

Győri Péter:

Excluded groups in the city centre – How do different groups of homeless use public space in the large city?

(FEANTSA Working Group 2 – Profiles of Homeless People, 2006)

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*"Streets and the subway.... for most people, they are for commuting between home and office. They are not for sleep. People sleep at home. Parks are not designed for cooking or urinating, people do these things at home. Private and public spaces complement each other, so do the typical activities done at each. These complementary roles work well for those who have access to both, but are disastrous for people who live their lives on shared ground."*¹

Summary

In numerous countries around the world, millions of people live without shelter, without a safe and healthy home. There is hardly a city in Europe where you cannot see young or old people hang around at night or sleep rough, where there are no homeless spending both their days and nights in the streets. We think this is not acceptable, and many European citizens agree that we cannot let people live their lives without a home. This shared concern, however, leads to a variety of measures, local and national policies. The urban public space is one of the battlegrounds, where the interests, intentions and norms of passers-by and residents clash with those of the homeless, for whom public space is inevitably their private space as well.

As a result of conflicts and different approaches, the European Federation of National Organisations working with the Homeless (FEANTSA) decided to conduct a series of studies across Europe on the life of the homeless, the conflicts in public spaces, and the differences in national policies. The present study is the first part of the Hungarian contribution to this project. The aim is to survey the ways public spaces are used by the homeless, the emerging conflicts, the reflection of these conflicts in policy-making, and how the subsequent measures cover up or avoid having to deal with the actual problem, i.e., homelessness.

The second part of the study, to be published in 2007, is going to discuss the conflicts of different stakeholders, and describe and analyse the battle raging on and for public spaces. It will not only cover campaigns to "clear up" underpasses (underground passages) and the controversial transformation of benches, but also the comprehensive reclamation of public spaces, such as the privatisation of space by small businesses, the formation of privately owned public spaces in the new shopping centres, and the rehabilitation of run-down neighbourhoods and industrial areas of the city, which inevitably mean the eviction of former inhabitants and activities and the promotion of a different set of activities, habits and norms.

First of all, the studies conducted and published recently about the homeless are summarised in this paper. In the first chapter, the formal and informal rules and regulations on public spaces are summarised, including the list of activities considered acceptable and unacceptable in public spaces.

The second chapter describes the ongoing February 3rd project, a large-scale empirical data collection campaign, and presents and analyses data to reveal where and how the homeless of Budapest spend daytime. This approach leads to a completely different result from that of a casual approach considering immediate visual impressions only.

In the third chapter, social workers who have been on duty in the Shelter Foundation's (Menhely Alapítvány) so-called "crisis car" tell about their experiences with the roofless: their attitudes and strategies for finding a place to sleep.

Chapter 4. covers the viewpoint of a very different stratum: those who consider streets and underpasses "work". Public opinion often blurs the distinction between beggars, the homeless and the

¹ Waldron, Jeremy: Homelessness and the issue of freedom. *UCLA Law Review* 1991. 39:295-324.

roofless. This section focuses on interviews conducted with beggars, and reveals how they find their place to work and how the authorities relate to them down at the level of the pavement.

Finally, Chapter 5 presents the findings of a small-scale representative survey on the attitudes of Budapest residents to the homeless; more specifically, what their opinions are, how they support the homeless, how they react to the magazine edited and sold by homeless (*Fedél Nélkül – Roofless*), and what they think of the installation of armrests on benches in public spaces so as to prevent the homeless from lying on them. This chapter forms the link to the second, as yet unwritten part of the present study.

I. Formal and informal rules of public spaces²

Article 27 of Act LXIII of 1999 on Maintaining Law and Order on Public Property gives the following definition of public space (public property).

"public property: all public space owned by the state or by local governments which can be used by all for its intended purpose. (...) Furthermore, private property which can be used by all under the same conditions."

The General Assembly of the Municipality of Budapest decree No. 59/1995 (X. 20.) stipulates that public space in Budapest

"serves the interests of the community, and can be used under these conditions by all in order to achieve this aim."

(1) Public space can be used freely by all for its intended purpose.

(2) Proper use of the public space might not derogate others' rights to use the public space.

(3) Proper use of the public space is breached if the use results in derogating others' rights to use the public space for its intended purpose."

Public space may be used for purposes other than its intended purpose, but permission from the local government is necessary. Activities requiring a permission to use public space include the installation of a telephone booths or temporary buildings catering for workers at a building site, vending booths, etc.

² The summary is based on Török, Á; Udvarhelyi É. T.: *The dirty inhabitants of a clean city: an antropological study of public space segregation and cleanliness in Budapest*. (Egy tiszta város piszkos lakói. A köztéri szegregáció és a tisztaság összefüggéseinek antropológiai vizsgálata Budapesten.). PhD dissertation. Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest.

Excluded groups

Besides legal regulations on the use of public spaces, informal rules also apply.

Passers-by in Budapest gave the following responses:

- *"people can do whatever they want in public spaces";*
- *"anyone can use public spaces, they are not owned by anyone, you can do anything that is not forbidden by law";*
- *"public space is the city itself, private property should not be allowed";*
- *"public space is a clean, looked after place where a young mother can take her child, small kids can go and play without having to worry about anything, people can sit around, read and chat, the elderly can take a rest";*
- *"anything is allowed in public spaces which does not disturb our morals and is not illegal";*
- *"public space is what anyone can use to meet, chat, entertain, or do anything else tolerated by others".*

In 2004, Közterület Társaság (Public Spaces Association) organised a series of informal talks. The organisers gave the following opinion on public spaces: *"If public spaces swallow up the private space, then we are in a totalitarian regime. Democracy means that we are capable of maintaining the system of mutual dependencies and responsibilities forming society itself by building on the values presented in the symbolic public space. Public spaces need to be as versatile and diverse as the society creating and housing them. The aim of public spaces is to convey plurality and to give access to all to create it."*³

Based on the different points of view presented so far, the following summary could be formed about the appropriate use, functions and ownership of public spaces:

(1.) Who can use public spaces? *Anyone, everyone, many people without discrimination.* Most respondents did not limit the range of potential users.

(2.) What can public spaces be used for? *Traffic, moving around, meeting people, sitting, reading, talking, relaxing, social interaction, establishing and maintaining relationships, community activities, playing.* Functions of public spaces are diverse and include elements of practical and symbolic use.

(3.) What is allowed and acceptable in public spaces? *Anything can be done that is not forbidden by law, almost anything can be done, can be used freely, everyone should take care of public spaces.* Negative definitions include *walking dogs and sleeping on benches are not appropriate.* Definitions range from unlimited use and use not disturbing others to a list of unwanted activities.

(4.) Who do public spaces belong to? *Public spaces belong to nobody, private property should not be allowed.* It is not evident for people at all who own public spaces. The normal, appropriate and intended use of public areas depends on the current social consensus, which reflects the norms, habits, behaviour and expectations of the majority at the given time. Accordingly, playgrounds are for children to play, benches are for sitting and chatting, bus stops are for waiting for the bus, *"public spaces must be used for their intended purpose, parking is for parking the cars and underground passages are for passing underground."* Conflicts in the urban public spaces arise when these unwritten rules are breached by certain groups of people: when teenagers meet at playgrounds and smoke together,

³ "What space is being created here?" (Milyen tér épül itt?) Talks organised by the Public Spaces Association, March 23 2004, Budapest.

http://www.artitude.hu/hun/hirek/hirek_040321_a38.htm

Excluded groups

when homeless sleep on the benches, when youngsters go skateboarding in bus stops, etc. These conflicts are not merely about the use of public space but also reflect society itself, and a clash between value systems held by different segments of society.

An example of how norms and expectations can change over time. "When I was younger, I thought it was normal that couples hug and kiss in the streets. When I had a boyfriend, I became shy. Holding hands was fine, an occasional hug, well, not quite, but kissing in the streets, absolutely no. But the other day we talked about eating in the streets, for me, it is not disgusting if others do it, I also eat too, but a friend of mine says her mom finds it absolutely disgusting that some people eat in the streets

The "invisible boundaries" at the metro station and underground passage at Kálvin Square, central Budapest illustrate well the refined yet unwritten codes of conduct and the segregation of activities and groups. A threefold division can be observed: metro – underpass – street. Informal rules do not allow access over certain invisible lines for some groups, a breach in these rules inevitably results in tension and conflicts.

The strictest rules apply at the lowest level, in the metro. This area belongs to the Budapest Public Transportation Company (BKV), and is publicly used private space. The Metro Security Service ("metro police") oversees order, and its duties include the exclusion and removal of unwanted people, as laid out in the terms of use of the metro: *"persons disturbing other passengers because of intoxication or dirty clothing can be excluded from using the metro"*. This regulation applies to the homeless intending to warm up at the metro stations, whether or not they have a valid ticket or pass.

The next level is the underpass. Observation, control, physical cleaning has resulted in the exclusion of certain social groups, among them, an almost complete eviction of the homeless, though not quite as effectively as from the metro station itself. The policy of the local council outlines the following aim: *"we will take back public areas, so that the residents of Budapest, tourists, old and young, families can use these areas to meet and relax. At the same time, the former users of the areas are offered alternatives suited to their needs: shelters and social services."* The alternation of the users implies the spatial exclusion and segregation of the homeless from other citizens.

At the uppermost level, in the streets, exclusion and segregation attempts are not so coordinated. Several homeless evicted from the underpass take shelter in the vicinity of Kálvin Square, on benches and other sheltered spots. *"We are only sent away from the underpass, nobody cares what we do out here. We can do anything outside, the police and public spaces patrols do not care. Why? Because that is the orders they got. When it is raining we can stay underground, but when it stops we must leave"*, a homeless person commented.

In summary, underground passages are the battleground of a symbolic struggle, where persons and groups with different values and norms clash for the right to take practical and symbolic control of underpasses and for the right to determine the rules of use. Certain groups of people using the underpasses think that others breach the rules of use, take control of her areas or parts of it, and use and transform them according to their needs. Several reactions can be observed, the most dominant being exclusion and segregation using various means.

II. Homeless paths at daytime

From 1999 onwards, the situation of the homeless population in Budapest is surveyed annually, always on February 3rd.⁴ The structured questionnaire covers all who spend the night at any of the temporary homeless hostels or night shelters as well as rough sleepers known to social services. All six surveys conducted between 1999 and 2004 recorded the demographic data of the homeless (age, sex, education and qualifications, capability to work, income, time spent homeless); in addition, a varying set of questions is asked in order to take a snapshot of the life of the homeless and to gather valuable data for analysis.

On February 3rd 2004, 2800 homeless people, of whom 500 had spent the previous night in the streets, were asked the following question: *"Where were you and what were you doing yesterday at 10 a.m. and at 2 p.m.?"*⁵ The answers were collated and analysed across sexes, age groups, qualifications, place of residence, and income levels, and yielded important insights.

The research questions behind the general questions asked were the following:

- Which areas and districts of Budapest are used by the homeless during the day? o What do these areas have in common?
- Are there any differences in the public area use habits of roofless people and the homeless staying at hostels?
- What do the roofless and homeless do in public places during the day?
- Do data from the survey support the stereotypical image of the homeless?
- How far do the roofless and homeless move away from their usual place of sleeping during the day?

Reflections on one day

The general public has a one-sided image of the homeless: they are always in the streets, sleep in underpasses or on benches, they do nothing. Even some social workers have the preconception that the homeless are always sitting or lying on their beds at the hostels, or they proceed from the night shelters to the daytime centres where they hang around for the entire day. The public image of the homeless is naturally influenced by their visibility or invisibility in a community. There are variations as to what extent their lives are organised around social centres, hostels and shelters, and how far and where they venture around the city or town. The question *"Where were you yesterday at 10 a.m. and at 2 p.m."* aimed at collecting data about these patterns of movement.

At 10 a.m., a significant proportion of the surveyed population (43%) were staying at some public building (social services centre, shelter or hostel, hospital, etc.) A quarter of the population (22%) were staying in the streets or in transportation; whereas 19.4% were at work. Very similar proportions were recorded at 2 p.m. (40% in public buildings, 20% in streets, 20% at work, 20% elsewhere);

⁴ About the survey: <http://www.bmszki.hu/english>

⁵ The summary is based on a paper entitled "Homeless paths" by Győri Péter and the February 3rd Team. Contributing members are: Bényei Zoltán (Shelter Foundation, 1999-2000), Breitner Péter (Shelter Foundation, 2003-2004), Gróf András (Twist Foundation, 2003-2004), Gurály Zoltán (Shelter Foundation, 1999-2004), Győri Péter (1999-2004), Mezei György (Twist Foundation, 1999-2004), Pelle József (Budapest Methodological Centre of Social Policy and its Institutions, 2001-2004). The research was coordinated by Gurály Zoltán. The studies were compiled by Győri Péter.

Excluded groups

however, one fifth of those in the streets in the morning entered some public building in the meantime, and one fifth of those in public buildings in the morning moved on to the streets by the afternoon. It is important to note that 30% (900 respondents) were at some kind of public building at both times. 17% (440 subjects) were at work all day; in addition, 15% (400 people) stayed in the streets in the morning as well as in the afternoon.

The homeless staying in the streets at both times are mostly males aged 31 to 39. 20 to 30-year-old male respondents were likely to be at work. Most males over the age of 70 spent the entire day at public buildings, primarily social centres.

"Our clients are not like that", social workers might argue, and rightly so. Residents at different social centres and shelters belong to distinct groups within the homeless population. At one temporary hostel, 71% of the respondents were staying in the building during the day, but at another shelter, the corresponding figure was only 13%. In the case of rehabilitation shelters, 68 to 98% of the homeless did not leave the hostel. 12% to 58% of residents were at work. At one night shelter, 52% of regulars stay in the streets at daytime, but at another similar centre, only 6% stay in the streets, the rest are at work or stay at daytime shelters. Social services working in the street also vary greatly regarding the typical homeless receiving assistance: some cater for those staying in the streets during the day, some contact homeless with jobs, others focus on regular clients of night shelters.

The significant differences described above are partly the result of the *selection mechanisms* operated by the social service centres, which specialise or select their clients according to specific criteria. In addition, the *daily routine* also includes rules on the periods when clients are permitted to stay in. The question is, do the decisions made by the social centres organise the daily schedule of the homeless, or do shelters and hostels adapt to the lifestyles and strategies of their clients. It is supposed that a detailed research project on this issue would reveal examples to support both versions.



Excluded groups

Social centre	Where were you yesterday at 2 p.m.?						
	street	work	public building	other	apartment	total (%)	total (person)
BMSZKI ⁶ Dózsa temp. male	5.6	32.2	52.2	10.0		100	90
BMSZKI Dózsa temp. female	9.7	12.3	70.8	5.8	1.3	100	154
BMSZKI Alföldi temp.	12.0	16.7	63.3	4.7	3.3	100	150
BMSZKI Külső Mester temp.	6.9	57.8	29.3	5.2	.9	100	116
BMSZKI Bánya senior temp.	14.3	1.6	74.6	9.5		100	63
BMSZKI Váltóház temp.	4.9	24.6	52.5	16.4	1.6	100	61
BMSZKI Táblás temp.	15.4	29.2	41.5	10.8	3.1	100	65
BMSZKI Dózsa shelter female	20.0	15.0	55.0	5.0	5.0	100	20
BMSZKI Könyves shelter	33.3	16.7	37.9	12.1		100	66
BMSZKI Előd shelter	20.1	30.2	30.2	17.2	2.4	100	169
BMSZKI Előd safehouse shelter	14.3	17.1	42.9	20.0	5.7	100	35
BMSZKI streets	59.5	5.4	8.1	24.3	2.7	100	37
Red Cross Ady temp.	2.5	55.0	37.5	5.0		100	40
Rés Pesti temp.			98.1		1.9	100	54
Order of Malta Miklós temp.	17.0	57.4	12.8	10.6	2.1	100	47
Salvation Army Dobozi temp.	13.6	22.7	57.6	1.5	4.5	100	66
Order of Malta Borszéki rehab. temp.	4.5	18.2	68.2	9.1		100	22
Shelter Foundation Vajda 3. shelter	11.4	5.7	74.3	5.7	2.9	100	70
Isola shelter	51.9	24.1	12.7	7.6	3.8	100	79
Order of Malta Vonat	35.9	20.7	27.2	8.7	7.6	100	92
Tiszta Forrás shelter		56.3	34.4	9.4		100	32
Rés Podmaniczky shelter	14.3	12.2	24.5	42.9	6.1	100	49
Red Cross Ady shelter	5.7	21.8	48.3	19.5	4.6	100	87
Heated street	39.1	4.7	39.1	14.1	3.1	100	64
Order of Malta, street	43.3	7.4	20.2	27.6	1.5	100	203
Red Cross, Ady street	30.5	9.9	35.1	15.9	8.6	100	151
Tiszta Forrás, street	20.0	36.0	22.0	12.0	10.0	100	50
Shelter Foundation, Práter street	71.4	2.4	7.1	11.9	7.1	100	42
Shelter Foundation, Práter street	100.0					100	15
Total	23.0	18.8	41.5	13.6	3.1	100	2673

Besides the type of place the homeless were staying at the given time (street, public building, work, etc.), the exact location in Budapest was also recorded with the aim of finding patterns about the typical areas frequented by the homeless as well as about the average distance they move away from their place of sleep.

Corresponding to the location of the major social centres and shelters, 66% (nearly 700 respondents) of those staying at a public building at 2 p.m. were in districts 8, 10 and 13 of the capital. At the same time, 500 subjects were in the streets, 20% in district 8, 11 % in district 13, and around 5% in each of the following districts: 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 14. The hangout areas correspond with the major junctions and busiest areas of the capital.

