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Open Borders – Closed Societies?

Challenges of Social Inclusion in Times of Free Movement:
A Sociological Analysis of Views and Experiences
from Local Homeless Services across Europe

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ABSTRACT

Freedom of movement, although one of the major achievements of the European integration process, provides new challenges for European welfare states as the main instances in terms of dealing with issues of social exclusion. Thereby, discrepancies between the principle of free movement of people and the provision of social security – which remains the responsibility of nation states or local authorities – seem to emerge. Strikingly, these discrepancies appear in the sections of the welfare system that address one of the most severe forms of social exclusion: homelessness. This master's thesis presents the results of an exploratory study on the issue of homelessness among EU mobile citizens. The research questions were answered by carrying out an online survey; 66 experts from cities in 20 EU Member States and states of the Schengen Area who have professional expertise related to the issue of homelessness took part in this survey. The thesis deals with the complexity and contrariness incorporated into the interfaces of social exclusion, welfare state and transnational mobility. The concepts of social exclusion and welfare state theory serve as the conceptual framework for the thesis. Experts from the field of homeless services have observed growing numbers of EU mobile citizens experiencing homelessness in their host country during recent years. Issues addressed by this thesis include experts' estimates on shaping and development of the issue of homelessness among EU mobile citizens, the living conditions, barriers and types of exclusion EU mobile citizens experience in their country of destination. Furthermore, it presents, what measures should, according to participating experts, be taken to address the issue. The results reveal that access for EU mobile citizens to homeless services in their host countries has been questioned increasingly in recent years. Further problematic aspects arising from the research include the practice of expulsions of EU mobile citizens and supported reconnection to their home country. As several experts' statements show, boundaries between (forced) expulsion and (voluntary) return are perceived as blurred; voluntariness of reconnection services in many cases is also questionable, as access to basic services such as shelter is often tied to participation in these programs, therefore placing additional pressure on those affected. These findings show that, while nation state borders are constantly removed, barriers emerge that may prevent freedom of movement.

1 INTRODUCTION

A growing number of citizens of the European Union (EU) and the Schengen Area use their right to freedom of movement to set up a new life in another European state. In 2012, 13.4 million EU nationals had been living for longer than one year in an EU Member State that was not their state of citizenship (EY 2014, p. 11). Most of these EU mobile citizens establish themselves successfully in the labour market of their host country; research contracted by the European Commission shows that intra-EU mobility is predominantly labour related, whereby EU mobile citizens contribute above average to economic wealth within their host societies (EY 2014). In addition to long-term migration as a mean to establish oneself permanently in the host country, several other forms of mobility have evolved in the context of the European single market and free movement of people. These are often short-term, such as seasonal migration and commuter mobility.

Not all migrants are successful in their host countries. Affected individuals may experience homelessness and deep poverty for several years; many try to earn their living through informal work or attempt to get support through the local welfare system. Migrants are often denied access to social services if necessary entitlements have not been acquired, for example, through formal employment. Publicly visible poverty of EU mobile citizens – mostly those coming from the new eastern EU Member States – has stimulated polarising debates on the scope and boundaries of local and national welfare systems related to intra-EU mobility, „*coalesced around two populist phrases: ‚poverty migration‘ (in Germany) and ‚benefits tourism‘ (in the United Kingdom)‘*” (Benton 2013, p. 5).

Prominent examples of this debate’s discourse include French president Nicolas Sarkozy’s attempts to expel groups of EU citizens of Roma ethnicity from French state territory in 2010 (Willsher 2010) and British Prime Minister David Cameron’s repeated declarations to treat EU mobile citizens more strictly who claim social benefits in The United Kingdom (Cameron 2013). In April 2013, ministers from Austria, Germany, The Netherlands, and The United Kingdom requested the European Commission to review the social security legislation while complaining about limited possibilities to sanction fraud and pressure on social security schemes through intra-

EU mobility (Benton 2013, p. 5). Boswell and Geddes (2011, pp. 178-190) observed a shift in recent years in the public concept of intra-EU mobility, and in the context of the most recent steps in the EU enlargement process. While thus far freedom of movement has been seen as economically beneficial, increasingly, it is perceived as a threat to host societies. This shift was fuelled by growing unemployment rates and claims about local workers being 'undercut' by EU mobile citizens in the low-wage employment sector.

Apart from ideologically driven perceptions, freedom of movement inevitably provides new challenges for European welfare states as the main example of dealing with issues related to social exclusion. As a result, discrepancies between the principle of free movement of people and the provision of social security – which remains the responsibility of nation states or local authorities – seem to emerge. Strikingly, these discrepancies appear in the sections of the welfare system that address one of the most severe forms of social exclusion: homelessness.

While research on intra-EU mobility has become a lively component of migration and mobility studies in Europe (e.g. Ackers and Bryony 2008; Fassmann et al. 2009; Recchi 2009; Boswell and Geddes 2011), it seldom accounts for severe forms of social exclusion such as homelessness and its relations to free movement. In 2010, contributions to the European Consensus Conference on Homelessness have shown that homelessness and poverty of EU mobile citizens, as well as access to basic social services for affected persons, represent a topic of increasing importance. Vandenbroucke et al. emphasise the necessity of gaining deeper knowledge concerning „*the impact of migration and free movement within the EU on homelessness services*“ (Vandenbroucke et al. 2010, p. 19). Furthermore, they identify a need for research on living situations of EU mobile citizens affected by poverty and homelessness and the barriers they face, as well as on identifying models of best practice addressing the issue. Vandenbroucke et al. (2010, pp. 19-20) assert that, despite the lack of empirical knowledge about life situations and needs of the people affected, there are relevant differences from those homeless within their country of origin.

Several recent articles provide first insights into the topic of homelessness among EU mobile citizens (Edgar et al. 2004; FEANTSA 2010; FEANTSA 2013d). Furthermore,

the issue is discussed at international conferences and meetings, for example through FEANTSA (European Federation of National Organisations working with the Homeless) and EUROCITIES (network of major European cities). Expertise on the issue is also available through local professionals and initiatives in the area of social services, as well as in public authorities and national and international non-governmental organisations (NGOs).

As outlined above, there is a lack of extensive research about the relationship between intra-EU mobility and homelessness as an extreme form of social exclusion; in particular, comparative research is missing. Therefore, this master's thesis addresses the issue of homelessness among EU mobile citizens in European cities. It aims to present an exploratory study on the aforementioned issues, providing insights into them from the perspective of experts working in the field of homeless services across Europe. It deals with the complexity and contrariness incorporated into the interfaces of social exclusion, welfare state and transnational mobility, and addresses the following research questions from a cross-national, expert perspective:

- What are, according to experts, the living conditions of EU citizens who have exercised freedom of movement and are affected by homelessness in their country of destination?
- Which barriers and types of exclusion experienced by homeless EU mobile citizens (HEUMC) in their country of destination can be identified?
- How do relevant actors in public administration and the social services sector respond to the issues?
- Which measures do experts think should be taken to address homelessness among EU mobile citizens?
- Using welfare state theory, can differing variations or patterns in terms of framing and relevant actors' responses to the issues be identified?

This research aims to answer the questions above by using an expert approach. Therefore, an online survey, addressing experts from cities in all EU Member States and states of the Schengen Area who have professional expertise related to the issue of

homelessness, including staff from NGOs, public administration, user self-organisations and research institutions, those working in direct social services, as well as in management and research, was carried out.

Approaching the issue through a selective sample of experts does not facilitate the production of representative data. Considering the explorative character of the study and the fact that the issue of investigation so far has mainly been discussed in a rhetorical way, a systematic analysis of the views and experiences of persons familiar with this field from their daily, practical work routine seems promising. It allows for gaining valuable insights into the research field in order to collect and compare experts' views and experiences from different countries, disciplines and organisational backgrounds.

The master's thesis does not aim to provide a detailed analysis and comparison of situations in different cities; rather it aims to present a systematic, concise picture of the various approaches to the issue of homelessness among EU mobile citizens as viewed by experts, based on welfare state theory. Furthermore, for the present research, it is not relevant whether the indications made by the experts reflect the relevant legal situation from a juridical point of view. Rather, the study's ability to capture participants' perceptions and practical knowledge is of importance, as these significantly shape how issues are handled.

The concepts of social exclusion and welfare state theory serve as the conceptual framework for the thesis. The title 'Open Borders – Closed Societies?' is a reference to the book title 'Geschlossene Grenzen – offene Gesellschaften' ('Closed Borders – open Societies') written by the German migration sociologist Wolfgang Seifert in 2000. Seifert examines the relations between migration policy and integration policy in western industrial nations; 'Closed borders', in this study, refers to the tendency of these states to strictly regulate in-migration. Secondly, the term 'open societies' examines which societal preconditions enable the successful integration of immigrants in host countries.

The present master's thesis consists of two main parts. Part I presents the conceptual framework for the research; Part II is dedicated to the empirical study. The thesis is divided into six chapters: The introductory chapter has provided a brief outline of the

problem addressed by the research project. Furthermore, it has introduced the research questions and given an overview of the current state of research. Chapter 2 is dedicated to the issue of intra-EU mobility. After introducing the concept of free movement of persons in the European Community, the chapter provides recent data and discourse on intra-EU mobility.

Chapter 3 provides an overview of the emergence and meanings of ‚social exclusion’ within the EU as the conceptual framework for this master’s thesis. This is followed by a presentation of the dimensions of the term, based on the work of the German sociologist Martin Kronauer (2006; 2010). As the discourse and approaches to social exclusion vary significantly between welfare states, welfare state theory represents another important part of the conceptual framework for the master’s thesis. Accordingly, this chapter also deals with principles of welfare state theory and attempts to systematise and categorise European welfare states into types of welfare state regimes by examining how different welfare state regimes organise social inclusion. Furthermore, the chapter provides insights into the governance of homelessness in European welfare states.

Chapter 4 describes key terms used in the research process, providing a comprehensive picture of the research design. Following a description of the methods applied in the research, and their characteristics, specific attention is given to the design of the online survey, its sampling, and methods of data analysis. The chapter is concluded with a short reflection of the research process.

Chapter 5 presents the results from the empirical research; the first section provides detailed information about the sample consisting of 66 experts in the field of homeless services from twenty European countries. This is followed by an overview of respondents’ assessment and estimations concerning homelessness among EU mobile citizens including their assessment of urgency and estimations of past and future development of the issue. The next section shows how participating experts describe the persons affected in terms of age, gender, family structure, country of origin and ethnicity, with a special focus on the Roma ethnic group, as this is a topic that survey participants have repeatedly mentioned in their response. Section 5.4 contains respondents’ estimations about reasons for mobility of EU citizens who are affected by homelessness

in their host country, followed by Section 5.5, which draws attention to the structural barriers towards social inclusion, and individual problems those affected by these barriers are frequently facing. Section 5.6 provides respondents' estimations about how HEUMC might cover their most basic needs. Section 5.7 discusses relevant actors and their responses to homelessness among EU mobile citizens. Section 5.8 focuses on access to homeless services for EU mobile citizens and reveals several practices, which aim to limit access to this component of the social security net for potential user groups from other European countries. This section is followed by a discussion of the expulsion of HEUMC and another practice arising from data at hand, reconnection of HEUMC (section 5.9). Chapter 5 closes with a presentation of various models of good practice, as well as other measures suggested by experts to address homelessness among EU mobile citizens.

The conclusions presented in chapter 6 provide an overview of the research results, merging theoretical considerations of intra-EU mobility, social inclusion and welfare state theory with empirical data from the survey. This represents a condensed insight into participating experts' opinions and experiences concerning homelessness among EU mobile citizens, and reveals views about how to address the issue at several levels of policy making and practice. The appendix contains relevant data used in the text and further information that might be important for replicating the research process.

PART I: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2 INTRA-EU MOBILITY

Free movement of people represents – beside free movement of goods, services and capital – one of the four fundamental freedoms upheld by the EU, and thus is strongly linked with the European integration process. This chapter introduces the concept of free movement of persons as the basis for the master's thesis. Following this, facts and data about mobility between EU Member States are presented; this information is derived primarily from the Eurostat database. The chapter concludes with a brief overview of recent discourse on intra-EU mobility.

2.1 The Concept of free Movement of Persons in the European Union

Free movement of people is defined in 'Directive 2004/38/EC on the right of citizens of the Union and their family members to move and reside freely within the territory of the Member States' (European Parliament and the Council 2004). It grants citizens the right to move and reside freely within the EU. For stays of up to three months, the only requirement for EU citizens is to have a valid identity document. The right of residence for more than three months is subject to conditions such as being engaged in economic activity or having sufficient resources and insurance to avoid becoming an 'unreasonable burden' to the welfare system of the host country. Following the Schengen Agreement, free movement of persons has been an integral part of the European single market, and has existed in practice since 1995. When the Agreement came into effect, passport control between Belgium, Germany, Spain, France, Luxembourg and Portugal was abolished (European Union 2013). Currently, the Schengen cooperation as a component of the EU legal and institutional framework extends to most EU Member States, and also some non-Member States of the European Union (Chart 2.1).

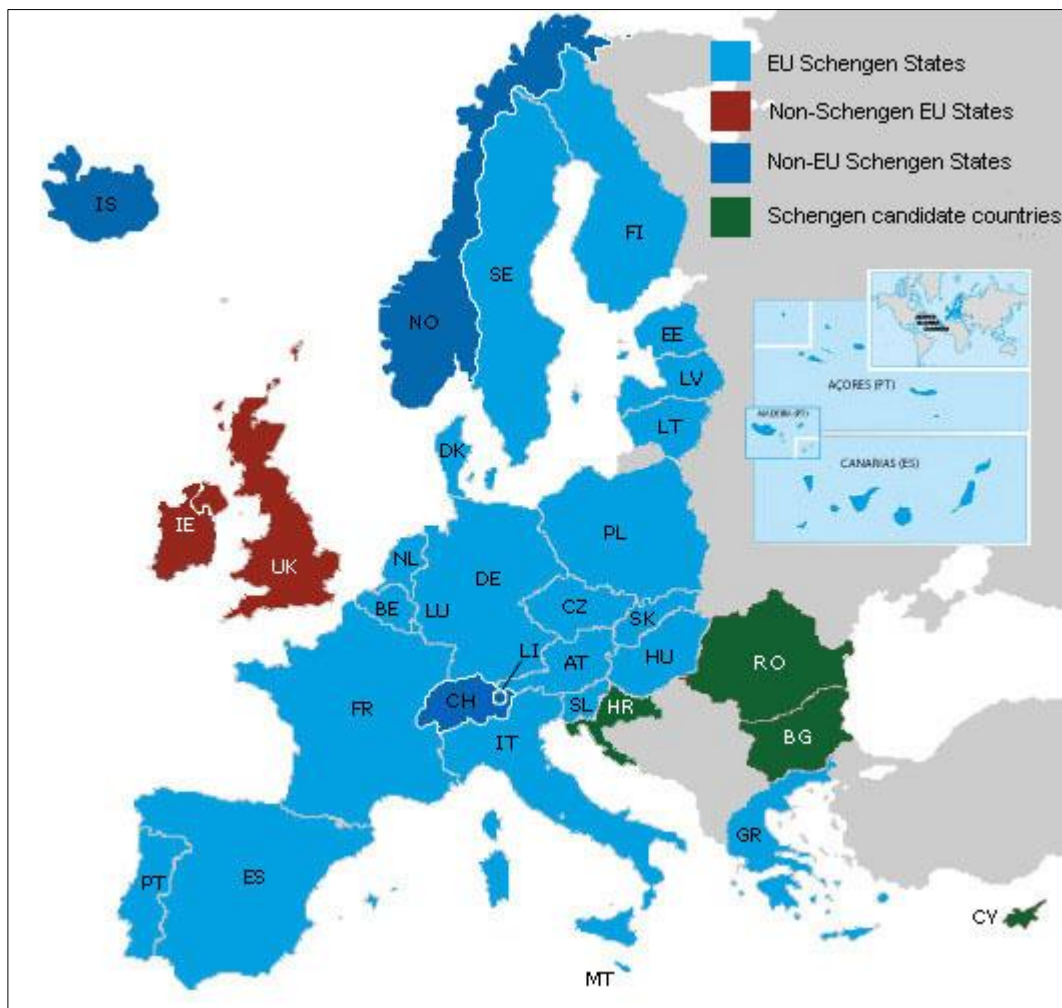


Chart 2.1: Schengen Area as of July 1st 2013. Source: European Commission 2013c. http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/borders-and-visas/schengen/index_en.htm.

As defined by the United Nations, „a migrant is an individual who has resided in a foreign country for more than one year irrespective of the causes. [...] However, common usage includes certain kinds of shorter-term migrants, such as seasonal farm-workers who travel for short periods” (Perruchoud and Redpath-Cross 2011, p. 62). In the context of movement between Member States of the European Union, the term ‚migration’ has widely been replaced with ‚intra-EU mobility’. People who exercise freedom of movement within the European Union thus are called ‚EU mobile citizens’ instead of ‚migrants’. EU institutions and EU officials, in particular, promote this terminology: „The European Commission designates EU nationals living abroad as ‚mobile citizens’” (Benton 2013, p. 6).

2.2 Intra-EU Mobility in Numbers

According to a study contracted by the European Commission, intra-EU mobility has been increasing significantly throughout the last decade. In 2011, 12.6 million EU citizens resided in a Member State that was not their state of citizenship. This figure represents an increase of 2.4 million EU mobile citizens (24%) compared to 2007 (EY 2014, p. 11). The number of mobile citizens has further increased and reached 13.4 million EU nationals living in another Member State for longer than one year in 2012. Despite this strong increase, the share of EU population residing in a Member State other than their country of citizenship is only 2.7% (EY 2014, p. 11). Reasons for the relatively limited mobility of EU citizens compared to a high-mobility country such as the United States may be due to a weak 'culture of mobility', barriers in establishing oneself on a foreign labour market and in transferring social benefit entitlements to other Member States. Furthermore, a lack of foreign language knowledge and strong feelings of belonging to a specific region and family ties may be relevant (Mau and Verwiebe 2009, p. 288).

In addition to long-term migration as a mean to establish oneself permanently in the host country, several other forms of mobility have evolved in the context of the European single market and the free movement of people. These are often short-term, such as seasonal migration and commuter mobility. Another form is retirement migration, where quality of life is the most decisive factor in choosing the target region (Mau and Verwiebe 2009, p. 293). The study 'Evaluation of the impact of free movement of EU citizens at local level – Final Report' notes that intra-EU mobility is likely to be underestimated, as short term mobile citizens (residing in their host country for less than one year) and cross-border commuters are not included in data available through Eurostat (EY 2014, p. 13).

The Eurobarometer survey provides a sound insight into European citizens' mobility experiences and intentions. Although results show that most Europeans value the right to move freely within the EU, it finds that only 17% „*can envisage working outside their own country at some time in the future, and the share of those who want to do so any time soon and are actually taking concrete steps to move is much lower still*“ (TNS Opinion & Social 2010, p. 220). The study reveals the main motivating factors to move are improvement of one's individual economic situation, and preferences in terms of culture and

lifestyle of the destination. Language barriers and family ties are the main obstacles keeping Europeans from migrating. Citizens of new eastern European Member States show a higher motivation to move than citizens from the old Member States. Economic factors are a bigger source of motivation to move for those from new Member States, while residents of old Member States place more importance to cultural and lifestyle factors (TNS Opinion & Social 2010, pp. 220-221).

Data from the European Commission (2013a) shows that in 2011, approximately 2.898 million people moved to one of the 27 EU Member States. Of that amount, 990.973 were citizens of an EU Member State moving to another EU Member State, which was not their country of citizenship. This means that more than one third (34.19%) of immigrants moving to an EU Member State in 2011 were EU mobile citizens.¹ The country receiving most EU mobile citizens was Germany (226.396 persons from other EU Member States), followed by The United Kingdom (174.135), Spain (142.092) and Italy (113.808). The countries receiving the least EU mobile citizens were the Baltic countries (in total 1.650 EU citizens entering Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia), Slovenia (1.990), Portugal (2.031) and Slovakia (3.162). As shown in Chart 2.2, Luxembourg received the highest number of EU mobile citizens in 2011 in proportion to its total population. The number of EU mobile citizens moving to Luxembourg in 2011 accounts for 29.22 per 1.000 of Luxembourg's residents, followed by Cyprus (15.64), Austria (7.67), Belgium (5.58) and Ireland (4.42). The Baltics, Portugal, Slovakia and Slovenia received the smallest number of EU mobile citizens in proportion to their total populations (less than 1 EU mobile citizen per 1.000 residents). For details, see Appendix D: Additional Tables.

¹ Data missing from Bulgaria, Hungary, Malta, The Netherlands, Poland and Romania.

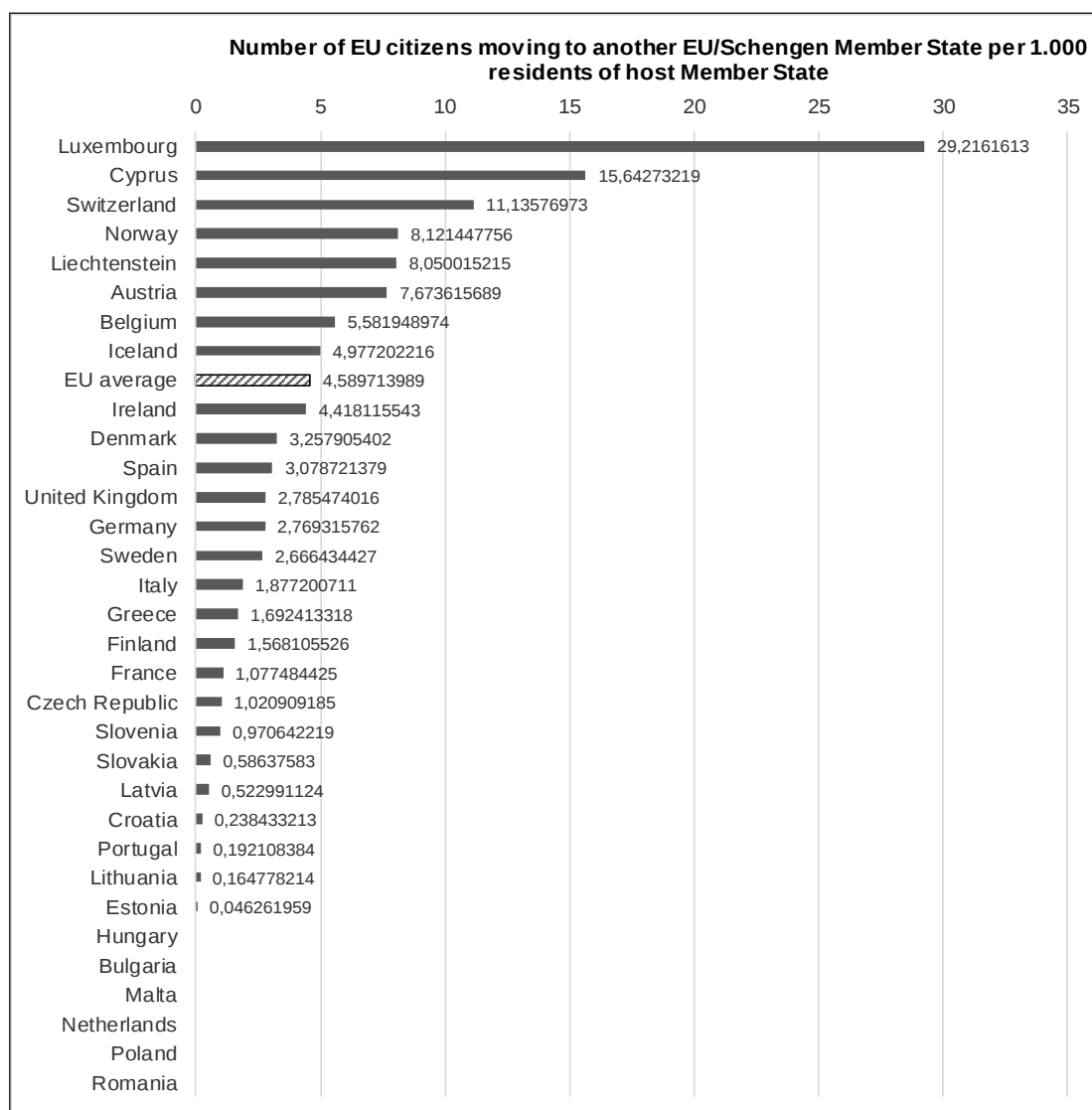


Chart 2.2: Number of EU mobile citizens received by EU/Schengen Member States per 1.000 residents of host Member State in 2011. Data missing from Hungary, Bulgaria, Malta, The Netherlands, Poland and Romania. Data source: European Commission (2013a): Immigration by sex, age group and citizenship.

Data about EU mobile citizens shows that there are slightly more men than women moving from one EU Member State to another. In 2011, 52% of EU mobile citizens were men, while 48% were women. The gender ratio varies quite strongly between receiving countries. The percentage of male immigrants from other EU Member States reaches 68% in Slovakia and Lithuania, followed by Estonia (66%), Slovenia (64%), Latvia (63%), the Czech Republic (62%) and Germany (61%); however, it is relatively low in Greece and Italy (40%) and Ireland (44%). Roughly half (50,09%) of EU mobile citizens in 2011 were from 20 to 34 years old – the age group 20 to 24 years being strongest represented (19,55% of all EU mobile citizens). 860.670 persons (86,85% of all EU mobile citizens) were of working age (15 to 64 years old) (European Commission 2013a).

Although data concerning nationality of EU mobile citizens is lacking from several countries in the Eurostat database, clear tendencies can be identified. In 2011, 12.798.624 EU citizens were living in an EU-Country that was not their country of citizenship. As shown in Chart 2.3, the largest group of EU mobile citizens hold a Romanian citizenship (17.34%), followed by Poles (11.65%) and Italians (8.38%). In relation to the number of citizens living in their country of citizenship, Swedes are the most extensive users of free movement within the EU. Per 1.000 Swedish nationals living in Sweden, there are 300 Swedes living in other EU-27-Member States. The mobility of Swedes is followed by that of Romanians (104 EU mobile citizens to 1.000 citizens living in Romania) and Irish nationals (99 EU mobile citizens to 1.000 citizens living in Ireland). The least mobile in terms of intra-EU mobility are people from Cyprus (four EU mobile citizens to 1.000 citizens in home country), Maltese (seven EU mobile citizens to 1.000 citizens living in Malta) and Spanish citizens (seven EU mobile citizens to 1.000 citizens in home country) (European Commission 2013a).

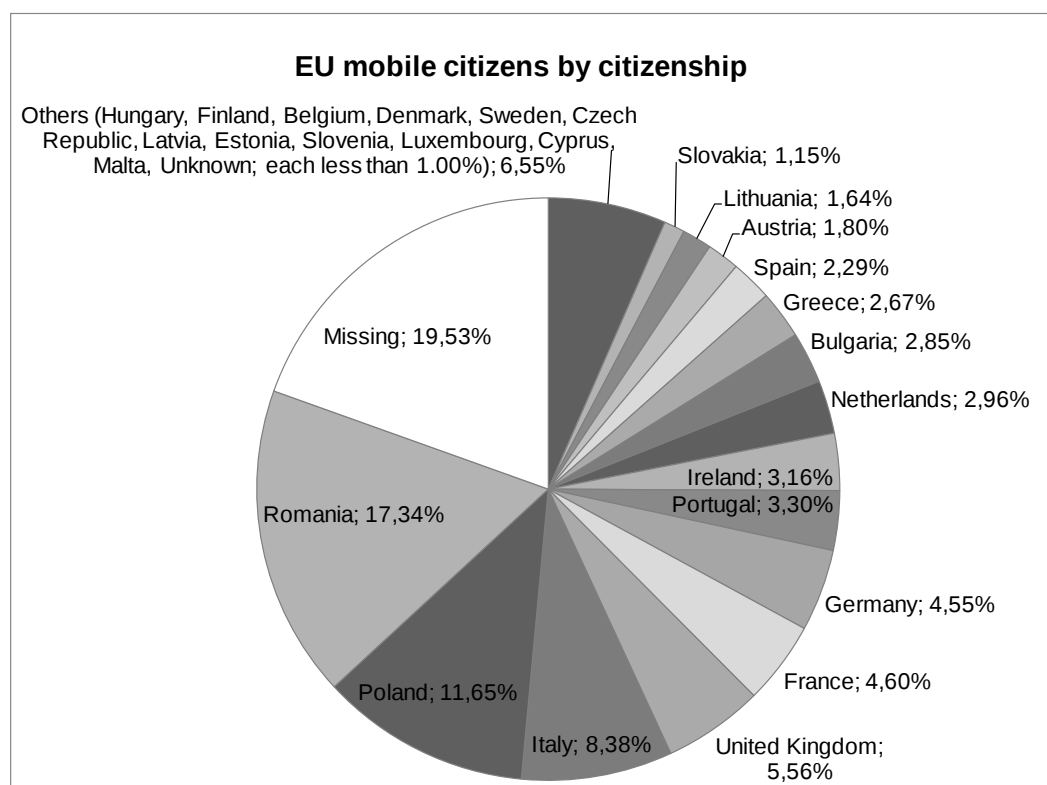


Chart 2.3: EU citizens living in another EU-Member State than their country of citizenship in 2011 by country of citizenship. Own Illustration. Data source: European Commission (2013a): Immigration by sex, age group and citizenship.

The most important reason for moving to another EU country, according to a recent EU Commission study, was work. About half of all EU mobile citizens are employed in their host country and, in „general terms, intra-EU mobility mainly involves active population, [...] (i.e. persons aged between 15 and 64)” (EY 2014, p. 12). The two expansions of the Union in 2004 and 2007 strongly reinforced intra-EU mobility, while economic crises had a negative impact on mobility flows (EY 2014, p. 12).

2.3 Recent Discourse on Intra-EU Mobility

Research on intra-EU mobility has become a prominent component of migration and mobility research in Europe (e.g. Ackers and Bryony 2008; Fassmann et al. 2009; Recchi 2009; Boswell and Geddes 2011). Scientific literature on intra-EU mobility is profoundly diverse. A focal point of such research is the (potential) economic, social and cultural impact of mobility on host societies and sending societies, as well as on EU mobile citizens themselves. In particular, the stages in the formal European integration process of 2004 and 2007, which brought the accession of several former socialist eastern European countries to the EU, stimulated discussion about potential social, political and economic problems that may come with an enlarged European Single Market. Boswell and Geddes (2011, pp. 178-190) observe that access to full freedom of movement in the context of these additions has been challenged; resulting in several countries imposing restrictions on nationals of the new Member States for transitional phases of up to seven years. In public perception, Boswell and Geddes (2011) identify a tendencies shift from a largely positive framing of intra-EU mobility as economically beneficial, to being a threat to host societies. This shift was intensified by unemployment rates and claims of local workers being ‚undercut’ by EU mobile citizens in the low-wage employment sector.

