusion

Hungary

Fruzsina Albert, Nóra Teller,
Boróka Fehér and Lea Kőszeghy



EUROPEAN COMMISSION

Directorate-General for Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion

Directorate C — Social Affairs

Unit C.2 — Modernisation of social protection systems

Contact: Giulia Pagliani

E-mail: Giulia.PAGLIANI@ec.europa.eu

European Commission

B-1049 Brussels

European Social Policy Network (ESPN)

**ESPN Thematic Report on
National strategies to fight
homelessness and housing
exclusion**

Hungary

2019

Fruzsina Albert, Nóra Teller, Boróka Fehér, Lea Kószeghy

The European Social Policy Network (ESPN) was established in July 2014 on the initiative of the European Commission to provide high-quality and timely independent information, advice, analysis and expertise on social policy issues in the European Union and neighbouring countries.

The ESPN brings together into a single network the work that used to be carried out by the European Network of Independent Experts on Social Inclusion, the Network for the Analytical Support on the Socio-Economic Impact of Social Protection Reforms (ASISP) and the MISSOC (Mutual Information Systems on Social Protection) secretariat.

The ESPN is managed by the Luxembourg Institute of Socio-Economic Research (LISER) and APPLICA, together with the European Social Observatory (OSE).

For more information on the ESPN, see:

<http://ec.europa.eu/socialmain.jsp?catId=1135&langId=en>

***Europe Direct is a service to help you find answers
to your questions about the European Union.***

Freephone number (*):

00 800 6 7 8 9 10 11

(*) The information given is free, as are most calls (though some operators, phone boxes or hotels may charge you).

LEGAL NOTICE

This document has been prepared for the European Commission, however it reflects the views only of the authors, and the Commission cannot be held responsible for any use which may be made of the information contained therein.

More information on the European Union is available on the Internet (<http://www.europa.eu>).

© European Union, 2019

Reproduction is authorised provided the source is acknowledged

Quoting this report: Albert, Fruzsina, Teller, Nóra, Fehér, Boróka and Kószeghy, Lea (2019). ESPN Thematic Report on National strategies to fight homelessness and housing exclusion – Hungary, European Social Policy Network (ESPN), Brussels: European Commission.

Contents

- SUMMARY 4
- 1 THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF HOMELESSNESS AND HOUSING EXCLUSION 5
- 2 RELEVANT STRATEGIES AND POLICIES TACKLING HOMELESSNESS AND HOUSING EXCLUSION 10
- 3 ANALYSIS OF THE CURRENT PATTERNS OF SERVICE PROVISION AND CHALLENGES IN IMPLEMENTING HUNGARY’S RESPONSES TO HOMELESSNESS AND HOUSING EXCLUSION 15
- REFERENCES 20
- ANNEX 22
 - Table A1: ETHOS Light categories defined as homeless in Hungary 22
 - Table A2: Latest available data on the number of homeless in Hungary 23

Summary

Hungary does not have a formal definition of 'housing exclusion'. People considered to be homeless are mainly those who use homeless services or sleep rough, together with those in permanent homes for the elderly homeless and those in in-patient healthcare facilities for the homeless. The Hungarian definition of homelessness is problematic, as it excludes from the group of homeless several very significant elements that are included in the ETHOS typology, especially a number of those who are seriously at risk of becoming homeless, and on whom prevention strategies should focus as priority groups.

Expert estimates of the size of the homeless population in Hungary range from 10,000 to 60,000 people; if added to the number of people living in insecure tenures and inadequate forms of housing, this would result in 300,000 households (i.e. around 8% of all households) facing hardship. Rough sleepers are mostly men. Every fourth homeless person is affected by mental problems; around half have serious ill health; half have only the first eight grades of schooling; half do not have any regular income; and every fifth homeless person has at least one addiction. Every fifth homeless person has been in the public child protection system. About two thirds consider that they have health issues which prevent them from taking up work. A third (a proportion that is steadily increasing) are Roma.

Currently there is no national homeless strategy in effect – only a set of recommendations compiled in an unofficial document produced by providers, which attempts to position the solutions in a broader housing and social policy framework. This implicit strategy has been broadly accepted by non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and other actors, even without government support. Its major focus is how to get homeless people off the street and include them in the service provision system. It includes important fine-tunings, such as how to take the specific needs of individuals more into account and how to provide relevant services for them. Still, the current Hungarian system is basically shelter based and staircase oriented, with a few more innovative housing-led solutions (co-funded from national and EU funds). As compared to government funding, EU funds are smaller in scale, susceptible to reassignment, and account for a maximum of 10% of available funds. The (revised) National Social Inclusion Strategy does not address the issue of homelessness at all; it only mentions housing affordability as an important social challenge.

Since 2010, there has been a revival of repressive measures (offence, fine, prison). Homelessness is being criminalised, with no public policy efforts to tackle it in an integrated manner. There are some small-scale and short-term EU-funded programmes, which aim to get homeless people off the streets and out of shelters, and into rented housing (social or private rentals), and some private associations have launched similar – privately funded – projects. Prevention of homelessness is not on the policy agenda. There did used to be a large-scale programme targeting people with outstanding mortgage repayments by offering a rent-to-buy scheme, but the programme is closing in 2019. Meanwhile, the housing allowance scheme has been cut, no debt management funding or schemes are widely available, and the number of evictions has increased in recent years. The main systemic causes that limit effective and sustainable ways out of homelessness are housing affordability, lack of social housing and the level and accessibility of welfare benefits (the normative home maintenance support was abolished, and the level of social provisions is inadequate).

Priorities for the future include the reintroduction of, and significant increase in, home maintenance support; the provision of complex and accessible services for groups with special needs (the elderly, psychiatric patients, those with addiction problems, with disabilities and those leaving foster care or prison); the creation of social/community housing options at least for some special population groups (e.g. families with children) and housing-led provisions with floating support services; the regulation of the rental market to alleviate affordability problems; improvement in the quality of existing services and their infrastructure; and the considerable scaling-up of Housing First programmes.

1 The nature and extent of homelessness and housing exclusion¹

Hungary does not have a formal definition of 'housing exclusion'. Regarding the homeless, the Act III of 1993 on social administration and social services has been in effect; it states that '(1) homeless people shall be persons without any registered place of residence, except for persons whose registered places of residence are accommodation for homeless people', and '(2) any person shall be deemed to be homeless who spends nights in public areas or premises not designed for housing purposes'.

As stated above, mainly those using homeless services or sleeping rough are considered homeless (see Table A1 in Annex).

There are two additional types of institutions whose residents are considered homeless:

- permanent homes for the elderly homeless; and
- in-patient healthcare facilities for the homeless.

People living in institutions other than homeless services (healthcare institutions, penal institutions or transitional housing that falls under child welfare law) are not considered homeless.

Another legal definition of homelessness – used for deciding on the eligibility of the homeless for financial benefits – considers that homeless people are those people whose address is a homeless facility or, for want of anything better, some public space (e.g. Budapest, District 5; or Dózsa György Street – with no house number). These people might not be using homeless services any more, and they may not be living on the street, but their (lack of a) legal address renders them 'homeless'. To the best of our knowledge, there has been no research on this group of people.

All the Hungarian definitions are problematic, as they exclude from the group of the homeless several very significant elements that are included in the ETHOS typology – especially a number of those who are seriously at risk of becoming homeless and who should be among the prevention strategies' priority groups.

The main data sources regarding the homeless are presented in Table A2 (in the Annex).