- *51% of the 400 rough sleepers (191 people) were also in the streets at 2 p.m., more specifically, at the following places: Blaha Square (29), Western Railway Station (28), Kelenföldi Railway*

Excluded groups

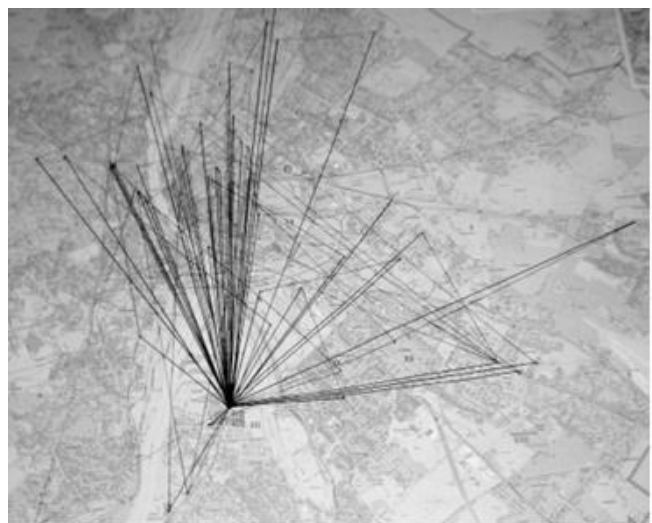
Station (11), Kálvin Square (6), Eastern Railway Station (5), Moszkva Square (5), Southern Railway Station (4), Városmajor area (4), Andrásy Avenue (3), Király Street (3), Ferenciek Square (3), Fővám Square (3), Lehel Square (3), Örs vezér Square (3), and other locations with one person present. At the same time, 20% of rough sleepers were at a social centre (daytime shelter, service centre, canteen).

- *25% of the 800 respondents who had spent the previous night at a night shelter were in the streets in the afternoon: Blaha Square (21), Dózsa Road (3), Ferenciek Square (5), Eastern Railway Station (7), Kálvin Square (4), Lehel Square (4), Moszkva Square (11), Nagyváradi Square (5), Western Railway Station (31), City Park (5). 25% of night shelter regulars were at work at 2 p.m.; whereas one third were at a social centre, typically in a daytime shelter.*
- *Less than 10% of respondents living in temporary hostels were in the streets at 2 p.m. 25% were at work, and two thirds were in their hostels or at some other public building.*

The survey revealed that different segments of the homeless and roofless population use the same public areas and squares in the city in the afternoon, preparing to go to sleep later on in shelters or in the streets.

An unsuccessful project

The 2004 database included the location of the interview and the respondents' location in the morning and afternoon of the previous day, based on which some members of the February 3rd Team attempted to calculate the distance covered by the homeless between their places of sleep and the areas visited during the day, to determine how far they venture away. This attempt at using modern technology was largely unsuccessful, only two drafts were prepared, displaying the movements of the residents of a hostel in Northern Pest and one in Southern Buda. Both maps reveal that the majority of the residents of the secluded and isolated hostels travel to the city centre instead of staying on the outskirts. The main destination is the inner city on the Pest side of the capital, in order to work, do errands and paperwork, or simply "hang around". The areas accessed during the day are independent from the location of the hostel: respondents can choose to sleep at a shelter on a distant edge of the city.



Snapshots: in the streets, at hostels, at work

One of the aims of the annual surveys is to check our everyday experiences and impressions against a database covering almost the entire homeless and roofless population reached by social services. Consequences emerging from the data are important, but the limitations are also apparent. Let us list the 10 a.m. activities mentioned by the 2279 respondents to shed more light on the complicated situation.

What were the 600 homeless doing in the streets at 10 a.m.?

sleeping (9), lying in the street (1), living in a car (1), waking up (1), looking around (5), walking around (2), wandering (1), loitering (1), taking some fresh air (1), hanging around (1), roaming the streets (9), doing nothing (1), standing (2), standing around (1), sitting around (1), sitting down (4), sitting on a bench (7), taking a rest (14), keeping an eye on their possessions (2), walking around town (2), walking (2), taking a walk (78), sightseeing (1), waiting (7), chatting with friends and acquaintances (31), drinking alcohol, sitting in a pub, getting drunk (15), working (41), selling things (7), selling flowers (2), handing out leaflets (5), selling newspaper (32), collecting bottles (11), doing business (1), cleaning (3), sweeping the street (1), gathering stuff (5), collecting metals (3), collecting paper (3), collecting cardboard paper (1), taking collected stuff to the recycling collection yard (2), looking in garbage cans (23), looking in trashcans (24), looking (3), picking up cigarettes (2), helping out in a parking lot (2), begging (40), unloading cars (1), pruning shrubs (1), collecting wood (1), earning money (2), waiting for lunch (1), going to lunch (1), leaving day shelter (1), eating bread with fat handout (2), eating in a canteen (3), standing in a queue (2), queuing up for bread and butter (1), queuing up for lunch (1), getting warm (5), reading (15), eating (9), cooking and washing (1), looking for the police (1), looking for an apartment (1), going to work (1), going home from work (1), going to church (1), visiting family (1), going to the doctor (1), looking for work (10), travelling (24), doing errands and paperwork (6), doing shopping (13), nothing (9).

What were 518 homeless respondents doing at work at 10 a.m.?

Working (436), looking for work (13), at a job interview (3), checking out at the end of shift (1), selling goods at market (1), doing an odd job (1), driving a car (1), driving a bus (2), selling goods (1), waiting tables (1), painting (1), making plastic sheets (1), collecting materials for recycling from trashcans (1), cleaning (3), cleaning a staircase (1), sweeping pavement (7), sweeping yard (1), making wreaths (1), unloading goods at market (3), washing dishes (1), security guard (2), working for friends (1), teaching (1), other (19).

What were 1161 homeless respondents doing at public buildings at 10 a.m.?

Sleeping (69), staying in indoor streets (4), lying (4), taking a rest (151), waking up (8), reading (76), visiting polyclinic (2), taking part in health rehabilitation (2), taking part in artificial limb physiotherapy (1), taking part in therapy (1), visiting dentist (2), getting new glasses (1), getting addictology treatment (1), visiting doctor (27), getting vaccination (1), taking pills (1), lying in infirmary (1), recovering from illness (1), getting a lungs scan (9), getting treatment (33), getting wound redress (4), donating blood (1), drawing blood samples (1), getting medical attention (53), waiting for doctor's statement (2), waiting for toilet (1), collecting toilet use fees (1), waiting for friend (3), chatting (25), visiting wife (1), waiting for children (2), waiting for lunch coupons (1), lining up for lunch (1), having lunch in a canteen (1), eating (111), cooking (9), washing clothes (40), cleaning (10), ironing (1), clipping nails (1), washing (34), getting dressed (6), watching tv (45), on the computer (2), listening to music (1), playing cards (8), having coffee (12), having soda (1), sewing (1), reading in library (4), playing chess (4), catching some heat (74), queuing (4), looking for work (20), getting new documents (5), getting new ID card (6), doing paperwork on housing (1), doing paperwork on social benefits (1),

Excluded groups

checking in to hostel (1), doing paperwork on pension (2), talking to social worker (1), waiting in post office (2), doing paperwork (81), working (32), studying (10), teaching (3), loading and unloading (1), laying floorboard (1), making shelves (1), sitting around (5), waiting (11), nothing (5), thinking (1).

It is important to note that even homeless and roofless people spend a considerable amount of time on "homemaking", be it in the streets, in a daytime shelter, night shelter or temporary hostel. In addition, many of the activities listed by the respondents were a passive, almost meaningless way of killing time. Very significantly, it is apparent that the homeless spend long hours seeking medical help and doing paperwork. Finally, it can be concluded that the jobs listed specifically are mostly low-prestige work or collecting recyclable material from the garbage.

"Eight hours at work, eight hours sleep, eight hours having fun"?

In 2004, homeless respondents were asked the question *"How many hours did you spend yesterday sleeping / having entertainment / at work / queuing up / etc?"* The day in question was a Monday, so replies reflect the range of typical activities on a regular winter weekday.⁶ The respondents spent 8 hours sleeping on average. 5.3 hours were devoted to entertainment, watching tv, personal hygiene and eating. Only 3.4 hours are spent at work, which is exceeded by the 3.9 hours that pass while travelling, doing paperwork and standing in queues. Homeless women spend slightly more time sleeping, cleaning and eating; whereas homeless men work significantly more. The homeless with ill health affecting their capability to take employment spend a mere 2 hours on average at work; instead, they sleep more, and spend nearly 6 hours watching tv, cleaning and eating.

Over two hours spent on travelling, one hour on paperwork and one hour queuing up are figures in common for all demographic groups. 1300 respondents had to line up on the previous day for some reason: 500 visited canteens catering for homeless or daytime shelters, 600 did paperwork, the remainder had various other reasons.

"A new and typical lifestyle watershed is being formed between those in need and those living in relative security: endless queues, hopeless waiting. Can it be avoided at all? It is perhaps self-evident that these long lines are not only a waste of time, but humiliating as well, as they subdue people to an inferior category, destroying their sense of dignity – irrespective of the outcome of the waiting in the end. However, I have doubts regarding the number of officials, doctors, social workers who have a guilty conscience about the clients waiting out there in the corridors, halls and streets. After all, they do have endless resources of time to spend..."⁷

On average, respondents spent 8 hours sleeping, 3.5 hours working (instead of 8), and the remaining time is not taken up by entertainment, but by 1.4 hours entertainment, 1.7 hours watching tv, 2.2 hours hygiene and eating, and 3.9 hours lining up, paperwork and travelling.

⁶ The special problems of activity surveys are not discussed, for details see Szalai Sándor: *Idő a mérlegen (Time on the scale)*, Gondolat, Budapest, 1983. It is important to note that the respondents were able to reflect on their day more accurately than expected. The analysis deals with average data spread out to the entire population in question.

⁷ *Solt Ottilia: Szociálpolitika alulnézetből (Social policy looking from down under.) Plenary speech at the conference on social policy in the capital, Budapest, December 17, 1996. See: www.gyoripeter.fw.hu*

	How much time did you spend yesterday doing these activities? (average, hours)									
	Work	Paperwork	Lining up	Travelling	Hygiene, eating	Watching tv	Entertainment	Other	Sleep	Total
Gender										
male	3.60	.64	.90	2.28	2.17	1.76	1.46	2.27	8.01	22.99
female	2.47	.73	1.05	2.36	2.30	1.68	1.05	3.33	8.29	23.23
Education										
Less than 8 grades	1.40	.33	1.00	2.36	2.17	2.13	1.07	2.95	8.65	22.09
Primary	3.22	.57	.93	2.34	2.19	1.79	1.20	2.48	8.26	22.90
Primary + vocational course	3.43	.82	1.00	1.98	1.85	1.46	1.36	2.71	7.90	22.51
Secondary vocational	3.76	.73	.87	2.27	2.22	1.72	1.54	2.26	7.98	23.26
Secondary graduate	3.37	.80	.92	2.27	2.18	1.72	1.56	2.61	7.80	23.15
Secondary graduate + vocational course	2.71	.21	.29	1.57	1.50	1.71	1.14	4.86	9.00	23.29
College	4.57	.59	1.30	2.01	2.37	1.26	1.49	2.01	7.39	23.02
University	3.83	.50	.58	2.17	2.26	1.35	1.96	3.08	7.48	23.29
Years since becoming homeless										
less than 1 year	4.00	.85	.98	2.37	2.17	1.47	1.24	2.39	7.88	23.24
1-5 years	4.37	.72	.91	2.39	2.01	1.91	1.30	2.10	7.26	22.98
5-10 years	3.64	.67	.85	2.31	2.09	1.69	1.45	2.21	8.31	23.18
over 10 years	2.94	.62	.99	2.37	2.20	1.77	1.66	2.64	8.15	23.30
Ill health affecting capacity to take employment										
yes	2.20	.65	.90	2.12	2.25	2.03	1.60	2.83	8.44	22.96
no	4.46	.67	.91	2.44	2.14	1.45	1.21	2.13	7.73	23.06
Have you ever been considered a Gypsy (Roma)?										
yes	3.48	.63	.93	2.41	2.15	1.59	1.24	2.51	7.89	22.72
no	3.35	.65	.90	2.24	2.20	1.79	1.44	2.41	8.13	23.06
total average	3.40	.65	.92	2.29	2.19	1.74	1.39	2.46	8.06	23.03

	How much time did you spend yesterday doing these activities? (only those engaged in the given activity, average, hours)									
	Work	Paperwork	Lining up	Travelling	Hygiene, eating	Watching tv	Entertainment	Other	Sleep	Total
Gender										
male	7.46	2.44	2.04	2.71	2.23	3.04	3.14	4.17	8.08	22.99
female	6.91	2.32	1.79	2.76	2.34	3.16	2.71	4.62	8.36	23.23
Age										
- 19	7.68	1.79	2.44	3.59	2.29	2.59	3.22	2.14	8.21	25.09
20 – 29	7.51	2.74	1.79	2.78	2.39	2.60	3.40	4.27	7.69	23.65
30 – 39	7.54	2.57	1.97	2.80	2.26	2.76	2.99	3.76	7.68	22.91
40 – 49	7.28	2.41	2.07	2.89	2.20	2.82	2.91	4.14	7.89	22.97
50 – 59	7.44	2.41	1.92	2.57	2.22	3.26	3.13	4.38	8.45	23.10
60 – 69	6.53	1.85	1.85	2.45	2.40	3.64	3.25	4.92	8.98	22.73
70 -	6.38	1.85	2.09	2.03	2.14	3.99	2.96	5.35	8.81	22.35
Education										
none			10.00	12.00	2.00		4.00	1.00		29.00
less than 8 grades	5.76	1.86	1.91	2.96	2.23	3.78	2.82	4.54	8.65	22.09
Primary	7.17	2.17	1.95	2.77	2.25	3.05	2.84	4.31	8.35	22.90
Primary + vocational course	7.20	2.30	2.00	2.31	1.89	2.46	3.17	4.75	7.90	22.51
Secondary vocational	7.54	2.71	1.96	2.72	2.26	3.06	3.21	4.14	8.03	23.26
Secondary graduate	7.49	2.62	1.98	2.64	2.23	3.09	3.24	4.43	7.87	23.15
Secondary graduate + vocational course	9.50	.75	1.00	1.83	1.50	2.40	4.00	4.86	9.00	23.29
College	8.08	2.08	2.61	2.31	2.45	2.58	3.43	3.65	7.47	23.02
University	7.32	1.91	1.88	2.46	2.32	2.83	3.59	4.05	7.48	23.29

Excluded groups

Ill health affecting capacity to take employment										
yes	6.92	2.24	2.02	2.71	2.32	3.42	3.22	4.45	8.52	22.96
no	7.60	2.60	1.96	2.72	2.20	2.69	2.97	4.17	7.78	23.06
Type of income										
wage	7.75	2.33	1.91	2.42	2.17	2.49	2.82	3.76	7.54	23.36
social benefits	5.87	2.34	1.97	2.62	2.40	3.68	3.35	4.77	9.08	22.86
handouts	5.60	2.59	2.08	2.58	2.30	3.01	3.42	4.44	8.52	22.48
Years since becoming homeless										
less than one year	8.28	2.59	1.92	2.74	2.23	2.53	2.95	4.08	7.96	23.24
1-5 years	7.73	2.53	1.81	2.69	2.06	3.00	2.86	3.95	7.46	22.98
5-10 years	7.13	2.37	1.68	2.70	2.15	3.02	3.21	3.98	8.31	23.18
more than 10 years	6.85	2.41	2.08	2.87	2.26	3.33	3.38	4.48	8.19	23.30
Where do you think you will be living in a year's time?										
don't know	6.82	2.20	1.98	2.70	2.22	3.09	2.95	3.30	7.89	21.05
unheated public space	6.35	2.52	2.35	3.94	2.35	3.83	3.24	5.51	7.96	22.88
heated, not apartment	6.15	3.22	1.91	3.29	2.18	3.65	2.61	7.15	7.05	21.58
acquaintance	5.25	1.80	2.35	3.15	2.65	3.03	3.28	4.32	7.88	22.96
family	7.61	2.07	1.99	2.23	2.20	2.73	3.10	4.40	8.13	23.01
rented room	7.85	2.97	1.90	2.81	2.20	2.97	2.82	3.95	7.64	23.46
rented apartment	8.09	2.64	1.85	2.51	2.32	2.89	2.99	4.21	7.77	23.20
own apartment	8.75	2.60	1.92	2.66	2.04	2.83	3.09	4.06	7.66	23.47
night shelter	6.73	2.07	2.13	2.76	2.24	2.67	2.94	3.99	8.17	23.06
temporary hostel	7.68	2.22	1.78	2.36	2.36	2.99	3.08	4.34	8.01	23.27
social home	6.17	1.99	1.61	2.04	2.36	3.62	3.32	4.10	10.09	23.39
other	7.63	2.72	2.33	2.88	2.09	3.03	3.46	4.64	7.93	23.37
What will your standard of life be like in a year's time?										
worse	6.81	2.39	2.18	3.02	2.28	3.22	3.36	4.46	8.04	22.55
better	7.71	2.54	1.94	2.66	2.20	2.94	3.02	4.21	8.02	23.21
don't know	6.99	2.17	1.84	2.61	2.29	3.15	3.06	4.19	8.32	22.88
Who are you living with?										
alone	7.47	2.39	2.02	2.68	2.19	3.09	3.06	4.20	8.25	23.10
group (gang)	6.72	2.40	1.89	2.70	2.44	3.06	3.36	4.48	7.82	22.58
family or partner	7.87	2.66	1.92	3.11	2.33	2.98	2.95	5.01	7.85	23.32
total	7.42	2.42	1.99	2.74	2.25	3.07	3.09	4.34	8.14	23.05

III. Rough sleepers' strategies for choosing a place to sleep⁸

1. Conscious strategies? Drifting? Pressure?

"The roofless spend the night wherever they are left alone..."