In academic community, an ongoing debate about the impacts of free movement within the EU exists: those in favour cite positive social and economic effects of intra-EU mobility, while those in opposition allude to a largely negative picture of free movement. Fassmann and Lane (2009, pp. 1-2) suggest that „Europe is currently experiencing a new period of the great drift” – a term that refers to a time characterised by a vast increase in the geographical mobility associated with industrialisation. Meanwhile, Rowthorn outlines how large-scale immigration from low-income eastern European countries „will

have a dramatic impact and may have serious implications for social cohesion and national identity” (Rowthorn 2009, p. 15) in western European countries. He traces growing public concern and opposition to immigration, based on economic, cultural or racial grounds, and asserts *„[l]arge-scale immigration would bring little collective benefit to the existing inhabitants of the advanced economies”* (Rowthorn 2009, p. 28). While it would have regressive effects on income distribution, it would not pose *„an effective way of dealing with the problems of ageing in Europe”* (Rowthorn 2009, p. 28).

A recent study contracted by the European Commission (EC) aiming to discuss economic and social impacts of intra-EU mobility has reached contrary conclusions. The study explores *„the local policies addressed at fostering the successful inclusion and participation of EU mobile citizens”*, and provides *„an inventory of best practices”* (EY 2014, p. 4). The research focuses on conditions in six European cities (Barcelona, Dublin, Hamburg, Lille, Prague and Turin) considered as having particularly welcoming policies towards foreigners. The study concludes that increasing intra-EU mobility is generally realised through young and working age people. These people tend to fill gaps in the labour market at the upper as well as the lower end of the skills spectrum and therefore can *„bring some benefits in terms of economic output of the host communities, whereas negative economic impacts are clearly excluded”* (EY 2014, p. 4). In all cities except Lille and Barcelona, a large share of EU mobile citizens fill shortages in low-skilled sectors such as construction, domestic work and commercial services, which have become increasingly unattractive to native workers. Evidence also suggests that a considerable percentage takes up professional and highly qualified positions, for example, in Ireland, where 47% of EU mobile citizens work in highly qualified jobs (EY 2014, p. 159). The EC study also examines impacts on public finances and public services in host cities and countries. It concludes that EU mobile citizens, although they place some pressure on certain public sectors (such as housing assistance, social services for homeless people and the schooling sector), due to their young age and high participation in the labour market, *„seem to be contributors in the host communities, rather than a burden* (EY 2014, p. 162).

Potential impacts of intra-EU mobility have also been a trigger factor for extensive debates on European welfare states and their possibilities and limits to ensure social inclusion in times of free movement. As a conceptual framework for the present research, the

next chapter provides a discussion of social inclusion and comparative welfare state research in Europe.

3 SOCIAL INCLUSION AND EUROPEAN WELFARE STATES

This chapter provides an overview of recent debates on social exclusion within the EU, primarily based on the work of the German sociologist Martin Kronauer (2006; 2010), as the conceptual framework for the present master's thesis. Due to the variation in discourse surrounding the handling of social exclusion in different welfare states, welfare state theory represents another important part of the conceptual framework for the study. Therefore, the second section of this chapter deals with principles of welfare state theory and attempts of comparative welfare state research to systematise and categorise European welfare states into types of welfare state regimes, focusing on examining how different types of welfare state regimes organise social inclusion. Section 3.3 takes a closer look at homelessness as one of the most severe forms of social exclusion, giving an insight into the current academic debate on the relation between homelessness and welfare regimes.

3.1 The Emergence and Meanings of ‚Social Exclusion’

In the 1990s, the term ‚social exclusion’ gained a prominent role in the discourse on social inequalities and social policies within the EU. Since 1989, the European Community uses the term social exclusion when debating strategies to fight poverty and unemployment (Atkinson and Davoudi 2000, p. 428; Kronauer 2010, pp. 11-12). Although the definition of the term is blurry, there is broad agreement that social exclusion enfolds much more than just material poverty. Social exclusion is multidimensional, relational and dynamic. The term – and its antonym social inclusion – includes social rights; access to the labour market, and integration into informal social networks (Kronauer 2010, pp. 11-12). According to the European Commission, social exclusion

„does not only mean insufficient income. It even goes beyond participation in working life; it is manifest in fields such as housing, education, health and access to services.“
(Commission of the European Communities 1993, pp. 20-21)

Atkinson and Davoudi emphasise the processual and relational character of social exclusion, based on the assumption that the

„European social model, although aware of the importance of income distribution, places considerable emphasis on maintaining social solidarity and ensuring that all individuals are integrated into, and participate in, a national social and moral order. Thus social exclusion is primarily concerned with relational issues and the dynamic processes which

lead to the breaking of social ties and the marginalisation of groups in relation to the nation.” (Atkinson and Davoudi 2000, p. 434)

Atkinson and Davoudi (2000, pp. 429-433) describe the emergence of a social policy debate in the European Commission that began under the Presidency of the French Socialist Jacques Delors between 1985 and 1995. The debate was strongly influenced by French social policy and the principles of the corporatist welfare state regime; it was supported by the objective „*that the single market [should] be accompanied by greater social integration and cohesion*” (Atkinson and Davoudi 2000, p. 429). Later, the debate obtained an increasingly economic dimension as the financial strain of social exclusion on the social security systems was seen as a threat to economic growth and competitiveness.

Kronauer (2010, p. 36) describes the emergence of unique social problems in industrialised western societies that followed the full employment and prosperity of the late 1970s and 1980s as a key factor in the increase of the term. These years were characterised by an increase of unemployment and poverty, the secularisation-linked weakening of informal social networks, and increased pressure on social welfare systems due to political debates about the marketization of social welfare.

As Atkinson and Davoudi (2000, pp. 434-438) state, with the emergence of the debate on social exclusion in the EU, various interpretations of the term social exclusion – and its approaches – have evolved, and can be linked to existing types of welfare state regimes. For example, the main focus of social exclusion in France relates to solidarity, while in The United Kingdom, which has a liberal welfare state regime, the term is used as a synonym for poverty, emphasising its economic dimension. In the early 1990s, an additional interpretation of social exclusion „*sought to reconcile the two traditions through the use of the concept of citizenship rights*” (Atkinson and Davoudi 2000, p. 439) and led to efforts on systematising and defining key social and political rights in the EU. Accordingly, social exclusion had to be viewed critically in terms of how it excludes citizens of EU Member States from their citizen rights, and therefore from full citizenship (Atkinson and Davoudi 2000, pp. 438-439).

Drawing on the preceding debate and various interpretations, Kronauer (2006, p. 5; 2010, pp. 145-149) provides a conceptual framework for the examination of social exclusion

that rests upon three different modes of inclusion: inclusion through participation in labour division, inclusion through informal social relationships and inclusion through participation in socially acknowledged life chances and living standards. The first two modes are based on interdependence, as they describe reciprocal relationships – in the first case between the employer and the individual, in the second case in personal networks of kinship and acquaintances. The third mode of social inclusion arises through citizenship and social rights. These rights, as granted by the welfare state, aim to provide citizens with equitable access to central societal institutions (such as education, medical treatment and social security in case of emergency or in advanced age) and should preserve individuals' social and material integrity and political rights. Within the mode of social rights, Kronauer (2010, pp. 148-149) provides further differentiation: the three dimensions of social rights include participation in material living standards, political and institutional participation and cultural participation. Boundaries between the different dimensions of social inclusion are often blurred, thereby overlapping and influencing each other, increasing the complexity of social exclusion. Furthermore, the composition of institutional arrangements between the three instances of inclusion – labour market, informal social relationships and (welfare) state – strongly influences the assessment of which groups are particularly at risk to become socially excluded at certain points of their life cycle.

3.2 Social Exclusion and European Welfare State Regimes

Different institutional arrangements between labour market, informal social relationships and state mentioned by Kronauer (2010) are strongly linked to the different European welfare state regimes, and lead to the second component of the conceptual framework of this master's thesis. This section accounts for the emergence and classification of European welfare state regimes and focuses on the different manners in which these welfare state regimes have adapted to support social inclusion. According to Mau and Verwiebe,

„[t]he welfare state embraces all forms of interventions by the state which have the aim to provide precaution in case of life risks and to compensate inequalities produced through the market. These include institutions covering life risks such as illness, unemployment, old age and poverty as well as state programs in areas such as housing, education, social services and care.” (Mau and Verwiebe 2009, p. 43)

In their discussion of the 'European social model', Mau and Verwiebe (2009, pp. 43-50) describe the evolution of welfare states in Europe which brought far-ranging shifts in the organisation of social inequality; including the establishment of citizens' rights, social rights and political rights. The initial phase of welfare state development in the late 19th century was triggered by the 'social question', which arose from the process of industrialisation. The primary recipients of social security (e.g. accident insurance) were employees. During the following century, European states expanded their social welfare activities in areas such as health insurance, disability insurance and pensions, and included more social groups into their social security schemes (Mau and Verwiebe 2009, pp. 43-50). Mau and Verwiebe (2009, pp. 53-59) assert the welfare state not only has its origin in Europe, but also has been developing an special form. This can be characterised by the comprehensive provision of public services, implementation of statutory insurance for a range of life risks, involvement of all citizens, collective funding, institutionalising the relationship between the social partners, and ideas of fairness and solidarity. Levels of social expenditures in European countries are relatively high, and grant citizens the legal right to social assistance.

For the past sixty years, authors in comparative welfare state research have provided attempts to classify European welfare states on the basis of their differences and commonalities. One of these classifications is the distinction between residual, institutional-redistributive and industrial-achievement-oriented welfare state developed by Richard M. Titmuss (1958, cited in Mau and Verwiebe 2009, p. 54; 1974, cited in *ibid.* p. 54) in the 1960s. His 'models of social policy' differ in terms of scope of social security, ranging from systems in which market and family are the main institutions of social security (residual) to states offering social security in tandem with employment (institutional-redistributive) and social security schemes that provide entitlements on a universal basis. Another prominent form of classifying the welfare state is the distinction between Beveridge-model and Bismarck-model. While in Bismarck welfare states social insurance strongly focuses on labour market attachment and providing security for employees, the Beveridge-Model provides social security for all citizens based on means testing (Mau and Verwiebe 2009, pp. 54-55).

Gosta Esping-Andersen (1989)'s typology of 'welfare state regimes' provides the most prevalent – although strongly criticised – typology of welfare states. Esping-Andersen

provides a multidimensional analysis, looking into different forms of how social security is organised as an interaction between the market and the state (Mau and Verwiebe 2009, p. 55; Matznetter and Mundt 2012, p. 274). In his typology of welfare state regimes, Esping-Andersen devises three ideal types of welfare state regimes (‘The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism’). His classification is based on three dimensions: de-commodification of the status of individuals towards the market through the granting of social rights; social stratification through social policy, and the interrelations between the market, the family and the state (Esping-Andersen 1989, p. 770). Esping-Andersen’s typology of welfare state regimes presents ideal types, which empirically can never be ‘pure’. Furthermore, welfare policies have developed over time and therefore his clustering may need some modification.

The first type described by Esping-Andersen, the liberal welfare state regime, is characterised by a low access to social services, which are provided to those in need and often means-tested. Based on a traditional, liberal work ethic, conditions of social benefits are strict. Use of welfare services tends to be accompanied by the stigmatisation of benefit recipients, which intensifies social stratification. The state passively supports the market by minimising public social services and actively by subsidising private welfare arrangements (Esping-Andersen 1989, p. 770).

„The consequence is that this welfare state regime minimizes de-commodification-effects, effectively contains the realm of social rights, and erects a stratification order that blends a relative equality of poverty among state welfare recipients, market-differentiated welfare among the majorities, and a class-political dualism between the two.” (Esping-Andersen 1989, p. 770)

A strong example of this type is the United States of America, and in some respect, Canada and Australia. According to Esping-Andersen, Switzerland and the United Kingdom are the most closely matching European states of this type (Esping-Andersen 1989, p. 770).

The second type of welfare state regime is, according to Esping-Andersen, the corporatist welfare state regime. In this type, the state widely replaces the market as a provider of social services but also relies on the nuclear family, especially women, to provide types of welfare (Matznetter and Mundt 2012, p. 275). The corporatist welfare state regime contains a traditional-centred family policy, based on norms and values promoted by the

Catholic Church. It fosters a male breadwinner model where the labour market integration of mothers stays widely unsupported, and there is often a shortage of day care facilities. The principle of subsidiarity applies: the state only provides social benefits if the means of the family are no longer sufficient. The corporatist welfare state regime provides a high standard of social rights, but tends to uphold status differences and therefore has low redistributive effects. France, Italy, Austria and Germany conform to this welfare state regime type (Esping-Andersen 1989, p. 770).

Esping-Andersen's third type is the social democratic welfare state regime. Within this type, *„principles of universalism and de-commodifying social rights were extended also to the new middle classes”* (Esping-Andersen 1989, p. 779). The state provides social services at a high level, replacing private insurance systems. Benefits are universal, addressing the whole population; accustomed earnings influence the level of benefits. This universalism plays an important role in the formation of solidarity: all citizens benefit from the services offered, thus all are dependent on them and therefore willing to contribute. The costs of this type of welfare system are high; therefore, these states are highly dependent on high levels of employment. The principle of subsidiarity does not apply; the social democratic welfare state regime aims to stimulate capacities for individual independence by taking direct responsibility for children and people with care needs such as the elderly. In contrast to family policy in corporatist welfare state regimes, socialising the costs of reproductive activities (e.g. through extensive child care facilities) in turn increases the labour market attachment of women. Norway, Finland, Denmark and Sweden correspond to this social democratic welfare state regime type, which Esping-Andersen describes as a *„peculiar fusion of liberalism and socialism”* (Esping-Andersen 1989, pp. 770-771).

Esping-Andersen's typology of welfare state regimes has received extensive criticism. Nevertheless, it continues to be applied as a basis for empirical works in the area of comparative welfare state research. Some main points of criticism of the typology and modification suggestions are outlined below. For a condensed overview of criticisms of Esping-Andersen's typology of welfare state regimes, see Schubert et al. (2009, pp. 5-6). Schubert et al. argue that,

„[w]hile the categories of Esping-Andersen – social-democratic, liberal and conservative welfare state regimes – are nearly as often criticized as they are used, the basic concept that such a division is meaningful is seldom questioned” (Schubert et al. 2009, p. 14).

Their work aims to show that existing typologies no longer meet the needs of comparative welfare states research. Bazant and Schubert analyse welfare systems in the EU along the aspects of level and priorities in terms of spending, modes of financing social services, actors involved and leitmotif (principal understanding about the idea of welfare state). They argue that it is not possible to *„speak of clusters or regimes”* (Bazant and Schubert 2009, p. 533) due to complexity of and disparities between welfare systems.

In the mid-1990s, two lines of discussion concerning the transformation of welfare states emerged. While one line argued that there is little room for changes of welfare systems over time (‘path dependency’), the other line proposes ‘convergence’, which posits that through globalisation and Europeanisation, an increasing standardisation of welfare states towards a single ‘European social model’ is taking place (Schubert et al. 2009, p. 7). Mau and Verwiebe (2009, pp. 53-64) argue that, although European welfare states have similar basic institutions, differences at the level of institutional arrangements still exist. These can be traced back to specific social and political agreements, cultural traditions and diverging values. Ganßmann (2010, p. 341) states that welfare state regimes are strongly shaped by political and cultural traditions, leading to relatively stable priorities in terms of economic and social policies, which still legitimate the use of Esping-Andersen’s typology. Stephens and Fitzpatrick note that, despite a lack of empirical support and the challenges posed by the overlap of the systems,

„the characteristics of the regimes are broadly recognisable and it is also true that levels of poverty and inequality tend to be lowest in the social democratic countries and highest in the liberal countries.” (Stephens and Fitzpatrick 2007, p. 204)

Suggestions of modifications to Esping-Andersen’s typology of welfare state regimes include the addition of two further clusters, one being the southern European welfare state regime (also called the Mediterranean welfare state regime); the other being the post-socialist welfare state regime. According to Stephens and Fitzpatrick (2007, pp. 203-205), the southern European welfare state regime is characterised by a historically strong role of the family and extended family in ensuring social security. The public social security

system is weak, with the exception of the old-age pension system. This results in low female employment levels, and relatively high levels of poverty, inequality and unemployment. Ganßmann (2010, p. 340) assigns Portugal, Greece and Spain to the southern European welfare state regime. Muffels and Fouarge (2002) use a modified clustering that examines the effects of welfare state regimes on income poverty and resource deprivation. This is based on Esping-Andersen's typology and includes further adaptations suggested by later works of several authors. In their clustering, Muffels and Fouarge (2002) also add a 'Mediterranean welfare state regime' containing Greece, Portugal and Spain, while the categorisation of Italy is unclear.

Esping-Andersen's typology is not able to provide a well-working basis for describing welfare states that developed through the transformation of post-socialist societies in eastern European countries. Stephens and Fitzpatrick (2007, p. 204) state that, while the socialist model of welfare was characterised by high levels of employment and welfare delivered through the workplace, and highly subsidised services and basic commodities, this description no longer fits and there is an important gap left in describing these states. According to Mau and Verwiebe (2009, p. 59), eastern European welfare states contain a combination of conservative social insurance schemes, place a great importance of the family in providing social security, and contain liberal elements (e.g. low de-commodification, low level of welfare benefits, means-tests). Ganßmann (2010, p. 340) also introduces an additional cluster for post-socialist welfare state regimes, including former socialist eastern European Countries.

Housing researchers criticise „*that housing policy is rarely considered in the welfare regime literature*” (Matznetter and Mundt 2012, p. 276). Attempts to systematise welfare states with a focus on their housing policies include the work of Kemeny 1995, 2001; Hoekstra 2005; Clapham et al. 2012; Matznetter and Mundt 2012. Matznetter and Mundt, who provide a comprehensive overview on research that aims to explore connections between welfare state typologies and housing policy, observe „*three strands of approaches on the relationship between typologies of welfare regimes and housing systems*” (Matznetter and Mundt 2012, p. 282). These include (1) attempts to apply Esping-Andersen's concept of welfare state regimes on the field of housing policy; (2) analysis focusing on the structure of housing production and (3) analysis focussing on housing tenures (Matznetter and Mundt 2012, p. 282).

One major outcome of these attempts to examine relations between welfare state and housing policy is Kemeny (1995)'s distinction between dual rental markets and unitary rental markets. Dual rental markets are prevailing in the Anglo-Saxon region. The relatively small sector of public housing/not-for-profit housing in this model is addressed to low-income households, subject to means-testing and segregated from the for-profit renting sector to prevent it having any influence on the open market. This system, with limited availability of public housing, „forces the great majority of households to choose between insecure and high rent profit renting on the one hand and owner occupation on the other” (Kemeny 1995, p. 179) and results in a rapid expansion of owner occupation. Unitary rental markets have their roots in the period before the Second World War. Over decades, particularly in German-speaking countries and their neighbours a large stock of decommodified rental housing was built up; this sector was large enough to either inform, lead or dominate the rental market as a whole and therefore influence price and quality in the private sector (Kemeny 1995, p. 179; Matznetter and Mundt 2012, p. 290). According to Matznetter and Mundt (2012, p. 290), only social democratic and corporatist welfare state regimes were able to develop unitary rental markets. However, this „overlap between welfare regimes and housing regimes is not a direct link but an outcome of shared values and principles in the past” (Matznetter and Mundt 2012, p. 290). Furthermore, researchers focusing on the relation between welfare state theory and housing have stated singular characteristics of southern European welfare states in terms of housing, with high rates of owner occupation, the (extended) family playing an important role in housing provision and low engagement of the state in housing issues (Hoekstra 2005).

Muffels and Fouarge (2002, pp. 205-206) discuss several cases of welfare states that are difficult to assign to a specific welfare state regime, which they call ‚hybrid cases’. One of them is The Netherlands, which was typified as a corporatist welfare state regime until the early 1980s. Later, it developed towards the social democratic model in terms of labour market policy and promoting the principles of equality, uniformity and universality; on the other hand, it shifted towards the liberal model in terms of downsizing social benefits and restricting access to assistance. Ganßmann (2010, p. 340) assigns The Netherlands to the social democratic model. Another hybrid case is Ireland, which Muffels and Fouarge (2002, pp. 205-206) place in the liberal cluster, except that the prominence of

the male breadwinner aspect of social security is reminiscent of southern European welfare state regime characteristics. This corresponds with Ganßmann's suggestion to add Ireland to the liberal cluster.

With reference to the discussion outlined above and consideration of various difficulties outlined by researchers in applying Esping-Andersen's typology, the following mapping of welfare states has been used for data analysis in this project. This cluster contains only those states, represented by at least one response in the survey data:

- Liberal welfare states, in which the main actor in providing social inclusion for citizens is the market. The state offers social services on a low level and under strict conditions (means tested). States include Ireland, Switzerland and The United Kingdom.
- Social democratic welfare states with the state as the main catalyst of social inclusion, providing high level social services on a universal basis. States include The Netherlands, Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Finland.
- Corporatist, (conservative) welfare states that promote social security through the family and, in a subsidiary manner, through the state. Austria, Belgium, France, Germany and Luxembourg belong to this type of welfare state regime.
- Southern European/Mediterranean welfare states place the most significant role of the family in ensuring social inclusion, and a low level of services is provided through the state. This includes Italy, Malta, Portugal and Spain.
- Eastern European countries Czech Republic, Lithuania and Poland are included under the label of the post-socialist welfare state regime.

Despite an abundance of material, comparative welfare state research provides little discussion on extreme forms of social marginalisation such as homelessness. Therefore, the next section deals with homelessness as an extreme form of social exclusion and presents some of the limited scientific contributions to welfare state research that focus on the relation between welfare regime and homelessness.

3.3 The Governance of Homelessness in European Welfare States

Homelessness, according to Fitzpatrick „*is perhaps the most extreme manifestation of social exclusion, representing the denial of a fundamental requirement of social integration: adequate shelter*” (Fitzpatrick 1998, p. 198 as cited in Edgar et al. 2000, p. 27). The ‚European Federation of National Organisations working with the Homeless’ (FEANTSA) provides a definition for homelessness that extends beyond the absence of ‚a roof over one’s head’. In its ‚ETHOS Typology on Homelessness and Housing Exclusion’, it comprises four main categories under the term homelessness which are rooflessness, houselessness, insecure housing and inadequate housing (FEANTSA 2005).

Prior to the 1980s, homelessness was widely considered a consequence of individual failure and individual problems. With the emergence of the concept of social exclusion in Europe, a shift in the perception of homelessness took place. Increasingly, homelessness was considered a multidimensional issue, and structural aspects gained prominence in explaining it (Edgar et al. 2000, p. 27; Olsson and Nordfeldt 2008, p. 160). As Edgar et al. state, a „*social exclusion perspective draws homelessness into the European debate on social and welfare policy, recognizing that homelessness is as much about social relationships and personal welfare as about material conditions of housing circumstances*” (Edgar et al. 2000, p. 27). In order to understand homelessness in its full complexity, Nordfeldt (2012) suggests incorporating several levels of analysis, interpreting homelessness as the consequence of a combination of structural and institutional factors with individual triggers, and different relationships and interactions between these levels.

Examining its impact at the individual level, homelessness according to Somerville (2013) „*involves deprivation across a number of different dimensions*” (p. 384), including physiological, emotional, territorial, ontological and spiritual. People affected by homelessness tend to be excluded from several sub-systems of society such as the labour market, economy, housing and social participation (Edgar et al. 2000, p. 9). At the societal level, it is a problem „*that cuts across different policy fields and is without simple explanations and solutions*” (Olsson and Nordfeldt 2008, p. 160).

Taking into account this new view of homelessness, the response of European welfare systems in terms of dealing with it have, too, undergone a change resulting in a „*widespread consensus that the reintegration of homeless people requires the combination of*

both appropriate housing and support” (Edgar et al 2000, p. 202). Approaches shifted from solely offering shelter to the development of various programs in the area of supported housing. According to Edgar et al.,

„[i]n its most complex manifestation, supported housing embraces many of the objectives of those policies designed to alleviate problems of social exclusion: normalization of living circumstances for vulnerable groups and tolerance of diversity in the context of independent living, as well as the development as far as possible of individual and group capacities and capabilities, leading to empowerment and the ability of people to exercise choice and control over their living circumstances.” (Edgar et al. 2000, pp. 29-30)

Being an example for this development, the Finnish National Strategy on Homelessness states that dormitories and emergency shelters should be replaced with supported housing and *„modern crisis housing facilities“*, as the former, *„do not meet the requirements of today’s supported, therapeutic housing”* (Ministry of the Environment n.d., p. 4). The Danish government’s Homeless Strategy 2009-2012 also sets the goal to reduce time spent in shelter (Indenrigs – OG Sozialministeriet 2009). Similar targets can be found in the ‘French Homeless and Poorly Housed People national Strategy’ (Republique Francaise 2008), the Dutch ‘Strategy Plan for Social Relief’ (Dutch Government – Four major cities, 2006) and the Norwegian ‘Strategy to prevent and combat homelessness’ (Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development, 2006).

Levy-Vroelant and Reinprecht (2008) call this growing field of activity of European welfare states, which aims to link housing and social work, the ‘very social housing sector’. Using the Swedish welfare system as an example, Olsson and Nordfeldt (2008, pp. 160-163) describe a ‘secondary’ and a ‘tertiary’ sphere of the welfare system, that deals with the problem of homelessness. The first sphere, the ‘primary welfare system’, provides citizens with income-related, non-means-tested services. The strong labour market emphasis leads to the exclusion of those marginalised in the labour market. Those excluded need to refer to the ‘secondary welfare system’, which is means-tested and administered by local authorities – one part being the ‘secondary housing market’ – that provides different types of shelters, dwellings and assisted housing for homeless people. For those who do not qualify for or cannot be reached by these systems, a ‘tertiary’ system provided by (mainly faith-based) non-profit organisations, and run by public and private funds,

„deals with the more acute, individual social problems of the most marginalised or excluded” (Olsson and Nordfeldt 2008, p. 163).

While the variety of support and accommodation available to homeless people was growing, in most European countries, homeless support systems incorporated a logic that living independently is a competence that homeless people can learn through various measures. To that effect, success requires progressing through several steps within these systems, including emergency shelters, transitional housing and training flats before accessing ‚normal’ personal housing (Johnson and Teixeira 2010, p.4). Sahlin (2005) uses the term ‚staircase of transition’ to describe this model:

„The higher an individual climbs, the more privacy and freedom he/she is awarded and the more ‚normal’ that individual’s housing becomes, a regular rental flat typifying the ultimate goal” (Sahlin 2005, p.115).

Under the label of ‚Housing First’, currently efforts towards deinstitutionalisation of homeless support systems are prevailing in many European countries, aiming to dissolve the constraints that come with ‚staircase models’.

European welfare states’ different approaches towards social exclusion reflect in the scale of homelessness, and in their responses on homelessness. Nevertheless, comparative welfare state research seldom covers groups affected by extreme marginalisation such as homeless people, ex-offenders or people with substance abuse problems, who are often not served by mainstream welfare institutions. Additionally, robust data on these groups is not always available, e.g. through the EU-SILC database (Fitzpatrick and Stephens 2014, pp. 216-217). Little work has been done thus far to examine whether *„targeted programmes of support for the most marginalised groups are more likely to be prioritised in particular welfare regime contexts”* (Fitzpatrick and Stephens 2014, p. 217).

In their comparative empirical research on the relations between welfare regimes and homelessness, Fitzpatrick and Stephens (2014) show that evidence from classical comparative welfare state research cannot be directly applied to socially marginalised groups. Using a vignette methodology, they examine how social security systems in six European countries are prepared to respond to different cases of social marginalisation. The researchers find that Sweden – a social democratic welfare regime with a high degree of egalitarianism and an emphasis on social cohesion and behavioural conformity – shows

considerable barriers towards social assistance for socially marginalised groups. They note „*those whose lifestyles place them beyond boundaries [of universalism] may find conditions in otherwise inclusive Sweden unforgiving*” (Fitzpatrick and Stephens 2014, p. 229). This is particularly notable for single homeless people with substance abuse issues, while migrants in Sweden face the weakest barriers to inclusion within welfare distribution systems among all countries studied. In contrast, The United Kingdom’s liberal welfare state regime with its increasing setting of preconditions for access to social welfare poses the highest barriers for non-UK citizens (Fitzpatrick and Stephens 2014, pp. 229-130). Largely, their research „*provides persuasive (though indicative) support to the contention that the most egalitarian welfare regimes are not necessarily the most ,inclusive’ of all groups*” (Fitzpatrick and Stephens 2014, p. 230). Furthermore, they suggest that the „*multifaceted values embedded in national political cultures – including notions of familialism, social cohesion, individuality, reciprocity, behavioural conformity and personal responsibility – appear to provide a richer causal explanation for differential responses to marginalised groups than does current welfare regime analysis*” (Fitzpatrick and Stephens 2014, p. 231). Despite this, Fitzpatrick and Stephens (2014, p. 230) are unable to show if their results indicate that welfare regime analysis needs to take into account „*a wider range of underlying societal values*” (Fitzpatrick and Stephens 2014, p. 230) in order to understand the relationship between welfare state regime and social marginalisation, or, conversely, common welfare state theory may be unable to deliver a coherent explanation of the relationship.

Benjaminsen et al. (2009) provide another example of welfare state research with a focus on the inclusion of extremely marginalised groups, offering conclusions that somewhat contradict the results of Fitzpatrick and Stephens’ study. Benjaminsen et al.’s comparison of the governance of homelessness in social democratic and liberal welfare regimes is based on their ‚homelessness strategies’. The analysis „*reveals elements of both divergence and convergence*” (Benjaminsen et al. 2009, p. 45). Accordingly, liberal welfare regimes work towards a general, rights-based approach in the area of housing policies, whereas social democratic welfare regimes tend to put more effort into including the most marginalised groups into the scope of social services. As an element of convergence, the

researchers discovered a focus on prevention and efforts towards more targeted, individualised services for homeless people in both regimes (Benjaminsen et al. 2009, pp. 45-46).

3.4 Résumé

The theoretical part of this master's thesis so far has dealt with intra-EU mobility and the concept and characteristics of free movement of persons within the EU. It introduced freedom of movement as one of the major achievements of the European integration process. Furthermore, the emergence and meanings of social exclusion in the context of European welfare states have been discussed and it has been argued that homelessness as one of the most severe forms of social exclusion so far has earned limited attention in this context.

Bringing together the discussion threads presented above, a complex interface emerges between intra-EU mobility and mechanisms of social exclusion. This interface is significantly shaped by the different types of welfare states as prominent actors in organising social inclusion in Europe. EU citizens, when exercising free movement, alternate between different welfare systems. Thereby, entitlements to social security may be lost and new services may be available, while access rules often differ from those in their home countries. Although the EU has been putting efforts into promoting transferability of social security rights when moving within Europe, significant differences and lack of clarity concerning social security for EU mobile citizens remain.