The **2011 census** covered those homeless people either living in an institution or sleeping rough (or in a construction not meant for habitation). Those who 'lived in an institution' (ETHOS Light Living situations 2 and 3) were grouped together with people staying in all kinds of services (ETHOS Light Living situations 4-8) – medical facilities, prisons, juvenile homes, group homes for the elderly. While there is a separate publication detailing the statistics about them (ETHOS Light Living situations 2-8) from the 2001 census, nothing has been published about people living in institutions after the 2011 census. Thus, we do not (yet) know anything specific about homeless people living in institutions. The 2011 census tried to reach as many rough sleepers and people sleeping in non-conventional housing as possible. However, there are no data on ETHOS Light living situations 9-12. Data were collected on what the home of an individual was made of, for example, and on who the owner was, but not whether it was a conventional or non-conventional building, or if there was an official rent contract or not. Enumerators officially tried to reach rough sleepers (ETHOS Light Living situation 1) with the help of outreach workers. Due to the controversial times (homelessness was criminalised from spring 2010, and even more punitive measures were introduced in the course of 2011), the original concept of the method and organisation of counting the street homeless was not supported by one of largest partner institutions (BMSZKI) involved in designing the census data collection on the homeless. Street and other outreach social workers were discouraged from taking part in the process and from collecting data on people sleeping rough (especially as regards the

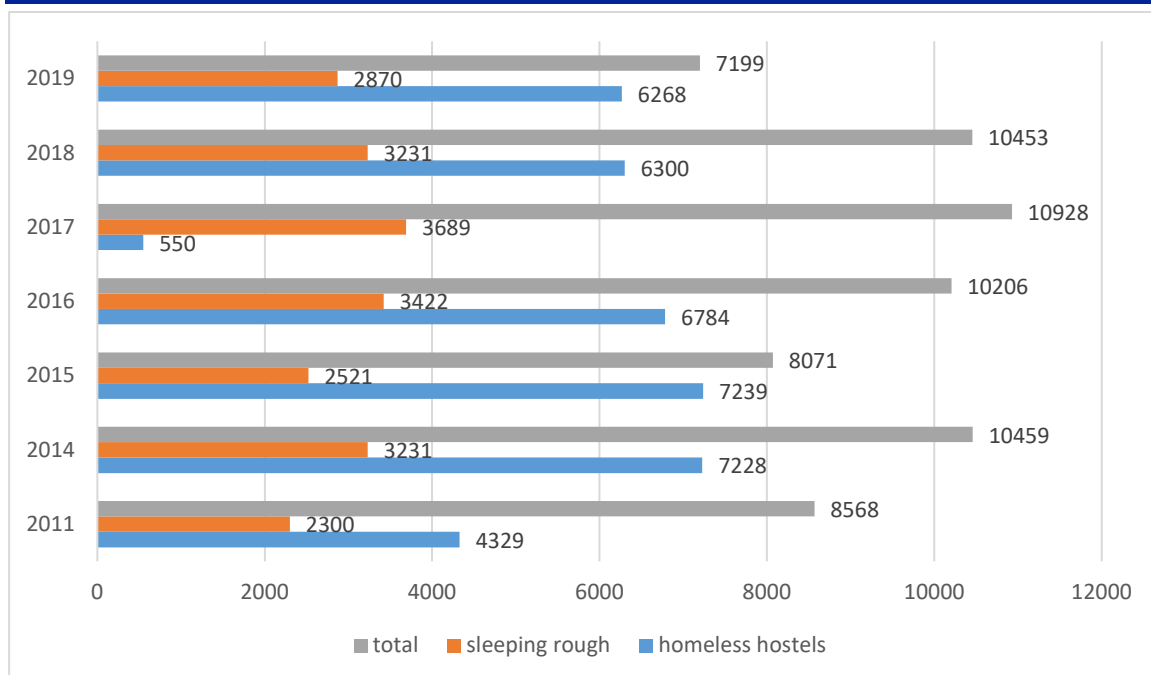
¹ Acknowledgement: Péter Győri has contributed to this paper by sharing his expert opinion in an interview, for which we are very grateful.

location of their 'residence'). Data collection in homeless institutions was poorly organised, and there is doubt as to whether all services (and thus all service users) were reached.

Every year since 1999, a survey has been conducted among homeless people (service users and rough sleepers) in Hungary – always on the same night, that of **3 February**. The survey is organised and carried out by service providers for the homeless. Participation in the survey is voluntary for homeless services, and only data about the users of those services that cooperate (shelters, hostels and outreach teams) are collected. Participation is also voluntary for the users of services. Thus, the survey is a count of minimum numbers, but is not a census. The data collected are used to improve the knowledge on homelessness, as well as to improve the quality of services. The survey questions were originally read out to service users by staff, who recorded the responses. In recent years, however, it has become a self-administered questionnaire, and service users can get help from the staff at homeless services providing accommodation. However, because of the difficulty of finding a suitable place outdoors, outreach workers still read out the questions. The response is anonymous, and the survey only requests the initials and date of birth of the respondent – thus making it possible to compare data on the same individuals from year to year. Even though the response is voluntary, geographical coverage has been getting better, with more and more services and settlements participating each year. The 3 February survey is the most authentic source of information on homelessness in Hungary – so much so that its data are used not only by academics but also by politicians. There are still some shortcomings. As most respondents fill in the questionnaire themselves, it is possible that they misinterpret some questions or answers. The survey does not provide full coverage, and it cannot be used to give an exact number of homeless people; but it is still the best estimate. In 2018, 8,650 people participated in the survey in Hungary; 2,350 (650 in Budapest) were sleeping rough, while 6,300 (2,900 in Budapest) were living in shelters or temporary accommodation on that day.² In 2019, similar numbers were interviewed (see Table A2).³ The count reports the number of people who were found on that given day homeless (roofless and houseless), but it is a minimum: despite all efforts, not all homeless people can be found. For data on past years, see Figure 1.

² Összefoglaló: Február Harmadika Munkacsoport Gyorsjelentés a 2018. évi hajléktalan-adatfelvételtől [Summary: Report on the survey 3 February 2018], <http://menhely.hu/download.php?f=downloads/feb3/2018/F3-Gyorsjelentés-2018-handout.pdf>

³ Gyorsjelentés a 2019. évi hajléktalan-adatfelvételtől [Summary: Report on the survey 3 February 2019], <http://www.gyoripeter.hu/home/docs/homelessness/F3-survey-reports>

Figure 1: Number of homeless people counted on 3 February in 2011, 2014-2019

Source: 3 February surveys.

There are only estimates of people living in insecure housing conditions (threatened by severe exclusion due to insecure or unregulated tenancies, eviction, domestic violence, or living in totally inadequate housing). These estimates are based on various data sources, like the most recent 2015 housing survey conducted by the Hungarian Central Statistical Office (HCSO), eviction data collected by the National Chamber of Juridical Executors, register data on social housing and quality of social housing, and data on outstanding payments of utility services, etc. A yearly Report on Housing for 2018 (based on the reference year 2017) summarised the data accordingly: 'we consider people living in housing poverty to be those who face affordability, housing quality, energy efficiency and spatial (segregation) issues, and who live in housing that is legally insecure, which makes them more vulnerable than the general population. The number of people affected by any of the four above issues ranges from 2 million to 3 million, according to the estimates of Habitat for Humanity' (Ámon et al., 2018). There are no data on illegal housing and squatting. According to the HCSO data, approximately 5% of all dwellings are unfit for human habitation (KSH, 2018b).

People deemed to be administratively homeless comprise two groups: people without any legal address (which means that they are considered administratively homeless) –24,500 people in 2018; and people who have only a temporary or mailing address – a further 80,000 (Ámon et al., 2018).

After the political and economic transition in the late twentieth century, most workplace housing facilities were closed down, which fuelled increasing homelessness in Hungary. Today, there are both formal and informal dormitories/workers' hostels, some of which function as very low-cost (and low-quality) shared housing options for people on the margins of homelessness, or who could exit homelessness with the help of this housing option.

The HCSO collects data only on segregated housing, which is defined on the basis of the social criteria of the inhabitants, like low education and unemployment of the adult household members. In Hungary, there are around 1,380 such neighbourhoods (across 709 municipalities, including around 480 villages); the total population of these is estimated to be 2.8% of the population of Hungary, based on the 2011 census. Many such neighbourhoods face extreme housing conditions and coincide with neighbourhoods

populated mostly by Roma.⁴ According to housing quality data from 2016, around 55,000 households neither rent nor own their homes. There are around 1,760 homes without an indoor toilet; and 140,000 houses are made of adobe and do not have solid foundations (several of these fall into ETHOS Light categories 5-6) (KSH, 2018b).