If a survey is conducted on the places of sleep of roofless people in a community, different combinations of conscious choices, drifting and pressure emerge. Regarding pressure, places of sleep available, their number and quality depend on the accepting or intolerant attitude of the local people. Tolerance varies even within a community. Residents and authorities generally accept the presence of squatters and roofless in certain areas (deserted, rundown areas, edge of town, abandoned factories, shrubs), whereas they are hardly tolerated in inner cities, busy junctions and business districts.

Apparently, the attitude of the stakeholders in a neighbourhood (residents, police, security guards, vendors, business owners, passers-by) is significantly more important than the approach of the local authorities and local government. The relationships are established between the community and certain individuals or groups staying in a neighbourhood. In a particular setting, the opinion on homelessness as a general social problem and the attitude to the local homeless do not necessarily coincide. Some individuals express strong negative views on the homeless in general, at the same time they support, talk to, or feel sorry for homeless individuals known personally. Naturally, the reverse is not unheard of: we all know tolerant and understanding people who express their sympathy regarding the issue in general, but would not talk to the homeless they have contact with, or even resort to taking steps against their presence.

Experience suggests that when it comes to pressure, roofless people consider the attitude and behaviour of the local community in the first place, and the local policy on homeless and public space only comes second.

Personal factors in choosing the place to sleep

Besides outside pressure and limitations, choices on the place of sleep are also influenced by individual or group characteristics, such as lifestyle, livelihood, health, level of socialisation, attitude (hiding, exhibitionist, rebel), addiction, or the proximity of previous residence.

Besides, strategies can also be influenced by psychological factors best described along the lines of searching for security, self-destruction, a sequence of acceptance – progress - construction or resignation – detachment. It is not uncommon for social workers to talk to roofless people with an unspoken, subconscious desire to die. Each year, there are a couple of clients who refuse assistance and express the desire to die, and then actually do so despite the efforts of the social services to remove them from the desperate situation in the streets. This suicidal state of mind and the total detachment from the self are usually clearly visible on the spot.

Two extremes of using public space

According to the experience of social workers, two basic models of using public space can be drawn up. Naturally, these occupy the endpoints of the continuum, with various stages and types of transition in between.

⁸ This summary is based on unstructured interviews with Breitner Péter and other social workers who have been on duty in the crisis car operated by Menhely (Shelter) Foundation. Respondents summarised their experiences working in the streets and recalled conversations and incidents.

Excluded groups

1. **Autonomous homeless** try to transform the public space to some kind of home, they build a shack, might have a bed to sleep on and a makeshift stove for heating, and run a household. They usually live in groups and often have dogs for company and protection. In a way, they are the most outsider among the homeless. They refuse to be institutionalised, but often make relationships with the local residents. They are characterised by conscious choices and the desire for progress and development, and can usually be found in shrubs, deserted houses, abandoned factories, where they tend to remain for years, or up until their habitat is destroyed by urban development or closure.

2. **Drifting homeless** have no permanent place, they sleep wherever dusk finds them, often on the bare pavement. Even if they have a regular place of their own, it is not more than some kind of roof over their heads. They do not shape or develop their surroundings. Total resignation, detachment from the self, depression, psychological disorders are frequent. Outside circumstances and pressure make them move to another street, apartment block entrance, underpass or hideout. They do not make conscious choices, and are thus exposed to the environment.

In the real world, there are various choices, strategies and personalities in between the extreme points, which account for the decisions made.

2. Factors to be considered when choosing a location

The most important factors to be considered when choosing a suitable location are the following:

- survival and subsistence,
- safety,
- proximity of relevant offices and social centres,
- proximity of former residence,
- proximity of or distance from other homeless.

Survival and subsistence

Survival and subsistence are obviously the most important factors when choosing a place to stay and sleep. Chances to find work, earn money, food or other handouts are essential.

Junctions

Busy urban junctions, such as underpasses, main roads, shopping streets, shopping centres, markets provide numerous possibilities for subsistence. Besides the possibility of begging, there are several regular and occasional jobs to be done, such as loading and unloading, or guarding goods overnight. Small cafes mean passing time, helping out, getting small change, food and drink.

32-year-old homeless man, moved to Budapest from the country. He sleeps in a shed near a market, keeping an eye on the goods. "I do some loading and carrying for the greengrocers early in the morning, that covers food and booze."

Underpasses are attractive for the homeless not only because they provide shelter from the elements of nature, but also because of the serious black market business being done: goods are on sale, drugs are available, prostitution is present. The homeless act as assistants, for example, giving a signal to warn

Excluded groups

about approaching police, in return receiving food, drink, some money, and security.⁹

Pubs

Odd jobs in pubs are another typical work taken by the homeless. They help out with clearing tables or cleaning, and they receive food, drink and a place to stay during the day. The place of sleep is usually nearby, it might even be the storage room or hall of the pub itself in return for night guarding.

Neighbourhood

The local community providing clothes, linen and food might also be a source of subsistence. Old and lonely residents often become regular supporters of the homeless, providing food and other assistance.

45-year-old woman, living in a shack made up of sticks, blankets and plastic sheets in the shrubs near an apartment block: "I have just received a bowl of bean soup from the fifth floor, it's still warm, I got stew from the second floor, it's over there, yesterday I got pasta with cottage cheese, I couldn't eat it all up."

Safety

Hiding or appearing in public?

Most homeless have become victims of crime, typically violent crime such as assault or mugging. Sleeping rough is very risky in this respect, so most of the roofless attempt to make it to some secure place to sleep.

A possible strategy is to hide in shrubs, riverbanks, deserted buildings, abandoned factories, far from everyone else. The underground utilities networks are inhabited as well as industrial plants left unused long ago. Another approach is to seek security and safety in the crowd, in the protection of the public. Accordingly, both kinds of places have their supporters, who argue for their relative safety.

A group of homeless men, aged 35 to 60, living near a run-down factory, in self-made shacks, accompanied by many dogs: "We go to the plant to get water. The security guard keeps an eye on us."

Autonomous homeless try to enhance the security of their "homes" with the help of fences, buildings, by keeping dogs, and by co-habiting in larger groups.

Shame

Wanting security is sometimes not the only reason for a hiding strategy – shame is also a factor. Homeless people ashamed of their situation and condition can be found in various places away from the public eye, usually at the most deserted, dirtiest, run-down areas imaginable. They do not usually transform their surroundings, make no attempt to clean or maintain the place. Occasionally, this lifestyle of suffering resembles hermit-like penitence and punishment.

63-year-old man, staying under the pillar of a bridge on the edge of town, unseen by all, sick, seriously ill, with infected wounds: "Leave me alone, I'm not going anywhere, I want to die here."

Freezing weather

A considerable proportion of rough sleepers chooses to take refuge at night shelters during the coldest winter months. However, large numbers stay in the streets, and invent clever tricks to survive the low temperatures.

⁹ Cleansing efforts of the authorities targeting the homeless only are meaningless as long as the businesses are allowed to continue. Due to their symbiotic relationship, the presence of vendors and dealers will attract the homeless back again within a few days.

Excluded groups

A few years ago, a team of social workers was shocked to see a group of homeless men lying on the pavement in front of a busy railway station. It soon turned out that some underground utilities network operated by the railway makes a "hot line" on the pavement, reaching temperatures of 20-25 degrees.

"Heat pollution" is frequent near pipelines used for heating, other utilities networks and establishments, in hidden underground shafts of apartment blocks, which provide safety during frosty winter nights.

Social workers have come across a man who had put up a tent over the ventilation shaft of an industrial plant. He was wearing underwear only even on the coldest winter day.

The most frequent place of refuge is any heated public space, such as staircases, metro stations, railway station waiting rooms. Conflicts are frequent, however, because these are not public spaces in the strict sense of the word, but rather private spaces used by the public. In addition, they have well-defined and unambiguous functions and purposes, unlike general public space, which is a regular justification for evicting the homeless ("they are not using the space for its intended purpose").

Proximity of relevant offices and social centres

Drifting rough sleepers on the benches and in building entrances in the vicinity of daytime shelters, canteens catering for the homeless, and local government service centres are a common sight. They like to spend the night near these places of interest for easy access during the day, and for more convenient queuing opportunities.

Couple aged 55 and 60, spending the nights sitting and leaning against the wall of an apartment block in the city centre, whiling away the days in a pub resembling a daytime shelter: "we leave at 11 p.m. and wait here until 4, when we can return".

Proximity of previous residence

Some homeless like to stay near their previous home, both for practical and psychological reasons. However, feeling ashamed, many avoid all locations where they could bump into former acquaintances and relatives. Others argue that assistance is more readily available in familiar surroundings and a known community; some of the relationships with friends and neighbours might survive the transition to homelessness. These individuals manage to preserve a larger chunk of themselves and do not adopt a full "homeless identity".

A familiar neighbourhood and relationships might mean work and subsistence; it is definitely an advantage if the homeless do not have to start from scratch when looking for work or place to sleep. However, if the local community is not accepting and tolerant, just as strangers would be, it is more of a painful experience than being despised and rejected by unknown people.

Proximity of or distance from other homeless

Acceptance or refusal of other homeless people is another important dividing line in the homeless community.

Some do not accept the presence of other rough sleepers, they stand up and move further away or try to chase away the "intruders". Experience shows, however, that the majority prefers company because of the security it provides, and also to avoid loneliness.

Certain locations become popular with roofless people for no apparent physical or practical reasons (they are not safer or more secluded, far from markets or junctions). The point is that the protection and company provided by the group are attractive. Such places might become inhabited by groups of 5 to 10 people, with high fluctuation, even if they are not transformed and developed.

Survival and safety: an outline of strategies

		daytime	
		hiding	not hiding
nighttime	hiding	A	B
	not hiding	C	D

IV. On the edge of the world

On the Edge Foundation (Léthatáron Alapítvány) is one of the social services that also conduct empirical research from time to time in order to understand better the life and problems of people living in the streets and to present their findings to the public. The following excerpts are taken from interviews with homeless staying in the streets who were doing begging for a living at the time of the research. 243 interviews were conducted with homeless both in Budapest and in the countryside, focusing on events that shaped their socialisation, integration into adult life, and their disintegration. In this section, however, we are focusing on their strategies for selecting an ideal place for begging and on the reaction of the authorities.¹⁰

The public often blurs the line between beggars, homeless and roofless. As it was described earlier, many homeless do have legal or illegal work. The interviews reveal that beggars consider begging as their work, although one to be ashamed of. According to the details given, they select their "workplace" in busy public spaces where they can expect the most donations and income, and where they are allowed to stay by the authorities and other beggars. It is also clear that they live in a symbiotic rather than conflict-ing relationship with their surroundings, the other people, shopkeepers, police, security guards. In addition, light is shed on the practical implementation of cleansing campaigns initiated by politicians on public demand, on how these attempts become "blunt weapons" in the hands of those who are meant to put them into action, i.e., police and metro security, common people with a sharp sense of reality and down-to-earth approach.

52-year-old male, born in Budapest, in from of a church

- **Have you ever had a conflict with the police?**

- Here? No. I was taken to the station once, at the beginning of the year, and the policeman asked, why is it that I hold out my hand. Well, I'm collecting money, that's all.

- **What did he say?**

- Wanted to check my ID, then I was taken to Kecskeméti Street for 3 hours, then I was set free. He asked me to get out the money I had collected to see how much it was, then wanted me to put it away, not

¹⁰ The research was led by György Mezei, interviews and photos were taken by Balázs Bús. Published in: "Terem a nyomor VI." (Poverty on the increase) - Budapest, CD

to see it any more. Then I was released.

- ***Did they take the money?***

- No.

- ***Did they file a report?***

- They made a file.

- ***Have you ever had a minor offence procedure?***

- Just now, at 10 this morning.

- ***Today?***

- Yes, a policewoman and a guy came in.

- ***Where, to the church?***

- Yes. Immediately asked for my ID, took a look, returned it, and told me to leave. They left and then I returned. But this is not an offence. I told the police that I open the door as a courtesy, and some give money, some don't, this is not begging.

- ***How did you get this idea with opening the door?***

- Well, once I'm there, and don't want to get bored, I just got the idea. I open it, some give, some don't, that's it.

- ***Did you do this when you first came here?***

- Then I was standing outside, the police caught me there.

- ***And the church, do they mind?***

- I've been sent away a few times.

- ***By who?***

- For example the chaplain asked me to leave. But what can I do? I'm not harassing people.

- ***How many people are usually here?***

- Two, sometimes four.

- ***Too many?***

- Too many.

- ***Then you get less?***

- No. I'm respected there. They see I'm not drunk.

37-year-old man, born in the country

- ***Do you always come to Deák Square?***

- No. Moszkva Square, Batthyány Square, Deák Square.

- ***What does it depend on?***

- Where the police let me stay. No problems with the metro police, they know me already.

- ***How did you get the idea?***

- I asked an old woman begging at Deák Square how much she usually earns one day. She says, two thousand, two thousand five. I say, I had to give it a try for that money. I was very ashamed so I went to the pub and had a few drinks. Then I looked around and said, ok, now I sit down. And I got 3700 forints in a day.

- ***What conflicts have you had when begging?***

- The police give us a hard time. At the beginning the metro police too, but then they got to know me and left me alone.

- ***What did the police do?***

- They made me leave. Once they took me to the station for four hours then released me.

Excluded groups

- **Where were you taken?**

- Here, up at Deák Square.

- **Did they start a minor offence procedure?**

- They filled in a form and warned me not to go out. Nothing else. They said if I get caught again, the fine is 5000. But then, even if it is 5000, that's the way it is.

- **Will you pause for the winter?**

- Yes.

- **What do you survive on in winter?**

- I save up enough to survive.

- **So you can save up?**

- I have to. The thing is, not even healthy people can get a job, so now it seems they need someone to transport cigarette from Záhony...

- **Black job?**

- Yes.

- **Have other beggars tried to chase you away, saying it is their territory?**

- We all have territories.

- **Is it also divided for different times of the day?**

- No. The guy who gets there first stays until he gets enough. Then the other comes, earns some money, leaves.

- **Do the metro security guards want money to leave you alone?**

- There is one at Batthyány Square who wants a drink.

- **Is it worth giving them something?**

- Sure.

- **And here at Deák Square?**

- Not here.

- **At Moszkva Square?**

- No. There the police don't let you stay.

- **Do the others give? The buskers and other beggars?**

- They have to, otherwise...

- **But how do you do it? Daily, or...?**

- When we have some, we have to give.

- **How much?**

- Two short drinks, that's it.

- **You invite him?**

- Yes. We go upstairs, he drinks two shorts, and we are even. I have to, because if I don't, then I must leave.

- **So in return they let you stay where you are.**

- Yes, then we can stay. And he also tells the police, this one is ok, leave him alone. That's how it goes. It's good business for him, if he gets several, that's already some booze.

- **You don't give money?**

- No.

55-year-old man, born in Budapest, in front of a church

- **When did you leave your mother?**

Excluded groups

- When I was released from jail in February, I haven't visited since then. Rarely. I've been home once or twice.
- **Where did you go?**
- I sleep in the streets.
- **Where?**
- Wherever night finds me.
- **Night shelter?**
- I've been once, the other day. A guy said you can go in there, wash clothes and all. And then it turns out, nothing anywhere.
- **What do you eat?**
- Nothing.
- **Homeless canteens?**
- I've been once at Damjanich Street.
- **What do you live on?**
- Begging.
- **Where?**
- At the church. And I collect bottles.
- **Where?**
- From trashcans.
- **Do you have a regular area?**
- Sure I do. 5th district. Sometimes I go all the way up to the TV studios and collect 400 forints worth of bottles.
- **So you can earn 400 on bottles?**
- Sometimes yes, sometimes no. Sometimes I walk a lot, and nothing. It depends. Yesterday I found 200 forints worth of wine bottles. And three large Amstel beer bottles, a large paper box was full of bottles.
- **What do you do with the stuff you find? Take it to Teleki Square or elsewhere?**
- No. It's for me. A change of clothes, pants, this and that.
- **But if you find other stuff, you sell it, no?**
- Sometimes I go to Bosnyák market, but you cannot really go, they send you away.
- **Who?**
- The security people around there. You can only sell after 2.
- **What about Batthyány Square?**
- You cannot, the police won't let you.
- **It was allowed before.**
- Before, yes. But the situation is, the commandos were out there the other day, and a pal said, listen, don't go there, you cannot sell stuff there, it's forbidden now. They say if anyone else is caught there again, it's over.
- **How long have you been begging?**
- Since I came back.
- **How much do you earn a day?**
- Sometimes 1000 forints. There are more masses on Sundays, then I stay all day long, and I get 1000, or even 1200 or 1300.
- **What do you spend it on?**
- Food.
- **Booze?**

Excluded groups

- No, sometimes, rarely. Not always.
- **Did you have drinking problems?**
- No, not really.
- **And how do you beg at the church?**
- I put my hat on the ground, that's it.
- **Have you ever had problems?**
- No, the police have only warned me once that I should stop it, if they ever see me again, then this and that, but then they never bothered to say or do anything.
- **Are there other beggars at the church?**
- Some. But they go into the church.
- **Have you tried underground passages?**
- No.
- **How will you survive winter?**
- Don't know. I'll get a tent.
- **And where will you go?**
- Somewhere, up in the mountains.... I don't know.
- **Where do you usually sleep? On benches, or...?**
- No, I slept in 11th the other night.
- **The 11th district?**
- Yes.
- **Where?**
- There is a doctor at Fehérvári Road. There are pillars, no rain. I take some cardboard and lie on it.
- **Alone, or are there others?**
- I'm on my own. There is a woman and a man, but they were further down.
- **Any pals?**
- Just one.

