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“They don’t fit in”

Homeless EU migrants, New Social Risks and the Mixed Economy of Welfare in Sweden

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Abstract

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Problem/ background: Since the enlargement of the EU in 2004 and the free mobility directive there has been growing concern of homelessness and destituteness among EU migrants in several European countries, Sweden being one of them. This is an important welfare and policy issue. Previous research on this matter has tended to focus on challenges faced by, as well as strategies adopted by, NGOs and social workers, while not really delving into the issue of challenges and coping strategies adopted by those in charge. In the Swedish context, it is therefore important to look at how Swedish municipalities are dealing with this issue to shed light on how policy makers are coping with the homeless EU migrants and how they are working with them.

Objective: The point of this thesis is to discuss homeless EU migrants in Sweden using the theories of new social risks and the mixed economy of welfare. In doing so, I intend to examine how municipal representatives perceive and interpret the new social risks the migrants are facing and how to deal with these. I will also consider how the mixed economy of welfare plays a role in how Swedish municipalities' are able to work with the migrants.

Method: Semi-structured interviews with municipal representatives in the three chosen municipalities were conducted.

Conclusion/ result: According to the interviews, the municipal representatives are experiencing several hurdles and challenges when it comes to working with homeless EU migrants. The homeless EU migrants are facing new social risks and are consequently posing a serious challenge to the Swedish welfare state. It is a problem that has been created elsewhere but that needs to be dealt with in Sweden; furthermore, the visibility of street beggars is challenging the idea of the social contract in Sweden. In order to provide any assistance to the migrants, municipalities have to cooperate with NGOs, making the role of the MEW extremely important.

Keywords: Welfare state, Sweden, EU, migration, new social risks, the mixed economy of welfare, Malmö, Lund, Gothenburg

Abbreviations

CMG	City Mission of Gothenburg
CWD	Care and Welfare Directorate
EEA	European Economic Area
EU10	The 2004 A-8 accession states: Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia, plus the 2007 accession states, Bulgaria and Romania.
EU15	The fifteen member states of the EU prior to enlargement in 2004: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and the United Kingdom
FEANTSA	European Federation of National Organisations Working with the Homeless
MEW	Mixed Economy of Welfare
NSR	New Social Risk
SALAR	Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions
SLGA	Swedish Local Government Act
SNBHW	Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare
SSA	The Social Services Act
TCN	Third Country National
VSOPP	Voluntary Sector Organisation Public Partnership

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1. Introduction

Homelessness, street begging and social exclusion are not new phenomena in the welfare states of Europe. However, recently, the image of the vulnerable street beggar and homeless person has begun to change. While the Schengen-agreement has amounted to fewer border controls within Europe, border controls to enter Europe have strengthened and critics are calling it “fortress Europe”. According to Hansen (2010), fortress Europe can be seen as the attempt by the European Union to “solve” the migration crisis by implementing stricter border controls and barriers to keep people from entering Europe. Or more accurately, as a way of increasing the amount of desirable migrants entering Europe, while keeping undesirable migrants out (Ibid.). Undesirable migrants could broadly be defined as uneducated, poor, and in need of social support. Europe’s strong external borders might be doing a good job of keeping such migrants from entering European territory, but what if the poor and vulnerable migrants are already within European borders? The financial crisis and the inclusion of more countries in the EU have led to a new situation for many European countries. The EU’s policy of free mobility allows poor and uneducated migrants with membership or residency permits in one EU country to enter another EU country, without having to go through the tough screening process needed to enter Europe (European Parliament, Directive 2004/38/EC). This poses a whole new set of challenges to European welfare states and raises the issue of new social risks arising from free mobility and a lack of welfare coverage.

For countries that were not severely hit by the financial crisis such as Sweden, the increasing mobility within EU-countries has caused an influx of migrants from countries such as Romania, Bulgaria, Spain and Slovakia. Some of these migrants earn their living from temporary or seasonal jobs, by begging for money in the streets, collecting empty cans or other informal economic activities (Edlund et al. 2014). The EU migrants often experience difficulties finding employment and housing in the new country and as a result, homelessness among new EU labour migrants is increasingly recognised as a growing concern for the member states of the EU (As described in *Homeless in Europe, 2010*). The European Federation of National Organisations Working with the Homeless (FEANTSA) has issued recommendations to address the problem in

their report “Preventing Destitution of EU Citizens” (2011). Their recommendations include making sure no EU citizen is left destitute by providing at least emergency support services, and defining what emergency support services mean across the EU member states. Homeless EU migrants differ from indigenous homeless people by the fact that their homelessness is less frequently caused by addiction and psychological problems. Sweden is a particularly interesting case when it comes to homeless EU migrants for several reasons. One reason is that Sweden is the only country that has not created any specific transitional rules for the ten new EU-countries (the so-called EU10¹ countries) that joined in 2004 and 2007 (Gerdes and Wadensjö, 2008). Another reason is that Sweden was among the first countries to open up its labour market to the EU10 countries and subsequently received more migrants than the other 15 EU-member states prior to the enlargement in 2004 (the EU15²). The particularly generous welfare system in Sweden also makes it an interesting case (the nature of transitional rules and Sweden’s generous welfare system will be elaborated in the background section) (Pleace, 2010: 151).

Swedish municipalities have to deal with the issue of receiving EU migrants in need of social support, without any national guidelines to steer their actions. Only recently (January 2015), has a national coordinator for socially vulnerable European Economic Area citizens (EEA) been appointed and has the issue been discussed by the Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions (SALAR) during a conference in Lindköping (Olsson, 2014; Socialdepartementet, 2015). From a welfare perspective it is a highly complex issue since EU-legislation along with national social policy practice limit the available social support that can be provided to the EU migrants (European Parliament, Directive 2004/38/EC; Sveriges Radio, 2013a). Voluntary organisations that deal with homeless, marginalised and otherwise vulnerable people are therefore taking on the responsibility. Homeless EU migrants have fairly recently become the focus of an increasing amount of academic texts (see for example Crellen, 2010; Mostowska, 2014; O’Sullivan et al.; Mostowska 2011). They have also become the focus of country reports

¹ The 2004 A-8 accession states: Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia, plus the 2007 accession states, Bulgaria and Romania.

² The fifteen member states of the EU prior to enlargement in 2004: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and the United Kingdom.

that map their prevalence and background in a specific country or city (see for example Socialstyrelsen, 2013; Edlund et al. 2014; Projekt Udenfor, 2012). In media outlets the issue of street begging is increasingly being given attention, recently by a debate piece written by Beatrice Ask and Tomas Tobé (Ask is the Chairman of the Justice Committee and Tobé is party secretary for the Swedish Moderate party) in which they suggested we ban organised street begging (Tobé and Ask, 2015). In spite of the increasing attention the issue is receiving, there are still many gaps in the research, especially from a welfare perspective. Previous research has tended to focus on challenges faced by and strategies adopted by NGOs and social workers, while not really delving into the issue of challenges and coping strategies adopted by those in charge. It is therefore important to look at how Swedish municipalities are dealing with this issue to shed light on how policy makers are coping with the homeless EU migrants and how they are working with them.

1.1 Purpose

The purpose of this thesis is to discuss homeless EU migrants in Sweden using the theories of new social risks and the mixed economy of welfare. I intend to apply the theoretical framework new social risks to the situation of the homeless EU migrants and examine how municipal representatives perceive and interpret the new social risks the migrants are facing and how they are a challenge to the Swedish welfare system. I will also consider how the mixed economy of welfare plays a role in how Swedish municipalities' are able to work with the migrants.

1.2 Research questions

- How do representatives of the municipalities of Lund, Malmö and Gothenburg interpret the issue of homeless EU migrants?
 - o In what ways are the homeless EU migrants seen as a challenge to the Swedish welfare state?
- What role does the Mixed Economy of Welfare play in dealing with homeless EU migrants residing in Swedish municipalities?

1.3 Research boundaries/ limitations

As mentioned in the introduction, the EU is facing growing criticism for its strict border controls to the outside world which create difficulties for asylum-seekers, refugees, undocumented migrants and economic or labour migrants trying to enter a European country. These migrants, once in the European Union, are often referred to as Third Country Nationals (TCNs) and are simply defined as people who are not from the European country in which they are currently residing, nor from any other EU-member state (Herzfeld Olsson, 2012: 79). Depending on the background and situation of the TCN, they face a number of difficulties as migrants in an EU-country with regard to entitlements and living-conditions. This is a very important aspect of contemporary migration in the EU, but falls outside of the scope of this thesis. Instead, the focus will be on migrants who are either from an EU-country or already have permanent residency in one. This is an interesting group to look at because they are not usually regarded as the most vulnerable group of migrants, as opposed to some TCNs, but are nonetheless facing exclusion and homelessness in the receiving countries to a greater extent than before (Mostowska, 2014: 19).

EU migrants (as well as TCNs) are not only facing difficulties finding work and accommodation, but concern is also growing about the dangers of racism, xenophobia and antiziganism in the EU countries (Pleace, 2010: 150). An example is a study in Dublin by Stanley (2010), where it was shown that nationals of the European Economic Area (EEA) are among other things, facing indirect discrimination when it comes to receiving social services in Dublin (Stanley, 2010). Other examples are two studies performed in London and Denmark where there were reports of racist attitudes among homeless people directed at homeless migrants (Pleace, 2010). Though the issue of racism and the subsequent discrimination of the homeless EU migrants are extremely important, it is outside the scope of this thesis. As I will argue later on in the text, the greatest obstacles for the EU migrants have to do with legislation and welfare state structure, so the focus will have to remain there.

The issue of viewing homeless EU migrants as a heterogeneous group will be addressed in the background section, but having recognised this fact, I will not delve into the situation of any particular migrant group. Though it is very important to discuss the characteristics and composition of the homeless EU migrants in Sweden, the broad analysis regarding challenges to

Swedish municipalities and the welfare state will not require me to highlight the particular difficulties of any migrant group.

1.4 Background

Before there can be a discussion of how three Swedish municipalities (Lund, Malmö and Gothenburg) are dealing with the matter of homeless EU migrants it is important to give a brief background of the Swedish welfare state and EU-legislation regarding the matter of free-mobility and the responsibility of a receiving country to provide social services to EU migrants. A short introduction to the Europeanisation and municipalisation of Swedish welfare will also be provided, along with a definition of who the homeless migrants in Sweden are.

1.4.1 *The European context and Europeanisation*

The European Union, over the course of the last 50 years, has changed the path of national sovereignty over social policies in the quest for labour mobility within the union. In articles 39-42 EC the right to free mobility for persons (workers) within the EU is stipulated and the national capability of limiting social transfers is thus constrained. This basically means that member states are no longer able to deny most social benefits to non-citizens or claim that their benefits can only be provided within, or be applied to, their territory. Furthermore, they can no longer keep other welfare regimes from competing on their territory and they do not have the absolute right to govern welfare claims from migrants without the involvement of other member states (Leibfried, 2010: 270-271). In practice, this means that a national welfare state no longer operates solely within its borders, a degree of *Europeanisation* of the welfare state has occurred. Keeping a European perspective when looking at national welfare systems, such as Sweden's, is therefore of the utmost importance.

The EU directive 2004/38 that gives the right of free movement to all EU citizens and their family members also states that for a stay exceeding three months, the migrant must have documents that support his/her right to reside. Documents such as these can be granted on the condition that the migrant has a work contract, is self-employed or owns sufficient means. Labour market participation is often the key to being entitled to social benefits, such as unemployment benefits. Should the migrant fail to enter into the official labour market or be employed for too short a time period, they may only have access to emergency support from the

host country (European Parliament, Directive 2004/38/EC). Defining what “emergency support” means is no easy task and has been left to each member country to interpret. In addition to the difficulties migrants face in the host country, the time they spend outside official employment may prompt them to lose any benefits they had the right to in their home country or their previous country of employment. Certain limitations when it comes to being entitled to social services may also be the result of a lack of local connection or registration in the municipality they are residing in (Mostowska, 2014: 19-20). While the migrants officially only have the right to stay for three months without employment, the Directive 2004/38 also states that “EU citizens cannot be expelled from a member state (with an exception if they represent a ‘genuine, present and sufficiently serious threat’)” (Mostowska, 2014:20). At the same time, it also affirms that during an initial period of residence, the migrant must not become an unreasonable burden on the social system of the host member country (European Parliament, Directive 2004/38/EC).