Social security coordination in the EU is, according to Benton, „*at the heart of intra-EU mobility*” as it „*seeks to ensure EU citizens are not penalised by losing benefits and entitlements as a result of moving*” (Benton 2013, p. 2). It follows four main principles: First, a person is only covered by legislation of one country at a time; second, equal treatment (non-discrimination) should grant mobile citizens the same rights and obligations as nationals; third, previous periods of insurance, work or residence in other countries have to be taken into account when claiming benefits; fourth, entitlements to cash benefits earned in one country may be exportable to other countries (European Commission 2014). According to Benton (2013, p. 3), many of the definitions used in legislation regarding EU social security coordination are contested. Examples of this include what counts as ‚social assistance’, or what is meant by the term ‚unreasonable burden’ on public funds

as stated in ‚Directive 2004/38/EC on the right of citizens of the Union and their family members to move and reside freely within the territory of the Member States‘. Furthermore, the legal situation concerning deportation of EU mobile citizens remains unclear at the European level.

As discussed in chapter 2.3, the public notion of intra-EU mobility has shifted from a largely positive framing of intra-EU mobility as economically beneficial, to being a threat to host societies (Boswell and Geddes 2011, pp. 178-190). One of the focal points of public concern is the impact of intra-EU mobility, mainly from the new eastern European Member States, on national social security systems. Several scholars (e.g. Geddes 2005; Nowaczek 2010) argue that intra EU-mobility is, compared to other economical and societal challenges faced by European societies, such as *„economies’ race for increased competitiveness under the pressure of globalisation, a relatively small rate of employment and ageing societies”* (Nowaczek 2010, pp. 307-308), a relatively small-scale problem. Nevertheless, *„public perception has been fuelled by less rational arguments so that policymaking has not been evidence-based but rather anecdote-driven”* (Nowaczek 2010, p. 290). With regard to the effects of EU legislation on free movement of workers on the development of welfare states, Nowaczek (2010) explains several theses present in the recent discussion: Accordingly, the discourse on ‚social tourism’ describes the migration of individuals with the aim to maximise their social benefits. ‚Social dumping’ refers to Western companies moving eastwards in order to reduce costs related to wages and social standards as well as to migrants from Eastern Europe aiming to work on a self-employed basis in old EU Member States. Another thesis is that that of an *„EU-wide race to the bottom”* (Nowaczek 2010, p. 293) in order to reduce incentives for in-migration. As a solution to these (potential) problems, scholars have suggested establishing *„an EU transfer system, co-financed by the EU budget, guaranteeing a minimum welfare level to all citizens”* (Bertola et al. 2001, pp. 89-96, cited in Nowaczek 2010, p. 294). At the political level, a debate concerning the development of a common ‚European Social Model’ emerged, a prominent example being Prime Minister of Luxembourg Jean-Claude Juncker’s plea for a ‚minimum social salary’ throughout the EU (Nowaczek 2010, p. 294).

This chapter about social exclusion, European welfare states and homelessness has laid the conceptual framework for the present master's thesis. The following chapter will introduce the methods applied in the empirical research in order to provide a comprehensive understanding of the research process, followed by the results of the survey in Chapter 5.

PART II: EMPIRICAL STUDY

4 RESEARCH DESIGN

This chapter contains a description of the phases of the research process, providing a comprehensive overview of the research design. After describing the overall characteristics of and methods applied in the research project, specific attention is given to the design of the online survey, sampling and methods of data analysis before providing a reflection on the research process.

As outlined in chapter 1, this research addresses the issue of homelessness among EU mobile citizens in European cities. It aims to answer the following research questions from a cross-national, expert perspective:

- What are, according to experts, the living conditions of EU citizens who have exercised freedom of movement and are affected by homelessness in their country of destination?
- Which barriers and types of exclusion experienced by homeless EU mobile citizens (HEUMC) in their country of destination can be identified?
- How do relevant actors in public administration and the social services sector respond to the issues?
- Which measures do experts think should be taken to address homelessness among EU mobile citizens?
- Using welfare state theory, can differing variations or patterns in terms of framing and relevant actors' responses to the issues be identified?

The research uses an expert approach and was conducted online. Since the study has an explorative nature and addresses a problem that so far has been sparsely examined in the social sciences, approaching experts who are familiar with the field through their daily, practical work routine is appropriate. This method does not allow for the collection of representative data; however, a selective sample of experts as used in the present research may allow gaining valuable insights into the research field in order to bring together and compare experts' views and experiences from different countries, working areas and organisational backgrounds.

The research process was designed to be cyclical; ongoing findings should influence a further course of action. This approach enables a permanent reflection of the current state of knowledge as well as modification and adaption of research questions and methods of data production and analysis to current needs in order to contribute to a better understanding of the study area (Froschauer and Lueger 2009, p. 72). As shown in Chart 4.1, the research process consisted of several phases, using different types of data. The phases did overlap as well as influence each other.

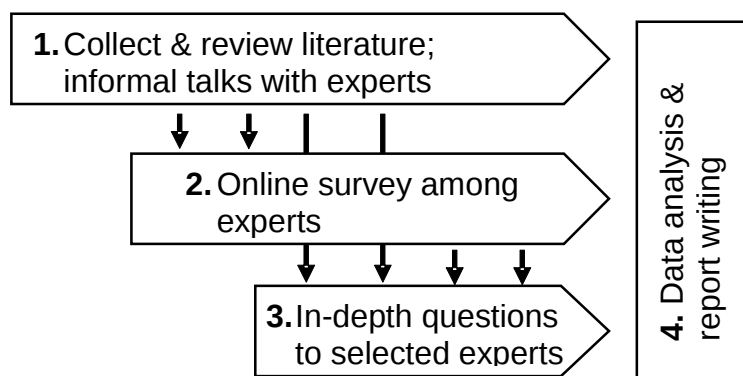


Chart 4.1: Schematic illustration of the research process. Own illustration.

First, a review of literature served as the basis for a sound examination of the research questions. It provided structural data in order to gain an overview of the formal characteristics of the study object (Froschauer and Lueger 2009, p. 160). Much of the literature available on the issue of homelessness among EU mobile citizens may be labelled as grey literature. It includes research reports, project evaluation reports, lectures, as well as press articles and articles in non-scientific journals and magazines. Additionally, the researcher's professional relation to the study area provided various opportunities to approach the issue, through informal discussions with actors in the field.

To answer the research questions, an online survey, addressed to relevant experts within the area of study, was designed and conducted. While the online survey was still active, responses already submitted were roughly analysed and filtered for participants who expressed a willingness to participate in an in-depth-interview. Participants were contacted via e-mail and asked further questions, building on the information they already provided through the online questionnaire, and supplemented by additional questions emerging from other responses. At the request of one participant, an interview took place via Skype.

Quantitative data collected through the online survey was analysed using descriptive statistics. Textual data from the online survey and in-depth-questions via E-mail and Skype was analysed using qualitative content analysis. Chapter 5 will present the results.

4.1 Online Survey Design

A central instrument of the research on homelessness among EU mobile citizens was an online survey, addressing relevant experts within the area of study. This chapter provides a detailed description of the design of the online survey, drawing on current scientific standards of online research in social sciences.

In recent years, online research as well as corresponding methodological research has increased significantly. According to Diekmann (2011, p. 520-521), advantages of this approach include high speed, low costs and the ability to program filters and contingency questions and to record respondents' behaviour (e.g. time needed for answering). Online surveys are highly suitable for special populations who have access to the internet, if a contact list is available (Diekmann 2011, p. 528). Other than the problem of non-response, coverage error – which means that basic population does not represent target population, – is a notable error source of online surveys (Diekmann 2011, p. 521). However, this did not pose an issue for the current survey, as it can be assumed that the target population of homeless services experts use the internet in their daily work routine. Nevertheless, it cannot be assured that they are reached through the sampling method applied.

The survey was conducted in English. The questionnaire² consists of three parts, including 42 questions, of which twenty are quantitative questions with predetermined answer categories – some providing an opportunity to add comments; 22 are open-ended, qualitative questions. The questionnaire is divided into three thematic modules; Diekmann (2011)'s recommendations shape the structure. Accordingly, questionnaires should begin with opening questions ('ice breaker questions') that aim to introduce the topic of the survey and stir respondents' interest. Diekmann suggests to start with questions that are general in nature, leading to more specific issues by using filters to avoid unnecessary

² The full questionnaire can be found in

questions and therefore reduce the time needed to complete the survey. Socio-demographic questions should follow at the end of the survey (Diekmann 2011, p. 483-485).

In order to avoid neglecting important aspects of the study subject that are not or not yet part of a predetermined set of categories, special importance was attached to formulating open-ended questions and also providing open text fields for comments on quantitative questions (Diekmann 2011, p. 477).

The open source online survey tool *LimeSurvey*³ was used to conduct the survey. Once a user opened the online tool, it used a cookie to save his or her IP-address to prevent multiple instances of participation and to allow participants to save their answers to complete the questionnaire at a later point in time. All closed questions of the survey were compulsory, which means that one could not view the next page or question until answering the prior one. Users could skip open-ended questions.

The first part of the questionnaire asked participants about their assessment of the issue ‚Homelessness among EU migrants’⁴ in their city, including the urgency of the issue and the responses of different actors in the field. The second part covered characteristics of the group of HEUMC. In the third part, experts were asked to provide personal details, including the size of city they live in and their professional relation to the topic.

The survey was introduced to participants through a starting page. At this stage, the survey provided visitors with basic information about background and aims of the research project. Participants received information about the specific target group of the survey in order to support their decision about their eligibility to participate as an expert. They were affirmed anonymity. Finally, relevant terms were defined and contact details of the researcher were given.

Because an opening question should raise interest and gain cooperation of participants, participants were asked to rate the urgency of the issue ‚Homelessness among EU migrants’ from their point of view, using a five point rating scale and an open text field for additional comments. Furthermore, the first question served as a filter – a question placed

³ URL: <https://www.limesurvey.org/de/>

⁴ In Chapter 2 it has been explained that the term ‚EU mobile citizens’ is used for citizens moving between EU Member States. However, the present questionnaire used the term ‚EU migrants’, as in the experts’ discourse in homeless services this is the term that is widely spread.

above a block of questions, addressed only to a subset of participants (Diekmann 2011, p. 478). Participants who either chose the answer ‚Not an issue at all’ or ‚Do not know’ were directed to the classification questions in order to receive their social demographic data, even though most questions in the first and second part were not relevant to them.

Subsequent questions dealt with the development (estimated past development as well as expected future development) of the number of HEUMC in the experts’ cities. Participants were also asked to rate the engagement of 11 different actors concerning the issue, such as public administration on different levels, NGOs and police. Furthermore, the survey asked for detailed information about responses of actors with ‚very strong engagement’, ‚strong engagement’ and ‚moderate engagement’. Further questions in this part of the questionnaire dealt with existing research on the issue and barriers to social inclusion experienced by HEUMC with questions derived from the work of Kronauer (2010). Questions about individual-level problems of this group were asked, and access of EU mobile citizens to homeless services was discussed, along with existing measures to promote social inclusion of EU mobile citizens.

The second set of questions primarily focused on characteristics of HEUMC. Participants were asked to estimate characteristics such as gender, age and countries of origin as well as main reasons for migration. Furthermore, questions dealt with the issue of expulsions, as well as priority measures and models of good practice suggested by participants.

The final part of the questionnaire aimed to collect data about participants such as organisational background, occupation, length of professional experience, gender, country of residence and size of city of residence. After providing the possibility to add comments on the topic, respondents could leave their contact details if they were willing to participate in an in-depth-interview. The survey concluded with a closing page thanking respondents for their participation, encouraging them to forward the questionnaire to relevant colleagues and again displaying contact details of the researcher.

A pre-test of the questionnaire took place, which aimed to identify the expected time required to complete the survey, and testing comprehensibility of questions (Diekmann 2011, p. 485). The questionnaire was pre-tested with three users: the first with German as his mother tongue who had no professional relation to the topic and described his English language skills as ‚intermediate’. The aim was to test in a first step whether the phrases

used where understandable and if the online tool was user-friendly. The second tester had a strong professional relationship to the topic. Her mother tongue was Swedish with highly fluent German skills and a working proficiency in English. The third tester also had a strong professional relationship to the topic, spoke German as a mother tongue and had very good English skills. After each pre-test, results were included in the design of the questionnaire.

4.2 Sampling: How to find the (right) Experts

This section discusses expert surveys and expert interviews as methods in social research. Some relevant questions to address in the context of this research include the definition of experts, how to approach the right experts and what to take into account when analysing expert data. Finally, recruitment of experts for this research will be explained.

The term ‚expert’ used for this research is derived from the sociology of knowledge. In this approach, an expert is equipped with knowledge that has a specific structure and is understood as ‚special knowledge’, which is constitutively related to the exercise of a certain profession – as opposed to ‚general knowledge’ (Bogner and Menz 2007a, p. 43). When selecting experts for data generation, Bogner and Menz argue that researchers should not only look at objective differences in expertise, but also pay special attention to the social relevance of the potential experts’ knowledge. Thus, social relevance is a constitutive attribute of expert knowledge. Thus, its relevance is practical in a particular way (Bogner and Menz 2007b, p. 45). The definition of the term ‚expert’ holds a relational status, which can only be assigned relative to the research question. Bogner and Menz give the following definition:

„The expert has technical knowledge, process knowledge and interpretation knowledge, which refers to his specific professional or vocational field of action. Therefore, expert knowledge does not only consist of systemised, reflexive special knowledge, but in large part shows the character of practical or action knowledge which incorporates disparate operating principles and individual decision making rules, collective orientations and social patterns of interpretation. Moreover, the expert’s knowledge, his operating principles, relevancies etc. do possess – and this is crucial – the chance of becoming hegemonic in a certain organisational context which means the expert has the chance of (at least partially) enforcing his orientations. Through becoming effective in praxis, the

knowledge of the expert is involved in structuring the conditions of action of other actors in a relevant manner.” (Bogner and Menz 2007b, p. 46 – author’s translation)⁵

Meuser and Nagel (2007, p. 73-74) define ‚expert’ similarly in the context of social research. Accordingly, an expert is himself or herself part of the research field, either bearing responsibility in said field or having privileged access to information within it. Furthermore, Meuser and Nagel state that experts may not often be found at the highest levels of organisational hierarchies.

Meuser and Nagel (2007, p. 75) distinguish between two types of research that may come back to expert knowledge (more specifically, the authors speak about expert interviews). In the first case, experts themselves are the target group of the survey and are asked to provide information about their own sphere of activity and decision-making. In the second case, experts represent a source of data complementary to the original target group. In the latter, experts are asked to provide information about another group of people. The data collected in the first case, is termed operational knowledge (‚Betriebswissen’); in the second case it is contextual knowledge (‚Kontextwissen’) (Meuser/Nagel 2007, p. 76-77). This research incorporates a collection of both types of expert knowledge. On one hand, it asked experts for operational knowledge about action strategies and responses towards the issue of homelessness among EU mobile citizens. On the other hand, it was also necessary to collect contextual knowledge about HEUMC, as robust empirical data is missing in most cases.

As it is difficult to obtain a sample of rare populations through surveys addressed to the general public, and lists of such members may not exist, Diekmann (2011, p. 399-400) recommends the snowball method and the method of nomination. With the snowball method, a questionnaire is given to some known members of the target group who then

⁵ „Der Experte verfügt über technisches, Prozess- und Deutungswissen, das sich auf sein spezifisches professionelles oder berufliches Handlungsfeld bezieht. Insofern besteht das Expertenwissen nicht allein aus systematisiertem, reflexiv zugänglichem Fach- oder Sonderwissen, sondern es weist zu großen Teilen den Charakter von Praxis- oder Handlungswissen auf, in das verschiedene und durchaus disparate Handlungsmaximen und individuelle Entscheidungsregeln, kollektive Orientierungen und soziale Deutungsmuster einfließen. Das Wissen des Experten, seine Handlungsorientierungen, Relevanzen usw. weisen zudem – und das ist entscheidend – die Chance auf, in der Praxis in einem bestimmten organisationalen Funktionskontext hegemonial zu werden, d.h., der Experte besitzt die Möglichkeit zur (zumindest partiellen) Durchsetzung seiner Orientierungen. Indem das Wissen des Experten praxiswirksam wird, strukturiert es die Handlungsbedingungen anderer Akteure in seinem Aktionsfeld in relevanter Weise mit.” (Bogner and Menz 2007b, p. 46)

disseminate it among their acquaintances; with the nomination method, respondents are asked to provide additional names of target group members to the researcher. Neither methods use random samples in the strict sense (Diekmann 2011, p. 400), as it is not possible to generate representative data with them. It may not be possible to identify relevant experts at the beginning of the research process, as the researcher may not yet know which actors within the research field have the kind of knowledge described above. Therefore, the search for experts should be conceived as an open process (Bogner and Menz 2007b, p. 47).

The first step in the research process involved contacting professional networks and umbrella organisations in order to reach the target group. The following two organisations played a key role in distributing a request to participate in the survey:

- FEANTSA (European Federation of National Organisations working with the Homeless) describes itself as a „*European non-governmental organisation to prevent and alleviate the poverty and social exclusion of people threatened by or living in homelessness*“ (FEANTSA 2013a). FEANTSA has more than 130 member organisations in approximately thirty European Countries, most organisations being national or regional umbrella organisations of service providers in the areas of housing, health, employment and social support (FEANTSA 2013a). A communication officer at FEANTSA forwarded the request to all FEANTSA member organisations. Additionally, the request was placed in the monthly electronic newsletter ‚FEANTSA Flash‘. Members of the FEANTSA-led working group on migration did receive an extra e-mail with an invitation to participate in the survey.
- EUROCITIES is a network of European cities with more than 130 member cities and an additional forty partner cities in 35 countries. Its „*members are the elected local and municipal governments of major European cities.*“ EUROCITIES’ aim is „*to reinforce the important role that local governments should play in a multilevel governance structure*” and „*to shape the opinions of Brussels stakeholders and ultimately shift the focus of EU leg-*

isolation in a way which allows city governments to tackle strategic challenges at local level” (EUROCITIES 2013). Therefore, EUROCITIES facilitates several thematic forums, working groups and projects, divided into three main policy areas: climate, inclusion and recovery (EUROCITIES 2013). A communication officer of the organisation forwarded the request to participate in the survey to three working groups within the network: ‘Working Group Housing and Homelessness’, ‘Migration Working Group’ and ‘Roma Task Force’.

Additionally, a request to participate in the survey was sent to several European headquarters of NGOs working in the field of homelessness and social services for homeless people such as Eurodiaconia and Caritas. The success of these requests is not always traceable, as not all of those contacted did answer; however, some of those who did reply indicated that they would disseminate the information through their own channels. Instances of this, through additional channels, are as follows:

- HABITACT (European Exchange Forum on Local Homeless Strategies): A policy officer of the organisation forwarded the request to all member organisations.
- European Anti-Poverty Network (EAPN): The request was placed in the monthly electronic newsletter ‘EAPN flash’ (EAPN 2013) in English and French on their website <http://www.eapn.eu>.
- Eurodiaconia: the European umbrella organisation posted the request on their website <http://www.eurodiaconia.org> and forwarded it to their member organisations (Eurodiaconia 2013).
- migrants’ rights network: The London based charity posted the request on their website <http://www.migrantsrights.org.uk> (migrants’ rights network 2013).
- Immigration Guidance Solicitors: While not contacted directly, this legal practice of solicitors based in London posted the request on their website <http://immigrationguidance.com>, linking to the post on the website <http://www.migrantsrights.org.uk> (Immigration Guidance Solicitors 2013).

- Migrant Help: While not contacted directly, the Kent/UK based Charity Migrant Help posted the request on their website <http://www.migranthelp.org> (Migrant Help 2013), also referring to the post on <http://www.migrantsrights.org.uk>.

After receiving around thirty questionnaires, responses were analysed for country and organisational background of participants. Building on these, additional target persons were researched in order to create a well-balanced sample, which could provide views from multiple perspectives and from as many countries as possible. Among other sources, the professional online network ,LinkedIn'⁶ was used for researching and contacting additional target persons.

During the field phase (April 10th 2013 to August 30th 2013), 225 distinct users (equates to 225 IP-addresses) viewed the first page of the online survey. 68 experts from 21 different countries fully completed the survey. Sixty-seven completed the questionnaire within one day from their first click on the website, taking 08:28 minutes minimum to 05:06:52 hours maximum including breaks. Median duration was 37:10 minutes; mean was 56:20 minutes. One participant completed the survey over several days. As the survey requested socio-demographic data including country and organisational background of participants at the end of the survey, partial responses were not included in any step of data analysis.

Two fully completed questionnaires were excluded from analysis as the respondents had clearly not answered the questions in accordance with the research topic, and rather exclusively commented on refugees and asylum seekers from outside the EU and the Schengen Area⁷. Therefore, 66 responses from 20 different EU and Schengen Member States remained for analysis. The largest group of experts came from social democratic welfare states (22 respondents), followed by participants from corporatist welfare states (16 respondents) and liberal welfare states (13 respondents). Twelve experts from southern European welfare states submitted the questionnaire; the smallest group of respondents came from post-socialist welfare states. A detailed description of the sample is given in chapter 5.1.

⁶ URL: <http://at.linkedin.com/>

⁷ Greece/NGO and France/NGO

4.3 Data Analysis

Data analysis was conducted in two different ways. Quantitative data generated through the online survey was analysed using descriptive statistics. Textual data – both from the online survey or collected through further e-mail questions and an interview, was analysed using qualitative content analysis.

Prior to starting the statistical data analysis, completed responses were imported into the statistics software IBM SPSS Statistics 21. Revision of data was conducted as described below. As several closed questions provided respondents with the possibility to choose the category 'other' and add their own comments, responses were checked for these instances:

- Response options for question G3_Q0001 (organisational background of participant) were supplemented by adding the category 'independent expert', as it was given by the only respondent to use the 'other' category. The category 'other' was removed.
- Due to variation of the seven answers given to questions G3_Q0001 (main occupation of participant) using the comment field next to the option 'other', no common categories could be found. The category 'other' remained in the data set.
- Responses to question G3_Q0005 (professional experience of participant in years) were transformed into numerical data. One value ('since 1933') was removed due to being unrealistic. The item was defined as a missing value.
- For question G3_Q0006 (participant's country of residence), the response option 'other' was not used and therefore could be removed.
- Answers to question G3_Q0006 (size of participant's city of residence) for unknown reasons showed several values that were clearly wrong. Several respondents based in countries without a metropolis containing more than one million inhabitants had chosen this option. Due to these errors, it was determined not to use the data gathered through this question.

- By choosing the answer option 'not an issue at all' to question G1_Q0001 (urgency of the issue), participants could skip most parts of the questionnaire. Therefore, some values were non-existent in the data set. These items were defined as 'missing values'.
- As a next step, the variable 'welfare state regime' was added. Depending on the answer respondents provided to question G3_Q0006 (participant's country of residence), welfare state regime was assigned to each response. Assignment of countries to the options of the variable 'welfare state regime' has already been clarified in chapter 3.2.

Revised Data was analysed using descriptive statistics, primarily cross tabulation and calculation of frequencies. The answers to the open-ended questions, as well as text generated through in-depth questions via E-Mail and Skype were imported into the software Atlas.ti and analysed using qualitative content analysis. According to Flick (2011, p. 409), a substantial attribute of content analysis is the use of categories that derive from theoretical models. Nevertheless, the set of categories requires constant revision and, if necessary, adaption to the requirements of data at hand. The purpose of this strategy of analysing data is a reduction of the material, allowing for generalisation, structuring and comparison.

In the analysis of expert knowledge, the participant herself/himself with her or his biographical background is not the focus of analysis. Rather, the focus lies on carving out commonalities, with the aim to draw conclusions from shared knowledge, structures of relevance, and constructions of reality and modes of interpretation among the group of experts (Meuser and Nagel 2007, p. 80). In contrast to the analysis of individual cases, the institutional and organisational position of the expert receives higher importance. The analysis focuses on thematic entities, regardless of their position in the text. Sequentiality is not subject to interpretation (Meuser and Nagel 2007, p. 81).

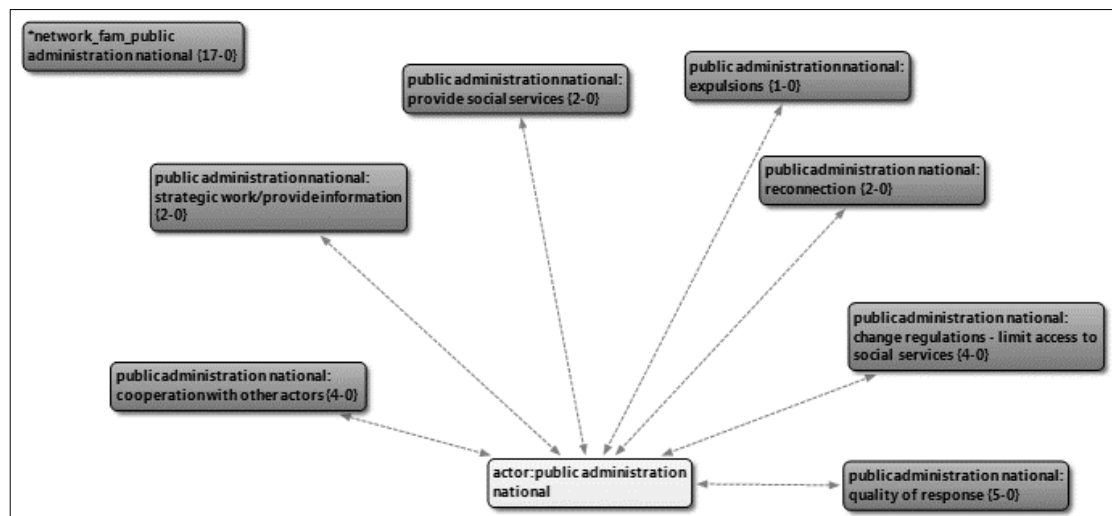


Chart 4.2: Set of codes for the question 'What are the responses of public administration on national level on the issue of homelessness among EU migrants?' Own illustration.

The set of categories used for data analysis derives from the questionnaire used in the online survey. During analysis, new categories emerging from data constantly supplemented it. After coding approximately half of the response, the system of categories was revised, e.g. by merging same-meaning categories. Later, remaining responses were coded and analysed, with new responses gradually incorporated into the analysis. As an example, Chart 4.2 shows the set of codes assigned to the responses of national public administration on the issue of homelessness among EU mobile citizens. Finally, categories were grouped around the research questions and merged with the results of quantitative analysis.

4.4 Reflection on the Research Process

The survey can be described as high threshold for several aspects. First, the length of the questionnaire was challenging. The mean duration participants took to complete the questionnaire was 37:10 minutes. Secondly, the survey posed a significant language barrier. For most participants, English was a foreign language. Even for highly educated professionals, the use of language other than their mother tongue or working tongue may pose a strong barrier to the articulation of expertise and views. A German respondent's comment shows that language barriers indeed needed to be taken into account when conducting such an expert survey: he stated his availability for an in-depth-interview, but

preferably in German, as he would be able to give clearer, more detailed answers in his mother tongue (Germany/NGO).

Despite the survey being high threshold, rich responses were obtained. Informants made a good use of the open-ended questions and comment fields, which can be seen as a sign of highly motivated participants who do attach high importance to the topic of the survey. Several respondents used the open text fields of the online questionnaire to submit feedback concerning the survey, with one suggestion leading to changes in the logic of the online survey. An expert from Poland stated:

„You should give the option ‚no EU homeless migrants in my city’ in most of questions. I couldn’t tick the right answer in most questions.” (Poland/NGO)

In order to take into account participants who represent the opinion that homelessness among EU mobile citizens is not at all an issue in their city, the following filter was incorporated in the online tool: These participants, after answering the first three questions of section one of the questionnaire, were directed to section three (characteristics of participants).

While one participant complained about the survey being too long (Netherlands/Public administration), other respondents commented on the need for greater differentiation concerning some issues:

„The survey should distinguish between welfare benefits (payment), and social services, such as health, as the rules of qualification differ substantially.” (Ireland/Public administration)

Another respondent (Austria/Research) missed the differentiation of different groups of EU mobile citizens, e.g. sex workers, travellers, etc. Respondents also gave positive feedback on the design of the survey, e.g. by complimenting the wording of the questionnaire (Germany/NGO) and for its drawing attention to the issue of homelessness among EU mobile citizens in general. Several participants also asked to be kept informed about results of the research:

„Good initiative!!” (Netherlands/Public administration)

„I would like to be updated on this important research: we really need to get more information on the other countries. Please keep me posted.” (Denmark/NGO)

One respondent stated that he hopes that drawing attention to the issue by doing research would stimulate discussions and therefore bring change, whereby „*hopefully results will reach the public and will not be kept close for political reasons*”⁸ (Austria/NGO; author’s translation).

⁸ „*Es ist zu hoffen, dass die Ergebnisse dieser Untersuchung die Öffentlichkeit erreichen und nicht politisch/medial verschwiegen werden.*” (Austria/NGO)

5 RESULTS

As described in Chapter 4, empirical research was conducted to gain a deeper understanding of the issue of homelessness among EU mobile citizens. An online survey, addressing experts from all EU Member States and the Schengen area, and working in the field of homeless services, was carried out. As a next step, responses from the online survey were complemented with data generated through further questions to selected experts (via E-Mail and Skype). The present chapter presents the results from these two with the aim to answer the research questions outlined in chapter 1.

The first section of this chapter provides the reader with detailed information about the sample, which consists of 66 respondents from twenty European countries. The text continues with a presentation of respondents' assessment and estimations concerning the issue of homelessness among EU mobile citizens that include the assessment of urgency, as well as estimations of the past and future development of the problem.

The next section of the chapter presents, how participating experts describe persons affected in terms of age, gender, family structure, country of origin and ethnicity. A special focus is laid on the Roma ethnic group, as this is a topic that survey participants have repeatedly mentioned in their response. Furthermore, Section 5.4 contains respondents' estimations concerning motivations for mobility of EU citizens who are affected by homelessness in their host country, followed by Section 5.5, which draws attention to the structural barriers towards social inclusion, and on individual problems those affected are facing.

Section 5.6 provides respondents' estimations on how EU mobile citizens who are homeless cover their most basic needs. Section 5.7 discusses relevant actors and their responses to the issue of homelessness among EU mobile citizens. The actors covered in the text, among others, include NGOs/civil society, religious communities, public administration at different levels and police.

Section 5.8 focuses on access to homeless services for EU mobile citizens and reveals several practices, which aim to limit access to this part of the social security net for potential user groups from other EU countries. This section is followed by a discussion of expulsion of HEUMC and another practice arising from data at hand, the reconnection of HEUMC (Section 5.9). Chapter 5 closes with a presentation of various models of good

practice as well as other measures, which experts suggest to challenge the issue of homelessness among EU mobile citizens.

5.1 Characteristics of the Sample

A number of 66 questionnaires, answered by experts from twenty different EU and Schengen Member States, were included in the analysis. Table 5.1 shows the detailed composition of the sample. The largest group of experts participating in the survey came from social democratic welfare states (22 respondents), followed by participants from corporatist welfare states (16 respondents) and liberal welfare state regimes (13 respondents). Twelve experts from southern European welfare states submitted the questionnaire; the smallest group of respondents came from post-socialist welfare state regimes.