56-year-old man, born in Budapest

- I became homeless when I got divorced.
- **And where did you go?**
- Don't remember, I think I was at Jászai Mari Square for a while and went to work from there.
- **What was there?**
- A bench.
- **Did the police let you?**
- It was a harsh winter if you remember, the winter with lots of snow. The police did not leave the station at all, I mean if they could even go to work in the first place.
- **How long did this take?**
- As spring approached, I looked around in the mountains. And then I discovered stables. I dug a trench and insulated it.
- **Whereabouts?**
- On Látó Mountain. Not far from the last stop of bus 11. An old lady saw me there a few times and told me, why don't you go into the building. There was a wooden shed there. I did not dare to enter for a few years, it was also locked. I only moved in when the lock had been broken, and the door too, and then I thought, ok, then I might as well move in. It was a good period, I was never cold in there.
- **Did you go to work from there?**
- Yes.

- And hygiene?

- In the workshop. And mother did my laundry.

- So you went home sometimes.

- No, but we kept in touch.

- Where did you go from there?

- Back up the mountain. First I tried mother, maybe she takes me back, but she told me to return to the woman. So then up the mountain. Strange.

- How long did you stay there?

- Until this May. In the meantime, someone set fire to the shed.

- Have you ever stayed at a hostel? And canteens?

- No. I'm not so... I mean I don't like these people who hang around in the shelters. I rather sit here, beg for money, buy myself food and drink.

- Where did you first go?

- Here at Batthyány. Sometimes over at Moszkva Square. I've been doing it for years but now I don't go anywhere else. Sometimes I went to Ferenciek Square but the police did not like me there, I was taken to the station.

- Were you fined?

- I was, but how to pay it?

- How did you take up begging?

- I was hungry. I have this blind friend, I was accompanying him for a year. I took him up the mountain and he stayed for almost a year. In fact he supported me, so I took care of him. He was a beggar.

- How much do you earn begging?

- It depends. Yesterday I was at Keleti Station all day and got only 100. But then in the summer, I was sitting at Ferenciek Square, the police had asked me to go twice, I had been sitting for three hours when this well-dressed pretty woman came down the stairs. These kind hardly ever give, you know, they look through you. But when she was behind me, she put a 5 thousand note in my cap. Good Lord!

- Who usually gives?

- Workers, this middle class that is going bankrupt now, they give. The well-off just leave you there, look through you. And then there are these old women, badly dressed, with swollen legs, can hardly walk on crouches, they stop in front of me and put a 20 forint coin in my cup. But I feel like giving them a 100 if I could. So all sorts of things happen.

- Do they talk to you?

- There is an old man who comes every day, always gives a 10 and says how are you, pats me on the shoulder. He is nice. And there is another one, he always brings a sandwich. And a doctor, a psychologist lady, she brought the jacket. She would talk to me a few seconds. She always drops a 100, asks me what I need. Now I haven't seen her for days, I would ask her to bring medicine, I have had fevers over 38.5 for a month. There are some nice people who don't look down on the poor homeless or squatter. Because there is difference between the two. I wouldn't want to sink to that level many are at around here. They are itchy, filthy, they stink. But I try to hold on, I struggle, maybe I can get out of here one day – but then if you think straight, it is very difficult to get out of here, but then at least to maintain this level. And you have to do things to manage at. Go to bath for example. It is the last resort that you go to the canteen and push in the line for a bowl of soup. There are lots of young people among them, if you take a look, and many of them simply don't want to work. It is fine for them to go to Moszkva Square, pick up the bread allowance, drink the tea, then go to Damjanich Street, eat the bowl of soup, then to Mother Teresa, eat whatever, and that's it. They pick up the cigarette butts and that life, they

Excluded groups

are satisfied. I want to avoid this, that's why I don't go to hostels, especially not to shelters.

- ***What about the metro police, do they leave you alone?***

- 80% are nice. They got used to me already. They know anyway that if they send me away, I'll be right back in ten minutes.

- ***Do you have to pay to them?***

- No, but there is that squarehead who always makes a fuss about his drink. And then I say, you'll get it when I earn the money. So when I get enough, I get him a drink. And then there is a nice woman who always chases away unknown beggars. She waits for them to get in the train. And then I am right back to my spot. Once or twice a year I buy her a bar of chocolate, but otherwise they don't say they need anything in return.

- ***What about atrocities living in the streets?***

- Plenty of them. Some people are nice, others are evil.

- ***What do they do?***

- Spitting, nasty remarks. But it is part of it. You cannot get used to it, it will always hurt.

- ***And when you finish begging, where do you go?***

- I sit around for a while at Deák Square, it is not so cold, and then head for Keleti (Eastern) Station. In the waiting room, the security or the police don't let you stay if you are not a passenger. Then I walk around and smoke.

- ***And in the evening?***

- That's it.

- ***Looking for a place to sleep?***

- Usually there at Keleti.

- ***Do you know the other beggars?***

- No. I only know this woman with the accordion, and there is a certain reason for that too.

54-year-old man, born in Budapest

- ***So you rented rooms, went to pubs together?***

- Yes.

- ***Went to canteens?***

- When we were sleeping rough, yes.

- ***When you had no room, you slept rough? –***

Yes.

- ***Where?***

- Out there... Imre station. There is an abandoned warehouse there. We spent the winter in the bath-room.

- ***Did you go to canteens?***

- Sometimes.

- ***Shelters?***

- No.

- ***Have you ever been to a shelter?***

- No. And I don't mean to.

- ***When did you take up begging?***

- Three years ago.

- ***Where?***

Excluded groups

- I started at Deák Square, on the passage. I wrote a sign saying "Thank you for supporting my ill wife." Back then this was true.
- **Have you ever had problems?**
- Sometimes.
- **Police? Minor offence procedure?**
- They wanted to, yesterday, the day before.
- **How does this go? They take you to the police station, and...?**
- They don't take you. I was taken once, but not for begging.
- **Then what?**
- No ID. I fell asleep and all my stuff was taken, including my papers. I was there for 20 minutes then they threw me out. What could they have done?
- **Metro police?**
- I don't beg down there. I stay up on the stairs. I only moved because there are so many squatters around there...
- **Where, on Deák Square?**
- No, I mean Nyugati (Western) Station. That's where we beg. - Have you always been a loner?
- Loner or in pairs.
- **Noone ever tried to cheat you?**
- No.
- **And other beggars, have they tried to chase you away from your spot?**
- Well sometimes they try, but then I tell them go f*ck your mother, and then in the end they know I'm nuts anyway.
- **Where did you sleep this winter?**
- Same flat where I used to live with Mari. They liked us because we were ok. Clean, we did the washing, cooking, shelled out the rent. No domestic wars.
- **How much do you earn a day begging?**
- Sometimes I stop after getting 3 thousand and go collect cigarette butts. But you just never know. On Monday, I had a great run. Got some 7 thousand within half an hour.
- **But now I met you at Oktogon, not at Nyugati.**
- I only go to Nyugati Station for the night. I come here.

38-year-old man, born in Miskolc, one arm missing

- ...there was a price hike in the rent, I couldn't pay it, came to Budapest and have been here since.
- **Where did you sleep?**
- In staircases.
- **You didn't go to a hostel?**
- No.
- **Never been to a hostel?**
- I don't want to. I heard this and that. I rather go to Havanna blocks, to Kőbánya district, Kispest. There are staircases.
- **And you go up to the roof to sleep, or stay in the staircase?**
- The very top of the staircase, at the elevator shaft.
- **At Havanna Blocks there are all those great places in the roof space.**
- Yes there are.

Excluded groups

- And the residents don't mind?

- Sometimes they brought me coffee on the top floor after I got to know them. then I said no thank you.
But then in the morning when I left I saw breakfast in a paper bag, a roll, butter, salami and stuff.

- What did you live on back then?

- I got dole.

- And when it ran out?

- Then I started what I do now.

- Then you started to sell Roofless Magazine?

- No, I started last year. I used to beg.

- Where?

- Deák Square, Ferenciek Square, Kálvin Square.

- How?

- I put out my cup, and...

- A cup.

- I just stand on the side, so as not to disturb traffic, and then some give, some don't.

- How much do you usually get?

- It depends. After payday, I get 2-3 thousand a day. At the end of the month, I'm lucky to get 1000-1500.

- Do you go every day?

- Monday to Friday. Weekends are off.

- Have you ever had conflicts?

- Not yet.

- Not with other beggars?

- No.

- Have they tried to push you out?

- No.

- And the police?

- With the police, yes.

- What?

- They told me to leave.

- What do you do then?

- I leave and return in half an hour.

- Have you been fined?

- No. They just told me to leave the metro. Then I go and come here, or to Kálvin Square.

- Are there big differences? Kálvin Square and Ferenciek Square, do they differ in donations?

- Deák Square is the best as it is the busiest. But only after 2 or so.

- Until...?

- Until 4 or 5. Ferenciek Square is good from 11 to 2. Kálvin Square varies.

- Why is Ferenciek Square good from 11 to 2?

- More people.

- Do you have regular supporters?

- Sure. At Deák Square. There is one or two here too, but more over there.

- Do they also talk to you?

- Of course. We talk, and then they might ask when I will have the new edition of the magazine.

- What has been the biggest donation you got?

Excluded groups

- 1000 forints. I got for Christmas, and then in January.
- **How did you find the magazine?**
- I met this gang at Deák Square.
- **And they give you the papers?**
- No, Mr Dundi gives them in Kürt Street.
- **But they told you to go there to get some papers.**
- Yes.
- **How many do you sell a day?**
- It depends, sometimes even 15 or 20.
- **And how much do you get for them?**
- Usually 50 or 100.
- **So if you sell ten copies, you get around 1000.**
- Sometimes I get 500 for a copy. But rarely. So far 500 has been the most I got for the paper. - **Who buys the paper?**
- Many kinds of people.
- **But do they know what it is about?**
- Regulars do.
- **And what do you do if you run out of copies? You go and ask for more?**
- No, there is a photocopy shop on Deák Square, they always have a copy, we can go and get more.
- **For how much?**
- 20 for a copy. Four pages, four times five.
- **But several people sell the paper at Deák Square, does that hurt business?**
- No, we are spread out. Only one or two people in one place.
- **Where do you sleep?**
- When it is not rainy, out there in Madách Street on a bench. Behind Madách Square.
- **In the inner city.**
- When it's not rainy. When it is, there is a staircase we go to.
- **So you don't go out to the edge of the city now?**
- No. Later, if the weather gets worse, I might.
- **Are you alone?**
- I hang around with another guy. We were three until the girl left, so now only two of us.
- **Generally, who goes begging?**
- I know a few, some of them don't need it.
- **Romanians?**
- They are the worst.
- **Why?**
- They come here and follow people in groups. They run after them and tug at them. Especially at the bus station in Erzsébet Square. But the police let them do it. They tell us to leave when we are just standing there, but they are allowed to do it. They are protected by someone, or I don't know why.

54-year-old man, from the countryside - How did you get in there?

- Five years ago. Mr Mezei was the boss there then. I got to Fóti Shelter and then out, we went to the garage, then it was demolished, we ended up in the street. Then we went to the island. We spent a year on the boat of the Maltese. We were out the last day, went to Southern Station, to the wagons.

Excluded groups

Then it was getting cold, and the police were after us, and we went to Dankó Street, 8th district. It wasn't very cold then, just all those queues. It was cold to be waiting all the time. Back then I was knocked out already. My legs were in bad shape.

- ***And now we are here at the church on Ferenciek Square. Do you beg here regularly?***

- You're wrong, this is not begging. Begging is when you go up to people and say "help me out with a few forints".

- ***What would you say this is then?***

- This? Some help, some don't. If I get something, I say thanks and accept it, if I don't get anything, I say thank you just the same and open the door.

- ***How long have you been doing this?***

- A month and a half.

- ***How much do you get during a mass?***

- How much? It really depends. Sometimes up to 250 or 300, all in small change. But you have to spend it quickly, otherwise the police come, catch you, take you to the station and take your money.

- ***Has it happened to you yet?***

- Not to me personally. Ferike has had it happen to him but it wasn't a large sum.

- ***What about the church personnel, do they let you stay?***

- The security don't.

- ***They have security?***

- Sure.

- ***Is it regular?***

- Sometimes yes.

- ***Have you had problems with the police?***

- I don't want to talk about it.

- ***Do you go to other churches too?***

- No, only here.

- ***What do you do between noon and 4 p.m.?***

- We sit.

- ***Here on the square?***

- Yes. On the bench, if the weather is fine.

- ***What do you spend the money on?***

- Cigarettes, but I know I shouldn't, I shouldn't. And food.

- ***How did you get the idea to come here to the church?***

- Feri told me. I came once because you get canned food.

- ***Who?***

- The priests hand out canned food. I queued up once and I said this is a great place. I got a can and two rolls.

- ***When do they hand out food?***

- At 8 in the morning. I know lots of people who regularly came here and I said I should give it a try. If I get, ok, if not, just the same. But it hasn't been going on for long.

- ***Before?***

- I, I mean we, used to collect bottles. We went all the way from Pasarét or even Húvösvölgy, everywhere. We covered 40 or 50 kilometres a day.

- ***It must have been difficult with your legs.***

- It was. That's what we did all winter and summer, sometimes we tied up our legs with whatever we

found so that we don't feel the pain.

58-year-old man from the country

- ***But you can walk, can't you?***

- Just a little bit. I can walk to the shop, over there on the other side, I go there to get food. I can go there. I can go to the railway station too. It's difficult on the stairs, that's the hardest. That's all I walk.

- ***Was it better last year?***

- A little bit.

- ***And now you can't walk all the way to Dózsa György Road?***

- I could, but then I would go all day long, and then who would do the begging? Nobody does it for me. And then what do I eat? Even a cripple has to eat something. I would go... I should have gone long ago. I need a new ID card. And the retired card. I would have needed them long ago, but there is no time. It takes a day to get there and back. It doesn't work. Back then, I would have gone. Just half an hour by metro, right?

- ***And now you cannot take the metro?***

- I can but it takes long. You need to change but that takes half a day for me now.

- ***What pals have you been hanging out with?***

- I always had good pals but then I couldn't go anywhere. I was taken to hospital and then that was the end of it.

- ***Did your pals leave you?***

- They did because I was away for a few years. I don't want them to see me a crippled beggar. - ***Didn't they visit you in hospital?***

- We didn't keep in touch.

- ***Did you have other friends?***

- I had some. Not really friends, pals. We went drinking together.

- ***How much pension do you get?***

- 9300 forints. But I lost the card so I don't get anything and I have to beg.

- ***You didn't beg before?***

- No, not before.

- ***Did you come to this place straight away?***

- First I came here, and then been to the other side. And then at Deák Square once but I was sent away. And I don't want to go far because it takes half a day to get anywhere. I can hardly come out here.

- ***Wasn't it weird when you first started begging?***

- It was. I wouldn't beg if I didn't have to. When I have to, there is nothing else to do. I don't want to starve. I get enough not to starve, that's all.

- ***Where do you get clothes from?***

- Donations. There is a place on Dózsa György Road, they bring clothes, I get from there. Now winter is coming, that's a problem. If it wasn't coming it wouldn't be so bad.

- ***What you are wearing now, is that all you have?***

- That's all. I don't need more, I don't know what to do with it. It gets stolen. I cannot wash them because there is no place to do it. I don't need more. What I'm wearing, I have it, nobody can take it. It's filthy, I feel ashamed, but that's the way it is, it's filthy, I cannot wash it.

- ***What did you last wash clothes?***

- I cannot even tell. Long time ago.

- ***Did you lose your things? Or did they get stolen?***

Excluded groups

- Lost, stolen. Everything was stolen at a shelter. Everything is stolen while you sleep, you never know what you have left in the morning. Nothing is left.
- ***You didn't have friends at the shelter?***
- Not really. There were one or two I got along with, but there are no friends in there, everyone is an enemy. You cannot trust anyone. Today a friend, tomorrow, if he finds out you have a little money, he will take it away, then who is a friend? Nobody.
- ***That's a hard life. So you have nobody to talk to?***
- I'm all on my own.



V. Attitudes to the homeless in Budapest

Background and aims of the research

Studio Metropolitana and *Double Decker* regularly (six times a year) conduct telephone surveys in Budapest, working for the Local Council; the aim is to collect information on the opinions of the citizens on important issues affecting life in the capital.¹¹

The questionnaire covered the following topics:

- Attitudes to various social groups, attitudes to the homeless compared to other groups.
- The importance of supporting social groups, the perceived extent of being in need of help.
- Habits and patterns in helping those in need. · Habits and patterns in helping the homeless.
- Opinion on the measures taken to tackle the problem of homelessness.
- Attitudes to the homeless.

Methodology

Data was collected using standardised questionnaires, by trained interviewers, using the method of telephone interviews. The representative sample included 300 respondents over 18 years of age living in Budapest. Households were selected randomly; finding a suitable subject within the household (based on gender, age, education) followed quotas drawn up based on Central Statistical Office data in order to achieve representativeness. The research took place on December 19 and 20, 2005.

Results

Respondents admit to supporting those in need regularly, nearly all subjects help in one way or the other. The majority support the homeless and the seriously ill. The homeless are usually given money and personal effects or food, whereas the seriously ill are sent money indirectly, through foundations.

The respondents who give money to the homeless, typically do so 1-3 times a month. One third of those giving food, clothes or blankets provide support approximately half a year, one fourth even less frequently.

Nearly half of the respondents replied that they buy some of the magazines written and sold by the homeless (*Fedél Nélkül*, *Flaszter*). The majority never or only sometimes takes the magazine in return for the donation. The majority of those who accept the paper only take a glance, only one third reads it thoroughly.