Beside the EU Directive that regulates the rights and responsibilities of EU migrants there were some transitional rules, as previously mentioned, implemented in most EU15 countries for EU10 members (Sweden being the only exception) (Gerdes and Wadensjö, 2008: 2). There was fear in the older member states that large amounts of labour migrants from new member states would come and be willing to work for much lower wages. This in turn would price out local workers. There was also fear that migrants from the new member states would abuse the social welfare system in the host country or that large numbers of migrants claiming benefits would put too much pressure on national welfare systems (De Búrca, 2005:65). These transitional rules differed from one country to another but they basically restricted a migrant’s right to work in a EU15 country by requiring special work permits (European Commission, 2014). The rules were allowed to be applied for up to 7 years after a country became a member. Since implementation, the transitional rules for EU10 members have been lifted in most EU15 countries.

1.4.2 The Swedish context and Municipalisation

According to Esping-Andersen’s influential “Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism” in which he classifies the welfare states in Europe, Sweden is an example of a social democratic welfare regime type. In practice, this means that Sweden’s welfare state is characterised by a high degree of de-commodification and social citizenship. De-commodification means that social services are regarded as entitlements rather than commodities and that citizens in a welfare state with a high

degree of de-commodification are not as dependent on the market to provide for their social needs (Esping-Andersen, 1990). Esping-Andersen's ideas have attracted a great deal of criticism and many attempts to both change and build on his ideas (Hill, 2007: 179). For the case of Sweden however, there is a general consensus that Esping-Andersen's classification manages to capture most of the key components of the Swedish welfare state. The strong emphasis on social citizenship in Sweden brings with it social insurance against such risks as unemployment, sickness and old age. It also includes a large service-intensive public sector offering elderly care, child care, education and healthcare (Edlund and Johansson Sevä, 2013: 543). These factors are the primary reason as to why Sweden's welfare state has been and still is considered particularly generous compared to other European welfare states. And yet, the past few decades in Sweden have meant a gradual departure from this welfare regime ideal-type. Rules related to eligibility for social insurance have been tightened and most importantly, there has been a significant increase in the number of private social service providers (Ibid.). Furthermore, Swedish welfare has undergone a process of municipalisation in which municipalities and county councils have the primary responsibility for most social services, such as education and healthcare (Holosko et al. 2009:212).

The balance between private social service providers and public provision differs greatly between municipalities (Edlund and Johansson Sevä, 2013: 543). This could be part of the explanation to why the response to homeless EU migrants differs throughout Sweden. Since there are no specific national guidelines, Swedish municipalities are basing their strategies on EU legislation, the Swedish Social Services Act (SSA), The Swedish Local Government Act (SLGA) and established practice within social services. The SSA in accordance with EU directive 2004/38 stipulates that any EU citizen may reside in Sweden for three months as long as they can provide valid identification documents and as long as they do not become an "unreasonable burden" for the social assistance system (Edlund et al, 2014:20). It is not further specified what "unreasonable burden" means, so each municipality needs to interpret it. Because the SSA and the EU directive are vague when it comes to this matter, representatives of Swedish municipalities are stating that they would like help interpreting what constitutes an unreasonable burden for the social assistance system and what their responsibilities really are (Sveriges Radio, 2013b).

According to established practice within social services, persons who are temporary residents in a municipality (lacking official registration in that municipality) are in fact only entitled to emergency assistance (Socialstyrelsen, 2008; Socialstyrelsen, 2014). Emergency assistance for EU migrants in practice most often means a ticket back to their home countries. All EU citizens are entitled to the same level of care as local citizens in any EU member state, but the problem with the homeless EU migrants is that many of them lack insurance in their home country. If the migrants lack health insurance it means that should they get sick while in Sweden, they have to pay the hospital bills themselves, something that can be inconceivably expensive for them. Some medical assistance can be provided through NGOs, but very sick individuals are most likely sent home (Nebel, 2014). In conclusion, homeless EU migrants have very few established rights according to European and Swedish legislation and guidelines. Established rights are also often vague and sometimes contradictory, which is why municipalities in Sweden find it difficult to interpret what their responsibilities really are.

1.4.3 Are they beggars, Roma or migrants?

The homeless EU migrants that are most often seen in Swedish media are part of the Roma minority and are often associated with street begging. The label “beggar” is therefore frequently used as a synonym for homeless EU migrants. This is very problematic because it assumes that street begging or having a Roma ethnicity are properties that represent the majority of homeless EU migrants. According to a mapping study in Sweden performed by the Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare (SNBHW), homeless EU migrants are a heterogeneous group with various needs and backgrounds. In fact, the study showed that only about 30 per cent of the homeless migrants supported themselves by begging, busking or similar activities. (Socialstyrelsen, 2014: 9). The vast majority of homeless EU migrants are instead mostly invisible both to the public and to authorities. They support themselves through a number of activities, such as collecting bottles, selling Faktum³ or engaging in elicited work (Göteborgs kyrkliga stadsmission, 2013: 4). For this reason, the focus of the interviews is inevitably on homeless EU migrants who mostly belong to the Roma population and who often engage in

³ Faktum is a street magazine sold by homeless and socially excluded people in a number of Swedish cities (Faktum, n.d.)

begging or similar activities. This group of people is considered to be the most vulnerable of the homeless migrants, is more visible than other groups, and has the greatest contact with Swedish authorities (Socialstyrelsen, 2013).

In spite of the fact that the interviews in this thesis are focusing on mostly Roma migrants engaging in street begging it is still important to recognise the fact that homeless EU migrants are a heterogeneous group and should therefore not be labelled as simply Roma migrants or beggars. By keeping in mind the heterogeneity of the group it becomes possible to recognise different needs among the migrants that should be addressed according to their situation.

According to the study by the SNBHW, “[t]he group ranges from able-bodied, educated young men to families fleeing from poverty and discrimination” (Socialstyrelsen, 2014: 9). Some patterns that could however be identified in the mapping study showed that 80% of the homeless EU migrants were men, that most of them were not homeless in their home country and that nearly half had no income at all. It also showed that the average age among the migrants was 38 (the youngest being 18 and the oldest being 76), that almost half of the 370 individuals in the study were sleeping rough (that is in public spaces, caravans, tents, cars or a campsite), and that 85 per cent of them said unemployment was the primary cause of their homelessness (Ibid.).

By using the term “homeless EU-migrant” I wish to clarify that I am talking about migrants who per definition are citizens in an EU country (or non-citizens with a long-term residency permit in an EU country) currently residing in another EU country and who lack housing in a physical, legal and/or social domain. The definition of a home as a three-tiered entity is mentioned in the report by the SNBHW but was first presented by FEANTSA, the only large European network to focus on homelessness on a European level. Having adequate housing according to this definition means that a person has housing that is physically acceptable and which gives them the possibility to maintain a private sphere and social relations (Socialstyrelsen, 2014:13). For the homeless EU migrants, all three levels of having a home are usually missing and their situation is therefore regarded as acute. The term used to describe the group differs somewhat between Swedish municipalities. In Gothenburg for instance, they are mostly referred to as vulnerable EU citizens (Göteborgs Stad, 2014). In this thesis the term homeless EU migrants has been chosen because it best describes their particularly vulnerable housing situation and emphasises their status as migrants in the receiving country.

1.4.4 *Homeless EU migrants in Gothenburg, Malmö and Lund*

In this section I will briefly present the measures taken by the three municipalities that are used as cases for this thesis. Beginning with Gothenburg, which is often presented in Swedish media as a “good example” in the Swedish setting (see for example Nebel, 2014), the issue of a growing number of homeless EU migrants was recognised in 2012 mostly by NGOs working with the homeless such as the City Mission of Gothenburg (CMG). They released a report describing the situation and needs of the migrants which made the responsible municipal Deputy Mayor act quickly and establish a Voluntary Sector Organisation Public Partnership (VSOPP)⁴. The VSOPP was a collaboration between the municipality, Bräcke diakoni, the Salvation Army, and the CMG (Göteborgs kyrkliga stadsmission, 2014: 4; Klingberg, 2013). This VSOPP forms the basis for Crossroads Gothenburg, a collaboration through which individual guidance for EU migrants and TCNs is offered. It coordinates efforts between authorities and NGOs offering sleeping and other facilities as well as offering language training and breakfast. A coordinator financed by the municipality is also present, aiding in finding acute sleeping arrangements and contacting healthcare facilities and other necessary authority personnel (Göteborgs kyrkliga stadsmission, 2014: 4-5). The municipality of Gothenburg thus offers extensive services, and has a close collaboration with NGOs working with the homeless EU migrants.

In Malmö and Lund, the issue of homeless EU migrants came later than it did in Gothenburg, but neither municipality has at the moment any plans of emulating the model that Gothenburg has implemented (Nebel, 2014). Malmö does not offer the same amount of support that Gothenburg does but also has a Crossroads centre with similar functions as the one in Gothenburg (Skåne Stadsmission, n.d.). Malmö focuses more on temporary solutions like securing sleeping arrangements when it gets too cold and making sure temporary settlements do not become permanent. The support to the migrants is more indirect since the municipality gives funding to NGOs such as the Malmö City Mission which in turn works with the migrants. Crossroads in

⁴ A VSOPP is not to be confused with a Public Private Partnership. It is a partnership separate from the market, often formed between one public authority and one or more voluntary sector organisation, often focusing on a particular activity (Forum, n.d. a). The partnership entails that the idea-based voluntary organisations will run the planned activities and the municipality will fund them (Forum, n.d. b). It is considered an equal partnership where both parties share responsibility and say (Klingberg, 2013).

Malmö also informs the migrants about their rights and opportunities under the supervision of the Malmö City Mission but without the involvement from the municipality that the Crossroads in Gothenburg has (Leijnse, 2015). In Lund, when the new budget was decided in 2015 after the elections, 700 000 SEK were put aside to cater to some of the needs of the migrants. The idea was that different organisations and NGOs working with these people would be able to apply for funding from this money and set up shelters. Like Malmö, Lund relies more on indirect help of migrants but is more determined to plan the budget and put some money aside specifically for the needs of homeless EU migrants. The municipality of Lund is also working with a more long term plan on how to deal with the issue so they do not have to evict people from settlements like they have done in Malmö (Edlund et al. 2014).

1.5 Previous research

This section of the thesis will focus on previous research regarding migration and homelessness among EU migrants in Europe as well as more recent studies and reports of the phenomenon in specific European cities. Since the focus of previous research has been on hearing the voices of social workers or representatives of NGOs, this thesis will focus on talking to representatives of municipalities in the hope of bringing another dimension to the issue. It is nevertheless important to present previous studies to be able to position this thesis within the context of previous research. Reports specifically targeting the situation of homeless EU migrants have been conducted in Copenhagen, Dublin and the UK, so these examples will be presented later in the text. There have also been studies on the situation of Polish immigrants in Brussels and Oslo (Mostowska, 2011), but since they focus on the particular situation of Polish immigrants their focus is too narrow to include in the discussion.

In general, previous studies of homelessness among migrants in Europe have dealt with EU migrants and TCNs together and have focused on things like mapping the origins of the homeless and listing specific difficulties faced by different groups of migrants (Pleace, 2010). There is consensus in the previous research that there are numerous specific barriers that make migrants especially vulnerable to becoming homeless. These factors are usually different from the causes of indigenous homelessness, which is often related to addiction, psychological or psychiatric problems (Edgar et al. 2004; Pleace, 2010). Migrants face such barriers as “migration status and legal rights, vulnerabilities on the labour market and housing market, and limited

entitlements to welfare benefits” (Mostowska, 2014:19). According to Mostowska, particular vulnerabilities faced by migrants include such things as smaller support networks, poor knowledge of welfare systems, the language barrier and dependence on a sponsor migrant (Ibid.).

There are subsequently many reasons for the homelessness of some EU migrants as stated in previous research, while different groups of homeless EU migrants are reported to be particularly vulnerable in different settings. Specific cultural or ethnic groups were found to have an especially high risk of homelessness in different countries, such as Roma people who were at risk in most of the EU15 countries (Pleace, 2010: 144). Research also shows that in addition to personal factors such as ethnicity or legal status, structural and institutional factors play a part when it comes to increasing the risk of migrants becoming homeless. Edgar et al. (2004) argue that European governments have not been prepared for the increased amounts of immigrants, and that immigration policies sometimes prevent the migrants from working. This would be the case mainly for asylum seekers but the structural difficulties nonetheless also apply in the case of EU migrants. Transitional rules and restrictions on social services are two examples of such barriers.