Welfare State Regime			What is your main organisational background?					Total
			NGO/social services provider.	Public administration/public policy.	Research institute.	Self organisation of social service users/homeless people.	Independent Expert	
Liberal welfare state		United Kingdom	6	1	1		1	9
		Ireland	2	1				3
		Switzerland	1					1
	Total		9	2	1		1	13
Social democratic welfare state		Netherlands	4	4		2		10
		Sweden	1	2				3
		Norway	2					2
		Denmark	3	1				4
		Finland	1	1	1			3
	Total		11	8	1	2		22
Corporatist welfare state		Germany	4	1				5
		Luxembourg	1					1
		Austria	5	1	1			7
		Belgium	1					1
		France	2					2
	Total		13	2	1			16
Post socialist welfare state		Lithuania	1					1
		Poland	1					1
		Czech Republic	1					1
	Total		3					3
Southern european welfare state		Italy	1	1				2
		Malta	1	1				2
		Portugal	5			2		7
		Spain	1					1
	Total		8	2		2		12
Total			44	14	3	4	1	66

Table 5.1: Composition of the sample. Respondents by organisational background, country and type of welfare state regime.

Exactly two-thirds of respondents stated to work for a non-governmental organisation or a social services provider. At least one expert with this organisational background represents each country in the survey. Fourteen respondents stated to work in public policy or public administration. At least one expert working in public policy or public administration represents each welfare state regime except the post-socialist cluster. There are four questionnaires submitted by members or staff of user self-organisations – two from The Netherlands and two from Portugal. Three experts working at research institutes did answer the questionnaire, representing the countries United Kingdom, Finland and Austria.

Table 5.2 shows the experts participating in the survey by organisational background and main occupation. The largest group (27 participants) stated to work in direct social services provision, most of them at NGOs or social services providers (24 respondents), followed by respondents with management responsibilities (18 respondents), mainly at NGOs/social services providers (11 respondents) or public administration/public policy (six respondents). Eight experts were working in the area of policy development/program administration; another eight experts selected the category 'other'.

What is your main organisational background?	What is your main occupation?					Total
	Direct social services provision	Management	Research	Policy development/ program administration	Other	
NGO/social services provider	24	11	1	3	5	44
Public administration/ public policy	2	6	1	5		14
Research institute			3			3
Self organisation of social service users/ homeless people	1	1			2	4
Independent Expert					1	1
Total	27	18	5	8	8	66

Table 5.2: Composition of the sample. Respondents by main occupation and organisational background.

The gender of participants is fairly balanced, with 33 male respondents, 31 female respondents and two respondents who chose the option 'no answer'. Participant's professional experience working with the issue of homelessness ranges from a minimum of one

year to a maximum 35 years. Mean length of respondents' professional experience is 9.8 years with a standard deviation of 8.2 years (n=65; one missing value).

5.2 Homelessness among EU mobile Citizens: Experts' Problem Assessment

As an opening to the online survey, respondents were asked several questions about their general assessment of the issue 'Homelessness among EU mobile citizens'. These included urgency assessment, and questions concerning estimations of the past and future development of the number of HEUMC in respondents' cities. Results reveal that most experts have observed growing numbers of HEUMC, and expect this development to continue over the coming years. Furthermore, differences in urgency assessment can be identified between experts' assessment from different welfare state regimes. Experts from liberal and corporatist welfare states give the highest urgency assessment; participants from post-socialist welfare state regimes rate the issue least urgent.

Urgency assessment

The opening question of the online survey asked respondents to assess urgency of the issue 'homelessness among EU mobile citizens' with respect to the situation in their hometown, using a five-point rating scale.⁹ As expected, most participants considered urgency as rather high. The willingness to participate in the survey and to complete such an extensive questionnaire suggests a high degree of urgency assessment. In total, 39 of 66 respondents rate the issue as 'very urgent' or 'urgent'; 18 respondents rate it as 'moderately urgent', and nine respondents chose the answer 'not an urgent issue' or 'not an issue at all'.

A differentiated view on the results shows that the assessment of urgency differs depending on country as well as on the superordinate category welfare state regime. Highest urgency of the issue is estimated by experts from liberal and corporatist welfare states. Ten out of 16 respondents from corporatist welfare states chose the answer 'very urgent issue'; another four rate it as an 'urgent issue'. Among the liberal welfare states of The United Kingdom, Ireland and Switzerland, the number of experts rating the issue as either

⁹ See Appendix D: Additional Tables for tables and figures.

,very urgent' or ,urgent' is 10 out of 13 participants. Conversely, respondents from social democratic welfare states rate the urgency of the issue relatively low. 13 of these 22 participants share the opinion that the issue is either ,very urgent' or ,urgent'; the remaining nine participants chose the answer option ,moderately urgent issue'.

Drawing on the urgency of the issue, several respondents indicate a lack of social services that are available to the group of EU mobile citizens. As experts report, social security systems are being met with an increasing number of EU mobile citizens affected by severe social deprivation, including homelessness. The situation is described as follows:

„The number of homeless EU migrants has been increasing very much during the past three years, too much for the social and health care system in our city.” (Germany/Public administration)

„Homelessness seems to increase (no reliable data to confirm this) and solutions are not ready available.” (Netherlands/Public administration)

„Vienna is quite central in Europe and has a fairly stable economy. Therefore many migrants from various European countries flock to the city in hope of a better life. However, hardly any social services cater for this user group.” (Austria/NGO)

Another respondent states that the issue does not receive proper significance, whereby *„urgency surely depends on who you are. For homeless migrants it is. Not treated with such urgency by some agencies” (UK/Other)*. Other experts relativise urgency, pointing out that the issue is a characteristic of metropolises: *„It's a perennial issue, rather than an urgent one. London has always been a city to which migrants are drawn” (UK/NGO)* or describe it as a problem of public perception.

„Local authorities experience difficulties in trying to minimise public nuisance from a relatively small number of homeless migrant workers. The government is worried that problems will increase when Romania and Bulgaria join the free movement of people and workers.” (Netherlands/NGO)

Moreover, interdependency between urgency and season is established: *„Especially during the winter period it is an urgent issue” (Netherlands/NGO)*.

Assessments from southern European welfare states are, even within single countries, inconsistent, with responses ranging from ,not an urgent issue' to ,very urgent issue' in Portugal. The two Italian experts answered ,not an urgent issue' and ,moderately urgent issue'. One respondent from Malta chose the answer ,not an issue at all', while the second

chose ‚moderately urgent issue’. The single response from Spain states the issue of homelessness among EU mobile citizens as:

„[...] urgent as people arriving for the first time to the city do not have social networks, know their host and existing resources. In the city, there are places for accommodation, lodging, reception floor, but not enough – especially for extended families or single parents with dependent children or women.” (Spain/NGO)

Respondents in post-socialist welfare regimes rate the issue least urgent. The expert from Lithuania states that homelessness among EU mobile citizens is ‚not an urgent issue’; participants from Poland and the Czech Republic chose the answer ‚not an issue at all’. This coincides with official figures from Eurostat showing that post-socialist EU Member States are among the most unpopular target countries of EU mobile citizens (see chapter 2 on intra-EU mobility).

Estimations on past and future development

The next step in the online survey involved asking participants to provide an estimate of the past and future development of the number of HEUMC in their city, and to explain reasons for this. Results reveal that respondents from most countries observe a slight or a strong increase of the number of HEUMC in their city over the last five years. In total, 33 out of 66 respondents state that the number of HEUMC in their city has been strongly increasing during this time. Seventeen participants recognise a slight increase, and seven state there has not been a change during the period, while six experts report a slight decrease. Three participants stated ‚Do not know’.

Results show the following differences in response, dependent on welfare state regime: Twenty out of 22 respondents from social democratic welfare regimes state the number of HEUMC has been rising during the last years, while 14 out of 16 respondents from corporatist welfare make this indication. Nine out of 13 experts from liberal welfare state regimes report an increase, although three experts (from The United Kingdom and Ireland) report a decrease of the number of HEUMC. For this question, experts from southern European welfare states, differ considerably in their responses. Experts from post-socialist welfare state regimes report either a slight decrease (Czech Republic) or consistency (Lithuania, Poland) of the homelessness in EU mobile citizens.

Respondents describe a variety of reasons responsible for the increase of HEUMC; these can be attributed to different levels of analysis. At a structural level, these include general reasons for migration (push and pull factors) in connection with economic conditions in both sending and receiving countries. This contributes to a consequential increase in EU internal mobility, which also leads to a higher number of EU mobile citizens living in homelessness. At the institutional level, a lack of social assistance in receiving countries is specified. The view that the cause and responsibility of homelessness should be attributed to the individual level, e.g. through the reluctance of affected persons to return to their home country, is also represented by two respondents.

Most commonly, respondents state that economic conditions in general and, more specifically, the economic and financial crisis and the subsequent increase of poverty, cause an increase of EU mobile citizens experiencing homelessness in European cities. The poor economic situation, and therefore a lack of prospects in home countries provide a strong push factor for migrant workers to move to relatively wealthy target countries. With regard to this, an Austrian expert refers to a survey conducted among users of one of Vienna's day centres for homeless people, revealing that about half of the users from other European countries have already been homeless before migrating to Austria. Many of those affected by homelessness report that they had not been able to earn a living from wages in sending countries such as Romania or Bulgaria due to a recent increase of prices, while the social security in these countries is so much lower, that leaving their country was seen as the only option (Austria/NGO).

At the same time, wealthy European target countries such as Norway, Austria, The Netherlands and The United Kingdom have, too, been affected by economic downturn. When the labour market is weak, migrants are frequently affected by job loss, or are affected by precarious or exploitive labour conditions, and take on an increase of low income jobs. An uncertain labour market situation, and lack of social security, combined with increasing levels of unemployment pushes those vulnerable towards homelessness and rough sleeping.

„People look for work and because of the economic crisis, persons get unemployed in Western Europe. Because they almost have no rights on social benefits, homelessness and rough sleeping will come in a short period.” (Netherlands/Public administration)

As statements from The Netherlands, Italy, Austria, Denmark, The United Kingdom and Luxemburg show, experts consider insufficiency of social security systems to play an important role in homelessness among EU mobile citizens. In this context, a British expert claims *„failure of government and local government agencies to provide migrants with the services they are entitled to access”* (UK/NGO). Another trigger at the structural level is the nature of the housing market in northern and central European cities, with rising costs resulting in a shortage of affordable housing. Experts from Norway, Finland, The United Kingdom and Austria all specify this.

A German respondent describes a failure of EU rules related to an increase of mobility, especially labour mobility, within the EU, whereby

*„EU enlargement has led to high labour migration, especially from eastern and south eastern European countries. In Munich labour market situation is so good that many people who are unemployment and very poor in their home countries try to find their luck here. EU regulations have indeed regulated economy and finance but totally fail concerning people.”*¹⁰ (Germany/NGO – author’s translation)

Furthermore, discrimination in home countries is seen as a push factor, and therefore reinforces the increase in EU mobile citizens. In this regard, respondents from Germany and Austria strongly refer to discrimination of ethnic minorities (Roma, Sinti) in eastern European countries including Romania, Bulgaria, Slovakia, the Czech Republic and Hungary.

Two experts from The Netherlands and The United Kingdom assign reasons and responsibility of homelessness of EU mobile citizens to the individual level. Based on these respondents’ statements, the individual decision against returning to their home country is a factor in the increasing numbers of HEUMC. Social responsibility of receiving countries for these individuals is rejected explicitly:

„Quite a few of these people feel ashamed of their failure and do not wish to return home.” (Netherlands/NGO)

¹⁰ *„Die Erweiterung der EU hat eine hohe Arbeitsmigration ausgelöst, vor allem aus ost- und südosteuropäischen Ländern. In München ist die Arbeitssituation so gut, dass viele Menschen, die in ihren Heimatländern arbeitslos und sehr arm sind, hier ihr Glück versuchen. Die EU-Regelungen haben zwar Wirtschaft und Finanzen geregelt, versagen jedoch völlig, was die Menschen betrifft.”* (Germany/NGO)

„Reluctance to return home despite no or limited access to social security.” (UK/NGO)

In the general discourse about homelessness and its reasons, individual characteristics are prominent. In the data at hand concerning homelessness among EU mobile citizens, problems such as mental health issues and substance abuse are seldom mentioned. If these are mentioned, they are considered a consequence of living in the streets, as opposed to a contributing factor towards homelessness.

Some Irish and British respondents notice a decrease in the number of HEUMC in their cities. They consider increased return migration, triggered by the deteriorating economic situation in target countries, as well as the impact of measures in the area of reconnection as factors in this development. The lapse of labour market access rules for citizens from new EU Member States is also considered to be responsible for a decrease of the number of EU mobile citizens being homeless. In The United Kingdom, this coincides with a *„tightening of access to benefits and anti-migrant climate created by government statements”* (UK/Other).

An exception, again, to these assessments comes from experts from post-socialist welfare states. In these countries, the development of the number of HEUMC is described as either consistent (Lithuania, Poland) or slightly decreasing (Czech Republic). Furthermore, single statements from Portugal and The Netherlands report a decrease. A Portuguese participant describes unemployment as a reason for decrease, while experts from Poland and Italy state that there has not been a change in numbers of EU mobile citizens being homeless in their city. Reasons provided include that their country is not economically attractive (Poland) or is no longer economically attractive (Italy) for EU mobile citizens.

When asked about estimates concerning the future development of the issue, the majority of respondents state they anticipate either a slight or a strong increase in the number of HEUMC in their city during the next five years. Only four experts (The Netherlands, Czech Republic, Italy and Portugal) project that the number of HEUMC will decrease during this period of time. Respondents from Lithuania and Poland do not expect any change. Estimates from southern European welfare state regimes are again varied.

5.3 Characterising EU mobile Citizens affected by Homelessness

Experts who participated in the survey describe HEUMC as typically young men from economically disadvantaged regions in Eastern Europe. In addition to this majority of typical labour migrants, two other groups are observed: families belonging to the ethnic group of Roma and a growing group of people from southern European countries that have been affected by the financial crisis – a considerable proportion being third country nationals with legal entitlements to a southern European state. This chapter presents, how experts characterise HEUMC in their city in terms of age, gender, family structure and country of origin, followed by an emphasis on the Roma ethnic group, as this is a topic that survey participants have repeatedly mentioned in their response.

Age, gender and family

Assessment of respondents' descriptions of the socio-demographic characteristics of HEUMC corresponds to the prevalent assumption that the phenomenon is closely related to labour mobility. Participants estimate that the majority of those affected are of working age. Descriptions range, with few exceptions, from 18 and 60 years. Furthermore, there is a distinct difference in ages between HEUMC and domestic homeless people whereby „*homeless EU migrants seem to be younger than domestic homeless*” (Germany/NGO).

Experts assert HEUMC are predominantly male, with only four experts describing the gender ratio being balanced; two of the four – one from France (France/NGO) and one from Norway (Norway/NGO) – focus on Roma people in their responses. One expert from Portugal describes the gender ratio being balanced without referring to the ethnic background of people concerned (Portugal/Self-organisation), along with a respondent from The United Kingdom (UK/Research). An expert from Ireland reports that while most HEUMC are male, and the number of families remains stable, there has been a slight rise of the number of homeless single women (Ireland/Public administration).

When asked about the family structure of their cities' HEUMC, respondents broadly describe two groups of persons. Most often, homeless persons are described as single, sometimes having left their family in their home country; families with children are also mentioned. The majority of respondents who have given information about the family

structure of HEUMC describe them as single. Six experts (from Norway, The Netherlands, Austria, Switzerland, and Spain) report that people affected do have a family in their home country. An expert from Austria explains:

„Many persons (approximately 1/3) do have family in their home countries whom they want to support. Sometimes also both partners come to Vienna together and try to start a new life here.” (Austria/NGO – author’s translation)¹¹

Respondents from Denmark report that many HEUMC had a family in their home country but contact would be very rare or had been lost entirely. There are indications at hand that a small portion of HEUMC consists of families with children in Germany, Ireland, The United Kingdom, Norway, Denmark and The Netherlands.

Participants from France assume a special position in the response. While one French expert speaks about predominantly large families with 50% being children (France/NGO), another one describes two groups: on one hand there are single men aged thirty to forty years, on the other hand there are Families with relatively small children (France/NGO).

Countries of origin

Participants from 16 different countries have given information concerning country of origin of their cities’ HEUMC. Only few experts were able to give accurate data about the issue, such as *„80% Poland, 5% Romania, and 5% Bulgaria and rest all different Eastern Europe. Romania, Bulgaria and Greece are increasing, but not dramatically”* (Netherlands/Public administration). In most cases, information is vague and thus expressed as an assumption, for example: *„it seems that most come from central and eastern European countries”* (Germany/NGO). Some participants describe countries of origin by using attributes such as *„high unemployment”* (Sweden/Public administration) or *„poverty and insecurity”* (Portugal/NGO).

¹¹ *„Viele Personen (ca. 1/3) haben Familien in den Herkunftsländern, die sie unterstützen wollen. Teilweise kommen auch LebenspartnerInnen gemeinsam nach Wien, um zu versuchen ein neues Leben zu beginnen.” (Austria/NGO)*

Nevertheless, data suggest that particularly people from Eastern Europe are strongly represented among HEUMC. Experts from 12 out of 16 countries, who have given information about origin, mention Romania. This figure is followed by Bulgaria (mentioned by experts from eight countries). Furthermore, many respondents refer to 'eastern European countries' in general (respondents from 10 countries). Aside from experts from Lithuania and Malta, all respondents mention either 'Romania' or 'eastern European countries' as a country/region of origin. Moreover, migrants from Poland and Spain are observed rather frequently (mentioned by respondents from six countries).

HEUMC from Baltic countries are observed in The Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, The United Kingdom, Ireland and France. The expert from Lithuania, stating the issue of homelessness among EU mobile citizens is 'not an urgent issue', names only Latvia as a country of origin. Citizens of central and eastern European countries are observed frequently in neighbouring countries or in those countries where similarities in language exist. Thus, German experts report citizens from central European countries being homeless, Austrian respondents report homeless citizens from Germany and The Czech Republic, French experts observe homeless citizens from Spain, and participants from Malta report British and Irish citizens being homeless.

The proportion of homeless mobile citizens from southern European countries affected by the financial crises is described as increasing. Italians are reported by experts in The United Kingdom, Norway, Switzerland and Spain, while experts from The United Kingdom, The Netherlands and Sweden mention Greeks, and a respondent from Germany describes people from 'Southern Europe'.

„Large number of EU8 nations though increasing proportion of Italian, Spanish and Greek. Roma strongly represented.” (UK/NGO)

Another growing group of HEUMC in host countries is third country nationals (e.g. from African States, Ex-Yugoslavia, South America, Turkey and Russia) with legal stay in southern European EU Member States and France. This group is mainly an issue in northern European countries such as Sweden, Denmark and Norway.

Ethnicity: Is homelessness among EU mobile citizens a ‚Roma issue’?

In public discourse, the issue of homelessness among EU mobile citizens is often presented as closely linked to the geographical mobility of the Roma and Sinti ethnic groups. In the survey, respondents often mistake the question about ethnicity of HEUMC to be about geographical origin. Nevertheless, several experts state a considerable portion of people concerned belong to the Roma ethnic group. In this section, data from the survey discussing the ‚Roma issue’ will be presented.



Chart 5.1: Selected experts’ quotations referring to people with Roma ethnicity from other EU Member States, affected by homelessness. Own illustration.

Seventeen of 66 respondents – all from central and northern European countries – explicitly mention people belonging to the Roma ethnic group as members of HEUMC in their city (Sweden, Norway, Finland, Denmark, Netherlands, France, Germany, Austria and Switzerland). Within these responses, the share of Roma among HEUMC varies considerably. Roma are particularly recognised when they are residing in family units with children in their host countries.

Respondents also refer to the specific vulnerability of Roma. This includes deprivation of education, health situation and legal status (Austria/Research). Discrimination of ethnic minorities in Eastern Europe is seen as a strong push factor for migration:

„Poor living conditions of Roma in home countries, especially Bulgaria and Romania, sometimes in combinations with false information about the perspectives in German cities. Discrimination in home countries. Better living conditions, even without access to the labour market and the regular welfare system.” (Germany/Public administration)

In addition to discrimination being a push factor that makes people leave their countries of origin, racism and discrimination towards Roma has, as experts' observations suggest, also reached their target countries in Central and Northern Europe. An expert from Denmark describes the destruction of two Roma camps in 2010 in Copenhagen. According to her report, one group was squatting in an empty building and was arrested and later deported on the grounds that it was trespassing on private property, and therefore posing a genuine threat to basic societal interest. Another group of Romanian citizens, assumed to be Roma population, were camping in a hidden area on public grounds outside of Copenhagen. In order to offset begging in the city centre, police began a helicopter search operation to find the camp, with the aim of expelling its inhabitants.

„For Danish people, they would probably give them a fine of about 130, 140 Euros. That's the normal if you are camping in public grounds. But for this group, they said something really strange. They said they posed a threat to the health, because they were staying in unhygienic conditions.” (Denmark/NGO)

A Roma rights organisation became involved in the case and brought it before the Danish Supreme Court where it was dismissed:

„[...] all that deportation before had been just administrative, and never in court. So, actually, it was now tested, and they said that camping in public space on this kind of private property was absolutely not enough for the expulsion of EU citizens.” (Denmark/NGO)

In addition to a negative representation in the media as well as in public life, the same expert also reports the practice of racial profiling being recently used by Copenhagen's police:

„This is a really bad situation about the Romanian people and the Roma people in the centre of the city. Because apparently there has been reported a lot of theft of cash and telephones and the police have really made strong effort in the last weeks to stop this. This means that they stop anyone in the centre of the city who looks Romanian. I do not know how they do this, but they stop anyone who looks Romanian and then they search them. If they find cash or if they find an expensive telephone, they take them to the station and put them in custody. Then they wait if somebody is reporting that telephone stolen

within 24 hours. If it is not reported to be stolen, they let them out in the streets again.”
(Denmark/NGO)

5.4 Reasons for Mobility

Another aim of the survey was to identify the main reasons for mobility of EU citizens affected by homelessness in their host country. Therefore, experts were presented 13 reasons for migration, derived from literature, each to be rated on a five-point rating scale ranging from ‘no reason’ to ‘very important reason’. Reasons given may be divided into push and pull factors, an economically based migration model established by Everett Lee¹² in the 1960s. In this simple theory of migration, Lee (1966, p. 50) points to factors that influence individuals’ migration decisions, either in a supportive or in a preventing way: factors associated with the area of origin may either hold back potential migrants or tend to repel them. On the other hand, factors associated with the area of destination may attract migrants; other factors may discourage them from moving there. Potential migrants seldom precisely and comprehensively know these factors associated with the area of destination. Furthermore, intervening obstacles and personal factors influence migration decisions.

According to the experts’ assessment of reasons for mobility, EU mobile citizens who are affected by homelessness in their host country have predominantly moved there for economic reasons. Fifty-seven of 62 respondents named ‘expecting employment in host country’ as a ‘very important reason’ or an ‘important reason’ for migration. Furthermore, 55 respondents name ‘expecting better economic situation in host country’ as an (very) important reason. Fifty-three respondents state that ‘unemployment in home country’ and ‘poor economic situation in home country’ pose either an ‘important’ or a ‘very important reason’ for migration. Chart 5.2 shows the reasons for migration given in the online survey by experts’ rating of importance.

¹² Lee’s push and pull-model has been subject to strong criticism. Since the 1980s, critics argue that it does not sufficiently cover the complexity of migration decisions, as they are not exclusively influenced by economic factors. Since then, migration has been seen as a social process that involves aspects related to the micro-level/individual level, and to the macro level/social structures (Mau and Verwiebe 2009, p. 111). Nevertheless, for this study, it is meaningful to cluster aspects that may influence migration decisions into factors associated with the situation in individuals’ country of origin and in their (potential) host country, and therefore to retain the push and pull-model to a certain extent.

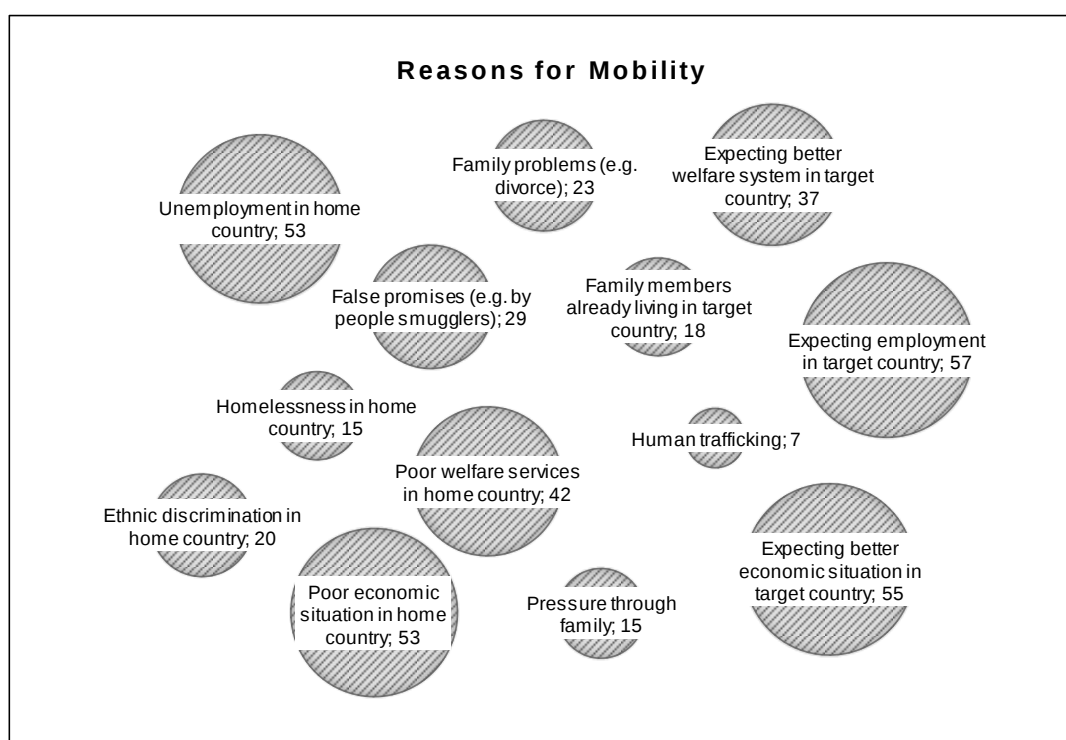


Chart 5.2: Reasons for mobility. Relative size of circle represents the number of experts stating a reason for mobility is either a 'very important reason', or an 'important reason' (N=62).

The migration reasons 'ethnic discrimination in home country' and 'homelessness in home country' receive relatively low ratings of importance, in addition family-related factors such as 'family problems', 'pressure through family' and 'family already living in host country'. The risk of 'human trafficking' is also rated quite low, with this item representing largest number of responses for 'I do not know' (18 respondents).

Experts also used open text fields to describe further reasons for migration. These include access to basic provision such as food and „access to warm places to sleep during wintertime instead of facing the risk of freezing like e.g. in Romania, Bulgaria” (Austria/NGO). The prospect of receiving treatment for serious health problems in the host country is considered as another reason for mobility (Austria/Research and Germany/NGO).

Furthermore, experts notice a group of EU mobile citizens who do not move with the aim to establish stable roots in their host countries. Instead, the focus is primarily on improving their financial situation in order to return to their home country after a short period of time (Netherlands/NGO). Migrants of this engage in the labour market, and also may gain

savings through begging, occasional jobs or prostitution (Austria/Research). Other reasons for staying include being involved in a romantic relationship (Ireland/NGO), avoidance of financial debts in the home country (Ireland/NGO), avoidance of criminal proceedings – usually for minor offences in the home country (Ireland/NGO and Ireland/Public administration), climate (Spain/NGO) and improving foreign language skills (UK/NGO).

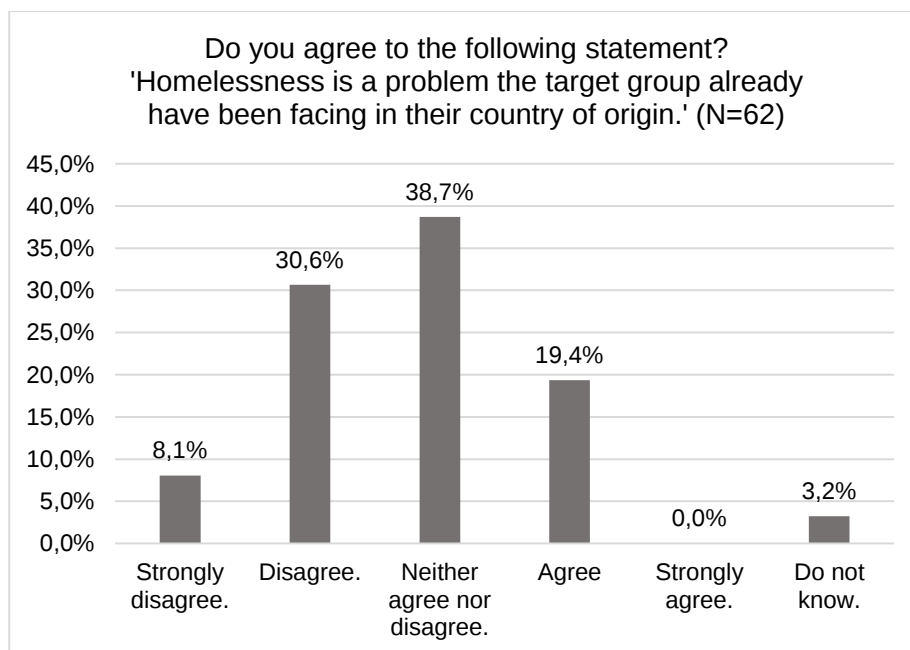


Chart 5.3: Experts' perceptions of homelessness in home country of EU mobile citizens.

In order to provide an estimate as to whether or not HEUMC had already been affected by homelessness before leaving their home country, a five-point Likert scale was used. While estimates appear to be uneven, results show that experts do not see homelessness as a problem most members of the group had already been experiencing in their country of origin (see Chart 5.3).

5.5 Structural Barriers and Individual Problems

This chapter deals with structural barriers HEUMC face towards social inclusion. The barriers discussed derive from Martin Kronauer's theory of social exclusion, and are supplemented by additional barriers resulting from information given by survey participants. Furthermore, individual trigger factors that may interfere with social inclusion of mi-

grants are presented. Later, participants' assessment of the incidence of individual problems such as psychiatric disease, substance abuse and low levels of language knowledge are discussed.

Structural barriers towards social inclusion

Kronauer (2010, pp. 44-52) describes three areas of social inclusion present in current international debates: integration in division of labour, reciprocity of social relations and social affiliation through possession of social rights that allow equal access to services of central social institutions such as education, medical treatment and social security. These fundamental dimensions are decisive factors in terms of social inclusion. In order to identify barriers towards social inclusion that are particularly relevant for HEUMC, nine areas – each related to one of the three dimensions mentioned above – were presented to the experts in order to rate their importance on a five-point rating scale ranging from 'no barrier' to 'very strong barrier'. Chart 5.4 shows the barriers given in the online survey by experts' rating of strength.