There are only estimates of the numbers affected by any of the forms of homelessness. Expert estimates claim that at present there are about 30,000⁵ homeless and roofless persons; if this figure is added to the figure for the number of people living in insecure tenures and inadequate forms of housing, it can be stated that some 300,000 households face hardship – around 8% of all households.

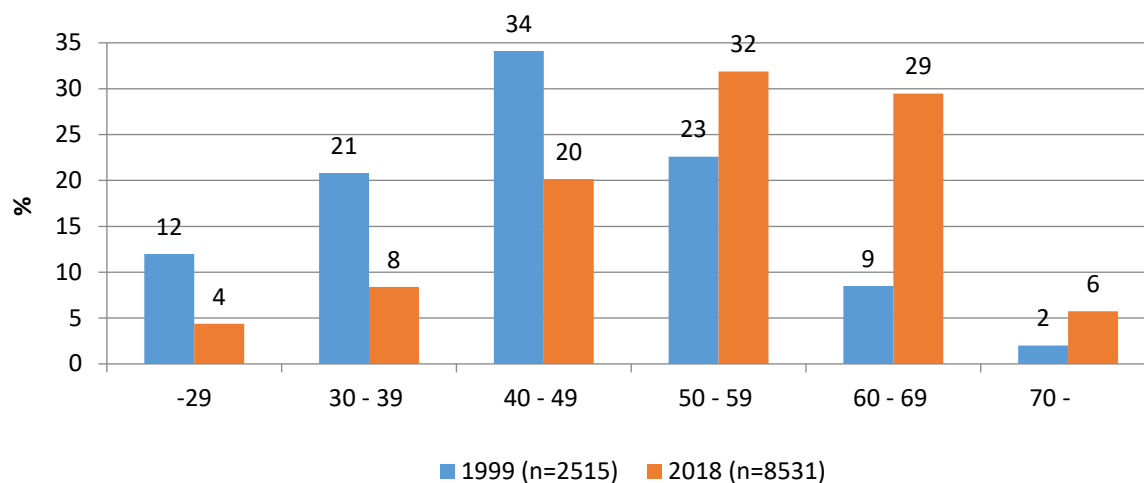
Based on the average of the past few years' 3 February counts, most rough sleepers are men (Fehér and Kovács, 2018). Every fourth homeless person is affected by mental problems; half have serious ill health; half have only the first eight grades of schooling; half do not have any regular income; and every fifth homeless person has addictions of some kind. Every fifth homeless person has been in the public child protection system. About two thirds consider themselves to have health issues that prevent them from taking work. A third are Roma – a proportion that has steadily been increasing from a very small fraction at the beginning of the 2000s.⁶

Based on data from the 3 February count (1999-2018), the age structure of the homeless population has shifted towards older generations (Figure 2). Meanwhile, the level of education of the homeless population has typically worsened; the proportion of chronically long-term homeless people has grown substantially; the proportion of the homeless population who work regularly has decreased radically; the proportion of homeless persons unable to work has significantly increased (doubled); a significantly increased proportion of the homeless population are living in the streets; and the proportion of people who have become homeless for economic reasons has increased.

⁴ Balog, I., Szegregátumok a statisztika és a mindennapok tükrében [Segregated settlements as reflected in statistics and everyday life], <http://www.mrtt.hu/vandorgyulesek/2017/05/balog.pdf>

⁵ In fact, expert estimates vary from 10,000 to 60,000 people. For a good summary of existing estimates, see Daróczi, G., Megszámlálhatatlan hajléktalan Magyarországon az ezredfordulón [Uncountable homeless people in Hungary at the turn of the millennium], 2016, http://phd.lib.uni-corvinus.hu/983/2/Daroczi_Gergely_thu.pdf

⁶ Összefoglaló: Február Harmadika Munkacsoport Gyorsjelentés a 2018. évi hajléktalan-adatfelvételről [Summary: Report on the survey 3 February 2018], <http://menhely.hu/download.php?f=downloads/feb3/2018/F3-Gyorsjelentés-2018-handout.pdf>; Győri, P., Turning into Nobody? The decades of losing ground, 2018, https://www.feantsaresearch.org/download/pleanary_gyori5405589719442214359.pdf; Győri (2017).

Figure 2: Distribution of homeless people, by age in Hungary in 1999, 2018, %

Source: Gyóri (2018).

Between 2002 and 2018, the proportion of homeless people who beg or sift through garbage trebled. A fifth of homeless people are practically starving, especially the younger homeless. Most homeless people could not maintain independent housing without financial support. Young homeless people have often had a period spent in foster care. A high proportion of homeless people have chronic diseases and psychiatric problems (Gyóri, 2018). Homeless people who have had episodes of housing within their homeless careers report various vulnerabilities (like physical or mental abuse, being forced to work or provide sex) if they lived in the homes of friends and relatives, or had other non-contractual housing arrangements in the private rental sector (Breitner, 2016).

The 3 February count shows an increase in rough sleepers in towns other than Budapest over the past decade, with ups and (recently) downs in Budapest. There is a large turnover, with homeless people leaving (the count at least), and other people stepping in. There are several reasons for the increased number of rough sleepers – most importantly, the lack of affordable (social) housing. Thus, there are basically no stable exits from homelessness, and the lack of any prevention system puts people systematically at risk of homelessness.⁷ There has been a slight increase in the number of homeless women in the survey, and critics suspect that the actual numbers are even higher – as the survey also reflects the ratio of beds available for women, which are far fewer than for men (Fehér and Kovács, 2018).

There is no empirical information about developments in the informal housing sector, beyond evidence produced by qualitative research and some basic statistics produced by the HCSO. The data show that there has been an increase in the private rental market, and that in this sector people often rely on informal agreements and referrals; there is hardly any way to enforce housing rights (see also Hegedüs et al., 2014).

⁷ Gyorsjelentés a hajléktalan emberek 2016. február 3-I adatfelvételéről [Summary: Report on the survey 3 February 2016 on homeless people], <https://m.blog.hu/fe/februarharmadika/file/f-3-2016-sajto-vegleges.pdf>; Gyorsjelentés a 2019. évi hajléktalan-adatfelvételről [Summary: Report on the survey 3 February 2019], <https://sites.google.com/site/gyori181peter/home/docs/homelessness/F3-survey-reports>

2 Relevant strategies and policies to tackle homelessness and housing exclusion

Currently there is no national homeless strategy in effect.

Between 2010 and 2014 the 'Heated Street' (Fűtött utca) programme had the goal of eliminating rough sleeping, but it was concentrated primarily in Budapest. With significant financial support, new night shelters were created, utilising state-owned properties. This had a significant impact in reducing street homelessness. There was a smaller-scale element of the programme designed to help elderly homeless people and people with psychiatric problems gain rapid access to appropriate specialised institutions. This was significant, as it involved other service provision areas as well. But unfortunately, the programme was discontinued.

Since 2015, there has been no officially accepted strategy – only a set of recommendations compiled in an unofficial document produced by providers, which attempts to position the solutions in a broader housing and social policy framework. This implicit strategy, entitled 'Proposed activities regarding homelessness 2015: From the street to housing. Proposals to restructure the service provision of the homeless' (*Hajléktalanügyi teendők 2015 Utcától lakásig. Javaslatok a hajléktalan emberek ellátásának átalakítására*), was supported by the relevant department in the Ministry of Human Capacities; but then it failed to receive official backing. The implicit strategy has been broadly accepted by NGOs and other actors, even without government support. Still, the current Hungarian system is basically shelter based and 'staircase' oriented, with a few more innovative housing-led solutions (co-funded from national and EU funds). The (revised) National Social Inclusion Strategy does not address the issue of homelessness at all – it only mentions housing affordability as an important social challenge.