A key question of donations to the homeless is the factors considered when selecting an individual to support. Politeness and a nice personality are the most significant, followed by the criteria that they should not appear to be alcoholic. Some people prefer to help the most ragged, run-down homeless, on the contrary, others choose those that look decent despite being homeless. Alternatively, some donors are moved both by the most miserable-looking and the less unfortunate homeless. 60% prefer to be addressed and are more open to donate if they are on foot; many are reluctant if asked in the metro,

¹¹ The summary is based on the Research Report "Homeless in Budapest" compiled by Studio Metropolitana Urban Research Centre, December 23, 2005.

Excluded groups

bus stop or in their cars, the reason being that in such situations they might feel frustrated, cornered and forced, without the possibility to refuse or escape, or at least make a free decision.

Half the respondents prefer to support the elderly, whereas beggars with children and dogs are not attractive, because people do not like to be motivated to donate with the use of the most deprived and helpless. However, there is a high number of both kinds of beggars, which seems to indicate that despite the public reluctance, they manage to move people to the necessary extent.

Respondents would support schemes to provide work to the homeless or to facilitate their employment through assistance to employers. As the homeless usually have no or only outdated qualifications, respondents consider that trainings and courses aimed at returning them to the labour market are useful.

Obviously, solving the housing problems of the homeless is also high on the agenda; respondents would prefer the construction of additional hostels and the availability of more beds as the solution.

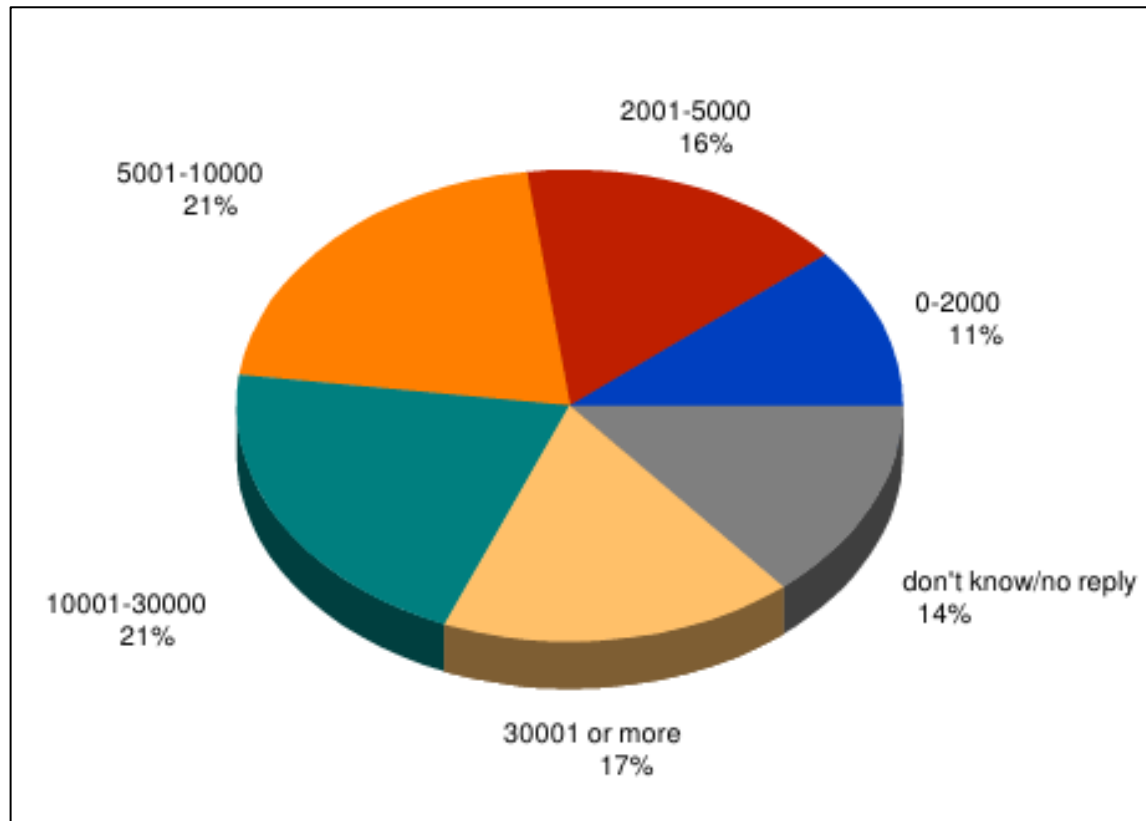
Opinions vary greatly on the issue of the extent to which the homeless themselves are to be blamed for their difficulties. A large number of respondents think that many homeless would be able to find employment if they really wanted to. Another view is that the homeless earn more money begging than the average citizen at work. Some argue that the homeless should do more to improve their own lives. Hardly anybody would leave the homeless to their fate or disapproves of the support they receive.

Almost all respondents would support the reintegration of the homeless into society; the motives are not merely altruistic: people would also like to stop seeing and bumping into homeless in the streets and underpasses.

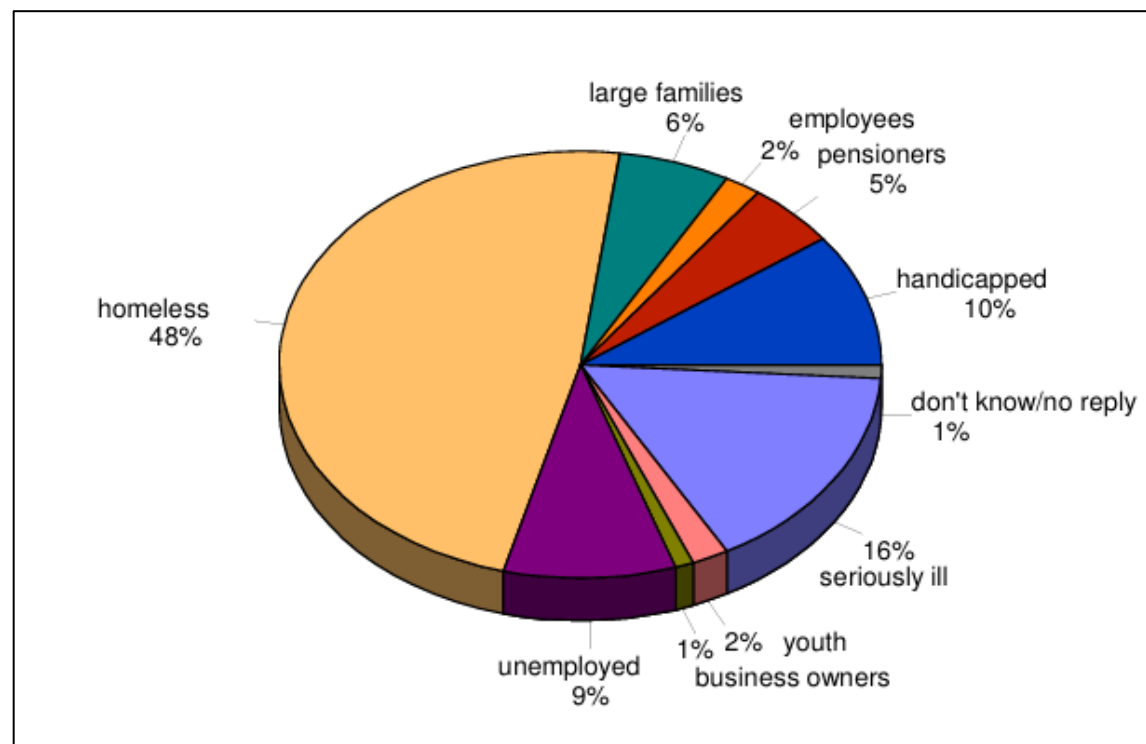
Two thirds of the respondents acknowledge that the homeless have the right to use public space, however, many do not welcome them in the inner city (30%), or on public transport (20%). Almost half argue that the homeless should be evicted from underpasses; on the other hand, 20% think they should be allowed to sleep in the metro stations in winter. Two thirds, mostly women and the elderly concerned about their own safety, believe that the homeless should be removed from the streets and forced to use social services facilities and shelters. Recently, the local council of the 7th district of Budapest ordered the installation of armrests on benches in public areas, so as to prevent them from being used for lying and sleeping. One third of the respondents agree with the decision, they welcome that the benches are back to their intended use, i.e., sitting on. Many argue that the homeless should sleep in shelters, not in the streets. Others find it visually disturbing that the homeless are around; fear of catching diseases and concern about the unpleasant smell are also prominent. The majority, however, do not agree with the alteration of the benches: they argue that everyone has the right to sit or lie down wherever they want in public areas; some add that sleeping on the benches was at least some kind of solution compared to the present consequence of sleeping on the ground.

Excluded groups

Estimated number of homeless in Budapest



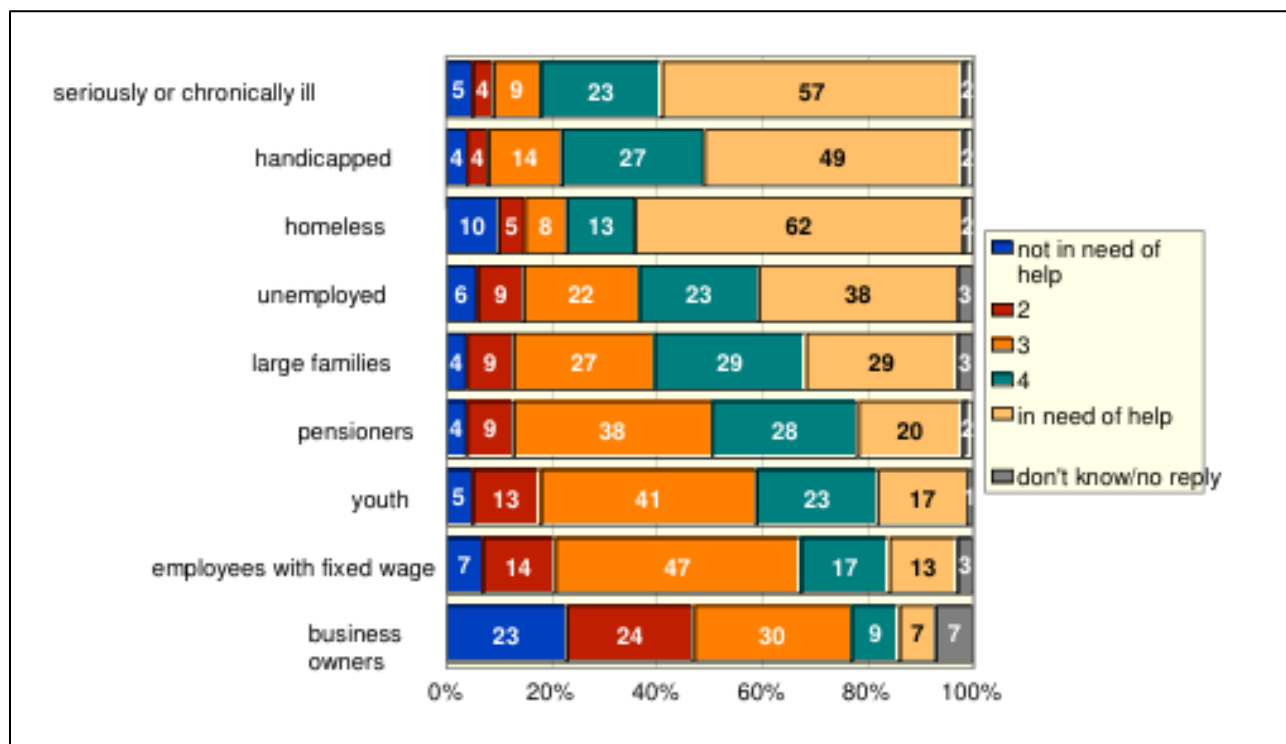
Which social group is in the worst situation?



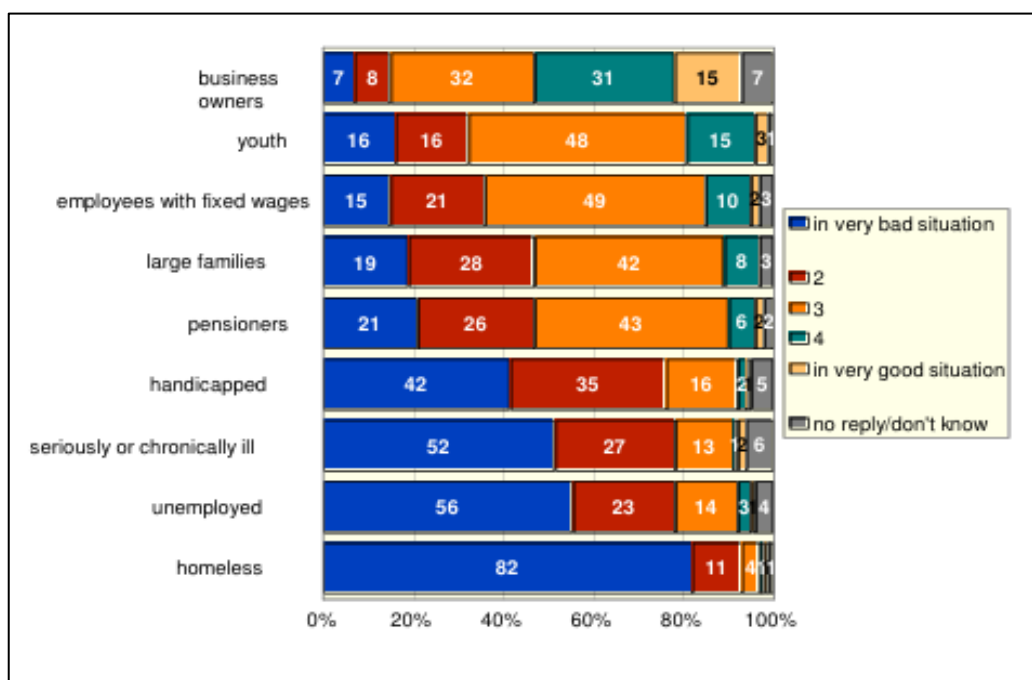
OTTHONTALANUL... TÉGY AZ EMBERÉRT!