Respondents indicate that the strongest barriers towards social inclusion for HEUMC are those in the area of housing: 'high rents on the housing market' was rated as either a 'very strong barrier' or a 'strong barrier' on a five-point rating scale by 51 out of 62 respondents. An expert from The United Kingdom refers to „*high private sector housing costs and poor and reducing provision of affordable social housing in general*” (UK/NGO). Furthermore, 41 respondents state 'discrimination on the housing market' is a 'very strong barrier'. A German participant expands:

*„Rents in Munich are so high that they are, even with a fulltime job, hardly affordable. Worker dormitories and guesthouses are either fully occupied or not affordable, so an EU migrant has hardly any chance to find housing. Because of the strict policy in Munich, these people do not get access to homeless services either.”*¹³ (Germany/NGO – author's translation)

¹³ „Die Mieten in München sind so hoch, dass sie, selbst mit Vollzeitjobs, kaum bezahlbar sind. Arbeiterwohnheime oder Pensionen sind entweder voll ausgelastet oder nicht bezahlbar, so dass ein/e EU-Migrant/in so gut wie keine Chancen auf eigenen Wohnraum hat. Durch die strikte Politik, die in München durchgesetzt wird, sind den Menschen die Zugänge zur Wohnungslosenhilfe ebenfalls verwehrt.” (Germany/NGO)

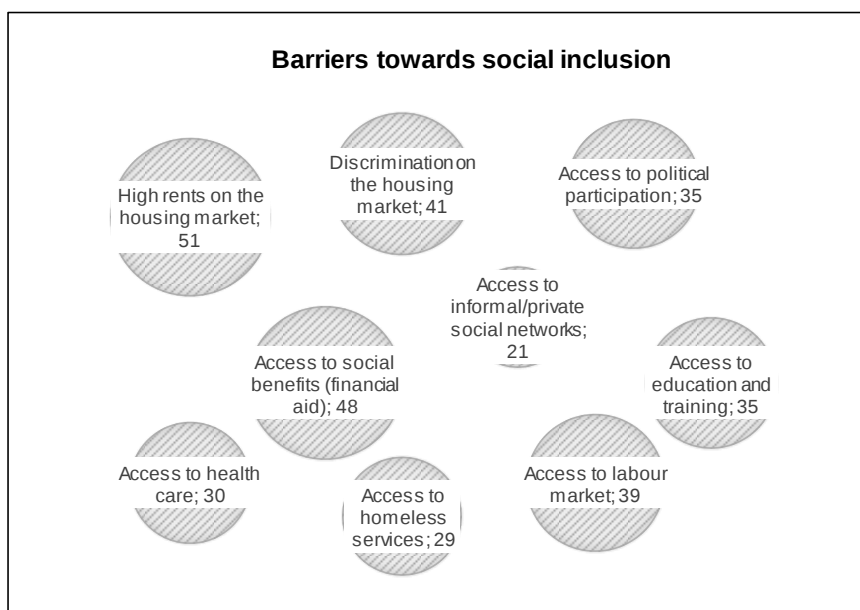


Chart 5.4: Barriers towards social inclusion. Relative size of circle represents the number of experts stating a barrier is either 'very strong' or 'strong' (N=62).

Compared to factors associated with the regular housing market, barriers in access to homeless services seem less relevant to the social inclusion of HEUMC. Twelve respondents chose 'very strong barrier', another 17 'strong barrier'. Ten experts each state that access to homeless services provides a 'moderate barrier' or a 'weak barrier'. Barriers concerning access to social benefits (financial aid) are considered to be rather strong – 48 respondents rated 'strong barrier' or 'very strong barrier' for this. On the other hand access to health care is not considered to be as relevant. Thirty respondents chose the answer 'very strong barrier' or 'strong barrier' for this area.

The labour market also provides barriers to social inclusion for EU mobile citizens; these strongly relate to other areas such as 'access to social benefits' or 'access to homeless services'. Barriers in the labour market frequently lead, due to social policies, to barriers to social services, compounding the precariousness of those affected. Lack of access to the regular labour market often restricts entitlements to social services, and may result in rough sleeping. Thirty-nine respondents state that 'access to labour market' poses either a 'very strong barrier' or a 'strong barrier' to social inclusion. On one hand, finding a job and generating income through employment seems to be necessary for HEUMC to establish a stable livelihood in their present country of residence, due to the lack of entitlement

to social services. On the other hand, migrants who aim to generate working income regardless of the working conditions are more likely to face labour exploitation, informal work and insecure employment. As an alternative, EU citizens from Romania and Bulgaria without regular access to the labour market¹⁴ may turn to self-employment. A German expert indicates the number of registered trade licenses in Munich had risen strongly between 2007 and 2012 (Germany/NGO).

Experts also raise the issue of discrimination, racism and stereotypes as structural barriers towards social inclusion of HEUMC. These are often stimulated by tabloid media and ultra-right wing politics and result in an „*overwhelming prejudice towards migrants especially from A8 countries*” (UK/Research). Another expert from The United Kingdom explicates:

„This applies less to London than the rest of England, but the right-wing tabloid press and particularly the UKIP Political Party are strongly opposed to Britain’s membership of the EU. This populist xenophobia is marginal but significant. Really it’s just a foil for economic issues but I assume that this may have repercussions in future – particularly if Britain leaves Europe following the promised referendum.” (UK/NGO)

Additionally, bureaucratic barriers in host countries pose another obstacle for EU mobile citizens. Respondents describe that the inability to understand high-threshold bureaucratic systems, or mistrust in public authorities as factors that could result in non-engagement in public services. A lack of knowledge and clarity concerning the legal status of EU mobile citizens – among migrants as well as staff at public authorities – is an issue that is reported from several countries such as Ireland, The United Kingdom and Austria. Furthermore, language difficulties intensify these barriers. Concerning homeless EU mobile citizens’ access to and engagement in social services, also cultural barriers are relevant. A respondent from The Netherlands states:

„The Dutch NGOs don’t know what to do with these EU migrants. Their services are not in connection with these groups e.g. with language and cultural barriers” (Netherlands/Public administration)

¹⁴ Restrictions on access to labour market for citizens of these countries relapsed after the field phase of the survey, by the beginning of 2014.

As reported by experts from The United Kingdom and Germany, cultural differences may also lead to tensions between different user groups in social services, which sometimes even overstrain capacities of staff, for example in facilities for homeless people (Germany/NGO and UK/NGO).

Individual-level problems of homeless EU mobile citizens

In addition to structural factors preventing social inclusion, a further set of questions asked participants to provide their estimates about the occurrence of problems affecting HEUMC at the individual level. Again, a five-point rating scale was used. Answer categories ranged from ‚never’ to ‚very frequently’. Chart 5.5 provides an overview of the experts’ rating.

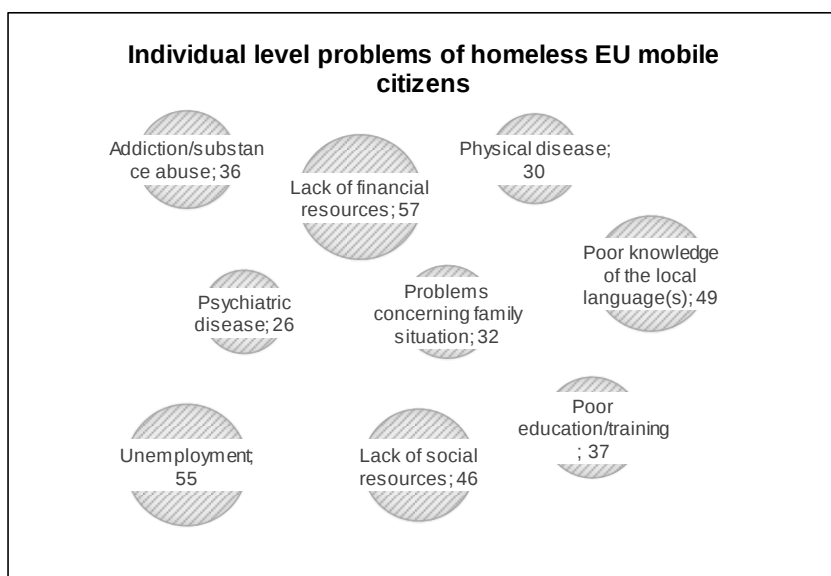


Chart 5.5: Problems of HEUMC on individual level. Relative size of circle represents the number of experts stating a problem occurs either ‚very frequently’ or ‚frequently’ (N=62).

The central problem arising is ‚unemployment’ (54 out of 62 respondents state ‚very frequently’; another 10 ‚frequently’), followed by ‚lack of financial resources’ (44 ‚very frequently’; 13 ‚frequently’) and ‚poor knowledge of local languages’ (36 ‚very frequently’; 13 ‚frequently’). Referring to these problem areas, experts point out that HEUMC are often poorly informed about the labour market situation in their host country. Furthermore, a lack of knowledge concerning the legality and personal rights is stated, while expectations towards prospects in their host country are often overrated, resulting

in a lack of migrants' preparedness for moving, e.g. through gaining relevant language skills.

The occurrence of health problems such as substance abuse or psychiatric illnesses does not receive as high of a rating as problems related to employment. Lower levels of psychiatric illness and substance abuse represent an important difference from characteristics of domestic homeless people. According to an expert from Ireland, in previous years, EU mobile citizens who came to the country used day centres and food distribution to overcome temporary needs while they secured employment. When mobility levels increased, problems of EU mobile citizens aligned with those of domestic homeless cohorts (Ireland/NGO). A respondent from Denmark reports similar:

„The social situation of the migrants is deteriorating rapidly and many start alcohol abuse or develop mental health problems. They are also denied access to mental health service and treatment for substance abuse.” (Denmark/NGO)

In addition to given problem categories, respondents indicate problems in the area of delinquency and street violence. As for all homeless cohorts, HEUMC have the tendency to form their own peer groups and develop a street scene that is difficult to escape (Ireland/Public administration). Homeless citizens from other EU countries are „[...] those who are generally experiencing the most chronic form of homelessness” (Ireland/NGO).

5.6 Modes of Survival: How homeless EU mobile Citizens cover their Basic Needs

As shown in section 5.5, HEUMC face multiple barriers to social inclusion in their host country. Several strong barriers relate to economic and material participation and/or are a result of not being entitled to social assistance. Therefore, people affected must use alternatives to cover their basic needs. In the online survey, respondents were asked for their impressions of these sources. Eight sources were given, and the importance of each could be rated on a five point rating scale ranging from ‚no source’ to ‚very important source’. Results show clear tendencies, although it is important to state *„answers often depend on the reason for homelessness or the work experience before the period of homelessness” (Ireland/NGO).*

Social services provided by private charities/NGOs play a significant role for HEUMC in covering basic needs. Forty-four of 62 respondents state these services pose a 'very important source' or an 'important source'. Within this sector, faith-based organisations appear to be of significant importance, as experts from The Netherlands, The United Kingdom and Austria explain. An expert from The Netherlands points out that migrants in some cases join expatriate communities from their country of origin: „*Some specific countries (i.e. Poland) have a support system by way of churches or other social networks*” (Netherlands/NGO).

Another important source of meeting needs is through informal work; 37 participants state this is a 'very important source' or an 'important source'. These data correspond with information at hand concerning barriers towards access to the labour market and highlight the vulnerability of people affected. Significantly, 25 respondents answered that begging is either a 'very important source' or an 'important source' for HEUMC in their city. Experts also rate the relevance of social services provided by public administration fairly high, although ratings vary, and six respondents state that this is not a source for HEUMC.

Respondents named further sources to cover basic needs in addition to the sources in the questionnaire. These include criminal activity, e.g. burglary. Furthermore, various street-level activities such as busking, collecting cans or bottles or street trading, e.g. selling untaxed cigarettes or street papers were mentioned. Another institutional source, as mentioned by a respondent from Malta, was embassies of countries of origin.

5.7 Relevant Actors and their Responses to the Issue

In order to identify central actors involved with the homelessness among EU mobile citizens, respondents were asked to evaluate the engagement of 11 actors by using a five-point rating scale ranging from 'no engagement' to 'very strong engagement'. Depending on the rating, respondents could give details about the response of actors whose engagement had been rated to be 'moderate', 'strong' or 'very strong'.

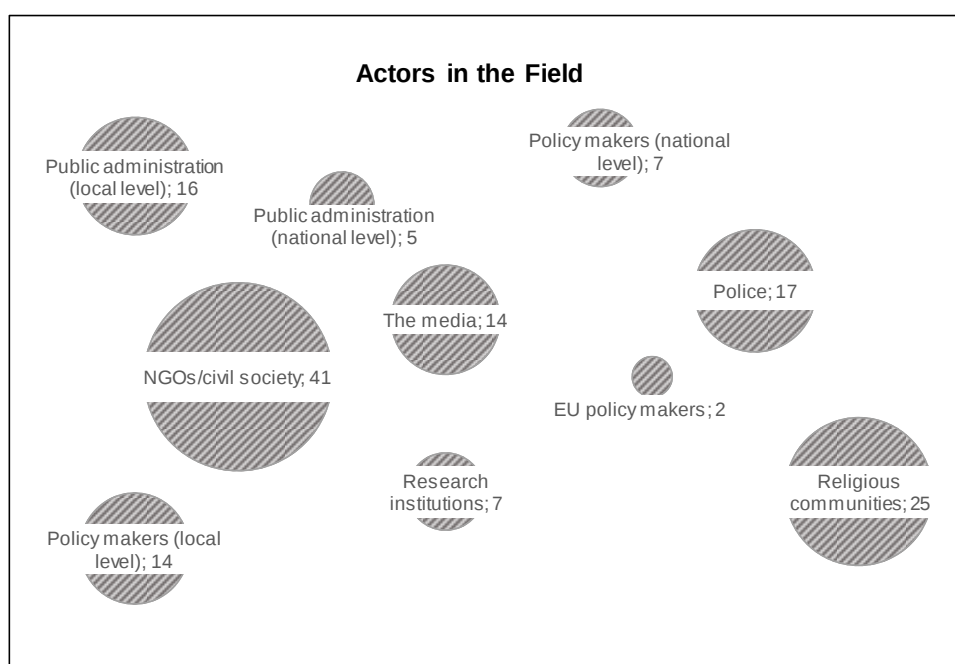


Chart 5.6: Actors in the field. Relative size of circle represents the number of experts stating an actor is showing either 'very strong engagement' or 'strong engagement' (N=62).

„Filling an important gap’: The role of non-governmental organisations, civil society and religious communities

Respondents’ rating of engagement of 11 different actors shows that NGOs and civil society seem to have the strongest involvement in the issue of homelessness of EU mobile citizens. Forty-one of 62 experts state that these actors’ engagement is either ‘very strong’ or ‘strong’. Engagement of NGOs according to specifications of respondents can be divided into three main areas: basic provision and emergency help, information and counselling and cooperation/networking/lobbying.

Most frequently, responses relate to the area of basic provision and emergency help – more specifically providing HEUMC with shelter. This is notable, as homeless shelters or night shelters generally appear to be on decline in homeless support systems across Europe. Provision of these basic facilities – mostly offering shared rooms or dormitories that have to be vacated during the day – are being reduced in favour of accommodation with higher standard and more privacy. Besides provision of shelter, NGOs are also engaged in basic services such as food distribution, personal hygiene and medical care, often in combination with day shelters. Respondents also cite the distribution of sleeping bags among rough sleepers. Importance of the NGO sector in the field in this respect appears

to be significant, as in many cases (privately funded) NGOs may be the only source of direct support (basic provision, counselling) for HEUMC:

„Civil society is generally hostile (due to a barrage of negative stories) and it is left to NGOs to provide even the most basic levels of support.” (UK/NGO)

Another focus of the NGO sector is offering information and counselling to HEUMC. Counselling is provided in the areas of legal support and employment, often compensating for public services, or supporting clients while dealing with public agencies (UK/NGO). A respondent from Denmark describes how the needs of her target group changed the focus of the counselling centre she is working with:

„We opened in January, and the point when we opened was that it should be a counselling centre about the legal rights of homeless migrants here: How long could they stay, how could they register, what were the options and so on. That is also basically what we are doing. At the same time we have so many people here who would like to use us as a job centre. Because when they go to the real job centre in the city, they get no help at all. The consultants just say, ‚well, you are welcome to sit and use the computer, but we can’t do anything for you.’ [...] Then they come here instead and we help them to try to look on the internet for some jobs, to write a CV, to write an application.” (Denmark/NGO)

Reconnection counselling regarding the return to country of origin is also offered by NGOs. As section 5.9 will deal with this practice in detail, it will not be discussed at this point.

NGOs are seen as a relevant actor in the area of advocacy, lobbying and awareness raising, also through involving mass media. Respondents from Norway, Ireland, Luxembourg, Germany and Belgium report activities in this area. One expert reports that in the winter of 2013 public shelter was extended due to NGOs’ lobbying of national policy makers (Belgium/NGO).

Respondents express criticism concerning both the quantity and quality of the NGO sector’s response. Experts from The Netherlands’ criticism concerns NGOs’ approach to the issue. In their responses, they cite that insufficient response of local NGOs (due to language and cultural barriers) have led to engaging the Polish NGO BARKA in order to better offer reconnection services to HEUMC in several regions in The Netherlands (Netherlands/Public administration). Further areas of concern include the limited resources available to NGOs (Spain/NGO), and poor coordination in their approaches

(France/NGO). Divergent positions and conflicts are also a subject arising from the responses. A German respondent reports, *„there are controversial discussions concerning the position of NGOs. Community-oriented associations have been built, for example a working committee on the issue”* (Germany/NGO), while another notes that NGOs worry about sanctions if dealing with this user group:

„We don't have the resources; we are afraid of restrictions by local administration; we try to deal with it within our organisation.” (Germany/NGO)

An expert from Denmark and one from The United Kingdom describe recent transitions in the activities of the NGO sector, leading to a more coordinated response towards the issue of homelessness among EU mobile citizens during recent years. The Danish example also shows an increasing involvement of public administration:

„Yes, there have been a few changes. Not in the basic policy. The basic policy is still ,do not give them anything. If we give them anything, they will all come here', which is of course not true at all. In 2007/08/09 we started [...] some emergency shelters in the winter. Those were completely privately funded. But then, in 2010, there were so many migrants here that actually the Ministry of Social Affairs were afraid that somebody might die outside in the street because of the cold in the winter. They gave some money out in a special fund, which you could only apply for in November. Then you could apply to run some emergency services for three or four month. [...] In 2010, they said ,This is the funds for emergency shelters.' They said nothing else. In 2011, they said ,These are funds for emergency shelters for everybody, regardless of nationality.' In 2012, they said ,This is an emergency fund for homeless people including homeless migrants.' Last year they actually said that now the target group of these funds is in fact homeless migrants. That's the kind of development that has been – in the beginning they even refused to say that it could be used for migrants. Of course, that is double standards. At the same time, they say that they are here illegally and it is illegal to support them. It opened up more and more. Now we have the opportunity to apply for these funds.” (Denmark/NGO)

Religious communities are another important actor involved with homelessness among EU mobile citizens. Twenty-five respondents rate engagement of religious communities to be either 'very strong' or 'strong'. Although distinction to the NGO sector is unclear, faith-based communities appear to play a special role in the field, with a focus on direct, low-threshold support through soup kitchens and food banks. Respondents also name provision of shelter, but not as often as with the NGO sector. Other, less frequently mentioned, forms of support offered by religious communities include clothing donations,

provision of facilities for personal hygiene activities, financial support, and assistance related to housing, which fills „*an important gap as they [religious communities] will work with anyone, occasionally providing short-term shelter even for those who do not have recourse to public funds*” (UK/NGO). Furthermore, religious communities are active in the area of advocacy, lobbying and awareness raising, however they are not perceived to be as extensive as for the NGO sector.

Perceptions concerning quality of religious communities’ response to homelessness vary significantly among respondents. While several experts state that faith-based organisations are filling an important social security gap, others criticise a lack of structure, reluctance in recognising dimensions of homelessness, and allege their services (unintentionally) prolong rough sleeping and therefore reinforce problems (UK/Public administration and UK/Research).

Public administration and policy on different levels

Sixteen of 62 respondents state that engagement of local level public administration is either ‘very strong’ or ‘strong’. At the strongest rating, experts perceive public administration in their role as a provider and financier of social services. These predominantly include provision of shelter during wintertime, usually in cooperation with local NGOs, and also (emergency) health services, outreach and counselling, whereby „*there is very little funding for this group and their entitlement to state support is limited*” (UK/Public administration). Respondents from The United Kingdom and Sweden also mention labour market counselling.

The data shows another response of local level public administration is the regulation of access to social services. Reports from Denmark, Ireland, The United Kingdom and The Netherlands describe recent regulations aimed at limiting access to social services for EU mobile citizens. These include divesting social service facilities of their abilities to accept clients, thereby turning clients away to a central placement centre (Ireland/NGO). These regulations are also seen as a consequence of budget cuts, which lead to less flexibility on the agencies’ parts, and fewer opportunities for homeless people, especially non-locals (UK/Public administration).

Furthermore, cooperation, networking and lobbying are seen as activities of local public administration. An expert from Italy describes the city administration setting up a multi-level actors network on the issue (Italy/Public administration), while a Dutch respondent states:

„My city is part of an active network of cities that wants an alternative to the national policies. NGOs and the municipality have joined forces on this issue.” (Netherlands/Public administration)

Public administrations also seek cooperation with consulates of countries of origin, NGOs in countries of origin, and policy makers at the European level (Germany/Public administration). Expulsion and reconnection services are further responses of local level public administration towards the issue of homelessness among EU mobile citizens.

Concerning quality of response, local public administrations receive broad criticism from representatives of non-governmental organisation as well as from researchers. Criticisms include:

- Measures are responsive and focused on reducing welfare costs instead of being strategic or preventive. (Ireland/NGO)
- Little action at the level of practical support; response is poor and ineffective. (Norway/NGO; Austria/NGO; UK/Research)
- Measures of public authorities lie in preventing more migrants to come to the city by limiting access to services. (Denmark/NGO)
- A scarcity of public administration's 'tools' to act; HEUMC are legally treated as tourists. (Finland/Research)
- Creation of an 'anti-migrant-climate', e.g. by promoting forced return to home countries. (UK/Other)
- Limited understanding of legislation by social services staff results in migrants not receiving services they are entitled to. (UK/NGO)

In the online survey, a differentiation was made between public administration and public policy. However, data show that this differentiation is not always clear, although respondents find local policy makers to be less engaged than public administration. Only six experts state engagement of local level policy makers is either 'very strong' or 'strong'. As

for local public administration, experts consider funding and provision of social services, especially during wintertime, as an essential response of policy makers. A central point of criticism, again, is the reduction of financial resources in this area. Political debates about the issue of homelessness of EU mobile citizens are described as controversial between political wings, with criminalisation of begging or rough sleeping as a recurrent question.

„The left/centre side want to help, the right side want the police to act, and make it forbidden to beg or to sleep outside.” (Norway/NGO)

Participants name reconnection and expulsion of HEUMC as another response of policy makers at the local level (detailed discussion in section 5.9), as well as regulating access to social services and, more specifically, homeless services.

At the national level, considerably fewer respondents experience engagement of public administration or policymakers. In total, five experts state that national public administrations show ‚very strong’ or ‚strong engagement’. This may also reflect how the provision of homeless services often lies within the responsibility of local authorities. Nevertheless, data show several areas of activity of national level public administration regarding the issue. These include strategic planning, cooperation with different actors, reconnection, expulsion and provision of social services, provision of guidelines and orientation documents, and mainstreaming local response as shown by this example from The Netherlands:

„We as major cities address the problems on a national level. Because of the major success of Barka the national government will get involved with Barka with two extra flexible teams for the whole of Holland. Because of the successful lobby of especially the municipality of our city.” (Netherlands/Public administration)

Regulating access to social services through legislation is also reported. This may happen, for example, through introducing a ‚Habitual Residency Test’ (Ireland/NGO). In the case of The Netherlands, an expert reports:

„New national legislation has been adopted to enable local authorities to forbid access to homeless shelters to EU citizens who are unemployed or less than three months in the country.” (Netherlands/NGO)

Concerning engagement of policy makers at the national level, seven experts rate engagement as ‚very strong’ or ‚strong’. Experts’ statements about national policy makers’ response are mainly negative and reveal conflicts between different policy levels, as the following quotation from a Dutch respondent shows:

„Our city board and council (left wing liberal) and the national government (social democrats and conservatives) have different views. The city urges the national government to take their share of the responsibility. Besides EU migrants this concerns the so-called undocumented who need more than crisis medical care, refugees and asylum seekers that roam the street (and sometimes sleep in tent camps or abandoned churches, and so on).”
(Netherlands/Public administration)

Respondents predominantly recognise engagement of public administration on national level in terms of funding and cutting welfare budgets. Several statements from The United Kingdom broach the issue of austerity measures negatively affecting homelessness levels, while fraud towards migrants, e.g. through people smugglers and exploiters in the housing market is not pursued sufficiently. Furthermore, conflicts between different policy levels are reported, as in the case of London where *„policy makers in the London boroughs have protested measures imposed by central government which they think will increase the risk of homelessness”* (UK/NGO).

A similar account comes from Ireland, where *„general policy approach seems to be to limit welfare entitlement, services and supports in the hope that the problem will ‚go away’“*, which is seen as a *„pro-active attempt to exclude migrant homeless population from existing homeless services”* (Ireland/NGO). Respondents from Portugal and Switzerland notice a lack of awareness of national level policy makers towards the issue. One expert working in the NGO sector noted a solution-oriented approach of national level policy makers, which included *„working out a more coordinated policy and organisation on shelter for the homeless during winter time and providing more space/beds during this period”* (Belgium/NGO).

Engagement of policy makers on the European level is seldom recognised; when recognised, it is, *„only on paper, creating not working documents and rules”* (UK/NGO). Rather, experts perceive being alone at local level with the European phenomenon of homelessness of EU mobile citizens. An expert from Sweden says: *„Maybe there is a*

response [of EU policy makers] that we are not really aware of... We find an interest, but not so much action” (Sweden/Public administration).

Involvement of the police

Besides the civil society/NGO sector, religious communities and local public administration, the police are considered as another engaged actor on the issue of HEUMC. Seventeen respondents believe their engagement is ‘very strong’ or ‘strong’. Engagement of the police includes cooperation with social services, community intervention, handling of (prohibited) begging, identity checks, pursuing petty crime and eviction as well as expulsion of HEUMC.

Experts from Italy, The Netherlands, Malta, Portugal and The United Kingdom report an efficient cooperation between police and social services provided by public authorities, as well as NGOs, including the referral of homeless individuals to relevant social services. Community interventions in public space, often due to excessive use of alcohol by homeless persons, appear to be another common response of the police. A Dutch expert observes frustrations among the police towards street scenes of HEUMC, while *„problems with Dutch homeless people decreased in the last seven years”* (Netherlands/Public administration).

Experts from Sweden and Austria report another activity, which may target EU mobile citizens: identity controls in public space have been intensified in order to find those without documents (Sweden/Public administration and Austria/Public administration). A case of racial profiling has been described by a Danish expert (Denmark/NGO) as discussed in section 5.3. A respondent from Austria says:

„It is increasingly noticed that at so-called social hotspots such as Praterstern and Philadelphiabrücke [points of intersections for local public transport in Vienna] the police appears to act very repressive towards homeless EU citizens. People are treated without respect and money they have received through bumming or selling street papers is taken from them. Although the police has no legal authority to do this, they do not need to fear any consequences. As I know from my own experience, police has refused to issue a theft report to numerous of these people after their documents and other belongings had been stolen. Generally it is apparent that the police are overstrained by this situation and a

regulative response on the issue is not the right solution.”¹⁵ (Austria/NGO – author’s translation)

Conversely, an expert from Norway reports that the police „*understand that the homeless are in a difficult situation and let them sleep at the police station prison cell. They are against any kind of criminalisation*” (Norway/NGO). Experts also broach the issue of polices’ limited scope of action towards the issue of homelessness among EU mobile citizens who do not have any access to social security. A respondent from Denmark explains:

„They don’t know what to do. Sometimes they harass the people, to check documents or sufficient resources’ but they are aware that they have very few opportunities to expel/deport EU citizens. They don’t even bother to drive them to the border any longer, as they know they will re-enter legally the next day. At the same time, there is a shocking lack of knowledge in the police, concerning the rights of EU citizens. They always choose the most restrictive approach, even if it is often not in accordance with the law.” (Denmark/NGO)

Other actors in the field: Research, the media and art scene

Actors perceived by survey participants as less engaged towards the issue of homelessness among EU mobile citizens include research institutes, the media and the art scene. Out of 62 respondents, seven state they recognise a ‚strong engagement’ of research institutions on the issue of HEUMC, although none recognise a ‚very strong engagement’. Quality of existing research is not estimated to be scientifically robust. Experts report about small-scale research, mostly based on qualitative data and, if quantitative data exists, is limited to user statistics of specific social services. Most of this research takes the form of unpublished reports for internal use only; some reports are the work of students, e.g. theses in the field of social sciences or social work. Furthermore, experts report that

¹⁵ „*Es ist vermehrt festzustellen, dass an sogenannten sozialen Hotspots wie Praterstern und Philadelphia-brücke die Polizei sehr repressiv gegen obdachlose EU-BürgerInnen vorgeht. Die Menschen werden teilweise respektlos behandelt und ihnen wird Geld weggenommen, dass sie ‚geschnorrt’ haben beziehungsweise durch Zeitungsverkauf erworben haben. Obwohl die Polizei keine rechtlichen Befugnisse dazu hat, brauchen sie keine Sanktionen zu befürchten. Wie ich aus eigener Erfahrung weiß, wurde zahlreichen Menschen dieser Zielgruppe auf der Polizei die Ausstellung einer Diebstahlsanzeige verweigert, nachdem ihnen ihre Dokumente und andere Habseligkeiten gestohlen wurden. Generell ist aber auch zu sehen, dass die Polizei mit dieser Situation überfordert ist und ordnungspolitisches Reagieren in dieser Angelegenheit keine Lösung sein kann.*” (Austria/NGO)

EU mobile citizens are only generally considered in research on homelessness, while research that specifically focuses on the issue of HEUMC is rare. Social service providers appear to play a significant role in conducting (semi-professional) research, monitoring target groups and writing project reports.

