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Journal Philosophy

The European Journal of Homelessness provides a critical analysis of policy and practice on homelessness in Europe for policy makers, practitioners, researchers and academics. The aim is to stimulate debate on homelessness and housing exclusion at the European level and to facilitate the development of a stronger evidential base for policy development and innovation. The journal seeks to give international exposure to significant national, regional and local developments and to provide a forum for comparative analysis of policy and practice in preventing and tackling homelessness in Europe. The journal will also assess the lessons for Europe, which can be derived from policy, practice and research from elsewhere.

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Editorial

Welcome to the first online only edition of the *European Journal of Homelessness* (EJH). When the European Observatory on Homelessness established the EJH in 2007, it was intended to publish one edition per annum. Due to the volume of high quality submissions, we moved to publishing two editions per annum in 2011, and in 2016 we published a third volume to mark the 10th anniversary of the EJH. This year we will again publish a third volume, this time a special edition devoted to the theme of fidelity to housing first in Europe and North America and look forward to publishing further special editions in the future, and indeed welcome suggestions for special editions.

In this edition of the EJH, some of most pressing policy, practice and research issues are debated and discussed. These include responding to the needs of migrants experiencing homelessness (Reichenbach) and in particular Roma migrants (Hansson and Mitchell); how to meaningfully utilise the knowledge of those who have experienced homelessness in policy design (Meriluoto); national level strategies for ending homelessness (Baptista), and methodologies for evaluating promising interventions that can end homelessness (Bernad *et al*. and Ripka *et al.*). We also continue our editorial policy of publishing thoughtful, and occasionally provocative, think pieces, and in this edition Dan O'Flaherty and colleagues provide an economic perspective on how to encourage good panhandling (begging) and discourage bad. This adds to existing ethical and social justice perspectives on responding to begging in public, and we hope that this think piece will generate further thoughtful contributions to this important debate. We also have responses to earlier contributions and number of reviews of recent books and reports on aspects of homelessness in a diverse settings, from Asia and the US, to Finland, Romania, Germany and Poland.

We hope that our broad audience of policy makers, researchers and practitioners find this edition of the EJH informative, stimulating and of course useful, in that our ambition is to identify, and subject to rigorous debate, the practices and policies that can reduce and ultimately end homelessness.

Articles

Part A

The Exceptional State of "Roma Beggars" in Sweden

Erik Hansson and Don Mitchell

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Abstract_ *Across Europe, social-democratic, liberal democracies have become host to growing numbers of impoverished EU migrants (often called "Roma beggars") who seem to pose a challenge to the tenets of egalitarianism and social protection that are the foundation of the welfare state. Sweden is no exception. Nor has it been exceptional in its response: creating what can be described as a "state of exception" for homeless, impoverished EU migrants wherein they are afforded fewer rights, and almost no access to care, compared to other migrants to the country (such as refugees and asylum seekers). In this paper we examine the nature of this "state of exception" – and consequent denial of rights for poor and homeless EU migrants – and how it has been justified by invoking the inherent fairness of the Swedish system. We do so by reviewing, but especially extending, the Italian philosopher Georgio Agamben's concepts of state (and space) of exception, bare life, and homo sacer to describe the way homeless EU migrants are understood and treated in Sweden, and then by carefully examining the major policy statement on the matter, the "Valfridsson Report," which was written to harmonize practices across Swedish jurisdictions while providing the legal basis for making an exception of impoverished EU migrants, and which is now being implemented in law.*

Keywords: *Bare Life, Begging, Homelessness, Roma/Romani, State of Exception, Sweden, Vulnerable EU Citizens*

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> "Någonstans måste ett samhälle säga att nu är det nog. Det här är förhållanden som vi aldrig någonsin skulle acceptera i andra sammanhang. Nu har vi i flera år haft en debatt om det här och konstaterat att vi gör ett undantag kring våra principiella ställningstaganden när det gäller alla människors lika värde"
>
> ("Somewhere, a society must say that this is now enough. These are conditions that we would never ever accept in other contexts. Now for several years we have had a debate about this and have found that we make an exception regarding our principal stance concerning the equality of all human beings.")
>
> Jimmy Jansson, Eskilstuna, Sweden County Council Leader
> (Social Democratic Party)
> Quoted in *Dagens Samhälle*, 30 January, 2018

When the small central Swedish municipality of Eskilstuna revised its laws to require that all beggars (who were already required to be "passive") seek a permit from the police, the leader of the regional government, Jimmy Jansson explained that after much debate, it was realized that it was now the time – and the place – to make an exception concerning "the equality of all human beings." It was clear to all who read his comments – and to anyone who had paid attention to the "several years" of debate – that those for whom the exception was being made were "Roma beggars" whose presence in Sweden (outside grocery stores and pharmacies, along towns' main shopping streets, and near the entrances to sports grounds and event centers) has been growing for the decade since Romania and Bulgaria joined the European Union.

Yet Jansson seemed only to be saying out loud what is already actual practice in Sweden: that whatever the formal requirements of European and Swedish law concerning EU citizens, vulnerable, impoverished, frequently homeless, EU migrants – almost always classed as "beggars" if not worse in the media – are exceptional, *not quite* the citizens that law makes them out to be.[1] Quite often, the official reasoning that repositions impoverished, racialized migrants – many of

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[1] While in the media and much popular discourse, vulnerable EU migrants are referred to as "Roma beggars," in fact the population of impoverished EU migrants in Sweden is fairly diverse and includes many who do not identify themselves as "Roma." This presents a challenge of terminology; there is no single label that accurately describes who the "Roma beggars" are. We have opted in this paper, unless context dictates otherwise, to refer to them as vulnerable, or impoverished EU migrants.

whom are homeless – as exceptions to the European regime of human rights and the provisions of Swedish law and welfare is quite tortured, as we will show in the following analysis. Similarly, the specific *practices* that construct "Roma beggars" as exceptional are also quite tortured (for example, since poor migrants from Romania and Bulgaria typically do not have a Swedish personnummer [social security number], they cannot avail themselves of most aspects of the health care and social housing systems, while non-European refuges whose asylum applications have not yet been approved and thus also do not have a personnummer *can*).

Our purpose in this paper is to closely examine these tortured logics in order to better understand what they mean for how poverty and homelessness in Sweden is governed in an era of free European movement. In short, we argue that by constructing impoverished EU migrants as exceptional, and therefore without the right and often access to housing and other necessities of life, Sweden condemns them to always being threatened with (frequently state-sanctioned) violence and sometimes actually subject to it, precisely because Sweden *wants* to "make an exception regarding our principal stance concerning the equality of all human beings." We will make our argument both by reworking Giorgio Agamben's (1998, 2005) famous theories of "bare life" and the "space of the exception" in light of current Swedish ideology and practice and by closely examining debates and official governmental position papers concerning the plight of vulnerable EU migrants.

Vulnerable EU Citizens in Sweden: A Brief Background

European Union law gives all EU citizens the right to stay in another EU country for up to three months without the need for a residence permit, but also without a right to permanent residence either. In 2015, there were officially between 4-5,000 vulnerable EU migrants in Sweden, most of whom likely arrived under provisions of this law. Usually identified as Romanian or Bulgarian Roma (though in fact the ethnic composition is more complex than that), such EU citizens have elected to use this right of free movement to seek monetary resources and/or opportunities for a better life in other EU countries. Having joined the European Union in 2007 on the cusp of the financial crisis, Bulgaria and Romania, like their eastern European neighbours, remain quite poor (with Bulgaria's per capita GDP just under 30% of the EU average and Romania's just under 40%). An estimated 90% of the Roma in Romania live in poverty and at least 25% lack the registration documents required for access to education, healthcare and social insurance (EU Roma Report 2010 in Mäkinen 2013; World Bank Group, 2014). Many are illiterate and have never gone to school or held official employment (World Bank Group, 2014, p.112). Structural discrimination, hate crimes, and other forms of violence against Roma people are not uncommon and are not unique to Romania and Bulgaria, but can be found

throughout Europe (Commissioner for Human Rights, 2012; United Nations Programme for Development and European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (UNDP-FRA), 2012; Matras, 2015).

By the time they arrive in Sweden, most EU migrants of this type have little money left to stay at a hostel or campground, much less find housing in the private rental market, and there are far too few public shelters in the country in relation to the number of homeless people. What spots there are in shelters are often limited to short-term stays, burdened with symbolic fees, and/or managed in ways that make it impossible for families to stay together. Consequently, poor migrants tend to set up residences in public spaces and disused land – makeshift huts, tents, sheds, or parked cars and caravans. Many others use the spaces in parks, under bridges, or in viaducts as temporary sleeping areas, though this is illegal.[2]

Thus, the existence of seemingly permanent as well as transient settlements and sleeping environments across the country has garnered attention and sparked debate in Sweden. Apart from their dubious legality, the settlements are also something visually abnormal in Swedish cities and towns. Given the lack of informal settlement traditions in recent Swedish history, the reaction to the growth of "shanty towns," "tent cities," and "camps" (as such settlements are variously called in the media) has often been one of shock and outrage. But rather than meeting this new phenomenon with a concerted, coordinated strategy for incorporating Sweden's new homeless into the Swedish housing system (and society as a whole), the migrants have more often been hassled, evicted, and driven off. Most find new places to settle, only to be evicted again or bussed back to their home countries. The evictions themselves are in fact often of dubious legality under both national and international law and regulations (Civil Rights Defenders (CRD) 2015; CRD, 2017). In addition to frequent harassment by authorities, impoverished migrants are also sometimes threatened physically as night-visitors threaten and abuse the

2 A partial exception to this illegality is *allemansrätten* (the right of public access) which allows people free access to the Swedish countryside (including private property in many instances), but here, by custom, stays tend to be limited to a day or so (Bengtsson, 2004).

inhabitants of settlements and vandalize or burn down their homes (Expo Idag, 2014). Yet police seem not to prioritize such crimes as only a small percentage of reports to them are followed up (Dagens Nyheter, 2015a).[3]

In other words, in addition to the structural violence of the state that vulnerable EU citizens are subject to (by being denied access to decent shelter, hygiene, and health care), they are also threatened (and not infrequently the victims of) direct physical violence – which is to say, it is not only "benevolent" violence of the Swedish state that confronts vulnerable EU migrants upon their arrival in Sweden (Barker, 2017). Nor is "vulnerability" simply something poor EU migrants bring with them to Sweden; it is also something produced and reproduced there. The urban public spaces and green areas in Sweden in which homeless foreigners attempt to find lodging are thus places in which violence triumphs. Here, the "EU migrants" are at risk not only of hate-related violence from civilians, but also of sovereign violence from police and security guards through banishment, its condoning by state authorities, neglect of real social needs by these same authorities, and the *withdrawal* of legal protection. Central to the exercise of both these types of violence, as we will see, is that vulnerable EU citizens in Sweden have been relegated outside the protection of law and society and thus turned into *rightless* people.

The Camp, Bare Life, and the Sovereign

In his influential work, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life* (1998), the political philosopher Georgio Agamben calls the locales where people who have been deprived of or denied their civil and human rights *camps.* Within the camp, such people are stripped down to what Agamben calls *bare life* – a life reduced to sheer biological existence, devoid of rights, and fully at the mercy of sovereign violence.

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3 Indeed, in August 2018, a 48 year old man from Romania, the former typographer and currently homeless Gheorge Hortolomei-Lupu (known as Gica) was murdered in his sleeping place outside the small town Huskvarna. As of this writing, the suspects for the murder are a group of teenage boys between 14 and 16 years old. They had allegedly harassed Gica over two years, humiliating him (while documenting this on film), and eventually murdering him. It took police a week to open an investigation into the murder, and at least twice volunteers and criminologists have been asked in television interviews whether it is important to solve this crime, a question that might strike outside observers as odd, to say the least. For his part, the Social Democratic prime minister, Stefan Löfven, commented that the murder was horrendous and therefore "we need to [...] stop begging because it is no one's future," squarely placing blame for the murder on the victim. (Göteborgs-Tidningen, 2018a, 2018b; Tv4 Nyheterna 2018; Tv4 Nyhetsmorgon 2018).

Agamben's goal in *Homo Sacer* is to explicate anew the political relationship between law and life. If law is understood to be the production and maintenance of order in society and among subjects, a distinction must be made between *who belongs* in that society (who is a subject) and who does not, a question that has long characterized Western philosophy – and state practice. As early as 1481, for example, the Council of Bern felt compelled to pass a series of edicts expelling "non-citizens:" gypsies (of course), pilgrims, the wandering poor, and French-speaking beggars. And yet determining who belonged to Bern continued to bedevil the council and by 1527, it required that all local paupers – those who belonged – to wear identifying badges and the city kept a master list of badge-holders in hopes of preventing fraud (Cresswell, 2011), just as Eskilstuna is seeking to do nearly 500 years later.[4] The Council of Bern was thus experimenting with an early version of what Agamben (1998) identified as a critical distinction in states: the distinction between those who deserve a socio-political life (*bios*) and those who should only be afforded biological existence, or bare life (*zoē*). The distinction is consequential because it determines *how* – under what sort of juridical and political conditions – the state both lets a population (and individuals in it) live, or makes it die, which remains a key function of the state even after the rise of what Michel Foucault (2010) defined as the modern state's "biopower," which has concerned itself instead with the opposite: making live and letting die. That is to say (and to return to Agamben's arguments), the state has long always had the ability to exclude persons, and populations, from the political community and thereby to promote their social, and not infrequently their actual, death.

Paradoxically enough, such exclusion simultaneously incorporates the excluded into the juridical order (as the Edicts of Bern made clear), by making them rightless, merely bare life. Agamben (1998, p.8) calls this legal position of excluded inclusion "homo sacer," after an obscure figure in Roman law who could "be killed but not sacrificed." Bare life remains subject to the law despite its rightlessness through the possibility of being killed with impunity. Rightlessness here does not mean an absence of law, because the very act of exclusion is a legal act that would not be possible without the force of law. Such force arises from political power, and the absolute highest political power in society is the *sovereign*, which functions as the law's prerequisite and facilitator. As the embodiment of political power, Agamben (1998) argues, the sovereign thus stands in a paradoxical position vis-à-vis the law, which can be likened to the sovereign being something like a Möbius strip: the sovereign stands "over" the law because it has the ability to suspend law by

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4 Apparently Eskilstuna is also reviving an old Swedish tradition. In 1642, new Swedish legislation was passed to regulate vagabondage, including creating passes or licenses that gave one the right to beg only in one's hometown (Levander, 1974).

declaring a *state of exception*, but it is simultaneously included in the law through its role as its upholder. Both the sovereign and *homo sacer* are thus included and at the same time excluded from the juridical order, albeit for opposite reasons.

"State of exception" should thus not be understood here as a fixed time period, but as the *relationship* of constant potentiality that exists between the sovereign and its subject: the decision over which lives are worth protecting – over who belongs and is deserving and who does not and is not. When the sovereign places people in a state of exception – when, however regretfully, it feels forced to make an "exception regarding our principal stance concerning the equality of all human beings" – "worthless life" is separated from political life, and bare life is produced. The decision to banish a certain life to rightlessness opens up a political space in which rights are clarified precisely by being suspended. In this *space* of exception, right is stripped down to nothing more than an exceptional relationship between sovereign violence and bare life – a relation defined fundamentally by the sovereign's power over life and death.

Agamben's thesis is that this relation of exception has gained an increasingly prominent significance in society since the French Revolution; the state of exception has been gradually incorporated into the practices of state-making, becoming anything but exceptional, as states have become ever more fully involved in defining, controlling, and disciplining populations (which, of course, was Foucault's primary preoccupation). When political power was democratized and the sovereign stopped being equated with a divine agent, the sovereign became the same as the representative of the people. The sovereign became synonymous with political *life* and the problem of the impossible distinction between *bios* and *zoē* began to become the problem of the limits of the sovereign's own power: the rise of the nation-state as a geographical as well as socio-economic container for the legal-political organization of populations, meant that sovereigns – that is, "the people" – had to constantly distinguish the life that is constituent of the sovereign, and that which is "leftover" or otherwise "outside." Consequently, it is in the interest of democratic (like totalitarian) states to continuously "cleanse" their population, establishing spaces of exception in which those deemed to deviate from the order can be concentrated so as to be gradually eliminated. Agamben sees Nazi concentration camps as one culmination of this process of establishing, with the state, concrete territories in which rights are revoked and a state of exception applies. As indicated, this led him to call these territorial spaces of exception, where bare life was produced and allocated, *camps*. However, Agamben (1998, p.174 ff) argues that this space does not necessarily only mean concentration camps. It must be understood more broadly as the spaces that emerge when the state suspends legal

protection for certain people and places them away from the rest of society – and political life – which suggests that the Nazi camps were not a culmination at all, merely one particularly odious end of a continuum.[5]

The suspension of rights tends to be carried out by perpetuating rightlessness within *the right itself*; the state of exception is made permanent – and material – precisely through its validation in law.[6] This is achieved in practice by eliminating what is traditionally seen in law as a distinction between "fact" and "right." To return to Agamben's discussion of Nazi Germany, this distinction might best be understood this way: if the *right* the law is meant to codify and protect is the right to life, but that right has to be understood in relation to the (presumed) *fact* that the "survival of the race" is at peril, then the *right* has to be rethought to incorporate the *fact*, thereby transforming the *right* itself. Agamben (1998, pp.171-174) points, in this regard, to Carl Schmitt (1933), the German political theorist and "crown jurist of the Third Reich," who in a 1933 essay explained how the concept of race could eliminate the legal uncertainty that arose when national legislation incorporated with "general clauses and vague concepts." Schmitt's problem was that the legal norms of European legislation incorporated situational concepts – for example, "public security and order," "state of danger," or "case of necessity" – in order to make the law applicable in all situations. According to Schmitt, this development instead undermined the conformity to law and the security of legal norms as legal concepts became increasingly indeterminate through the absence of formalism. His solution was to replace these clauses with the term "race." By acting as a legally applied general clause, the reference to the concept of race in a court decision (e.g. "the continuance of the race") could function *both* as "situation" and as "norm," both "right" and "fact." As a legal term, "race" (or "people") means an amalgam of right and fact, where questions about what is right and what is fact, what is policy and what is law, become irrelevant. Under such an ideology, the race's interest becomes a socio-political *fact* while also being a guiding *norm* for the purpose of the state. Agamben explains why it is "race" in particular that provides this executive birthing function

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5 Those dubious of any claim that democratic states can occupy positions somewhere in the direction of that end of the continuum, would do well to consider not only the long history of Indian removal and the creation of reservations, the jail (Camp, 2006; Gilmore, 2007), asylum (Rothman, 1971), World War II "relocation camps," and (of course) Guantanamo, but maybe most especially the current archipelago of migrant detention and deportation centers around the world (see, e.g. Loyd and Mountz, 2018), to speak only of the U.S. case.

6 The U.S. Supreme Court, for example, showed little compunction in validating the sovereign's plans for Japanese "relocation" camps and only a little more when considering rightless detention in Guantanamo, even if, in the case of the former, it did eventually profess its embarrassment at what it had done. Agamben addresses Guantanamo directly in *State of Exception* (2005).

for state power. The sovereign's legitimacy is based on being the embodiment of the people; as such, the judge (or leader) who decides in the name of the people morphs, through the exercise of his (or her) power, into being both "people" and "sovereign" simultaneously.

Although Schmitt's approach to activating the state's total authority may appear extreme, it offers a key to understanding why humanitarian calls for human rights can easily be dismissed by state powers, despite the actual binding of these rights to legislation. To develop this point, Agamben (1998, p.131) amplifies Hannah Arendt's (2004) insight that since human rights are inextricably bound with the nation-state's civil rights, a person without citizenship or state (who is in greatest need of universal human rights) is the one who is effectively most distanced from the possibility of the fulfilment of any rights. Agamben argues that the political impotence of international declarations of human rights must be understood as a consequence of their historical origin as the extension of civil rights, i.e. the foundation of the sovereign's legitimacy in the modern nation-state system. "Pure" human life is thus inscribed as the state's earthly foundation for political legitimacy. It has therefore become necessary for the inner threshold between "human" and "citizen" to be distinguished, through the *nation* as a fiction of the "natural" continuity between these two. However, all subjects who disturb this fiction (minorities, refugees, "undocumented" immigrants, etc.) constitute a threat to the entire political-legal order the nation-state's legitimacy is founded in. In this way, the "refugee" (for example) is *liminal* – neither here nor there – which paves the way for the sovereign to place humans, that is *some people*, in a state of exception, in order to prevent the destabilization of legal categories.[7] According to Agamben (1998, p.178ff), this biopolitical fracture, of which the "refugee" and the "migrant" is a symptom, constitutes the opening through which active rights can be distinguished from passive rights. Since international conventions for human rights seek to fulfil the function of being the representative of the people but cannot otherwise fulfil the role of the sovereign, "the isolation of sacred life at the basis of sovereignty" is reproduced rather than transcended (Agamben 1998, p.134). As the subject of "human rights" increasingly emerges as the epitome of liminality, these very rights are made politically toothless, and instead strengthen the sovereign's basis of authority as the power that (legitimately) separates life from life.

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7 Once again migrant detention policies, not only in the USA and Europe, but maybe most egregiously in – or rather beyond the borders of – Australia, provide the most obvious contemporary examples.

The EU Migrant as Bare Life

The form of bare life that is relevant here, however, is not the statelessness associated with refugee status, but can be characterized instead as a life that is (paradoxically) both more *and* less deprived of rights than the stateless "asylum seeker" (cf. Lind and Persdotter, 2017). The legal-political status of the vulnerable EU citizens from Romania and Bulgaria involves the possession of an official national citizenship, and indeed an *a priori* right to be in Sweden, yet that very status creates a situation of *rightlessness* vis-à-vis the Swedish state and its humanitarian responsibilities. For, while the paperless asylum-seeker can claim the right to the fulfilment of basic human needs (such as housing and health care) based on the *absence* of citizenship, the vulnerable EU migrant's very citizenship creates the chance to deny exactly these humanitarian grounds. The state can quite simply submit that it is the home country's responsibility to fulfil these rights, without taking into account the effective rightlessness this group has "at home" (see EERC European Roma Rights Center, 2010; FRA, 2013; Open Society Foundation, 2012; Berescu *et al*., 2013). Both groups – asylum seekers and vulnerable EU citizens – find themselves in similar positions, and to a degree for not dissimilar reasons, and yet while one is afforded at least some protection of the state, the other is stripped bare.[8] The impoverished EU migrant thus comes to live in something like a state of doubly negated liminality: if the refugee occupies a threshold between nation and citizen, the vulnerable EU migrant occupies the threshold of this threshold: neither officially stateless nor effectively a citizen.

Both these liminal positions arise in Sweden due to the absence of Swedish citizenship, but the root of the legal-political liminality of the vulnerable EU migrant, the root cause of their being in Sweden, and the reason they lack real rights, is *poverty*. This poverty can in turn be explained as a result of several intertwining factors, of which two are most tangible: the economic situation in the home countries, and the historical and continuing fact of anti-Romani racism. Structural racism and discrimination "back home" make the Roma people doubly cemented into the ranks of Europe's lumpenproletariat – Bern's "French-speaking beggars" updated for today's world. Given the widespread structural oppression of Roma (and other Travellers), it is not difficult to see how, like Jews, they serve as one of Europe's primary *homo sacer*: the constant "deviant" and threat to national homogeneity (maybe even more than the immigrant, because Roma, like Jews, are endemic in Europe not exotic to it): the minority that has for centuries been denied access to decent housing or even sanitary living conditions, with, all too often, the pretext of

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8 In Sweden, asylum-seekers and other paperless residents have a legal right to some welfare such as healthcare (SFS 2013, p.407) and, for their children, education (Lind and Persdotter, 2017).

unsanitary living conditions being the grounds for eviction (for Sweden, see Taikon and Langhammer, 1967; Ds, 2014, p.8).[9] Yet it would be too easy to explain the striking similarity between historical productions of *homo sacer* – French-speaking beggars, Jews – and today's context as *exclusively* grounded in racism. Rather we can gain a better understanding of the current production of bare life in Sweden by understanding the state's power to produce it here as a consequence of the vulnerable EU migrant's double-negative characteristic of being both a suspect foreigner and destitute, a destitution rooted in their long, historical exclusion from formal economies and labour markets. In turn, however, this very exclusion has to be understood as the historical result of generations of racist oppression. The double-denial of the EU migrant is, in effect, a vicious cycle, and one only accelerated by the contemporary reproduction of them as merely *bare life*, as ones who, regrettably, must be placed in a state of *exception*.

Homelessness as The Camp

Given the association of the word "camp" with the concentration camp, Agamben's concept of the camp, as the place of the state of exception, is often taken in scholarly work to mean an enclosed territory within which states confine people deprived of their liberty. The people in question have been deemed "security risks," somehow deviant, and/or quite simply lacking a fixed (political-legal) identity (Gill, 2010; Mountz, 2011; Ramadan, 2013; Minca, 2015, p.77). Yet the idea of the camp is better understood more metaphorically, as the designation of the *spaces* of exception within a nation-state's borders, where regular law does not apply to a *certain population*. The "camp" is understood here in a double (if interconnected) sense: (1) as an ontologically inevitable symptom of the biopolitical fracture that exists at the threshold between socially included and excluded life, and (2) as the territorial result of the exception those in power direct against people identified as threatening the political order. The geographical materialization of the "camp" in both these senses is, in this specific sense, the *same* space: the places where homeless EU-migrants spend their nights in Sweden. These spaces of exception are made permanent when the sovereign executes the double ban of criminalizing their sleeping areas while also not offering any alternative to these.

This understanding of the "camp" may seem diametrically opposed to the notion of the camp as a space of internment. With internment, the state seeks to control people by shutting them in, while the sites of homelessness demonstrate the state's

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9 Between 2013 and 2016 the majority of EU migrant encampment evictions were justified on grounds of unsanitary conditions, but in no instances were efforts made to provide the means to create sanitary conditions (Davis and Ryan, 2016).

ability to control through *abandonment* – by denying any safe, enclosed, space. In some countries, such as Italy, public authorities have created actual "camp societies" in order to temporarily "solve" the problems of Roma homelessness (Maestri, 2016; Maestri and Vitale, 2016). In Sweden there are (nowadays) no such solutions. Instead, the state works hard to prevent the establishment of any sort of physical camps. By creating a space of exception that is *not* a "camp" in the narrow sense of the term, Sweden's policy promotes an even deeper bare life in what is in essence a geographically universal rightless space. In Italy, the creation of state sanctioned (and enclosed) camping sites, the state of exception is made permanent (despite such camps officially being temporary solutions) within a defined area, the campsite itself, where different standards of housing and living prevail in comparison to the rest of the population. In Sweden, there is a double denial – a deep contradiction – instead. Official camping grounds are often dismissed with the statement that "we can never accept shantytowns in Sweden," given the welfare state's putative commitment to supporting the less-affluent. The acceptance of camping grounds would be – and is – perceived as a direct threat to Swedish identity of moral and egalitarian exceptionalism (cf. Barker, 2018). Yet, this zero tolerance for camping means that a certain group lives under exceptionally unequal conditions in Sweden. Sweden's egalitarian exceptionalism is denied *in practice*, precisely by creating a generalized state of exception, a non-locatable camp, in which bare life metastasizes. Homelessness *becomes* the camp.

The Settlement Crisis and the Valfridsson Report

But how is such an exceptional state of exception, such a deep contradiction within the Swedish welfare state, justified? How do Swedes explain this exception in practice to themselves?

The September 2014 parliamentary elections had seen the insurgent nationalist Sweden Democrats become the third largest party, but since neither major block (the Social Democrats and Greens to the left, and the Alliance of the Moderate, Liberal, Center, and Christian Democratic parties to the right) would actively work with them, the result was a fragile center-left minority government with the Sweden Democrats serving as powerbrokers. This assured that the question of immigration would consistently be at the heart of national politics (as it was in local politics), continually threatening to bring down the government. Already by the time of the election the numbers of refugees in Sweden seeking asylum was beginning to swell (and indeed, the Sweden Democrats managed to cause a major crisis for the minority government when it refused to vote for its budget because of increased funds for asylum-related services).

Simultaneously vulnerable EU migrants were becoming strikingly visible, and the government vacillated on how best to address the problem of "Roma" encampments and rough sleeping in the parks and squares. On the one hand, Swedish laws governing eviction are strong. Even where people have been occupying another's land illegally, police or other authorities cannot just drive them out. Rather, the law requires that the landowner must provide the Swedish Enforcement Authority with personal data on all persons staying on the land so that each individual trespasser's intent and social situation can be assessed. The police and other authorities are also governed by legally binding agreements on human rights such as the UN International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, the European Convention on Human Rights, and the European Social Charter, all of which have been incorporated into Swedish law. These agreements include the rights of all people to have access to water and sanitation, as well as the obligation to offer housing alternatives in connection with evictions and to perform a proportionality assessment for the proposed eviction (CRD 2015; CRD, 2017). There is thus an overlap in the law itself between a criminal and a civil dimension: a crime is committed through the violation of private property laws, while at the same time this crime is clearly conditioned by the social vulnerability of the perpetrator, such that moving against the perpetrator risks becoming itself a crime (though the violation of legal protections and rights of vulnerable people). *Full* compliance with the law involves practical complications concerning the actual procedure of guaranteeing the rule of law and determining vulnerability and thus intent.

On the other hand, the "social issue" of homelessness is also a paradox. The Social Services Act stipulates that municipalities have the responsibility to provide "reasonable assistance" to all people in a temporary "emergency situation." What is defined as "emergency situation" and "reasonable assistance" is up to social service employees to assess on a case-by-case basis. It is implicit in these regulations that emergency housing cannot be viewed as long-term. The practical questions thus arise as to where people should be placed, especially given the fact that Sweden is experiencing its deepest housing crisis since the 1930s with affordable housing shortages reported in the majority of municipalities in the country (Grundström and Molina, 2016). Municipalities have little, if any, housing to provide even their own "local" homeless residents (Sahlin, 2013). This complex situation puts public officials into a state of confusion over which laws trump which, since, in 2014 and into 2015 as the rapidly increasing number of homeless EU migrants was increasingly understood to be a crisis (which was compounded by Sweden's decision to accept a proportionately large number of asylum seekers during Europe's refugee crisis), there were no guidelines on how to address the social and housing needs of such migrants. Consequently the issue was dealt with differently

from municipality to municipality. A few offered provisional accommodation with sanitary facilities on municipal land or in tax-subsidized campsites (Dagens Nyheter, 2015b). Others performed repeated evictions, even in the depths of winter (ETC, 2014). In yet other municipalities settlements grew into small communities which lasted for a number of years (Expressen, 2015).

Such a situation might be untenable for any government, but was particularly so for this minority one, given the growing popularity of the Sweden Democrats (which by the end of 2015 was polling about 20 %) and its nationalist message, which put pressure on the rather weak governing coalition to "do something" or lose its legitimacy. What it did, in early 2015 (not long after a Sweden Democrats-induced political crisis was resolved through a democratically-dubious grand compromise between the two main blocks in the last days of 2014), was to appoint the prominent jurist Martin Valfridsson as the national coordinator for vulnerable EU citizens in Sweden. He was charged with examining the nature of the challenges the growth of this population presented and then drafting general guidelines for public authorities, municipalities, county councils, and organizations who work with them. The goal of assigning a respected jurist (rather than a politician) to lead the investigation was, apparently, to assure there would be a non-ideological basis for any political decisions that would result. Such decisions would, presumably, be directed by the *apolitical* letter of the law.

During the year he conducted his investigation and wrote his report (which was issued in February 2016), Valfridsson held several press conferences and interviews with the media spelling out his evolving recommendations for public authorities, statements that seemed to work as a kind of precedential basis for the final report. When that report was issued and without any further political or state review, its recommendations were immediately understood to be central guiding principles for Swedish authorities, particularly concerning how existing law should be read. At last, it seemed, there would be some national consistency in how vulnerable EU citizens would be treated across Sweden. Valfridsson thus served as a sort of representative of the "sovereign" on questions of "EU migrant" rights in Sweden.