Excluded groups

Perceived situation of social groups

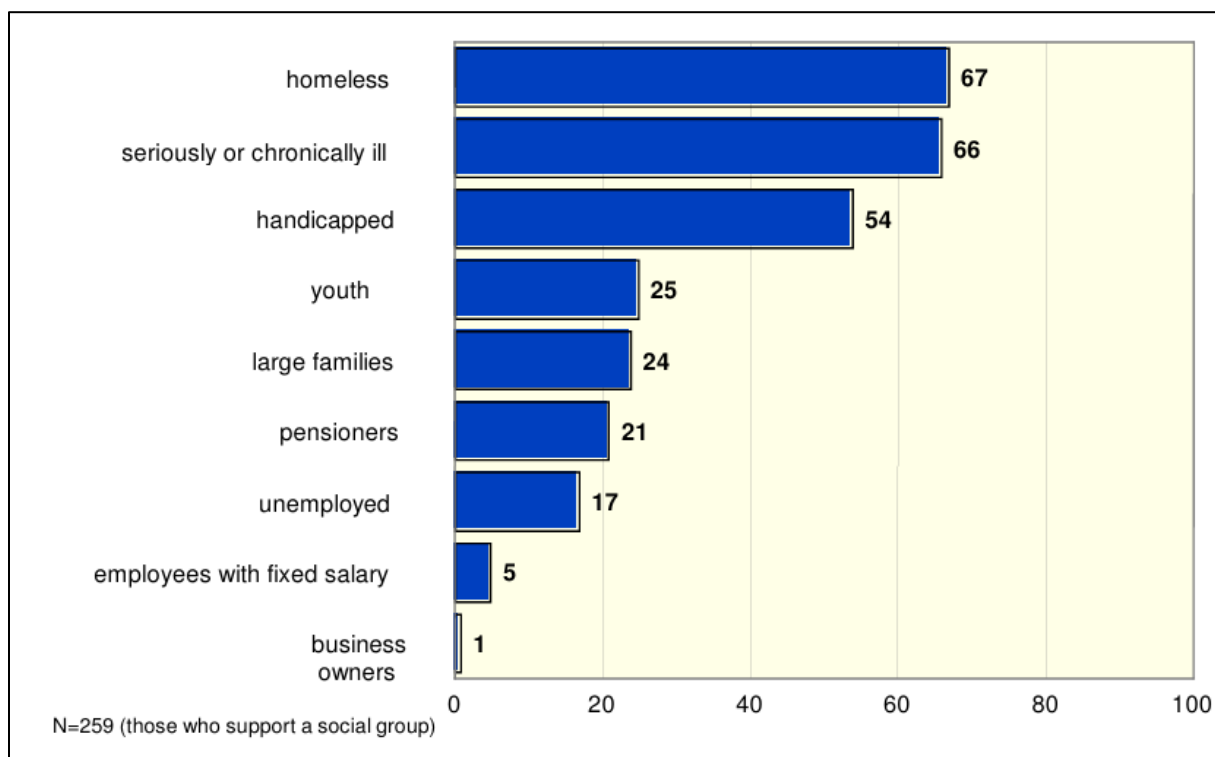


Opinions on the need to support social groups

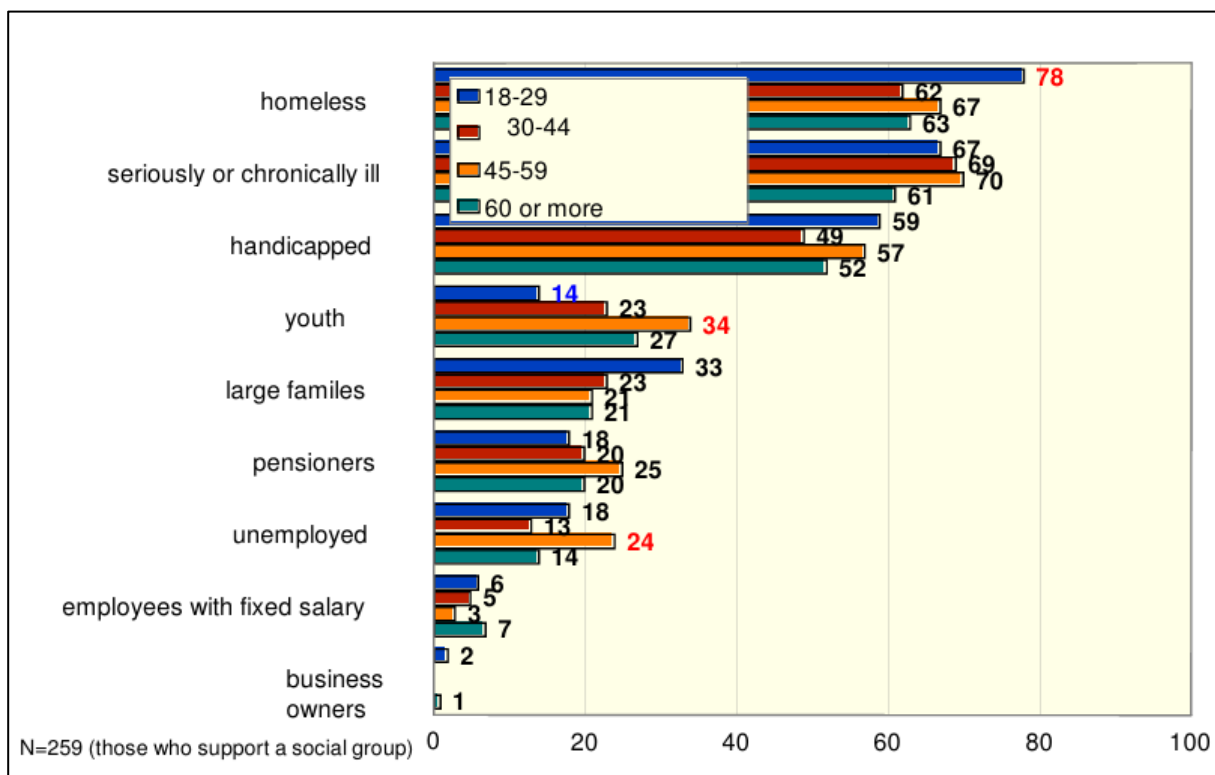


Excluded groups

Supported social groups



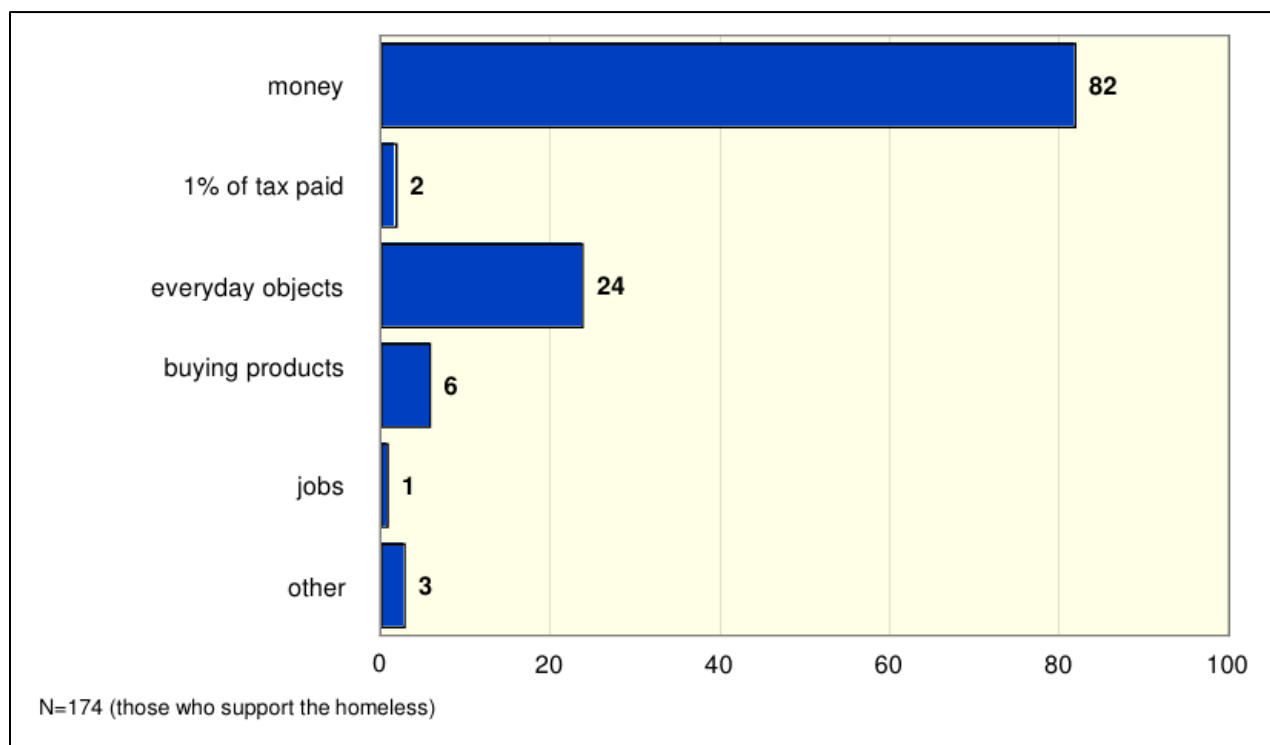
Supported social groups (by age of donors)



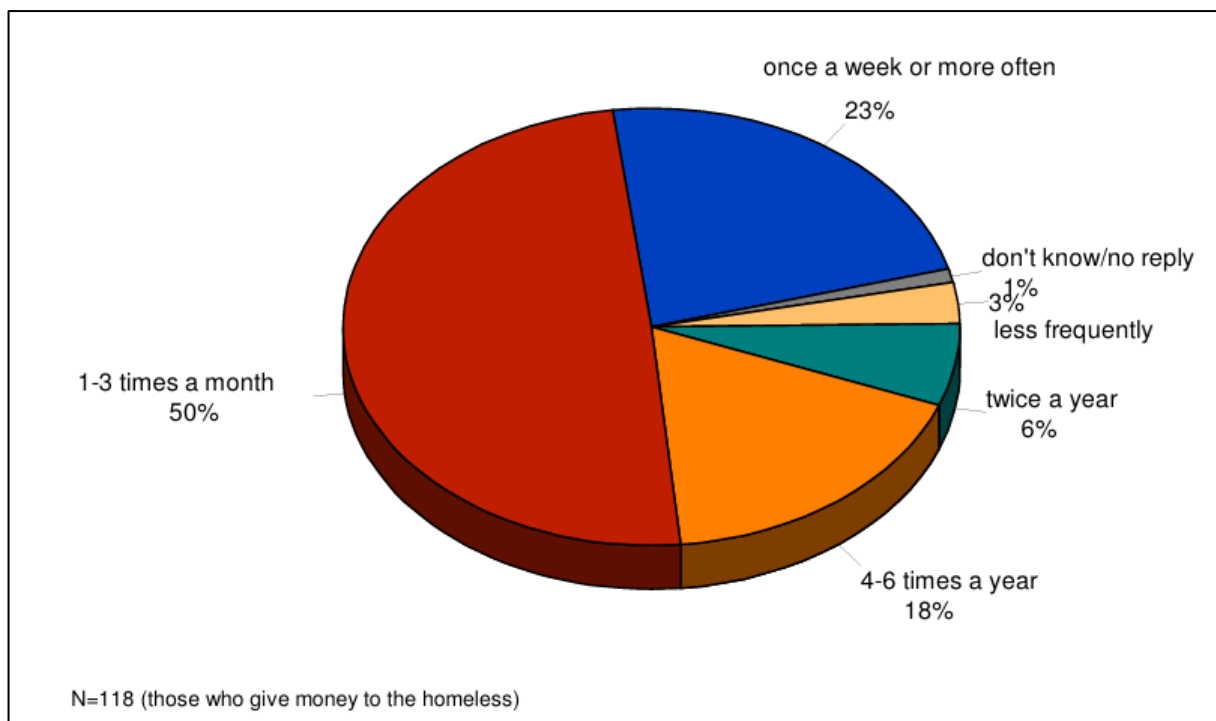
OTTHONTALANUL... TÉGY AZ EMBERÉRT!

Excluded groups

Ways of supporting the homeless



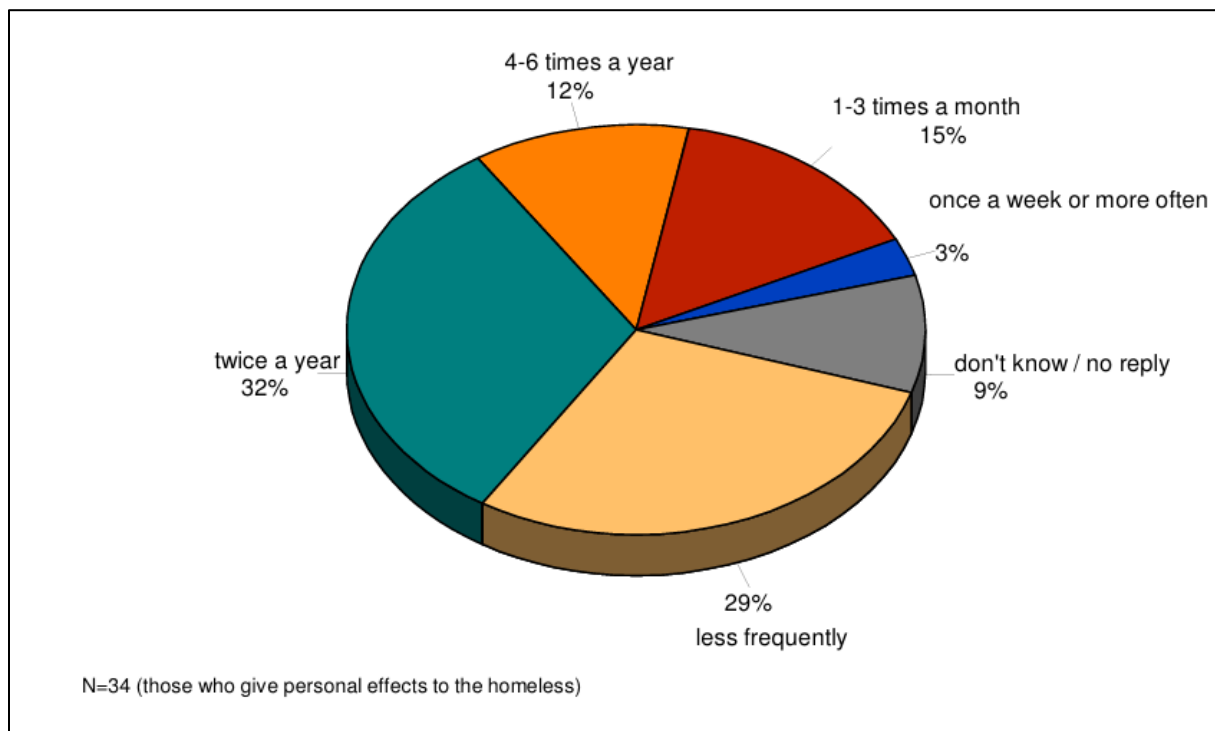
How often do you give money to the homeless?



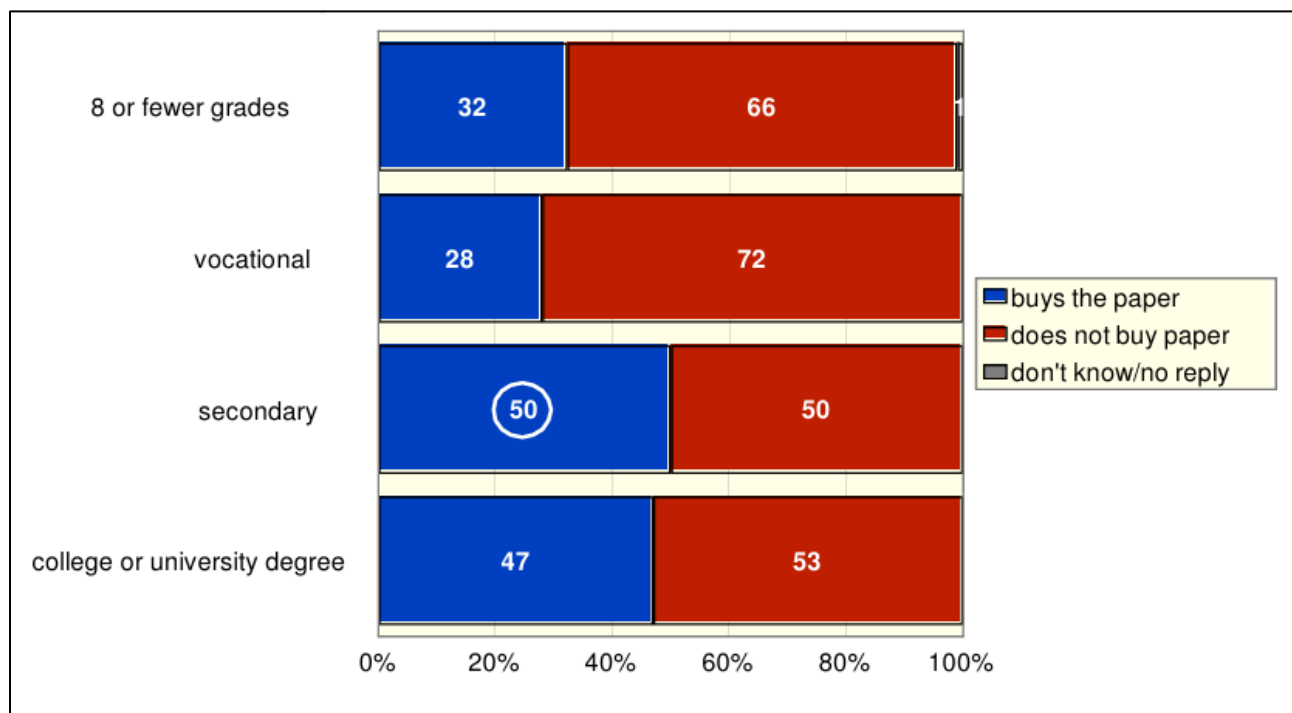
OTTHONTALANUL... TÉGY AZ EMBERÉRT!

Excluded groups

How often do you give everyday objects to the homeless?



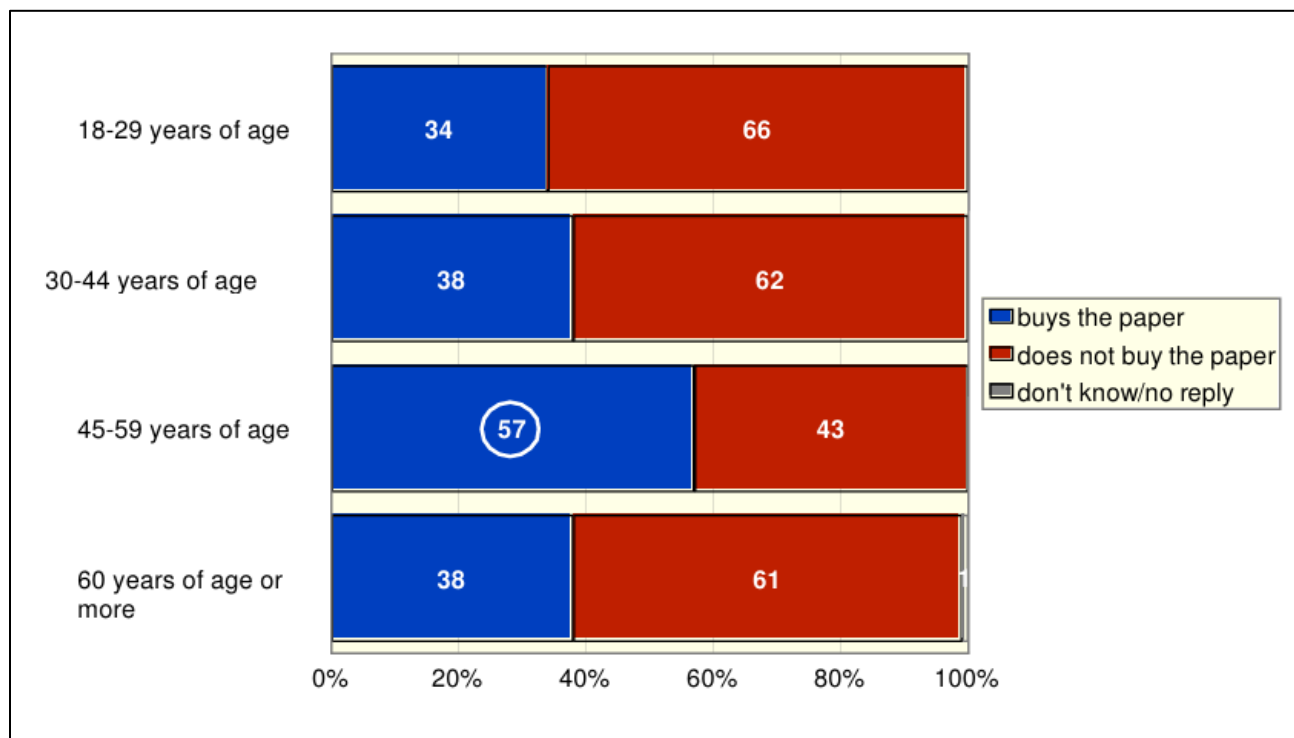
Buying newspapers edited and sold by the homeless



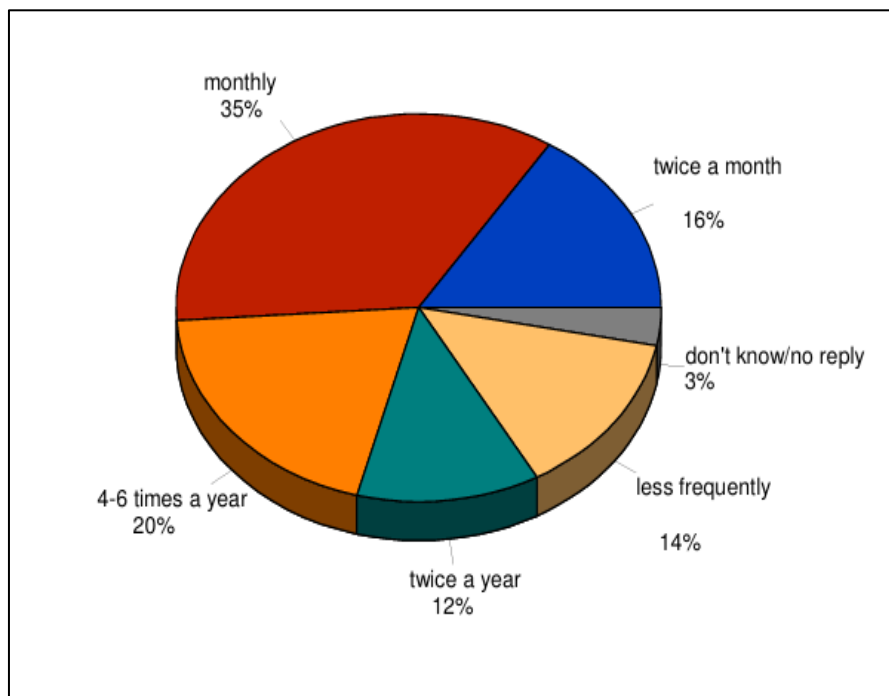
OTTHONTALANUL... TÉGY AZ EMBERÉRT!