With the media, 14 participants perceive either ‚very strong’ or ‚strong’ engagement. Through the media, homelessness among EU mobile citizens is portrayed in diverse styles and purposes. Experts ascribe a relevant role to the media in terms of analysis of the problem and awareness-raising. Respondents assert negative and problem-oriented coverage predominates, often in a populist way with a focus on welfare tourism, begging and crime. The following quotations illustrate the perception of several experts towards media coverage as one-sided and poorly informed:

„[Response of the media is] generally quite negative. Media has tended to focus on speculation regarding influx of migrants and their use of public services. Often these are ill informed.” (UK/NGO)

„[There are] both, articles saying ‚It’s good that there is help’ as well as saying ‚It would be better to help the homeless from Germany than the non-Germans. One is providing incentives which attract these people to come here.’”¹⁶ (Germany/NGO – author’s translation)

In contrast, experts describe two projects focusing on HEUMC that have led to extensive media response. These initiatives, the work of Barka Foundation in The Netherlands, and the ‚Crossroads’ project in Stockholm – both discussed as ‚models of best practice’ in section 5.10 – have been covered positively:

„The media in the beginning of 2012 only made photos and news about rough sleeping Polish people in the parks and bushes. After the success of Barka, they wrote about the successful way Barka solved the problems and also on television (e.g. national news) there were several ‚feel good’ stories of people homeless here and reconnected to Poland through Barka and there reunited with their family or after a rehabilitation in a Barka community now working again and solved their alcohol addiction.” (Netherlands/Public administration)

¹⁶ „Sowohl Artikel mit dem Tenor ‚Gut, dass geholfen wird’ als auch mit dem Tenor ‚Man sollte sich lieber um die deutschen Obdachlosen kümmern, als um die nicht-deutschen, man würde Anreize schaffen, diese Leute durch ein Hilfesystem erst anlocken.’” (Germany/NGO)

„The media has shown a big interest. The biggest newspaper in Sweden (Dagens Nyheter) has published many articles about Crossroads as well as the situation of EU migrants in Stockholm. This newspaper also published recently a series of articles about Roma people living in the streets in Stockholm. Radio and TV have also been active.” (Sweden/Public administration)

None of the respondents perceive ‚very strong’ or ‚strong engagement’ of the art scene on the issue of HEUMC. However, some experts refer to art projects engaging in direct support, awareness raising and fundraising for NGOs.

5.8 Access to Homeless Services for EU mobile Citizens

In European welfare states, social services for homeless people constitute a substantial part of the social security net, addressed to those most deprived who have not been adequately served by mainstream social services. Homeless services, especially in the low-threshold area and in the area of emergency care (for example facilities that are addressed to rough sleepers) have the central task of mitigating the most serious consequences of extreme poverty and social exclusion. Public discourse and data from this research show that access for HEUMC to this part of the social security net has been questioned increasingly during the last years. Public authorities and social service providers have been developing various practices to restrict access for this group of people – either by introducing new access rules or by executing existing ones more rigorously. The following chapter aims to describe whether and to what extent HEUMC are given access to local homeless services in different European cities. It reveals several practices of actors in the field of homeless support systems that tend to exclude EU mobile citizens from using certain services.

As shown in Table 5.3, the majority of respondents (46 participants) state that EU mobile citizens have partial access to homeless services in their city. Ten experts report this group does not have access to homeless services, and nine respondents report full access. Only one expert chose the answer ‚do not know’. While all 16 respondents from corporatist welfare states report of EU mobile citizens being given partial access to homeless services, and 11 out of 13 experts from liberal welfare states report ‚partial access’, results from social democratic welfare states are more varied, with eight experts reporting ‚no access’, 12 experts reporting ‚partial access’ and one expert reporting ‚full access’. In

contrast, seven out of 12 experts from southern European welfare states state that EU mobile citizens are given full access; five report 'partial access'.

Do EU-migrants have access to social services for homeless people in your city?						
		No access	Partial access	Full access	Do not know	Total
Liberal welfare state	United Kingdom		8	1		9
	Ireland		3			3
	Switzerland	1				1
	Total	1	11	1		13
Social democratic welfare state	Netherlands	2	7		1	10
	Sweden	2	1			3
	Norway		2			2
	Denmark	3	1			4
	Finland	1	1	1		3
	Total	8	12	1	1	22
Corporatist welfare state	Germany		5			5
	Luxembourg		1			1
	Austria		7			7
	Belgium		1			1
	France		2			2
	Total		16			16
Post socialist welfare state	Lithuania		1			1
	Poland		1			1
	Czech Republic	1				1
	Total	1	2			3
Southern european welfare state	Italy			2		2
	Malta		2			2
	Portugal		3	4		7
	Spain			1		1
	Total		5	7		12
Total		10	46	9	1	66

Table 5.3: Respondents' answer on the question 'Do EU-migrants have access to social services for homeless people in your city?'

In cases where access is not or not fully given, respondents describe several practices that exclude HEUMC from using conventional homeless services, while basic facilities targeting this specific group may be created. The practices can be divided into five main groups. As assignment is not always clear, some practices overlap each other. Combining several practices is also common. The following quote from a Dutch expert summarises three of five practices described below:

„[Access is given] only when they are so-called heart-breaking cases, or when they agree to return to their country of origin or when it is very cold during winter.” (Netherlands/Public administration)

Practice I: Limiting access by introducing a habitual residency test or other proof of local connection

Passing a ‚habitual residency test’ or providing evidence of having ‚local connection’ to the specific region or country of residence often provides the basis for EU mobile citizens to access local homeless services. This ‚proof of local connection’ may include a certain length of stay in the region/country, a formal work record and/or the proof of being self-supporting and thus not dependent on welfare benefits.¹⁷ If one is able provide the required evidence, entitlement to welfare services including support for homeless people is given. If not, access to homeless services may be entirely denied or limited considerably.¹⁸ Several respondents criticise these procedures of testing whether homeless people do qualify for homeless services or not. Existing policies and practices are considered to be inconsistent, e.g. by experts from Ireland, Denmark and Luxembourg.

In several countries, these practices have been publicly discussed. FEANTSA has published two press releases on the issue, one in November 2013 about The United Kingdom, and one concerning policy in The Netherlands.¹⁹ An expert from Denmark specifies a

¹⁷ As a legal basis, authorities often use DIRECTIVE 2004/38/EC OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND OF THE COUNCIL of 29 April 2004 on the right of citizens of the Union and their family members to move and reside freely within the territory of the Member States. Paragraph (10) of this directive says: *„Persons exercising their right of residence should not, however, become an unreasonable burden on the social assistance system of the host Member State during an initial period of residence. Therefore, the right of residence for Union citizens and their family members for periods in excess of three months should be subject to conditions.”*

¹⁸ Aside from EU mobile citizens, ‚locals only’ policies may also apply to domestic homeless population who are not able to proof local connection to the specific region or city where they aim to access homeless support services.

¹⁹ In a press release of July 25th 2013, FEANTSA reports that they have made a collective complaint at the European Committee on Social Rights against The Netherlands, which was declared admissible by the Council of Europe. In this complaint, FEANTSA claims that The Netherlands’ access rules for (emergency) shelter demand ‚local connection’, which *„has a negative impact on the rights of homeless persons and migrant workers residing in the country, whether their immigration status be regular or irregular”* and therefore poses a violation of several articles of the Revised European Social Charter, e.g. article 13 – the right to social and medical assistance and 30 – the right to protection against poverty and social exclusion (FEANTSA 2013b, p. 1). In another press release of November 28th 2013, FEANTSA opposed a statement of UK Prime Minister David Camoron made in an Financial Times article,

paradox that may affect EU mobile citizens arising from public administration's interpretation of the EU regulation mentioned above.

„The problem is that to be able to enter a publicly funded shelter in Denmark, the basic thing is that you must reside legally in Denmark. [...] Anyone who resides legally in Denmark has the right to get service according to this law. So, basically the Social Ministry claims that EU citizens who are job seekers are only residing legally as long as they are completely self-supporting. So, on the grounds that people go and ask access to a homeless shelter, they conclude that then they must not be self-supporting. If they were self-supporting they wouldn't ask to get in. So in the minute they ask to get in they make their own residence illegal. [...] The Danish Social Security Ministry have translated the term 'unreasonable burden' to 'completely self-supporting'." (Denmark/NGO)

In December 2013, the European Commission, in response to the ongoing public discussion of the issue, published a guidebook titled 'Practical guide: The legislation that applies to workers in the European Union (EU), the European Economic Area (EEA)' with the aim to clarify existing EU regulation in terms of freedom of movement and access to social security systems (European Commission 2013b).

One criterion in habitual residency tests may be proof of a formal work record, but in some cases it is perceived as a separate requirement for accessing homeless services. Experts from Denmark, The Netherlands, The United Kingdom, Austria and Germany report different rules, ranging from refusing access to homeless services to unemployed EU mobile citizens in general (Netherlands/NGO) to the precondition of several months of (uninterrupted) legal employment in order to access services (Denmark/NGO and Germany/NGO). Length of stay is another criterion used to regulate access to homeless service that can be part of habitual residency tests but may also be used as a single decisive factor. This is reported from Luxembourg, Germany and Spain, where periods of stay required to be eligible to access homeless services vary considerably.

announcing a 'crackdown' on immigration from other EU Member States, restricting access to benefits and rules on free movement and the forced expulsion of people sleeping rough or begging. FEANTSA asserts „[a]n expulsion measure should not be the automatic consequence of recourse to the social assistance system and the host Member State should first examine whether it is a case of temporary difficulties and take into account the duration of residence, the personal circumstances and the amount of aid granted in order to consider whether the beneficiary has become an unreasonable burden on its social assistance system and proceed with his or her expulsion." (FEANTSA 2013c, p. 1)

Practice II: Allowing access for EU mobile citizens only during the winter period

Restricting access to homeless services for EU mobile citizens to the cold season is the practice reported most frequently by respondents. The ability to come back to the local homeless support system, or parts thereof, is often limited to winter:

„However in the coldest winter months the government gives out a small amount of money to the private charities, to set up emergency accommodation.” (Denmark/NGO)

Services available to HEUMC are restricted to basic facilities that mainly have the function of protecting users from the cold. This policy is reported by experts in Denmark, Austria, Germany, Netherlands, Belgium, Switzerland and The United Kingdom.

Practice III: Limiting access to certain services

Another form of partial exclusion of EU mobile citizens from using homeless services is to restrict access to certain types of services. This happens within the regular homeless support system or by developing special services addressed to HEUMC. Services available to EU mobile citizens may include counselling, emergency help, night shelters and emergency shelters (often only during winter period), basic health care, drop-in centres and financial and organisational support in returning to their country of origin. Among others, experts from Norway, Austria and Germany have reported this way of limiting use of regular homeless services by EU mobile citizens.

Implementing homeless services that exclusively target EU mobile citizens, on one hand, bears the possibility of addressing specific needs of the target group (e.g. language), but the practical experience of respondents shows an emergence of a two-tier system, providing considerably lower standards for the group of EU mobile citizens:

„They [The Ministry of Social Affairs] give out the money at the end of November. You have two weeks to put together a shelter. To find sleeping bags. To find a location. To find volunteers to do the shifts. And in the funds it is stated that you can only use a very little amount on salary. It is very, very poorly staffed. Normally [...] we had one staff member, then we had a few volunteers, they were even able to work at the night-time. And then we had forty, fifty, sixty homeless migrants in the same room, it is completely unacceptable standards.” (Denmark/NGO)

Experts from Denmark, Sweden, Germany, The United Kingdom and The Netherlands mention services exclusively targeting EU mobile citizens. These include night shelters/emergency shelters as well as special counselling centres, e.g. offering reconnection support (see section 5.9). An expert from Germany describes the following services targeted to EU mobile citizens who are homeless:

*„In Munich there is a ‚cold protection project‘ on a simple level from November to March, offering support for approximately 400 homeless migrants. Next year there shall also be started an information and counselling centre for EU migrants with a focus on reconnection counselling. Caritas and AWO [Arbeiterwohlfahrt – Workers’ Welfare] offer projects dealing with the topic ‚education instead of begging‘ which are also supported by the city of Munich.”*²⁰ (Germany/NGO – author’s translation)

As reported by respondents, funding type for homeless services is also relevant in terms of access for EU mobile citizens. Homeless persons appear more likely to receive support from institutions and facilities that are run with private funds and without public funding.

A special case of limiting access to homeless services for EU mobile citizens is reported from an NGO in Malta. The expert states, *„coming from an NGO, we accept homeless EU (and non EU) citizens up to a certain extent. Meaning, our service is targeted to the local community and experience has shown that foreigners, whatever their nationality, tend to be bed blockers”* (Malta/NGO).

Practice IV: Limiting access to homeless services to people with serious (health) problems

Experts from The Netherlands describe the practice of providing access to homeless services for EU mobile citizens who have been diagnosed with serious health problems, including psychiatric illnesses or addiction. An expert from The United Kingdom states

²⁰ *„In der Stadt München wird in den Wintermonaten von November bis März ein Kälteschutzprojekt auf schlichtem Niveau angeboten, für ca. 400 obdachlose Migrantinnen und Migranten. Es soll im nächsten Jahr auch noch ein Informations- und Beratungszentrum für EU-Zuwander/innen eröffnet werden, mit dem Schwerpunkt der Rückkehrberatung. Von Caritas und AWO [Arbeiterwohlfahrt] gibt es Projekte zum Thema Arbeit und ‚Bildung statt Betteln‘, die von der Stadt München unterstützt werden.”* (Germany/NGO)

there are night shelter spaces available to EU mobile citizens „for specific reasons, including treatment of individuals with tuberculosis” (UK/Public administration), while a Dutch respondent reports:

„Policy change has been that the night shelters for homeless have been closed for people from middle and eastern European countries, unless they have serious public health problems (psychiatric, addiction, ...), that they are considered not ‚fit’ enough to arrange their own living conditions.” (Netherlands/NGO)

Another Dutch respondent refers to „so-called heart-breaking cases” (Netherlands/Public administration) that are allowed to enter homeless services. The data does not show whether the practice of giving access to homeless services in these cases can be considered a reaction to public pressure in individual cases, e.g. through the media, or if it is a structural part of admission policy.

Practice V: Limiting access to homeless services to only those compliant with reconnection services.

Another practice is to link access to homeless services, in particular night shelters, with clients’ willingness to return to their home country within a short period of time. In these cases, EU mobile citizens gain temporary access to homeless services if they take part in reconnection measures. An expert from The Netherlands reports „most EU migrants don’t get social services, unless they are willing to return” (Netherlands/Public administration). Another Dutch respondent explains:

„Homeless EU migrants have access to the night shelter if they are in contact with Barka. Barka recommends that access is needed, because of their medical situation, it is not possible anymore that they sleep in the streets or that they leave to e.g. Poland in a few days with Barka so that the last days they don’t have to worry where to sleep. Then the reconnection is easier to organise. So the situation is no access unless Barka advises other ways.” (Netherlands/Public administration)

Other than The Netherlands, respondents from Norway and the United Kingdom also report this practice. A detailed discussion of the emergence of reconnection measures is presented in section 5.9.

5.9 Expulsions? No, but...

Expulsion or deportation, which means removing a foreign national from their current country of residence by public authorities, in Europe, is mainly present in discourse surrounding refugees from countries outside the EU. Although the practice of expelling EU mobile citizens exists in EU Member States, it is widely unknown, as well as its legal basis.

Following French president Nicolas Sarkozy's efforts to expel EU citizens of Roma ethnicity from French state territory (Willsher 2010), the awareness of the expulsion of EU citizens has reached broader public. Another prominent example is British Prime Minister David Cameron's repeated commitments to act more restrictively in terms of EU mobile citizens who claim benefits from the social security system, or who are begging or sleeping rough. This would lead to a removal of people targeted by these restrictions, and they would not be allowed to re-enter the country for 12 months (Cameron 2013). The issue of expulsion raised the attention of the European Commission. As a reaction to Cameron's announcement, EU Justice Commissioner Viviane Reding (2013) asserted: „*Freedom of movement is non-negotiable as long as you are a member of the EU and the single market.*”

Twenty-eight out of 66 respondents confirmed ‚yes’ to the question ‚Have expulsions of homeless EU-foreigners occurred in your city during the last five years?’ Twenty-two experts answered ‚no’, and 16 respondents were not able to provide an answer (‚do not know’). The highest proportion of experts who report expulsion of EU citizens comes from liberal welfare states (eight out of 13). This is followed by corporatist welfare states (nine out of 16) and social democratic welfare states (nine out of 22). Among respondents from southern European welfare states, only two experts from Portugal say that EU citizens have been expelled from their city during the last five years. All three respondents from post-socialist welfare states state that there have not been expulsions. Moreover, in social democratic welfare states, corporatist welfare states and in southern European welfare states, the proportion of respondents who do not have information about the issue is fairly high. Approximately one-third of respondents from these welfare state regimes indicated ‚do not know’.

Numerous experts who are reporting expulsions of EU mobile citizens from their city provide details about reasons for expulsions, and the persons expelled. In doing so, they reveal several problematic aspects of this issue. Accordingly, respondents state EU mobile citizens have been expelled based on appraisals that they were not being self-supporting, they posed a threat to public order, were found being engaged in criminal activity, not exercising treaty rights, or that they had been begging in their host country. Furthermore, respondents report an increase of police controls regarding (homeless) people in the streets, which happen to target EU mobile citizens. An expert from Austria presumes that increased controls result from public attention and increasing political pressure (Austria/Public administration). A Swedish respondent reports:

„The police keeps a quite low profile when it comes to EU migrants. However, the police mission has been extended to intensify controls to find people without documents which can also affect EU migrants on the streets of Stockholm.” (Sweden/Public administration)

While the same Swedish expert also reports extensive public reactions to a case of expulsion of an EU citizen which also *„resulted in massive criticism of the police”* (Sweden/Public administration), expulsion of people belonging to this group appears to be more common in countries such as The United Kingdom and The Netherlands. Concerning the situation in The United Kingdom, one respondent reports expulsions of EU citizens having doubled in the past three years (UK/NGO). The relevant actor for these expulsions is *„the UK Border Agency, which has been accompanying street homeless teams in identifying rough sleepers and threatening them with removal from the UK if they are from EU countries”* (UK/NGO). Another expert from The United Kingdom describes public authorities’ course of action more in detail:

„Where an individual from an EEA country is not exercising their Treaty Rights (either employed or self-employed; studying; economically self-sufficient; a jobseeker; retired; or someone who has had to cease working in the UK owing to permanent incapacity), has been in the UK for more than three months and does not have a permanent right of residence, they may be removed. This is not automatic – but must instead follow careful process. Removal has been used for some EEA nationals who are rough sleeping who meet the criteria. It tends to be used to target problematic individuals who are clearly either not able to access the labour market or not interested in work (due to issues such as poor language/no relevant skills/substance misuse etc.), who also refuse to return home voluntarily or engage with any services and often those who are engaged in anti-social behaviour.” (UK/Public administration)

The legal basis for expelling EU citizens is unclear according to many respondents. Several believe that these expulsions have not been legal. Others report a lack of general legal knowledge among actors. Some respondents also mention that legitimacy of specific cases already has been dealt with at court. An expert from Denmark emphasises these ambiguities in the following statement:

„There is no individual assessment made, only a general rule that EU citizens who are in need of assistance are by definition residing illegally. In fact, this would mean that the immigration authorities would be obliged to care for them until their deportation, but this fact is conveniently ignored – probably they are well aware, that it is close to impossible to expel EU citizens for not having sufficient resources. So the homeless are invisible in the eyes of the authorities: too illegal to access anything, but not illegal enough to be deported/expelled. The non-legal argument used is that if we offer them anything, more will come!” (Denmark/NGO)

As another problematic aspect of expelling EU citizens from countries in which freedom of movement is in effect, experts report that persons who have lost their legal stay or have been expelled may return back after a short period of time, as the following statement illustrates:

„[...] EU rules make it [expulsions] almost impossible, but also after an expulsion they can come back and they do. You play table tennis with them – expulsion and coming back.” (Netherlands/Public administration)

Experts from Denmark and from The Netherlands have reported this experience in the case of expulsions; an expert from Ireland (Ireland/NGO) explains that at least some of the EU mobile citizens who had been sent back to their home country have since returned. An expert from Denmark observes the following:

„The police don't know what to do. Sometimes they harass the people, to check documents or 'sufficient resources' but they are aware that they have very few opportunities to expel/deport EU citizens. They don't even bother to drive them to the border any longer, as they know they will re-enter legally the next day. At the same time, there is a shocking lack of knowledge in the police, concerning the rights of EU citizens. They always choose the most restrictive approach, even if it is often not in accordance with the law.” (Denmark/NGO)

One measure that respondents have often mentioned in conjunction with expulsion is the supported return of EU mobile citizens who are affected by homelessness. Reconnection,

repatriation or supported return means that contact with public authorities, NGOs or family members in the home country is established, e.g. through staff in counselling centres. The aim is to enable a monitored return of EU mobile citizens that offers individuals perspectives in their home country about aspects such as housing, social benefits or medical treatment. Experts, mainly from The Netherlands and from The United Kingdom, state that reconnection measures are part of policy in their city/country. Several see reconnection as a sustainable approach towards homelessness among EU mobile citizens, especially with regard to the observation that people who had been expelled did return to their host country after a short period of time. As several experts' statements show, boundaries between (forced) expulsion and (voluntary) return are perceived as vague. A Dutch expert says, „*expulsion is a harsh term. There have been several attempts to guide people back to their home country*” (Netherlands/NGO). Another respondent from The United Kingdom states „*attempts to do forced returns by police and ministry [had been] declared illegal but appear still to go on, possibly with engineered consent*” (UK/Other). Voluntariness of reconnection measures in many cases also is questionable, as access to basic services such as shelter is often tied to participation in the above programs and therefore „*places pressure on the homeless to return home*” (UK/NGO). The result is that „*most EU migrants don't get social services, unless they are willing to return*” (Netherlands/Public administration).

A key international actor in the area of reconnection of EU mobile citizens appears to be Barka Foundation. This originally Polish NGO was first dedicated to work in the area of development and social inclusion during the transformation from Communism to a market economy. Meanwhile, Barka runs branches in several countries including The Netherlands, The United Kingdom and Canada (Barka n.d.). Survey respondents from The United Kingdom and The Netherlands refer to Barka Foundation in the context of reconnection of HEUMC, with a strong focus on individuals from Eastern Europe, especially Poland. An expert from The Netherlands reports that in 2012 Barka had reconnected 41 out of 50 to 75 HEUMC in his city, while 12 more had succeeded in work rehabilitation (Netherlands/Public administration). Another Dutch respondent explains:

„*The Police were first more in the mode of forced expelling homeless EU migrants. But because they saw that people come back again and they saw the success of Barka with*

reconnections and that the problems with public order and criminal offences of EU migrants from Eastern Europe went down by 75% in a few months, the police are now the biggest advocates of Barka. Every police force in Holland now calls Barka to help them with homeless EU migrants from Eastern Europe.” (Netherlands/Public administration)

Besides The Netherlands, respondents from The United Kingdom also refer to Barka Foundation as responding to homelessness of EU mobile citizens, namely the *„Barka UK model in London – coordinated national helpline, social economy centre for jobless migrants and reconnection program for those who cannot work and have to come back home”* (UK/NGO).

5.10 Good Practice and Measures to be taken: Experts’ suggestions on how to address Homelessness among EU mobile Citizens

In order to identify potential ways to deal with homelessness among EU mobile citizens, respondents were asked to give information about existing strategies, interventions or specific projects they consider being models of good practice. Furthermore, they were asked about measures they think that should be taken to mitigate such homelessness, regardless of whether these measures have been tested or implemented before.

Several answers concerning existing models of good practice stay on a quite general level, such as *„Housing First Model”* (Luxembourg/NGO) or *„EU funded projects to facilitate the inclusion/integration of migrants, particularly irregular ones, in Malta have been undertaken with a good measure of success, specifically for homeless”* (Malta/Public administration). Furthermore, experts name a notable number of specific interventions.

One model of good practice, which seems to be already well known across several European countries, is the EU-funded counselling centre *‘Crossroads’* in Stockholm. Crossroads is a three-year project, run by the NGO City Mission in Stockholm, offering *„a welcoming drop-in centre for EU migrants who are unemployed and destitute. It provides essentials such as food and daytime shelter, as well as advice and training opportunities”* (EUROCITIES n.d.). The aim of the project that was co-financed by the European Social Fund, the Swedish National Employment Service and Stockholm City was to help reduce social exclusion and homelessness among EU mobile citizens residing in Stockholm. Using a *„client focused approach with inbuilt flexibility to adapt to clients’ needs”* and an *„empowering approach: clients are encouraged to develop their own individual action*

plans” (EUROCITIES n.d.), this was done by offering information about living in Sweden, including advice on housing, employment, training and legal aspects, and language courses. Another aim of ‘Crossroads’ was

„[...] to raise awareness and try to move the issue from a local level to a national and European level. At different occasions the policy makers in the big cities of Sweden try to address the fact that cities cannot take the whole responsibility of this European phenomenon.” (Sweden/Public administration)

The project ended in February 2014, and a forthcoming project report is expected to provide valuable information about effectiveness of the approach, although an expert from Sweden notes:

„Crossroads [...] is a model that is successful when it comes to attracting EU migrants to visit the centre (around 100 visits/day). However, it is difficult to measure effects of the service since the target group is very mobile.” (Sweden/Public administration)

Several further specific projects have been mentioned by respondents as models of good practice, which include counselling centres, street work, accommodation, research projects, and activity in the area of affordable rental housing. A complete list of the models of good practice given by respondents of the survey is provided in Appendix E: Models of Good Practice – Full List.

Priority measures that are defined by respondents of the survey in order to address the issue of homelessness among EU mobile citizens can be classified into seven different areas. Experts have identified the need for action at the direct support level to immediately secure basic needs and prevent further deprivation of persons affected; measures to promote social inclusion of EU mobile citizens; and, if wished by persons concerned, reconnection support. On the policy level, experts state a need for clarifying the legal status, fostering EU-wide cooperation and information exchange and reinforcing engagement of EU policy makers. As a final area, experts recommend to increase support and information in home countries with the aim of providing better living conditions and economic perspectives for economically-deprived citizens.

Support to immediately secure basic needs and to prevent further destitution

Numerous experts who have participated in the survey think that a priority measure to reduce homelessness among EU mobile citizens should be access to and provision with basic services:

„The basic human needs should always be covered first; in reference to the human rights text.” (Luxembourg/NGO)

Experts consider the availability of shelter, basic health care, storage for belongings, and outreach social work to be the most urgent services, while entitlements *„should be standardised and enshrined”* (Ireland/NGO). Conversely, a respondent states EU mobile citizens should only be offered *„shelter when people are willing to return”* (Netherlands/Public administration). Another expert from The Netherlands states a lack of support for those with serious health problems, as their *„capacity and possibilities to help themselves without support are meagre or lacking”* (Netherlands/NGO).

While several experts recommend streamlining access rules for EU mobile citizens to existing welfare benefits, health care, social services and homeless services – especially night shelters – others also think that it may be necessary to implement specific services that are available year-round for travellers (Austria/Research).

Measures to promote access to the housing market in receiving countries

Another area, in which respondents have identified an urgent need for action, in order to prevent EU mobile citizens from becoming homeless and socially destitute is housing. Affordability and security of housing are issues that have gained prominence in recent years, especially in major European cities. While the populations of most of these cities are growing, social housing is in decline – a fact that puts significant pressure on those who have recently arrived and are not among the economically well-off.

Respondents of the survey state that affordability of housing must be fostered at the political level, as *„for both, EU migrants and native homeless, the priorities must always be related to housing. Increasing the number of available social housing might be one solution”* (Portugal/NGO). An expert from The United Kingdom describes a combination of three measures in this area that includes *„increase in social housing provision plus*

rent controls in the private rented sector. Also improved access to housing benefits” (UK/NGO).

Tenant counselling is another measure suggested by an expert (Finland/Public administration), while another respondent states that there is a need for assistance and training concerning housing rules for the affected group of people in order to maintain their housing (Spain/NGO). As shown, HEUMC had largely moved in anticipation of employment possibilities. Many had been poorly informed about realistic prospects in their host country; some may have followed inaccurate guarantees. Many have found only insecure, precarious employment and experience extreme dependence on their employers. In some cases, the employer also provides basic accommodation; therefore, job loss immediately leads to homelessness. Respondents from The United Kingdom and The Netherlands suggest providing low-threshold accommodation options at low prices for EU mobile citizens without psychosocial support needs, which are *„independent from the employer, so that when you lose your job, you do not lose your housing”* (Netherlands/NGO).

Measures to promote social inclusion in target countries in terms of language and access to the labour market

Survey respondents have identified a need for action in the area of integration services. While the offer of publicly funded language courses, assistance in cultural and social familiarity, and labour market-oriented training for third country nationals is noteworthy in many countries, the needs of EU mobile citizens do not appear to have received much attention in this field.

In the online survey, experts were asked about the existence of measures to promote social inclusion of EU mobile citizens, e.g. in terms of labour market, social networks and political participation in their city. Results are inconclusive and show a high rate of participants who do not know whether such services exist (10 out of 66 respondents). Twenty-nine respondents state that such services do exist, while 27 state there are no such measures available in their city.

Experts express that there is a need for proper access to integration services for EU mobile citizens (UK/Other); several respondents suggest the implementation of *„information and*

orientation centres” (Portugal/NGO), or a *„public office to provide guidance*” (Norway/NGO). Accordingly, people affected should be provided with (individual) counselling and social work and information about *„realistic perspectives*” (Germany/Public administration) in their host country. Support and guidance concerning bureaucracy and legal aspects should also be offered to EU mobile citizens, including *„awareness raising for EU migrants on habitual residence and the right to reside and how this affects their eligibility to access services*” (UK/NGO).

An expert from Germany suggests that – beside the implementation of specific counselling centres for this target group – culture-sensitivity should be promoted as an overall competence in existing counselling services involved in the area of homeless assistance (Germany/NGO). Promoting access to language learning (e.g. cost-free language courses) and education in general is also seen as a way to prevent EU mobile citizens from experiencing homelessness and destitution, and to improve support and social inclusion in their host country.

Respondents place a strong focus on the promotion of labour market inclusion in their suggestions for measures to address homelessness of EU mobile citizens, calling for *„more effective and targeted support for employment*” (UK/NGO), including *„access to community jobs*” (UK/Research). They state a need for action concerning access to communication facilities – for job hunting as well as to stay in touch with social networks in home countries (Austria/NGO). An Austrian expert suggests the implementation of *„specialised start coaching for people to find and sustain a job to provide for themselves*” (Austria/NGO). This start coaching should focus on

„[...] find[ing] a job and translate[ing] relevant work papers to provide sustainable support to the people. Without this, extra costs for the social services are created, because people start using substances to overcome their anxiety and feeling of helplessness. However, with a proper start coaching many people could find a job quickly and therefore contribute in a meaningful way to the economy and society without just draining resources.” (Austria/NGO)

Furthermore, the same expert explains why there is currently so little knowledge about the needs of HEUMC, although he thinks that specialised responses are needed:

„Homelessness of EU migrants has to be dealt with differently than with the ‚old’ user groups, needs are different and so are capabilities of people. It’s difficult to do economic

research on the topic since it's not possible to tell how much money could be saved through provision of adequate and sustainable services such as start coaching, providing shelter and basic services would alleviate pressure from social services, result in fewer mental health problems, hospitalisations and stress-related violence.” (Austria/NGO)

Additionally, an expert from The United Kingdom suggests measures *„to crack down on people and organisations falsely promoting jobs and accommodation that do not exist”* (UK/NGO).