According to Valfridsson himself, he began from the principle that Swedish law had to be followed and the law had to be applied equally to all.[10] At the same time, he was clear that it was important to distinguish between Swedish law itself and the international conventions Sweden has pledged to uphold. This was deeply significant to his subsequent analysis, since he was able to show that EU migrants without residency occupied a position *between* not *within* these two legal spheres, the latter of which requires the provision of shelter, sanitation, clean water, and so forth, regardless of national affiliation. Under EU law, any EU citizen has the right to stay in another country for up to three months, but without a right to residency. In Sweden the right of residence is connected to gainful employment or education, and only persons (and, with some exceptions, their dependents) who are gainfully employed, on their way to gainful employment, legitimately studying, and/or have sufficient resources to support themselves are eligible for residency rights (SOU, 2016, p.42ff). Few, if any, of these conditions are typically met by vulnerable EU citizens. Consequently, Valfridsson argued that because "EU migrants," by definition, do not have the right of residency in Sweden, they only have the right to social support in the form of emergency assistance, which under social service guidelines in the case of housing only stipulates "short-term emergency" shelter, not long-term housing – a provision often made real by issuing bus tickets back to the home country.

Valfridsson's first dilemma was that if EU migrants were provided housing because it was deemed a human right (as are asylum seekers), this would risk negating the right of residence. And if that happened, so too, then would the distinction dissolve between national citizens and non-citizens, as well as between the "nation-benefitting" gainfully employed and the "nation-draining" unemployed non-citizens. In other words, the modern state's function of distinguishing between political and bare life – valuable and worthless life – would be fundamentally threatened. The political-legal power of residence rights had therefore to trump universal human rights, for if no real difference was made between "citizen" and "other," the very *raison d'etre* of the nation and nation-state would be jeopardized. In other words, Valfridsson, acting like the sovereign as described by Agamben, made it his task to

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10 In his own words: "Samordnarens utgångspunkt har varit att svensk lag måste tillämpas lika i motsvarande situationer. Ingen grupp får särbehandlas, vare sig negativt eller positivt. Budskapet från det svenska samhället bör därför vara tydligt: alla EU-medborgare är välkomna hit och de måste på samma sätt som alla följa lagar. Därför ska lagliga boenden användas. Det är förbjudet att bo i parker, i andra offentliga rum eller på privat mark. Det är också förbjudet att lämna avföring eller sopor efter sig" (SOU, 2016, p.61) ["The coordinator's starting point has been that Swedish law must be applied equally in the corresponding situations. No group can be treated separately, either negative or positive. The message from Swedish society should therefore be clear: all EU citizens are welcome here and they must follow the same rules as everyone. Therefore, legal accommodation should be used. It is forbidden to live in parks, in other public spaces or in private land. It is also forbidden to leave faeces or garbage."]

mark the *limit* for inclusion in the state's social care. The right of residence was the political tool by which certain people could be excluded from the state's protective care and from rights more broadly. The right of residence was, for Valfridsson, a legal "fact" through which the Swedish state could *choose* to deny broader human rights, since, there is no logical causality that says an absence of residence rights automatically means the absence of human rights. If anything, the reverse is true, given the humanitarian function of human rights as rights for "the rightless" – that is, those *not* already incorporated into and given the protective covering of a state. Valfridsson's conclusion, that the "law" would not give EU migrants the right to decent living conditions and sanitation in Sweden, must then be read as a *decision* about how the law should be read, not necessarily a fact inherent in the law itself.

Under this decision, municipalities were not obliged to compensate for the lack of rights by finding housing solutions (however provisioned), such as granting the use of land for caravan sites or settlements. At a press conference in connection with the publication of his report, Valfridsson explained: "If you grant the use of municipal or private land, this ultimately creates difficulties. The society helps to restore the slum communities we have frenetically worked to counteract in Sweden. If you choose to come to Sweden, you must live in a lawful manner" (Sveriges Television, 2016). It matters not, apparently, that many EU migrants do not live lawfully because they cannot afford legal options. Yet Valfridsson does not offer them any legal solutions. Instead, the report expounds on his views as to why publically-leased campsites (for example) would be unfair: "There is a severe housing shortage in many places in the country, and there are already a number of homeless citizens.… Regardless of the living standard at the allocated sites, it would be difficult for a municipality to justify why a certain vulnerable group would gain access to this solution, but not others" (SOU 2016, p.6, p.70).

In an earlier interview, Valfridsson defended the evictions of vulnerable people from camping and other lodging sites by stating that even Swedish families with children sometimes get evicted, and that there is no legislation guaranteeing shelter for Swedish citizens (Dagens Nyheter, 2015b). In this line of reasoning, denying homeless people housing solutions is based on grounds of equal treatment; the fulfilment of human rights for foreign Roma and other vulnerable EU citizens would be *positive discrimination* that would disadvantage Swedes. Offering a solution – like legalized camping – would run the risk of disturbing Sweden's "moral economy" of housing (i.e. the economy's mooring in social conventions concerning what citizens have the right to demand of society) (Thompson, 1971; Mau, 2004), which was already burdened by a severe housing crisis (Christophers, 2013; CRUSH, 2016; Grundström and Molina, 2016).

The second challenge facing Valfridsson was whether, and how, to revoke the legal security of evictees during the eviction process. The solution here was, through vague wording, to call on the police to begin to prioritize criminal law over civil law in order to circumvent the possibility of appeal. Three months before his report was released, Valfridsson called in an interview for the police to "take a step forward" to "help" municipalities and landowners by applying the Public Order Act or the Police Act to "remove" people and thereby avert a crime. Police, he argued, should exhibit "zero tolerance" against the emergence of EU migrant settlements (Sveriges Radio, 2015). How the police were to implement these laws was specified in the final report.[11] In connection with the release of the report, Valfridsson welcomed an announced review of the laws, which, he averred, would "simplify" prevailing legislation which was "outdated."[12] The review was concluded in May 2016 and proposed to add a new procedure designated as "removal" (rather than "eviction") which would be subject to fewer restrictions on the use of police power (Ds, 2016, p.13, p.17). The proposal was duly legislated in July 2017, with the Justice Minister averring that the value of the new law was obvious: "If it gets harder to establish [settlements] then the total number of beggars will decrease and thus also the problem" (Olsson, 2017).

In effect, the law (which made "removing" Roma and other vulnerable EU citizens from temporary and longer-term settlements easier) was reformed in order to protect the law: the part of constitutional law that protects private property (for Swedish citizens) was protected by eroding the part of the law that protected evictee's interests and recognized their needs, and thus eroded their human rights more broadly. Before the July 2017 change, evicting people from informal housing settlements was the responsibility of the Swedish Enforcement Agency and other authorities, which could call in the police to enforce duly arrived at decisions. Now, the police could directly "remove" people, while also being charged with preventing

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11 For example, in relation to private land, Valfridsson notes that the Police Act (§13) allows the police to bar or remove people if doing so is necessary to prevent a crime from being committed (p.64). On both public and private land, the Penal Code (Chapter 8, §§8,9) specifies that "arbitrarily" or "selfishly" occupying another's property is a criminal offence, and that police patrols may intervene in and remove "recent" campers but that police powers are limited if such a residence has become "permanent." In that case, then the police may not be able to "directly" or "immediately" remove the squatters (p.65). Finally, on public lands, the Public Order Act allows police to remove "immediately" any persons, devices, or furniture, if they have been placed in the space without proper permission or in violation of local ordinances. This is perhaps the broadest specification of police power and allows for the removal of tent encampments (p.65).

12 The transcript of the press conference, in which these comments welcoming the law review could be read, is no longer available on the websites of either Sveriges Television or Sveriges Radio and they are not alluded to in the press coverage from the time. Extensive notes taken by the lead author of this paper during the press conference, however, quote these words. For coverage of the Conference, see Sveriges Radio (2016); Sveriges Television (2016).

vulnerable EU citizens from finding somewhat stable places to sleep in the first place. This is to say, the police have been charged with creating a kind of rightless space available within the law, wherein they may – by moving homeless people along – intervene in a crime that has not occurred. Roma and other homeless people come to be, in essence, *exceptional*: suspect merely for *being*.

Altogether, Valfridsson's message, in both his report and in his public statements, was that active homelessness *itself* should be treated as a sort of illegal state: it is forbidden to reside illegally, while at the same time it is "illegal" to find legal solutions for those for those who do not have the right to reside legally. Valfridsson was arguing, like the leader of the Eskilstuna municipal council, that sometimes exceptions had to be made to the regime of universal human rights (though it must be said that Valfridsson exhibited far less of the regret that this was the case than did the municipal leader). The "zero tolerance" Valfridsson advocated for illegal settlements in effect meant a zero tolerance against the symptoms of homelessness, which paradoxically are made even *more* permanent through the concurrent "zero tolerance" for finding housing options. In this way, Valfridsson's report, and the effective adoption of its recommendations by the Swedish government and municipalities across the country, while perhaps meeting the desires crystalized by the rise of the Sweden Democrats, does so by *deepening* homelessness as a state of exception, homelessness as the camp itself, homelessness as the phenomenal form that bare life takes.

And as befits Swedish exceptionalism, this state of exception has been achieved precisely through the invocation of *equality* (cf. Barker, 2018). In this sense, for many Swedes, zero tolerance towards vulnerable EU migrants and their encampments is not at all regretful, but rather a confirmation of the goodness and justness of Swedish society. For them, a zero tolerance policy needs no justification at all.

Conclusion: The Fusion of Fact and Right

In essence Valfridsson presented three *political* conclusions masquerading as purely legal reasoning: (1) In Sweden, there is no absolute or universal right to welfare; (2) equal treatment under the law means making exceptions of some people residing in the country and justifies unequal treatment; and (3) zero tolerance for acute homelessness is *just*. The only way to understand how such conclusions can be arrived at *through* reference to the law, is to understand how Valfridsson skilfully fused *right* with *fact*. The liminal political identity of the "EU migrant" (who is neither Swedish nor "refugee") opened up the possibility of creating a vacuum within the law itself in which it is up to the sovereign to decide what is dictated by "right." Any such decision was necessarily informed by the political interests of the

state and the parties that govern – and contest the government of – it, and thus what is formulated as "fact." Valfridsson's three conclusions – which both revoked the rights of and targeted "EU migrants" – were each based on a respective "fact," which then became law in their own right: (1) the border between included and excluded has to be maintained in order to protect the existence of the state and nation themselves (Barker, 2018); (2) the moral economy of citizens' social rights must not be disturbed by an expanded, seemingly unwarranted, right to housing and sanitary conditions; and (3) the "depraved" social consequences of homelessness – "shantytowns," for example – should not disturb the people and thereby threaten to deepen the crisis of the legitimacy of the Swedish state and its governing coalition. Such a melding of right and fact allows for the appearance of legal neutrality, a mere upholding of the letter of the law (rather than an expansive reinterpretation of it). Schmitt (1933) may have based his logic in the primacy of preserving "the race," but for Valfridsson the objective was, to a significant degree, different: not the preservation of "the race," or necessarily even of "the people" (who are by now the sovereign), but rather the preservation of the law itself. Yet, of course, it is only a part of the law that is preserved (since those parts of the law that protect the rights of evictees, for example, are, through Valfridsson's recommendations, circumvented).

So the real object, in fact, is not the law, but the legitimacy of the state itself, and through that the greater *order* which the state in turn maintains through legislation, legislation that incorporates the bare life of the "EU migrant" *by* excluding them. This larger order, of course, ultimately comprises a global political-economic structure of production and ownership, which generates and perpetuates the poverty that sets the "EU migrant" on the road (no less than war and political oppression send refugees on the road), as well as makes an unconditional universal right to housing inconceivable. We must not forget, therefore, that what distinguishes the vulnerable EU migrant who comes to Sweden from other EU citizens is that their extreme poverty means they cannot afford legal sleeping arrangements. And what distinguishes them from refugees is their "state-full-ness," which paradoxically bars them from the sort of social support – and fulfilment of human rights – afforded the stateless. Nor should we forget that Swedish housing (and other social welfare) policy is influenced by the moral economy of Swedish welfare that rejects the very idea of informal settlements or other housing solutions that expose the false equality upon which that moral economy is based: in Sweden, given the embrace of the welfare state, the presumption is that there is no *need* for such settlements. Yet, finally, we mustn't forget that after nearly thirty years of a deepening neoliberalization of the housing system in Sweden, this moral economy

in fact simply does not exist; it has long been replaced by a more "monstrous" system (Christophers, 2013) that rewards overproduction for the wealthy and interminable queues for affordable housing for the rest.

The fact that Valfridsson can deny "EU migrants" right to housing based on the lack of unconditional right to housing for the Swedish population themselves, proves that it is not the *welfare state's* solvency that needs to be protected for the state's own insiders, as for example Barker (2018) argues. In *Nordic Nationalism and Penal Order* (2018), Barker argues that a kind of "penal nationalism" has been developed by the Swedish state as a coercive tool targeting immigrants, asylum seekers and "EU migrants" (whom she calls "The Roma"), in order "to keep the welfare state solvent, for members" (Barker 2018, p.8). Finding neoliberalism, revanchism, and political economy as insufficient causes behind the harshening tendency to criminalize the movement of poor and foreign bodies, Barker argues that current pressure to expel asylum seekers and "EU migrants" in Sweden derives from the desire to *preserve* the welfare state. The exclusion of "EU migrants" is then, thus the result of a politics of *equality* for insiders, instead of a politics of growing inequality: "We usually think of exclusionary means as the result of social inequality, but in this context the exclusion comes from equality. […] [the] penal power [is] used to uphold equality, for those on the inside." (Barker 2018, p.12) Thus, Barker understands the eviction strategies and denial of responsibility for the needs of the homeless "Roma" as a consequence of the group being "too much for Swedish cultural sensibilities which are based on equality, a sense of social security, and upholding human dignity" (Barker 2018, p.94). According to Barker (2018, pp.94-95) then, "it is critical to realize that poor people are not forced out of Sweden because the welfare state has been hollowed out and left dependent on coercive means of control. The Roma are forced out because they do not belong to the Swedish welfare state. The Roma are forced out because they are not nationals. The Swedish government expressed sympathy rather than antipathy for the Roma, yet it heeded the logic of welfare state preservation, to maintain the resources and benefits for members and members only". Symptomatically enough, Barker immediately follows up this sentence with quoting Valfridsson's statement regarding the absence of a "national roof-over-your head guarantee" (Barker 2018, p.95), in other words the moment of truth revealing the *absence* of "solvency" regarding the Swedish welfare state's promoting social rights to even its *own* citizens. So Barker is right in defining the state violence targeting "EU migrants" as an exercise in power in order to legitimate the state in the eyes of its citizens. But the "equality" and "welfare" in question that needs to be "protected" is discursive, not actual. That is why we identify the thing to *really* be protected is the larger political-economic order to which the Swedish welfare state and its discourse of exceptionalism and equality

is an important ideological complement. In this current political-economic arrangement, it is of uttermost importance – from the state's point of view – to uphold the *impression* of Swedish welfare being solvent for the own population, in order not to trigger the social antagonisms that might result when people realize that the Swedish welfare system is ultimately dependent on a capitalist logic that in the past promoted full employment and social protection of workers but which by now is long gone. The current housing – and overarching "social rights" – system in Sweden, is built upon a base of a Keynesian economic reality in which the constant industrial economic growth made sure that significant social rights of Swedes were practically (not unconditionally, universally or legally) guaranteed. In this sense, the fact that in theory any Swede could fall between the social security nets (as some always have) and her- or himself become a 'homo sacer', needs to be foreclosed by punishing the human beings whose mere presence makes this fact so startlingly visible.

These are the actual facts that belie the artful mixing of right and fact that Valfridsson accomplished as he reinforced homelessness as the camp and helped the state of exception that *is* homelessness to metastasize – so much so that by now it is simply unremarkable when a *Social Democratic* politician can blandly state that it is time to make an exception to the belief in the equality of all human beings. In Sweden, under the guise of equality, there is no equality for homeless vulnerable EU citizens. Stripped down to bare life, they are left to live – and to die – only by their own wiles, and in doing so to confirm the very legitimacy, and the rightness, of the Swedish state.

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Homelessness of Mobile EU-citizens as One Effect of a National-European Conflict. Insights Into an Ethnography of Participation in Europe Using the Example of Germany

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Abstract_*This paper is about homelessness of mobile EU-citizens in Germany and suggests an innovative approach to the discourse about migration and European migration management in the field of homelessness research. Coming from the perspective of critical migration studies it is assumed that "Europe" is not homogeneous but a space where different types of mobilities are evaluated differently and inclusions and exclusions are negotiated. Consequently it is argued that the social problem of homelessness of mobile EU-citizens is one effect of the attempt to regulate intra-EU-mobility according to a specific European mobility regime. Based on first findings of an ongoing ethnographic research on this subject, it is shown that in- and exclusions are negotiated on different levels: the legal framework, the local homeless services structures and the practical level of homeless service centres. To understand the phenomenon better, historically shaped discrimination patterns based on specific imaginations and concepts of moral economies need to be taken into account.*

Keywords: _*Homelessness of mobile EU-citizens, intra-EU mobility regime, inclusion and exclusion, Europe, homeless services*

Introduction

The corridor of the responsible authority is painted in different shades of turquoise, it seems to be huge and cold. We arrive at the door, we were told and take a seat on the metal chairs in the corridor. After a few minutes Ms. Marten calls us in. Iulia introduces us and Mr. I. Ms. Marten seems to be friendly and interested in him. She wants to help and makes a phone call to reserve an emergency accommodation for him while talking. Finally she makes a copy of his passport and advises us: "hardship case". We should mention this in the emergency application at the Social Court in case Mr. I.s application will be denied. After that we go to meet Ms. Jonas, one floor downstairs. Also there we are waiting again. It takes quite a while. We wait. And wait. Finally we are called in. Iulia starts again to introduce us and Mr. I. The employee, who introduces herself as Ms. Frantz, asks a few questions after pointing to the new law since beginning of 2016. According to this law "EU-citizens basically don't get any benefits if they aren't working here or aren't residing 5 years."Finally she takes all the documents and says that she is going to her divisional head, because "EU-citizens are top priority. They receive in very few cases social benefits from us, the divisional head then always looks at it."We are asked to wait for her in the corridor. After a while she is back and explains that Mr. I. won't get anything because neither his need nor the jurisdiction of the social security office is clear. A confirmation of his incapacity to work and his bank statements are missing. Besides, he doesn't have the right to free movement since he cannot make his living on his own. I am annoyed, because it is the foreigner's competence alone to investigate this question, but I remain silent. Iulia knocks her head and listens carefully. If beyond that there is a need of emergency accommodation we would have to go upstairs, since this is another funding, Ms. Frantz explains. She would come along with us and explain her point of view. Upstairs we wait again in front of the room of Ms. Marten. Ms. Frantz disappears in Ms. Marten's office. I can hear their voices through the open door, but both are talking in a low voice, I can't understand anything. Finally Ms. Frantz comes outside and passes us by: "It's [to] start soon."Then Ms. Marten comes out of her office, locks her door and tells us: "It took a long time.""Yes, indeed", I answer, "and now we are back for emergency accommodation.""I don't decide this", she says and leaves, two papers in her hand. Iulia and I look confused at each other: What is going on? We decide to wait again. After a few minutes she comes back and asks us into her office. She seems to be in depressed mood, she often looks down, her face is vacuous. She tells us that Mr. I's not going to be accommodated, because not everything has been utilised. Besides "the emergency situation for exactly today is not recognised, because he is sleeping rough already since 2 years. The concrete emergency situation is not evident."We are quite embarrassed. I ask for a written notice. There isn't such a thing, Ms. Marten explains me. "Next time", she says, "we could possibly commu-

nicate a little earlier and prepare everything, in order that it won't take so long then. I am really sorry, that it took so long today. Luckily it's Thursday today, the Jobcenter is open long and also the lawyers. Therefore I gave you the hint earlier today. I had already such a premonition."(field notes 13.07.2017).

For more than 10 years, the composition of the group of people using homeless services, especially so-called low-threshold services, i.e. services accessible without any official proof of entitlement, has been changing in urban areas in Germany. Nowadays, the services are widely used by mobile EU-citizens. There is no reliable statistical data on the number of both homeless people in Germany in general and homeless mobile EU-citizens especially. The German national umbrella organization of homeless services "Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft Wohnungslosenhilfe (BAG W)" estimates a number of 860,000 homeless people in Germany in 2016 and about 52,000 of them sleeping rough. About 50,000 people are estimated to hold an EU-passport other than a German passport (BAG W, 2017). Practitioners in low-threshold services in different German cities report that the percentage of EU-citizens using those services is very high compared with the German society in general. Homeless mobile EU-citizens often pauperize very rapidly and live in absolute poverty in Germany. Both service users and staff members of homeless centres report communication problems and experiences of discrimination (see, for example Reichenbach, 2012). In the meantime, national legislation is changing to exclude EU-citizens more and more from social assistance. Situations like the one described are well-known to social workers in this field.

In my research, I develop some ideas to grasp a better understanding of this phenomenon based on an ongoing ethnographic research, applying an approach of critical migration studies. Hence, I understand the social problem of homelessness of mobile EU-citizens (in Germany) as an effect of a specific migration regime, i.e. a specific interplay of different material and immaterial elements that result in a certain reality. Thus, even Europe itself is repeatedly produced and reproduced in both, the image and its material elements. These processes of (re-)production result in certain in- and exclusion patterns that offer different European citizens different levels of participation.

The aim of this paper is to show that, and in which way, the social problem of homelessness of mobile EU-citizens is one effect of such processes. Based on the data of my research, I will give here an insight into some processes and mechanisms on different levels, through which the differences within Europe and the different levels of participation are negotiated. For that purpose I will first introduce my research methodology. Second, I will present some of my findings of how in- and exclusion processes on the legislative, institutional and the level of interaction form a specific system of inclusion. Finally, I will summarize my findings and sketch

out some working hypotheses both for further academic research and the practical level of social work and political decision-making. To meet ethical standards of social research, all names of organisations have been deleted and peoples' names are all pseudonyms.

Methodology

In my research, I approach the problem of homelessness of mobile EU-citizens in Germany from a perspective of Europeanisation. This means to understand this problem as a local effect of a national-European conflict deriving from processes of European integration. Therefore I focus on the negotiation processes and the contradictions that go along with these processes and the national interests on a local, national and EU-level. I use the ethnographic approach of "multi-sited ethnography", following Susan Wright's and Sue Reinhold's "studying through", where "the anthropologist is seeking a method for analysing connections between levels and forms of social process and action, and exploring how those processes work in different sites – local, national and global"(Shore and Wright, 1997, p.14).

Based on phases of participant observations in a medical centre for homeless people in Berlin, I broaden my research field step by step including different types of empirical material (expert interviews, documents, field notes of joining social workers, grey literature,…). This way, I get engaged with the field dynamics and needs and define it at the same time. Thanks to my professional experiences as a social worker in different homeless services in Berlin, I got in contact with lots of different stakeholders. Most of them found the topic of my research important and were pleased to support me. Whereas my professional background enabled me to get access to different sites and to get a broader perspective including lots of different points of view, nevertheless being known with my positioning certainly also affected what was told and shown to me.

I started my fieldwork with phases of participant observation in the medical centre for homeless people, followed by interviews with staff members and members of the organisation running the place, different political stakeholders as well as NGO members on the level of the municipality, the federal level and the EU-level. A few times I attended social workers assisting homeless mobile EU-citizens in Berlin to assert their rights, like e.g. described above. Finally, I participated in different meetings and events, where different stakeholders network with each other and where furthermore argumentation strategies are developed and the social problem of homelessness of mobile EU-citizens is negotiated. Last but not least, several documents and grey literature are part of my data. Since the problem of homelessness of mobile EU-citizens is embedded in a highly emotional and political context

on the local, the national and the European level, it was crucial to build a relationship of trust with the stakeholders I got engaged with. Consequently, I have made sure that privacy is protected by confidentiality and anonymisation using pseudonyms for all people I met during my fieldwork.

Methodologically, I use the concept of Assemblages, which connects institutions, legal framework, administrative measures, practices and architectural arrangements (Deleuze and Guattari, 1999): "The relationship among the elements in an assemblage is not stable; nor is their configuration reducible to a single logic. Rather, an assemblage is structured through critical reflection, debate, and contest"(Collier, 2006, p.400). Using this concept, emergent mechanisms and scope of actions can be made visible, that steadily reconstitute themselves. Besides, I refer to Clarke's (2005) situational analysis to analyse the data. That way, a deeper understanding of the underlying processes is possible without fixing them. The following findings result mainly from the analysis of my field notes, expert interviews and several documents.

In- and Exclusions Produced by a Legal Framework

As a first step, I focus on the legislative level, exploring how different levels of inclusion and exclusion are produced by it. During my research, I attended social workers asserting the rights of their clients, like Iulia and Mr. I. Mr. I. has slept rough in Germany for approximately two years. He is sick and, as he says, unable to work. He doesn't have any income and sleeps in a small tent in a park. Due to his illness, he needs drugs on a regular basis. Since sleeping rough is step-by-step worsening his physical condition, he now wants to apply for social benefits to overcome this situation, relying on his right of free movement as an EU-citizen. But as shown earlier, his first application was refused referring to the relevant national laws.

According to these laws, EU-citizens are excluded from social benefits during the first five years of their stay in Germany unless they work or are a family member of an entitled person. There exists only the right for so-called "bridging benefits" (Überbrückungsleistungen) – once in two years, for four weeks maximum or until leaving the country. Besides, the Foreigners Registration Office gets notice of each foreigner applying for any kind of social benefits. This way the Office gets information about a possible non-existence of the right of free movement. In such a case, these EU-citizens can be asked to leave the country and additionally in certain circumstances can be denied to re-enter the country again for the next two years.

This law is in force since the end of 2016. Basically, it's not a new law, but it is another change of the relevant German Code of Social Law, that has been changed already many times over the last years to exclude economically inactive EU-citizens

more and more from social benefits. EU-citizens' entitlements to social benefits in Germany have been questioned already for some years. Especially the entitlements of economically inactive EU-citizens are highly contested. While Social Workers, migration services and other stakeholders, especially of civil society, argue for a basic right to minimum subsistence benefits for everybody as a humanitarian necessity, politicians and governmental stakeholders mainly argue for an exclusion of economically inactive EU-citizens. The European Court of Justice decided in 2013 (C-333/13 (Dano)) that nation states are allowed to refuse EU-citizens social benefits if they are not working or have been entering the other member state for the purpose of receiving social benefits. Following this restrictive decision and a general restrictive atmosphere towards migration, the same court decided in 2014 (C-67/14 (Alimanovic)), that nation states are allowed to refuse contribution-free social benefits for EU-citizens, like the minimum subsistence benefits in Germany, in case they didn't succeed to find a job and have never been working in the other member state or having been unemployed longer than six months after working less than one year. Unexpectedly and disappointing for many social workers and NGOs, the European Court of Justice argued similarly to the German governmental stakeholders, who find the national position approved.

Bringing these questions to the European Court of Justice needs to be seen in the context of the debate of expected high numbers of EU-citizens migrating to Germany after the enlargement of the EU in 2007 and the final opening of the labour market for Romanian and Bulgarian citizens in 2014. During these years the discourse was highly influenced by populists talking about "poverty migration" and related to the freedom of movement for workers from Romania and Bulgaria. Still it was questioned whether the German interpretation contradicts the European regulations of Freedom of movement and other European rules. Nevertheless, individual homeless mobile EU-citizens claimed via social courts social benefits and different German courts pronounced different judgements on the matter. Then the space for such different national interpretations of the European legal framework became even smaller, with the already mentioned law amendment of the relevant Social Code, Books 2 and 12 from December 2016. Now this law is widely known as "EU-citizen-exclusion-law" (Unionsbürgerausschlussgesetz). Explicitly it connects social law with regulation of migration:

> It is to be expected, that this rule of exclusion from social benefits after the German Social Code, Book 12, will unfold an effect of control. Hence, presumably – at least five years after the law being in force – only for a small, not countable number of people entitlements to the Code Social Law, Book 2, will arise, so that noteworthy excess expenditures are not to be expected. The number of persons, who are entitled to social benefits (a stay of five years since

> registration at the responsible Registration Office) when the law is coming into force, should be very small, therefore here are no noteworthy excess expenditures to be expected.

Or to phrase it like one of my interview partners, who is working in a welfare organisation at questions of migration and who describes the political goal clearly:

> Well as far as I notice until now, it is like this: within the European borders there exist sort of few regulations to this effect. The right of residence is very free, we have the freedom of movement which is like one of the basic rights and therefore it is difficult, to talk about contained migration within the EU, because officially we have a lot of freedoms […] and then somehow, one lets them, a little bit really to say it very upfront, one makes them feel as uncomfortable as possible, so that maybe they return however. (Consultant in a national charity organisation, 2017)

The mentioned law amendment is highly criticized by NGOs as not corresponding with the German constitution and ignoring the reality of migration (Deutscher Bundestag, 2016). The lawyers' network "Neue Richtervereinigung" even talks about the law as creating a group of modern slaves, who are forced to accept jobs under these conditions to survive. According to those lawyers, the right to a dignified life is in this context replaced by Apartheid in social law (Deutscher Bundestag, 2016, p.64).

For Mr. I., all this means a life in very precarious conditions. He still doesn't have any money for his daily needs nor his drugs. Instead, he is dependent on others and their humanity and capacities. Further, the Foreigners Registrations Office might investigate upon his right of free movement and find out that he is "economically inactive" and not a family member of an entitled person and send him back. Thus he is highly excluded from society but, as I want to show, at the same time also the included "Other".

Several consequences of the described developments can already be observed in the German context: First, a shift of focus within the legal discussion away from the European level back to the national one. The German constitutional court is asked to decide whether the exclusion of mobile EU-citizens from minimum subsistence benefits corresponds to the German constitution. Until today the Constitutional Court was not required to deal with the matter. However the court already clarified a few years ago concerning asylum seekers that human dignity is not to be relativised by political interests to regulate migration (Bundesverfassungsgericht, 2012). Second, a shift of focus within the national legal discussion from social law towards police law. Since there are less opportunities for inclusion in the German society by social benefits, social workers therefore try to realize a shelter together with the homeless person to overcome the emergency of homelessness at minimum, based

on the argumentation of humanitarian emergency assistance. Nevertheless, even this is a contested question, like seen in the example of Iulia and Mr. I. Recently another consequence started to develop: a shift of focus towards the right to free movement, thus towards foreigners' law. Some stakeholders start to call for the Foreigners Registration Office to take action, i.e. to expulse homeless mobile EU-citizens from the EU member state where they reside. These tendencies can be observed in certain municipalities and not only in Germany but also in other EU member states.

Challenging the Local Homeless Services Structure

As a second aspect of analysing the intra-EU mobility regime, I look at the level of the local homeless service structure in Berlin to trace processes, in which in- and exclusion are negotiated. Here, practitioners from different NGOs report that some years ago the municipality has recalled the funding of a medical centre for homeless people in Berlin, due to the treatment of so-called "not-entitled" mobile EU-citizens. Like Mr. I., for whom the services of the centre regarding to the municipality was not meant to be the address to go to. People have been treated there without regard to their citizenship and their status concerning social rights. The centre didn't hide but rather documented all treatments and patients for the municipality. A little time earlier, the municipality had stated clearly that the treatment of this group of patients in those centres funded by the municipality will not be refunded, unless the person is a member of a country that signed the "European Convention on Social and Medical Assistance" or if it is an emergency treatment or the treatment of a reportable disease. In Berlin, this instance caused a lot of disturbance and uncertainty, since these "not-entitled" people were treated not only in the mentioned medical centre, but also in other centres, which became afraid for their funding. Interestingly, details of the incidences never became public. The organisation running this centre decided to continue to work with their own funding instead and intensively ran for donations. A further reaction of the organisation to deal with this crisis was to start to build a network of all organisations offering medical treatment for homeless people in Berlin. Finally, they founded a "Round Table medical treatment of homeless people". Within this network, the participating organisations and persons get to know about each other better, share experiences and develop common goals and strategies to reform the services of medical treatment of homeless people in Berlin. One of their main goals is to provide access to medical treatment for everybody, especially for mobile EU-citizens.