The major focus of the implicit strategy is still how to get homeless people off the street and into the service provision system. It includes important fine-tunings, such as how to take the specific needs of individuals more into account and how to provide the relevant services (e.g. the creation of first-stage shelters with a doctor, nurse and addiction therapist). Other thematic focuses are: prevention of homelessness, integrated solutions, housing-led approaches, affordable rental stock (public and private, rental agencies), minimum benefit system and labour market inclusion.

Homeless people can rely on informal support from friends, family and neighbours. Sofa-surfing has grown more important, and non-legal housing solutions (illegal substandard overcrowded hostels, illegal sublets) have become more widespread, as have workers' hostels, sublets generally and rent-by-the-bed-leases.

Regarding specific homelessness-related policies, since 2010 there has been a revival of repressive measures (offence, fine, prison). The 2010 parliamentary and municipal elections heralded the criminalisation of homelessness in several stages. In 2011, a Budapest Capital City Decree stated that 'whoever uses public space for living purposes' is committing an offence. There was a referendum in District 8 of Budapest with the aim of stoking anti-homeless sentiments. In 2012, there was a modification to the Law on Petty Crime, so that whoever uses a public space in a manner that is at variance with normal use of that space (e.g. lives in a public space and stores his/her belongings there) is committing an offence. The Constitutional Court abolished those parts of the Law on Petty Crime that criminalised rough sleeping. In 2013, there was a modification to the Constitution: 'In order to protect public order, public security, public health and cultural values, an Act or a local government decree may, with respect to a specific part of public space, provide that staying in designated parts of public space as a habitual dwelling shall be illegal.' The Law on Petty Crime and several local decrees contained a definition of areas where rough sleeping was forbidden. Local municipalities and the city of Budapest together banned rough sleeping almost throughout the city (Győri, 2018). In 2018, the Hungarian Government went even further in amending the Constitution (Article 22): 'habitual residence in a public space is forbidden'. The Law on Petty Crime was also amended and

rough sleeping was outlawed with effect from 15 October 2018. Hitherto, municipalities had been authorised to decide to criminalise 'residing on public premises for habitation' on their local territories; but now it is punishable throughout the country. If someone accepts the social care offered, official proceedings are not initiated against him/her; if not, the offence is punishable by public work and also confinement. The procedure may also potentially involve the forcible cleansing of the person, against his/her will. Contrary to general rules for petty crimes, a person who has already been warned three times must be immediately detained and brought to court within 72 hours (the space of time between each individual warning is not defined). The offender can be kept in custody until the case is legally resolved (which can take up to 1.5 months). Those who are convicted twice within a space of six months are punished by imprisonment (1-60 days); contrary to general rules, this sentence must be put into effect immediately after the ruling is made. The regulations concerning the handling of the personal belongings of homeless people were changed a few days before the law came into effect, so now their personal belongings can even be destroyed without compensation. The government argues that this new law is designed to provide adequate living conditions for the homeless by forcing them to use the system of social provisions. Social service providers, on the other hand, argue that services should be accessed voluntarily (Albert, 2018).

The Ministry of Human Capacities claimed that there were going to be places for everyone in need, and that with the introduction of this new legislation, in addition to the 9.1 billion Hungarian forints (HUF) (€28.5 million) financing of the homeless provision system, an additional HUF 300 million (€937,500) fund was being set aside as a reserve to cover any additional costs, e.g. the extended opening hours of day shelters. The first arrest was made on the basis of the new legislation two days after it came into effect, and some others followed within a week. Altogether, between the introduction of the ban and 1 March 2019, over 330 warnings were issued by the police and 10 cases were brought to court, though none of them resulted in actual punitive measures.⁸

There is broad agreement among professionals and human rights advocates that although it is very important to reduce rough sleeping, this should not be done via punishment and criminalisation, but through social policy measures. The new law pretends that being homeless is a choice, and treats it as a crime, instead of providing real options for affordable living. Leaders of charity organisations which operate a number of shelters have also noted that there was no proper dialogue with them before the legislation was passed.

This law is considered by many to be a violation of human rights. There were fears that neither the social services institutions nor the authorities and the Prison Service were ready, and that they did not have adequate capacities. Thus, the probable upshot of the amendment is that people living on public premises will be forced out of the cities, e.g. into wooded areas, where they cannot access public services. This new regulation is not only considered inhumane and discriminatory against the poor, but is also very expensive. The estimated cost of one day in prison is HUF 8,000 (€25), and the actual direct cost is HUF 3,000 (€9.40). The criminal proceedings cost an additional HUF 20,000 (€62.50), and so if a homeless person is put into prison, it costs at least HUF 110,000 (€344). For this amount, decent housing conditions could be created in the rental sector (Helsinki Figyelő, 2018).

In Hungary, per capita state financing of homelessness services is the main determinant in the system. The figure is HUF 460,000/capita/year (€1,465). Religious organisations receive an extra 90% financing on top of the above sum; local governments also tend to add an additional 20%-100%, and NGOs can also contribute a similar proportion from other sources, like donations. Some experts⁹ consider that the per capita financing covers only 60% of the costs. The Hungarian financing system can be characterised as 'dumb but safe' – organisations can count on these resources permanently, and it provides stability

⁸ Juhász, D., Megbukott a hajléktalanbírság [Fining the homeless has failed], *Népszava*, 18 March 2019, https://nepszava.hu/3029253_megbukott-a-hajlektalanbirsag

⁹ Source: Interviews with service providers, both NGOs and public ones.

(although services remain at a very modest level, and the state contribution does not allow for renovation or refurbishment, for example); but the financing does not contain either motivation or funds for innovation: this is where EU funds play a very significant role.

There has been significant development in the system from EU funds, for example in the countryside. In several cities, the infrastructure of service provisions could be significantly improved. Some critics claim that grants for this purpose have been offered to 'loyal' cities, rather than to those with the highest rates of homelessness (for example, the capital). There is also no evidence of whether the buildings supplied are still being used to serve homeless people.

EU funds are smaller in scale than government funds, their scale and targets can change, and they constitute a maximum of 10% of available funds. Homeless people are mentioned specifically in EU programming documents, but only very few programmes explicitly target their needs. The groups of homeless people mentioned in these documents are rough sleepers and those who use the services, and the major goal is investment in shelter provision. Despite the lack of an official strategy, the Operational Programmes¹⁰ (OPs) (Human Resources Development OP and Central Hungary OP, and the OP based on the Fund for European Aid to the Most Deprived (FEAD)) have been directly impacted by the policy directions formulated in the implicit strategy during the planning process. Lessons drawn from the previous implementation period have been consciously built upon. There used to be a big gap in services: the support required to exit homelessness was largely missing, and this is now being addressed within the OPs. In Hungary, both the design of the relevant OPs and the implementation of measures rely largely on the lessons of the previous implementation periods, and professionals could feed into the more effective use of the European Social Fund (ESF) in homeless provision to bring about a shift to a housing-led approach, even if only on a minor scale compared to the general staircase-based service structure.

For several years now, Housing First¹¹ has been piloted in Hungary from ESF funds, but on a very limited scale compared to the general provision, which can be characterised by greater emphasis on emergency and/or supported temporary accommodation, rather than on housing-focused support services. Furthermore, Housing First projects have not been sustainable, and there has been no follow-up or on-going additional funding after the projects end.

FEAD in Hungary is targeted at poor families with children (children identified as disadvantaged or multiply disadvantaged), the homeless and socially deprived persons with a disability and elderly persons with extremely low income.¹²

Until recently the Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund (AMIF) was used to finance, among other things, educational and housing projects run by NGOs and also some public bodies (e.g. the Budapest Methodological Centre of Social Policy and Its Institutions (BMSZKI)). However, on 24 January 2018, the Ministry of the Interior withdrew the calls for proposals for a range of activities to be implemented from July 2018 under the national AMIF. This affects the quality of refugee status determination, housing programmes, legal assistance and support for unaccompanied children, and has resulted in NGOs and some state institutions no longer having access to AMIF funds.

As there is no strategy, there is no monitoring of the strategy. The monitoring system of the National Social Inclusion Strategy II includes, for housing, the indicators of housing cost overburden and overcrowding. Especially EU-funded projects are monitored (see e.g.