Excluded groups

Buying newspapers edited and sold by the homeless, by level of education



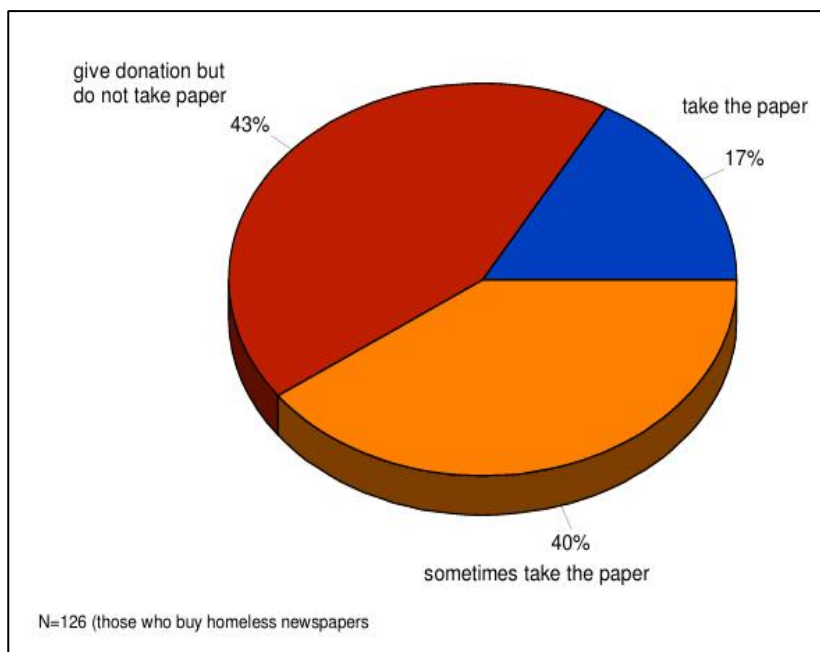
Frequency of buying homeless newspapers



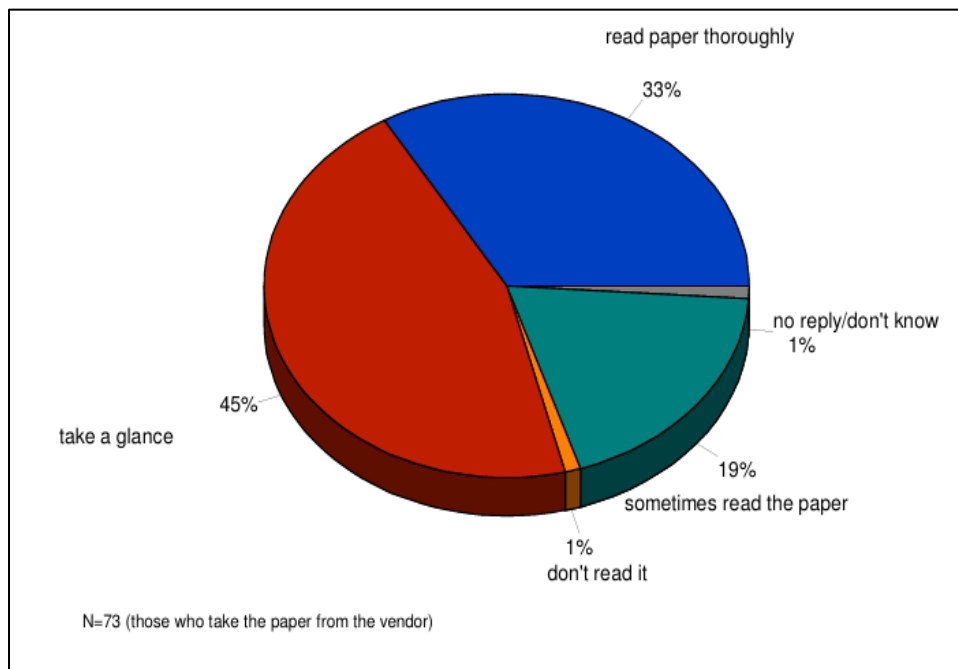
OTTHONTALANUL... TÉGY AZ EMBERÉRT!

Excluded groups

When buying the paper...



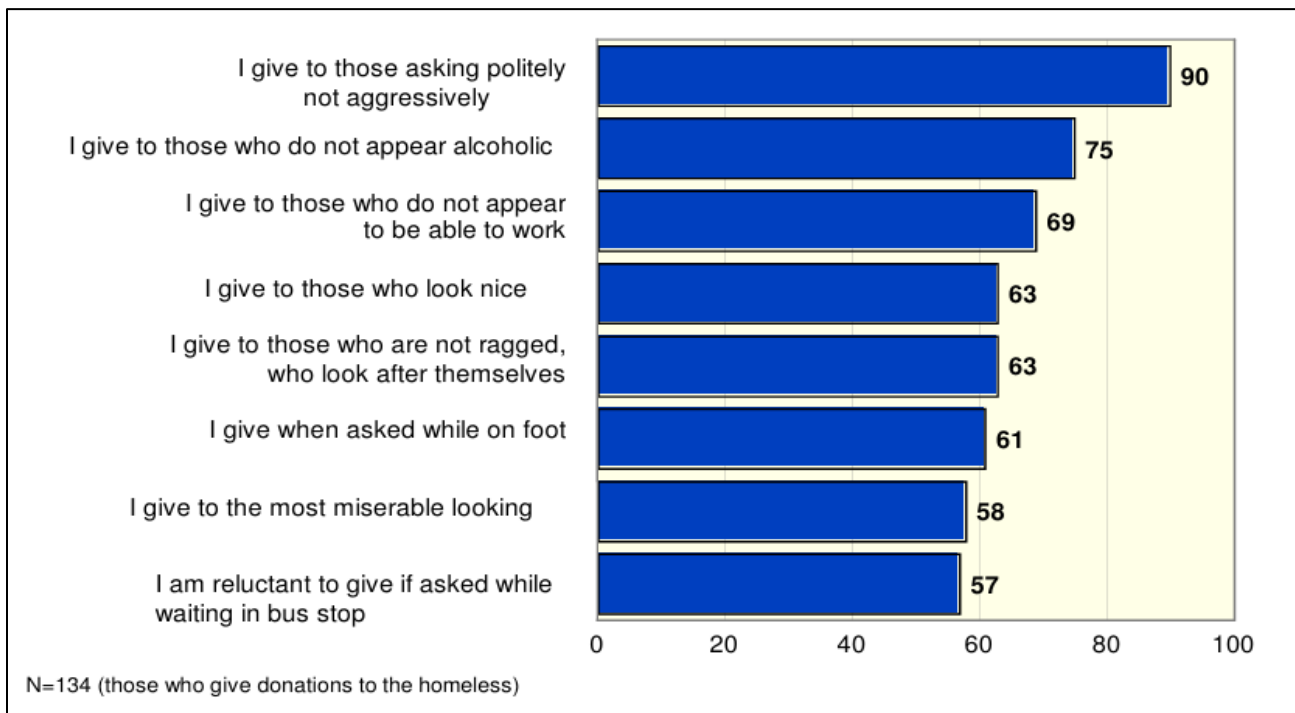
Do you read the paper?



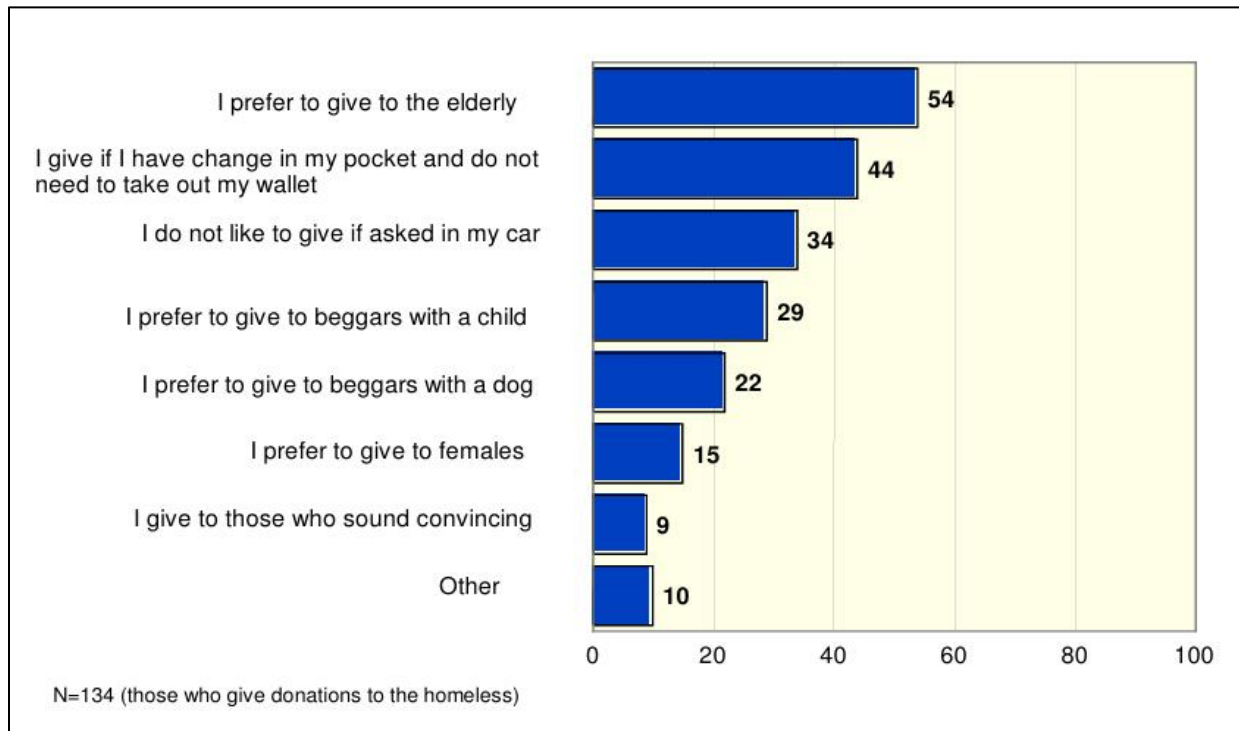
OTTHONTALANUL... TÉGY AZ EMBERÉRT!

Excluded groups

Attitudes to donations to the homeless



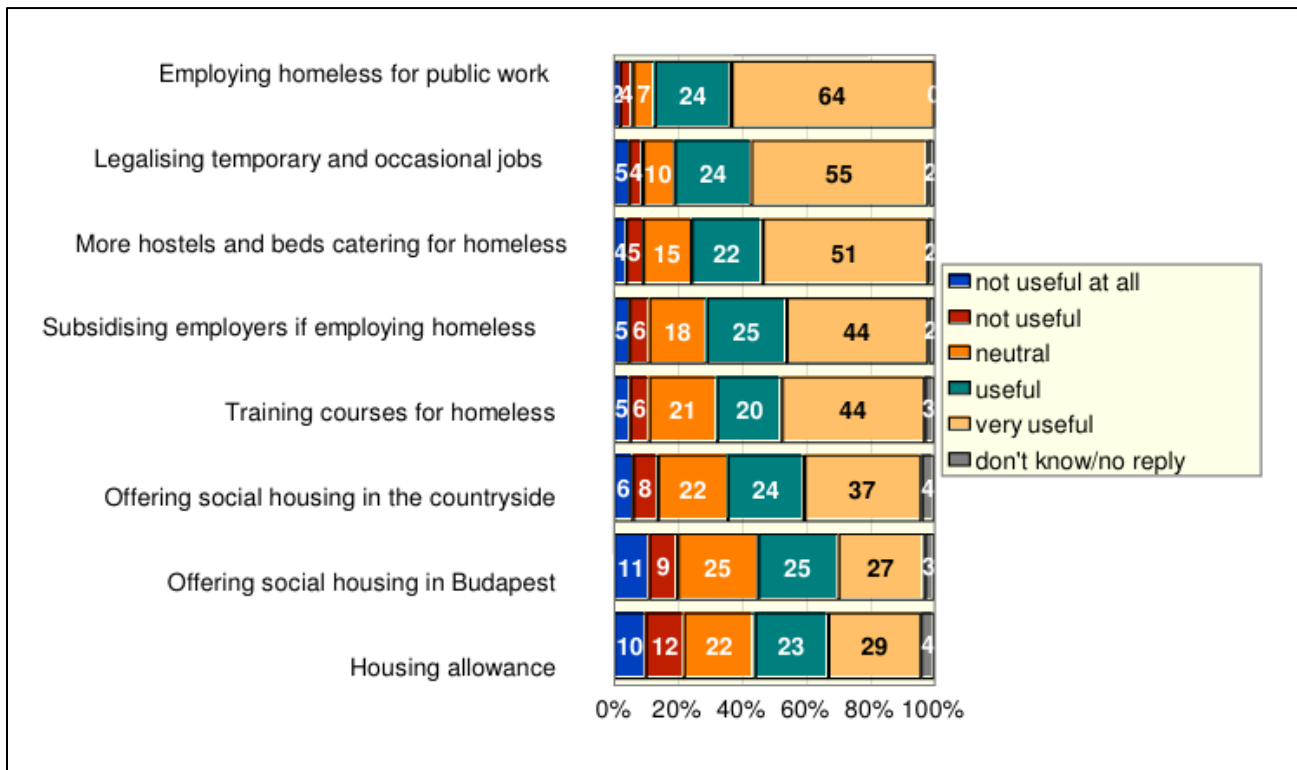
Attitudes to donations to the homeless



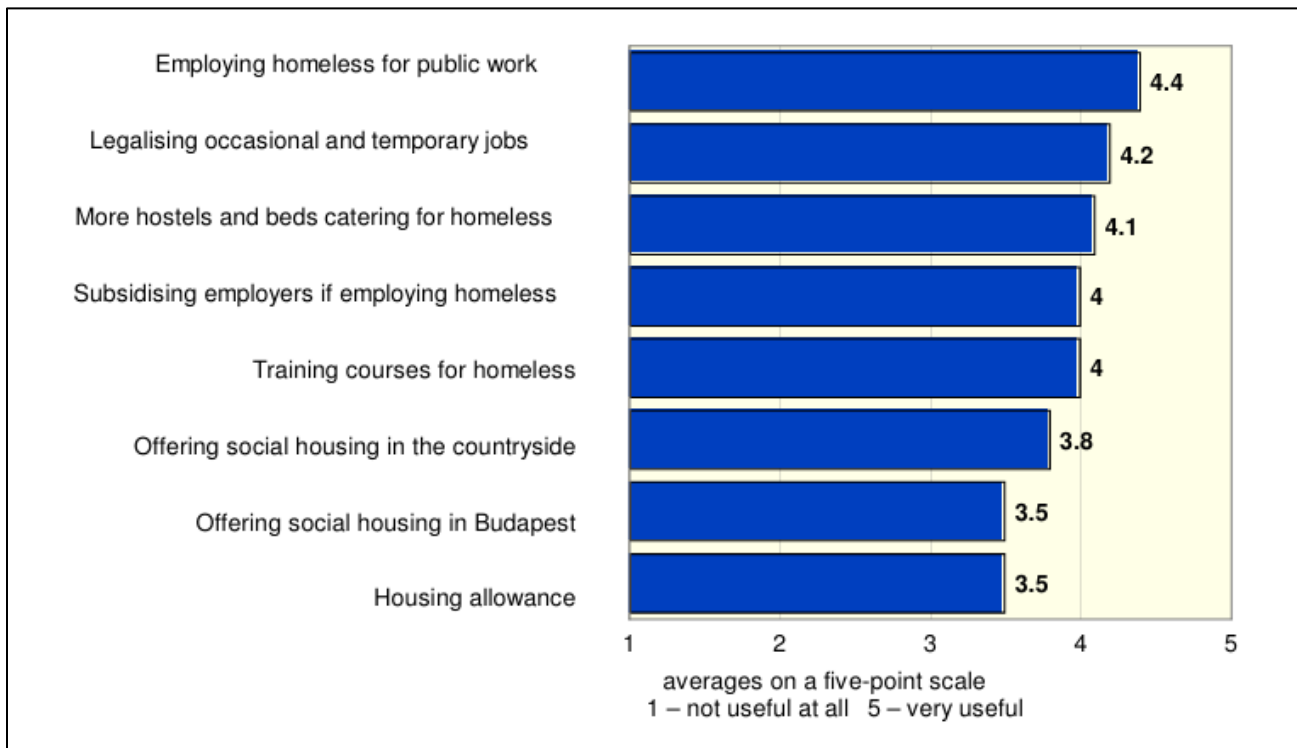
OTTHONTALANUL... TÉGY AZ EMBERÉRT!