A crucial obstacle in this process is the conceptualization of migration. It seems as if the members of the municipality, as well as other official stakeholders, are assuming that migration is a push-pull-process. They understand it as a mechanism

with a logical connection between offer supply and demand. This economic idea is highly controversially discussed, not only in the economic sector (for example Lee, 1969; Boyd, 1989; Glick Schiller *et al*., 1997), but also in the field of migration. The theory has been quoted repeatedly in the field and became effective. One of my interview partners describes the imaginations connected with it by using the metaphor of "opening a door":

> In conversations with deputies of the municipality's management about the topic of funding and target group. It was last summer, and we noticed about the topic of the target group [of beneficiaries], in this regard one wants to be strict, no one wants to discuss it. The justification is always, you would open a door, demand asks supply and so on, you just don't want to open the door. (Director of a local NGO, 2017)

This rather mechanical idea of migration points to an underlying logic of security. NGOs also talk of the fear of "foreign infiltration" on the municipality's side. Such fear goes along with the need to control migration and therefore to save the nation state. As it can be seen also in other moments of the migration discourse in Germany, processes of Europeanisation as well as movement of people go in hand with a contra-discourse of revitalising the nation state and its borders.

To gain more power in the local negotiation processes about access to medical care in Berlin, the municipality finally refers to the relationship of dependency between them and the NGOs, who get state funds. And last but not least, due to the lack of transparency of what happened, a threatening scenario has been built, as many people in the field explain. For example, one interviewee, who is part of the management of an NGO:

> The threatening scenario is, that, if you do something different than what the financier prescribes, as effect it becomes not fundable. Theoretically, like, according to what has been told, like what happened to [NAME OF ORGANISATION], the funding could be reduced or cut completely. And despite all these discussion we had, this threatening scenario has never been really, really openly said as a threat, however through the colourful subclauses everyone could understand, of course, who is boss. (Director of a local NGO, 2017)

To find a way out of this dilemma situation between official treatment prohibition and professional treatment necessity, NGOs follow two main argumentation lines. One follows an economic thinking by trying to measure the treatments and patients to show the need of funding and necessary structure changes. The second argumentation line follows a national security logic and argues with the security of the (national) society: The medical treatment centres undertake tasks of the public

health service, such as pre-diagnosing HIV/Aids or Tuberculosis. Therefore, the medical treatment of homeless people plays an important role in securing the society, thus needs to be state funded.

In- and Exclusions in Homeless Service Centres

In a third step, I now focus on the level of interactions within a homeless service, especially how participation and in- and exclusion is negotiated here. While the framework might change quickly, practices might remain unchanged. Further, it seems practice changes are not to be explained automatically by changes in the framework. This means for ethnographic research, to endure apparent missing connections and to trace them patiently: "'studying through' entails multi-sited ethnographies which trace policy connections between different organizational and everyday worlds, even where actors in different sites do not know each other or share an oral universe" (Shore and Wright, 1997, p.14). Thus, the following remarks are not directly connected to the mentioned aspects, but still describe relevant processes.

I present here two effect-generating structures on the practical level, which produce ex- and inclusions in homeless services: first, classifying the service users, second, distributing resources. Both methods neither reflect the interactions completely nor are they representative for all homeless services. Still, it is important to look at them to understand the processes of negotiating participation on the practical level.

Classifying service users

The aim of low-threshold services for homeless people is to meet homeless peoples' most urgent needs. For that purpose they basically provide shelter, food, sanitation as well as consultation. Moreover, these centres are places to meet other people and to network. For low-threshold services, their accessibility is crucial: people in need can access them without an official proof of entitlements or any other necessities. In Berlin, these centres are across-the-board state-funded, with no regard to the exact numbers and kind of users. Compared to the highly individually differentiated access to social benefits, as shown, these services are meant to be free to use for everyone. It can be shown though, that in practice these are also spaces of in- and exclusion. Here, the ways of discrimination are different and sometimes more subtle than the regulations by the legal framework.

During my participant observations, I have accompanied a social worker offering once-a-week social counselling in a day care centre for homeless people. The team of the social worker was asked to assist the staff of the day care centre, since they felt overwhelmed by the number of service users they cannot talk to, due to the lack

of a common language. Most of them, as they said, were mobile EU-citizens, especially Romanians. So once a week, one or two social workers offered social counselling in different languages, amongst others Romanian. Also, the day care centre hired a language mediator for Romanian who is working there twice a week. The team called these days "integration days". As an additional intervention, they limited the access for "Romanians" and published this by sticking an information sheet on the entrance door with a text in German and Romanian:

> *Integration days in [CENTRE].*
> *Dear guests, we want to offer an extensive programme with counselling, cultural events etc. also to our Romanian-speaking guests. But we can only provide this on two days of the week, namely on Tuesday and Wednesday. We ask you for understanding that Romanian-speaking guests only have access to [CENTRE] these two days. Thank you very much! The team of [CENTRE].*

The centre wants to meet the needs of their service users, who are characterized by many differences. It can be assumed that despite of all their differences all of them live in poverty and precarious situations and need assistance to overcome them. Since homelessness is a result of structural and individual determinants, the reasons for each individual situation might differ. Interestingly, here neither the situation nor the reason for it is the key characteristic used to categorize the service users, but their language. But a certain language is not only the criterion for classifying people into groups but also for regulating access to the provided service. And instead of frankly communicating this constraint by saying that the service is restricted for some people, the restraint is formulated positively as an extra service for apparently Romanian people, which can be provided only two days a week. An explanation in which way the ability to communicate in a certain language is connected to the restricted access to the centre, that is meant to be accessible for everyone in need, is missing. It seems that it is not about the integration of Romanian-speaking people but about their exclusion. But as the following scene of my field notes shows, it is not about a definite exclusion but about a certain level of exclusion. Entering the centre is a crucial moment in this process of positioning:

> Markus [staff member] asks me to hold his position for a moment while he needs to manage something. No problem, I answer. He gives me his pen and shows me the tally sheet next to the entrance door. It's a small paper with a chart on it, stuck with tape at the glass door. I should just write in the tally sheet whether male or female and "German" or "Foreigner". It is important to write down everyone and to take care, whether the person has been here before today or enters new, he explains me. (…) a man enters, I welcome him and want to write him down in the chart, but I don't know on which side to put the line, "d" (for

> German) or "a" (for foreigner). So I wait for Markus and ask him. (…) Markus goes to the tally sheet and makes a sign at "a" for "Ausländer" (foreigners). "Aha," I say, "and how do you know that?" "One recognizes Romanians" he says. I ask again: "How exactly?" "Well, the women for example, just look at them. You see it." (field notes 08.11.2017)

After having managed to access the centre, the users get classified a second time. Now the categories are male/female and German/foreigner. Interestingly, I was told by other social workers before, that people are not asked for their language skills when entering the centre (as one might expect following the mentioned information sheet) but separated based on the colour of their skin.

Another scene from the same centre indicates a certain hierarchical order of the categories: The so-called "Integration days" don't only aim to assist the group of "Romanian-speaking", or better "Romanian-looking", homeless people to overcome their precarious situation and to be included. In fact, people, labelled as "Romanians" are made visible, while other nationalities are obviously not taken into account:

> An elderly man enters the room, Markus welcomes him and writes a sign at "d". I ask him, whether he knows this man already. "One year", says Markus, "he is coming here already a long time. He is Italian, but counts for us as German." After some more questions Markus makes it clear, that "a" means "Romania" and "d" all other countries. (field notes 08.11.2017)

It is obvious, that nationality, ethnicity and visible attributes are mixed here. The fact that it is not clearly communicated what aspect it is about, indicates an insecurity of how to deal with a feeling of being overwhelmed of certain service users, of supposed excessive demands, stereotypes and prejudices in a racist structure of society and a lack of words. This can lead to discrimination, like shown. As the social worker I attended told me later, the local authorities are informed about the situation and have not taken any action until now.

Distributing resources

Further participation and exclusion is negotiated in interactions, for example if resources are distributed. Also, the behaviour of the support-seeking person is often regulated and people are categorized. In such situations, people often use their body parts in order to reinforce their words. This can be observed in the frequently occurring distribution of (mostly material) resources, such as clothes, shoes or sanitary products, but also in matters of attention. One important criterion to decide upon the distribution of such a limited resource is the availability of the needed product. In general, the demand of material resources and attention is higher than the enabled supply. So the staff members need to decide how to distribute the restricted supplies. Clear rules that would make the decision process

transparent and understandable, don't exist. So with a few exceptions, every decision taken is a single decision by a single staff member. Different aspects influence these decisions and besides individual sympathy, the indicated level of need is relevant. The level of need is evaluated on the basis of a normative scale. This practice reminds of the moralizing distinction between "true" and "not-true" or "worthy" and "unworthy" poor, which developed in the European middle ages and led to the challenge to distinguish one from the other (Oberhuber, 1999). The act of decision-making can be shown in the following scene I described in my field notes after a day of participant observation in the medical centre:

> One patient, about whom she [staff member] had said before, that he is annoying her, asks for a pair of trousers. She answers no, there is none. Besides that, she explains to me, quietly, so the man cannot hear it: "If someone comes with lice or dirty, in consequence there is a higher chance of getting a pair of jeans." (field notes 20.05.2016)

Other aspects are generalized assumptions and imaginations which – consciously or not – also affect the discussions, decisions and practices. For instance one staff member doesn't hesitate to generalize her experiences according to a homogenising and discriminating pattern:

> Another man negotiates with her [STAFF MEMBER] […] whether and which clothes he can get. Without success. As he turns around and walks into the waiting room, she turns around, I come closer to her with my office chair and she tells me: "They are artists. The worst are the Bulgarians and the Romanians, they want most and discuss most." (field notes 23.05.2016)

Finally, as I observed in the medical service centre, the distribution, for example of clothes, is repeatedly connected to a pedagogic stimulus, that sets German language as a norm. Again and again, the distribution of clothes is under the term of asking for it in German. Emphasizing that in Germany people speak German, language becomes a core feature of "Germany" and the standard of "integration". At the same time, the staff member who uses this technique the most can present herself, who is not born and raised in Germany and had learned German as adult, as a good example of integration – in opposition to whose who don't speak German.

Putting Pieces Together: Theoretical Reflections

Each of the processes shown result in certain relations of in- and exclusion, thus in different levels of belonging and participation. These processes do not occur accidentally nor automatically, but they can be understood and thought of in a productive way through the lense of certain theoretical concepts. I suggest to apply basically the concept of "differential inclusion", which helps to understand the selective inclusion of migrants within a migration regime of, for example, the European Union, in contrast to an understanding of border as medium of either in- or exclusion. Rather, it describes the European migration management as a highly "selective, hierarchical, and spatially and temporally heterogeneous" (Bojadžijev and Mezzadra, 2015) system. Such a perspective suggests to understand the European Union itself as a space for "a multitude of practices of inclusion and exclusion"(Walters, 2005, p.163), where both the "inside" and the "outside" is negotiated, but also an inner differentiation of it. As could be seen in the data, the concept of national borders is not questioned, they are seen as given and its arrangement as humane as possible is negotiated. Borders then do not only divide the existing world, but are reactions to changes of the world and of the society, make these changes visible and finally shape the world: "borders, far from serving simply to block or obstruct flows, have become essential devices for their articulation"(Mezzadra and Neilson, 2012, p.64).

Consequently, migration management consists of lots of different elements, such as legal frameworks, administrative measures, institutional structures and individual behaviour. Thus, basically the social problem of homelessness of mobile EU-citizens in Germany can be understood in general as a legal conflict about the relation of the actual stay and the basic right to minimum subsistence benefits of a person. One central mechanism of these processes, therefore, is the entanglement of EU-regulated foreigners law respectively freedom of movement and national social and police law. But it is not only a legal conflict resulting mainly from given laws. Rather, the described process of governments constantly changing the law and thereby increasingly restricting the access to social benefits shows how the legal conflict is embedded in broader social processes. Besides, these social processes are also influenced by moral implications and historically shaped imaginations that last but not least affect the access to limited resources such as housing and especially affordable housing. Interestingly the situation of homeless mobile EU-citizens is rarely seen in Germany as a problem of affordable housing but, as seen, as a problem of regulation of migration, influenced by moral ideas, emotions and certain imaginations.

The reference to the discourse of moral economies and especially to Didier Fassins "politics of life" is helpful here to frame the problem of humanitarian interventions. Using the example of the mission of MSF (Médecins sans frontiers/ Doctors without borders) in Iraq and the upcoming question of staying or leaving the country, Fassin emphasises the contradictions that underlie "temporary moral economies, well beyond the sphere of intervention of humanitarian organizations themselves, in what characterizes the political disorder of the world: the inequality of lives" (Fassin, 2007, p.520). The example of the employee at the medical service centre who decides who deserves clothes and who doesn't shows how much the humanitarian intervention is contested also in the field of homelessness. Therefore, in future analysis it needs to be asked, how these "inequalities of lives" are negotiated within the different levels relating to the social problem of homelessness of mobile EU-citizens.

Last but not least, taking a post-colonial perspective on homogenising and discriminating patterns and structures into consideration, recalling racist imaginations, like in the shown example, is more than a single symptom of individual excessive demands. It is rather an indication of the still racist structures of the world and its societies, which are also effective in the field of homelessness. The concept of "global hierarchy of culture" by Michael Herzfeld offers a useful theoretical framework to analyse and understand these patterns. Following this concept, "Europe" is not a homogeneous entity nor its exclusions incidental, but they follow a colonial logic of creating and excluding 'the Other' (Herzfeld, 2002, p.920). In the European context, these logics can be seen most obviously with people belonging or ascribed to belong to the ethnicity of Roma: no matter whether they hold a passport of an EU member state, thus holding the EU citizenship, Roma still face discrimination all over Europe on different societal levels (FRA, 2018) and are produced as, so to speak, the "inner Other" (Balibar, 2004). In the public German discourse, the status of citizenship and labelled ethnicity are mixed, but not only in Germany. This happens for different reasons and as seen, for example by classifying service users based on a racist structure of society. Following these discourses, it can be seen that the use of ascriptions and categorizations is more about creating a certain reality than describing such. Such processes need to be understood as embedded in certain historical conditions and are often violent. Consequently, categories as such should be challenged and deconstructed (see Lorey 2012 (2010)).

Conclusion

The aim of my research is not to judge upon the decisions or the behaviour of individuals, but to understand the connections in which individual action is embedded. The perspective of European ethnology opens up a wider understanding for the single action regarding homelessness of mobile EU-citizens, which is neither an exclusive German nor local problem. Rather, it can be seen that it is an effect of a national-European conflict. Further, that "Europe" doesn't exist by itself but as a result of continuous (re-)production processes and that it is not a homogeneous space but a space where different positions are negotiated. Even on the level of the European Union, which promotes international exchange and mobility within its member states and enables exclusions and discrimination at the same time the way of dealing with borders, the "inside" and "outside", also seems to be the subject of negotiation. While on one hand, the freedom of movement for workers within the EU is one of its highest goods, on the other hand, there are highly differentiated forms of exclusion from national welfare systems to the point of complete exclusion from any benefits (except for return). It is a political negotiation process then to balance the different interests and underlying imaginations and expectations and to define so-called European values like "humanity", "solidarity" and, finally, Europe itself.

Based on the theoretical background of a system of differential inclusion, I showed with my research on homelessness of mobile EU-citizens in Germany, first, that intra-EU-migration in Germany is regulated by national law, and that it produces specific legal constellations and life circumstances. As seen, this creates urgent needs for the person affected. The data show that law changes are influenced on one hand by political interests of different stakeholders, and on the other hand by struggles about it using e.g. legal instruments. Second, political borders are not basically questioned, but their (human) arrangement is negotiated. The moral conflict of right to participation and need for exclusion is not only negotiated on the level of practitioners, but also by policy makers on the national and EU-level. Third, homelessness of mobile EU-citizens is an effect of a complex interaction of laws, discourses, institutions, political logics, administrative measures, practices, etc. rather than it is an ostensible issue of lack of housing. Using this example, it can be shown how participation and exclusion, control and autonomy, security and humanity are negotiated by policy makers and other stakeholders on the local, regional, national and the EU-level. And finally, homelessness of mobile EU-citizens needs to be understood as embedded in a still-colonial structured society. The same goes for social work in the field of homelessness, therefore social work needs to reflect critically its own position and actions.

Thus, this research is relevant not only for the German, but also for other national and supranational contexts, as well as for politicians, practitioners of social work and scientists in the field of homelessness and beyond. Although the presented findings are intermediate results of a still ongoing research they might as such help to better understand the phenomenon of homelessness of mobile EU-citizens as a basis for interventions to solve this social problem and possibly to overcome obsolete structures.

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Between Expertise and Authenticity – Co-creation in Finnish Housing First Initiatives from the Perspective of Experts-by-experience[1]

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Abstract_*Homelessness, as other severe societal problems, is increasingly thought to be resolved through means of tighter collaboration between different actors. As a case in point, the co-creation of homelessness services has been one of the core features of the Finnish Housing First paradigm. This article provides a grassroots' illustration of how the participants experience co-creation in practice. It focuses on a particular Finnish application of co-creation, inviting former beneficiaries as 'experts-by-experience' into social welfare organisations. The article develops Dodge's (2010) work on the tensions the participatory ethos poses for civil society organisations by identifying similar contradictions in the participants' experiences. It argues that the co-creation discourse places a double demand on participating service users, requiring them to strike a difficult balance between policy-relevant expertise and authenticity. The experts-by-experience need to remain close enough to real-life experiences to appear reliable in the eyes of the service users, and to be able to contribute experience-based input. At the same time, they need to distance themselves from those experiences in order to be recognised as experts delivering policy-relevant knowledge. Subsequently, under a co-creation paradigm, the tensions previously managed by civil society organisations are increasingly transformed into contrasting demands for individual participants.*

Keywords_ *Co-creation, participatory governance, service user involvement, homelessness, expertise-by-experience, Housing First*

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Introduction

While the merits and future potential of the Finnish Housing First paradigm have been widely discussed (Benjaminsen and Knutagård, 2016; Pleace *et al.*, 2016), one core aspect of this new paradigm has received relatively little academic attention. In addition to the Housing First (HF) initiatives emphasising housing as a basic human right, they are also assembled following what social scientists have called a participatory governance paradigm (see McLaverty, 2011; Kuokkanen, 2016). Key practices in this co-operative way of governing are collaborative networks and diverse means of co-production of public services (Sullivan and Skelcher, 2002; Pestoff, 2012).

Within HF initiatives, this has meant both the setting up of collaborative networks among various stakeholders to develop housing services, as well as a specific attitude towards clients as partners in designing and delivering these services (Doberstein and Nichols, 2016; Macnaughton *et al.*, 2017). In Finland, the inclusion of former and current clients into service co-design has taken place through the concept of expertise-by-experience (Meriluoto, forthcoming 2018; Alanko and Hellman, 2017). Selected homeless people have been invited to act as experts and as representatives of people with homelessness experiences, with hopes that their involvement will make the developed services more "knowledge-based", more efficient and more inclusive (Y-Foundation, 2017). The experts-by-experience can either be employed in relevant public or third sector organisations, or act on a voluntary basis in service consultation, evaluation and policy-making.

The aim of this article is to deepen our understanding of this hitherto less explored aspect of HF initiatives. It investigates how the co-creation discourse is employed to define the desired role for the participating service users, and how the participants perceive of this role. The article develops Dodge's (2010) findings on two key tensions the participatory ethos has created for the civil society organisations (CSOs) into analytical categories used to illustrate the contradictions experienced by the experts-by-experience. By investigating the co-creation talk in Finnish Housing First policy documents, and contrasting them to interview data of experts-by-experience and civil society practitioners, the article identifies how the tensions between collaboration and remaining "bottom up", and credibility and authenticity take shape under the co-creation paradigm, and how the participants experience these tensions.

This article's specific focus is on uses of co-creation as a discursive resource. I perceive of the co-creation talk as a new way of constructing the meaning of civic participation, and consequently posing a challenge for the CSOs and individual service users to reconfigure the way they legitimize their position as members of the governance networks. As such, the article contributes to the emerging field of critical analysis of HF policy (see Raitakari and Juhila, 2015). However, I wish to

underline that the article's argument should not be read as an inevitable consequence of co-creation, but a potential outcome that may alert current practitioners to pay particular attention to these aspects of the new collaborative paradigm. These critical notions are pressingly relevant for an increasing number of homelessness practitioners and policy-makers, as the practice of expertise-by-experience is fast being implemented across Europe (see Y-Foundation, 2017, p.79).

The article proceeds as follows: I start with discussing the ethos of co-creation with a specific focus on how co-creation is understood and leaned upon in battling homelessness. After positioning the projects of expertise-by-experience among these participatory governance initiatives, I present my methods, data and its context. Next, I proceed with analysing how the co-creation talk is employed to shape the role of the participating service users in Finnish HF initiatives, and how they experience the spaces for action thus constructed. I end with a discussion of the possible implications the identified tensions created by participatory practices might have both within homelessness policy and beyond.

Promises and Tensions of Co-Creation

During the past thirty years, different forms of citizen-engagement, customer involvement and collaboration have gained in popularity at an accelerating pace (e.g. Polletta, 2016). Increased participation and tighter collaboration between "relevant stakeholders" is presented as a solution to a myriad of problems – homelessness included (e.g. Doberstein and Nichols, 2016, p.7; Watts and Fitzpatrick, 2017). Through tighter and more diverse collaboration, a variety of ends is sought after: more efficient and customer-oriented services, activated and "empowered" clients, as well as more democratic legitimacy for the governance process and the decisions made (Needham, 2008; Martin, 2009; Fledderus *et al.*, 2014).

This ethos of collaborative networks and partnerships has also been embraced in public service production (Sullivan and Skelcher, 2002; Brandsen *et al.*, 2018). In practice, this has meant the introduction of new practices and vocabulary, such as service user involvement, co-production and co-creation (Barnes and Cotterell, 2012; Alanko and Hellman, 2017; Brandsen and Honigh, 2018). As Brandsen and colleagues (2018, p.3) explain, the new, often fuzzy and overlapping concepts all refer to some form of "joint effort of citizens and public sector professionals in the initiation, planning, design and implementation of public services".

Brandsen and Honigh (2018, p.13) distinguish between co-production and co-creation by positioning co-production at the implementation phase of the service production cycle, while co-creation, in their definition, concerns services at a strategic level. Based on their definition, I use the term co-creation to refer to the

Finnish concept "yhteiskehittäminen", which translates directly to "co-development", as the practices investigated in this article all take place at the strategic and planning stages, rather than during service delivery.

Through these new concepts, new roles and relationships are being crafted in governing public services. The connections between different actors in co-creation networks are represented as being equal and inclusive, in contrast to the hierarchical organization and power discrepancies of the "old" government paradigm (Sterling, 2005; Martin, 2011, p.913). Furthermore, in a co-creation setting, CSOs are considered key partners in public service delivery (Martin, 2012; Pestoff, 2012). Their active involvement is seen as a means to make public governance more participative and inclusive, as the CSOs are hoped to bridge the gap between the administration and the citizenry (Martin, 2011; Palumbo, 2015, pp.118–122). The CSOs – and more precisely, the service users channelled through them to decision-making processes – are thought to voice the concerns and opinions of "the people", and represent their hands-on type of knowledge in decision-making (Sterling, 2005, pp.146–153; Barnes and Cotterell, 2012).

The homelessness policy and service delivery is no exception from this trend. Lately, a strong emphasis has been put on the development of inclusive and collaborative governance networks both at the policy formulation as well as the service delivery phases of the policy process (see Doberstein and Nichols, 2016). In HF initiatives, a particularly strong focus has been placed on the collaboration of not only public, private and third sector organisations in service delivery, but also on collaboration with researchers and "experts-by-experience" to enhance the "evidence-base" of the policy endorsed (Allen, 2016; Benjaminsen and Knutagård, 2016). The Finnish HF policy has furthermore emphasised the "activation" of services users (Tainio and Fredriksson, 2009, p.192).

In earlier literature, such practices of co-creation are most often investigated rather optimistically (Steen *et al.*, 2018, p.284). However, some previous studies have indicated how the novel rhetoric of partnerships and networks may come at a cost to civil society actors. The new network governance paradigm implies as Swyngedouw (2005, p.1994) puts it "a common purpose, joint action, a framework of shared values", hence placing the civil society "in co-operation" with public administration (also Barnes, 2008; Lehoux *et al.*, 2012). In more detail, previous studies have suggested that current user involvement schemes may enable the co-optation of user-groups' experience-based knowledge (Barnes and Cotterell, 2012; Martin, 2012), and provide them with an increasingly narrow field of action, limiting their possibilities to voice criticism and act as advocates for their members (Beresford, 2002, p.96; Barnes *et al.*, 2007; Martin, 2009).

Some earlier literature on"expertisation" even suggests that by identifying problems in technical terms and emphasising knowledge over values and opinions, collaborative governance projects can re-frame discussions from political debates into administrative issues for which an objectively best solution is to be found as long as enough accurate and relevant knowledge is gathered (e.g. Li, 2007, p.7; Meriluoto, forthcoming 2018). Some social scientists have argued that this manner of talking is emblematic of the so called post-political paradigm, where value differences and power discrepancies are guised under the rhetoric of joint problem-solving towards mutual and self-evident goals (e.g. Swyngedouw, 1994; Swyngedouw, 2005).

Jennifer Dodge (2010) has investigated the potential effects of the participatory paradigm from the CSOs' perspective. She has identified two key tensions that the CSOs partaking in participatory arrangements need to manage. These are: 1) balancing collaboration with governance elites with the demand of staying "bottom up", and 2) developing relevant and potentially amenable policy-ideas to decision-makers while maintaining the autonomy to be critical (Dodge, 2010, p.385). In this article, I make use of Dodge's findings as analytical categories to illustrate how the participating service users' role is positioned and negotiated through the rhetoric of co-creation.

Methodology: Interpretive Governmental Analysis

My point of departure in this article is a governmental approach (esp. Foucault, 2004; see also Lövbrand and Stripple, 2015). It allows conceptualising participatory forms of governance as a deliberately constructed and constantly evolving system of logic and knowledge, crafted based on, and used to advance, specific political goals and ambitions (Bevir, 2011a). It does not regard co-creation and other forms of participatory governance as an empirical "reality", but instead the result of deliberate political choices to value certain ways of knowing and being above others (Bevir, 2011a ibid.; Palumbo, 2015, p.92). This interpretive approach to governance emphasises the agency, situated meaning-makings and interpretations involved in building, enacting and responding to contemporary forms of governance, such as co-creation (Bevir, 2011a; also Li, 2007).

One way to investigate participatory forms of governance interpretively is to perceive of them as narratives and specific ways of talking (Bevir, 2011b; Palumbo, 2015, p.xviii). As a governmental device, the power of the co-creation –discourse lies in its ability to present itself as a naturally evolved way of thinking and doing. As it attempts and succeeds in justifying certain ways of reasoning as logical, or "true" (Bröckling *et al.*, 2011, p.11), it also succeeds in masking everyday, value-

based political decisions as necessary or inevitable (Hay, 2007, p.80). This is why I posit that it is vital to open up the co-creation discourse and investigate the forms of participation it enables prioritising and presenting as preferable.

Subsequently, while I remain aware of the varying attempts to "fix" the meaning of co-creation (e.g. Brandsen and Honigh, 2018) my intention here is not to contribute to the discussion on how co-creation should be defined based on empirical evidence. Instead, I focus on interpreting its uses in my data to ask how the rhetoric of co-creation is deliberately being used to present a certain position and way of being as preferable for the experts-by-experience. After having inductively identified similar tensions from my data as described by Dodge (2010), I developed her findings into descriptive categories to illustrate how the co-creation discourse sets demands for the ways of participating of the experts-by-experience, and how the experts-by-experience perceive of and respond to these demands. What and how should the experts-by-experience aim at doing? What, in turn, is deemed "not suitable"? And most significantly, how are these demands made to appear as feasible and reasonable?

Context and Data

In Finland, civil society organizations have traditionally worked in tight co-operation with the state, and the relatively large and active civil society has had an important role in the cohesion and efficient function of the society (Siisiäinen and Blom, 2009). The CSOs working in the homelessness field follow this trend by actively collaborating with state and municipal authorities in policy and service design. In fact, deepening and institutionalising patterns of collaboration has been one of the key objectives of Finnish homelessness CSOs in recent years (see Timonen, 2016, p.27).

As it stands, Finnish CSOs face a dual pressure from the on-going social and healthcare reform that encourages privatisation of public services, and the participatory turn in governance norms emphasising the experiential knowledge and inclusion of the service users (see Salminen and Wilhelmsson, 2013). In this context, the grassroots-level experiences and contacts of the CSOs is one of their strongest assets (Peltosalmi *et al.*, 2016, pp.106–107).

As a means to bring forward service users' experiential knowledge and to engage the organisations' beneficiaries, Finnish mental health organisations introduced the term expert-by-experience into the Finnish context in the early 2000s. Drawing on examples from the UK and Denmark, it was then disseminated across the health and social welfare sector, and to both public sector organisations and CSOs, especially in the 2010s (Rissanen, 2015, p.201). Crucially, all of the projects that adopted the term were initiated by the CSOs and public administration as a policy response

to the above-formulated demands for more participatory approaches. The Finnish projects then diverge from the bottom-up initiatives of survivor movements, found for example in the UK (Noorani, 2013). At the moment, the involvement of experts-by-experience in service design and evaluation has become a standard for inclusive social welfare and healthcare practices in Finland, and "the establishment of an operating model for expertise by experience and client involvement" is one of the government's key projects for the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health[2]. In policy design, their involvement is not yet as common, but it is quickly expanding.

In homelessness policies, the concept gained strong momentum as part of the National Strategies of Reducing Long-term Homelessness (PAAVO I, 2008–2011 and PAAVO II, 2012–2015). Of particular significance was a collaborative project entitled "A Name on the Door" (Nimi Ovessa, 2010–2012), which was one of the first driving forces in the implementation of the Finnish Housing First strategy. The project's key method of co-creation was "systematic network collaboration between municipalities and project partners, in which the expertise-by-experience of the service users has a significant role"[3]. Subsequently, the principles of participatory governance and service co-creation became entangled with the notion of expertise-by-experience; a practice that is tasked with providing the service users' view to service development. The current AUNE- Action Plan for Preventing Homelessness in Finland 2016–2019 continues to emphasise the role of experts-by-experience in service co-design (Ministry of the Environment 2016, p.10).

In earlier literature, as well as in national surveys, the new national homelessness strategy in Finland has been identified a success (Benjaminsen and Knutagård, 2016). Finland started to implement Housing First –principles as part of the 2008 national strategy, leading to a profound change in the service structure, working culture and the field's operating principles. The new principles resulted in the conversion of shelters into congregate housing (Y-Foundation, 2017, p.30–32), but also to a new, collaborative working culture both within housing units as well as at a national level of policy-design.

Statistics indicate that homelessness in Finland has continued to decrease for five consecutive years (Helskyaho *et al.*, 2018). The strategy has cut public expenditure in social welfare and healthcare services, and most importantly, diminished individual suffering (Sillanpää, 2013). The purpose of the following analysis is by no means to devalue these achievements, but widen the analytical scope to highlight other possible effects of the practices of governing through which the national strategy has been implemented.

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2 stm.fi/en/services-responsive-to-client-needs/project-description

3 http://asuntoensin.fi/ohjelma/historia/nimi-ovessa-hanke/ Translation by the author.