Further inquiry into migrant homelessness in Europe from a welfare perspective has been inspired by Esping-Andersen’s (1990) research about the three worlds of welfare capitalism and Daly’s (1993) ideas about the relationship between the nature and extent of homelessness, and the structure and scope of welfare services (Esping-Andersen, 1990; Daly, 1993). Edgar et al. (1999), based on Esping-Andersen’s and Daly’s ideas, argue that homelessness is an extreme form of social exclusion caused by the failure of housing regimes and welfare regimes to provide adequate services. Furthermore, an important note they made was that a country’s response to the issue of homelessness depends very much on the specific conditions of that region (Edgar et al. 1999; O’Sullivan, 2010: 66). The type of welfare system in place would therefore play a role in both the amount of homeless in a country, and the response to the problem. This research discusses homelessness as a general phenomenon and does not specifically mention the homelessness of migrants, but it is still possible to draw parallels between the two cases. Homeless EU migrants face a type of social exclusion based on the nature of European welfare states, seeing as they are not full citizens in the host country and are therefore not entitled to social benefits.

In Mostowska's (2014) and Crellen's (2010) study, the strategies and coping mechanisms of social workers working with homeless EU migrants in Copenhagen, Dublin and the UK are highlighted. The conclusion that Mostowska comes to is that the policies that are in place to cope with homeless EU migrants in European states reinforce the idea of the EU migrant as a worker (Mostowska, 2014: 32). This idea would imply that the migrants are only residing temporarily in the host country and have an obligation to find their own employment and take care of their own needs without help from the government. Crellen comes to the same conclusion, arguing that the most important factor for the migrants is employment (Crellen, 2010: 17). Again, the importance of citizenship becomes visible. A lack of citizenship in the hosting country means that individual responsibility in supporting themselves is key for the EU migrants. Citizenship is highlighted in previous research as one of the most important concepts when looking at homeless EU migrants. Citizenship in one EU state grants EU migrants access to labour markets, goods and services in a wide array of EU countries with the free mobility agreement of the EU. At the same time, they become excluded from social services in the hosting country if or when they do choose to migrate because they lack entitlement to social services as non-citizens.

In a report by the SNBHW mapping the prevalence of homelessness among EU migrants in Sweden, the situation of the migrants is described similarly to the previous research conducted by Mostowska (2014), Pleace (2010) and Edgar et al. (2004). Difficulties finding employment and housing were again attributed to such things as language difficulties and administrative problems acquiring personal numbers needed to enter the labour market (Socialstyrelsen, 2013: 10-12). The Homeless EU migrants are seen as a growing concern for Swedish municipalities in the report. In the municipality of Malmö, a report by Edlund et al. (2014) has been released mapping the prevalence and situation of "socially vulnerable" migrants. The overall conclusion of the report is that the municipality faces difficulties in coping with the increasing amount of homeless EU migrants due to a lack of national guidelines and due to the difficult situation the migrants face even in their home country with social exclusion, racism and poverty (Edlund et al. 2014). The two reports share a common belief that the problem lies both with the migrants themselves and with legislative barriers. In the Malmö report the authors see a need for national guidelines in dealing with the migrants and in the report by the SNBHW it is argued that administrative problems make it more difficult for them to enter the labour market.

In conclusion, previous research regarding homelessness in Europe and welfare has just recently started to focus on the specific conditions of homeless EU migrants, as seen in the reports from Dublin, Copenhagen, Malmö and Sweden. FEANTSA (2011) and Mostowska (2014) emphasise the fact that the homelessness of EU migrants is a growing problem that needs to be addressed by member states and policy makers. The literature connecting homelessness and the welfare has not focused particularly on EU migrants but it is possible to draw some conclusions from it. The nature of the welfare regime is according to Esping-Andersen (1990) and Daly (1993) connected to the response of a particular country to the issue of homelessness. The aim of this thesis will be to build on the previous research mapping and describing the situation of homeless EU- migrants as well as the literature combining homelessness and the welfare state in order to answer the research questions.

2. Theoretical frameworks

2.1 New Social Risks

I intend to use a new social risk (NSR) analysis for this thesis as described by Taylor-Gooby (2004) and by Bonoli (2005). According to Taylor-Gooby (2004), NSRs propose a new frame of analysis as opposed to the more commonly used retrenchment analysis. Though homelessness would not in itself be considered a new social risk, a new social risk analysis remains relevant because homeless EU migrants are a new and growing concern, posing new challenges for many European welfare states. The changing structures of an integrated European labour market have generated new social needs for labour migrants, such as a need for social protection and entitlements. Migrant individuals appear both among the working poor and the unemployed. Immigration is also a new social risk that the welfare state needs to respond to, as discussed by Gerdes and Wadensjö (2012). The framework of NSRs can be seen as vague because there is no specific definition of it. This may seem like a weakness of the framework, but it can in fact also be seen as a strength in the sense that it makes it adaptable to new developments in society. In the following paragraphs I will describe how and why the predicaments of homeless EU migrants can be defined as NSRs and why a NSR analysis is useful for this thesis.

NSRs are increasingly being discussed in relation to welfare state development by scholars such as Esping-Andersen (1999), Jenson (2002), Taylor-Gooby (2004) and Bonoli (2005). There is no specific definition of the term but in general terms, “NSRs are related to the socioeconomic transformations that have brought post-industrial societies into existence” (Bonoli, 2005: 433). Or in simpler terms, they can be defined as the risks that people are facing, as a result of the changing economic and social conditions inherent in the transformation from an industrial to a post-industrial society. When European welfare states developed in the 1950s to the 1970s there were very specific favourable economic conditions such as a golden age of continuous growth, and governments operating under conditions of low-unemployment. There were also stable family structures, and workers and middle-class groups had the ability to successfully mobilise and press for benefits that met their needs (Taylor-Gooby, 2004: 2). Welfare states were designed to fill the gaps of the market and protect against so called old social risks. These included “interruption of income (from unemployment, retirement, sickness or disability) or a mismatch between income and need during the life-cycle (e.g. child endowment)” (Ibid.). The welfare state also intervened in areas where public provision of social services was considered valuable, such as in providing education and healthcare. New social risks on the other hand are a result of a changing economic and social climate where economic growth is much more uncertain, technological changes happen at a quicker pace, job stability and certainty is lower, and where labour markets are more flexible (Taylor-Gooby, 2004).

According to Bonoli (2005), NSRs include the difficulties reconciling work and family life, single parenthood, having a frail relative, possessing low or obsolete skills, and having insufficient social security coverage. For this thesis, I will however focus on the risks that are most relevant to homeless EU migrants and the welfare states they reside in. The particular NSRs that migrants face have not been mentioned in Bonoli, Taylor-Gooby or other writing about NSRs since their predicament is so new and does perhaps not fit into their definitions of NSRs. A NSR analysis is nonetheless still possible if I define the specific risks and challenges that the migrants in the European welfare states are facing in relation to changing economic and social conditions. Social risks appear where the three relevant life dimensions, family, labour market and welfare intersect. Most commonly, situations of poverty and social exclusion happen when there are combined disadvantages found in a combination of life dimensions. Having difficulties in one dimension does not necessarily lead to poverty or exclusion and can be balanced by

benefits in another dimension (Wolleb and Daraio, 2009: 9). As labour migrants in an ever increasingly flexible European labour market the homeless EU migrants are faced with the risk of either being unemployed or receiving a very low wage in their home countries. As they migrate to another EU country, they face a lack of entitlement to social services and difficulties finding legal employment in the receiving countries. They are thus facing disadvantages in several life dimensions, creating social risks. According to O'Sullivan (2010), welfare spending across the EU countries over the past decade has not decreased significantly. However, restrictions to the access of welfare services especially for those without full citizenship have increased (O'Sullivan, 2010: 65). They are thus choosing between two difficult situations in which they are at risk of poverty and homelessness.

According to Taylor-Gooby's (2004) previously mentioned definition of NSRs being the result of a changing economic and social climate, the risks that the migrants are facing can therefore be defined as NSRs. The combination of disadvantages they face in different life dimensions in countries like Sweden are a result of recent developments, making the social risks by definition "new", even though poverty and exclusion are not new phenomena. The EU directive 2004/38 granting free mobility of labour is so recent that the consequences for labour migrants are only now becoming visible. Labour migration before the EU directive 2004/38 operated under different agreements and persons from the EU10 had different opportunities when it came to migrating to an EU15 country in the hope of finding a job (Eurofound, 2014). The particular risks the migrants are now facing can be seen as an unintended consequence of the free mobility act, a consequence that places labour migrants in a situation where they fall between the cracks of European social policies and constitute a growing group facing NSRs.

For the welfare states of Europe, the issue of NSRs has reached the policy agenda at different times and have been met with various responses from different countries. According to Taylor-Gooby (2004), the variations in recognition and experience of NSRs depend on the welfare regime type of any particular country. For Sweden, a social democratic welfare regime type, NSRs such as trying to balance domestic care and paid work, and finding employment are being dealt with more effectively than elsewhere in Europe (Taylor-Gooby, 2004: 22). This, he argues, is due to the extensive public sphere of the Nordic welfare states. And yet there are limits to how well Sweden is able to deal with NSRs due to "interests associated with old risks, as well as the

perceived need to control public expenditure...” (Taylor-Gooby, 2004: 83). For the NSRs defined by Bonoli (2005), Sweden has spent more than double the EU average for some policies and almost triple the EU average for others. It is also seen as a pioneer when it comes to work-life balance and female employment (Taylor-Gooby, 2004:84). But brushing off NSRs as something that Sweden and the other Nordic welfare states are already dealing with successfully would be premature since there are pressing new social risks that are currently not being dealt with sufficiently.

One risk that Sweden has not dealt with sufficiently is that of migration. Timonen (2004) mentions how a post-industrial Swedish society, which is more diverse and exposed to the forces of globalisation, is not immune to the NSRs associated with migration. He describes concerns about immigrants becoming the Swedish underclass, as they have significantly higher levels of poverty and unemployment (Timonen, 2004: 101). For this thesis, I intend to expand on this discussion and apply it to the homeless EU migrants who by this definition are facing NSRs that Sweden’s welfare state is not dealing with sufficiently. Recent developments in income inequality and labour market instability mean that an income received from employment is no longer a guarantee against poverty (Bonoli, 2006: 3). This is perhaps not normally a major concern for a country like Sweden with strong social protection, but for migrants in Sweden it can be. It can especially be a concern if the migrants are not entitled to the system of social protection, which is the case for the homeless EU migrants. These migrants thus face new social risks because they are falling through the cracks of the system and the Swedish welfare state is not able to sufficiently protect them. In this way they are challenging the system built to protect against old social risks.

2.1.1 Theoretical considerations

When using social risks as a theoretical framework it is important to keep in mind certain problematic aspects. Social risks are very complex in the sense that they are unevenly distributed among populations and affect people in different ways. As mentioned earlier, they also affect welfare regime types differently. According to Esping- Andersen (1999), there is the aspect of class risk, meaning that social risks are not evenly distributed among social classes. For the case of homeless EU migrants, it means that there are differences in the level of social risks different

migrants face depending on their background regarding things like educational level and ethnicity. There is also a life-course risk, which means that risks tend to be concentrated in the beginning and the end of a person's life. Furthermore, there are intergenerational risks, meaning that there is a tendency for social risks to be transferred from one generation to the next within families. This notion undermines the idea that modern societies are based on meritocracy (Esping-Andersen, 1999: 40-43). What this complexity of social risks tells us is that even though the EU migrants might be facing the same social risks, they are facing these risks at different levels depending on their social class, their age and their family background.

For welfare states, social risks are according to Esping-Andersen and Taylor-Gooby dealt with according to welfare regime type. Sweden, classified as a social democratic welfare regime type is therefore more likely to protect its citizens against all social risks compared to more residual welfare regime types (Taylor-Gooby, 2004: 22). And while this does hold merit in the discussion, it is also a generalisation that needs to be problematised. As previously mentioned, Sweden has spent considerably higher amount of money on risks pertaining to reconciling work and family life, single parenthood, having a frail relative, possessing low or obsolete skills, and having insufficient social security coverage than other European countries. And yet, different types of immigration remain NSRs that Sweden has not addressed properly.

In order to make more sense of this it is necessary to put Sweden in a broader context of Europeanisation. As a social democratic regime type, Sweden would protect against the risks of immigration, but as a member of the European Union Sweden's policies are designed according to a European context and not only a national one. It is therefore not sufficient to look at how NSRs are dealt with according to Sweden's welfare regime type, but the Europeanisation of welfare also needs to be taken into account. Using the framework of NSRs can thus be problematic on several levels, but keeping these in mind it is still useful in the sense that it enables me to highlight the particular difficulties that homeless EU migrants are facing in a context of changing economic and social conditions in Sweden and Europe.