¹⁰ https://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/en/atlas/programmes/2014-2020/hungary/2014hu05m2op001; https://www.palyazat.gov.hu/new_hungary_development_plan

¹¹ The fidelity of these projects to the principles of Housing First has not been verified. Many projects offering housing to (former) rough sleepers are considered Housing First, without applying the whole philosophy behind it.

¹² European Commission Employment, Social Affairs & Inclusion – FEAD in your country – Hungary <https://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?catId=1239&langId=en&intPageId=3615>

Hegedüs et al., 2015), but central government does not seem too interested in evidence-based policy making in this regard.

In Hungary, housing policy measures are not organised according to a comprehensive policy-making logic, identifying key problems in the housing system, defining key aims, target groups and measures, as well as monitoring and feedback mechanisms. This is also reflected by the lack of a comprehensive housing policy document and the fragmentation of housing-related mandates in the government structure: at the national level, housing-related mandates are scattered across different ministries. Meanwhile, significant housing-related mandates are delegated to local government – indeed, practically to village settlement level. The most important such mandates are the regulation and management of local public housing provision (within a loose regulatory framework set at the national level), decisions on the provision – or non-provision – of housing benefit and debt management within the framework of a so-called ‘settlement benefit’. Since March 2015, when the central normative housing benefit (home maintenance support) was abolished, every settlement regulates the criteria and amount differently.

The amount of the resources spent by local governments on easing affordability and indebtedness problems has decreased drastically since this change to the subsidy system. Support for such purposes has become unavailable in around a quarter of Hungarian settlements: the smaller the settlement, the more likely that support for affordability problems will have ceased to exist. The number of recipients fell by 44% between 2014 and 2016. The increasing disparity between settlements in terms of service provision has also created accessibility problems, especially for households residing in smaller settlements (Kopasz and Gábos, 2018). One of the reasons for handing over the decision on housing affordability problems to local government was that it would lead to regulations that respond better to local needs. However, as the data indicate, the availability and accessibility of services has decreased, especially in smaller settlements, where affordability problems are more prevalent. The simplified calculation formula favours smaller households, while affordability problems are most prevalent in the case of single-parent households and larger households with children and other household members (Hegedüs and Somogyi, 2018). The newly introduced conditions also give rise to discriminatory practices.

Despite the lack of a comprehensive housing policy framework, the priorities of the set of existing housing policy measures can be identified. The primary driving force of government policies on housing is economic development and demographic considerations: to boost the economy (including the employment rate) by incentivising new construction, and combating population loss by boosting the birth rate (also in line with the current government’s anti-immigration stance). Housing policy measures, in line with the government’s general social policy stance – which has abandoned the principle of reducing inequality as a goal and instead places support for better-off families at its core (Szikra, 2018) – direct public resources mainly towards middle- and upper-middle-class households, while public spending targeted at socially disadvantaged groups is decreasing or stagnating. Thus, having children – preferably more than two – is a key priority of housing policy. However, flagship policy measures, which aim to support access to home ownership (and, with certain limitations, the extension of existing owner-occupied housing) through non-refundable state subsidies, are designed for middle- and upper-middle-status households, while lower-status households either have less chance to access them, or else are explicitly excluded from eligibility. Meanwhile, policy responses to problems more likely to be experienced by lower-status households remain without adequate housing policy responses: e.g. lack of social rental properties. In certain instances – such as in the case of affordability – the adequacy of policy responses has decreased in recent years. Also, the regulation of some important policy interventions on such problems – such as the provision of social housing, the allocation of housing benefits – is the responsibility of local governments, which leads to a highly fragmented system in terms of eligibility criteria (including prioritising/not prioritising households with children) and the quality/level of the actual services provided. It also makes comprehensive evaluation difficult or impossible.

The dominance of home ownership in the housing system has resulted in a large number of poor home owners; a lack of alternative housing tenures, which pushes low-status households into the owner-occupied sector (this was also the origin of the mortgage crisis following 2008); the regulation and management of the local government public housing stock (residualisation, pushing 'problem' households out of a neighbourhood); private rentals (lack of tenure security); a high prevalence of affordability problems; and a lack of effective measures to address them. This has led to housing insecurity and the threat of eviction for many households, including households with children (Átol et al., 2017). The number of households at risk of eviction due to mortgage debt is estimated at 45,000. According to Eurostat, in 2017, 15.7% of the population was living in a household with arrears (mortgage or rent, utility bills or hire purchase); however, in households below the poverty line, this proportion was 28.5% – the sixth worst figure in the EU.¹³ Indebtedness systematically results in the loss of housing, due to the lack of an early warning system and inadequate support services (Teller et al., 2018).

Since March 2016 and the end of the government ban on court-ordered evictions (an attempt to protect mortgage defaulters), the number of evictions has increased. (There is a ban on evictions in the winter months, though this does not extend to non-court-ordered evictions, such as of squatters.) In 2016 and 2017, eviction affected 3,500 households annually; in the first nine months of 2018, the figure was 2,400 households.¹⁴ There is no prohibition on evictions without further housing provision for households either with or without children. Some evicted families may find temporary housing in a temporary family shelter (*Családok Átmeneti Otthona*). However, the capacity of such shelters is small, compared to the demand: according to 2016 data, 161 such shelters operated, with a capacity to provide accommodation for 4,000 persons.¹⁵ They are territorially very unevenly distributed, being concentrated in larger settlements (Átol et al., 2015), and do not provide a long-term housing solution.¹⁶ According to the HCSO, in 2016 such shelters provided temporary accommodation for around 6,400 children throughout the year. The children of evicted households who cannot access such institutions and find alternative accommodation (e.g. on a courtesy basis) tend to be placed in state child care. In 2016, 65% of homeless women under 49 years of age had small children from whom they had been separated for one reason or another (Fehér and Kovács, 2018). Such practice is a systematic violation of the rights of the child, transposed into Hungarian legislation by Act XXXI of 1997 on the Protection of Children and the Administration of Guardianship in line with the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child – i.e. children should not be separated from their families solely on material grounds. Research analysing the reasons for the separation of children from their families in Budapest between 2008 and 2013 showed that 'housing problems of parents' was the most common reason. Material and housing causes were indicated as a reason for separation in 20% of cases; however, other reasons (e.g. 'parent is unable to properly care for the child') may hide further cases (Átol et al., 2015). This practice was explicitly criticised by the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child¹⁷ in

¹³ Eurostat: Arrears (mortgage or rent, utility bills or hire purchase) from 2003 onwards. [ilc_mdcs05] http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=ilc_mdcs05&lang=en

¹⁴ Magyar Bírósági Végrehajtói Kar, Ingatlannal kapcsolatos egyes végrehajtási cselekmények [Hungarian Court Bailiffs' Chamber, Implementation activities regarding properties], 12 November 2018, http://www.mbvk.hu/letoltesek-web/2018q3_kilakoltatas_stat.pdf

¹⁵ Habitat for Humanity Magyarország, 'Álmomban sem gondoltam volna, hogy ilyen helyzetbe kerülünk...' Átmeneti otthonokban élő nők helyzete Magyarországon, [I would have never even dreamt of getting into such a situation – The situation of women living in temporary shelters in Hungary] https://habitat.blog.hu/2018/06/05/_almomban_sem_gondoltam_volna_hogy_ilyen_helyzetbe_kerulunk

¹⁶ Duration of stay is one year, which can be extended to 1.5 years. However, due to the lack of permanent, affordable and adequate housing solutions, families often 'rotate' between institutions.