This article focuses on the time period of the two PAAVO-strategies, and investigates the relevant policy documents[4] produced during this period from the point of view of co-creation. It connects this data with themed interviews with four experts-by-experience and two professionals in a Finnish civil society organisation operating in the homelessness field[5]. The interview data was produced as part of the author's PhD research investigating expertise-by-experience in Finnish social welfare organisations, where in total 23 experts-by-experience, and 14 practitioners were interviewed (Meriluoto, forthcoming 2018). From this data, all interviews with a connection to homelessness or homelessness work were chosen to be analysed in this article.

The interviewed experts-by-experience had all experienced homelessness in one form or another (from rough sleeping to couch surfing) in their past. They were paid employees in the organisation, and while they recognised how they were often called experts-by-experience, they preferred to be referred to as project employees so as to not build unnecessary distinctions between professionals with formal training and professionals with experiential background. Their tasks varied from consulting in service design, such as the planning of a new housing unit, to providing peer support, and from giving lectures to social welfare practitioners to acting as

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4 The documents analysed are:

- Decision of the Finnish Government 9.6.2016: Action Plan for Preventing Homelessness in Finland 2016–2019 (Helsinki: Ministry of the Environment).
- Timonen, S. 2016. PAAVO Verkostokehittäjät. Projektin loppuraportti. [PAAVO Network Developers. Final Project Report]. (Helsinki: Y-Foundation, Helsinki Deaconess Institute, Blue Ribbon Finland, No Fixed Abode. Street Mission of the Rauma region).
- Karppinen, J. & Fredriksson, P. 2016. Loppuraportti. Pitkäaikaisasunnottomuuden vähentämisohjelma (Paavo 2) 2012 – 2015. [Final Report. Programme for Reducing Long-term Homelessness (Paavo 2)]. (Helsinki: Ministry of the Environment).
- Karppinen, J. 2014. Väliraportti 2012–2013. Pitkäaikaisasunnottomuuden vähentämisohjelma (Paavo 2) 2012 – 2015. [Interim Report. Programme for Reducing Long-term Homelessness (Paavo 2)]. (Helsinki: Ministry of the Environment).
- Kaakinen, J. 2012. Pitkäaikaisasunnottomuuden vähentämisohjelma 2008 – 2011. Loppuraportti. [Program for Reducing Long-Term Homelessness 2008–2011. Final Report]. (Ympäristöhallinto [Environment Administration]).
- Nimi Ovessa. Palveluinnovaatiot pitkäaikaisasunnottomuuden vähentämisessä. Hankesuunnitelma 21.5.2010 [A Name on the Door. Service Innovations in Reducing Long-term Homelessness. Project Plan 21.5.2010].
- Hallituksen asuntopoliittiset ohjelmat: Pitkäaikaisasunnottomuuden vähentämisohjelma. [The Government's Housing Policy Programmes: Reducing Long-Term Homelessness]. Reports of the Ministry of the Environment 15/2008.

5 Detailed information about the CSO and the interviewees has been omitted in order to ensure the anonymity of the informants.

members in Ministerial steering committees of the national homelessness strategy. The practitioners interviewed worked in a project tasked with developing expertise-by-experience in the respective organisation.

The interviews were conducted in Finnish, and were later transcribed and relevant extracts translated into English by the researcher. The limited interview-data accentuates that the present article does not aim at providing a comprehensive description of co-creation in HF initiatives, but instead point to some of the potential consequences that have previously received little attention. Due to the extremely limited number of homelessness practitioners interviewed, I do not use direct excerpts from their interviews so as to not risk their anonymity.

Analysis – What Can Be Done with Co-creation Talk?

In the following analysis, I will investigate what characterises the role and position envisaged for the experts-by-experience through the co-creation discourse. By using Dodge's (2010) analysis as my grid, I will identify how the co-creation talk places them in the axis between being collaborative and "policy-relevant" while remaining "bottom up" and critical. I will start by describing how co-creation was described in the policy documents. Then, I will put these descriptions for discussion alongside my interview data, with a particular attention to how the dominant co-creation paradigm affects the participants' capabilities of successfully balancing with the above contrasting demands.

The core of co-creation: Collaboration and equal partnership

The policy documents produced for and around the Finnish HF policy are immersed with rhetoric of co-creation, collaboration and partnership. The very first Government Decision on the strategy is described as "*being based on partnership by nature*" (Name on the Door, 2010, p.4). The following quote from the Verkostokehittäjät [Network developers] project entails all of the key characteristics of participatory network governance identified in earlier literature: wide inclusion of actors, collaborative networks as a form of organising service design and delivery, and co-operation towards "mutual goals":

> It was crucial that all those willing would be included, that participation would bring different actors together and would clarify the programme's objectives as mutual goals for the development work. [---] One of the [project's] key objectives was to develop a collaborative network for the development of homelessness services. (Timonen, 2016, p.2)

The descriptions of co-creation highlight the equality and joint purpose of the project actors. Practitioners, researchers, experts-by-experience and the international partners join forces as "equal partners" (also Name on the Door, 2010, p.9) towards mutual objectives. This equal partnership is described as "a new manner of working" (Karppinen, 2014, p.10), and the creation of "a tradition of co-creation in homelessness work" (Karppinen and Fredriksson, 2016, p.3) is highlighted as one of the prime achievements of HF initiatives. The Final report of the Network Developers' project acclaims: "One of the key learning outcomes of the project is how the inclusion of clients and experts-by-experience is crucial and absolutely necessary" (Timonen, 2016, p.29).

On a concrete level, the inclusion of experts-by-experience is stated to function on two levels. First, "the voice of the service users in service design becomes all the more crucial during our times of economic scarcity" (Name on the Door, 2010, p.36). The services developed through co-creation are hoped to be more efficient and more customer oriented. Because service user involvement and the ensuing co-creation "bring forth voices that have previously been entirely out of reach" (Karppinen, 2014, p.10), the co-designed services are "more housing-friendly and meet the residents' needs better" (Karppinen and Fredriksson, 2016, p.13). These concrete and practical objectives position the experts-by-experience as collaborators in very pragmatic terms: they hold key information that is useful when designing better-functioning services.

Another strand of objectives moves on a more abstract level, and focuses on the inclusion of the experts-by-experience who take part in service co-creation. As the Name on the Door project plan describes, inclusion is a goal on two fronts: the aim is to bring the voice of the homeless into service design within the project, and to ensure that inclusion is employed as an overall principle throughout the HF policy (Name on the Door, 2010, p.36, also Kaakinen, 2012, p.13). Through service co-creation, the former and current service users can experience feelings of inclusion, with hopes that these experiences empower them to take part in society more widely (Name on the Door, 2010, p.36). Thanks to this inclusive approach, the experts-by-experience are reported to have "become more active also in their own life and state that they have been heard" (Karppinen, 2014, p.10). The position constructed through the inclusion-oriented talk accentuates the value of the presence of experts-by-experience in governance networks and the equality of their input in decision-making.

The environment of participation of the experts-by-experience is described as a process of mutual "learning and knowledge-sharing" (e.g. Timonen, 2016, p.4). The government's new Action Plan (2016) envisions:

> The goal of joint development is to ensure that all parties central to the measures are involved, create trust, competence and joint learning, and to build a whole, in which individual projects are not separate, but interact instead with each other and strengthen each other in solving problems. (Ministry of the Environment, 2016, pp.11–12)

The described objective of co-creation is to gather different actors' diverse forms of knowledge so as to come up with the best possible solutions for the wicked problem of homelessness. The knowledge of the experts-by-experience is presented as knowledge of a different quality, but of equal value when working towards finding collaborative solutions.

However, the principle of equality of all voices on the one hand, and the demand for concrete input for service development on the other presents a tension that is not easily reconcilable in the framework of "knowledge-sharing". By calling upon participants *as experts* to join in mutual knowledge production, it becomes rational to present knowledge as the legitimate form of input. In contrast to previous state-civil society –relationship, emphasising interest mediation, the co-creation talk constructs civil society agents and service users as experts of a new kind. This makes the definitions of knowledge and expertise powerful tools to delineate what form of participation is acceptable and "useful" (Martin, 2009; Meriluoto, 2018a).

Crucially, the co-creation paradigm does not seem to radically redefine knowledge and expertise, but instead evaluates them with very traditional technocratic standards, valuing representativeness, credibility and"policy-relevance". Subsequently, the participants' expert-position makes it possible to de-legitimise emotional and opinionated speech as they are thought to be the very antithesis of expertise and expert knowledge (Meriluoto, 2018b; also Barnes, 2009; Martin, 2009; Smith-Merry, 2012). Co-creation, then, requires learning most of all from the experts-by-experience, who need to be able to present their experiences in a form that is recognised as knowledge by other network members.

A strong preference for collaboration and traditional definitions of policy-relevant input make it difficult to consider the participants experiential knowledge equally alongside other forms of expertise. For example, the Paavo II Final Report states bluntly, how "*encountering people with homelessness experiences as equal partners continues to be difficult for many*" (Karppinen and Fredriksson, 2016, p.14). I argue that these difficulties are indicative of both the service users' and practitioners' struggle to find a balance between similar contradicting demands to those identified by Dodge (2010). While the outspoken objectives of expertise-by-experience present it as a means to "lift" the service users' authentic experiences into decision-making, the discourse emphasising expertise and knowledge steers the

projects towards evaluating these experiences with the same criteria used when evaluating the credibility and reliability of other forms of knowledge. I turn to these experiences next.

Credibility over authenticity? – The double demands of co-creation

The policy documents define the service users as collaborative partners. This role demanded the experts-by-experience to strike a balance between collaborating while voicing out demands "from the streets", as well as appearing credible and authentic at the same time.

In a democratically ideal balance between collaboration and remaining "bottom up", the service users would be able to assume an equal position with other network members, and include their points of view effectively and meaningfully to decision-making and service design. They would be able to initiate new projects and ways of working, and significantly influence existing projects' objectives. A balance between policy-relevance and authenticity, on the other hand, would require treating different forms of knowledge as equal contributions to decision-making. However, in my interviewees' experience, the co-creation discourse strongly prioritises collaboration over bottom up activities, and sets a new requirement of policy-relevance for the experiences brought forward by the service users.

The most pressing tension described by my interviewees appeared between producing "policy-relevant" input while maintaining the autonomy to be critical and to voice out authentic experiences "from the streets". This tension was recognised by all of my interviewees. They regularly described their role as being "an interpreter", "a bridge" or even "conciliator general". They explained how they operated "between two worlds": that of practitioners and policy-makers, and another one of people with similar experiences.

The contradicting demands of these two worlds created an inner tension for the experts-by-experience. They described how they had to be *experts* when talking to practitioners and decision-makers, and "just people with experiences" when talking to service users. This double role means that the experts-by-experience constantly need to juggle between being credible in the eyes of the experts while remaining authentic in the eyes of the service users. In an expert context, a credible expert masters their experiences and is able to present them in a policy-relevant manner. Among people with similar experiences, an expert-by-experience is required to cast all titles aside and manifest "sameness" in the eyes of the service users.

These two registers don't sit easily together, as the following interviewee illustrates:

> Sometimes public officials don't trust me to be competent enough to collaborate with them. Because they obviously have an education and a certain knowledge base and a long experience of their own profession. […] And on the other hand, the service users can see the expert-by-experience as being more on the service provider's side. They're still unsure whether he's"our guy". Whether he's there to genuinely advocate our stuff or whether he's already too trained and forgotten the genuine experiences.

The interviewee describes a double pull between the demand to perform as an expert among practitioners and policy-makers, and the ability to make a U-turn when working among people experiencing homelessness. The very factors that increase an expert's-by-experience credibility in the eyes of other experts diminish it in the eyes of the service users. Furthermore, the title of an expert is an asset in the world of policy-makers, but becomes an instant liability, oozing pretentiousness "on the streets", as the following interviewee explains:

> Well, I mean, the title [of an expert-by-experience] is entirely useless. Imagine if I went to a housing unit to present myself as an expert-by-experience? They'd look at me and go: "Well be whoever you want for all I care!". […] An expert-by-experience, I mean, it has a certain "Who do you think you are?" -clang to it. Like, "do you think you're better than everyone else?" Somehow you're no longer on the same level. You lift yourself up somewhere. You make yourself too important.

The notion of an expert, well-intendedly used to highlight the equal value of expert-by-experience knowledge, is "entirely useless", if not detrimental in the context of the service users, as it hints to the possibility of a hierarchy between the experts-by-experience and people currently experiencing homelessness.

The role of experts-by-experience *as experts* appears to require a delicate positioning in the line between being a credible expert and remaining authentic and true to real-life experiences. On the one hand, this expert-role seems to necessitate a regular contact with one's own and others' "experiences from the streets" in order to stay fresh and authentic. However, these raw experiences alone are not easily considered as policy relevant knowledge, but they need to be justified and ideally presented by using a discourse that is familiar and recognisable for the other experts in the field. The raw experiences need to be distilled and wrapped into a form of neutral and actionable knowledge whose policy-relevance is evaluated with much of the same criteria as formal knowledge.

The experienced effects of the double demands of co-creation

The tension between the need to perform as an expert delivering policy-relevant knowledge, while staying true to the authentic experiences "of the field" was experienced as largely unsolvable by my interviewees. This unease became manifest in particular when discussing their role as an expert. Some experienced the concept as either narrowing their possibilities to bring forward diverse points of view, or causing an unwanted hierarchy between the service users and themselves. The following excerpt illustrates how the concept of expertise can be experienced as limiting the participants' ways of being:

> TM: Why do you want to be an expert-by-experience?
>
> EbE: I can't say that I do.
>
> TM: Okay!
>
> EbE: I mean"to want" is a pretty bad way to put it. […] I don't' want to be an expert-by-experience because I don't like the concept. […]
>
> TM: Why?
>
> EbE: I guess I don't like it because it's a concept. It immediately sets boundaries for people. There are a lot of people who cannot be fitted into any molds, nor should they be. […] The trainings for experts-by-experience, which I think are utter bullshit. […], they tend to erase all expertise anyone might have because they force it into a certain frame. […] And for me, experiential knowledge is something that entails a lot of emotions and other things you cannot possibly measure. So when the trainings start to organise that kind of knowledge, it erases so much information that could be extremely useful. So when everyone's experience is so hugely valuable, who has the right to determine when someone is an expert based on them? It's a really shitty concept in fact. I can't stand it.

The interviewee explains how a certain definition of knowledge can limit the form of acceptable input from experts-by-experience. A particular conception of knowledge forces experiences into a frame that is recognised as knowledge by other experts, but by so doing, loses the authenticity of the experiences.

The other half of the coin is how the concept of expertise "allows access" to certain environments. The following interviewee explains how the notion of expertise ensures a certain manner of participation and"policy-relevant input" that the other network members expect of the experts-by-experience:

> I think it [the concept "expert-by-experience"] comes more from the professionals' part. They want a title or a sign that you're not just anyone when you walk into an office. The title signals that you come from somewhere and are,

> somehow, an employee after all. So by the title you're also given the right to access these environments. I think it's a safety measure from the part of the professionals, so that not just anyone can walk into a ministry. You need the title to show that you have a legitimate reason to be there.

The interviewee suspects that naming experts-by-experience "experts" is "a safety measure from the professionals' part". It allows the projects to determine who can voice out opinions, and what kind of input is accepted. Succeeding to perform according to the criteria set for an expert opens up previously closed doors for the experts-by-experience. Failing to do so, i.e. remaining too attached to the authentic experiences, can reversely result in one's input being unrecognised and unacknowledged. An expert-by-experience reports an experience from a steering group:

> To give you an example: I was part of a steering group of [a HF project]. I was the only one with homelessness experiences. I was able to be very critical there, and in fact it's the only thing that's worth doing, as I'm very sceptical of the permanency of these initiatives' achievements. But yes, I've been allowed access to this steering group and I have been able to speak freely. But that's just it, they listen to me but nothing happens after that. They just go: "what an interesting person, he has this homelessness thing in the background".

In the above interviewee's experience, the authenticity of their experiences was either not recognised as knowledge, or was merely listened to as a curious extra flavour. They suspect that their experiences of exclusion resulted from the fact that in contrast to the promises of co-creation, not all participants' input was treated equally. It was primarily expertise, not authenticity that was welcome, as the following interviewee forcefully puts:

> EbE: The whole project didn't go right at all. They had agreed on everything already without us. If it had gone right, I should have been involved throughout the project stages.
>
> TM: Why couldn't you be?
>
> EbE: They don't allow outsiders to that kind of meeting.
>
> TM: Right. Did they tell that to your face?
>
> EbE: No no, they'd never. But everyone else has a title and I don't. There are engineers, planners and architects. What business does a former prisoner have there?

Despite the projects' objectives of equal forms of expertise joining forces towards mutual goals, the interviewed experts-by-experience regularly reported of hidden hierarchies or unspoken codes of conduct that led to their knowledge being sidelined. As the above interviewee illustratively describes, a former prisoner does not have any business among "actual experts". Too much authenticity and too little formal expertise had left these participants with feelings of exclusion.

Furthermore, the interviewees' disappointment points to the different expectations of the experts-by-experience and the project administration about the right balance between collaboration and "bottom up" activities. As the above quotes illustrate, many experts-by-experience expected their participation in co-creation practices to be "bottom up" by nature. They expected these collaborative spaces to serve as new fora in which ideas and initiatives "from the field" could be expressed. However, in these interviewees' experience, the realised co-creation strongly emphasised conformity to the predetermined plans. Co-creation in these projects appeared to rarely enable making initiatives from"the bottom up".

Discussion: How to Tame a Lion?

My purpose in this article was to examine what kind of demands are set for the participating service users through the co-creation discourse of HF initiatives, and how the participants experience these demands.

My findings show how the co-creation discourse provided the vocabulary to legitimately justify why the service users should have a seat at the table, and moreover, why their experiential knowledge should be listened to. Following its rationale, people with first hand experiences need to be incorporated to ensure the combination of multiple forms of knowledge for joint problem solving. However, as the article has shown, "useful" contribution is defined as precisely *knowledge*, making it possible to require specific, and strikingly traditional signs of expertise from the experts-by-experience in order for their input to be recognised as "policy-relevant" and credible.

This, I suggest, signifies a big challenge for the experts-by-experience to balance between demands of autonomy and authenticity on the one hand, and collaboration and policy relevance on the other. Indeed, in the interviewees' experience, this double demand seems close to unsolvable. The credibility of experts-by-experience *as experts* rests on a completely opposite skill-set than their credibility among the service users. At the same time, their expertise also necessitates regular contact with "the field" in order to be authentic and "fresh".

This double demand, previously posed for and managed by the CSOs, now presents itself as an inherent tension for the participating service users. The experts-by-experience need to find a way to master two different ways of talking and being, and strike an acceptable balance between raw experiences and actionable knowledge. As the results of this article show, the participants' expectations towards the right balance between the right to voice out concerns from the streets and the demands to conform to pre-existing paradigms of knowledge and predefined goals, differed to a large extent from the project administration's expectations. This resulted in feelings of not being recognised and acknowledged among the participants.

The demands of expertise over authenticity can be interpreted as being in partial contrast with the HF principles. While the fundamental principle of Housing First is to perceive of housing as everyone's basic human right, participation in co-creating HF services is not presented as the service users' right, but as beneficial practice. Instead of articulating participation as the service users' right to voice out their opinions and concerns, the co-creation discourse allows requiring them to prove their worth by producing useful knowledge, which, in turn, remains defined by the public administration. Consequently, the definitions of knowledge become powerful governmental devices, applicable to evaluate and select participants that are "the best fit" in particular governance networks.

As the stage of participation is not set as a debate between different interests and opinions, but as collaboration toward mutual goals, the service users are less welcome to participate as advocates but more as collaborators. Once the experts-by-experience become parts of the governance network in charge of service development, "bottom-up" activities and counter agendas, such as identifying a social service practice as harmful, become nigh impossible. The co-creation paradigm regards and reconfigures its participants as experts, and is strikingly ill equipped to deal with political agendas and opinionated input. Expertisation, as the literature on 'post-democracy' has already suggested (see e.g. Swyngedouw, 1994; Swyngedouw, 2005; Li, 2007, p.7), poses a great challenge for participants with political goals.

In addition to this de-politicising tendency, expertise-by-experience can also pose other concerns when evaluated from the point of view of their value for democracy. It is an individualising practice, forcefully advancing the participation of the few. As the experts-by-experience are assumed to represent the experiential knowledge of all homeless people (constructed as one category), the possibilities of participation of the many can be ignored. The new participatory mechanisms can lead us to

discard the old tools that can be used to gather the opinions of the many, as the inclusion of the homeless can be considered "taken care of" through the engagement of experts-by-experience.

Hence, the co-creation talk appears as a double edged sword for the participating service users: the discourse of experiential expertise is the one way of justification that is now recognised and that the service users can use to claim a role at the decision-making table. However, as it makes evaluating their participation possible based on the input and contribution they are able to produce, the co-creation talk may be used to suppress the participants' possibilities to voice out differing views and opinionated arguments, inducing them to trade advocacy for partnership. From a post-structuralist democratic point of view, this is highly problematic, as it may imply the administration's willingness to rather steer and limit the service users' participation rather than open up new possibilities to fundamentally question the premises of the conversation and propose radically new alternatives.

When moving further in HF initiatives that draw on co-creation and expertise-by-experience, the CSOs partaking in these initiatives would benefit from opening up the initiatives' rhetoric of partnership and knowledge-sharing, and demand their critical examination. A key question to be asked is: how could knowledge and expertise be re-thought in a radically different way in the initiatives' context in order to ensure genuine equal partnership between different actors, and to allow more authenticity as part of expertise?

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Think Piece

Part B

Policy for Panhandling: How to Encourage Good Panhandling and Discourage Bad

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Abstract_*What does wise public policy toward panhandling look like? When a willing, reasonably well informed donor gives money to a panhandler, both are better off, and inequality goes down. Policy should encourage transactions like this. When a pedestrian is upset by a panhandler's presence, does not give, and maybe even alters course, no one is better off and at least one person is worse off. Policy should discourage this kind of interaction. We examine an array of programs to deal with panhandling to see how well they encourage welfare-improving interactions and discourage welfare-reducing ones. Tentatively, credentialing programs are the most promising.*

Keywords_*Panhandling, begging, panhandling policy, donor behaviour*

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Introduction

Some people hate panhandlers. In The Mahabharata (book 13, section LX) Bhishma said: "Those persons who solicit others are said to annoy the world like thieves and robbers." Some people love them. Peter Maurin (n.d.) wrote: "People who are in need and not afraid to beg give people not in need the occasion to do good for goodness' sake." Many jurisdictions try to regulate panhandlers (some to extirpate them), and, not surprisingly, these regulations are often controversial. The purpose of this paper is to add some facts and some analysis to this debate.

The analysis rests on two basic ideas. The first is that a reasonably well informed voluntary transaction between a willing donor and a panhandler makes both parties better off and reduces inequality. Transactions that do that are usually socially desirable. On the other hand, a panhandler's presence on a sidewalk can cause congestion, and some pedestrians may perceive it as costly to them per se. A considerable body of empirical literature (discussed in Section 1 below) finds that many people are willing to incur costs to avoid being solicited by reputable charities. No literature extends this result to solicitation by panhandlers, but the extension is plausible. Hence unsuccessful panhandling is socially undesirable. In short, successful panhandling is good and unsuccessful panhandling is bad.

The goal of policy therefore should be to encourage the good kind of panhandling and discourage the bad. Neither blanket prohibitions nor blanket allowances are optimal. Panhandling is more like driving a car than shooting a neighbour — an activity that can produce many benefits if properly regulated, not an activity that is almost always detrimental. Most of this paper is about finding the regulations and policies that best achieve this nuanced goal.

The policies that have traditionally been discussed for regulating panhandling do little or nothing to advance this goal. The policies we find most promising are non-traditional, especially credentialing. Credentialing gives donors a better chance of spotting panhandlers whom they would consider deserving and panhandlers a better chance of distinguishing themselves from charlatans. Policies that allow would-be donors to separate themselves physically from pedestrians who want to avoid panhandlers may also help — for instance, designating certain sidewalks as places where people are encouraged to donate and other sidewalks as places where people should not donate. But we are not sure that enough would-be donors are eager enough to go out of their way far enough to make schemes like this viable. Experiments would help.

We build on the description of panhandling in Downtown Manhattan that we gave in a recent paper (Dordick *et al.*, 2018a). Probably the most important finding from that paper is that the supply of labour to panhandling appears to

be somewhat inelastic. That means that we need not worry that moderate improvements in the experiences of panhandlers will be offset by large inflows of new panhandlers.

Because our data are for Downtown Manhattan, our policy discussion is, too. Downtown Manhattan is bustling, rich, and crowded. We also use some data from a survey of panhandlers and donors conducted by the Union Square Business Improvement District in San Francisco (GLS Research, 2012; GLS Research, 2013). Unfortunately, the survey does not describe its sampling protocol and so we are unsure of whether the sample is representative of either donors or panhandlers in Union Square. At any rate, though, neither Downtown Manhattan nor Union Square San Francisco is representative of either the United States, Europe, or the world. The final section of the paper, however, asks about how our conclusions generalize.

The ideal policy experiment would be take a large number of roughly similar communities, randomly assign them different panhandling policies, and study how they evolve. We are very far from this ideal experiment. In the companion paper, we have examined no explicit policy variation whatsoever. Instead in this paper, we extrapolate. Our conclusions, therefore, are tentative. But we are aware of no other policy discussion that either extrapolates from data or from an explicit model.

In the United States, recent court decisions also make this a good time to look seriously at policy toward panhandlers. Two Supreme Court decisions, McCullen v. Coakley (134 S. Ct. 2518(2014)) and Reed v. Town of Gilbert, Arizona (135 S. Ct. 2218(2015)), have resulted in many municipal ordinances regulating panhandling being struck down, while leaving many that have not been struck down yet probably invalid. The two Supreme Court decisions were about First Amendment rights, not about panhandling per se — McCullen was about anti-abortion protests and Reed was about signs giving directions to church functions — but they both limited the ways that municipalities could restrict panhandling and other expressive activities.

McCullen said that government restrictions on speech had to meet a standard called “intermediate scrutiny”: the restrictions had to be content-neutral, narrowly tailored, and provide ample alternative channels of communication. Federal courts used this standard to strike down a Charlottesville, Virginia ordinance prohibiting individuals from requesting an “immediate donation of money or anything of value” on the downtown pedestrian mall (Clatterbuck v. City of Charlottesville No. 3: 11-CU-00043 (2015)). The “immediate donation” was content-based, and the city failed to show why its stated goal in adopting the ordinance, traffic safety, could not be achieved by enforcing old traffic ordinances or adopting new ones, for instance, without restricting free speech (Blair, 2015).

In Reed, the majority opinion authored by Justice Clarence Thomas held that any content-based restrictions are subject to strict scrutiny and must be narrowly tailored to further a compelling government interest. It also expanded what the "content-based" meant. The Town of Gilbert's Sign Code set out different rules for each of three classes of signs—"ideological," "political," and "temporary directional signs relating to a qualified event," with the strictest rules for the third class. The restrictions on temporary directional signs were "on their face" content-based, and so were subject to strict scrutiny.

Soon after the Supreme Court ruled in Reed, the Seventh Circuit followed the new standards in considering Springfield, Illinois's panhandling ordinance, which prohibited oral requests "for an immediate donation of money" in the downtown historic district, and found it to be content-based. In Norton v. City of Springfield (7th Cir. 2015), the court stated, "Any law distinguishing one kind of speech from another by reference to its meaning now requires a compelling justification," and because the City could provide no compelling justification, struck down the ordinance.

Thus in McCullen, Reed, and Norton, the courts have said that the old ways of treating panhandling, without data or theory, cannot continue, and that most municipalities must re-examine their policies. While we by no means intend this paper to be a legal treatise and we do not explicitly consider the constitutionality of the policies we discuss, we hope to contribute to this re-examination.

The prospect of a cashless society in the near (or far) future has also reawakened interest in panhandling, which is now a cash activity in the US. Panhandling predates most forms of money as we know it, and has adjusted to huge changes in society and technology in the last two millennia. We speculate on how some of the policies we consider would accommodate a cashless society.

We begin with a discussion of the costs and benefits of panhandling, following the emerging literature on charitable fund-raising. We show that under some plausible circumstances, panhandling in Downtown Manhattan is welfare-increasing and under other plausible circumstances it is welfare-decreasing. Then we turn to the analysis of specific policy proposals. The first policy we discuss is credentialing, along with street newspapers, which seem to work in a similar way. We then discuss policies that regulate the behaviour of panhandlers and restrict the locations of panhandling. We find merit in some traditional policies like the prohibition of aggressive panhandling, and explore whether donors could be physically separated from pedestrians who do not want to encounter panhandlers. We then turn to policies that try to alter the behaviour of donors, and policies that seek to provide alternative opportunities to panhandlers, such as those in Albuquerque, New Mexico, and we then ask how our conclusions generalize to other environments.

We are discussing panhandling, not homelessness. The two terms are often used interchangeably in public discourse, but we do not use them interchangeably.[1] Panhandling is a labour market activity and homelessness is a housing market activity. In New York City, the vast majority of homeless people do not panhandle, and a considerable fraction of people who panhandle is not homeless. About a fifth of the Union Square, San Francisco panhandlers said they were not homeless (GLS Research, 2013).

Is Panhandling Always Socially Harmful?

Our answer is no. If the answer were yes, the policy approach we take in this paper — finding occasions when panhandling is socially beneficial — would be silly. The only sensible policy would be an outright ban. So we begin our analysis by showing that panhandling could be socially beneficial.

Panhandling can be socially harmful because some people dislike being asked for money by charities, and are willing to incur costs to avoid solicitations. Three recent papers (Della Vigna *et al.* 2012; Trachtman *et al*., 2015; Andreoni *et al.,* 2017) have tried to understand and quantify this distaste. We can use this evidence to make some rough inferences about the cost of panhandling to passersby, and from these inferences attempt to find out whether the costs of panhandling exceed its benefits.[2]

Andreoni *et al.* (2017) and Trachtman *et al.* (2015) both study outdoor solicitations at a supermarket, while Della Vigna *et al.* (2012) look at door-to-door solicitation. Panhandling seems closer to supermarket solicitation than to door-to-door. Andreoni *et al.* (2017) has a more detailed calculation of costs to passersby, and so

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1 Stern (1984, especially pages 296-98) argues that one reason why homelessness became a public issue in the early 1980's was because it was framed in such a way as to re-establish the traditional charitable gift relationship, which implies sacrifice on the part of the donor and gratitude and humiliation on the part of the receiver. His discussion follows Maus (1967).

2 Andreoni *et al.* (2017) argue that people have an automatic empathetic reaction, and that sophisticated people incur costs to avoid either doing something they would regret, or having to exercise restraint. Their analogy is putting a chocolate cake out of sight so one is not tempted to eat it. The more considered reaction (not to fall victim to one's impulses) counts for more in the welfare calculation. That is not the only possible interpretation. Perhaps giving is something that people know is good for them, but fail to do so because they are weak-willed, like going to the dentist or having a colonoscopy. People may avoid reminders that they should have a colonoscopy the same way that they avoid solicitations. In that sense, giving is not like eating chocolate cake. One should remember that several major religions and schools of philosophy make giving a central part of what they teach, and none treat eating chocolate cake that way. If people avoid the ask because of weakness of will, in the same way that they avoid colonoscopy reminders, then welfare calculations probably should not consider it a cost.

we will concentrate on that paper. In the experiment described there, Salvation Army bell-ringers solicited shoppers during the Christmas season, and the experimenters recorded how shoppers reacted to activity at either one or two of the three entrances to the supermarket.

They found that shoppers reacted quite differently when solicitors spoke to them directly and made eye contact than when solicitors merely rang their bells. When active solicitors (those addressing shoppers and making eye contact) were operating at both convenient doors, about 17 percent of shoppers were willing to walk 70 feet to the third door (these shoppers are called "avoiders"). On the other hand, when a solicitor was merely ringing a bell and not speaking or making eye contact ("passive solicitation"), flows between the two convenient doors were barely perturbed.