In conclusion, while the framework of NSRs can be problematic and difficult to define it is still very useful for the research question in this thesis. It is clear that the homeless EU migrants are faced with a new situation of being able to move more freely within Europe while at the same time being extremely vulnerable due to a lack of basic social protection. A framework of NSRs

as opposed to a retrenchment framework therefore captures the nature of their predicaments much better. The same goes for the Swedish welfare state. A NSR framework can be used to examine in what way the EU migrants are a challenge to the welfare state even though Sweden is regarded as a successful example when it comes to tackling social risks.

2.2 The Mixed Economy of Welfare

The framework of the Mixed Economy of Welfare (MEW) complements the previous theory of NSRs by also adding the dimension of voluntary organisations and their importance in dealing with the homeless EU migrants in Swedish municipalities. When we discuss welfare, it is often equated with state provision, but in many situations, this is not necessarily the case. Sweden does not usually rely much on the voluntary sector to provide basic social assistance to people (Lundström and Svedberg, 2003: 218). In fact, in Esping-Andersen's description of the ideal type Social Democratic welfare model there is no room for the voluntary sector in welfare provision (Esping-Andersen, 1990; 1999). But in the case of the homeless EU migrants it has become a necessity to rely on the third sector to provide support. According to Powell (2007), social policy extends beyond the state and the mixed economy of welfare differs over time, space, and services (Powell, 2007: 3). For the case of homeless EU migrants, as Swedish municipalities are limited in their ability to provide social services, the MEW therefore becomes a very relevant analytical tool seeing as the voluntary sector has stepped in to provide basic services. Powell continues to argue that most accounts and analyses of the MEW tend to be too one dimensional in the sense that they only focus on provision, while neglecting to look at the dimensions of finance and regulation. By combining these dimensions we are able to get a more complete picture (Ibid.). I will therefore use the framework of the MEW to look at these three dimensions of welfare provision, finance, and regulation in the case of homeless EU migrants in Swedish municipalities. After a brief presentation of the theoretical framework, its usefulness and shortcomings will be discussed.

Again, like the protection against old social risks and NSRs, the MEW can be linked to welfare regime types, even though the two frameworks must not be confused. Using Esping-Andersen's classification, a social democratic regime type would have close ties to the political ideology of social democracy whereas a liberal regime type would have closer ties to liberal political ideas. According to Powell (2007), different welfare ideologies tend to favour different welfare mixes.

Put in very broad terms this means that the political left favours a large role of the state in welfare since the involvement of commercial, voluntary and informal sectors are associated with higher inequality. The political right (the neo-liberals) on the other hand has favoured a welfare society as opposed to a welfare state, where the commercial, voluntary and informal sectors play a more prominent role (Powell, 2007:5). It would however be problematic to equate regime types with the MEW since the same regime types can show significant differences in the MEW (Hill, 2007). According to Hill, this is because mainstream comparative theories tend to focus too much on the balance between the state and the market provision of welfare while ignoring aspects related to the finance and regulation of social policies (Ibid.). The MEW in Sweden should therefore not be confused with the classification of the Swedish welfare state as a particularly generous welfare state. But it does tell us something about the welfare mix in the case of homeless EU migrants and the importance of the state versus other sectors in providing, financing and regulating social support.

The main components of the MEW include state, market, voluntary and informal welfare, which will be briefly described in this paragraph. State welfare in this case can mean both national and local, and advocates of keeping public services public often fail to make the distinction between whether the state means local or national authorities (Powell, 2007: 8). Promoters of a greater role of the market in welfare often point to state failure and inefficiency. Nevertheless, this viewpoint misses crucial alternative policies to welfare privatisation such as contracting out through vouchers and quasi-markets (Ibid.). According to Powell, informal welfare tends to have its supporters on the right side of the political spectrum. Informal welfare is the support of family, friends and neighbours for basic social services such as care work. Reliance on informal welfare has been criticised by feminists for its reinforcement of the male breadwinner model and the sexual division of labour (Powell, 2007:9). Though all these types of welfare are important components in a MEW analysis, I will focus on the element of voluntary welfare, which is most relevant in the case of homeless EU migrants in Sweden. Voluntary welfare (also called NGOs, the third sector, non-profit or independent welfare) is an essential part of civil society. It does not belong to the state since it does not have any formal public status and is not part of the market since it does not exist to produce and trade an economic profit (Powell, 2008:84). The place of the voluntary sector is to be in between and to overlap the other three sectors of welfare: public, private, and informal.

2.2.1 *Theoretical considerations*

The notion of the voluntary and community sector as a part of the MEW is however problematic in the sense that it encompasses such a wide variety and diversity of organisations. To get around this issue it is instead interesting to define it using an exogenous approach like in the above paragraph; third sector welfare is what the other three sectors are not (Alock and Scott, 2008:85). For the Swedish case it is most important to mention that the voluntary sector is, in this thesis, defined according to this principle. It does not belong to public, private, or informal welfare. Another problematic aspect of using the MEW to analyse homeless EU migrants and welfare in Sweden is that Powell's (2007) discussion of the MEW as a theoretical framework is very much based on the British context. It is therefore important to adapt the analysis to the Swedish context by looking at the specific welfare mix in Sweden and what the MEW looks like in municipalities dealing with the issue of homeless EU migrants. In order to do so I will use Lundström and Svedberg (2003) in addition to Powell since their research regarding the voluntary sector is based on a Swedish context.

Since the MEW will not be a sufficient framework to fully capture the problems and dynamics that municipalities are dealing with in working with homeless EU migrants it will be used as a complement to the theory of NSRs in order to provide a more in depth analysis of the issue. NSRs help us to understand the issues migrants face and allows us to view how the Swedish state is attempting to solve these issues. However, as there are other organizations involved, the Mixed Economy of Welfare perspective needs to be brought in in order to truly understand how the NSRs of the migrants are addressed and alleviated. Returning to the research questions, these theories also show what challenges the migrants pose to the welfare state, how the third sector contributes, and how government representatives view the entire situation.

3. Methodology

3.1 Case Selection

Interviews will be performed with municipal representatives and coordinators of dealing with issues related to EU migrants in the municipalities of Malmö, Lund and Gothenburg. These three municipalities have been chosen because they represent three different approaches in coordinating efforts supporting homeless EU migrants (as described in the background section). The municipality of Malmö has taken the least amount of measures, while Gothenburg is often presented in the media as a “good example” of a municipality that has taken more measures than others. Lund is in between these two cases with regard to measures taken to support and work with homeless EU migrants (see e.g. Nebel, 2014). All these municipalities are governed by a left wing and green party coalition with the Social Democrats as the largest party (Göteborgs stad, n.d.; Kaprijanko, 2014; Malmö Stad, 2014). The fact that they all are governed by similar left and green coalitions but still have markedly different strategies in dealing with the EU migrants is an advantage for my selection because it shows that the different approaches are not mainly due to differences in party politics or ideologies. The advantage of choosing three municipalities as opposed to a larger selection is that I will be able to go into more depth about the difficulties that each municipality is facing and discuss possible similarities and differences between the cases. It will also allow me to look at each case separately and combined in relation to the theories of NSRs and the MEW. According to George and Bennett (2005), there is growing consensus that the strongest means of drawing conclusions from case study research is to combine within-case analysis and cross case comparisons (Ibid.: 41).

As previously mentioned, the chosen cases represent three different approaches in handling homeless EU migrants and can therefore shed light on a range of interpretations regarding the issues of social risks and challenges. It is important to mention that it is not the municipalities themselves that are comparable, but rather their strategies since Gothenburg and Malmö are two big and diverse cities in the Swedish context, whereas Lund is a relatively small town based around its university. The three cases also represent different time dimensions that will bring further depth into the analysis.

Malmö and Gothenburg can be said to represent two extreme instances, which is to say they differ from the norm in two opposite directions (Denscombe, 2010: 57-58). Using these types of cases allows me to discuss the factor of the amount of municipal involvement and whether it plays a role in the perceived difficulties faced by the municipalities and their thoughts regarding the MEW. Lund can be said to be a more representative case in the sense that it falls in between Malmö and Gothenburg when it comes to amounts of measures and policies regarding the homeless migrants. Including a representative case as well as two extreme instances means that I will be able to have a broad and informed discussion regarding challenges and ideas of the MEW. Using more of a representative case (again, representativeness here refers to measures and policies, not to the municipality itself) will also allow me to make some generalisations about Swedish municipalities and their experiences with this issue.

3.1.1 Critique against case studies

According to George and Bennett (2005), it is important to identify the very real limitations and trade-offs of a case-study approach while not misinterpreting these through the lens of statistical, and other quantitative methods (George and Bennett, 2005). The limits identified in this section are therefore carefully chosen on the basis of their relevance to this study. Case selection bias is a common critique of case study research, but it must not be confused with selection bias of statistical research. In statistical research, selection bias occurs when the selection of cases results in some form of conclusions that contain systematic errors (George and Bennett, 2005: 51). However, in a qualitative case study approach, it is common for the researcher to deliberately choose cases that share similar outcomes because it might serve a certain purpose and could help determine which variables are unnecessary for a certain outcome. Likewise, previous knowledge of a case can help create a stronger research design (Ibid.). For this thesis, selection bias could be used as a critique because it is clear that cases with a predetermined outcome have been selected. But in this case, the selection bias is part of the strength of the research design. By deliberately choosing the cases that differ in their strategies in dealing with homeless EU migrants I will be able to examine the different aspects of these variations in relation to the theoretical frameworks.

Another common critique of case study research is its lack of representativeness and subsequent difficulty to generalise the finding of the study. Statistical research requires large samples to achieve some representativeness but for case studies this approach can instead be counterproductive. The sacrifice one makes when choosing a case study approach is general applicability, but the gain is a higher degree of explanatory richness (Bryman, 2012: 71; George and Bennett: 61). The three cases of Malmö, Gothenburg and Lund are perhaps not representative of Sweden as a whole but by only using three cases I will be able to delve deeper into the challenges faced by these three municipalities. The point is not to present my findings as representations of all Swedish municipalities but rather to highlight difficulties experienced in three municipalities that share some similarities as well as many differences.

3.2 Semi-structured interviews

Interviews were deemed to be the most appropriate method to answer the research questions because they will allow me to discuss such complex and subtle questions as the interpretation of the issue of homeless EU migrants as well as reflections on the matter of the MEW and challenges faced by the municipalities. Semi-structured interviews as opposed to the more rigid format of structured interviews were used because I wanted to be able to be flexible and ask follow up questions to issues raised by the interviewees as well as allow them to elaborate on the topics they found the most important. At the same time, since I already have established research questions and because I was interviewing official representatives and politicians from each municipality it was important to have some amount of structure in the interviews.

The choice of interviewees from each municipality was fairly straightforward since I needed to interview people with in-depth knowledge of the issue and who had experience working with it. I therefore reached out to executive members, deputy mayors and mayors of the Care and Welfare Directorate (CWD) of each municipality since they are the main body within each municipality that deals with such issues. I was able to interview one politician from each CWD and one coordinator of homeless EU migrants from each municipality. A coordinator's job entails establishing the work that is being done and to coordinate efforts. By interviewing both politicians and coordinators, I was able to get two different perspectives from each municipality and different reflections regarding the issue since they work on different levels. The politicians are responsible for deciding on policies and measures, whereas the coordinators have more hands

on tasks and sometimes deal directly with the migrants themselves. The CWD in each municipality consists of representatives from several parties but since I chose to focus on interviewing chairmen of the CWD, the politicians I interviewed were from the left/green coalitions that rule in the chosen municipalities. One politician from each municipality was deemed to be enough since the purpose of the thesis is not to represent the views of each political party, but rather to get an idea of the interpretation that each municipality makes of the issue and of the ideas they have about challenges and solutions. Since the politicians I was able to reach were chairmen or vice-chairmen of each municipality, their opinions can be viewed as fair representations of the official views of the municipality at this point in time.

Since chairmen of the CWD are people with political and economic power the interviews I conducted can be considered elite interviews (Eksell and Thelander, 2014: 29). Power in this context can be defined as having control over how other people perceive or define reality. This power is what makes them suitable as interviewees for this thesis. The fact that they are elite interviews can be challenging in the sense that it is important to move past general descriptions of the situation that the interviewees are used to providing to the media. I dealt with this problem by asking open, reflective and unreserved questions.