¹⁷ United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child, Concluding observations on the combined third, fourth and fifth periodic reports of Hungary. CRC/C/HUN/CO/3-5, 14 October 2014, CRC/C/HUN/CO/3-5, <http://docstore.ohchr.org/SelfServices/FilesHandler.ashx?enc=6QkG1d%2FPPRiCAqKb7yhsnHFwMhaZ6UbKZijXRImgYBUerx14%2FpljDwTZuM1h%2BdsZQ8cUzpbv04sds%2BJj6dXLS%2B0j2Oa%2BqelHjq0RMqHwNo0UuJ2FfrAAINgTqz7YrQ>

2014, but it still goes on. According to the HCSO statistics for 2017, inadequate housing conditions were among the causes of separation in 17% of cases, and a further 16% of children were separated from their families because the household became homeless (KSH, 2018a).¹⁸

According to the Child Protection Act, parents may request that their children be taken into temporary state care, or they may agree to the child's placement into care. As part of temporary care, a child may stay with a foster parent or in a temporary children's home for a maximum of 12 months. In temporary shelters for families, children and their parents can be accommodated together at the request of the parent who becomes homeless. Besides the lack of council and social flats, there are significantly fewer foster parents and institutions providing temporary care than required. It is a reason for concern that distribution of the very few existing opportunities and places in institutional care is very uneven, with overcrowding and long waiting times (AJB-2026/2017, in *Beszámoló*, 2018).

Since 2016, the increased budgetary funds for housing policies have been connected to measures promoting and supporting home ownership; but affordability problems, housing quality, energy poverty, homelessness, and the promotion of an affordable rental-housing sector have not been systematically targeted, and thus no significant improvements have been registered. Thus, housing poverty can be expected to rise further (Átol et al., 2017). The current housing policy is unable to guarantee secure housing either for those in a disadvantageous situation through no fault of their own or for disadvantaged groups with a low level of income and no family savings. No social housing policy tool is available for those who cannot pay for housing without external support.

3 Analysis of the current patterns of service provision and challenges in implementing Hungary's responses to homelessness and housing exclusion

Like a number of other countries, the provision of homelessness services is governed by national legislation. Laws specify which social services are needed, according to the size of urban settlements. The 19 largest cities and towns have the most extensive obligations under this law and are expected to offer rehabilitation services where required. Municipalities over a certain population size are obliged to run accommodation-based services for homeless people, while day centres and street outreach are common services organised in cities across Hungary.

Emergency accommodation services are generally provided by NGOs, often under commission and with some direct provision of services by municipalities. There is also an obligation in these cities and towns to provide retirement care for older homeless people. In municipalities with populations of above 30,000, there is a requirement to provide emergency shelters and temporary hostels. In municipalities with populations of between 10,000 and 30,000, food distribution and day-centre services are part of the legal duties of local government. But in small towns and villages of between 3,000 and 10,000 people, duties are confined to family support services; this is also the case for smaller municipalities. Hungary operates fixed-site medical services that are intended for people sleeping rough and other lone homeless adults, or elderly homeless people. The Hungarian services are extensive and are run by NGOs, churches and municipalities, to cater for homeless people in most cities in Hungary.

¹⁸ NGOs are advocating for the suspension of a ban on evictions with no alternative housing provision for households with children. However, so far their initiative has not been considered by the ruling majority. Csengel, Karina, Újra kilakoltatások elleni törvényjavaslattal fordul a kormányhoz az AVM [AVM turns to the government again with a proposed bill against evictions], 19 December 2018, <https://merce.hu/2018/12/19/ujra-a-kormanyhoz-fordul-a-kilakoltatasok-ellen-az-avm/>; AVM, Gyerekek kilakoltatása? Soha többé! [Eviction of children? Never again!], 16 January 2018, https://avarosmindenkie.blog.hu/2018/01/16/gyerekek_kilakoltatasa_soha_tobbe; Stop kilakoltatás! [Stop eviction!]Petition, <https://terjed.ahang.hu/campaigns/stopkilakoltatas>

There have been no major changes in the mainstream provision. A new rule was introduced in 2017: the so-called 'red code' is a special regulation for days that are exceptionally cold (below minus 10 degrees Celsius) and exceptionally hot (over 27 degrees Celsius). Under the red code, access to services changes on days when the state secretary for social inclusion so orders, in order to prevent rough sleepers from extreme health risk and death. This means that not only homeless shelters must take in homeless clients and offer a safe stay, but so must any social institution with beds available. The regulation is set out under Social Act (1993. III., 65/. § (3)). New initiatives related to Housing First are funded from EU funds.

According to data from June 2018 (from the Ministry of Human Capacities), the following services were registered:

- emergency accommodation (4,299 beds in 102 services, and an additional 1,377 beds during the winter): 54 provided by NGOs, 36 by local authorities, an additional five by NGOs/non-profit companies/public foundations set up by local authorities/the ministry, 7 by churches;
- temporary hostels for homeless people (5,548 beds in 111 services and an additional 277 beds during the winter): 56 provided by local authorities, 12 by NGOs/non-profit companies/public foundations set up by local authorities/the ministry, 31 by NGOs and 14 by churches;
- rehabilitation institutions for homeless people (218 beds in 10 services): 6 provided by NGOs, 2 by local (or central) authorities, plus 2 provided by churches;
- old people's homes for homeless people (14 services, 446 beds): 7 run by NGOs, 4 by local authorities, 3 by churches;
- temporary accommodation for families with children (4,081 beds in 127 services): 39 provided by NGOs, 45 by local authorities, plus 15 by NGOs/non-profit companies/public foundations set up by local authorities/the ministry, 28 by churches;
- day centres (124 services licensed to cater for 7,618 people every day): 56 run by NGOs, 43 by local authorities, plus 12 by NGOs/non-profit companies/public foundations set up by local authorities/the ministry, 13 by churches; and
- street outreach services (93 services): 60 run by NGOs, 16 by local authorities and 13 by NGOs/non-profit companies/public foundations set up by local authorities/the ministry, 4 by churches.

Emergency shelters (Social Act 1993: III 84§(1)) provide space to rest for homeless people 'capable of taking care of themselves and living in the community'. An emergency shelter has rooms with no more than 20 beds, a separate room for sick people, separate showers and toilets for men and women, laundry facilities, a safe place to store valuables, and facilities to prepare and eat meals. It should be open for at least 14 hours a day and should provide counselling and surveillance/safety. Emergency shelters are free of charge.

Temporary hostels (Social Act 1993: III 84§(2)) provide a 'housing service' for people 'capable of taking care of themselves' or a 'housing service and case work (social work) needed to help them take care of themselves'. A temporary hostel has rooms with a maximum of 15 beds, a separate room for sick people, separate showers and toilets for men and women, laundry facilities, a safe place to store valuables, and facilities to prepare and eat meals. Temporary hostels provide more extensive social work services, including counselling, case work, care, skills development, helping people access services, surveillance and household chores. Temporary hostels charge a fee for their services.

Rehabilitation institutions for homeless people (Social Act 1993: III 74/A§) offer temporary accommodation for active-age homeless people who are physically/mentally capable of work and are willing to participate in various activities targeting rehabilitation. These services accommodate homeless people who can be rehabilitated in their medical, psychological and social condition and who are willing to actively participate in the complex process of rehabilitation. Services include help in strengthening/developing independent life skills, employability skills, finding and maintaining a home, relationships, 'acceptance

of the norms of the community', cultural integration, and free-time activities. People can also receive (after-care) support once they leave the service.

Temporary accommodation services for families with children (Child Protection Act 1997: XXXI 50§) offer temporary housing for homeless families with children (including women with children fleeing violence and pregnant women with or without a partner), and provide accommodation, support with raising the child(ren), legal, psychological and mental health counselling. Temporary accommodation services for families with children can set up crisis centres for families fleeing violence (for a maximum stay of eight weeks), secret safe houses for families fleeing violence (for a maximum stay of six months), halfway houses for families fleeing violence, coming from the above services. Municipalities with 30,000 or more inhabitants are obliged to arrange this type of service.

Old people's homes for homeless people (Social Act 1993: III 67§) are permanent care facilities for homeless people who cannot take care of themselves (or only with constant help). These services offer three meals a day, mental health services, clothing (if required) and healthcare. Those admitted to these services are homeless people who cannot be placed in temporary hostels and who, 'due to their age and physical state need more serious care-nursing'. These are social services with a strong medical presence.