Panhandling in downtown Manhattan seems to us to be more like passive solicitation at the supermarket than active. Supermarket solicitors saw around 333 people per hour when they were soliciting actively (305 total flow, less 50 avoiders, divided evenly between two doors, in an average 23 minute session). Downtown panhandlers usually see more than 1,500 people an hour and often more than 2,000 (New York Department of City Planning, 2006). Addressing and making eye contact with people at such a fast rate would be hard to accomplish. Our own observations are that very few downtown panhandlers speak or make eye contact. Most just extend a cup and perhaps display a sign. Few are as conspicuous as Salvation Army bell-ringers.

Andreoni *et al.* (2017) estimated that the average cost of saying no to an active solicitor was 4 cents for the 83 percent of the population who did not avoid the solicitors, and over 8 cents for the 17 percent who avoided them. They did not estimate an average cost of saying no to a passive solicitor because they did not observe people moving between the two convenient doors when a passive solicitor was working at one. Presumably this cost is positive, but well less than 4 cents.

The average cost of saying no to a downtown panhandler probably does not exceed the average cost of saying no to a supermarket solicitor. For one thing, downtown pedestrians are more likely to miss seeing a panhandler; downtown pedestrians are travelling in fast-moving packs, intent on a variety of destinations, and downtown panhandlers do not ring bells and dress in red uniforms. Saying no to someone you do not see is costless. Andreoni *et al.* (2017) give two reasons why saying no to a person whom you see might be costly: social pressure (you appear to be ungenerous to a person whose opinions matter to you), and guilt (your empathic impulses are thwarted). Since panhandlers are considerably less reputable than the Salvation Army, passing a panhandler by may be less costly than passing a Salvation Army solicitor by.

On the other hand, some (but not all) panhandlers may not be so well-dressed or groomed as the Salvation Army solicitors (in the Andreoni *et al.* (2017) experiment, these were 22-year-old female college students). Some passersby may find the presence of panhandlers more unpleasant than the presence of Salvation Army solicitors. Panhandlers may also contribute to congestion on sidewalks, which was not an issue at the supermarket. Many panhandlers, however, find places to stand or sit that do not impede pedestrian flow—in between columns of Broadway buildings, for instance, and next to newsstands.[3] The average cost of panhandler presence to a non-giving pedestrian is almost certainly positive, but well less than 4 cents. A figure like half a cent or a cent might be plausible.

Andreoni *et al.* (2017) calculated the welfare impact of fund-raising (as did Della Vigna *et al.* (2012), who concluded that it was negative), and we can follow their example, although we know fewer parameters. The mathematical details of how we do this are in the *Appendix to Policy for Panhandling* (Dordick *et al.*, 2018b).

The appendix (Dordick *et al.*, 2018b) shows that in general, the social benefits of panhandling exceed the social costs if, and only if, the expected social benefit of donations (to both parties) per pedestrian is greater than the external harm per pedestrian (plus the cost of panhandler time per pedestrian, which in our case is trivial). With plausible parameters derived from Andreoni *et al.* (2017), these two quantities are about the same.

Thus a blanket statement about whether panhandling downtown is welfare-improving seems impossible. Some panhandling that occurs downtown is probably welfare-improving, and some is probably not. Panhandling is more likely to be welfare-improving if panhandlers are needier, if donors are richer and give larger amounts, if a greater proportion of donors give, if pedestrian flow is greater, if panhandlers are less obtrusive, and if sidewalks are wider so congestion is less. Policy should promote panhandling under those conditions, and discourage it when they are not present.[4] Remember that our whole analysis rests on the premise that good panhandling is good, and bad panhandling is bad.

Notice that our analysis of the harms of panhandling has concentrated on the effect on actual passersby. Sometimes observers cite an additional harm—the promotion of crime. This view is based on the broken windows hypothesis (Wilson and Kelling,

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3 In at least one location, however, a fast-food restaurant on Broadway, panhandling activity may have impeded pedestrian flow. The managers of this restaurant often asked panhandlers to leave.

4 There are other reasons why even some welfare-reducing panhandling should not be prohibited. It is probably hard to recognize and prohibiting it raises First Amendment issues. Della Vigna *et al.* (2012) show pretty convincingly that standard door-to-door solicitation by organized charities is welfare-reducing, but no serious consideration is being given to prohibiting it.

1982): signs of disorder in a neighbourhood like visible prostitution, garbage, graffiti, and public inebriation indicate to potential criminals that residents are indifferent to what goes on in a neighbourhood, and so if they commit serious crimes they will get away with them. Minor disorder leads to serious crime and a spiral of urban decay. If this association is correct, and if panhandling is in fact a sign of disorder, then panhandling would have larger external costs than we have discussed.

We are aware of no empirical evidence that legal panhandling is a sign of disorder like this. How could a potential criminal infer from seeing people exercising their First Amendment rights that the neighbours were indifferent to the neighbourhood? One might legitimately infer that the neighbours were law-abiding or generous (or that the neighbourhood was safe enough for weak or disabled people to carry on a cash business in plain sight without being robbed), but not that they were indifferent.

Whether reducing disorder, however defined, also reduces crime is also controversial, with considerable evidence on both sides of the question. Braga *et al.* (2015) is a recent meta-analysis of 30 experiments and quasi-experiments that test the broken windows hypothesis. Overall, the meta-analysis found a modest crime-reduction effect on average from policing initiatives inspired by broken windows, but found that "aggressive order maintenance strategies that target individual disorderly behaviors"—like crackdowns on panhandling—"do not generate significant crime reductions" (p.568).

Of the 30 studies, two are particularly relevant: the southeastern city foot patrol experiment ("Vagrants, prostitutes, drunkards and parking violators targeted by foot patrol in downtown business areas"), and the Las Vegas order maintenance experiment ("Specialized unit dedicated to maintaining order and enforcing misdemeanor arrests laws in targeted area") (p.576). Neither reduced crime incidents significantly, both were below median effectiveness of the studies surveyed. We do not see any reason to think that an increase in crime (except possibly against panhandlers) is an external cost of panhandling.

Credentials for Panhandlers

The policy we think most promising for encouraging welfare-improving panhandling is to allow panhandlers to have credentials.

Many occupations—personal trainers, for instance—are certified by private groups set up for that purpose; they devise their own standards and procedures and let consumers judge the value of their certification. How could this be done for panhandlers? Certified panhandlers could receive a visible sign that they were

certified; a unique identifying number should be visible on this sign. An app could allow potential donors to access the certifying group's website and see a photograph of the person to whom the identifying number was issued; this would reduce counterfeiting. Several different certifying bodies might coexist; for instance, some churches or mosques might certify panhandlers who abstained from alcohol or drugs, while other groups might certify panhandlers who were truly impoverished or disabled. The certification would be valid for only a fixed period, say a given number of months.

Notice that personal trainers are not licensed by the government, and neither would panhandlers under this proposal. Government licensing in the US would probably be unconstitutional (see, for instance, the decision invalidating the Washington DC tour guide licensing ordinance (Edwards v. District of Columbia, 943 F. Supp. 2d 109, 122 (D.D.C., 2013)) or the ongoing Charleston tour guides case). Uncertified panhandlers would still retain all legal rights. Many occupations have voluntary indicia by which the public can recognize them —physicians wear white coats, and ice cream truck operators play Turkey in the Straw, for instance—and panhandlers would be no different from these occupations.

What would be the effect of a credible certifying agency? It would almost certainly increase the volume of donations, and the expected utility of infra-marginal donors. The revenue of certified donors would probably rise; how the revenue increase would be divided between more panhandler-hours and greater revenue per hour depends on the supply elasticity. Similarly, the revenue of non-certifiable panhandlers would probably fall, with the consequences for the volume of panhandling again depending on the supply elasticity. If the supply elasticity is small, as we found in the companion paper (Dordick *et al.*, 2018a), then the change in panhandling activity would probably not be large, but revenue per panhandling hour would probably increase. If certifying involved some cost for panhandlers in time or exertion, then some less proficient panhandlers might not certify and leave the industry; this would further increase revenue per panhandling hour.

Mechanically, the rise in revenue per panhandling hour raises the net benefits of panhandling. Donors may also feel better about their donations, and so donor benefits from giving may also increase. The social value of a dollar to the average panhandler would also probably increase. Both parameter changes would increase the net benefits from panhandling.

Would certification be valuable enough to panhandlers and ultimately to donors that a substantial proportion of panhandlers would go through the trouble of getting credentials? The experience of the United Homeless Organization (UHO) at the turn of the 21st century strongly suggests that some systems of credentials could be valuable.

UHO was a not-for-profit corporation founded by Stephen Riley and Myra Walker in 1993, and shut down by the New York State Attorney General in 2009 (Cuomo vs United Homeless Organization, 2009). UHO operated in the following manner: For $15 per shift, it rented a card table, a hat, a plastic jug and various signs identifying the individual as a representative of UHO, and allowed the solicitor to keep all the proceeds above $15. About 750 shifts a week occurred. Riley and Walker essentially pocketed the $15 after minimal overhead expenses. The attorney general filed a complaint against UHO, Riley, and Walker in 2009 claiming that UHO was not a legitimate charity, and the complaint was not contested.

Since any of the solicitors could have panhandled on his own (the attorney general alleged no attempts to enforce a monopoly on panhandling locations), and a card table can be acquired for less than $15 a shift, the important question is why the solicitors were willing to pay $15 a shift to UHO. The obvious answer is that the UHO certification allowed them to collect at least $15 a shift more. Why? The obvious answer is credibility. Even though UHO operated no programs to help the homeless, it sounded to some potential donors like a legitimate charity, and those potential donors were more willing to give to a charity that claimed to help people like the solicitors themselves. Exactly why some potential donors would think that way is not clear. Long before the attorney general shut UHO down, many New Yorkers thought it was suspicious, if not fraudulent. But New York City streets are traversed by a large number of naïve people.

(An alternative interpretation is that the UHO label reduced hassle by police. Panhandling is legal almost everywhere on New York City sidewalks. This interpretation is not contradictory to the idea that the UHO label signalled credibility, but makes individual police officers rather than potential donors the target of that signal[5]).

UHO demonstrates that even questionable organizations are more credible with some donors (and possibly some police officers) than the average panhandler, and that the value of this credibility is at least $15 per shift. If a shift is 5-7 hours, then UHO-type credibility is worth at least $2-$3 an hour. Even this weak credibility is worth a large proportion of normal revenue.

Obviously, we do not know yet whether the costs of running a credentialing program are greater than the benefits, but the experience of UHO suggests that they may be. But UHO made no attempt to verify anything—they just gave out credentials.

One of the drawbacks of an effective credentialing program is that it would make "emergency panhandling" harder; a person who suddenly needed a few dollars to pay the rent or buy a bus ticket home would not be able to turn to panhandling; or would find it harder. We have not talked to any panhandlers who fit this category,

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5 We thank Patrick Markee for this interpretation

because ethnography is biased toward long-term panhandlers (the relationships on which ethnography relies cannot be developed quickly). Often these panhandlers are the least proficient. Only 13 percent of the panhandlers interviewed in the Union Square San Francisco study had been panhandling for less than a year, and 58 percent said they had been panhandling for five years or more, but the survey protocol did not seem to assure a representative sample of Union Square panhandlers at the moment the survey was taken (GLS Research, 2013).

The proportion of potential donors who check their apps may also turn out to be either too high or too low for credentialing to improve the workings of this market. If the proportion is too low, counterfeiting may destroy the credibility of the program. If it is too high, the costs to donors may be too high for the program to be considered an improvement over the current system. But there is some reason to believe that excessively high or excessively low rates of app-checking might spawn equilibrating reactions on the part of potential donors.

Finding the right standards to certify may also be hard. If the requirements to receive a certificate are extremely high, few panhandlers will qualify, and many donors will continue to give to uncertified panhandlers because they think that lack of certification is not a strong indicator of lack of desert. If the certificate requirements are too loose, many panhandlers will qualify but the rewards from qualifying will be small or non-existent because potential donors will not be impressed by the certificate. If donors think the certificate conveys little information for this reason, they may not restrict their donations to certified panhandlers. Recognizing the heterogeneity of potential donors, credentialing agencies might issue several different grades of certificates (as bond rating agencies do), but different grades may add confusion for potential donors. Over time, credentialing agencies may learn by trial-and-error what systems work well in their areas. Credential systems are likely to vary from city to city. The need for experimentation and flexibility is another argument for why credentialing is probably best handled by private rather than governmental organizations.

The final issue with credentialing is that a credentialing agency provides a public record of who receives credentials. Some panhandlers receive Supplemental Security Income (SSI)[6]. SSI restricts the income that recipients can receive, and receipt of credentials could lead to investigations of whether SSI recipients are working. The marginal tax rate on earnings for SSI is 50 percent (if panhandling revenue were determined to be gifts, not earnings, the marginal tax rate would be 100 percent). Panhandlers may also receive Supplemental Nutrition Assistance

6 In the Union Square survey, 62 percent of panhandlers said they received government assistance and 62 percent also said they were disabled, and so a considerable proportion of SSI recipients could be inferred. In Downtown Manhattan, we know directly about SSI receipt.

Program (SNAP) benefits, with a marginal tax rate of 14 percent, and some may be subject to child support orders. As a result of these clawbacks, credentialing agencies may not attract many panhandlers, and panhandlers who do not receive credentials may still come across as sympathetic to a segment of the public. But for donors who do not wish to give to panhandlers receiving government support, this aspect of credentialing will not be a drawback.

If a certifying group is such a good idea, why haven't panhandlers or churches established one already, as personal trainers have? The free-rider problems for panhandlers are large, because most work independently, they have few common meeting places, and, unlike personal trainers, they do not advertise on the web. In another sense, a certifying agency has already been tried in New York City; it was the UHO. The UHO acted as a certifying agency without in fact certifying anything. Perhaps what has been missing has been a group to certify the certifiers, and to do so with great visibility.

Several organizations approach being certifying organizations; the concept is not completely new."Beggars' badges" were used in early 15th century Great Britain and Ireland. For instance, an act of the Scottish parliament in 1425 prohibited begging by anyone who did not have a token from the local sheriff that he could not make his living in other ways. Thus beggars' badges differ from the credentialing we discuss in being mandatory and governmental. However, some churches issued communion tokens, and pilgrims to shrines received pilgrims' badges. A scallop shell badge is still used by pilgrims on the Camino de Santiago in Spain.[7]

Street newspapers like The Big Issue in London and Melbourne, Street Sheet in San Francisco, Street Sense in Washington, and Spare Change News in Boston in some sense try to act as certifying agencies. These are weekly or daily publications sold on the street by people who keep a large proportion of the revenue, and advertised not for the quality of their news, but rather for the opportunity that selling presents to the vendors. Vendors show that they are at least responsible enough to pick up newspapers, that the managers of the street newspaper think they are sober enough to be trusted with the papers for a little while, that they are willing to work, and that they are self-controlled enough to save up money every day to buy the next day's papers. The implicit trust that celebrities featured in the publications place in the vendors might also be interpreted by potential donors as information about the trustworthiness of vendors. Street newspapers, however, do not generally certify for need or sobriety. Many vendors might not have been panhandling or homeless in the absence of the newspaper. We will address this issue in Section 5 below, on work programs.

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7 We are grateful to Rachel Griffin for pointing this out.

The eventual disappearance of both UHO and the original street newspaper, *Street News* in New York, show the pitfalls that any credentialing project would face. A panhandler bearing insignia of an organization faces two hurdles in inducing a potential donor to give: the potential donor must think well of both the organization and the panhandler. Even if the marginal donation goes fully to the panhandler in the short run (as was the case for both these organizations), donors may not be convinced (since they do not study the employment contract) that the vendor gets all the money at the margin. But the continued prosperity of many other street newspapers shows the task may not be impossible.

Samaritan (formerly GiveSafe) in Seattle also appears on the surface to be a certifying agency, and with some modifications might become one.[8] Samaritan distributes Bluetooth beacons to unsheltered or homeless people and collects their stories from a five-item questionnaire. It does not impose an eligibility standard or verify the answers to the questionnaire. The Samaritan app notifies potential donors who have it when they are near a beacon holder, and lets them read the beacon holder's story. Then the potential donor can use the app to transfer money to the beacon holder's account at Samaritan. "The beacon holder can use funds at partnered stores or nonprofits to buy what they need to survive or leave the street." (Samaritan, 2017). Beacon holders must attend counselling sessions every month when the batteries on their beacons need changing.

Samaritan is a regular company, not a non-profit, and collects a commission on each transaction, both when a donor gives to a beacon holder and when a beacon holder buys something at a partnered store (GiveSafe, 2016).

Since Samaritan has no eligibility criteria, whether beacon holders are homeless or panhandlers is immaterial. By refusing to certify, Samaritan places a heavy informational burden on potential donors; this may not be practical in Manhattan where pedestrian crowds move quickly.

Samaritan maintains that its commission structure aligns its incentives with those of beacon holders, because its revenue depends on the dollar value of transactions (GiveSafe, 2016). The commissions, however, coupled with Samaritan's refusal to take a stand on the veracity of beacon holders' claims, mean that Samaritan's incentives are to abet any scams that beacon holders want to engage in. In its current form, Samaritan is only a high-tech version of the standard panhandling model, but it could be converted into a certifying agency.

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8 We are grateful to Kevin Corinth for letting us know about Samaritan.

Policies that Restrict How and Where Panhandlers Work

These are probably the most popular type of policies. Most cities prohibit panhandling in certain places—near ATMs, for instance, and on subways in New York—and in certain manners—aggressive, threatening panhandling most commonly. Ellickson (1996) makes the case for "sidewalk zoning" where panhandling would be one of several public activities allowed in some places but not in others. Many other occupations are regulated this way—for instance, auto repair and banking—and so place and manner restrictions do not make panhandling unusual.

It is easiest to think about manner restrictions first. The argument against aggressive panhandling is essentially an argument against robbery (which is sometimes hard to distinguish from aggressive panhandling). Pareto improvements come from donations made willingly, not donations made under duress. Spelling out exactly what aggressive panhandling is may be hard, but policies that prohibit it are consistent with encouraging good panhandling and discouraging bad. Existing laws against robbery may be sufficient and would not run afoul of First Amendment issues.

Aggressive panhandling is not a major issue in Downtown Manhattan, where large and swiftly moving crowds make singling out any particular pedestrian a foolhardy panhandling strategy. This also appears to be the case in Union Square, San Francisco, where only 3 percent of donors said that they gave because they felt threatened (GLS Research, 2012). But other locations are probably different.

Does this argument against aggressive panhandling carry over to untrue assertions that panhandlers might make? Is this a species of fraud that should be treated as such, both because it makes work harder for honest panhandlers and because it causes donors to part with their money under false pretences? In that sense, untruthful panhandling eliminates opportunities for Pareto improvements because it discourages donors from giving and discourages needy people from panhandling. Untruthful panhandling is a problem, just like aggressive panhandling, and policy should try to reduce the amount of it that goes on.

But legal enforcement may not be the lowest cost way to reduce untruthful panhandling. Ex-post verification of panhandler claims is likely to be expensive, and damage due to any instance of untruthful panhandling is likely to be small. When untruthful panhandling is widespread, moreover, it is not clear what activities constitute untruthful panhandling. If all other panhandlers are untruthful, and all donors know it, no honest panhandler can be credible, and no assertions that he makes can mislead any donor, since no donor will believe him. Credentialing, as we discussed above, may be a more effective and cheaper way of reducing untruthful panhandling.

The final manner issue is incompetent or worthless panhandling. Panhandling that does not generate revenue does not help panhandlers, does not help donors, and congests sidewalks. It is a social bad. One remedy for incompetent panhandling would be to charge an hourly fee for panhandling. This would be essentially a Pigouvian tax so a panhandler would internalize the external costs his or her activity causes. Collecting the fee would be hard, however. The obvious way would be to collect it before a panhandling session began (as UHO did), the same way that parking meter collects from a motorist before a "parking session" begins. On paying the fee a panhandler could receive a ticket saying that he was authorized to panhandle from 2 pm to 4 pm on August 14, 2018, for instance, and any police officer could ask to see the ticket. The obvious problem is that some panhandlers, especially the neediest, might be cash-constrained before a panhandling session starts. An alternative would be for the city government to issue the ticket before a session began, but not require that it be paid until the session was over. Aside from the extra travel that this plan would require of the panhandler, the major question about a scheme like this is what would happen if the panhandler did not return with the fee, either because he was unlucky that day, or because he did not intend to pay. For panhandlers who intended to maintain a long-term position, this would not be a problem—they would find a way to pay eventually, unless they truly lacked proficiency or the fee was too high. But for short-term panhandlers, there would be no such incentive, and they could skip paying the fee. So a fee that was paid after a session would penalize long-term panhandlers—who are likely more proficient—and encourage short-term panhandlers—who are likely less proficient.

Prohibitions on flagrantly incompetent panhandling (at least in congested times and places) might be a good substitute for fees. The most flagrant form of incompetence is sleeping on the job; another is mindless yelling. There is good reason to prohibit this sort of panhandling just as there is good reason to prohibit aggressive panhandling.

The same sort of reasoning can be applied to location regulation. One kind of incompetence might be panhandling too close to another panhandler. Donors might have limited amounts of generosity or spare change, and so the second panhandler they encounter in close sequence might get less money. In Downtown Manhattan we found that a nearby panhandler made a location less likely to be occupied by another panhandler, and that this effect was larger when the nearby locations were more attractive. Donors might also interpret a plethora of panhandlers as an indication that many panhandlers are not needy. Thus jurisdictions might want to mandate minimum distances between panhandlers (although New York panhandlers probably regulate themselves).

Minimum distance rules have drawbacks, though. If two panhandlers are too close together, who moves? Establishing who was there first is almost impossible. Letting them negotiate and come to agreement is a way for less competent or less needy panhandlers (or non-panhandlers) to extort money from more competent or needier panhandlers, especially those who have established a regular customer base. So is requiring both of them to leave. Minimum distance rules might be a drastic cure for a minor disease.

But there might be other ways to use location to match panhandlers and donors better. Suppose people who did not mind panhandlers much and sometimes gave used one side of a street, and people who did not like panhandlers and never gave used the other. (The assignment of sides need not be permanent; it could even vary by day like alternate side of the street parking.) This could be accomplished either by law (prohibiting panhandling on one side of the street) or suggestion (signs suggesting this practice). If donors sorted themselves this way and panhandlers knew it, panhandlers would follow donors and voluntarily segregate themselves on the generous side of the street. The cost to anti-panhandler non-donors of encountering panhandlers would be eliminated, and more Pareto-improving transactions between willing donors and willing panhandlers might occur. (This does not presume that all or most pedestrians on the donor side of the street in fact donate—only that virtually none on the non-donor side do so.)

Several conditions must be met for a scheme like this to work. First, donors on the non-donor side of the street must refrain from giving to panhandlers there (or panhandlers must believe that they will refrain); they must feel that such panhandlers are violating a social norm as well as possibly an ordinance. Second, the donor side of the street must not be so congested or unattractive as to discourage potential donors from walking there; similarly, the stingy side must not discourage non-donors from walking there either. Thus the scheme will likely work best when neither type of pedestrian is overwhelmingly dominant, or when the preponderance of pedestrians is indifferent or oblivious. Finally, the generous side should have enough good places in which to panhandle and enough pedestrian traffic that panhandlers are not tempted to go to the other side.

Obviously many neighbourhoods do not satisfy these criteria. Downtown Manhattan may. “Sides of the street,” of course, need not be taken literally. Downtown Manhattan has a dense pattern of streets and many pedestrian journeys can be accomplished multiple ways that do not differ greatly in speed or convenience. Our research has established that almost always, many excellent panhandling locations are vacant. So it is not impossible that a judicious marking of panhandling-allowed and panhandling-prohibited zones could sort panhandlers and donors better. This

is similar to Ellickson's (1996) sidewalk zoning; and is also in the spirit of the recommendation that Della Vigna *et al.* (2012) made that charities conducting door-to-door drives give prior notice and allow households to opt out.

The major difficulty may be that too few pedestrians care enough about panhandlers to go out of their way either to avoid or encounter them. The results in Andreoni *et al.* (2017) suggest that this may be the case: crossing a street in Manhattan is generally more costly than a cent. If that were the case, pedestrian flows would not be altered, but panhandlers might end up with fewer donations. In a sense, a scheme like this works best when enough pedestrians are willing to make a significant effort to avoid panhandlers—precisely the sort of situation in which normal panhandling is unlikely to be welfare-improving.

An alternative way to try to improve panhandling might be to establish licenses for locations (as opposed to licenses for panhandling in general). The city government would license particular stretches of sidewalk to particular panhandlers for specified periods of time. The model would be similar to newsstands. During this time, the licensed panhandler would have the exclusive (non-transferable) right to panhandle in that location. The city could require that licensed panhandlers attend classes in panhandling etiquette, or maintain standards of cleanliness and hygiene, or pay fees during the time that the license is held. It could also screen license applicants in much the same manner that a credentialing agency would (although probably not for as many religiously-tinged attributes). Licensed panhandlers would have an incentive to maintain good community relations, and to cultivate a group of regular donors. Because of these efforts, and because they would be assured of a regular location, they might be able to generate high revenue—a condition for panhandling to be welfare-improving.

Enforcement would obviously be an issue, since the city would be taking responsibility for an issue that panhandlers previously settled among themselves. The reactions of property-owners whose sidewalk the city would be licensing would also be an issue, since they would assert legal rights to prevent the city from licensing the space in front of their properties. These legal issues have already been extensively vetted with newsstands and peddlers. One difference between peddlers and panhandlers is that panhandlers do not compete with any tax-paying businesses. As we have noted, any licensing scheme would probably be subject to constitutional challenges.

Licensing would also open licensees to investigations of their income if they were collecting means-tested government benefits, especially Supplemental Security Income (SSI) and food stamps (SNAP), just as credentialing would. But since the city would be approving, rather than a non-governmental organization, and a

license is closer to a job than a credential is, working "off the books" would be almost surely impossible (unless the license were claimed by one person and transferred surreptitiously to another).

Altering Donor Behaviour

Another class of policies seeks to persuade potential donors not to give money to panhandlers and perform their philanthropy in another manner. These policies generally try to induce donors to give to organized charities instead of to panhandlers, or to give to panhandlers in non-monetary roundabout ways, as in Spector's (1996) vouchers for panhandlers. We are aware of no evidence that either type of policy reduces the amount that donors give to panhandlers.

The idea of the organized charity persuasion schemes seems to be that if donors give more money to organized charities, they will restrict their giving to panhandlers, apparently either because of an income effect, or because they believe that giving a dollar to a charity will help the particular panhandler they encounter more than giving a dollar to that panhandler. Neither hypothesized mechanism seems remotely plausible.

On the income effect, panhandlers in Downtown Manhattan probably collect no more than between $1,000 and $1,500 in the aggregate on an average working day. Workers in Downtown Manhattan make about $100m on an average working day. This does not count tourists and residents who do not work downtown. Eliminating panhandling donations would have no noticeable effect on disposable income, or on its disposition.

On the substitution effect, there is little reason to believe that individual downtown panhandlers will be significantly helped by donations to random organized charities. Few of the panhandlers we have talked to receive assistance from organized charities, although some receive government assistance, except for feeding programs. That also appears to be the case in San Francisco. The relevant question, of course, is whether a marginal dollar donated to an organized charity would inure to the benefit of the panhandler whom a donor encounters on the street, and the answer is almost certainly no. St. Anthony's, for instance, one of the two large feeding programs that Union Square panhandlers use, claims never to have turned anyone away, and so a dollar directed to St. Anthony's would not improve the well-being of the individual whom the potential donor sees, except to a tiny extent; almost all the benefit would accrue to other people.

An alternative version of the organized charity argument is that donors are concerned not with the panhandler whom they encounter but with global social welfare generally, and that at the margin some donation to some organized charity makes a greater contribution to global social welfare than a donation to the panhandler.[9] To assess this argument, two questions need to be answered: whether the marginal beneficiary of an organized charity is more deserving (in the donor's eyes) than the panhandler, and whether the benefit per marginal dollar from the organized charity is greater than the benefit for the panhandler. We know of no study that estimates either magnitude and cannot even imagine how such a study would be done.

A final argument is that donations to panhandlers encourage ("enable") either panhandling or homelessness. If donations to panhandlers encouraged panhandling, then we would see more panhandling when the flow of donations increased: the supply elasticity of labour to panhandling would be positive and large. The technical paper (Dordick *et al.*, 2018a) examined this issue and found that elasticity of labour supply was small and possibly negative. On homelessness, the income elasticity of demand for housing is almost surely positive: when people get more money they spend some of it on housing. (Some of the panhandlers we talked with described their plans to use some of their earnings for a cheap hotel room when they collected enough, and 23 percent of Union Square panhandlers said they used the money they collected for shelter or housing (GLS Research, 2013).) If anything, successful panhandling reduces homelessness.

It is probably not good public policy to propagate propositions for which there is no basis.

How effective these programs are is also open to question. In June 2015, Albuquerque, New Mexico initiated a well-publicized special line to collect donations for recognized charities instead of panhandlers. Called "A Better Way", this line was part of a larger initiative that has received extensive and favourable coverage throughout the US. As of September 6, 2017, collections totalled $63,807—about $80 a day (Albuquerque, 2017). Three or four panhandlers probably would have collected the same amount.

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9 If pedestrians were concerned about global social welfare and if the city government were truly intent on helping them make the best decisions about how to promote it, then city governments would run similar advertisements urging pedestrians to give to charities rather than purchase luxury goods.

Schemes that seek to transmute monetary donations into in-kind donations like those in Spector (1996) have a somewhat more substantial base. The restriction of spending to partner stores, none of which sell alcohol, is also part of the Samaritan program. These schemes may in fact benefit the panhandler whom the donor sees, especially if the donor is naïve, although there is no guarantee.

There are two arguments for in-kind rather than cash. The first is that in-kind can serve as a screening device (Nichols and Zeckhauser, 1982). To the extent that the food or clothing that beneficiaries of these schemes receive is low quality, only truly needy people (according to this argument) will avail themselves of it, and so the procedure may keep well-off people from receiving donations. However, some schemes, such as Spector's or Samaritan's, do not produce low-quality food. The argument for in-kind as a screening device, moreover, presumes regularities in preferences, and for panhandlers these regularities may not hold. Begging is seen as a degrading activity, and so is probably at least as good a screening device as low quality food. A rich person who was begging might well be willing to eat soup kitchen food too. In-kind is not obviously a better way to screen panhandlers. Panhandling itself may be the best screener.

The argument for these in-kind schemes, however, is generally about their power as temperance devices rather than screening devices. The argument is that if you give money, panhandlers will spend it on drugs and alcohol; if you give money through the scheme, panhandlers will get food instead.

It is not clear that this inference is correct. A significant portion of panhandlers we have met do not abuse substances; they would not be able to panhandle effectively if they did. Even those who do use alcohol or drugs extensively consume some food. In Union Square, 94 percent of panhandlers said they spent money on food, and 44 percent said they spent money on drugs or alcohol, and spending money is not necessarily the same as abuse (GLS Research, 2013). If the scheme gives them the same amount of food they would have consumed in its absence or less, then the scheme is the same as giving money, since they can use the money saved on buying food to buy alcohol or drugs. Only if panhandlers get more food than they would normally consume after monetary donations will it reduce alcohol and drug consumption, and even then the portion of food from the scheme that equals normal food consumption will go to drugs and alcohol. Samaritan offers a much wider array of (meritorious) goods than food in its partnered stores, and so almost guarantees that most of donations given to token bearers who abuse substances will in fact be used for those substances (after commissions).

Policies to Provide Better Opportunities to Panhandlers

Perhaps welfare-reducing panhandling should be treated with a carrot rather than a stick. A possible policy to do this is to offer panhandlers other, more lucrative employment. Such employment would leave them less time for panhandling, and the income would reduce their desire to panhandle. The work could be either public—cleaning up parks or shovelling snow, for instance—or private—like street newspapers.