3.2.1 Operationalisation

To analyse the results from the interviews I used a directed content analysis, meaning I used existing theory as a point of departure for my identification of key concepts, codes and categories (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005: 1281). I began by reading the responses of all interviewees several times to gain an overall understanding. I then proceeded to carefully read the responses to each question, highlighting sentences that were particularly important. These sentences were later divided into the predetermined codes reflecting the theories. The two overall themes that I worked with were the two theories, NSRs and the MEW. The codes were subcategories to these two themes and consisted of claims within the interviews that related to the theories. Examples of such codes are: difficulties working with the migrants, are they facing NSRs?, is the MEW important? This approach is a deductive research method based on the role of theory as a guide to the analysis (Ibid.).

The quotes in the text represent examples of each code. They are shorter representations of the central meaning in the responses, having been carefully chosen so as to not change the overall meaning of the answers provided by the interviewees. I have tried to use quotes in a balanced way by presenting quotes from all municipalities and interviewees as equally as possible. The main strength using this approach is that it is possible to build on and extend existing theories by finding support for them in the interviews. A significant challenge using this approach would however be that the analysis can be seen as biased since the researcher might be more likely to find support for the theories when these are the basis for the codification (Ibid.). I have tried to deal with this limitation by making sure the interview questions were open ended and not leading, so I would be able to find as much non-support for the theories as I would find support. The codes have also been designed to both question and find new insights within the theories.

The quotes have been presented in the analysis followed by the name of the interviewee who made the comment, and the municipality where said interviewee works. Normally, the use of any of the interviewees' name would be followed by their title, but for reasons of readability and practicality I decided to only use their names in the text. The professional titles of the interviewees are, translated into English, both long and complicated, which is why only their names are used in the text. Their titles are instead included in a list in the appendix. Quotes used in the analysis have only been shortened to leave out unrelated comments. Some quotes have been kept long in order to preserve the context of what the interviewees wanted to express.

3.2.2 *Ethical considerations*

Ethical considerations are important in social research since there needs to be a balance between the various interests involved in the research (Hermerén, 2011). Since I have conducted interviews, both mine and the interviewees' interests therefore needed to be taken into account. The interviewees were prior to the interviews fully informed about the intentions with this thesis and how their responses would be used. It was also made clear that they were free to interrupt the interview at any moment. The Swedish Research Council's expert group on ethics recommends that code keys and anonymising answers can be used to protect the identity of an interviewee (Hermerén, 2011: 46) However, since I chose to interview public figures in their professional role as municipal representatives, it was agreed that their names would be used in the text. The

information that the interviewees gave was not sensitive in nature, which means there is no strong ethical argument for anonymising their answers (Bryman, 2012: 150) Furthermore, in the interviewees' professional roles they are frequently interviewed about this topic as well as other similar topics, and they are always mentioned by name in these contexts. Therefore, it was a logical decision that their names also be used in this thesis, something that the interviewees themselves agreed with.

Although the interviewees were not given anonymity, I needed to take other measures to protect the interests of the interviewees and my own interests as the author of the thesis. It was agreed before the interviews took place that their names would be used under the condition that the interviewees were able to approve their quotes before the thesis was published. This built trust between myself and the interviewees, and made sure their comments were not misinterpreted or misrepresented. In order to make sure that the interviewees did not take back any of their comments, the interviews were recorded. Thus, any quote could easily be verified by listening to the recording. I was also careful not to include any comments by the interviewees that were clearly personal or that were given off the record.

3.2.3 *Methodological discussion*

Apart from the strengths and advantages mentioned that come from using semi-structured interviews, there are also certain disadvantages. Generalisability versus depth., sid 42 i good research practice vetenskapsrådet

Why did i use interviews and not discussion? Questions and research design based on theory, could not stray completely from the already chosen topic.

Why did I not use documents?

My biases? – translation, changes according to formal language. They approved their quotes.

4. Analysis

4.1 Interpreting the issue of homeless EU migrants

As discussed in the theory section, homeless EU migrants face NSRs and therefore pose challenges for many European Welfare states. When asked about this issue, the interviewees in each municipality provided multiple interpretations about the greatest challenges they were facing in working with the migrants. Despite each municipality having different approaches to dealing with this issue, the representatives reported encountering similar challenges and difficulties. This section of the thesis will discuss the interpretations of challenges experienced by the three Swedish municipalities when working with homeless EU migrants.⁵

4.1.1 *New challenges with old roots*

According to the framework of social risks, the challenges that homeless EU migrants create fall under both old social risks and NSRs. Poverty and having to sleep rough as a consequence of unemployment are two of the main problems that the EU migrants are facing as they travel outside of their home countries (Socialstyrelsen, 2014). This can be considered an old social risk since welfare states were designed to protect people from poverty caused by such predicaments as unemployment (Taylor-Gooby, 2004). And yet, the fact that the migrants are able to move freely within Europe and have the right to stay in any member country for a limited period of time means that they are facing new vulnerabilities, NSRs. The receiving welfare states have to deal with a group of people that they were never designed to incorporate in the first place, making the NSRs homeless EU migrants are facing a new challenge for countries such as Sweden. Though, as will be shown in the answers by the interviewees, the predicaments of homeless EU migrants might not necessarily be new to all European countries.

Welfare states were designed to fulfil the needs of citizens, so when non-citizens are able to travel freely between countries, this has the potential to create difficulties for the migrants and

⁵ The quotes used in the text have been translated from Swedish to English by me and have been edited to correct grammar and informal language. A full list of the names and professional titles of the interviewees can be found in the appendix.

for the different member states of the EU. The idea of free movement is based on the movement of labour (FEANTSA, 2011: 2), so when particularly vulnerable, socially excluded, uneducated or otherwise poor individuals started taking advantage of this right, new challenges arose for welfare states in Europe, particularly for countries that were not used to the presence of foreign beggars or rough sleepers of Roma or other nationality. This dual aspect of the phenomenon was reflected by the interpretations that the municipal representatives made of the issue. They described homeless EU migrants as a new challenge to the Swedish welfare state but emphasised that the predicament of the migrants is not new in itself and is not new for all European welfare states since the migrants were present in other European countries before they came to Sweden. They stressed that poverty and social exclusion are issues that European societies have been dealing with for a long time before this particular group of people started becoming visible in Sweden.

These are people who cannot support themselves in their home country. It is a poverty issue that we have to work with within the EU too[...] Most of them state that they have been in Italy, Spain, or Greece before and have spent a long time there, maybe 7-8 years and made their living in farming, the tourist business, or similar activities. Now when the economy isn't going so well these groups are the first to go[...] If you look at Great Britain and Ireland, there was no indigenous Roma population before 2004 when Slovakia joined [the EU] so that's why the issue of mobile EU citizens has ended up there. – Teresa Woodhall, Gothenburg

The problem isn't new, the only new part is that it has become so visible. - Sven-Bertil Persson, Lund

It's probable that they have travelled to many countries in Europe before coming here and that this is not their first choice, coming to Malmö or Sweden. It's when the crisis hit that people started coming here and they have a right to be here for three months to look for a job and if they don't find one they still have the right to stay for six months if they are about to get a job. – Carina Nilsson, Malmö

Yes, it is a new challenge [to the Swedish welfare system]. Definitely, in every way. They are here and they are sitting outside of the store begging. You are confronted with the fact that there are incredibly poor people. Of course you could occasionally see someone even before, but not at all like now. – Maria Grundel, Gothenburg

Since this is a challenge that is new to Sweden but not new in itself, the challenge lies in trying to deal with an issue that has been going on for such a long time elsewhere. It was clear to the interviewees that since the issue goes way back and has been present in other countries before there could be no “solution” to it here.

The biggest difficulty is that I don't see a solution [...]. To the individual it might be a solution to create a settlement but it doesn't solve the situation as a whole. – Carina Nilsson, Malmö

Homeless EU migrants facing NSRs in Sweden pose a challenge that cannot be “solved” solely in Sweden. Unsurprisingly, it is therefore very challenging for Swedish municipalities to design policies that deal with the migrants. As described by one interviewee in Lund, they do not “fit in”. As non-citizens and as unemployed they have few to no rights and Swedish municipalities are therefore struggling to try to work with them within existing legal frameworks.

They don't fit in, not as people, but as a phenomenon. They aren't homeless citizens of Lund, they aren't tourists staying in Sweden for a few months. They are a completely new group of people. They are escaping poverty and we aren't used to seeing that, so it's not an easy thing to deal with. - Sven-Bertil Persson, Lund

The difficulties described here by Sven-Bertil Persson illustrate the challenges that arise when Swedish municipalities have to deal with an issue for which there is no precedent and that stems from inequality and poverty in another European country. From a NSR perspective it becomes very difficult for a country to tackle a problem that is based in another country, especially when EU directives and national legislation limit the ability to provide services for this group of people. The discussion that Taylor-Gooby (2004) presents in *New Risks, New Welfare: The Transformation of the European Welfare State* basically discusses new social risks that are mostly if not created then at least maintained within a national welfare setting, such as an ageing population (Taylor-Gooby, 2004). The issue with the homeless EU migrants is that since the

problem is created elsewhere, it becomes extremely difficult for municipalities to deal with the challenges that arise locally, as described in the above quote.

In the same book, Timonen (2004) also discusses immigration as a NSR in Sweden asking whether it will be possible to integrate immigrants into the welfare system. He claims that many of the difficulties faced by recent immigrants are related to new risks of long-term unemployment or precarious employment. Furthermore, he argues that the complex needs of many immigrants constitute a whole new risk category that Sweden is not yet fully equipped to deal with (Timonen, 2004: 93). The interpretations of the municipal representatives from Malmö Lund and Gothenburg are well aligned with Timonen's arguments. They described a lack of a clear direction existing on both the local and on the national levels. Since the group is not actually entitled to the Swedish welfare system, there need to be political decisions made in order to change the situation and as the interviewees saw it Sweden is not yet equipped to deal with all the challenges that have arisen.

[...] this is about people who in fact do not have access to our welfare system in the legal sense. That makes it an issue about which resources are in fact available and the political decisions. There has to be enough political consensus to make these decisions. – Anne-Lie Lindell

Both Timonen (2004) and Fritzell et al. (2012) emphasise the particular vulnerability of TCNs compared to European migrants. Though this is the overall trend, it becomes obvious that the people who constitute the group identified as homeless EU migrants are a particularly vulnerable group despite their status as EU migrants. This fact was well understood by the interviewees who often mentioned how the EU migrants lacked the right to receive social benefits. In the quote above, Anne-Lie Linden mentions this. This interpretation of the issue brings another dimension to the arguments of Timonen and Fritzell et al., Sweden is not just unprepared to deal with the NSRs of migration, but particular kinds of migration create certain challenges that need to be dealt with. Homeless EU migrants constitute one of the most recent and perhaps most difficult types of migration since it is an issue that needs to be addressed on so many levels at the same time. Since there is no precedent on how to address this issue, existing legal frameworks are being interpreted differently in municipalities, leading to the development of different coping

strategies. The fact that migrants are not treated equally in each Swedish municipality was something seen as very problematic by one interviewee in Gothenburg:

Even if a few years have passed, this is a relatively new situation. The sentiment of the social welfare office is that it isn't particularly easy. When it comes to the education act it is interpreted differently in different municipalities and that's why it's important to have directives so we can assure equal treatment in Sweden. It shouldn't matter which municipality you arrive in, you should still have access to the same assistance [...] I believe we should interpret the law in the same way in all of Sweden. I believe that this is important regardless if it's about this issue or not. Different measures are taken and there are different preconditions. In the big city regions we have one situation but regions outside of Gothenburg are also important. It's important that we are consistent in the measures we take to help these people who are moving around, not only in Europe, but also in Sweden. Equal treatment is important. – Teresa Woodhall, Gothenburg

The challenge that she describes here has to do with the strong notion that people in Sweden are supposed to have the same rights and opportunities when it comes to welfare services, such as education and healthcare, no matter where in the country they happen to reside, or which social class, gender, or sexual orientation they have (Diaz, 2009). But since municipalities are developing their own strategies when it comes to the issue of how to treat homeless EU migrants, this does not apply and becomes a challenge. Using the theoretical framework of NSRs, this is problematic in the sense that it challenges the notion of Sweden's welfare regime type. Seeing as municipalities are developing their own strategies to deal with the migrants, the issue cannot be said to be dealt with according to Sweden's welfare regime type. Instead, it is being dealt with according to interpretations of legislative frameworks made by politicians and other municipal employees in each municipality. Dealing with NSRs, according to the theoretical framework, needs more of a macro-focus as well and is very difficult to deal with solely on a municipal level. The interviewees, whether they were from Gothenburg, Lund or Malmö, expressed this need for some sort of national cooperation. The cooperation did not necessarily have to be about designing national guidelines, but was also suggested to be about spreading "good practice", coordinating the work on several levels, or setting aside funds for those municipalities that needed it the most.