Reconnection support

Reconnection has already been discussed in section 5.9. Several respondents state there is a need for reconnection services in order to deal with homelessness among EU mobile citizens; therefore it is appropriate to also include it in this chapter about potential strategies.. Several respondents consider reconnection interventions of the Polish NGO Barka as an ultimate approach to the issue in The Netherlands. Enthusiastic reports about the success of Barka come from representatives of public administration, such as:

„Yes I already said: Barka. They are really fantastic, effective, and cheap and it really solves the problem already in several municipalities in Europe. This policy must be a European policy and the good practice must be spread.” (Netherlands/Public administration)

Furthermore, a respondent from a NGO in The United Kingdom views the Barka UK model in London as a model of good practice (UK/NGO). This expert describes their knowledge concerning their focused country of origin as a considerable strength of Barka, therefor,

„[...] employing an organisation with experience who targets the same problem in their country and knows mentality of their citizen migrants abroad, e.g. Polish organisation, will work more efficiently with Poles abroad than any other local organisations employing one or two Poles to deal with this issue.” (UK/NGO)

While critical comments about reconnection in The Netherlands and The United Kingdom exist, especially with regard to its (lack of) voluntariness, a respondent expresses that reconnection services should be available *„for those who wish to return to their home country”* (UK/NGO). Besides The United Kingdom and The Netherlands, experts from Norway and Portugal also state the need for reconnection support.

Clarification of the legal status

It has already been pointed out that the legal status and administrative rules concerning EU mobile citizens are inconsistent and unclear to many experts. Therefore, it is logical that experts see the need for action in this area to improve the situation of HEUMC, in addition to providing a sound basis for the activities of social service organisations. A respondent from Denmark states:

„Take a political decision: Can they stay or not stay? And if they stay they must have access to a shelter to sleep and eat.” (Denmark/Public administration)

A British expert suggests, *„training for local authority staff on EU migrants’ eligibility for homelessness assistance”* (UK/NGO), while a respondent from Austria asserts the problem needs more public discussion and a stronger engagement of those politically in charge at the national and European level (Austria/NGO).

Encountering the issue at the European level

At the policy level, respondents noticeably refer to EU bodies as being responsible for developing clear legal rules, facilitating policy exchange and providing funds to address what a Swedish expert says is a *„European phenomenon”* (Sweden/Public administration).

Experts identify a strong need of cooperation and information exchange across European cities; one from Germany states that pressure should be placed on EU policy makers to foster the development of solutions (Germany/NGO). Shared rules concerning intra-EU mobility (Denmark/NGO and Austria/NGO) are needed, whereby *„changes of policy and legislation have to start from the EU-level”* (Finland/Research). Furthermore, respondents have expressed the need of a common homelessness strategy in the EU, which also includes homeless migrants (Italy/Public administration).

Besides policy making, experts see the EU as being responsible for providing sufficient funds to handle homelessness among EU mobile citizens. While several experts report of European funds to provide accommodation, counselling and reconnection for persons affected, an expert from Sweden suggests *„an EU initiative with EU-financed offices (information points) in relevant capitals in the EU-Member States providing the same type*

of services for EU migrants, such as: legal advice, information about the housing and labour market, rights and obligations etc.” (Sweden/Public administration).

Provision of support in home countries

The final area in which participating experts have identified need for action towards homelessness among EU mobile citizens is in improving the living conditions in home countries, and in fostering cooperation with public authorities to *„increase the possibility of dialogue with the social support institutions of the home countries for a concerted effort”* (Portugal/NGO).

Experts from The Netherlands, Germany and Austria state a need for improving quality of social services infrastructure in home countries, with support and funding from the European Union, in order to provide citizens with better living conditions. For the economically deprived, this may prove to be an alternative to leaving the country. Investments in education and labour market are seen as necessary measures to improve economic perspectives in home countries. As HEUMC have often been described as badly informed about living conditions and labour market perspectives in their target countries, a possible solution could be *„to inform about the real situation in the target-countries”* (Germany/NGO). This may also prevent those who are ready to move from being victims to misleading offers of employment.

Based on the information presented above, the following chapter aims to provide an overview of the study results, merging theoretical considerations of intra-EU mobility, social inclusion and welfare state theory with empirically gained data from the survey. It represents a condensed insight into participating experts’ opinions and experiences about homelessness among EU mobile citizens and reveals their views on how the issue should be addressed at several levels of policy making and practice.

6 CONCLUSIONS

Freedom of movement provides new challenges for European welfare states as the main instances in terms of dealing with issues of social exclusion. Strikingly, these discrepancies appear in the sections of the welfare system that address one of the most severe forms of social exclusion: homelessness. This master's thesis has addressed the issue of homelessness among EU mobile citizens in European cities. It presented the results of an exploratory study on the issue of homelessness among EU mobile citizens, providing insights into the problem from the perspective of experts working in the field of homeless services across Europe. The research questions were answered by carrying out an online survey; 66 experts from cities in 20 EU Member States and states of the Schengen Area who have professional expertise related to the issue of homelessness took part in this survey.

The master's thesis dealt with the complexity and contrariness incorporated into the interfaces of social exclusion, welfare state and transnational mobility within the European Union. Thus, a paradoxical situation emerges. Borders between nation states within the European Union and the Schengen Area are gradually being removed. A growing number of citizens use their right to free movement to set up lives in another European state, and most of these EU mobile citizens are able to establish themselves in the regular labour market, thereby contributing in an economically beneficial way to wealth in their host society (EY 2014). At the same time, complex mechanisms and structures of exclusion develop, which aim to exclude those who are not seen as contributors to national or even local economic growth.

Experts from the field of homeless services have observed growing numbers of EU mobile citizens being homeless in their host country during the last years. A vast majority of respondents expects this development to continue in the next five years. According to survey participants, reasons for growing numbers of HEUMC can be identified at the structural level. These include worsening economic and social conditions due to the financial crisis in the most relevant sending countries, as well as economic downturn, the reduction of social assistance and a lack of affordable housing in host countries. Individual-level trigger factors are, compared to domestic homeless populations, not considered to play an important role, although some experts report rising levels of substance abuse

and psychiatric issues among the group of HEUMC that has been associated with a lack of assistance for this group.

Participants' assessments on socio-demographic characteristics of HEUMC largely correspond to existing statistical data on intra-EU mobility available through Eurostat. They also reflect the assumption that intra-EU mobility is mainly related to labour mobility. Accordingly, participants estimate that the majority of those affected are of working age; generally, they seem to be younger than domestic homeless cohorts. HEUMC are considered to be predominantly single males. Major countries of origin are the new eastern European EU Member States such as Romania and Bulgaria. Additionally, the proportion of homeless mobile citizens from those southern European countries most strongly hit by the financial crisis seems to be increasing. Another growing group appear to be third country nationals with legal stay in Southern Europe or France. In Central and Northern Europe, experts observe a varying share of EU mobile citizens with the Roma ethnic background. This group is particularly visible when residing in family units in their host countries; they are reported to experience, in addition to homelessness, extreme deprivation in terms of ethnic discrimination, racism, health and education.

EU citizens who are affected by homelessness in their host countries, according to survey participants, anticipate an improved livelihood in terms of employment and economic status, which is the main reason for their mobility. Instead of these expectations becoming reality, this group of EU mobile citizens faces multiple barriers towards social inclusion in their host countries. Kronauer (2006; 2010) provides a theoretical framework for the examination of social exclusion that rests upon three different modes of inclusion: (1) inclusion through participation in labour division; (2) inclusion through informal social relationships; and (3) inclusion through participation in socially acknowledged life chances and living standards. Drawing on this framework, the barriers most relevant to the group of HEUMC mainly lie in the first and the latter. According to Kronauer, inclusion through participation in socially acknowledged life chances and living standards, which should ensure individuals' social and material integrity and political rights, arises through citizenship and social rights. Experts' assessments of the situation of HEUMC in European cities show that, despite attempts at EU-level social security coordination, HEUMC have not been able to transfer these rights to their target country to an extent that enables them to access even basic social institutions and material living standards

such as health care or adequate shelter. Instead, these barriers are reinforced through barriers towards participation in the labour market, as in many cases formal employment is set as a precondition for EU mobile citizens to access various social services provided by European welfare states. Therefore, barriers in the labour market are crucial to social inclusion of EU mobile citizens, as they are strongly interrelated with other areas such as access to social benefits or access to homeless services, causing a downward spiral for those affected that may, subsequently, result in rough sleeping.

On the one hand, finding a job and generating income through employment seems to be the single option for HEUMC to establish themselves in their present country of residence, as entitlement to social services in many cases is not otherwise given. On the other hand, migrants who aim to generate working income regardless of the working conditions are more likely to face labour exploitation, informal work and insecure employment. Besides these, bureaucratic barriers in host countries create another obstacle for EU mobile citizens. Respondents describe how not being able to understand high-threshold bureaucratic systems or the mistrust in public authorities could result in non-engagement in public services. A lack of knowledge and clarity concerning the legal status of EU mobile citizens on both sides – migrants as well as staff in public authorities – is an issue that is reported by several experts. Additionally, language difficulties and cultural barriers complicate overcoming these obstacles.

The barriers outlined above leave those affected with limited resources to cover their basic needs. The most important modes of survival identified by experts are social assistance offered by NGOs, civil society and faith based organisations, informal work and begging. In general, experts report a lack of social assistance available to HEUMC. Nevertheless, the issue puts significant pressure on public administration and service providers in the field of homeless services. As the most important actors concerning the issue, experts perceive NGOs and civil society, religious communities, the police and local level public administration.

NGOs and civil society, including religious communities, play a considerable role in dealing with the issue. Their responses can be divided into three main areas: basic provision and emergency help; information and counselling; and cooperation, lobbying and net-

working. Although subject to criticism over a perceived lack of coordination and sustainability in their approach, NGOs – or, what Olsson and Nordfeldt (2008, p. 163) call the ‘tertiary’ welfare system – may be the only source of direct support for HEUMC, whereby *„civil society is generally hostile [...] and it is left to NGOs to provide even the most basic levels of support”* (UK/NGO). Among NGOs, faith-based communities play a special role, with a focus on direct, low-threshold support through soup kitchens and food banks, and in offering shelter. Perceptions concerning the quality of religious communities’ response to the issue vary significantly among respondents. While several experts state that faith based organisations are filling an important gap in the social security net, others criticise a lack of structure, reluctance in recognising the real dimensions of the issue and accuse them of (unintentionally) prolonging rough sleeping and therefor reinforcing problems. Local level public administration and public policy are also considered to respectively play an important role as a provider and financier of social services available to HEUMC. Such services include shelter during wintertime – usually in cooperation with NGOs – but also in (emergency) health services, outreach and counselling. As data show, another response of local level public administration is the regulation of access to social services. Public administration/public policy is strongly criticised by representatives of NGOs and researchers, e.g. for acting responsively, with a focus on reducing welfare costs instead of setting strategic and preventive measures. As another strong actor concerning the issue of homelessness among EU mobile citizens, experts refer to the police. While several experts report a functional cooperation between the police and social service providers, others cite frustration about the issue among local police staff, and identify tendencies towards the criminalisation of homelessness, e.g. through increased identity controls in public space or racial profiling targeting Roma people from Eastern Europe.

In European welfare states, social services for homeless people constitute a substantial area of the social security net. Low-threshold services addressed to rough sleepers, such as day centres and shelters, have the central task of mitigating the most serious consequences of extreme poverty and social exclusion. Public discourse in combination with data from the survey at hand show that access for HEUMC to this part of social security net has been questioned increasingly in recent years. Public authorities and social service providers have been developing various practices to restrict access for this group of peo-

ple – either by introducing new access rules or by executing existing ones more rigorously. These practices can be divided into five groups, which sometimes overlap, or are applied as a combination of several practices:

Practice I: Limiting access by introducing a habitual residency test or other proof of local connection. Only those who are able to provide evidence of local connection to the country or area where they aim to access homeless services are admitted. Criteria reported by experts vary significantly and may include a certain length of stay in the region/country, a formal work record and/or the proof of being self-supporting and therefore not dependent on welfare benefits.

Practice II: Allowing access for EU mobile citizens only during the winter period. Restricting access to homeless services for EU mobile citizens to the cold season is the strategy reported most frequently by respondents. Services available to HEUMC during wintertime are restricted to basic facilities that mainly serve the function of protecting users from the cold.

Practice III: Limiting access to certain services. This either occurs within the regular homeless support system or by developing special services addressed to HEUMC. Services available to EU mobile citizens may include counselling, emergency help, night shelters and emergency shelters, basic health care, drop in centers and financial and organisational support in returning to their country of origin.

Practice IV: Limiting access to homeless services to people with serious (health) problems. Experts report the practice of giving access to homeless services for those EU mobile citizens who have been diagnosed with serious health problems, especially in regards to cases relevant to public health.

Practice V: Limiting access to homeless services to only those compliant with reconnection services. Access to homeless services, in particular night shelters, is linked to clients' willingness to return to their home country within a short period of time. In these cases, EU mobile citizens only gain temporary access to homeless services if they take part in reconnection measures.

The practices arising from data suggest the emergence of a two-tier system in the area of homeless services, providing services at a significantly lower level for EU mobile citizens than for domestic homeless people. On one hand, services available for EU mobile citizens are of much lower standard than regular homeless services. On the other hand, EU mobile citizens are required to meet specific criteria to be eligible for these services, such as serious health issues or compliance in reconnection measures.

Expulsion or deportation, which means removing a foreign national from their country of residence by public authorities, is in public discourse in Europe mainly present in the context of refugees from countries outside the European Union. In fact, a large share of experts says that homeless EU-mobile citizens have been expelled from their city during the last five years. Respondents say that EU mobile citizens have been expelled based on the appraisal they were not being self-supporting, posed a threat to public order, were found being engaged in criminal activity, not exercising treaty rights or had been begging in their host country. While a Swedish expert reports extensive public reactions to a case of expulsion of an EU citizen, which also „*resulted in massive criticism of the police*” (Sweden/Public administration), expulsion of people belonging to the group of EU mobile citizens appear to be more common in countries such as The United Kingdom and The Netherlands. The legal basis for expelling EU citizens is considered to be unclear by many respondents: several think that the expulsions they reported have not been legal. Others report a lack of legal knowledge among actors, while some respondents mention that legitimacy of specific cases already has been dealt with in court. A problematic aspect of expelling EU citizens from countries in which freedom of movement is in effect, according to experts, is that persons who have lost their legal stay or have been expelled may return back after a short period of time.

Another measure, which experts consider to be more sustainable than expulsion, is reconnection of EU mobile citizens. Reconnection, repatriation or supported return means that contact with public authorities, NGOs or family members in the home country is established, e.g. through staff in counselling centres. The aim is to enable a monitored return of EU mobile citizens that offers individuals perspectives in their home country about services such as housing, social benefits or medical treatment. Experts, mainly from The Netherlands and The United Kingdom, state that reconnection measures are a part of policy in their city/country. As several experts’ statements show, boundaries between

(forced) expulsion and (voluntary) return are perceived as blurred. Voluntariness of re-connection services in many cases also is questionable, as access to basic services such as shelter is often tied to participation in these programs and therefore „*places pressure on the homeless to return home*” (UK/NGO).

Existing welfare state typologies have been used as a conceptual framework for this research. Roughly summarised, the following patterns can be identified with regard to the clustering of welfare state regimes that was used in this work (derived from the typology provided by Esping-Andersen 1989). Experts from liberal and corporatist welfare state regimes, followed by experts from social democratic welfare state regimes, consider the issue to be of particular urgency. While judgments from experts in southern European welfare states appear inconsistent, respondents from post-socialist welfare states did not consider homelessness among EU mobile citizens a relevant problem.

Among the liberal welfare states of The United Kingdom, Ireland and Switzerland, the number of experts rating the issue as either ‚very urgent’ or ‚urgent’ is 10 out of 13 participants. Most have observed an increase in the number of HEUMC in their city during the last five years. Response from The United Kingdom is particularly rich, and reports concerning the handling of the issue by public authorities show several characteristics associated with liberal welfare state regimes, such as the setting of strict preconditions for accessing social services and the delegation of responsibility to the individual level. The scope of public assistance for HEUMC is very low, with civil society organisations in many cases being the only source of support. Furthermore, the highest proportion of experts who report expulsion of EU citizens come from liberal welfare states.

Respondents from corporatist welfare states (Germany, Luxembourg, Austria, Belgium and France) report a broad variety of measures that lead to a limited access to existing homeless services for HEUMC, compared to local homeless people. HEUMC need to rely on direct support through NGOs, mainly faith-based organisations, and – mainly during winter – public authorities are reported to provide basic services such as shelter.

Participating experts from social democratic welfare state regimes (The Netherlands, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland) consider the issue of homelessness among EU mobile citizens as less urgent compared to experts from liberal and corporatist welfare state

regimes. Responses concerning access to homeless services for HEUMC are varied: policies are considered to be inconsistent and several statements show the emergence of a two-tier system, which, although of much lower standards than what is available for local homeless people, provides HEUMC access to limited social services such as basic health care and night shelters during winter. Furthermore, there are reports about projects promoting social inclusion of EU mobile citizens, including legal and labour market counselling from Denmark and Sweden.

The Netherlands is often characterised as a 'hybrid case' (Muffels and Fouarge 2002, pp. 205-206) in terms welfare state regime. Following the recommendations of Ganßmann (2010, p. 340), in this research, it was considered a social democratic welfare state regime. However, data from the survey shows that, with regard to homelessness among EU mobile citizens, response to the issue in The Netherlands shares characteristics with the liberal welfare state regime of The United Kingdom. These similarities include the delegation of responsibility to the individual level, setting very strict preconditions for even basic social assistance such as shelter, various reports on expulsions of HEUMC and forcing reconnection measures. Experts from both countries report the practice of admitting HEUMC to basic homeless services only when they take part in reconnection measures. Furthermore, in both countries the Polish NGO Barka Foundation has been engaged by public authorities in order to deal with the issue, focusing on reconnection.

Response concerning the issue from experts from southern European welfare states (with survey participants from Italy, Malta, Portugal and Spain) is inconsistent, although these experts rate urgency of the issue considerably lower than their colleagues from liberal, corporatist and social democratic welfare state regimes. Only two out of 12 participants consider the issue 'urgent' or 'very urgent'. Correspondingly, reports on practices of limiting access to homeless services for HEUMC are rare, as well as reports on expulsions.

Few response came from experts in post-socialist welfare state regimes (Lithuania, Poland, Czech Republic). Only three out of 66 respondents came from this type of welfare state regime, representing Lithuania, Poland and the Czech Republic. These three experts, all working in the NGO/social service providers sector, do not consider homelessness of EU mobile citizens as a significant problem in their cities. They also do not report an increase of people affected during the last years; the expert from the Czech Republic even

reports a slight decrease. This coincides with official figures from Eurostat showing that post-socialist EU Member States are among the most unpopular target countries of EU mobile citizens.

Experts' views on the issue of homelessness among EU mobile citizens reflect Benton (2013, p. 3)'s analysis of EU social security coordination. She concludes that many terms and legal rules in this area are contested and unclear, including what is meant by 'unreasonable burden' to welfare systems or the legal situation concerning expulsion of EU mobile citizens. Furthermore, the emergence of various practices to limit EU mobile citizens' access to local homeless services support the thesis of an „*EU-wide race to the bottom*” (Nowaczek 2010, p. 293) in the area of social assistance – a field that poses a range of significant challenges for EU social security coordination. Furthermore, the question arises whether a common European social model, which enables mobility between Member States while securing the right to basic social assistance, could encounter the tendencies of social closure described above.

Data gained through the survey clearly suggests that, to address the issue of homelessness and other forms of social exclusion, coordinated action on several levels will be necessary. Homeless support systems across Europe may be able to mitigate the most serious consequences of severe deprivation, but they are not able to address the issue from a holistic perspective. Without coordinated action at the policy level that takes into account various areas in which EU mobile citizens may face barriers towards social inclusion, the issue will continue to be discussed by the media and politicians in a mainly populist way, leaving people affected without meaningful support and those employed in homeless services overstrained, wavering between their humanitarian ambitions to act and the uncertainties caused by unclear legal and political conditions.

Concerning experts' views of models of good practice and measures that could be taken in order to tackle the issue of homelessness among EU mobile citizens, several threads emerge, placing the main responsibility for finding solutions either on host countries, on countries of origin or at the European level. On one hand, experts strongly endorse support measures in target countries. These include support to immediately secure basic needs, prevent further destitution, and promote social inclusion, e.g. basic social and health services; promoting access to affordable housing and labour market inclusion; and

addressing undocumented, exploitative working conditions. On the other hand, experts suggest to focus on the situation in the main sending countries, where the development of a stable social security net, supported by the EU, should prevent vulnerable people from leaving. Furthermore, better access to information about the labour market and its requirements in target countries could help potential EU mobile citizens to assess their prospects more realistically. At the policy level, experts call for a clarification of the legal status, with the widely spread view that this 'European phenomenon' needs to be encountered at the European level instead of delegating it to national and local authorities.

The assessment of experts participating in the survey suggests that the majority of EU mobile citizens who are affected by homelessness are mobile workers who are not able to overcome structural barriers towards social inclusion in their target countries. Marika Markovits, Director of the NGO 'Stockholms Stadsmission', which played a key role in designing and implementing the counselling centre 'Crossroads', sums this up: „*We are creating a totally new kind of homelessness in Europe.*“²¹

Particularly problematic aspects such as the legal framework and the practical handling of expulsions as well as reconnection measures need extensive attention. The issue shows that, while nation state borders are constantly removed, barriers emerge that may prevent freedom of movement, despite it being one of the mayor achievements of the European integration process. This master's thesis is only able to provide an exploratory insight into the issue of homelessness among EU mobile citizens. Nevertheless, results reveal that it puts significant pressure on public administration and social service providers in European welfare states. Unanswered questions about the responsibility of promoting the social inclusion of HEUMC result in suffering for those affected. In order to provide a basis for meaningful measures in this field, further research will be necessary. Areas that need further investigation include the practice of expelling EU citizens as well as reconnection measures that have been implemented in several countries. Therefore, a focus should be placed on questions of voluntariness, sustainability and compatibility with existing legal rules as well as the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the EU. Another issue that arises

²¹ Cited from a lecture about the ESF financed project 'Crossroads' at the conference „How do we respond to EU-migrants – experience and initiatives from cities in Europe“, 8th of November 2013, Stockholm City Hall.

from data at hand is the rising tendency towards the criminalisation of homelessness, which is indicated by the implementation of bans on begging, prosecution of rough sleeping and increased action of the police towards homeless people in public space. Finally, it must be mentioned that extensive, quantitative and comparable data on homelessness in general is still not available through the Eurostat database, which leaves an information gap for research, policy makers and practitioners; it means that one of the most severe forms of social exclusion remains undocumented at the European level.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX A: ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Personenfreizügigkeit als eine der zentralen Errungenschaften der europäischen Integration beinhaltet auch neue Herausforderungen für die europäischen Wohlfahrtsstaaten, die Hauptakteure im Kampf gegen soziale Exklusion. Es entstehen Diskrepanzen zwischen dem Prinzip der Freizügigkeit und der Bereitstellung sozialer Sicherheit, die weiterhin in der Verantwortung der Nationalstaaten oder sogar lokaler Verwaltungen liegt. Besonders schwerwiegend erscheinen diese Diskrepanzen in jenen Bereichen der Sozialsysteme, die sich mit einer der schwersten Formen sozialer Exklusion beschäftigen: Wohnungslosigkeit. Die vorliegende Arbeit stellt eine explorative Untersuchung zum Thema Wohnungslosigkeit unter EU-BinnenmigrantInnen dar. Zur Beantwortung der Forschungsfragen wurde eine Online-Befragung durchgeführt, an der 66 ExpertInnen aus dem Feld der Wohnungslosenhilfe aus zwanzig EU- und Schengen-Mitgliedsstaaten teilgenommen haben. Die Arbeit beschäftigt sich mit der Komplexität und den Widersprüchlichkeiten, die an den Schnittstellen von sozialer Exklusion, Wohlfahrtsstaatlichkeit und transnationaler Mobilität entstehen. Als theoretische Grundlagen für die Untersuchung dienen Arbeiten im Bereich sozialer Exklusion und Wohlfahrtsstaatstheorie.

Die befragten ExpertInnen beobachteten in den vergangenen Jahren eine steigende Zahl von mobilen EU-BürgerInnen, die in ihrem Zielland von Wohnungslosigkeit betroffen sind. Themen, die in diesem Zusammenhang von der vorliegenden Arbeit thematisiert werden, sind die Einschätzungen der ExpertInnen zu Formen und Entwicklung des Problems, den Lebensbedingungen wohnungsloser EU-BinnenmigrantInnen, den Barrieren und Problemen sozialer Exklusion, von denen diese Personen betroffen sind. Weiters wird beschrieben, mit welchen Maßnahmen dem Problem aus Sicht der ExpertInnen zu begegnen ist.

Die Ergebnisse der Studie zeigen, dass der Zugang zu Angeboten der Wohnungslosenhilfe für mobile EU-BürgerInnen in den vergangenen Jahren zunehmend in Frage gestellt wurde. Weitere problematische Aspekte in diesem Zusammenhang sind die Praxis von Abschiebungen mobiler EU-BürgerInnen sowie deren unterstützte Rückkehr ins Herkunftsland. So zeigen die Rückmeldungen mehrerer ExpertInnen, dass die Grenzen zwischen (erzwungener) Abschiebung und (freiwilliger) Rückkehr durchaus fließend sind und die

Freiwilligkeit von Rückkehrhilfen insofern zu hinterfragen ist, als diese oft als Bedingung für den (kurzfristigen) Zugang zu Angeboten der Notversorgung für wohnungslose Menschen dient, was zusätzlichen Druck auf die Betroffenen ausübt. Die Arbeit zeigt, dass, während nationalstaatliche Grenzen innerhalb Europas zunehmend an Bedeutung verlieren, andere Barrieren entstehen, die das Recht auf Personenfreizügigkeit einschränken.

APPENDIX B: CURRICULUM VITAE

Mag^a(FH) Andrea Zierler

Born: September 17th 1983 in Graz, Nationality: Austria. Currently living in Vienna.

E-mail: andrea.zierler@gmail.at

Education

- *February 2010 to Present: University of Vienna, Master Program Sociology (focus: ‚Social structure & social integration‘ and ‚Health & organisation‘.*
- *October 2003 to October 2007: University of Applied Sciences Kufstein, 4-year Diploma in Business Administration (Sports-, Culture- and Event Management‘).*
- *January to June 2006: Sheffield Hallam University, Faculty of Organisation & Management, Erasmus Student Exchange.*
- *September 1998 to June 2003: HTBLA Graz Ortweinschule for Arts & Design, general qualification for university entrance.*

Professional Experience

- *August 2010 to Present: Fonds Soziales Wien, Viennese Assistance Programme for Homeless People; strategic planning, project management and quality management in the area of homeless support services in Vienna.*
- *May 2008 to September 2009: Caritas der Diözese Graz-Seckau; Communication officer for nursing and care services.*
- *April 2007 to September 2009: MEGAPHON Streetpaper and social initiative; communication, project management and event management.*
- *March to September 2005: Albertina Museum: Marketing, communication and events internship.*

Publications

- Zierler, Andrea, Sofia Martinsson and Tatjana Weiss. 2013. Accommodating Homeless Families in the Private Rented Housing Sector: Experiences from a Supported Housing Project in Vienna. In *European Journal of Homelessness* August 2013, Volume 7/1: pp. 117-134.
- Zierler, Andrea. 2007. *Die Kunst, die Welt zu retten. Partizipation, Aktivismus und gesellschaftspolitisches Engagement im Kontext eines erweiterten Kunstbegriffs [The art to save the world. Participation, activism and socio-political engagement in the context of an expansion of art's boundaries]*. Diploma thesis, Fachhochschule Kufstein.

APPENDIX C: QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear Homelessness Professionals,

This Survey is set out to examine the **issue of homelessness among EU-migrants from a cross national perspective**. It is part of a research project at the Department of Sociology at the University of Vienna.

The following questionnaire addresses **experts from cities in all EU Member States** and States of the Schengen Area who have expertise related to the issue of homelessness. Experts on the issue include staff in NGOs, public administration, user self organizations and research institutions, working in direct social services as well as in management and research.

You will be asked on **your assessment of the issue** “Homelessness among EU-migrants” in your city as well as on details concerning your professional relation to the topic. The questionnaire contains appr. 30 questions. All data generated from the survey will be treated **anonymously**.

Your participation in this survey will provide valuable insights into the issue of homelessness among EU-migrants in your city.

For more information on the research project, please **contact** homeless.eu.migrants@gmail.com.

Thank you very much for your time!

Andrea Zierler

- Questions marked with * are **mandatory**.
- **Definition of homelessness** used in this survey: *ETHOS - European Typology of Homelessness and housing exclusion*.
- The term **"homeless EU-migrants"** used in this survey refers to citizens of any other EU-Member State or Member State of the Schengen Area who have migrated to your country, now being homeless. Please answer all questions in relation to your city of residence.
- The online survey will be followed by **in-depth-interviews** with selected experts. You can indicate whether you are interested in taking part in such an interview at the end of the questionnaire. If this is the case, you will be asked to leave your contact details.
- It is possible to **save your answers** and continue the survey later.

Contact details:

Andrea Zierler

E-Mail: homeless.eu.migrants@gmail.com

LinkedIn: <http://www.linkedin.com/pub/andrea-zierler/1b/aa1/a26>

Telephone: +43 (0)650 22 36 160

1. Assessment of the issue “Homelessness among EU-migrants”

[G1_Q0001_urgency] Is homelessness among migrants from other EU Member States/the Schengen Area an urgent issue in your city? Please give your estimation! * Please choose only one of the following:

- ☐ Not an issue at all.
- ☐ Not an urgent issue.
- ☐ Moderately urgent issue.
- ☐ Urgent issue.
- ☐ Very urgent issue.