Our study of Downtown Manhattan suggests that such a policy might in fact reduce panhandling. If the supply of labour to panhandling were highly elastic, the policy would not work: departing panhandlers would be replaced by new panhandlers, and if targeted employment opportunities raised the expected return from becoming a panhandler, the equilibrium number of panhandlers would rise. Our results, however, suggest that labour supply is rather inelastic, and so an employment policy might reduce the number of panhandlers, at least in the short run.

Who would gain from this policy? Probably all the groups we have concentrated on in this paper: panhandlers, pedestrians who do not want to see panhandlers, and probably pedestrians who wish panhandlers well. Valuable output would be produced, too, but probably less valuable than the wages paid to former panhandlers. This policy resembles the Coasian policy of paying panhandlers not to panhandle, and may be a potential Pareto improvement.

There are some problems, however. The obvious one is the problem of receipt of other government benefits, especially SSI.

Recruiting participants is also a problem. The number of people who panhandle is very small—almost certainly less than 500-1,000 at any time in New York, a city of 8.5 million. The panhandlers we know downtown have observable characteristics like those of hundreds of thousands of New Yorkers; they are not outstandingly destitute. The inelasticity of labour supply suggests that panhandlers are unusual in this group in their taste for panhandling; thus a program attractive enough to induce them not to panhandle would also be attractive to many people who do not panhandle. So unless the program employed a large number of people who were not panhandlers, it would have to use recent panhandling experience as an eligibility criterion.

Using recent panhandling experience as an eligibility criterion has several difficulties. It is not verifiable, and many people panhandle for short spells. Labour supply to panhandling as now constituted may be fairly inelastic, but many people may be willing to panhandle for a few afternoons if that is the route to a decent job. If long-term panhandling were required, the program would be restricted to a smaller

number of panhandlers, many of whom are probably SSI recipients. The program would miss many panhandlers—probably those who would be lured from panhandling most easily.

(Why can't "Jobs First" work for panhandlers the same way that Housing First seems to work for homelessness? Housing First is designed for the most distressed and chronic portion of the homeless population, not all of it, and many Housing First participants receive SSI. The most distressed portion of the panhandling population also should mainly be receiving SSI. SSI precludes employment, not housing.)

Historically, street newspapers have probably been the best-known employers of people who might be panhandlers. As employment programs, street newspapers have many of the problems that general employment programs have, but lack some of the advantages. They do not lessen street congestion, for instance, and probably increase it because people who would not otherwise be panhandling may sell newspapers. The value of output may be low; and printing, publishing, and waste disposal may add significant costs without directly benefiting anyone. The argument for street newspapers is really credentialing, not employment.

Albuquerque's "A Better Way" also includes a well-publicized program of jobs for panhandlers (Albuquerque, 2017). A van picks people up in the morning; they work for $5 an hour for nine hours at various city maintenance projects, and the van returns them to a non-profit counselling and shelter agency. This happens twice a week for about ten individuals. The description of the program seems to use the words "homeless" and "panhandler" interchangeably, but since the program has no eligibility criteria, the level of confusion is not significant. The number of panhandlers active on an average day in Albuquerque is unknown, but the point-in-time count of people experiencing homelessness in January 2017 was 1,318, of whom 184 were children (New Mexico Coalition to End Homelessness, 2017).

By June 2017, however, enough panhandlers were active in Albuquerque for a city council member to complain about their ubiquity and draw up an ordinance (probably unconstitutional) to eliminate panhandling at intersections. The media coverage of this proposed ordinance did not mention any reductions in panhandling from "A Better Way" (Lopez, 2017).

Although targeted employment programs may have difficulties, relaxing SSI restrictions on employment may allow some panhandlers to find alternative employment. Such a policy would affect large numbers of people, almost all of whom do not panhandle. It would be a potential Pareto improvement if its benefits exceeded its costs for those people, and there is reason to believe that that would be the case.

Panhandling in Other Places

To what extent do our thoughts carry some force outside Downtown Manhattan? Since we have not studied any place else, any answer has to be speculative.

Most of our conclusions probably hold for other dense bustling neighbourhoods in developed countries, since the volume of pedestrian flow was an important factor. But donor generosity also mattered to welfare calculations, and so panhandling policies should be more restrictive in cities where people are less generous than New Yorkers, and less restrictive in cities where they are more generous. We do not know whether average pedestrian generosity varies among cities, and, if so, how.

Many of our results also depended on low labour supply elasticity. Low labour supply elasticity was a major finding in our empirical companion paper (Dordick *et al*., 2018a). We do not know why labour supply elasticity is low—perhaps the reason is the stigma attached to panhandling—and so we do not know whether to expect similarly low elasticities elsewhere. If the reason is stigma, perhaps labour supply elasticities will also be low in other rich cities and rich countries. We suspect that they are not low in developing countries.

In less dense neighbourhoods and on subways, panhandlers have to invest more in trying to get a donation from each person they see, since they encounter fewer people, and so they often use different tactics from the very passive ones we observed downtown. These tactics may change the cost of saying no. Welfare analyses for these areas might be different, and focus more on tactics, but the approach would be similar.

Conclusion

We hope we have moved the discussion of panhandling from absolutism to careful consideration of costs and benefits, even though our calculations have been very rough and tentative. A reasoned panhandling policy can help rich people do good and poor people do well. But developing such a policy takes thought, study, and experimentation.

Panhandling has been practiced for millennia, and will probably survive a transition to a cashless society, if that ever occurs. Samaritan already operates a cashless panhandling system, and the app that a credentialing agency runs, for instance, could allow a donor to make a cashless donation to the panhandler she sees on the spot, and inform the panhandler that the donation has been made (most panhandlers today carry phones). This is another way in which credentialing agencies could be useful.

Probably the most important unexplored issue is the relationship of panhandling to means-tested income support programs like SSI (and other means-tested programs like Medicaid). We saw again and again that clawback rules made a big difference in what could be done. If all the rules are followed and everybody knows everything, when a donor with $100,000 annual income gives a dollar to a disabled panhandler, the federal government *takes* $0.50 or more. If she gives a dollar to a church instead and that church gives the panhandler a bowl of soup or a lecture about financial responsibility, the federal government *gives* her $0.25 in reduced income taxes. This discrepancy seems hard to defend. This specific issue depends on the details of the US income support system, but similar issues would arise with any income support system that offset some privately raised income with reduced governmental support.

A disabled person on SSI in New York in 2016 received $820 a month (New York State Office of Temporary and Disability Assistance, 2016). Perhaps the relevant question is whether this amount is intended as a floor on public generosity, or a ceiling. Of that $820, $87 is a supplement to the federal amount of $733 that the State of New York adds from its own funds; the federal amount is not reduced because the New York State government has decided to add this amount. For what reason would a dollar donated by a New York taxpayer to an SSI recipient on Broadway be treated differently from a dollar given to that same person by New York taxpayers collectively? These are important questions that need to be considered in developing good panhandling policy, but they go beyond the scope of this paper now.

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Strategy Reviews

Part C

The New Portuguese Homelessness Strategy: Recent Developments

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Abstract_*On 25 July 2017, the Portuguese government approved the new Homelessness Strategy – the Portuguese Strategy for the Integration of Homeless Persons 2017-2023 (ENIPSSA). It draws heavily on the first Homelessness strategy, which covered the period 2009-2015, although introducing new elements both regarding its objectives and operational structure. With an overall aim to reduce homelessness, "ensuring that no one has to end up on the streets by lack of alternatives", the new strategy is based on three strategic objectives: a) promoting knowledge, information, awareness raising and education on the phenomenon; b) strengthening intervention aiming at promoting the integration of homeless persons; and c) strengthening coordination, monitoring and evaluation mechanisms. This paper reviews the main features of the new strategy and argues that this new initiative has the potential to realise the expectations, which had been introduced in the homelessness arena in 2009, by providing a consistent operational framework to develop an effective strategy to tackle homelessness in Portugal.*

Keywords_*Homelessness policy, developments, challenges, Portugal*

Introduction

The Portuguese Strategy for the Integration of Homeless Persons 2017-2023, hereafter 'the ENIPSSA', was approved by the Council of Ministers' Resolution 107/2017 in July 2017, aiming at restoring the State commitment towards strategically addressing homelessness. The renewed State interest for a strategic approach to homelessness resulted both from a push from civil society organisations and other non-governmental stakeholders involved in the first homelessness strategy process and from the emergence of a more "welcoming" political agenda.

This process – initiated in 2009 with the adoption of the First Homelessness Strategy (ENIPSA 2009-2015) (GIMAE, 2010a) – was however interrupted in 2013. Profound changes in the coordinating team and overall institutional (and ideological) changes following the shift in political power after the June 2011 elections directly affected the central structures of the ENIPSSA which ceased to work, namely failing to provide the expected support to the newly created local homelessness units (NPISA) (Baptista, 2013).

Early in 2016, the Portuguese Parliament issued a Resolution calling on the government to re-launch the former interinstitutional group (the GIMAE) – composed of public and private non-profit organisations – which had been responsible for monitoring the implementation of the 2009-2015 Homelessness Strategy and to present an assessment of the progress made. Overall, the evaluation report on the implementation of the ENIPSA 2009-2015 highlighted the potential for change, which had been introduced by this first strategic approach to homelessness, namely the dynamics created at the local level, but also the constraints encountered during the implementation stage (GIMAE, 2010b).

The GIMAE was formally reactivated in February 2017 and the preparation of the 2017-2023 homelessness strategy was initiated under the leadership of the Institute for Social Security (ISS).

The ENIPSSA is based on three strategic objectives, the first two of which were reiterated from the previous national strategy: a) promoting knowledge, information, awareness raising and education on the phenomenon; b) strengthening intervention aiming at promoting the integration of homeless persons; and c) strengthening coordination, monitoring and evaluation mechanisms. The implementation of the strategy is based on bi-annual action plans which are structured around the three strategic objectives mentioned above and operationalized by a set of measures and activities carried out at different levels and involving a wide range of institutional stakeholders. The action plan 2018-2019 was approved by the Inter-ministerial committee and validated by the Minister for Labour, Solidarity and Social Security at the end of November 2017.

The approval of the new strategy and the setting up of a new and strengthened governance structure is paving the way to consistent developments in the operationalization of the activities foreseen in the current action plan of the ENIPSSA.

This paper starts off by setting the adoption of the ENIPSSA in the context of the recent State (re)commitment towards strategically addressing homelessness in Portugal, highlighting the major steps leading to the approval of the new strategy. It moves on to a brief presentation of the strategy's main elements, emphasizing noticeable signs of continuity and innovation and ends up with a short description of the first initiatives implemented. The concluding chapter provides some insights into the ambition of the new strategy to meet lingering expectations of actually delivering change in strategically addressing homelessness in Portugal.

Finally, the paper argues that the potential for change in the homelessness arena introduced by the approval of a new policy instrument in 2009 – which was not fully realised – may now regain a new impetus. Positive and consistent development in the early stages of implementation of the ENIPSSA may prove crucial in meeting lingering expectations as regards fostering actual change in the planning and delivery of homelessness services in Portugal.

From 2009 to 2017 – Lessons from a Winding Trajectory

Policy development leading to the adoption of the first Portuguese homelessness strategy back in 2009 has been briefly described as innovative policy change within the southern European context (Baptista, 2009). Thus, the recent developments in the implementation of the ENIPSSA need to be framed within the context of the previous experience in implementing the 2009-2015 homelessness strategy.

On the one hand, the drive for change boosted by the 2009-2015 strategy, together with the ability and commitment of local stakeholders led to positive changes in reorganising local responses to homelessness in a coordinated and integrated way in several local territories (Baptista, 2013). On the other hand, several failures in its implementation (e.g. lack of political endorsement, lack of institutional drive, lack of transparency in resource allocation, weak horizontal coordination, failure to implement monitoring and evaluation procedures) actually jeopardised the foreseen attainment of most of its initial objectives.

Set within a difficult financial and social context marked by austerity and an ideological shift regarding the role of social policies, the implementation of the first homelessness strategy would fail to realise the announced policy change towards implementing an integrated and strategic approach that would promote social change and foster social inclusion. On the other hand, there was an explicit refocus

on the emergency side of service provision, the fading away of a housing exclusion focus (and not only a social exclusion) on addressing homelessness, and the weakening of the enabling role of the State in the mobilization of partnerships and in the provision of quality social services (Baptista, 2013).

The renewed State interest for a strategic approach to homelessness arising in early 2016 resulted from an intersection of elements and developments: the (re) emergence of a political agenda re-centred on the development of rights-based approaches towards social problems and on a more active role of the State with the framework for cooperation between the state and homelessness service providers; the recognition of important progresses made at the local level in the development of innovative and more efficient responses to homelessness; the continued push from civil society organisations and other non-governmental stakeholders involved in the drafting and (unachieved) implementation process of the first homelessness strategy; the direct involvement of the Portuguese Parliament and particularly of the President of the Republic in pushing forward the need for a new National Homelessness Strategy was also a key driver.

In early 2016, the Portuguese Parliament issued a resolution[1] recommending the Portuguese Government to: (i) carry out a participated assessment of the National Homelessness Strategy, including all partner organisations and homeless people themselves; (ii) build up a new national strategy on homelessness – based on that assessment – ensuring a comprehensive partnership amongst the different social policy areas, the relevant organisations and homeless people; and (iii) ensure that resources are committed to the implementation of such a strategy, in order to achieve the fulfilment of its goals.

Following these recommendations, the Institute for Social Security (ISS) – the state institute responsible for ensuring citizens' social protection and social inclusion within the national social security system – within its coordinating role of the National Homelessness Strategy made an internal assessment of the implementation of the 2009-2015 National Homelessness Strategy (ENIPSA) and promoted the re-activation of the interinstitutional group responsible for monitoring the implementation of the ENIPSA. The first meeting of the GIMAE was held in February 2017.

The initial assessment highlighted the important role played by the strategic orientations provided by the ENIPSA 2009-2015 in enhancing positive developments in the provision of homelessness services at the local level, in fostering innovative

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[1] Resolution 45/2016 of the Portuguese Parliament. Available at: http://app.parlamento.pt/webutils/docs/doc.pdf?path=6148523063446f764c324679595842774f6a63334e7a637664326c75644756346447397a58324677636d39325957527663793938794d4445324c314a42556c38304e5638794d4445324c6e426b5a673d3d&fich=RAR_45_2016.pdf&Inline=true

approaches to homelessness and in enhancing more effective cooperation structures to address homelessness. Additionally, the document recognized the crucial role of the participation of a wide range of public and private stakeholders during both the conception and the initial implementation stage of the 2009-2015 strategy.

The outcomes of the internal assessment were presented to and further enriched by the contributions of the entities participating in the GIMAE and by the local homelessness units (NPISA).

Overall, the evaluation report on the implementation of the ENIPSA 2009-2015 highlighted the potential for change, which had been introduced by this first strategic approach to homelessness, namely the dynamics created at the local level, but also the constraints encountered during the implementation stage. Several recommendations were made with regard to the need to preserve the vision and the strategic approach adopted by the ENIPSA 2009-2015.

The evaluation process also identified the need to address some major shortcomings that had contributed to major operationalization failures in the previous stage. Recommendations in this area included: ensuring the highest political endorsement of the national strategy and its translation into a legal act; the strengthening of the governance structure of the ENIPSA; a clear assignment of responsibilities and allocation of the necessary resources to ensure a consistent coordination of the overall strategy; the need to strengthen the existing national evidence base on homelessness, namely by promoting reliable data collection; and a clear identification of the financial resources to be allocated to the implementation of the measures proposed.

The final evaluation report was presented in Parliament by the Secretary of State for Social Security in March 2017 (ISS, 2017). In April 2017, the Parliament promoted a public debate session both for presenting the evaluation report of the implementation of the 2009-2015 National Homelessness Strategy and for engaging in an overall discussion on the new strategy with a wide range of public and private stakeholders. The session was actively participated and there was a public recognition by the government representatives to seriously engage in a national strategy to address homelessness and to learn both from the previous achievements and drawbacks in the implementation of the 2009-2015 ENIPSA.

The Portuguese Strategy for the Integration of Homeless Persons 2017-2023 was finally approved by the Government at the end of June 2017. It became a legal act through the Council of Ministers' Resolution 107/2017, which was published on the 25 July 2017 in the official gazette[2]. From a formal perspective, this legal initiative not only restored the State's commitment towards strategically addressing home-

[2] Available at: http://data.dre.pt/eli/resolconsmin/107/2017/07/25/p/dre/pt/html

lessness which had been interrupted in 2013, as it finally responded to a long-standing claim from civil society organisations regarding the legal approval of the homelessness strategy.

The National Strategy for the Integration of People Experiencing Homelessness 2017-2023 (ENIPSSA)

From continuity to innovative elements

The new strategy's acronym incorporates a new "S" (from ENIPSA to ENIPSSA) as a result of an explicit intention by the GIMAE members to underline the homelessness situation rather than the homeless individual. This reinforcement of a societal understanding of the whole homelessness issue – already present in the first Portuguese strategy – is underpinned by the preservation of the 2009-2015 strategy's vision and main principles in the current ENIPSSA.

The importance of EU-driven dynamics around strategic approaches to homelessness which had been explicitly present in the drafting of the first Portuguese homelessness strategy (Baptista, 2009) are again noticeable in the contextual chapter of the new strategy, which recalls recent EU developments in this area, namely EU successive calls on member states to develop integrated approaches to homelessness.

The ENIPSSA's vision aims at the consolidation of a "strategic and holistic approach towards preventing and tackling homelessness, centred on the needs of individuals experiencing homelessness, so that no one has to stay on the street by lack of alternatives".

The ENIPSSA holds to the previous adopted definition of homelessness which remains a fairly narrow one: "A person experiencing homelessness is anyone who, regardless of nationality, ethnic or racial origin, religion, age, sex, sexual orientation, socio-economic status and mental and physical health, is roofless and living in a public space or insecure form of shelter or accommodated in an emergency shelter, or is houseless and living in temporary accommodation for homeless people". In spite of the persistence of a narrow definition of homelessness, the ENIPSSA upholds the commitment to incorporate both preventative measures and measures addressing homelessness once it has already occurred.

The strategy is based on a set of 13 principles that basically restate the former principles adopted in 2009. Some of these principles are clearly in line with the ten approaches developed by the European Federation of National Organisations Working with the Homeless (FEANTSA), which incorporate the toolkit for developing an integrated strategy to tackle homelessness, namely as regards: the adoption of

a rights-based approach based on human rights and in the promotion of equality and non-discrimination, an evidence-based approach to sustain the development of policies and measures, the recognition of the multidimensional nature of the phenomenon and the need to develop multidimensional solutions, the need to enhance quality preventative, support and resettlement services, the needs of the individual as the starting point for policy development, the mobilization of a wide range of public and private stakeholders to achieve a consistent and integrated response in the provision of services, and the need to promote the active participation and capacity building of people experiencing homelessness.

The ENIPSSA is structured around three strategic axes, the first two of which were reiterated from the previous national strategy: a) promoting knowledge, information, awareness raising and education on the phenomenon; b) strengthening intervention aiming at promoting the integration of homeless persons; and c) strengthening coordination, monitoring and evaluation mechanisms. These three areas are operationalized by 15 strategic objectives, which are then translated into targets. [3]

The strategy advocates the need to enhance the existing evidence-base on the phenomenon, namely by ensuring the use of the official homelessness definition and the use of commonly agreed indicators to characterize and monitor the phenomenon. It also envisages the development of communication and awareness raising activities that will foster an "updated knowledge on homelessness aiming at preventing and fighting discrimination".

The second strategic area includes different objectives which aim at: improving the quality of existing support services (e.g. promoting specialized training to all the NPISA, developing quality assessment tools, fostering user participation mechanisms, enhancing evaluation and assessment of services); at supporting the development and mainstreaming of the case management approach introduced by some local homelessness units (Baptista, 2013) to ensure that an individual's unique needs are addressed and long-term solutions found; and at providing a wide range of permanent accommodation solutions, including a direct link with the "New Generation of Housing Policies"[4], for the financing of solutions aiming at preventing homelessness arising from institutional discharge, or severe housing need, and aiming at supporting Housing First or other housing led programmes. Although it is not possible to say that the ENIPSSA introduces a

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3 The main intervention axes and strategic objectives are included in the Annex.

4 This new government strategy aims at re-orienting public policies in the field of housing by focusing on promoting universal access to adequate housing, mainly by responding to the main housing sector challenges, such as increasing the share of public supported housing and reduce pressure in the rental sector. Available at https://www.portugal.gov.pt/download-ficheiros/ficheiro.aspx? v=95621259-fdd4-4099-82f3-2ff17c522882

decisive shift into housing first/housing led "solutions" to homelessness, it is possible to observe a clear institutional – and financial – commitment from national public housing authorities towards enabling access to permanent housing solutions by the promotion of state programmes aimed at promoting access to permanent accommodation for homeless people. This is the first time that such initiative stems from central state authorities in the housing area. This area also advocates other actions aiming at supporting homeless people in achieving autonomy and full citizenship, such as the development of skills and access to training and employment, access to social protection, access to all levels of health care, and access to specialized support for migrants.

The inclusion of a third autonomous axis aiming at strengthening coordination, monitoring and evaluation mechanisms was considered essential during the drafting stage, given the complexity of the tasks involved and the lessons learnt from the hindrances experienced during the 2009-2015 implementation stage of the first National Strategy.

At this level, it is important to mention that the governance structure of the ENIPSSA has now been significantly strengthened. In fact, the new structure incorporates both "older" elements and new additions as regards the 2009-2015 National Strategy:

- the Interinstitutional Group composed of public and private non-profit organisations, known as the GIMAE will preserve the older composition and incorporate an important new element in its composition – representatives of the local homelessness units (NPISA) from different areas of the country; it will continue to operate on a dual level, i.e. through the executive group and the enlarged commission and will continue to be coordinated by the Institute for Social Security (ISS);
- the Interministerial Committee is a new governance structure, where all ministries are represented, which is responsible for ensuring that the definition, linkages and implementation of public policies in their respective area of government are aligned with the objectives and goals of the strategy in relation to homelessness; it is presided by the Minister for Labour, Solidarity and Social Security;
- the Consultative Committee which is an advisory board composed by entities or individuals with relevant experience and/or knowledge in the area, namely researchers and people with experience of homelessness.

The role of the Interministerial Committee may prove crucial in ensuring the actual implementation of measures in the ENIPSSA's action plans which cut cross the different governmental areas. According to the Resolution of the Council of Ministers (2017), the Commission should "ensure the definition, articulation and operationalization of public policies, setting up in a convergent way the objectives, resources and strategies among the different entities which are responsible to implement policy and action measures addressing homelessness".

The ENIPSSA will be implemented according to bi-annual action plans that are prepared by the GIMAE, submitted for the approval to the Interministerial Committee and validated by the Ministry for Labour, Solidarity and Social Security.

The first bi-annual action plan of the ENIPSSA covers 2017 and 2018. It was prepared by the GIMAE executive group following direct consultation to all the organisations integrating the enlarged GIMAE, and to all the local homelessness units. The 2017-2018 Action Plan was approved at the end of November 2017 (GIMAE, 2017).

It includes a total of 76 actions aiming at operationalizing the strategic objectives of the ENIPSSA according to the three intervention axes mentioned above. The Action Plan also includes a detailed map identifying the main outcomes for the period 2017-2018 according to the different strategic objectives and the budget for the two years, identifying the direct and indirect costs associated to the development of the foreseen activities. A total of €66 million is foreseen for the implementation of the ENIPSSA during the two-year period.[5]

One of the main hindrances identified in the first Portuguese homelessness strategy had been the lack of a clear allocation of resources and a vague commitment from public authorities regarding funding. Although progress has been made in the present process, the Action Plan document recognizes that such budgeting exercise was not possible in all areas, thus demanding further efforts as regards the need for future assessment and improvements.

First implementation steps

Following the re-activation of the GIMAE in early 2017 and the decision to prepare a new homelessness strategy, it was possible to observe successive positive developments which may be crucial to ensuring baseline conditions for a successful operationalisation of the strategy.

These developments include: a) the strengthening of the representation of the local homeless units within the governance structure of the GIMAE; b) the setting up and operation of several internal working groups directly focusing on specific

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5 The €2,500 million allocated by the Institute for Housing and Urban Rehabilitation (IHRU) aiming at promoting access to permanent housing covers the 4-year period of the ENIPSSA.

areas of the strategy (e.g. communication, training, intervention, and monitoring and evaluation); c) the approval of the internal regulations of the strategy's governance structures; and d) the setting up and operation of the strategy's main governance structures.

The implementation of these first stages of the 2017-2018 Action Plan has been coordinated by the Institute for Social Security, which is the governmental body responsible for the overall coordination of the strategy and has involved the active participation of a wide range of public (e.g. ministries, public institutes, local authorities) and private (e.g. NGOs, research institutes) stakeholders.

There has been a wide range of initiatives devoted to ensuring effective participation of a different range of stakeholders (e.g. national, local, public and private) both for the drafting stage and for this initial implementation period. These included several meetings involving both the coordination of the ENIPSSA and the GIMAE, the local homelessness units (NPISA), the district departments of the Institute for Social Security, and local authorities.

Moreover, the Institute for Social Security has regained an activating and nurturing role in coordinating the operation of the overall strategy, which had been one of the success factors in the drafting process of the 2009-2015 strategy; conversely, the fading away of such responsibility strongly contributed to major failures registered in the implementation, monitoring and evaluation stages of the 2009-2015 strategy (Baptista, 2013).

The operationalization of several activities foreseen in the 2017-2018 Action Plan have been achieved through strong involvement and participation of those different level stakeholders, either through the regular functioning of the two structures of the GIMAE, through the regular activity of the four working groups devoted to different areas of the operationalization of the ENIPSSA, and through the direct consultation with other relevant stakeholders at the regional or local level.

By the end of March 2018, it was possible to identify some progress in the attainment of several activities that contribute to different strategic objectives under the three ENIPSSA major intervention axes. These include:

1. Knowledge, information and awareness-raising

    a. Preparation and launching of an on-line survey aimed at identifying the actual scope of the use of the homelessness definition by the local networks, the existence and characteristics of local information systems (e.g. type of data collected, collection system used, access to data, timing), and estimated number of homeless people registered by the local network according to the ETHOS typology;

b. Elaboration and dissemination of an information leaflet on the ENIPSSA's official definition of homelessness;

c. Setting up, launching and regular updating of a dedicated ENIPSSA webpage[6];

d. Raising awareness among local social networks of the importance of setting up local homelessness units; and

e. Preparation of the strategy's communication/dissemination plan.

2. Strengthening intervention planning and practices

a. Definition of a training framework;

b. Identification of training and capacity-building needs among the local homelessness units;

c. Adaptation of the training framework aiming at the development of a training programme;

d. Setting-up of a trainers' database;

e. Organisation of the first national seminar of the local homelessness units (NPISA);

f. Supporting the strengthening of existing NPISA structures;

g. Defining the criteria for the establishment of NPISA at the local level, through direct consultation with the existing NPISA;

h. Organising regular meetings between the NPISA and the GIMAE; and

i. Meetings held between the ENIPSSA coordination and the Secretary of State for Housing, aiming at defining a protocol of collaboration for the funding of permanent housing solutions.

3. Coordination, monitoring and evaluation

a. Preparing the ENIPSSA proposal and ensuring its approval as a legally binding document;

b. Proposing the creation of a new structure representing the different ministerial areas;

c. Preparing and ensuring the approval of the regulations of the different bodies which incorporate the ENIPSSA structures (e.g. GIMAE executive commission, enlarged GIMAE, Consultative Committee);

6 www.enipssa.pt/

d. Direct consultation with the NPISA for the identification of potential constraints for the operationalization of the ENIPSSA's activities;

e. Strengthening the representation of the NPISA within the GIMAE structures, based on a proposal by the existing NPISA representatives; and

f. Preparation of the interim evaluation report of implementation of the 2017-2018 Action Plan.

Conclusion

In early 2009, the launch of the first homelessness strategy represented a breakthrough in the Southern European approach to talking homelessness. Yet, evidence from across Europe (Benjamin and Dyb, 2010; Sahlin, 2015; Baptista, 2016) had already shown that the potential for change created by the adoption of homelessness strategies was facing various complexities.

Eight years later, the Portuguese state re-engaged in providing a new impetus to a strategic approach to homelessness by mobilising and "refreshing" former participatory mechanisms that played a central role in pooling existing expertise and knowledge and capacity to critically assess the previous trajectory. Moreover, the mobilization of political support at the highest level has pushed the policy making process forward and ensured high public visibility of homelessness in the Portuguese society.

Lessons learnt from the implementation of the 2009-2015 National Strategy were an important starting point for the re-launching of the present policy making process, namely as regards the recognition of both positive features to build upon (e.g. local level progress in addressing homelessness, development of localized information systems, increasing support towards housing-led approaches, continued commitment of public and private stakeholders towards a strategic approach to homelessness), and persistent hindrances to overcome (e.g. a narrow understanding of homelessness, lack of consistent data and relative paucity of research on homelessness, little investment in the regular revision of policies based on independent evaluations, and difficulties in the allocation of adequate funding to sustain the implementation of foreseen measures).

The ENIPSSA 2017-2023 has the ambition to deliver on a wide range of areas that are key to achieve a sustainable strategy to address homelessness, where access to permanent housing has gained a strengthened role through the promotion of housing led and/or housing first initiatives. Moreover, the Strategy is now embedded in a legal framework, which is expected to enhance accountability in implementation of the foreseen measures. The three main axes of the ENIPSSA

cover strategic dimensions where progress is to be achieved, such as the strengthening of an evidence-based approach which will foster a better understanding of the phenomenon; the mobilization of all stakeholders, namely service providers, public authorities at the central, regional and local level in policy development, implementation and evaluation; the concretization of a multi-dimensional approach on preventing and tackling homelessness, integrating housing, health, education, training, employment and migration services; mainstreaming intervention methodologies (e.g. case management approach); promoting quality in the delivery of homelessness services; fostering the development of coordinated partnerships at the local level (NPISA), in a stronger position to tackling homelessness; and reinforcing responsibility and accountability in the multi-level governance structures of the ENIPSSA.

The fulfilment of the strategic objectives announced by the ENIPSSA – and in the short-term by the Action Plan 2017-2018 – is an ambitious task. Political and organizational developments appear to be clearly aligned with such ambition and progress has been achieved in recent implementation steps. However, it is vital that such commitment encounters the necessary conditions – namely in terms of human and financial resources – which will turn re-gained expectations into actual change in the delivery of homelessness policies in Portugal. The European Commission's concern on the need to tackle homelessness voiced explicitly through the European Semester process (EC, 2017), which occurred concomitantly with some of these developments, may contribute to strengthen national ambition to deliver positively in this area.

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Research Notes

Part D

Housing First Elements Facilitating Resilience in Clients with Addictions in the Hábitat Programme: a Qualitative Study

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Abstract_*Four years after launching Hábitat Housing First programme, some questions arise from the intervention. As Housing First principles state, dealing with addiction crises at home allows service users to reduce harm in a safe place. The aim of this paper is to identify personal and interpersonal skills, as well as strategies to deal with addiction crises. Three case managers, two service evaluators and the technical director of the programme participated in a qualitative research, based on a focus group discussion, to share their views about three cases of the programme representative of clients' strategies to confront a recidivism crisis. Results show that several Housing First components foster an empowering climate that facilitate managing addictions. Policy recommendations include offering person-centred and housing based services to people with addiction issues in order to promote self-efficacy and develop individual skills to deal with relapses. Overall, this paper illustrates that non-coercive interventions are effective to reduce substance abuse while addressing homelessness.*

Keywords_*Housing First, resilience factors, harm reduction, substance abuse*

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Introduction

The Spanish Comprehensive National Strategy for the Homeless reported an estimate of 33,275 homeless people in Spain. According to the Strategy, 23,000 of those individuals were using the support services provided for the homeless, while the other 10,000 slept rough, an estimate based on the night counts conducted by municipalities across the country (MSSSI, 2016). According to data presented in the Strategy on substance use among people experiencing homelessness collected by the National survey to homeless people in 2012, 44% (n=10,120) of homeless people used alcohol (from drinking a little to drinking excessively) and 37% (n=8,567) used drugs (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2012). This survey is only applied to people using the support services, so it is probable that the actual number as well as the percentage of people using substances among the 10,000 rough sleepers are higher.