What I think is important is not so much about doing something differently, it's about working on several levels at the same time. We have to work with the issue that exists locally and find cooperation nationally, as well as on an EU level. I think we have to work with a clearer direction in mind, a direction that includes findings means of support [for the migrants]. – Anne-Lie Lindell, Malmö

Economic support is needed. I think a lot of municipalities struggle with bearing this cost on their own. Working only on a national level isn't enough, the issue needs to be addressed in the EU. How are we supposed to solve it? Gothenburg cannot solve it completely and neither can Sweden. It needs to be solved on a completely different level. Perhaps national guidelines would make it simpler. They would simplify things because municipalities that don't really know how to deal with it would get some direction. But if the implemented guidelines that are less generous than the ones we are using in Gothenburg then it would be like taking a step backwards from what we are already doing. But the state probably needs to get more involved financially. - Maria Grundel, Gothenburg

The challenges that arose from the homeless EU migrants were also very much described as being dealt with according to the financial situation of the particular municipality. These differences in how municipalities handle homeless EU migrants fall under the process of municipalisation that Swedish welfare has been undergoing, where municipalities have been taking more responsibility for social services. Some distinct differences between the interviewees in the three different municipalities could be detected here. As presented in the quote below, municipalities have the primary responsibility for funding and finding strategies to deal with this issue, having enough resources therefore becomes very important. For Malmö, the issue of funding was crucial in their decision to provide only emergency assistance to the migrants, so for them, funding was mentioned as a major challenge in dealing with the homeless EU migrants. As one interviewee in Malmö put it:

After all, it is a question of resources. A municipality with a surplus in their budget can use their funds but if there is a deficit they don't have the same opportunities. - Anne-Lie Lindell, Malmö

For Gothenburg and Lund, funding was not considered a major challenge since both municipalities were able to set aside significant sums of money aimed specifically at supporting

the migrants. While recognising the importance of having enough money to fund different projects or organisations working with the group, they also emphasised the importance of things like having a long-term strategy and positioning themselves when it came to specific questions regarding the migrants.

In lund, we have put 700 000 SEK aside and the Swedish church in Lund has stated it has its own financial means. I think we fall into a trap if we say that, look we found money, now the problem is solved. I think it's much more complex than that. I believe every municipality needs to be clear about what they want to accomplish. – Karin Säfström, Lund

Our resources have in fact increased significantly so we haven't exactly been suffering from any lack of resources. Of course, we have had applications for more funds than we actually have but this is what we have come to prioritise with the voluntary sector. It is also a question of the very different costs for the tax payers. The tax payers in Gothenburg do pay an amount for this group of people and it's easy to assume that this happens on the expense of other projects. There have been previous projects that have been funded by the government. This however is not funded so the money we spend isn't budgeted. A better overview where we look at what we actually spend and what the money is used for is therefore needed. – Teresa Woodhall, Göteborg

In conclusion, the municipal representatives interpreted the issue of homeless EU migrants as a new challenge for the welfare state of Sweden, but as an old problem in Europe. Dealing with, what would be considered old social risks for some European countries, has become dealing with NSRs for other countries since the migrants are going to new places where there is no precedent about how to handle this group of people. The fact that the situation was so new in Sweden gave rise to a number of challenges such as finding solutions to a problem with roots in other countries, interpreting existing legislation and maintaining some sort of equal treatment of the group throughout Sweden as a whole. These interpretations were well aligned with the theoretical framework presented by Timonen (2004) where Sweden is presented as a welfare state not fully equipped to deal with the challenges and NSRs of migration (Timonen, 2004).

4.1.2 *Challenging the perception of the Swedish Welfare model*

Another interpretation that the municipal representatives all made when it came to the homeless EU migrants was that they were very much challenging people's perception and view of the Swedish welfare system by simply being visible. Timonen (2004) may have presented Sweden as a welfare state not fully equipped to deal with the challenges and NSRs of migration, but according to the interviewees, this image has until recently not necessarily been shared by most citizens. Homeless EU migrants who beg for money or are otherwise visible in the street are therefore having a major impact on forcing people to re-evaluate their image of Sweden's welfare system as all-encompassing.

[...] It's a challenge for us Swedes as individuals to be so clearly confronted with poverty. It becomes impossible to ignore it anymore. We have been living in a welfare society for a very long time and then this comes and shakes us to the core. It does something to us, there's a reason it stirs up so many emotions of all kinds. – Anne-Lie Lindell, Malmö

This quote illustrates the difficulties that the municipal representatives expressed when it came to people and municipal workers reacting to the situation with homeless EU migrants becoming visible in the streets. By simply being visible, the migrants challenged the idea of the so called "social contract".

The idea [of the safe Swedish welfare state] is so deeply embedded in our consciousness, especially with people who have never had to use the system[...] I actually have a friend who asked me about 10 years ago whether there were people in Sweden who had to resort to begging. At that point in time my answer was no, they don't because they have a right to have their basic needs met. But this answer is no longer valid. Absolutely not. – Karin Säfström, Lund

In my professional role as a municipal commissioner I see many other kinds of distress among people such as substance abuse, and homelessness among local Malmö residents. I see these things in my profession but the average citizen doesn't, they only see the people begging in the street. That's what makes it so difficult. I believe we have established some sort of contract with society, we have established a welfare society. We pay taxes so no one has to resort to begging, that's how we explain it to children [...]. Then suddenly this happens and that challenges our whole view of society, it seems our societal contract doesn't

work. Isn't society supposed to take care of these people? Because of this, my email inbox is filled daily with emails coming from two different viewpoints. There are those who speak of human rights and about the necessity to do something. Then there are those who say that these people have no right to be here in Sweden, that it's not right for Sweden to pay for the insufficient welfare coverage in other countries, and that the EU needs to solve it. It's a question that stirs up a lot of emotions. – Carina Nilsson, Malmö

As discussed above in the quote by Carina Nilsson, the idea of the “social contract” is still very strong. It is based on the idea that there is a contract between the state and the individual, a contract through which a society that took care of its citizens was created. Begging should therefore not be an activity that people should have to engage in in a country like Sweden, according to the idea of the social contract (Olsson, 2014). This idea is visible in the quote by Karin Säfström as well. This image was not challenged by seeing the occasional homeless Swedish speaking person because these were seen as “homeless addicts”, as exceptions that confirmed the rule (Ibid.). By confronting people with the idea that the social contract does not apply to everyone, the migrants challenge some of the core values that constitute the Swedish welfare model.

The migrants who beg or engage in other activities like collecting cans or selling Faktum are perceived as people who are outside of a system that is supposed to be based on universalism. Universalism is according to Cox (2004) one of three values that characterise the Swedish welfare model along with decommodification and solidarity. Indeed, the strong belief in these values is part of the path dependency of the Swedish welfare state and form the broad guideline under which the welfare state is constructed (Cox, 2004). The belief in the model, according to Cox, shapes people's goals and influences policy design. This belief that the Swedish welfare model is based on universalism is therefore incredibly important for its continued existence and the fact that the EU migrants are able to threaten this belief becomes a major challenge for municipalities to deal with.

It is of course a complex issue since the idea of universalism is based on citizenship and the homeless EU migrants are not Swedish citizens. They are however citizens of another country in the European Union and are therefore entitled to reside in Sweden (at least for a limited period of time). This entitlement does nevertheless not incorporate the right to be included in Sweden's

otherwise universal welfare system and they are therefore left outside the system. It is this contradiction between seeing people in the streets who are legal residents of Sweden and who are at the same time being left outside the welfare system that challenges people's perception of the Swedish welfare model. As described in the two previous quotes, when this notion is challenged, people have very strong reactions. And yet, the interviewees argued that despite the fact that people's perception of the Swedish welfare model was being challenged, this test to accepted viewpoints might actually lead to something good. They described it as a positive development in the sense that people were increasingly becoming aware of issues such as poverty and social exclusion in a way that they would not have been had they not been confronted by the homeless EU migrants. In fact, one interviewee described the migrants as "silent activists".

It's possible to view them as real political activists because they put the issue of poverty on the agenda and make it impossible for people to ignore it. In a way, they are the biggest activists, silent activists. I can't think of any other point in time [since the implementation of the modern welfare state] that the issue of poverty has been as high on the agenda as it is now. – Anne-Lie Lindell, Malmö

If you look at it bluntly I think it's great because this is a problem that in the past we have been able to set aside and ignore. Then suddenly it becomes blatantly visible even here. Before this, I don't think many Swedes were very worried about the situation of the Roma people in Romania or Bulgaria for instance. And continuing, there probably wasn't much concern for how the situation of Roma people was in Sweden or whether there were still prejudices present, which there are. So I think it's great that we are finally discussing this. Of course, no one was prepared for these consequences when the three month rule was implemented. - Sven-Bertil Persson, Lund

This interpretation of the issue as challenging our perception of the Swedish welfare model was ultimately seen as something positive by the interviewees because they believed it could drive policy changes that could benefit the migrants. As argued by Anne-Lie Lindell and Sven-Bertil Persson in the above quotes, homeless EU migrants seen in the streets force people to become aware of the NSRs that the migrants are facing, an awareness that in some cases leads to anger but in other cases lead to involvement in trying to improve the situation for the migrants. Seen from a NSR perspective, it is also possible to interpret the increased awareness of the predicaments of homeless EU migrants as something positive. As Bonoli (2005) argues, groups

of people facing NSRs today do not have the same strong mobilising capacity that people facing old social risks did. He argues people facing NSRs today are more heterogeneous as a group and are acting in the context of globalised economies. They therefore have a much harder time carrying weight in the political arena (Bonoli, 2005: 432). These arguments hold very true in the case of the homeless EU migrants, as they constitute a very heterogeneous group of people acting within the integrated economies of the EU. However, the visibility of the migrants in the streets and the strong reactions of citizens mean that the issue is high on the agenda and pressure is therefore put on governments to deal with the situation. The homeless EU migrants are thus gaining some mobilising capacities simply by being visible. Examples of positive changes that have taken place as a result of their visibility include the newly appointed national coordinator for socially vulnerable citizens and the increasing amount of individuals getting involved in voluntary activities that support the migrants.

The fact that the migrants are raising awareness to their issue by simply being visible in Swedish society means that there can be policy changes. These policy changes are driven by the strong reactions that people are having to their presence. Without the awareness of Swedish society it is unlikely the migrants would have had much influence over any policy change, based on Bonoli's (2005) claims. The interviewees, within the context of Sweden and their municipality, interpreted the issue as potentially leading to something positive as individuals become more aware of the situation and therefore more willing to help. Whether this would be a possible trend in other European countries is outside the scope of this thesis to discuss in depth but I would still argue that it is more unlikely since the strong idea of the social contract is typical for the Swedish context. It should also be mentioned that there have been some violent incidents where migrants have been attacked in different places in Sweden, occurring mainly after these interviews were conducted (see for example Lundborg, 2015; Danné, 2015), another possible consequence of their visibility.

In conclusion, the interviewees saw the fact that visible homeless EU migrants were challenging people's perception of the social contract and the Swedish welfare model as very problematic and challenging, but at the same time as something that could lead to positive changes, as seen by the national coordinator and people's involvement in aid and support. It is possible to interpret these claims through the theoretical framework of NSRs. People facing NSRs would

normally not have much power to mobilise and raise awareness to their issue, but simply by being visible in the street, the homeless EU migrants are raising significant amounts of awareness. The interviewees believed and hoped that this would lead to positive changes for them in the end.

4.2 The Migrants and the Mixed Economy of Welfare

In the previous section of the analysis I discussed, using the theory of NSRs, how the municipal representatives interpreted the issue of homeless EU migrants and the challenges that came from trying to work with them on a municipal and state level. In this section, I will go one step further and discuss how the municipalities of Malmö, Lund and Gothenburg actually dealt with these challenges using the framework of the MEW. Using the MEW, it was possible to see some differences between the municipalities in how they chose to work with voluntary organisations. It was clear that they all needed these organisations in order to provide some support to the homeless EU migrants, but the municipalities chose different paths when it came to finance and regulation.

4.2.1 *What role does the Mixed Economy of Welfare play in dealing with homeless EU migrants residing in Swedish municipalities?*

It became clear throughout the interviews that the role of NGOs was extremely important when it came to the municipalities' work with homeless EU migrants. Through the MEW, Swedish municipalities were able to tackle some of the challenges that working with homeless EU migrants entailed. All interviewees saw the issue of an increasing number of homeless EU migrants as a growing concern for Swedish municipalities, one that needed to be addressed immediately despite the challenges it entailed. The problem is that existing legislation does not allow or encourage the municipalities to provide support to them directly, so the interviewees tended to see NGOs as an indirect way through which they could provide some services to the migrants.