There is a war of numbers over whether there are enough vacancies in the system. The state secretary responsible for social affairs claimed in 2018 that there were 19,000 vacancies, including all shelter types and day shelters. This latter type is used during the day only and has no beds, but only chairs; their capacity is calculated taking into account a relatively high turnover rate during the day. Thus, NGO experts say there are 11,000 places (the official figure from the HCSO was 10,201 vacancies in 2017). It is also true that several homeless people do not want to use the shelters, for various reasons: shelters are very crowded; there are conflicts, fights, thefts and bugs; dogs are not admitted; couples cannot be placed together; alcohol and drug taking are not tolerated; and too few places accept disabled people or people with high care needs. In some settlements, there are no beds for women.

Non-accommodation-based services

Food service - Soup kitchens (Social Act 1993: III 23§) are there to offer food on an occasional basis. This type of service should primarily be set up in settlements (or parts of the city) 'where the lifestyle of people's needs reflects an occasional need for food'. The portions served should satisfy 120% of the calorie intake requirements of the person. The service is free of charge for recipients.

Day centres for homeless people (1/2000 SZCSM Decree 103§) offer services for homeless people, such as community life, rest, personal hygiene, laundry, and warming and eating food. The service is free of charge.

Street outreach (1/2000 SZCSM Decree 104) aims to 'prevent harm to people living on the street, in public spaces, in places not fit for habitation, to reduce the harm caused by the lifestyle, to organise and help access to social and health services and get people to homeless or other accommodation centres'. Street outreach offers counselling, case work and transportation. In order to perform their tasks, street outreach workers have to have access to transportation (a vehicle or a travel pass), warm blankets, clothing, occasionally canned or other food and medicine. Street outreach has to operate at least six hours on weekdays in their service area – in the winter, this should be between 6 pm and 10 pm on the street. If more than one service operates in an area, it is enough for one of them to be on the streets at the given time, but they have to notify the emergency phone line of who is available and when. 'Street outreach services cooperate with the police and border patrols in their area to help the police prevent bodily harm in the winter.' The service is free of charge for service users.

Emergency phone lines (1/2000 SZCSM Decree 104/B§) are provided to coordinate services for homeless people sleeping rough. Their tasks include receiving calls about rough sleepers in a critical condition, so that they can notify the street outreach service working

in the area or another service (e.g. ambulance); gathering data on the use of emergency night shelters and information on services; and operating a computer database about the calls and responses. In the winter, the emergency phone lines operate 24 hours a day; at other times of the year, at least during working hours. They notify the authorities if shelters are full in the winter.

Healthcare centres (43/1999. Governmental Decree on the financing of healthcare services) can be set up to provide GP services for the homeless for 30 hours a week (open to patients residing anywhere – e.g. with no legal address in the settlement), as well as 24-hour health centres and mobile health units (open 168 hours a week) for patients residing anywhere.

Prevention services for households at immediate risk of homelessness

Family Support (Social Act 1993: III 64§) offers 'prevention, crisis intervention and support in preserving life skills' for individuals or families with social or mental health issues, or in some sort of crisis. Individual citizens, NGOs, support centres and health services can also notify Family Support if they know someone in need. Family Support meets those people and offers them help, including 'counselling for those with debts and housing problems'.

Debt management schemes may be offered by some municipalities to people who are more than six months behind with their bills, and who are willing to start paying in smaller instalments. The municipality might cover up to two thirds of the debt in monthly instalments, to be paid within a 12-month period. This type of service was obligatory for municipalities with more than 30,000 inhabitants until 1 March 2015 – but now it is optional. Prior to 28 February 2015, its coverage was a few thousand people, even when the number of households with outstanding mortgage payments had sky-rocketed to half a million.

National Asset Management Company (128/2012 Government Decree) is part of the Action Plan for the Protection of the Home (*Otthonvédelmi Akcióterv*) announced by the government back in 2011 to protect mortgage defaulters by providing permanent housing solutions to families that were struggling to pay their mortgage. It buys the house from its indebted owners and offers it back to the same family at an affordable rent. In the long run, the family has the possibility of buying it back from the state, if its financial situation improves. The scheme will cease in summer 2019; the 36,000 tenants will have the option to purchase their flats at a reduced price.

The main systemic causes limiting effective and sustainable ways out of homelessness are housing affordability, lack of social housing and the level and accessibility of welfare benefits (the normative home maintenance support has been abolished, and the level of social provisions is inadequate).

Existing services are not very effective at preventing homelessness and housing exclusion, due to the characteristics of the general Hungarian housing policy. They are more efficient at helping homeless people to survive, and less efficient at prevention or reintegration, although there have been improvements in this latter regard.

Some NGOs are active in the advocacy of housing rights (The City is for All/A Város Mindenkié),¹⁹ and in helping rough sleepers to move into affordable rental housing (From the Street to a Home Association/Utcáról Lakásba Egyesület);²⁰ others provide free legal advice not only to the homeless, but to people at risk of homelessness (Street Lawyers/Utcajogász; Shelter Foundation Legal Support/Menhely Alapítvány Jogsegély Szolgálat). Regarding government measures that could be cited as relatively successful at preventing homelessness, one might mention the winter moratorium on evictions; the protection of single-parent low-income consumers of selected utilities, such as gas and electricity; and the National Asset Management Company.

¹⁹ The City is for All (AVM), https://avarosmindenkie.blog.hu/2009/01/01/english_107

²⁰ From the Street to a Home Association, About us, <https://utcarollakasba.hu/about-us/>

Main gaps:

- the lack of home maintenance support²¹ (this enhances the chances of becoming homeless and limits the chances of access to housing), together with the inadequate level of social benefits and general income support;
- the difficulties experienced by groups with special needs (the elderly, psychiatric patients, those with an addiction problem, those with disabilities, women, couples, those leaving foster care or prison) in accessing services and receiving adequate support;
- the inadequacy of support provided to homeless families with children/families with very low income without housing;
- the lack of regulation of the rental market and the resulting affordability problems, which render many people homeless or force them to live in workers' hostels or illegal housing options, or in remote areas with few or no job opportunities, few or no public services, and high commuting costs; and
- the quality of existing services – shelters should be significantly modernised to reach quality standards, and housing-led provision, with floating support services, should be scaled up considerably.

Priorities for improvement:

- reintroduce and significantly increase the home maintenance support;
- create complex and accessible services for groups with special needs (the elderly, psychiatric patients, those with an addiction problem, those with disabilities, those leaving foster care or prison);
- secure social/community housing options at least for some special population groups (e.g. families with children) and provide housing-led provision with floating support services;
- regulate the rental market to alleviate affordability problems;
- improve the quality of existing services and the existing infrastructure; and
- scale up Housing First programmes considerably.

²¹ Prior to 2015, home maintenance support was a universal provision for low-income households that met the eligibility criteria; it helped to overcome affordability problems. Although its amount was relatively low, it was a widely accessible provision. Now it is regulated by municipalities. Further information is provided above in this section.