Over recent decades, the main responses to homelessness in Spain have been based on a "*Linear Residential Treatment system of care"* (hereinafter, *LRT*). The general aim of this system of care is to "rehabilitate" people experiencing homelessness by promoting gradually what is considered greater individual autonomy and thus providing less professional control over service users' lives. This solution emphasizes the containment of people and provides systematic re-housing of service users through their participation in a continuum of programmes geared towards independent living. In this containment logic, alcohol or drug use is one of the commonly cited reasons for the expulsion of service users from support programmes. As an example, a study carried out by RAIS about homelessness and the social welfare system in the Spanish region of Andalusia showed that 52% of the services had expelled people because of substance use (RAIS, 2017). Other existing research shows that even when the containment logic can deliver positive results for some, the insistence on abstinence can be an insurmountable barrier for many people experiencing homelessness (Tainio and Fredriksson, 2009).

The Housing First model

The Housing First model appeared at the beginning of the 1990s as a radical transformative proposal from professionals and researchers who believed that a change of paradigm in support services for homeless people was needed. The fact that the existing support system was leaving the most chronic profiles of homelessness behind was the main reason for this current of change. The Housing First model proposed immediate access to housing and supports based on a set of key principles, which included a harm reduction and non-coercive approach and service users' control over the service.

Housing First considers people experiencing homelessness as active individuals with rights and dignity (Tsemberis, 1999). Housing First considers the correlation between the support needs, the context and the characteristics of individual. This approach encourages people to discuss addiction problems without the risk of losing their house or support services, in order to help the whole person. Housing First's growing body of research has shown that the use of this methodology is related to significant improvements for people experiencing homelessness, specifically in housing retention and access to health care. It has also shown positive results in mental health, addiction and quality of life indices (Bretherton and Pleace, 2015). The final aim of Housing First regarding substance use is to offer the best potential conditions in which participants with substance addictions can develop greater resilience capabilities, which are known to help individuals overcome adverse (internal or external) stimuli and to respond better to crises associated with addictions (Southwick *et al.*, 2014).

Results of Housing First on substance use

The Housing First model is grounded in the idea that harm reduction is an effective approach to tackle problematic drug and alcohol use. Although this model has been mainstreamed in many Northern European countries, it is still not commonly implemented across Europe. Previous research has demonstrated that harm reduction can be more effective with people experiencing homelessness with multiple needs than traditional services that require abstinence or promote detoxification (Pleace, 2008). It is posed that "a holistic intervention addressing all the causes and consequences of drug and alcohol use is central to the harm reduction philosophy. Equally, harm reduction seeks to persuade and support people to modify drug and alcohol use that causes them harm" (FEANTSA, 2016).

However, the corpus of research on the results of Housing First for individuals that have substance use problems remains limited (Mericle and Grella, 2016; Cherner *et al.*, 2017), especially research projects based on a longitudinal randomised controlled trial methodology. Research that includes a comparison group generally finds little or no differences between Housing First and Traditional Care Treatments addiction outcomes (Tsemberis *et al.*, 2004; Padgett *et al.*, 2006; Tsai *et al.*, 2010; Tsai *et al.*, 2012; Stergiopoulos *et al.*, 2015; Aubry *et al.* 2016; Cherner *et al.*, 2017). However, some studies have found a reduction in substance use (Padgett *et al.*, 2011), and a decrease in the number of days of alcohol use (Kirst *et al.*, 2015). Other Housing First studies –without a control group– found improvements in outcomes both for alcohol (Larimer *et al.*, 2009; Collins *et al.*, 2012) and drugs use (Mares and Rosenheck, 2010). However, there is still scarce research on individual processes and factors operating behind these results. The

vast majority of studies centre on quantitative methodology and fidelity outcomes, but there is hardly any research on specific interventions beyond general principles of the model (e.g., Clifasefi *et al.*, 2016).

Description of the Hábitat programme and Research on Substance Use

RAIS launched the Housing First *Hábitat* programme in 2014 with 28 clients in Malaga, Barcelona and Madrid. At the beginning of 2018, Habitat provides individual housing and support to over 200 clients in several cities across eight Spanish regions.

Hábitat aims at people experiencing chronic homelessness and presenting concurrent exclusion factors: mental health issues, addictions or disabilities. 72.1% (n=20) of the initial clients of the service were referred as having an addiction issue. *Hábitat* uses a harm reduction approach and its clients are not obliged to adhere to sobriety or abstinence nor to adhere to a substance use treatment. Only with their agreement, would the ICM team facilitate their starting a treatment in a suitable service existing in the community.

The programme is currently being evaluated through a randomized longitudinal evaluation, including an experimental group (EG) and a control group (CG) using LRT services (Bernad *et al.*, 2016a; 2016b). The comparative results of a pilot trial evaluation conducted with the initial group, showed an improvement and better results in most of the evaluated areas for the EG than for the CG. An example relevant for this research, while at month 0, 46.2% (n=12) of clients in EG and 48.0% (n=27) of clients in CG referred having had a telephone contact with her/his family in the previous month; at month 24, only 34.6% in the CG had had a telephone contact, while the amount had increased to 64.0% among *Hábitat´*s clients. Similarly, at month 0, only 8.0% (n=2) of service clients and 19.2% (n=11) of people in the CG had spent some time with someone from her/his family in the previous month. At month 24, 36.0% of service clients had spent some time with a relative in the previous month, while only 15.4% of people in the CG had done it.

Aiming at exploring specific areas of the Housing First model, RAIS carried out a research between 2016 and 2017 with the support of the Spanish National Plan for Drugs, to investigate the ways in which the Housing First model could better promote skills to confront addictions crises and particularly the development of resilience among Housing First service users (Bernad *et al.*, 2017). This paper presents the main qualitative results of this research.

Research questions and objectives

The general aim of the study was to identify personal and interpersonal skills, as well as strategies to confront addiction crises. Resilience skills and their development (Kotliarenco *et al.*, 1997) were the base for conceptualizing the research framework, and the research questions were:

- Does a Housing First intervention favour the development of resilience skills and abilities that promote the recovery processes of people with substance use issues?
- Is access to and stability of housing in a Housing First intervention a driver to abstinence and/or harm reduction processes?

Based on the research questions, the specific objectives of the study were:

- To analyse personal and interpersonal skills and strategies which clients in the *Hábitat* programme used to confront recidivism crisis; and
- To analyse the elements of the Housing First model which may promote the use of resilience skills towards achieving abstinence and/or to confront relapses or harm reduction processes.

Methodology

The research was conducted using a qualitative design based on the collection and analysis of information about the processes of clients who were active users of alcohol or other substances when entering the *Hábitat* programme. The information was collected and discussed on a focus group as explained below.

Selection of research cases and participants

The programme intervention team (n=9 case managers) together with the programme technical coordinator, who led the research, selected in a meeting three out of a total number of twenty cases of clients who had an active addiction when entering the programme. The cases were selected as being the most representative (Gobo, 2004) of: 1) different strategies used by clients, and of 2) levels of success in managing a recidivism crisis. The selected cases, characterized in table 1, were:

- AHAH – Abstinence after approximately 30 years using alcohol,
- RAZA – Ongoing alcohol abuse on a harm reduction situation,
- ANHU– Coping with a recidivism crisis during a 12-months abstinence period.

Table 1. Sociodemographic characteristics of the participants.

Participant	Gender	Age	Nationality	Homelessness trajectory (years)	Months in the programme when crisis occurred	Outcome of crisis management
AHAH	Male	54	Bulgaria	8	22	Extinction
RAZA	Male	54	Lithuania	8	4	Harm reduction
ANHU	Male	35	Pakistan	5	7	Confronted relapse

As per the focus group, it was composed by: the Technical director of the service (who facilitated the discussion), the three case managers of the selected cases, and two Research and evaluation officers responsible for the evaluation of the service (n=6).

Research instruments

An ad-hoc designed instrument called *EACA* (Strategies to Confront an Addiction Crisis) was used to collect pre-post information and experiences of clients who confronted an addiction crisis. The *EACA* was built considering the usual resilience factors mentioned in the scientific literature, specifically on people experiencing homelessness, and also the intervention and crisis management skills of the service professionals. The *EACA* collects and structures the information on several **Individual development factors** (self-determination; identity; stigmatisation; internal locus of control; ability to use own resources; satisfaction with achievements; humour; contact with people experiencing homelessness; building new social relationships; helping other peers) and also **Supportive programme factors** (active, non-judgemental listening; proportional support; provision of housing and coverage of basic needs; intervention strategies on addictions). This instrument is available upon request.

Information about the evolution of the 3 clients collected through their individual intervention follow-up instrument (RQR) was also used. The RQR focuses on 8 different areas: health (consciousness and management of health state; identifying and avoiding behavioural risks), leisure activities (identifying and expanding interests and hobbies, participation in leisure activities at individual, group and community level), personal development (self-control and relational skills), functioning and dependence (functional autonomy in daily life such as the ability to make decisions and organization skills), education and employment (labour abilities, education and skills, employment situation, performance at employment); socio-relational (development of social skills and family relations), access to basic needs (access to resources and economic benefits), citizenship and participation (relations with social environment and community network).

Procedure

The case managers for the three selected cases completed an *EACA* questionnaire per case. Participants of the focus group received the *EACA* of the three cases and also the evolution of the three clients and team intervention details as collected in the *RQR* instrument. They were asked to identify the Individual development factors and Supportive programme factors as previously detailed which may have operated in the processes and strategies used by clients and case managers to confront the crisis. The discussion of the focus group was structured based on those factors. It was audio-recorded and data confidentiality was ensured.

Data analysis

Emerging themes from the focus group discussion were coded and analysed by the research leader (the programme Technical director) through a thematic analysis based on the categories of the *EACA* questionnaire as seen in table 2. This analysis was then shared and discussed with one of the Research and evaluation officers who participated in the focus group in a discussion.

Table 2. Individual and programme factors categorization

Categories	Factors
Individual development factors	self-determination
	identity
	stigmatisation
	internal locus of control
	ability to use own resources
	satisfaction with achievements
	humour
	contact with people experiencing homelessness
	building new social relationships
	helping other peers
Supportive programme factors	active, non-judgemental listening
	proportional support
	provision of housing and coverage of basic needs
	intervention strategies on addictions

Quantitative data from the programme's aforementioned randomized trial were also used to support the interpretation of the several factors. The quantitative data will be not presented in this paper since its focus is on the findings of the qualitative research, but they can be found in the final report of this research (Bernad *et al.* 2017) or other publications (Bernad *et al.*, 2016a; 2016b).

Results of the qualitative research

The analysis of the focus group discussion resulted in the identification of a group of common relevant resilience factors operating in the recovery processes of *Hábitat's* clients, and also in the most relevant factors for the three cases analysed, as seen in table 3 below.

Table 3. Main factors identified in the client's processes.

Client	Factors
AHAH	active, non-judgemental listening contact with people experiencing homelessness satisfaction with achievements
RAZA	contact with people experiencing homelessness promotion of self-determination satisfaction with achievements ability to use available resources
ANHU	building new social relationships helping other peers ability to use available resources active, non-judgemental listening

These factors need to be understood in all the complexity that a bio-psycho-social systemic logic requires. Under this perspective, we will try to explain next some of the interconnections between these individual and programmatic factors and how they operated and influenced resilience skills in the processes of *Hábitat's* clients.

Individual development factors

Individual development factors are those individual skills which Hosuing First clients will operate to navigate their recovery process. In this process, the principle "consumer choice and control" (Tsemberis, 2010) will be the cornerstone of self-determination and self-determination will be the basis of recovery (Greenwood *et al.*, 2005). Self-determination has been defined as being the "primary causal agent in one's life and to make choices regarding one's actions free from undue external influence or interference" (Wehmeyer, 1992, p.305). Self-determination was identified in this research as one of the most relevant individual factors when confronting a relapse. ANHU's case manager explained self-determination in taking decisions and the support of the service to promote it like this: *I believe that the first choice he (ANHU) made was calling his brother. The second one was calling us (staff members). And, then, he made some decisions, but it was really difficult for him, I mean, we had to propose a range of options and then made a decision.*

Self-determination allows an internal locus of control of the recovery process (as defined in Rotter, 1966), which was identified in the focus group discussion as a crucial factor to confront the relapses and also as a differentiating factor between a Housing First intervention and a traditional one. More institutionalised support services, would lead people experiencing homelessness to develop a external locus of control or a "false internal locus of control". In those services, even the smallest decisions, such as what time the client will take a shower, are defined by the service. On top of that, a person fighting an addiction will be probably more prone to experience learned helplessness and low self-efficacy expectations and to relapse when facing the instability and unpredictability of the addiction. The de-institutionalising nature of a Housing First service allows that clients take charge of their own lives, promoting the development of a true internal locus of control.

This is reinforced by the unconditionality of a Housing First support, which implies that service users will not expect a reward/punishment from the staff members upon an action. Instead, users will need to assume that it is their own decisions which will generate good or bad consequences for themselves. This characteristic of the programme was mentioned as having significant relevance in the case of ANHU when he decided to maintain abstinence after a period of alcohol use.

In line with this, another factor outlined in the discussion was the satisfaction with achievements. In general, the ability to recognize successes and focusing on those rather than on failures was identified as a resilience factor favouring addiction-related improvement processes. The identification and self-recognition of achievements – even the small ones – rather than an intervention based solely on success or failure, was mentioned as a facilitator within the clients' strategies to confront the addiction relapses and to allow the definition of a positive identity. As his case manager put it: *Regarding his individual process, he (RAZA) admitted being satisfied and he was celebrating every step forward on his recovery process.*

The case manager explained that these celebrations helped RAZA to take relevant decisions favouring harm reduction, such as joining a counselling group. In doing so, RAZA showed the ability to use his own resources. However, as his case manager put it, he needed to receive "*emotional support too […] to reduce his feeling of guilt.*"

Reducing feelings of guilt by giving unconditional support to the service user will contribute to foster an empowering climate. The team members of the Hábitat programme acknowledged some strategies developed by clients to avoid these feelings when fighting the addiction. As AHAH's case manager explained: *I think that he (AHAH) anticipated everything what was coming: he gives his money to S. (a friend of him, and a services user too) to contain himself.*

On the other hand, it was noted as relevant the fact that RAZA did not develop new social relationships and kept in contact with previous acquaintances among people experiencing homelessness. RAZA referred avoiding contact with those acquaintances firstly, but since he had not developed new relations, he ended up experiencing feelings of solitude in his new home. When those feelings became too strong, he would return to drinking alcohol in company of previous friends, and that covered up those feelings. In RAZA, the tensions of the process of rebuilding a self-identity were very present. This tension was explained like this by his case manager: *He (RAZA) kept in touch with homeless people he knew, in fact, he invited some of them to stay at home for a while. Once he started an abstinence process, he has told us that he didn't want to keep in touch with them anymore because they prompt him to drink.* This tension was accentuated by the lack of meaningful activities or of new social relations that substituted previous ones linked to his addiction. RAZA's case manager mentioned that the trustful relation with the team members was one of the main supporting resources that the client used during that process.

In contrast to RAZA's strategies, AHAH expressed that avoiding contact with people experiencing homelessness was one of the main facilitators for abstinence. He decided to avoid contact when he stopped drinking alcohol. AHAH found powerful motivators for maintaining abstinence in new social relations that he established in the community and becoming friend with a service client who had successfully confronted an addiction. As expressed by his case manager: *I think that S. (the other service client) has been a motivator for him (AHAH).* On top of that, the case manager mentioned that AHAH's objectives of travelling to Bulgaria and taking care of his dental health had been two essential drivers for achieving abstinence.

Helping other people was mentioned as an effective instrument to develop a positive identity which will help to confront relapses and to build relations in the community. AHAH reported admiring his friend S. because of his ability to help people in a worse situation. He also outlined that this characteristic was crucial to gain control over his addiction and to create new goals to achieve in his life.

These same elements were discussed for the case of ANHU. Although he kept in touch with services for the homeless, he assumed a different role compared to his homeless trajectory: he started volunteering for other people experiencing homelessness. ANHU had assumed the responsibility of migrating and supporting his family financially, but since his arrival to Spain, he had only interacted with people experiencing homelessness. This led him to building a new identity based on negative assumptions about himself. ANHU told his case manager that he had found a powerful motivator not only to fight the addiction but to rebuild an identity in a new romantic relationship with a neighbour.

ANHU articulated these supporting resources to confront his crisis. His case manager explained that when he relapsed ANHU first called his brother in Greece looking for help (his brother subsequently came to stay with him) and then called the service team. Once those supports were assured, he also joined psychotherapy and seeked support from his neighbour throughout the process. These actions had never been done before by ANHU when coping with a relapse, and are a good example of how the ability to use and control the client's own available resources.

Supportive programme factors

Supportive programme factors would be those elements of a Housing First service that facilitate the strategies developed by clients themselves to navigate their recovery process. The possibility of being listened without feeling judged in an active listening space was mentioned as one of the most important factors.

Service professionals highlighted the genuine relationship established between the clients and their case managers. The weekly visits of case managers to clients were conceptualized as moments characterised by healthy, adult and open relationships. This type of relationship based on an active, non judgemental listening was exemplified by the case of ANHU as explained by the case manager: only after confronting the addiction relapse 7 months after entering the service, he revealed a stressful vital event from the past. The team had been building a safe active listening space from ANHU's admission to the service. When the relapse occurred and he noticed that the team did not judge him, he felt like sharing that traumatic past experience with them, which would be a key element to work on for his recovery process.

The case managers also identified that active listening was important not only to provide support to confront the relapse, but also to validate the clients' emotions. ANHU's case manager said: "*Clearly, the most important support we gave to ANHU was respecting the times of his individual recovery process"*, while RAZA's case manager said: *"I think that RAZA has connected (with his emotions) because he saw that there was another person to validate his feelings".*

Active listening was important to develop what was described as a horizontal relationship with the client. That allowed to personalize support to be proportional to the level of autonomy of the client. Providing support proportional to the client's capacities was mentioned as important factor to promote self-determination in managing the addiction and the recovery process. The case managers explained that *Hábitat* is based on the client's exploration and identification of their individual needs and strengths, therefore avoiding standardized responses and any unnecessary support. Building on that, professionals based their interventions on the "actions" that the person made to address (or not) an addiction.

The team members explained that the proportional support started by respecting the clients' pace in their own processes, and that they were consistently supported by being heard at all times. This implied that clients did not receive support based on prearranged itineraries. As RAZA's case manager explained, being attentive to the client's process indicated when to increase or decrease the number of visits in accordance with his skills and needs: "*The number of visits increased a lot when he (RAZA) began to attend a drug addiction centre and, then, in relapses or crises, phone calls increased a lot".* Other strategies where used by the team to complement proportional support, so for example motivational interviewing was mentioned as a helpful instrument to help RAZA find the best way to address his needs and make decisions when he felt tired. These complementary approaches promote client's leadership and self-determination and facilitates the reconstruction of the identity and vital purpose.

Within this "proportionality" framework, promoting the clients' ability to use their own resources was discussed as a fundamental intervention strategy. Service professionals explained that their purpose was to generate an empowering environment in which the clients operated their own resources to address their needs. The intervention aims at helping the client to identify individual skills and competences (e.g. persistence, social abilities, etc.), allies in his/her support network (family, friends, neighbours, etc.), and other support resources in the wider community (e.g. health care or addiction treatment services, leisure opportunities, etc.).

All these elements are understood by the service as a system of resources with which the client can continuously and simultaneously interact to confront an addiction crisis. The support from AHAH's partner and his family and from ANHU's brother and larger family were basic elements in their strategy to cope with the crisis, which his case manager remarked: "*ANHU maintains weekly contact (with his family), even more than once (a week)"*. In the case of RAZA, the appointments with the family doctor, the therapeutic community and the support groups were essential for his harm reduction process. His case manager explained that: "*He began paying attention and going to his medical appointments at the addictions' treatment centre".*

Another important factor of the Housing First model mentioned by the group was the security provided by the home and coverage of basic needs. The ontological security provided by a home and the coverage of the basic needs allow people to dedicate their resources and energy on other issues that they consider necessary to solve (Busch-Geertsema, 2014). As the case managers expressed:

> *"Yes, he (AHAH) clearly says that he couldn't quit drinking or start a recovery process while being homeless."*

> *"(ANHU) says that if he had been homeless, the crisis would have lasted longer because now he has a security zone, a place to rest when needed."*

In this sense, one of the challenges that team members had to confront was to make clients understand that they did not need to "gain" their home by being abstinent or committing to a medical treatment. This is important because clients tended to reproduce the same patterns they used when they were homeless. Instead, the Housing First model entails an intervention that gives responsibility back to the users (Bernad *et al.* 2016; Bernad *et al.*, 2017). This was not the case for RAZA and may have also had an impact in the process of fighting the addiction. As his case manager noted: "*I observed that he (RAZA) understood that housing was unconditional, he was never worried about that […] it was not necessary to remind this to him".*

From a broader perspective, having a home allows not only a sense of stability and ontological security, but also the emergence of citizenship awareness and the rebuilding of the person's social network. As shown in a study by Ornelas *et al.* (2014), it is usual that Housing First clients start using other community resources after entering the service, such as local health centres, local social services, neighbourhood organisations and local city councils. Being able to participate in the community and to establish social relations that provide comfort and support in daily life will promote the beginning of a new life and the development of a vital purpose. This transformative process encourages the transition from being "in a lodging resource" to being citizens that draw relationships from his or her environment.

As explained by his case manager, "*after entering the (Hábitat) programme, ANHU continued to attend frequently – twice a week – the day centre where he was before, and he followed the same pattern, that is, he said that he was attending (the day centre) to use the computer, having some companionship, etc."*. But after confronting the relapse, he moved onto a different role and started volunteering at the service.

Using an ecological and recovery-oriented point of view, participation in a community and integration involves helping service users to move out of their "patient roles", treatment centres, segregated housing arrangements, and isolation. This sense of "fitting in" the community and a "normalized" access and use of community resources, as any other citizen would do, encourage the effective integration of the person, allowing to build relations with neighbours, and other connections with the wider community. This new approach aims to promote independence, illness self-management, and a new life for people (Carling, 1995; Nelson *et al.*, 2001).

Conclusions

The objectives of the present study were twofold:

- To analyse personal and interpersonal skills and strategies which clients in the *Hábitat* programme used to confront recidivism crises; and
- To analyse the elements of the Housing First model which may promote the use of resilience skills towards achieving abstinence and/or to confront relapses or harm reduction processes.

The *Hábitat* programme has allowed formerly homeless people to experience improvement in their individual dignity, human rights and self-perception. From the group discussion, the programme seems to work well due to its holistic and ecological perspective. In line with previous research (Tsemberis, 1999; Tsemberis, 2010), having stable access to a home and receiving flexible and propotional support from the service promote clients' development their self-determination and self-efficacy.

Consequently, the supportive programme factors provided by the Housing First service would be positively influencing the recovery process and their ability to confront the addictions through the improvement of individual skills and development factors (MacLeod, 2014).

From an ecological perspective, *Hábitat* creates an empowerment and recovery oriented transformational system, where the individuals are not only introduced to the community, but where they have the possibility to become an integral part of their environment (Nelson *et al.*, 2014). This is a complex community intervention that promotes multiple components and sectors across different ecological levels (e.g. system, community, programme, individual).

The "permanent supported housing" solution provided by the *Hábitat* programme, as in other Housing First programmes, is the cornerstone which allows service users to start a new life. As clients pointed out, the (re)building of support networks and fighting complex situations such as an addiction could not be accomplished without being at home. Likewise, the (re)establishment of these connections triggers a feeling of participation in the community that helps people to reclaim their own life's goals. Moreover, the promotion of independent scattered site housing fosters the creation of a link between the person and the community. These factors are fundamental to enhance self-determination and users' quality of life (Carling, 1995; Nelson *et al.*, 2001).

On the other hand, the process of identity reconstruction promoted in Housing First is surely one of the most delicate processes in people's recovery, especially when they are in situations of chronic homelessness with problems of addiction. Through

the elimination of some elements of traditional services (Tainio and Fredriksson, 2009), the Housing First model favours an active and real commitment of the person to fighting the addiction and to the recovery process. Housing First professionals foster the creation of an empowering environment which allows the client to take over his or her recovery process. In this sense, the Housing First Service provides users with personalised support that is inversely proportional to the degree of autonomy for the achievement of their objectives.

Considering these results, we want to highlight some conclusions related to the approach to addictions and homelessness with interventions based on a Housing First model:

- The principles of the Housing First model encourage the development of skills and abilities of the clients, which are essential to fight an addiction and for their general recovery processes.
- The support provided by the *Hábitat* programme –based on self-determination and control of the person– enables users to stay at home independently of their consumption (controlled or problematic), as has been demonstrated in earlier research (Patterson *et al.*, 2013).
- Housing access and stability by themselves encourage the initiation and development of people's recovery processes to a greater extent than traditional homelessness services (De Vet *et al.*, 2013; Tsemberis, 1999; Tsemberis, 2010).

Of course, the present paper is not free of limitations. Firstly, generalisation of results should be taken cautiously given the chosen methodology. Causal inferences cannot be drawn since it is not an experimental methodology, although it must be noted that generalisation was not our main goal. Implementing a qualitative methodology enable us to understand the complexity underlying a recovery process, including how a person develops his or her coping strategies. Secondly, it is worth mentioning that sample size was configured following specific criteria of staff members in accordance with research purposes. It is possible that a larger sample would have been useful to draw wider conclusions. However, "theoretical legitimacy" can be achieved even in non-probability samples (Gobo, 2004). Thirdly, designing an *ad-hoc* questionnaire for this research entails a methodological challenge because it is not still validated. Although this issue must be accounted for in future research, it should be noted that this instrument was only implemented to collect preliminary data about clients which facilitated the discussion of the focus group.

Based on these conclusions, and considering limitations, we believe that this study can be used as a helpful guide to understand resilience factors in clients of a *Housing First* programme. But, above all, substance use is shown not to be a valid

reason for eviction (United States Interagency Council on Homelessness, 2016). This research has demonstrated that individuals with problems of substance use are people just like anybody else, that can fight their addictions while living autonomously.

In the same vein, results offer some insights in designing future policy recommendations for people experiencing homelessness. Specifically, a harm reduction approach encourages service users to gain control over his or her situation and, therefore, they are more prone to develop resilience factors to prevent future relapses. Housing First approaches have consistently shown that providing a house and person-centred support services is an effective (and efficient) way to treat addiction problems. All this suggests that it would be interesting to promote further research on housing-led and person-centred services in programmes for the treatment of addictions.

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The Housing First for Families in Brno Trial Protocol: A Pragmatic Single-Site Randomized Control Trial of Housing First Intervention for Homeless Families in Brno, Czech Republic

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Abstract_*While the Pathways to Housing First (HF) model was designed for ending homelessness of individuals with complex needs, the use of a housing-led approach with families has been documented since late 1980s in the US. New target groups bring new demands on the knowledge base – to date, there has not been any Randomised Controlled Trial (RCT) on family HF intervention. This protocol describes the design of a Czech single-site demonstration of RCT with a treatment group of 50 families and presents results of statistical compliance testing of the treatment and control group at baseline. This project is a pragmatic, mixed methods, single-site field trial of the effectiveness of Housing First in Brno, Czech Republic randomised 150 participant homeless families, stratified by number of children, into treatment and control groups. Quantitative outcome measures are collected over a 12-month period and a qualitative process evaluation is being completed. Primary outcomes being measured include a decrease in time the family spent homeless, improvement in security of tenure, improvement of mental health of mothers, and decrease in the use of emergency health services.*

Keywords_*Housing first, Randomized Control Trial, homeless families, Czech Republic*

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Introduction

Family homelessness in the Czech Republic and in Brno

In 2015, the Czech government estimated there were 68,500 roofless and houseless people in the country, out of them 8,158 children and an additional 118,500 people including children in insecure or inadequate housing (MPSV, 2016). The number of households receiving government housing supplement tripled between 2010 and 2014, from 23,500 households to 74,000 (MPSV, 2015). In 2014, 8,900 families were receiving the housing supplement in hostels, shelters and institutions, and it is estimated that 80% of them were in temporary hostels (Kuchařová *et al*., 2015).

A family homelessness registry week was conducted in Brno, regional capital of Moravia, in April 2016. The survey found 421 families living in private hostels, shelters or other forms of homelessness (ETHOS). Experiencing a first housing crisis has been shown to be a path to long-term homelessness for two thirds of families in Brno; 92% of homeless families experienced long-term (more than six months) homelessness in their life for a median period of eight years, and only two families of the total number have been in homelessness for less than a year. Two thirds of the families were headed by Roma parent(s). Fifty percent of the families lived on a total area of less than 30m², and 70% of all families lived in less than 36m². If we focus on the area per person, about half of the families inhabit an area smaller than 7m² per family member. Twenty one percent of families lost stable housing after one of the parents experienced emotional, physical, psychological, sexual or other abuse. Unsuitable living conditions also coincide with long-term health and internal organ diseases: 35% of families report that some of them (or some of other family members) were facing chronic liver, kidney, stomach, lung or heart disease. Once homeless, these families are typically considered not fit for housing by both private and public landlords and have little access to housing, including municipal housing stock (Černá, Ripka and Pibilová, 2018).

Evidence from Housing First for families

Despite the growing evidence base for Housing First for individuals with complex needs in Europe (Geertsema, 2013; Bretherton and Pleace, 2015; Pleace *et al*., 2015; Bernard, Yuncal and Panadero, 2016; Buxant, 2016; Tinland *et al*., 2016), there are no European studies on ending homelessness of families through the Housing

First approach.[1] In contrast, there is long-standing evidence for Housing First and Rapid Re-Housing programs for families from a number of projects across the US. At the end of 1980s, several programs which aimed to secure fast access to housing for families leaving shelters started and all reported high housing retention rates: Beyond Shelter in Los Angeles, CA had an 88% retention rate after three years, Rapid Exit in Minnesota reported 85% retention after two years, or HomeStart in Illinois with 86% retention (Lanzerotti, 2004).

There has been an ongoing debate, as to whether the provision of housing (and rental assistance) is sufficient condition for ending family homelessness. Two studies financed by the Department of Housing and Urban Development gave some responses. Family Option Study was a randomized controlled trial testing three interventions (Rapid Re-Housing with financial assistance up to 18 months, priority assignment of housing subsidy without further support, and transitional housing program) and treatment as usual (TAU) on almost 2,300 randomly assigned families. The 36-month impact of priority allocation to housing subsidy compared to treatment as usual shows a decrease in incidence of homelessness, increase in living in own dwelling, no statistically significant impacts on institutionalization of children, decrease in psychosocial distress of mothers, improvement in children's sleep, improvements in behavioural problems of children and pro-social behaviour, decrease in employment and participation on training schemes, and better scores on economic distress scale (Gubits, 2016, pp.30–45). The evidence that affordable housing for families does not only end their homelessness, but also has a positive impact on other outcomes, is clear. The second study, Family Unification Program, offered housing subsidy with or without case management services to families at risk for parent-child separation. Additional case management services decreased the probability of out-of-home placement of children by 31%, lead to decrease in overcrowded conditions of families, improved inner housing quality, and lead to more neighbourhood problems. The results suggest that case management coupled with housing subsidy further improves outcomes of the families (Fowler *et al*., 2015). Further evidence of project outcomes are summarized by Bassuk *et al*. (2014).