[NGO's] play a huge role in this case. I entered into politics with a mother in a wheelchair being very active in the handicap movement with the idea that people shouldn't have to ask for handouts, that they should claim their rights, no more lotteries, and no more charity. But then we face a situation like this one where there are no right to claim and maybe this is

exactly where the voluntary sector can find its task. This is not a question of demanding to receive what you are entitled to. The only thing these people can count on is the help from voluntary organisations, individuals, or human decency. So these are the ones doing most of the work and what we as a municipality can do is support them financially. – Carina Nilsson, Malmö

The need for NGOs in the day to day work with homeless EU migrants becomes abundantly clear in the above quote by Carina Nilsson in Malmö. She describes herself as ideologically being opposed to the notion that NGOs should cover the gaps in the social safety net, but in the case of homeless EU migrants the situation is different because they do not have the same rights to claim as Swedish citizens. According to Lundström and Svedberg (2003), there has been a tradition of low support among the population for the voluntary sector to take over service provision in core areas of the welfare state (Lundström and Svedberg, 2003: 223). Carina Nilsson's initial reaction to the voluntary sector's involvement in welfare provision fits well into this tradition, but in the case of homeless EU migrants this tradition no longer seems to apply. NGOs are seen as necessary to do the work that Swedish municipalities cannot. Because of this necessity, problematic aspects of allowing NGOs to provide welfare to the migrants such as a lack of transparency, accountability, or democracy could be overlooked.

In the above quote by Carina Nilsson, she describes the primary responsibility of the municipality as financial, providing NGOs with funds so that they work with this issue. This differed from the viewpoint that the interviewees in Gothenburg and Lund held. In their opinion, the municipality's work was also about maintaining some regulation over the work that was carried out by the NGOs, either by entering into an agreement like Gothenburg or choosing which NGO to finance based on the services they wished to focus on like Lund. The MEW therefore differed in Malmö, Lund and Gothenburg, as they put different amounts of emphasis on the importance of providing only finance or also maintaining some regulation. Provision on the other hand was always left to the NGOs. Allowing NGOs to provide services to the homeless EU migrants was seen as a solution to some of the very complex challenges that working with them entailed.

The Swedish Local Government Act doesn't support the usage of tax money for this purpose but we have still been able to do it by using voluntary organisations in a good way. – Maria Grundel, Gothenburg

To me it has become obvious that current legislation doesn't enable municipalities to fully tackle this issue so the fact that the third sector is stepping up and taking on a lot of the responsibility is great. It is the responsibility of municipalities to support organisations that are running operations in accordance to what the municipality wants to achieve.

Municipalities cannot monopolise this issue [...]. We want sleeping arrangements for winter, sleeping arrangements for summer, evacuation facilities in case there are large scale evictions, and we want there to be daytime activities. If we make the decision to have all of this it's possible to distribute money to organisations that carry them. Then if an organisation shows up saying they want to hold language courses for these people the municipality can decide whether this is the direction they want to take and either support or not support it financially. The municipality is still very much in control of the direction that they want to take. [...]. My interpretation is that the municipalities cannot handle this issue on their own but with the support of the third sector they can. – Karin Säfström, Lund

As mentioned in the background and the theories section, Sweden's welfare model is mainly built on public provision of public services (Lundström and Svedberg, 2003: 218). But in the case of homeless EU migrants, as the previous quotes illustrate, this is not an option. The welfare mix therefore needed to be adjusted in order to find ways in which it was possible to work with the migrants. Allowing NGOs to provide services while the municipalities finance and sometimes regulate their work is an example of how Swedish municipalities use the MEW in order to work with EU migrants. When it comes to the role that the MEW plays in dealing with homeless EU migrants it becomes clear that under current legislation and limitations, working within the MEW with NGOs was seen as the only available option for municipalities to do anything. Allowing NGOs to provide welfare to the migrants was therefore not problematised since it was seen as the only available option. The social contract is also applicable in this context since municipalities have a responsibility to provide for their residents. Since they were not able to do this directly in the case of homeless EU migrants, they had to find alternative solutions. For Gothenburg, this meant implementing a VSOPP with the NGOs through which they could monitor and regulate the type of measures that were being implemented.

Using the voluntary sector to provide services was seen as a necessity by the interviewees since there were restrictions on the actions they could take themselves, but it is also possible to see their actions as part of a broader societal trend regarding the MEW in Sweden. The VSOPP that the municipality of Gothenburg developed can be seen as a part of the Swedish contract culture (As described by Lundström and Svedberg, 2003), where the state or municipalities see the voluntary sector as executors of political decisions or as providers of services paid for by taxes (Lundström and Svedberg, 2003: 233). Lundström and Svedberg also mention that the voluntary sector is of crucial importance for certain vulnerable groups of people, such as the homeless (Lundström and Svedberg, 2003: 226). This was confirmed by Teresa Woodhall in Gothenburg.

We have always worked closely with the voluntary sector in Gothenburg in many areas. When it comes to “ordinary” issues of homelessness we have always worked with the third sector so there was already an established collaboration. What we discovered in 2011 was that we had a socially strategic group consisting of managers from the biggest NGOs and managers from our own administration where general social issues were discussed in an attempt to improve Gothenburg as a whole. It turned out that a question that was being brought up frequently was that of EU-citizens residing here. So it’s a common strategy that we have agreed upon together. That’s why the voluntary sector is so involved; they are a very useful addition to the tax financed municipal operation. – Teresa Woodhall, Gothenburg

The role of NGOs in the municipalities’ work with homeless EU migrants is therefore not only based on necessity, but can also be seen in the context of how the MEW has been developing and continues to develop in the Swedish context. Apart from being seen as a necessary complement to what the municipalities could do themselves, NGOs as providers of services to homeless EU migrants were seen as having several benefits.

Another side to it is that the third sector doesn’t have as many rules to go by so they can use resources directly where they are needed. The time period between having an idea to carrying out that idea is much shorter if they have the resources. Municipalities are perhaps more limited but on the other hand they have the financial power. NGOs are freer in their work so what municipalities can do is contribute financially. In this way I can only see benefits with this collaboration really. – Anne-Lie Lindell, Malmö

In the above quote, Anne-Lie Lindell argues that the fact that the voluntary sector is non-governmental means that they can act quicker to the needs of people and work more freely to respond to changes. This opinion was shared with the other interviewees who also saw the flexibility of NGOs as a huge advantage when working with an issue that was so new and in need of a quick response. Furthermore, by allowing NGOs to take care of the day to day work with the migrants, municipalities would be able to work with the home countries and villages of the migrants trying to prevent the need of them travelling to Sweden in the first place. For example, Sven-Bertil Persson mentioned the idea of having a “twin city” as one issue that was being discussed in the municipality of Lund.

The argument brought up in the above quote by Anne-Lie Lindell, that NGOs are more efficient in meeting people’s needs, can also be found in the report by SALAR after their conference in Lindköping. In this report, Mats Åberg, a representative for the network for EU migrants argues that there is a need for dialogue and cooperation between municipalities and civil society. He says that the municipalities have a responsibility for the people who reside there but that civil society can work more efficiently in the field in a way that municipalities cannot. He attributes this to the fact that municipalities need to divide people into groups and categories for practical reasons and work with their problems accordingly (Olsson, 2014: 9-10). This concern was also shared by Karin Säfström in Lund. According to Åberg, as civil society can more easily see the needs of individuals and work with these, a cooperation between the voluntary sector and Swedish municipalities is therefore needed (Ibid.).

As soon as we try to lump people together in a group the individuals lose their specific properties. We make them seem more similar than they really are. This is not a new phenomenon within social services, to try to find collective solutions for a group of individuals. – Karin Säfström

The idea that civil society, or NGOs, is better equipped to deal with the challenges in working with homeless EU migrants can also be linked back to the theory of NSRs. According to Bonoli (2005), “the very limited power resources of the social groups that are currently most exposed to NSRs are clearly insufficient to force through the adoption of new policies. As a consequence adaptation is slow, partial, and when it occurs it is in general the result of the pursuit of an

objective other than the protection against a given NSR” (Bonoli, 2005: 433). The idea that municipalities would be slower and less efficient when it came to dealing with the migrants and therefore needed the support of the voluntary sector was exactly what was brought up in the previous paragraph by the interviewees and by the report by SALAR. I argued in a previous part of the analysis that the visibility of migrants did give them some power to drive policy change because of people’s strong reactions to their presence. When the responses of the interviewees and the report by SALAR are taken into account, it becomes clear that the general consensus is that policy changes aimed at homeless EU migrants are expected to involve the voluntary sector in one way or another.

In summary, the role of the MEW in Swedish municipalities’ work with homeless EU migrants is extremely important since they themselves are very limited in the services they are able to provide to the migrants. The voluntary sector becomes involved to a greater extent than what is usually considered to be the norm for the Swedish welfare model because, as the interviewees saw it, there is currently no other way to deal with the migrants. But the fact that it is necessary for municipalities to use NGOs does not show the whole picture. The voluntary sector in Sweden has previously been involved in municipalities’ work with homeless groups and the use of a VSOPP in Gothenburg therefore follows a trend that has been going on in Sweden for a longer time. Furthermore, the municipal representatives saw several benefits that came from collaborating with, or allowing, NGOs to perform the day to day operations dealing with homeless EU migrants. The most important such benefits were the ability of civil society to respond faster and more efficiently to the needs of individuals in a way that municipalities are not able to because of legal restrictions and practical reasons.

4.2.2 *Is the current MEW problematic?*

Despite the necessity, the benefits and the trend of collaborating with or allowing NGOs to perform the day to day operations dealing with homeless EU migrants, the interviewees could see some challenges that lie ahead when operating under this particular MEW. Longevity was one of the most prominent of such challenges. All the interviewees expressed the need to deal with the issue of homeless EU migrants using long-term strategies instead of “quick fixes” since they saw it as a situation that was not going to go away and could therefore not be “fixed”.

The biggest concern is longevity, how do we maintain it? These people are not going to stop coming, but right now we don't really know how to handle it in the long run. Nor do we know how to deal with it in Romania or Bulgaria where they come from. Longevity, something that yields results in the long run for these people, that's a major concern. – Teresa Woodhall, Gothenburg

Since the issue of longevity was so important to the municipal representatives, some of them were worried that the longevity of efforts to help the migrants would be jeopardised if too much responsibility was left to the NGOs. These concerns came primarily from the interviewees in Lund and Malmö. In Gothenburg, the interviewees were not as concerned with NGOs running out of steam because of their VSOPP agreement.

There's a risk that municipalities will sit back and watch as the voluntary sector deals with this issue. We have to be aware that people won't have as much energy for an unlimited period of time. The municipality needs to have a clearer role in all of this and I hope that this is about to happen. It can't be completely up to the NGOs, there needs to be support from the municipality, primarily a financial one but also finding places for shelters [...]. It's a little "cool" to help the newly arrived people, more than helping the "old usual ones". I think the passion people have will eventually fade. That's why it's important to have the support and back-up of the municipality, because the enthusiasm of people won't last, not indefinitely. – Sven-Bertil person, Lund

It's built on a voluntary sector that has the energy and drive to get involved and that's where I think we have a responsibility to back them up. "Hjälp tiggare i Lund" is for instance a very new organisation that in a very short period of time has taken on a lot of responsibility. My personal concern is that they won't have the energy to keep going. Running an organisation is tough; it takes a commitment from many members over a long period of time. – Karin Säfström, Lund

Perhaps the perseverance won't always be the same because they lack the resources. A lot of people might get very involved quickly and eventually run out of energy. That is the problem. – Anne-Lie Lindell, Malmö

These concerns were expressed by representatives where the collaboration with the voluntary sector mainly rested on finance and where the role of the municipality was not clearly defined

through an agreement. The VSOPP agreement in Gothenburg on the other hand meant that the municipality did not only contribute to the NGOs financially, but also maintained regulation. It seems like this difference is what kept the municipal representatives in Gothenburg from expressing the same concerns as those expressed in Lund and Malmö. Because of the VSOPP, the responsibility of dealing with the migrants was more equally shared between the municipality and civil society, and the interviewees saw the roles of the municipality and the voluntary sector as equal.