References

- Albert, F.: The criminalisation of rough sleeping in Hungary. ESPN Flash Report 2018/62. <https://ec.europa.eu/social/BlobServlet?docId=20487&langId=en>
- Ámon, K., et al.: Éves jelentés a lakhatási szegénységről 2018 [Annual report on housing poverty 2018], prepared for Habitat For Humanity Hungary, 2018. <https://habitat.hu/mivel-foglalkozunk/lakhatasi-jelentesek/lakhatasi-jelentes-2018/>
- Átol, D., et al.: *Habitat for Humanity Magyarország: Éves jelentés a lakhatási szegénységről 2014* [Annual report on housing poverty 2014], 2015. https://www.habitat.hu/files/HABITAT_2014_lakhatasi_jelentes_hosszu_1109.pdf
- Átol, D., Bozsik, B., Kováts, B. and Kőszeghy, L.: *Éves jelentés a lakhatási szegénységről 2016, készült a Habitat for Humanity Magyarország számára* [Annual report on housing poverty 2016, prepared for Habitat For Humanity Hungary], 2017. <https://habitat.hu/ext-files/hfhf lakhatasi jelentes 2016 web 2.pdf>
- Beszámoló az alapvető jogok biztosának és helyetteseinek tevékenységéről 2017* [Report on the activities of the ombudsman and deputy ombudspersons]. Alapvető Jogok Biztosának Hivatala, 2018, <https://www.parlament.hu/irom40/19969/19969.pdf>
- Breitner, P.: Lakáshasználat a hajléktalanságban – jelentés a szociálpolitika senki földjéről [Use of flats in homelessness – report from the no man’s land of social policy], *Otthonatlanul* 2016/11 pp. 83-102, <http://www.hajlektalansag.hu/dokumentumok/otthonatlanul/Otthonatlanul11.pdf>
- Fehér, B. and Kovács, I.: Különbségek és hasonlóságok. Hajléktalan élethelyzetű nők és férfiak összehasonlító vizsgálata a 2016. február 3-I adatfelvétel alapján [Differences and similarities between homeless women and men based on the 3 February 2016 survey], *Esély* 2018/6, pp.75-106.
- Győri, P.: Hajléktalanság-romák-gyermekszegénység [Homelessness-Roma-child poverty], *Esély* 2017/4, pp. 17-45.
- Győri, P.: Turning into Nobody? The Decades of Losing Ground. European Research Conference, Social and Economic Integration of Homeless People. Budapest, 21 September 2018, Central European University.
- Hegedüs, J. and Somogyi, E.: A lakások megfizethetősége és a társadalmi egyenlőtlenségek – a KSH 2015-ös lakásfelvétele alapján [The affordability of flats and social inequalities based on the housing survey of the HCSO] in: *Miben élünk? A 2015. évi lakásfelmérés részletes eredményei*. KSH Budapest, 2018, pp. 6-25. https://www.ksh.hu/docs/hun/xftp/idoszaki/pdf/miben_elunk15_2.pdf
- Hegedüs, J., Horváth, V. and Tosics, N.: Economic and legal conflicts between landlords and tenants in the Hungarian private rental sector, *International Journal of Housing Policy*, 2014, 14(2).
- Hegedüs, J., Horváth, V., Somogyi, E. and Teller, N.: Hajléktalan emberek társadalmi és munkaerő-piaci integrációját segítő programok – TÁMOP 5.3.3 konstrukció monitoringja [Programmes enhancing the social and labour market integration of homeless people – the monitoring of the TÁMOP 5.3.3 measure]. Városkutatás Kft, 2015.
- Helsinki Figyelő: Hajléktalan matematika - elzárás vagy lakhatás? [Homeless mathematics – lock-up or housing?], 19 October 2018, https://helsinkifigyelo.blog.hu/2018/10/19/hajlektalan_matematika_elzaras_vagy_lakhatas
- Kopasz, M. and Gábos, A.: A szociális segélyezési rendszer 2015. márciusi átalakításának hatása a települési önkormányzatok magatartására [The impact of the restructuring of the social assistance system in 2015 on the attitude of municipalities]. In: Kolosi, T. and Tóth, I. Gy. (eds), *Társadalmi Riport 2018* [Social Report 2018], Budapest, 2018,

pp. 328-349. http://www.tarki.hu/sites/default/files/trip2018/328-349_Kopasz_Gabos_20180613.pdf

KSH (Hungarian Central Statistical Office): *Magyarország 2017 [Hungary 2017]*. KSH, Budapest, 2018a. <http://www.ksh.hu/docs/hun/xftp/idoszaki/mo/mo2017.pdf>

KSH (Hungarian Central Statistical Office): *Mikrocenzus 2016. Lakáskörülmények (7.) [Mini-census 2016: Housing conditions (7)]*. KSH, Budapest, 2018b. https://www.ksh.hu/mikrocenzus2016/kotet_7_lakaskorulmenyek

Szikra, D.: Távolodás az európai szociális modelltől. A szegénység társadalompolitikája [Moving away from the European Social Model. The social policy of poverty], *Magyar Tudomány* 2018/6. https://mersz.hu/hivatkozas/matud_f7997#matud_f7997

Teller, N. and Somogyi, E. with contributions from Tosics, N.: Social context, evictions and prevention measures in Hungary. In: Kenna, P., Nasarre-Aznar, S., Sparkes, P. and Schmid, C.U. (eds.): *Loss of Homes and Evictions across Europe: A Comparative Legal and Policy Examination*. Edward Elgar Publishing, Cheltenham, UK/Northampton, MA, 2018, pp. 141-161.

Annex

Table A1: ETHOS Light categories defined as homeless in Hungary

| Operational category | | Living situation | | Definition | Defined as homeless in Hungary |
|----------------------|---|------------------|---|---|---|
| 1 | People living rough | 1 | Public space/ external space | Living in the streets or public spaces without a shelter that can be defined as living quarters | Yes |
| 2 | People in emergency accommodation | 2 | Overnight shelters | People with no place of usual residence who move frequently between various types of accommodation | Yes |
| 3 | People living in accommodation for the homeless | 3 | Homeless hostels | Where the period of stay is time limited and no long-term housing is provided | Yes for living condition 3.3 |
| | | 4 | Temporary accommodation | | No for living conditions 3.4-3.6 |
| | | 5 | Transitional supported accommodation | | |
| | | 6 | Women's shelter or refuge accommodation | | |
| 4 | People living in institutions | 7 | Healthcare institutions | Stay longer than needed due to lack of housing No housing available prior to release | No for both living conditions 4.7 and 4.8 |
| | | 8 | Penal institutions | | |
| 5 | People living in non-conventional dwellings due to lack of housing | 9 | Mobile homes | Where the accommodation is used due to a lack of housing and is not the person's usual place of residence | Yes (if the house is on public land/ property) for living conditions 5.9-5.11 |
| | | 10 | Non-conventional building | | |
| | | 11 | Temporary structures | | |
| 6 | Homeless people living temporarily in conventional housing with family and friends (due to lack of housing) | 12 | Conventional housing, but not the person's usual place of residence | Where the accommodation is used due to a lack of housing and is not the person's usual place of residence | No |

Table A2: Latest available data on the number of homeless in Hungary

| Operational category | | Living situation | | Most recent number | Period covered | Source |
|----------------------|---|------------------|---|--|--------------------|--|
| 1 | People living rough | 1 | Public space/ external space | 2,300 people | 3 Feb 2019 | Estimation based on 3 Feb 2019 count survey, https://februarharmadika.blog.hu/2018/03/29/nygy_hajlektalan_kozul_harom_lakasban_elhetne_181#more13788400 |
| 2 | People in emergency accommodation | 2 | Overnight shelters | See category 3 | See category 3 | See category 3 |
| 3 | People living in accommodation for the homeless | 3 | Homeless hostels | 3.3: 6,268 people | 3.3: 3 Feb 2019 | Estimation based on 3 February 2019 count survey https://februarharmadika.blog.hu/2018/03/29/nygy_hajlektalan_kozul_harom_lakasban_elhetne_181#more13788400 . NB: the 6,268 figure covers both categories 2 and 3. ²² |
| | | 4 | Temporary accommodation | | | |
| | | 5 | Transitional supported accommodation | | | |
| | | 6 | Women's shelter or refuge accommodation | | | |
| 4 | People living in institutions | 7 | Healthcare institutions | n.a. | | Census 2011 gathered such data but these have not been published yet |
| | | 8 | Penal institutions | n.a. | | |
| 5 | People living in non-conventional dwellings due to lack of housing | 9 | Mobile homes | 95,251 substandard flats (for 5.9-5.11) | 2016 | KSH (2018b: Table 1.2.5) |
| | | 10 | Non-conventional building | | | |
| | | 11 | Temporary structures | | | |
| 6 | Homeless people living temporarily in conventional housing with family and friends (due to lack of housing) | 12 | Conventional housing, but not the person's usual place of residence | n.a. | | |

²² The total estimate for categories 1, 2 and 3 is 15,000 people, <http://www.gyoripeter.hu/home/docs/homelessness/F3-survey-reports>