	No engagement	Weak engagement	Moderate engagement	Strong engagement	Very strong engagement	Do not know
Religious communities	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Art scene	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

[G1_Q0006_act_locadmi] What are the responses of public administration (local level/city level) to the issue in your city? Please specify! *Please write your answer here:*

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met: Answer was 'Very strong engagement' or 'Strong engagement' or 'Moderate engagement' at question '5 [G1_Q0005_actors]' (Which actors/institutions are currently engaged on the issue of homelessness among EU-migrants in your city? (Public administration (local level)))

[G1_Q0007_act_natadm] What are the responses of public administration (national level) to the issue in your city? Please specify! *Please write your answer here:*

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met: Answer was 'Very strong engagement' or 'Strong engagement' or 'Moderate engagement' at question '5 [G1_Q0005_actors]' (Which actors/institutions are currently engaged on the issue of homelessness among EU-migrants in your city? (Public administration (national level)))

[G1_Q0008_act_ngo] What are the responses of NGOs/civil society to the issue in your city? Please specify! *Please write your answer here:*

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met: Answer was 'Very strong engagement' or 'Strong engagement' or 'Moderate engagement' at question '5 [G1_Q0005_actors]' (Which actors/institutions are currently engaged on the issue of homelessness among EU-migrants in your city? (NGOs/civil society))

[G1_Q0009_act_media] What are the responses of the media to the issue in your city? Please specify! *Please write your answer here:*

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met: Answer was 'Very strong engagement' or 'Strong engagement' or 'Moderate engagement' at question '5 [G1_Q0005_actors]' (Which actors/institutions are currently engaged on the issue of homelessness among EU-migrants in your city? (The media))

[G1_Q0010_act_resear] What are the responses of research institutions to the issue in your city? Please specify! *Please write your answer here:*

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met: Answer was 'Very strong engagement' or 'Strong engagement' or 'Moderate engagement' at question '5 [G1_Q0005_actors]' (Which actors/institutions are currently engaged on the issue of homelessness among EU-migrants in your city? (Research institutions))

[G1_Q0010a_act_locpol] What are the responses of policy makers (local level) to the issue in your city? Please specify! *Please write your answer here:*

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met: Answer was 'Very strong engagement' or 'Strong engagement' or 'Moderate engagement' at question '5 [G1_Q0005_actors]' (Which actors/institutions are currently engaged on the issue of homelessness among EU-migrants in your city? (Policy makers (local level)))

[G1_Q0010b_act_natpol] What are the responses of policy makers (national level) to the issue in your city? Please specify! *Please write your answer here:*

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met: Answer was 'Very strong engagement' or 'Strong engagement' or 'Moderate engagement' at question '5 [G1_Q0005_actors]' (Which actors/institutions are currently engaged on the issue of homelessness among EU-migrants in your city? (Policy makers (national level)))

[G1_Q0011_act_eupolic] What are the responses by EU policy makers to the issue? Please specify! *Please write your answer here:*

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met: Answer was 'Very strong engagement' or 'Strong engagement' or 'Moderate engagement' at question '5 [G1_Q0005_actors]' (Which actors/institutions are currently engaged on the issue of homelessness among EU-migrants in your city? (Policy makers (national level)))

	No source	Unim- portant source	Moderately important source	Important source	Very im- portant source	Do not know
country						
Informal work/black labour	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Legal work	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Begging	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Prostitution	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Social services provided by public admin- istration	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Social services provided by private chari- ties/NGOs	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

[G1_Q0022_basinc_othe] Are there any other relevant sources for homeless EU-migrants to cover their basic needs? Please specify! *Please write your answer here:*

[G1_Q0023_access_home] Do EU-migrants have access to social services for homeless people in your city? * *Please choose only one of the following:*

- ☐ No access.
- ☐ Partly access. (Please use the comment field to specify!)
- ☐ Full access.
- ☐ Do not know.

[G1_Q0023_access_home_comment] *Make a comment on your choice here:*

[G1_Q0024_measures] Are any measures taken to promote social inclusion of EU-migrants, e.g. in terms of labour market, social networks, political participation in your city? * *Please choose only one of the following:*

- ☐ No.
- ☐ Yes. (Please use the comment field to give some details!)
- ☐ Do not know.

[G1_Q0024_measures_comment] *Make a comment on your choice here:*

2 Characteristics of the target group

[G2_Q0001_characteri] Please estimate the following characteristics of homeless EU-citizens in your city! *Please write your answer(s) here:*

Characteristics in terms of gender:

Characteristics in terms of age:

Characteristics in terms of family situation:

Characteristics in terms of ethnic Origin:

Characteristics in terms of country of origin:

[G2_Q0002_reasons] What do you think are the main reasons for migration among the group of homeless EU-migrants in your city? Please estimate the importance of each reason! * *Please choose the appropriate response for each item:*

	No reason	Unimportant reason	Moderately important reason	Important reason	Very important reason	Do not know
Ethnic discrimination in home country	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Unemployment in home country	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Homelessness in home country	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Poor economic situation in home country	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
False promises (e.g. by people smugglers)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Poor welfare services in home country	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Family problems (e.g. divorce)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Pressure through family	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Family members already living in target country	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Human trafficking	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Expecting better welfare system in target country	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Expecting better economic situation in target country	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Expecting employment in target country	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

[G2_Q0003_reasons_ot] Are there any other relevant reasons for migration among the group of homeless EU-migrants in your city? Please specify! *Please write your answer here:*

[G2_Q0004_homele_home] Do you agree to the following statement? *"Homelessness is a problem the target group already have been facing in their country of origin."* * Please choose only one of the following:

Strongly disagree.

☐ Disagree.

☐ Neither agree nor disagree.

☐ Agree

☐ Strongly agree.

☐ Do not know.

[G2_Q0005_expulsions] Have expulsions of homeless EU-foreigners occurred in your city during the last five years? * Please choose only one of the following:

☐ No.

☐ Yes. (Please give some details!)

☐ Do not know.

[G2_Q0005_expulsions_comment] Make a comment on your choice here:

[G2_Q0006_prioritymea] In your opinion, which concrete measures should be given priority concerning homelessness among EU-migrants in your city? *Please write your answer here:*

[G2_Q0007_goodpractic] Do you know of any ‘models of good practice’ concerning homelessness among EU-Migrants in your city or beyond? Please give some details! *Please write your answer here:*

3 Characteristics of participants *Please give some personal information.*

[G3_Q0001_part_organ] What is your main organizational background? * *Please choose only one of the following:*

- ☐ NGO/social services provider.
- ☐ Public administration/public policy.
- ☐ Research institute.
- ☐ Self organization of social service users/homeless people.
- ☐ Other – **[G3_Q0001_part_organ_other]** *Please specify:*

[G3_Q0002_part_occup] What is your main occupation? * *Please choose only one of the following:*

- ☐ Direct social services provision.
- ☐ Management.
- ☐ Research.
- ☐ Policy development/program administration.
- ☐ Other – **[G3_Q0002_part_occup_other]** *Please specify:*

[G3_Q0003_part_experi] How many years of professional experience related to the issue ‘Homelessness’ do you have? * *Please write your answer here:*

[G3_Q0004_part_sex] What is your gender? *Please choose only one of the following:*

- ☐ Female.
- ☐ Male.
- ☐ No answer.

[G3_Q0005_part_countr] Which is your country of residence? * *Please choose only one of the following:*

- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| ☐ Austria | ☐ Iceland | ☐ Romania |
| ☐ Belgium | ☐ Ireland | ☐ Slovakia |
| ☐ Bulgaria | ☐ Italy | ☐ Slovenia |
| ☐ Cyprus | ☐ Latvia | ☐ Spain |
| ☐ Czech Republic | ☐ Liechtenstein | ☐ Sweden |
| ☐ Denmark | ☐ Lithuania | ☐ Switzerland |
| ☐ Estonia | ☐ Luxembourg | ☐ United Kingdom |
| ☐ Finland | ☐ Malta | ☐ Other - |
| ☐ France | ☐ Netherlands | [G3_Q0005_part_countr |
| ☐ Germany | ☐ Norway | _other] <i>Please specify:</i> |
| ☐ Greece | ☐ Poland | |
| ☐ Hungary | ☐ Portugal | |

[G3_Q0006_part_city] Please give some information about your city of residence! *Please*

choose only one of the following:

- ☐ Small city (<100.000 inhabitants)
- ☐ Large city (>100.000 inhabitants)
- ☐ City with more than 1.000.000 inhabitants

[G3_Q0006_part_city_comment] *Make a comment on your choice here:*

[G3_Q0007_additional] *Is there anything you want to add on the topic? Please write your answer here:*

[G3_Q0008_interview] *Would you be willing to participate in an **in-depth-interview** on the topic? * Please choose only one of the following:*

- ☐ No.
- ☐ Yes. (Please use the comment field to leave your contact details. Further interviews will be carried out via telephone, skype or e-mail.) **[G3_Q0008_interview_comment]** *Make a comment on your choice here:*

Thank you very much for participating!

Please feel free to forward the LINK [<http://homeless-eu-migrants.limequery.com/index.php/977471/lang-en>] to this survey to any colleagues who might be interested in taking part. For any questions or further information, please do not hesitate to contact me!

Best Regards,

Andrea Zierler

Contact details:

Andrea Zierler

E-Mail: homeless.eu.migrants@gmail.com

LinkedIn: <http://www.linkedin.com/pub/andrea-zierler/1b/aa1/a26>

Telephone: +43 (0)650 22 36 160

Submit your survey

Thank you for completing this survey.

APPENDIX D: ADDITIONAL TABLES

GEO/CITIZEN	Total population	Total number of immigrants (2011)	Reporting country	Foreign country	European Union (27 countries)	EU27-countries except reporting country	Non EU27-countries nor reporting country	Unknown	Number of immigrants from EU27-countries per 1.000 residents
Luxembourg	511.840	20.268	1.160	19.063	16.114	14.954	4.109	45	29,2161613
Cyprus	839.751	23.037	2.054	20.956	15.190	13.136	7.820	27	15,6427322
Switzerland	7.870.134	148.799	24.104	124.686	87.640	87.640	37.046	9	11,1357697
Norway	4.920.305	70.337	7.618	62.701	39.960	39.960	22.741	18	8,12144776
Liechtenstein	36.149	650	162	488	291	291	197	0	8,05001521
Austria	8.404.252	104.354	8.071	96.109	72.562	64.491	31.618	174	7,67361569
Belgium	11.000.638	144.698	18.426	125.927	79.831	61.405	64.522	345	5,58194897
Iceland	318.452	4.073	1.868	2.205	1.585	1.585	620	0	4,97720222
EU average									4,58971399
Ireland	4.570.727	52.301	19.651	32.350	39.845	20.194	12.156	300	4,41811554
Denmark	5.560.628	52.833	18.261	34.562	36.377	18.116	16.446	10	3,2579054
Spain	46.152.926	457.649	42.128	415.521	184.220	142.092	273.429	0	3,07872138
United Kingdom	62.515.392	566.044	78.430	487.614	252.565	174.135	313.479	0	2,78547402
Germany	81.751.602	489.422	89.438	398.913	315.834	226.396	172.517	1.071	2,76931576
Sweden	9.415.570	96.467	20.615	75.546	45.721	25.106	50.440	306	2,66643443
Italy	60.626.442	385.793	31.466	354.327	145.274	113.808	240.519	0	1,87720071
Greece	11.309.885	110.823	60.453	50.370	79.594	19.141	31.229	0	1,69241332
Finland	5.375.276	29.481	9.065	20.149	17.494	8.429	11.720	267	1,56810553
France	64.994.907	267.367	107.347	160.020	177.378	70.031	89.989	0	1,07748443
Czech Republic	10.486.731	27.114	8.141	18.971	18.847	10.706	8.265	2	1,02090919
Slovenia	2.050.189	14.083	3.318	10.765	5.308	1.990	8.775	0	0,97064222
Slovakia	5.392.446	4.829	1.078	3.751	4.240	3.162	589	0	0,58637583
Latvia	2.074.605	7.253	1.481	5.772	2.566	1.085	4.687	0	0,52299112
Croatia	4.412.137	8.534	4.720	3.810	1.052	1.052	2.758	4	0,23843321
Portugal	10.572.157	19.667	12.512	7.155	14.543	2.031	5.124	0	0,19210838
Lithuania	3.052.588	15.685	14.012	1.673	14.515	503	1.170	0	0,16477821
Estonia	1.340.194	3.709	2.034	1.674	2.096	62	1.612	1	0,04626196
Hungary	9.985.722	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
Bulgaria	7.369.431	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
Malta	415.832	5.522	1.784	3.738	:	:	:	:	:
Netherlands	16.655.799	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
Poland	38.529.866	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
Romania	21.413.815	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:

Appendix D - Table 1: Immigration from EU27-countries by citizenship in 2011. Data source: European Commission (2013a); Immigration by sex, age group and citizenship [extracted on 28.6.2013].

AGE GEO/TIME	Total 2011	Less than 15 years 2011	From 15 to 19 years 2011	From 20 to 24 years 2011	From 25 to 29 years 2011	From 30 to 34 years 2011	From 35 to 39 years 2011	From 40 to 44 years 2011	From 45 to 49 years 2011	From 50 to 54 years 2011	From 55 to 59 years 2011	From 60 to 64 years 2011	From 65 to 69 years 2011	65 years or over 2011
European Union (27 countries)	990.973	104.319	66.182	193.723	176.057	126.629	90.319	72.300	50.564	39.887	26.627	18.382	10.938	25.984
Belgium	61.405	11.242	3.156	9.264	10.213	7.645	5.982	4.870	3.560	2.365	1.446	765	349	897
Bulgaria	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
Czech Republic	10.706	890	255	1.165	2.493	1.872	1.171	830	746	510	328	184	118	262
Denmark	18.116	1.528	1.375	5.315	4.127	2.287	1.351	841	554	356	203	83	54	96
Germany	226.396	22.918	9.722	36.943	37.373	32.087	26.678	21.560	15.536	11.651	6.439	2.726	1.185	2.763
Estonia	62	7	1	5	4	7	6	5	7	6	6	4	3	4
Ireland	20.194	2.792	1.752	4.471	4.197	2.620	1.633	1.001	579	432	311	247	91	159
Greece	19.141	746	591	2.227	2.815	2.892	2.493	1.972	1.452	1.451	1.084	753	326	665
Spain	142.092	17.382	8.106	20.824	20.313	16.054	12.772	10.710	8.099	7.165	6.137	6.012	4.444	8.518
France	70.031	10.311	3.584	13.182	9.775	7.545	5.604	4.899	3.947	3.282	2.512	2.524	1.599	2.866
Italy	113.808	14.662	4.815	18.436	18.266	14.355	11.039	11.191	6.991	6.472	3.974	1.931	851	1.676
Cyprus	13.136	2.100	825	1.924	2.109	1.711	1.251	1.044	674	510	380	289	188	319
Latvia	1.085	76	48	247	172	134	108	96	79	54	21	21	10	29
Lithuania	503	33	23	101	76	71	44	43	27	30	24	11	8	20
Luxembourg	14.954	2.376	570	1.770	2.745	2.157	1.641	1.307	968	625	327	190	110	278
Hungary	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
Malta	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
Netherlands	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
Austria	64.491	8.209	2.679	10.233	10.734	9.159	6.592	5.690	3.755	2.674	1.913	1.247	691	1.606
Poland	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
Portugal	2.031	348	115	343	257	202	170	161	112	90	72	75	56	86
Romania	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
Slovenia	1.990	140	33	153	278	305	241	253	188	137	65	87	54	110
Slovakia	3.162	197	145	397	532	453	405	370	218	170	110	89	34	76
Finland	8.429	1.439	303	1.051	1.439	1.157	869	771	540	402	223	108	45	127
Sweden	25.106	3.832	1.114	3.979	4.770	3.798	2.624	1.812	1.245	741	463	346	196	382
United Kingdom	174.135	3.091	26.970	61.693	43.369	20.118	7.645	2.874	1.287	764	589	690	526	5.045
%	100.00%	10.53%	6.68%	19.55%	17.77%	12.78%	9.11%	7.30%	5.10%	4.03%	2.69%	1.85%	1.10%	2.62%

Appendix D - Table 2: Immigration from EU27-countries except reporting country by age group in 2011. Data source: European Commission (2013a): Immigration by sex, age group and citizenship [extracted on 28.6.2013].

CITIZEN	Immigration from EU27-countries except reporting country 2011				
GEO/SEX	Total	Males	% Males	Females	% Females
European Union (27 countries)	990.973	519.155	52%	471.818	48%
Austria	64.491	34.036	53%	30.455	47%
Belgium	61.405	31.318	51%	30.087	49%
Bulgaria	:	:	:	:	:
Cyprus	13.136	6.644	51%	6.492	49%
Czech Republic	10.706	6.687	62%	4.019	38%
Denmark	18.116	10.076	56%	8.040	44%
Estonia	62	41	66%	21	34%
Finland	8.429	4.671	55%	3.758	45%
France	70.031	34.620	49%	35.411	51%
Germany	226.396	137.398	61%	88.998	39%
Greece	19.141	7.638	40%	11.503	60%
Hungary	:	:	:	:	:
Ireland	20.194	8.821	44%	11.373	56%
Italy	113.808	45.485	40%	68.323	60%
Latvia	1.085	683	63%	402	37%
Lithuania	503	343	68%	160	32%
Luxembourg	14.954	8.366	56%	6.588	44%
Malta	:	:	:	:	:
Netherlands	:	:	:	:	:
Poland	:	:	:	:	:
Portugal	2.031	1.214	60%	817	40%
Romania	:	:	:	:	:
Slovakia	3.162	2.151	68%	1.011	32%
Slovenia	1.990	1.268	64%	722	36%
Spain	142.092	71.440	50%	70.652	50%
Sweden	25.106	13.771	55%	11.335	45%
United Kingdom	174.135	92.484	53%	81.651	47%
Iceland	1.585	818	52%	767	48%
Liechtenstein	291	155	53%	136	47%
Norway	39.960	25.641	64%	14.319	36%
Switzerland	87.640	49.236	56%	38.404	44%
Croatia	1.052	579	55%	473	45%

Appendix D - Table 3: Immigration from EU27-countries except reporting country by sex in 2011. Data source: European Commission (2013a): Immigration by sex, age group and citizenship [extracted on 28.6.2013].

Descriptive Statistics

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
How many years of professional experience related to the issue 'Homelessness' do you have?	65	1,0	35,0	9,785	8,1810
Valid N (listwise)	65				

Appendix D - Table 4: Professional experience of participating experts – descriptive statistics.

Which is your country of residence? * Is homelessness among migrants from other EU member states/the Schengen Area an urgent issue in your city? Please give your estimation! * Welfare State Regime Crosstabulation

Count

Welfare State Regime		Is homelessness among migrants from other EU member states/the Schengen Area an urgent issue in your city? Please give your estimation!					Total
		Not an issue at all.	Not an urgent issue.	Moderately urgent issue.	Urgent issue.	Very urgent issue.	
Liberal welfare state	United Kingdom		1	1	4	3	9
	Ireland			1	1	1	3
	Switzerland				1		1
	Total		1	2	6	4	13
Social democratic welfare state	Netherlands			5	3	2	10
	Sweden			2	1		3
	Norway				1	1	2
	Denmark				1	3	4
	Finland			2	1		3
	Total			9	7	6	22
Corporatist welfare state	Germany				2	3	5
	Luxembourg			1			1
	Austria	1			1	5	7
	Belgium					1	1
	France				1	1	2
	Total	1		1	4	10	16
Post socialist welfare state	Lithuania		1				1
	Poland	1					1
	Czech Republic	1					1
	Total	2	1				3
Southern european welfare state	Italy		1	1			2
	Malta	1		1			2
	Portugal		2	4		1	7
	Spain			0	1		1
	Total	1	3	6	1	1	12
Total		4	5	18	18	21	66

Appendix D - Table 5: Experts' urgency assessment for homelessness among EU mobile citizens.

Which is your country of residence? * How do you think has the number of homeless EU-migrants in your city been developing during the last five years? * Welfare State Regime Crosstabulation

Count

Welfare State Regime		How do you think has the number of homeless EU-migrants in your city been developing during the last five years?					Total
		Slightly decreasing.	No change.	Slightly increasing.	Strongly increasing.	Do not know.	
Liberal welfare state	United Kingdom	1		2	5	1	9
	Ireland	2			1		3
	Switzerland				1		1
	Total	3		2	7	1	13
Social democratic welfare state	Netherlands		1	3	5	1	10
	Sweden			1	2		3
	Norway			1	1		2
	Denmark				4		4
	Finland			2	1		3
	Total		1	7	13	1	22
Corporatist welfare state	Germany			1	4		5
	Luxembourg			1			1
	Austria			1	5	1	7
	Belgium				1		1
	France		1	1			2
	Total		1	4	10	1	16
Post socialist welfare state	Lithuania		1				1
	Poland		1				1
	Czech Republic	1					1
	Total	1	2				3
Southern european welfare state	Italy		1		1		2
	Malta		1		1		2
	Portugal	2	1	4			7
	Spain				1		1
	Total	2	3	4	3		12
Total		6	7	17	33	3	66

Appendix D - Table 6: Experts' assessment concerning the past development of homelessness among EU mobile citizens.

Which is your country of residence? * How do you estimate the number of homeless EU-migrants is likely to develop during the next five years? * Welfare State Regime Crosstabulation

Count

Welfare State Regime		How do you estimate the number of homeless EU-migrants is likely to develop during the next five years?						Total
		Strongly decreasing.	Slightly decreasing.	No change.	Slightly increasing.	Strongly increasing.	Do not know.	
Liberal welfare state	United Kingdom				3	5	1	9
	Ireland			1	1	1		3
	Switzerland				1			1
	Total			1	5	6	1	13
Social democratic welfare state	Netherlands	1		1	6	2		10
	Sweden				1	1	1	3
	Norway					2		2
	Denmark				2	2		4
	Finland				2		1	3
	Total	1		1	11	7	2	22
Corporatist welfare state	Germany			1	2	2		5
	Luxembourg				1			1
	Austria				3	3	1	7
	Belgium				1			1
	France			1			1	2
	Total			2	7	5	2	16
Post socialist welfare state	Lithuania			1				1
	Poland			1				1
	Czech Republic	1						1
	Total	1		2				3
Southern european welfare state	Italy		1		1			2
	Malta			1			1	2
	Portugal		1	4	2			7
	Spain					1		1
	Total		2	5	3	1	1	12
Total		2	2	11	26	19	6	66

pendix D - Table 7: Experts' assessment concerning the future development of homelessness among EU mobile citizens.

What do you think are the main reasons for migration among the group of homeless EU-migrants in your city? Please estimate the importance of each reason!							
Reason for migration	No reason	Unimportant reason	Moderately important reason	Important reason	Very important reason	Do not know	Total
Ethnic discrimination in home country	6	16	16	9	11	4	62
Unemployment in home country	1	1	6	20	33	1	62
Homelessness in home country	2	16	23	9	6	6	62
Poor economic situation in home country	1		6	16	37	2	62
False promises (e.g. by people smugglers)	3	9	14	17	12	7	62
Poor welfare services in home country	2	4	11	21	21	3	62
Family problems (e.g. divorce)	3	14	11	13	10	11	62
Pressure through family	2	14	15	12	3	16	62
Family members already living in target country	1	9	24	17	1	10	62
Human trafficking	4	12	21	6	1	18	62
Expecting better welfare system in target country	2	8	12	19	18	3	62
Expecting better economic situation in target country	1		5	14	41	1	62
Expecting employment in target country	1		3	16	41	1	62

Appendix D - Table 8: Experts' assessment concerning reasons for migration of HEUMC.

**Do you agree to the following statement?
"Homelessness is a problem the target group
already have been facing in their country of
origin."**

	Frequency
Valid Strongly disagree.	5
Disagree.	19
Neither agree nor disagree.	24
Agree	12
Do not know.	2
Total	62
Missing	4
Total	66

Appendix D - Table 9: Experts' assessment concerning homelessness of EU mobile citizens in their home country.

Homeless persons do face barriers towards social inclusion in various areas. Where are the main barriers for homeless EU-migrants in your city? Please estimate the strength of each barrier!							
<i>Barrier</i>	<i>No barrier</i>	<i>Weak barrier</i>	<i>Moderate barrier</i>	<i>Strong barrier</i>	<i>Very strong barrier</i>	<i>Do not know</i>	<i>Total</i>
High rents on the housing market	2	2	6	10	41	1	62
Access to health care	4	12	14	15	15	2	62
Access to social benefits (financial aid)	1	4	7	19	29	2	62
Discrimination on the housing market	3	6	7	19	22	5	62
Access to homeless services	8	10	10	17	12	5	62
Access to informal/private social networks	8	7	18	15	6	8	62
Access to labour market	1	5	14	17	22	3	62
Access to political participation (e.g. participation in elections)	3	8	8	12	23	8	62
Access to education and training	2	6	16	22	13	3	62

Appendix D - Table 10: Experts' assessment of barriers towards social inclusion.

Which problems on individual level do homeless EU-migrants have in your city? Please estimate the occurrence of the following items.							
<i>Problem</i>	<i>Never</i>	<i>Rarely</i>	<i>Moderately</i>	<i>Frequently</i>	<i>Very frequently</i>	<i>Do not know</i>	<i>Total</i>
Unemployment	1	2	3	10	45	1	62
Addiction/substance abuse	1	4	15	18	18	6	62
Psychiatric disease	1	4	26	21	5	5	62
Lack of financial resources	1	1	2	13	44	1	62
Lack of social resources	1	4	10	25	21	1	62
Problems concerning family situation (e.g. due to divorce)	1		18	22	10	11	62
Physical disease	1	11	16	22	8	4	62
Poor education/training	1	1	13	23	14	10	62
Poor knowledge of the local language(s)	1	1	7	13	36	4	62

Appendix D - Table 11: Experts' assessment of individual level problems affecting HEUMC.

How do homeless EU-migrants in your city cover their basic needs? Please estimate the relevance of each source.							
<i>Source</i>	<i>No source</i>	<i>Unimportant source</i>	<i>Moderately important source</i>	<i>Important source</i>	<i>Very important source</i>	<i>Do not know</i>	<i>Total</i>
Private social networks/family in target country	6	16	19	6	5	10	62
Private social networks/family in home country	7	18	11	4	4	18	62
Informal work/black labour		1	18	22	15	6	62
Legal work	4	19	17	10	4	8	62
Begging	2	9	18	16	9	8	62
Prostitution		6	15	16	2	23	62
Social services provided by public administration	6	12	16	17	4	7	62
Social services provided by private charities/NGOs			11	19	25	7	62

Appendix D - Table 12: Experts' assessment concerning sources used by HEUMC to cover their basic needs.

Which actors/institutions are currently engaged on the issue of homelessness among EU-migrants in your city?							
Actor	No engagement	Weak engagement	Moderate engagement	Strong engagement	Very strong engagement	Do not know	Total
Public administration (local level)	11	12	22	11	5	1	62
Public administration (national level)	14	22	16	4	1	5	62
NGOs/civil society	1	6	14	33	8		62
The media	10	15	20	12	2	3	62
Research institutions	8	18	17	7		12	62
Policy makers (local level)	13	9	24	10	4	2	62
Policy makers (national level)	18	16	14	6	1	7	62
EU policy makers	18	14	15	1	1	13	62
Police	6	11	23	12	5	5	62
Religious communities	4	12	18	21	4	3	62
Art scene	19	16	10			17	62

Appendix D - Table 13: Experts' assessment concerning engagement of several actors on the issue of homelessness among EU mobile citizens.

Which is your country of residence? * Have expulsions of homeless EU-foreigners occurred in your city during the last five years? * Welfare State Regime Crosstabulation					
Count					
Welfare State Regime		Have expulsions of homeless EU-foreigners occurred in your city during the last five years?			Total
		No.	Yes. (Please give some details!)	Do not know.	
Liberal welfare state	United Kingdom	4	5		9
	Ireland	1	2		3
	Switzerland		1		1
	Total	5	8		13
Social democratic welfare state	Netherlands	3	4	3	10
	Sweden	1	1	1	3
	Norway		1	1	2
	Denmark	1	3		4
	Finland	1		2	3
	Total	6	9	7	22
Corporatist welfare state	Germany	1	3	1	5
	Luxembourg		1		1
	Austria	1	3	3	7
	Belgium			1	1
	France		2		2
	Total	2	9	5	16
Post socialist welfare state	Lithuania	1			1
	Poland	1			1
	Czech Republic	1			1
	Total	3			3
Southern european welfare state	Italy	2			2
	Malta			2	2
	Portugal	3	2	2	7
	Spain	1			1
	Total	6	2	4	12
Total		22	28	16	66

Appendix D - Table 14: Experts' assessment concerning expulsion of EU mobile citizens.

APPENDIX E: MODELS OF GOOD PRACTICE – FULL LIST

The following projects have been named by survey respondents as ‘models of best practice’.

- **Amaro Foro e.V.:** Berlin based intercultural youth organisation focussing on supporting People with Roma background (<http://www.amaroforo.de/>).
- **Barka NL:** Support projects for eastern European migrants in The Netherlands (www.barkanl.org).
- **Barka UK:** Support for central and eastern European migrants in The United Kingdom (<http://www.barkauk.org/>).
- **Central and Eastern Europeans – research and statistics:** Summary of research and statistics on homelessness among migrants from Central and Eastern Europe, provided by UK based charity ‘homeless link’ (<http://homeless.org.uk/cee-research#.U3jMfHasvNw>).
- **Crossroads Stockholm:** Information and support for foreign EU migrants (<http://stockholmcrossroads.se/>).
- **Daklozenhulp Antwerpen:** Volunteer organisation distributing food among vulnerable people (<http://www.daklozenhulpantwerpen.be/>).
- **Effective Action:** Online guidance for local authorities and services working with homeless people, provided by the UK based charity ‘homeless link’ (http://homeless.org.uk/effective-action#.U3jL_nasvNx).
- **Frostschutzengel:** Counselling project addressing homeless migrants from eastern European EU Member States in Berlin (<http://frostschutzengel.de/>).
- **Hors la rue:** Paris based non-profit organisation with a focus on supporting vulnerable migrant children who are facing a life in the streets (<http://www.horslarue.org/>).
- **L’association Charonne – L’équipe Boziek:** Mobile team offering psycho-social support for migrants from eastern European countries who are homeless and living in precarious conditions in Paris (www.charonne.asso.fr).
- **London Reconnection Project:** Support for vulnerable rough sleepers from the European Union to return home (<http://www.thamesreach.org.uk/what-we-do/international-reconnection/london-reconnection-project/>).
- **No Second Night Out:** Pilot project focussing on rough sleepers in London (<http://www.nosecondnightout.org.uk/>).

- **Pilot project for EU migrant workers in The Hague:** Project focussing on the integration and participation of migrant workers from the European Union (<http://www.denhaag.nl/en/residents/to/Information-desk-for-EU-migrant-workers.htm>).
- **Pret a Manger – Pret Sustainability:** Food chain's commitment to deliver unsold sandwiches to homeless charities on a daily basis (<http://www.pret.com/sustainability/waste.htm>).
- **Project Victor:** Winter shelter and counselling project in Antwerp (<http://winterhulp.cawdeterp.be/>).
- **Research Project on homeless EU migrants in Vienna:** Qualitative study on migration motives, socio-economic living conditions and perspectives of the visitors of the homeless day centre JOSI.exil in Vienna (http://www.wiederwohnen.at/downloads/dokumente/WWO-Endbericht-Obdachlose_EU-BuergerInnen_in_Wien.pdf#search=%22josi%20budin%22).
- **Routes Home:** Online guide for outreach staff and other professionals involved in reconnecting rough sleepers from the European Union to their home country (<http://www.thamesreach.org.uk/what-we-do/international-reconnection/routes-home/>).
- **Tageszentrum JOSI:** Day centre for homeless people in Vienna (<http://www.wiederwohnen.at/tageszentren/josi/>).
- **The AIRE Centre:** London based charity with the aim to promote awareness of European law rights support marginalised and vulnerable individuals to assert those rights (www.airecentre.org).
- **VinziWerke Österreich:** Austrian charity offering support to vulnerable people, including shelter for EU migrants (www.vinzi.at).
- **Westminster Operation Ark:** Multi-agency approach to tackle rough sleeping in Westminster – City of Westminster and UK Border Agency (<http://homeless.org.uk/sites/default/files/WK2%20-%20PM%20-%20Westminster%20and%20UKBA.pdf>).
- **Worcestershire MIRA project:** Local strategic partnership for the county Worcestershire, including local government, public services, community organisations etc. (<http://www.worcestershirepartnership.org.uk>).