I don't know if I see it as giving away the responsibility, it's rather a way of taking responsibility together to create the society we want, which is why it involves many actors. So I don't see it as giving away the responsibility. We still maintain the responsibility of financing; we have a responsibility to evaluate, and an agreement. We meet every month and go over developments and possible improvements. It's not a matter of giving up responsibility, it's a supplement. - Teresa Woodhall, Gothenburg

The responsibility isn't left with the NGOs, it's a shared responsibility. It's a partnership so it's not like we leave the responsibility with them, they simply perform the practical work. It works really well. The development of strategies and new ideas are a collaboration. We agree on how the arrangement should look before starting anything, we write contracts and deals about how long it should keep going and so forth. In the beginning the sleeping arrangements were meant to be open from October to January the first year but this proved insufficient so we had to come up with a new deal to extend it. It's a close collaboration between the care and welfare directorate and the voluntary sector. None of the parties tells the other what to do, it's done in agreement. - Maria Grundel, Gothenburg

Through these responses, it becomes possible to see that the MEW plays an incredibly important role in the provision of services to homeless EU migrants, but in order to avoid some of the problems that might occur it is necessary to also look at the aspect of finance and regulation. NGOs received financing from all three municipalities, but Gothenburg with its VSOPP maintained the largest amount of regulation, diminishing their concerns about the longevity of operations. However, the VSOPP was not seen as the ultimate solution to the issue, but rather as the best available option for the time being. It was described as a way of dealing with homeless EU migrants in the most humane way possible.

I still think that we have found a way in Gothenburg to deal with this issue in a humane and dignified way, but we aren't solving anything, only dealing with the situation and what it looks like now. What we have done now is to contact one of the cities in Romania where many of the migrants come from to see what can be done in their home too. Something the EU should more actively pursue. This really isn't just an issue for Gothenburg or Sweden, but for the people who are already here we are trying to solve it in the best possible way. I really don't know what we could be doing differently. – Maria Grundel, Gothenburg

In summary, the greatest concern working with homeless EU migrants under the current MEW was that the NGOs would lose interest or energy and that this would result in a lack of services and support provided to the migrants. Without a lot of insight and a clear role for municipalities, the worry was that longevity would be hard to maintain since NGOs are driven by a strong commitment that might eventually fade. However, the VSOPP agreement in Gothenburg meant that the municipality did not only finance the services NGOs provided, but that they also had the ability to regulate what needed to be provided. This balance of the MEW differed from Malmö and Lund and concerns of longevity were not brought up by the interviewees in Gothenburg. This indicates that having an agreement with a clearly defined role for both the municipality and NGOs was seen as a more long-term strategy dealing with the migrants, even though it was not considered to be a perfect solution.

5. Discussion and Conclusion

Compared to previous research, this thesis contains not only similarities, but also presents some new insights. Daly (1993) and Esping-Andersen (1990) have argued that there is a connection between the type of welfare model in place, the prevalence of homelessness, and the response to it by the state (Esping-Andersen, 1990; Daly, 1993). Whether this is true for indigenous homelessness is outside the scope of this thesis, but for the case of homeless EU migrants it is more complicated. Firstly, the amount of homeless EU migrants present in Sweden cannot be attributed to its welfare model since there are many other factors to take into consideration such as poverty and social exclusion in the migrants' home countries, free movement within Europe, and the financial crisis in Southern Europe. The response to the homeless migrants in Sweden on the other hand did seem to be connected to the type of welfare system in place. Although

municipalities did not respond to the situation in the same way, as seen by the three cases Malmö, Lund and Gothenburg, their responses were partly due to the strong idea of the social contract that exists within the Swedish welfare model. The response to homeless EU migrants is therefore related to Sweden's welfare model.

Another important concept which was brought up in previous research was that of citizenship and how the lack of it created many of the problems that the homeless EU migrants were facing (Mostowska, 2014). A lack of citizenship prevents the migrants from being completely entitled to welfare benefits according to Swedish and EU legislation. This lack of entitlement and ability for the municipalities to directly provide any services to the migrants was mentioned by all the interviewees as one of the main challenges. In this case, the findings of this thesis are aligned with previous research looking at challenges that the migrants and the receiving countries are facing. The new aspect that was brought up in this thesis is the specific ways in which the migrants faced NSRs, how this was a challenge to Swedish municipalities, and how important the MEW is when it came to dealing with these challenges.

In conclusion, the interviewees from Malmö, Lund and Gothenburg had roughly the same interpretations of the issue of homeless EU migrants and in what way it was a challenging issue to deal with. They emphasised the complexity of the problem because it needed to be dealt with in Sweden but could not be solved in Sweden. Since the poverty and social exclusion of the homeless EU migrants has existed for such a long time in other countries in Europe as an old social risk it becomes extremely difficult to come up with strategies to deal with it in Sweden, especially since municipalities are pretty much left to their own devices. Migrants facing NSRs became a new challenge to the welfare state of Sweden even though they had been present in other European countries for a long time. The interviewees from all three municipalities called for a need to have greater cooperation and financing on both the national and EU levels. It became clear throughout the interviews that there were a few main ways in which the EU migrants facing NSRs were a new challenge to the Swedish welfare state. For example it is an issue that has spread across many countries in Europe. Another very important challenge was the fact that seeing street begging and homelessness among the migrants contributed to confronting people's idea of a social contract. The idea of the social contract forms one of the bases for the

Swedish welfare state and it was important to the interviewees to help the migrants according to their idea of the social contract.

The fact that the migrants were able to confront people's ideas of the social contract and thus challenge the Swedish welfare state by being visible was however something that, according to the interviewees, could lead to positive outcomes. The migrants were confronting people's idea of the social contract which in turn stirred up many strong emotions. People's reactions are in turn putting pressure on politicians to work with the issue. The visibility of the migrants and the strong reactions of people are therefore providing them with mobilising power to make policy changes that Bonoli (2005) argued is very difficult for people facing NSRs.

It was clear to the interviewees that Sweden was as of yet not fully equipped to deal with the NSRs that the homeless EU migrants are encountering but that it was very important to still try to develop long-term policies for working with them because this situation was not going away anytime soon. In order to work with the homeless EU migrants all Swedish municipalities had to work within the MEW out of necessity and as a natural continuation of the trend within welfare provision on a municipal level in Sweden. Leaving NGOs to provide social services for the migrants dealt with the issue of it being a new problem for Sweden but an old problem for Europe by having the NGOs take care of the migrants residing in Sweden while also trying to work in their home countries. Another major challenge that municipalities were able to overcome using NGOs was that of restrictive legislation that did not allow them to directly work with the migrants themselves. The voluntary sector provided a way to work around such restrictions while still maintaining the responsibility for finance and sometimes regulation.

The MEW thus played a prominent role when it came to dealing with homeless EU migrants residing in Swedish municipalities. Without the voluntary sector there was not much the municipalities could offer, but along with NGOs they were able to indirectly use tax money to assist the migrants. The amount of assistance provided differed between Malmö, Lund and Gothenburg, as well as the balance of the MEW. Malmö focused much more on financing the third sector, Lund also focused on financing but maintained a strategic focus in choosing which NGOs to finance. Gothenburg on the other hand went furthest in the regulation of their cooperation with the third sector by establishing a VSOPP. The interviewees emphasised how

crucial the third sector was for them to work with the homeless EU migrants even though they did not agree on what the MEW should look like in terms of finance and regulation. Provision on the other hand was always left to the NGOs.

In this thesis I have shed light on the experiences of municipal representatives in Malmö, Lund and Gothenburg regarding their work with homeless EU migrants. By describing what they see as problematic and analysing these answers within the framework of NSRs I have been able to examine the major hurdles that the interviewees faced in their work and put it in a context of welfare state development in Europe and Sweden. By examining and defining the predicaments of homeless EU migrants and the difficulties faced by municipalities trying to work with them in Sweden I have broadened the framework of NSRs to include homeless EU migrants. Though they could be put under the category of NSRs related to immigration even before, it is clear that they constitute a special group within that category that needs certain consideration. By broadening the framework of the MEW to include homeless EU migrants I have been able to show why dealing with them is so challenging for Sweden and Swedish municipalities. The framework of the MEW has been a necessary complement to that of NSRs because it became clear throughout the interviews that dealing with the NSRs of homeless EU migrants was not possible outside of the MEW and without the involvement of the third sector. Since previous research has focused more on the predicaments of the migrants themselves and of the experiences of voluntary sector workers I have tried to show another side of the issue with this thesis. The interviewees all wanted to deal with the growing number of homeless EU migrants but were unsure how to do it, especially in Malmö and Lund where the issue was newer than it was in Gothenburg. The voluntary sector became a very important tool for politicians both for reasons of necessity and as a continuation of developments in welfare provision in Sweden.

6. Future research

To continue the research around the difficulties of homeless EU migrants and of the welfare states receiving them it is quite possible to ask similar questions to the ones asked in this thesis but use other theoretical frameworks to analyse them. By using the frameworks of New Social Risks and the Mixed Economy of welfare I was able to examine the complications experienced

in Swedish municipalities and their ways of dealing with these. Using for instance the framework of Europeanisation could be helpful when comparing the situation in several different countries and discussing the difficulties experienced on an EU level. The perspective used in this thesis is a micro-level one since the focus is on municipalities in one European country. A macro-level approach to the issue would also be possible and important to further analyse difficulties and possible solutions in several countries at once. By using other theoretical frameworks it is also possible to discuss such issues as welfare retrenchment and whether this plays a role in how the EU migrants are dealt with in European welfare states. This dimension is not captured in this thesis since the framework of NSRs deals with risks without having to consider whether the welfare state has changed significantly since its original design.

Though the framework of NSRs does enable a discussion of welfare state typology, future research could further delve into the issue of the effects of welfare typology on the work with EU migrants. As stated in the conclusion and in previous research, welfare typology is significant in the work with the homeless EU migrants and is therefore an important aspect to consider in research. Future research dealing with the issue of homeless EU migrants could also focus on the particular predicaments and difficulties faced by the different migrants, seeing as they are a heterogeneous group. Women or the Roma people are two possible groups within the migrants that could be focused on using, for example, feminist theory.

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8. Appendices

8.1 List of interviewees

Anne-Lie Lindell, Social worker and Coordinator of the municipality's work with socially and economically vulnerable EU-citizens, Malmö

Carina Nilsson, Municipal Commissioner of the Care and Welfare Directorate, Malmö

Karin Säfström, Head of Unit for the Accommodation Unit with the task of investigating the work of the Care and Welfare Directorate regarding vulnerable EU migrants, Lund

Maria Grundel, 1st Deputy Chair of the Committee for allocation of social welfare, Gothenburg

Sven-Bertil Persson, Chairman of the Care and Welfare Directorate, Lund

Teresa Woodhall, Development Manager, Administration for allocation of social welfare, Gothenburg

8.2 Interview guide

Attention in the media

- How do you think the issue of homeless EU migrants is depicted in the media?
- How long would you say the issue has been on the agenda?
- How well does the depiction of the issue in the media correspond to reality?
- What do you think of the fact that the focus is on beggars when speaking about homeless EU migrants?

Legislation and regulations

- Can you describe the legislations and regulations that apply when working with the homeless EU migrants?
 - o What is your opinion of them? Are they cohesive or are there contradictions?
- What do you think of the fact that there are no national guidelines about dealing with homeless EU migrants?
- What do you think of the EU's free movement policy?
- What do you think of the policies of our neighbouring countries (Norway, Denmark and Finland) in dealing with the homeless EU migrants?

The welfare state

- Which do you think are the greatest changes to take place in Sweden's welfare state the past few decades?
- Do you think the homeless EU migrants are a new challenge to the Swedish welfare state?
- Can you think of any other new challenges that the welfare state in Sweden has to deal with?

Difficulties/ Solutions

- What are the greatest challenges when trying to handle the rising numbers of homeless EU migrants in Swedish municipalities?
- If there were more resources, do you think it could be dealt with differently? If yes, then how?
- What would you like to be done on a national level regarding this issue?

- What would you like to be done on an EU level regarding this issue?
- Do you think that more measures need to be taken in your municipality (Malmö/ Lund/ Gothenburg)?
- What do you think of the fact that different measures are taken in different municipalities?

Responsibility

- What do you think about the matter of responsibility when it comes to dealing with homeless EU migrants? How much responsibility lies on a municipal/ national/ EU level?
- How much responsibility should the home countries of the migrants take?

The role of the third sector

- How important are NGOs in dealing with homeless EU migrants?
- What do you think about the fact that they play such an important role?
- Have you personally had any contact with homeless EU migrants?
 - o If yes, has this experience in any way affected your opinion on the issue of responsibility/ solutions?