Excluded groups

Opinions on ways of tackling homelessness



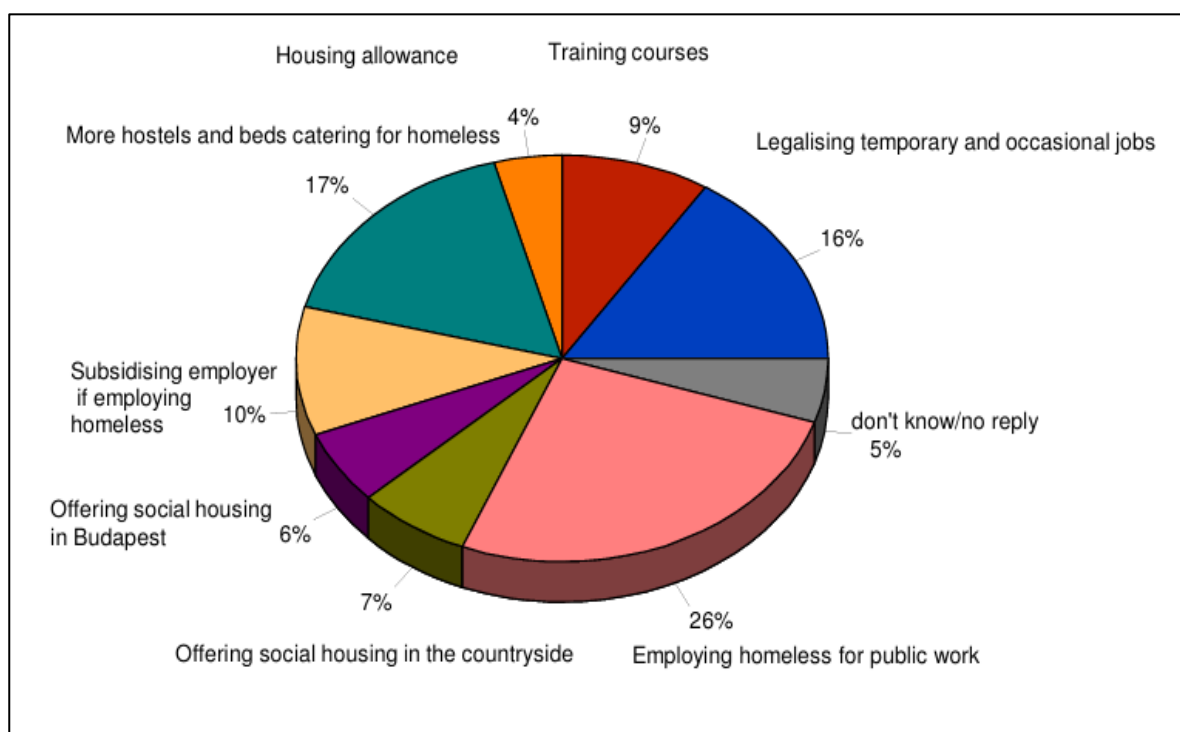
Opinions on ways of tackling homelessness



OTTHONTALANUL... TÉGY AZ EMBERÉRT!

Excluded groups

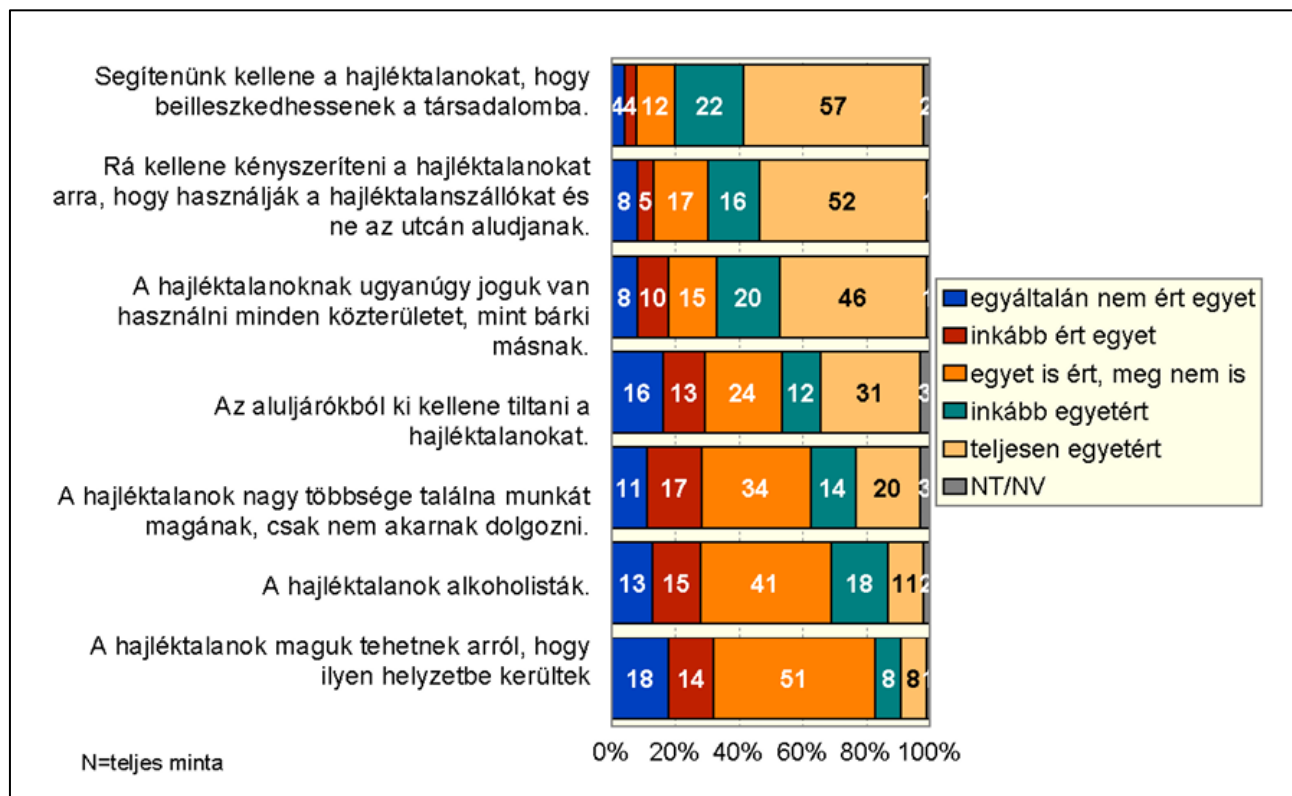
Most useful way to tackle homelessness



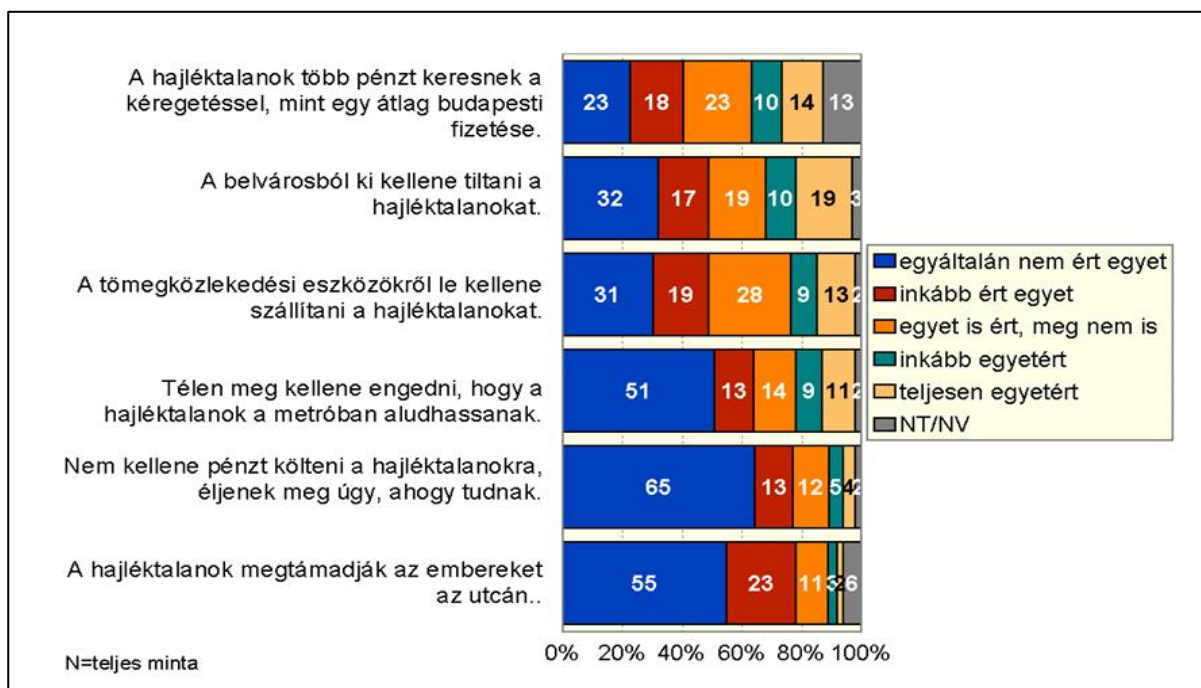
OTTHONTALANUL... TÉGY AZ EMBERÉRT!

Excluded groups

Hajléktalanokkal kapcsolatos attitűdök I.



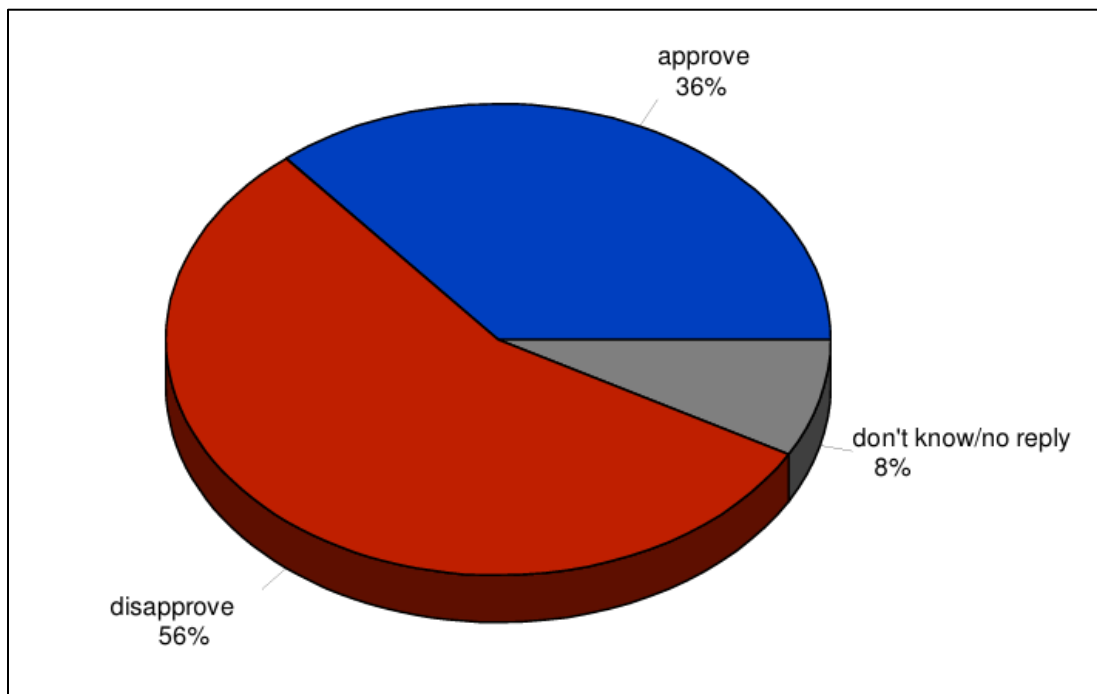
Hajléktalanokkal kapcsolatos attitűdök II.



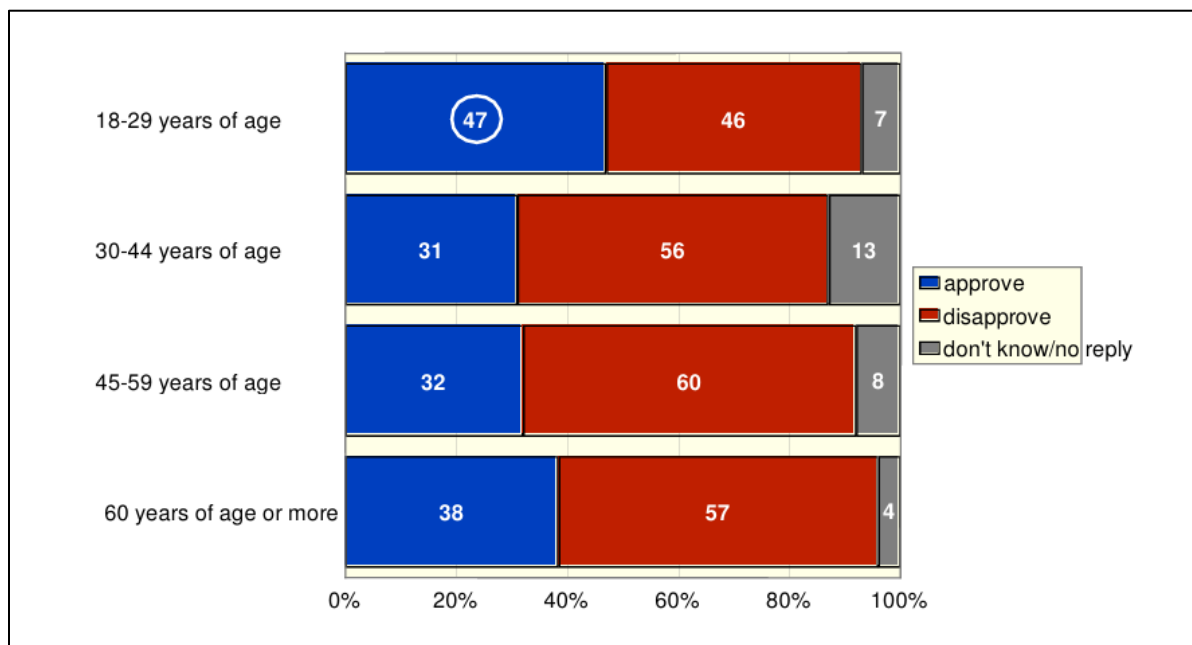
OTTHONTALANUL... TÉGY AZ EMBERÉRT!

Excluded groups

Opinion on installing armrests on benches in public areas

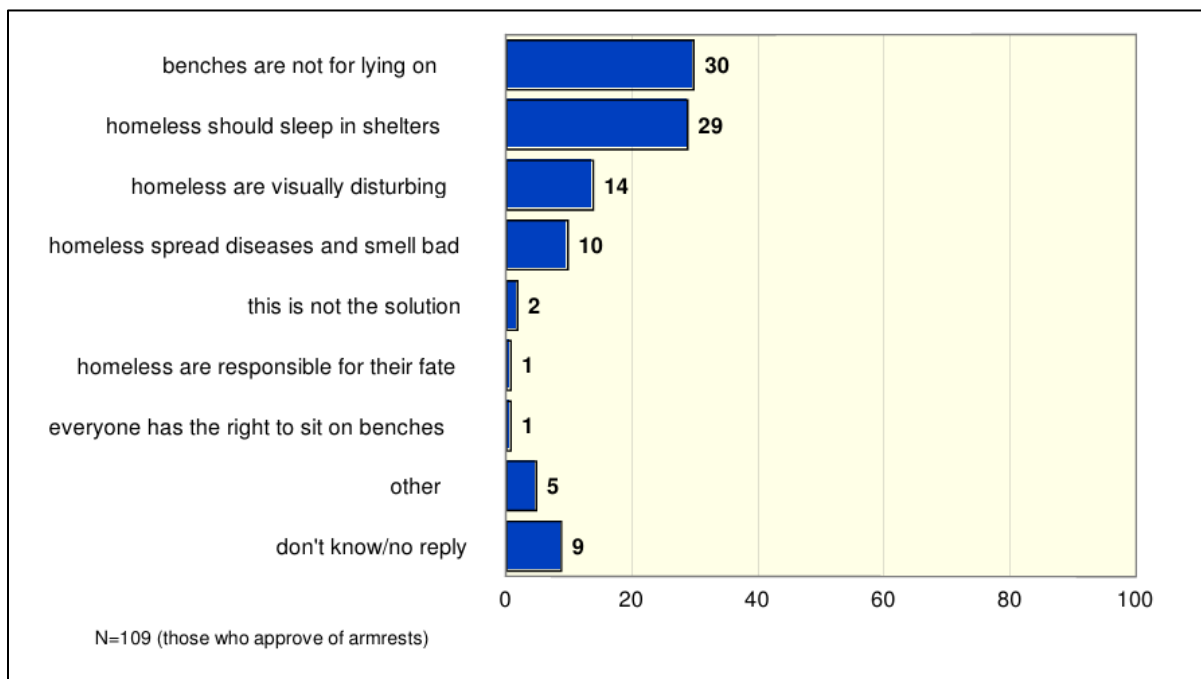


Opinions on installing armrests on benches in public areas



Excluded groups

Why do you approve of installing armrests on benches in public areas?



Why do you disapprove of installing armrests on benches in public areas?