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1 According to a recent review, there could be three main reasons for the gap: 1) family homelessness is quite a minority issue because of strong welfare regimes which strongly protect children, 2) family homelessness is less visible than homelessness of lone adult men with complex needs, and 3) women with children who are victims of male domestic violence are rather classified as clients of domestic violence services, than homeless services (Baptista *et al.,* 2017, 16–17). We would also add, that in the case of the Czech Republic the family homelessness problem used to be framed in ethnic terms as a problem of Roma families with housing, in the policy and media representation.

The results from pilots, established programs, research and evaluation has fed the policy debate in the US, and lead to the adoption of the HEARTH (Homeless Emergency Assistance and Rapid Transition to Housing) Act in 2009, and the Federal Strategic Plan to Prevent and End Homelessness "Opening Doors" in 2010, which both aim at ending homelessness through fast provision of housing. The Opening Doors plan set a target to end family homelessness by 2020 (USICH, 2010).

Description of the Family Housing First Project in Brno

Housing First for families with children in Brno, Czech Republic, provides a municipal flat, intensive case management, and deep housing subsidy for 50 families who were previously living in private hostels, shelters or other forms of homelessness (according to ETHOS). Pioneers of Housing First in Europe, HVO Querido Discus, trained the service provider IQ Roma Servis. The first families moved in in September 2016 and by May 2017, all 50 families were housed.

The research design is a pragmatic, single-site randomized controlled trial of Housing First for families, along with qualitative process evaluation. It is intended to provide policy-relevant evidence whether family homelessness of both Roma and non-Roma in the Czech Republic can be ended by a Housing First approach. The demonstration project includes funding for intensive case management provided by a local NGO, and coordination by the City of Brno. The families are assigned to municipal flats and are eligible for government housing allowance and housing supplement. Direct rent payment organized between the local Labour office and the landlord is preferred, and an emergency fund is set to assist in crises. The first participants were recruited in April 2016 and data collection is to be completed in summer 2018.

Main research question

The main research question is whether homelessness of both Roma and non-Roma families can be ended through direct provision of housing and intensive case management services based on a Housing First approach.

Objectives: primary and secondary objectives

Research aims include:

- to examine whether a Housing First intervention with intensive case management (ICM) model can be applied in the Czech Republic;
- to determine whether Housing First can be used for ending homelessness of 50 families in the city of Brno, Czech Republic, with a high housing retention rate after 12 months (80%), for its possible upscaling as a city-wide strategy to end family homelessness;

- to determine whether Housing First results in better outcomes than treatment as usual (TAU) for 50 homeless families living in Brno, Czech Republic, with respect to a) prevalence of homelessness; b) security of tenure; c) mental health state of primary carers/mothers; and d) the use of emergency health services by family members. Secondary outcomes include quality of housing, health and quality of life of families, social integration of parents, financial stability of families, reunification of families and prevention of institutionalization of children and school attendance of children; and
- to examine public expenditures on families enrolled in Housing First compared to TAU.

Purpose

The City of Brno, Czech Republic, which owns and controls access to 28,000 flats, approved a strategy to end family homelessness: to make it rare, short and non-recurring. Since 2016, outcomes of various traditional and experimental approaches have been tested. In this research, outcomes of Housing First for families are tested in 50 municipal flats. On a national level, the government strategy to fight social exclusion sets as one of its goals the movement of 6,000 families from hostels to standard housing by the end of 2020 (Vláda ČR, 2015).

Trial design

The trial is designed as a pragmatic, single-site, randomised, controlled, non-blinded, superiority trial of Housing First intervention for homeless families with two parallel groups. Randomization was performed as stratified randomization with a 1: 2 allocation ratio. Out of a population of 421 homeless families in Brno, 50 families are randomly assigned to a municipal flat and intensive case management in the Housing First model. The control group comprises 100 families from the same population. The participants were divided into strata according to the number of children in the family. The number of participants that were chosen from each stratum into the treatment group and control group was proportional to the population of 421 homeless families. Baseline survey was conducted with double blinding.

Qualitative process evaluation

The RCT is complemented with a qualitative process evaluation, consisting of semi-structured interviews with key implementation actors (such as social care officers, politicians, housing officers, experts on Housing First approach, project coordinator), focus groups with the treatment families, focus groups with the intensive case management (ICM) team and participatory multi-actor workshops. Individual interviews and focus groups with treatment families are held at the beginning and after a 12 month period of the project implementation. Focus groups with the ICM

team are conducted on a regular basis every four months (altogether six evaluation meetings). Two participatory multi-actor workshops are proposed, after a 6 and 12-month period of project implementation. The whole project team (Labour office workers, workers of the child protection unit, involved politicians, housing officers, floating support team, and social care officers) is involved.

Methods: Participants, Interventions, Outcomes

Study setting

The study takes place in Brno, Czech Republic. The city has a population of 380,000 and owns 28,000 flats. In April 2016, 421 homeless families were counted in the city during a census, living at shelters, temporary hostels, in overcrowded households and inadequate conditions. The families who live in inadequate housing with a standard tenancy are eligible for state housing allowance, which covers housing costs which exceed 30% of the household income, and if their residual income is not sufficient, they are also eligible for a housing supplement to reach living wage. There is no time limit for both the housing allowance and supplement. All other families who have other tenancy agreements (i.e. subletting contract or short-term accommodation contract) are entitled only for the housing supplement to reach living wage. Universal health-care is provided in the country, including mental health hospitals. The system of social services varies by location, in Brno there is a wide array of social service providers; in the case of homeless families, outreach social workers and leisure time activities are the most common. The state runs local child welfare services (socio-legal protection), and children's' institutions (infant care centres, children's' homes). Foster care is provided by both professional foster care services, and by family members.

Eligibility criteria

Inclusion criteria

1. Family – must have at least one child under 18 at the time of move-in. The child can also live in institutional or foster care at the time of assignment, but there must be a good expectation (granted by child welfare service) that the child/ren would be reunified with their parents if their housing situation improved.

2. Residing permanently or temporarily in Brno, Czech Republic, in April 2016.

3. Must have been counted during Family homelessness registry week (census) in April 2016 in Brno.

4. Must be homeless according to European Typology of Homelessness and Housing Exclusion (ETHOS) at the time of move-in.

A family without housing was defined as a family living in a shelter, hostel, in a flat with relatives/acquaintances or in a place with a high degree of uncertainty. Inappropriate housing was understood as living in an apartment where it was not possible to provide basic living needs (no functional toilet and bathroom and/or no food preparation space) and/or in extremely crowded apartments (less than 5m² per person); or in an apartment with poor conditions (extreme humidity, mould, non-functional heating). Definition of family also played an important role. For the census, family was defined as a nuclear family. Behind one door – in one "flat" – several families could live.

Exclusion criteria

1. Not being homeless at the time of census, assignment or move-in.
2. Not having a child under 18 at the time of census, assignment or move-in.

Interventions

The treatment consists of allocation of a municipal flat and intensive case management (ICM) in a Housing First program. The families are also eligible for deep universal housing subsidy, both in the treatment and control groups. The support team (seven full time workers including two peer workers) received training in intensive case management from HVO Querido Discus (strengths-based model) and underwent training in motivational interviewing.

The ICM team uses the following methods and techniques:

"Traditional" methods and techniques	Creative methods and techniques
Relationship building	Calendar of energy consumption (electricity, gas)
Advocacy of families´ interests	Move-In Celebration
Accompaniment of families	Peer work (workers who had experienced domestic violence, homelessness)
Counselling and advice provision (social benefits, debts, relationships)	Notification ritual (when allocating the flat)
Family case conferences within child protection unit	Mediation of neighbourhood relations
Mediation (helping with signing in children to primary schools and kindergartens)	Practical move-in support (help with furnishings, refurbishment, etc.)
Motivational interviewing	Audio-taping and team sharing of initial in-depth family assessment
Direct payment of housing allowance and housing supplement from Labour office to the landlord (City of Brno)	Matching (matching family with a key worker according to role typology[2], matching family with a flat)
	Initiation of fund to overcome financial crises leading to housing loss

[2] Role typology according to HVO Querido Discus: social worker as a friend, parent, conflict mediator, teacher, policeman, creative.

The treatment families are assisted through the whole moving in process and further supported in the flat. The families are informed they should meet their case manager approximately once a week. All families were strongly encouraged to establish direct payment of housing allowance to the landlord (City of Brno), and most did so. A fund was established to overcome unexpected financial crises. Allocation of financial gifts to family is assessed according to strict criteria: family must be indebted no more than one month of rent; provision of a gift would directly lead to extension of rent contract; and it can be allocated only once per family.

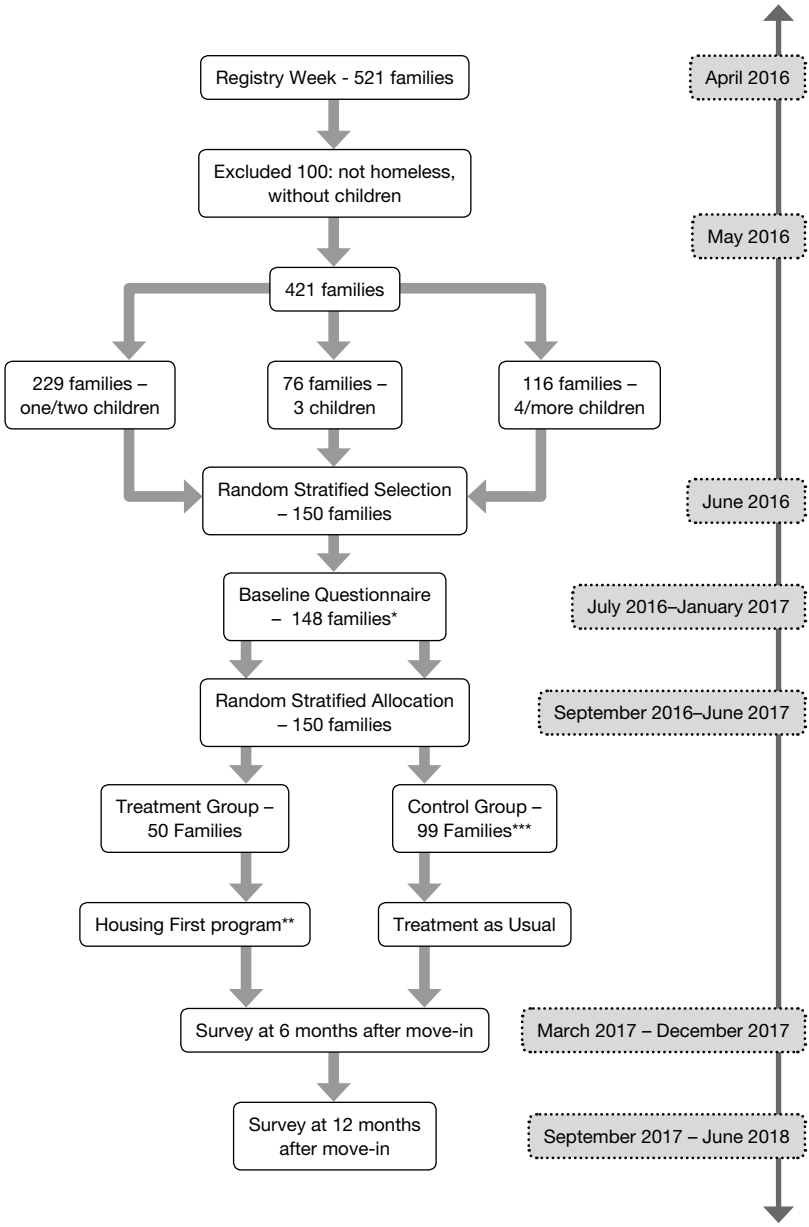
Outcomes

Expected primary and secondary outcomes were compiled based on The At Home/ Chez Soi trial protocol (Goering *et al*., 2011), research findings from family Housing First programs, and comparable RCTs.

	Outcome	Indicator	Measure
Primary outcomes	Decrease in time the family spent homeless	Number of months the family was homeless (according to ETHOS)	6-months survey: Evidence on places where the family lived last six months by month 12-months survey: Evidence of all places where the family lived by month since 05/2016
	Improvement in security of tenure	Subjective assessment of security of tenure	Answers to: "Do you think you will be able to stay here as long as you wish? "measured at 0, 6 and 12 months
	Improvement of mental health of mothers	Level of psychosocial distress	K-6 psychosocial distress scale measure at 0, 6 and 12 months
	Decrease in the use of emergency health services	Number of uses of emergency health service	Number of uses of emergency health services of all family members in last six months, measured at 0, 6 and 12 months
Secondary outcomes	Stability of housing	Number of moves in 6 months	Survey at 6 and 12 months
	Quality of housing	• Occurrence of problems connected to poor housing • Subjective assessment of housing quality	Survey range of poor housing problems measured at 6 and 12 months: Damp, mouldy, or water-damaged walls, ceilings or floors Lack of planks, tiles, linoleum or carpets in the floor, or if floors are twisted Large holes or cracks through which cold air and/or rain penetrate Does it smell like a sewer, gas or other unpleasant smell?

Secondary outcomes			In the last 3 months, has bathroom been heating up due to waste problems? Have you been without access to the toilet for more than 6 hours, during the past 3 months? In the last 3 months, did your electricity not work for more than 2 hours? On cold days, do you have heat oven or electric heaters? Cannot be heated with a pipe or oven In the last 3 months, was electricity cut? In the last 3 months, was water cut? Subjective assessment of housing quality at 6 and 12 months
	Improvement in health and quality of life of families	• Use of ambulance and hospitalizations • Subjective health assessment of parents • Subjective health assessment of children • Occurrence of asthma and injuries of children • Life satisfaction of mothers	Number of uses of ambulance and hospitalizations in last six months, assessed at 0, 6 and 12 months Assessment of children's health by parents during survey at 6 and 12 months Number of children's injuries and asthmatic attacks during last 6 months, measured at 0, 6 and 12 months Survey question "Overall, how satisfied are you with your life?" asked at 0, 6 and 12 months.
	Improvement in social integration of parents	• Level of anomia • Participation in community gatherings	Level of anomia measured by Srole scale at 0, 6 and 12 months. Survey question for participation at community gatherings measured at 0, 6 and 12 months
	Improvement in financial stability of families	• Amount of money the family lacks to cover basic goods and services • Number of days in month the family disposes cash	Survey question "How much do you lack each month to cover basic goods and services for the family?" at 0, 6 and 12 months Survey question "How many days before your salary don't you dispose of cash?" asked at 0, 6 and 12 months
	Reunification of families and prevention of institutionalization of children	• Number of children that came back from foster care or institutional care • Number of children institutionalized	Survey at 6 and 12 months.
	Improved school attendance of children	• Absenteeism of school children	Administrative data – school absenteeism of school children enrolled in the study at 12 months

Participant timeline



** Impossible to find 2 respondents*

*** Excluded: 1 family no longer willing to be in trial à substitute*

**** One family was excluded ex post (not homeless at baseline)*

Sample size

The treatment group size was given by the City of Brno, who assigned 50 municipal flats for the demonstration project. Because a high attrition rate was expected, an additional 100 families were randomized into the control group. The power shows that this sample size would give 82% probability to detect a standardized effect size of 0.5 between the treatment and control group at 5% significance level.

Recruitment

The Registry Week was a coordinated effort to find all homeless families in the City of Brno in the week of 18-24 April 2016, respectively in the following weeks. The census included all families that were identified by non-profit organizations, social workers or interviewed families themselves. All families had to meet the requirement of being homeless or living in insecure and/or inadequate housing. The triage tool VI-SPDAT was used to determine the extent and structure of family threats. The interviewing was based on a questionnaire with the help of an interviewer (60 volunteers and 40 employees of the Brno City Hall were involved) who read the individual questions and recorded the answers to the questionnaire. With only a few exceptions, all questions had a yes/no answer format. In total, 482 inquiries were conducted during the Registry Week. During the weeks following Registry Week, social services added several other families (the total number of inquiries was 521 households). The definition of families who were homeless or in insecure or inadequate housing was fulfilled by 421 families.

Assignment of Intervention

Allocation

The registry week found and described a total of 421 families in the City of Brno who were homeless and agreed to participate in the Housing First project and the accompanying research. These families also pre-agreed with the terms and conditions of the project, should they be were drawn into the treatment group (in addition to the offer of housing in the urban apartment, also cooperation with the social worker from IQ Roma Servis).

In June 2016, a lottery for random assignment of the families to control and treatment groups took place at a meeting of the Social and Health Commission of the Brno City Council with the presence of a notary. This was a stratified random selection based on several assumptions of the broader Rapid Re-Housing project team members. In total, three main factors were identified: the number of children in the family, ethnicity (in this case, attributed ethnicity) and the debt burden of the family. However, the research and evaluation team did not consider the data on the attributed ethnicity and debt ratio as sufficiently reliable, and therefore decided that the only criterion of stratification should be the number of children in the family

(currently living with parents or with the potential to move to new housing). The group of 421 families was divided into three sub-groups: 229 families with 1-2 children, 76 families with 3 children and 116 families with 4 or more children. Out of these groups, 27 families with 1-2 children, 9 families with three children and 14 families with four and more children were randomly assigned to the treatment group (50 in total) and 54, 18 and 28 families to the control group, respectively (100 in total). Ten additional alternates for the treatment group were drawn. Additional alternates for the control group were drawn in October 2016 by research team statisticians using randomization software (MU Brno), and into the treatment group by the Social and Health Commission of the Brno City Council.

Blinding

Given the obvious nature of the intervention, it was possible to use double blinding only at the baseline survey. Families and researchers filled the baseline questions without knowing which family is treatment and which family is control, and the families were informed that within two weeks, the city would tell them if they were selected for the treatment. Within two weeks, the families were visited by case managers and a city representative told them whether they were treatment or control. The 6 and 12 months follow up is non-blinded.

Data collection, management and analysis

The research team consists of three members, all formally trained in social scientific research. The team coordinates the data collection efforts during team meetings and project meetings with other project partners and coordinators as well as with the Scientific board. Researchers were also trained in questionnaire filling uniformity to ensure the validity of collected data. Each researcher will visit both treatment and control group families.

The survey is based on three waves of inquiry. The first wave takes place at baseline, before the treatment, and the results are summarized in a Baseline analysis. The second wave takes place after six months and the last wave twelve months after the start of the treatment (i.e. after move-in, see Participant Timeline section). All questionnaires passed piloting and their structure was also consulted on with the Scientific Council. Questionnaires are divided into several parts following the most important outcome indicators. The research team is interested in areas such as forms of homelessness, housing history, stability of current housing, social integration, anomia, level of psychosocial stress, etc.

Retention

Each family was asked for several contact details during the recruitment, including contact details of other people who are stably housed and who would know about the family if their contact details and residence changed. At the 6-month follow up,

all families are asked for contact details, but also for informed consent, so that administrative data from the Labour office (including their current residence, housing subsidy, social welfare payments), schools, and in the case of treatment group, even the data from IQ Roma service database could be gathered by the research team. All families are registered at the Labour office for welfare. Both treatment and control families are remunerated for participation in the research, and the payment increases over time (400, 500 and 600 CZK). The payment for one family interview was set to be equal to approximately eight minimum-wage hours.

Data Management

The data are coded into an SPSS matrix. Baseline data were entered twice and checked. Six and 12 month's data are entered once by one coder and checked for inconsistencies and outliers by a statistician. Verification of a random subset of data to identify missing or apparently erroneous values is performed. The data matrix is shared with the Scientific board of the project for checking and will be stored in statistical data repository of Czech Academy of Sciences.

Ethics and dissemination

Our institutions, funders, and Czech legislation do not require a formal process of ethical approval in social research. The research team approached scholars/researchers to form a Scientific Board where methodological and ethical issues are discussed. The Board meets bi-annually.

The random allocation procedure and associated ethical dilemmas were consulted on with community representatives, people with experience of homelessness, social workers, and Roma families at a meeting, prior to project application. The deputy lord mayor and the head officer for social affairs were present. It was agreed that it is better to fail in a lottery (random assignment) than to fail in a points system and feel responsible for one's own failure. A lottery was also considered more fair than other methods of housing allocation currently in use in Brno, and the rest of the country (based on auction or assessment of deservingness).

The dissemination process is secured through Political and Expert Boards. The Expert Board meets quarterly and consists of municipal officers and NGO representatives willing to create or modify social housing provision systems in their municipality. The Political Board is looking at dissemination of the Housing First approach through political lenses and consists of politicians willing to advocate or learn about this approach. The Political Board meets once a year.

The Research team produces evaluation reports, namely an Evaluation Plan, Analysis of Starting Setting, Evaluation Reports (1,2), Final Evaluation Reports, Analysis of Target Setting, and a Handbook of Innovation, that will be available online in Czech. The team aims to publish the results in scientific journals.

Statistical compliance testing of treatment and control group

The assignment of families to the control and treatment groups was random. However, given the small number of families (50 and 100), it is important to prove that families in the treatment and control groups are not statistically different in any significant respect. If the groups are not statistically different before the intervention, later differences between groups do not arise from the original selection but from the intervention.

Baseline data was used to test statistical differences. At a 10% level, we did not find a statistically significant difference between groups in any question except one. Table 1 gives an overview of the most important tested variables, the selected test type and the p-value. The test type used matched the character of the data. The null hypothesis of the t-test is that the average of the observed variable is the same for both groups; the null hypothesis of the Mann-Whitney test states that P(X>Y)=P(Y>X) where P (X>Y) is the probability that a randomly selected element from one group will be larger than a randomly selected element from the second group; the null hypothesis of the Chi-square test is that the is that treatment does not affect outcomes. We find only one variable that is statistically significant between the control and treatment group. The index of anomia is significantly lower for participants in the treatment group. In the treatment group there are people with a lower index. The difference in the index of anomia may be caused by the fact that we are testing multiple hypotheses. When the Holm-Bonferroni correction for multiple hypothesis testing is applied, we do not reject any of the tested hypotheses at a 10% significance level.

Variable	**Test**	**P-value**
Years homeless	t-test	0.38
	Mann-Whitney	0.48
Age first homeless	t-test	0.74
	Mann-Whitney	0.85
Number of household members	t-test	0.68
	Mann-Whitney	0.81
Work in the last month	Chi-square	1
Evaluation of work opportunities	Chi-square	0.32
Hours of work in the last month	t-test	0.23
	Mann-Whitney	0.14
Income	t-test	0.77
	Mann-Whitney	0.46
How much money a month is missing to meet basic needs?	t-test	0.57
	Mann-Whitney	0.57
How long before the payout do you usually run out of money?	t-test	0.118
	Mann-Whitney	0.197
Health condition	t-test	0.15
	Mann-Whitney	0.34
Index of Anomia	t-test	0.039
	Mann-Whitney	0.047
K6 index	t-test	0.11
	Mann-Whitney	0.167

Conclusion

The City of Brno, Czech Republic, which owns and controls access to 28,000 flats, approved a strategy to end family homelessness: to make it rare, short and non-recurring. Since 2016, various traditional and experimental approaches have been tested for outcomes. In this piece of research, the Housing First approach for families is tested in 50 municipal flats. After learning about the housing retention rate and main project outcomes, compared to other tested approaches, the city should develop an action plan to end family homelessness by 2025.

The treatment group receives an affordable flat, and intensive case management services. Both treatment and control groups are entitled to deep universal housing subsidy. Both groups were randomly assigned, stratified by number of children, and a statistical compliance testing was performed at baseline.

Expected primary outcomes measured on 50 treatment families versus 100 TAU families are: decrease in time the family spend homeless, improvement in security of tenure, improvement of mental health of mothers, and decrease in the use of emergency health services. Expected secondary outcomes include stability of housing, quality of housing, improvement in health and quality of life of families, improvement in social integration of parents, improvement in financial stability of families, reunification of families and prevention of institutionalization of children, and improved school attendance of children.

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Response Piece

Part E

Lack of Social Work and Housing: Comments on "Experiencing a Stay in a Shelter in the Context of a Lack of Social Housing"

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Introduction

The recent research note on shelters and shelterization in Czechia (Glumbíková and Nedělníková, 2017) provided results of extensive qualitative research among mothers who are living or had been living in shelters. In their conclusion, the authors on the one hand stress "shelterization" as a structural phenomenon due to the lack of social housing in the country. On the other hand, at least one positive role of shelters is stressed: "People living in the shelter are aware of the impossibility of these facilities to meet their long-term housing expectations or actual relocation of the service users to permanent housing. Nevertheless, shelters are often perceived by the clients as a *source of empowerment and recovery*" (Glumbíková and Nedělníková, 2017, p.171, emphasis added). This statement stimulated me to deeper analysis of the paper since it in some respects challenges current "mainstream" research and therefore – if solidly based – could bring new perspectives on effects of shelters to its residents.

Despite ongoing debates on specific conceptualizations and methodological issues (Marcus, 2003), the term "shelterization" signifies an adaptation process to long-term stay in shelters, characterized by a decrease in interpersonal responsiveness, a neglect of personal hygiene, increasing passivity, and increasing dependency on others (Grunberg and Eagle, 1990). "Shelterization" is – similarly to other kinds of adaptations to stays in institutions – a negatively perceived phenomenon which decreases capacities of long-term shelter or institutionalized residents to independent life in the outside world. Contrary to this, the concept of "empower-

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ment" as used in many academic disciplines and policy realms stresses increase in capacities to shape one's own life and bring about social change (Castree *et al*., 2013) or make purposive choices and translate them into desired actions (Alsop *et al*., 2006). In terms of social work, empowerment framework means such interventions which employ methods that encourage individuals and families to recognize, claim, and use their power to enhance the quality of their lives (Garthwait, 2012). Empowerment is thus the desired aim of such diverse interventions like psychiatric treatment, social work or international development.

In other words, Glumbíková and Nedělníková (2017) suggest that within (generally negatively perceived) processes of shelterization, for at least some clients the consequence of staying in shelter is their (generally positively perceived) empowerment and recovery. Nevertheless, recent research on (ending) homelessness relates empowerment and recovery mostly with stable housing and related multidisciplinary support, which is provided by "Housing First" programs (Busch-Geertsema, 2013; Padgett *et al*., 2016).

While reading through the paper, focusing on presented grounded theory and arguments, quotes or codes from the qualitative research, I argue that the conclusions made by Glumbíková and Nedělníková (2017) are not convincing. Presented arguments and quotes are not strong enough to support claims of shelters as a source of empowerment and recovery. In the following sections of this paper, I focus more on two main weaknesses of discussed paper, which I see as (i) un(der) defined and unclear use of the concepts like empowerment and housing and (ii) omission of some topics (codes) which were articulated by research partners. In the final part of this text, general comments on the research of shelters in the context of (a lack of effective and efficient) social housing policies are presented.

Housing or Accommodation? Empowerment or (some) help?

Interpretation of research responses elaborated by Glumbíková and Nedělníková (2017) stands on using three "lenses" – housing, empowerment and invisibility. The text does not clarify how and why exactly these three lenses appeared in their theory. Are the "lenses" results of coding and interpretation of interview data? Did they step in the research from the very beginning as pre-defined concepts based on previous research or literature review? What I consider much more problematic is lack of any definition of these "lenses". It is thus unclear what "empowerment", "housing" and "invisibility" mean in the text. Where are the foci of, for example, the "empowerment lense" and how can we conclude that shelters are sources of it?

The argument of shelters as places of empowerment is supported by two quotes of the research participants (p.169):

> "There are some good social workers in the shelters, like the supervisor here is nice, really cool, it makes you feel that she is really interested in your problems. (KP17)
>
> The good social worker will support you but the bad one not… in the shelters I met the good ones… it seems to me, however, that there are less of them than the others… it's not easy but not everyone can do this kind of job. (KP24)"

When compared to definitions of empowerment above, the quotes don´t match them, unless we accept that "being interested in your problem" means the same as "(helping to) increase in your capacities to shape your own life". Interest in clients' problems is, of course, a necessary condition to any kind of support provided by a social worker to his/her client. Lack of interest in the client and his/her problems, needs or desires is a sign of unprofessional social work. However, interest in clients' needs is not sufficient condition neither to the success of social work in terms of meeting such needs nor to empowering the client in terms of increasing his/her capabilities to control his or her life and to make social change. In other words, interests in clients' needs may be followed by a paternalistic (or similar) style of social work which will increase the dependency of the client on the social worker and may (or may not) meet some clients' needs. Or it may be followed by other activities which will eventually lead to empowerment.

The term "housing" or lense of housing leads to similar confusions. Housing is used in the sense of "a place to go" as defined by the authors (p.166) or as "a roof over your head", as used by one of the research participants (p.166). However, shelters do not provide housing in a sense consistently used in academic and policy debates on homelessness. According to the ETHOS typology, people living in shelters are considered homeless under broader categories of "Houseless" and "people in accommodation for the homeless" (FEANTSA, 2006). Shelters are certainly accommodation or "a place to go" when someone loses their dwelling. On the other hand, shelters are not housing in a sense of one's own dwelling which can be stable over a long time, ensures privacy and enables independent control over how the dwelling is used and with whom (within the broader legal framework). Instead of "housing" and "empowerment", the experience of staying in shelters should be framed or labelled by terms like "accommodation" and "social work".

Silent issues: What did the partners also say?

While the previous section illustrated some weaknesses in how interview quotes were used to build the arguments and theories of Glumbíková and Nedělníková (2017), this section will be focused on issues mentioned in the interviews which are presented as quotes in the paper but are not further elaborated in the theory. In other words, the theory and conclusions of the paper do not include several issues

mentioned by research participants on their understanding and expectations on the shelter (p.166), on the regime of the shelter (p.168) and on social work and relationship with the social worker (p.169).

In terms of expectations, several quotes share the same code of having very low expectations from the shelter. While the legal status of shelters[1] stresses their role as a residential social service which should "provide help and support [to] persons with the aim of social inclusion or prevention of social exclusion", inhabitants of the shelters claim that they "do not expect anything from the shelter". One interviewee stated that only new (first time) inhabitants of the shelters have some expectations on receiving help from the shelters. Low expectations are interlinked with the experience of social work provided in shelters which is described with the use of expressions like "pointless meetings" or "doing just what (social worker) wants". Moreover, this kind of social work is provided in the context of shelter regime which imposes some rules on the inhabitants in terms of their daily regimes and movement. There are rules on receiving visitors in the facility: "The visit must be reported, they can go out, sometimes into the kitchen, but not in the room or so… those hours there are limited… it's like visits in the hospital" (p.168). Moreover, the residents have limited time to spend out of the shelter: "Well, we have to be here to six, we can no longer go out. When we, moms, want to go out at night, so we get paroled into eleven o'clock a week." (p.168).

All these quotes above show is that experiencing a stay in a shelter includes (at least for some inhabitants) disillusion from the social work received by them, without a meaning they could understand. Their face to face contact with the world outside of shelters is limited to certain parts of the day. Shelters as a social service are thus reduced to simple provision of accommodation. In other words, there is not much of a difference between a shelter and a private dormitory. These statements presented in the paper (which is of course a tiny part of interview data) could be interpreted as a failure of shelters and failure of social work in the shelters, which are not able to create partnership with their clients or provide individualized support that would be meaningful for the clients or to be perceived as a supporting partner instead of as "a guardian of the order of the facility". To my surprise, Glumbíková and Nedělníková (2017) do not follow this topic. They do not attempt to describe and analyse perceived weaknesses, do not call for further analysis and do not suggest that practices of social workers in shelters may need some improvement. All problems stated by the residents are quickly related to "a non-existent system of social housing" (p.169). However, a lack of social housing is not the cause of "pointless meetings" – such meetings are caused by the social workers organizing them and insisting on clients' participation. Lack of the system of social housing

1 Act. No. 108/2006 on Social Services

and low chances to get from shelters to independent housing must not serve as an excuse for poor quality social work, low professional standards or strong institutional regimes.

Meaningful activities for the homeless and a lack of social housing: concluding thoughts

Glumbíková and Nedělníková (2017) indeed present many interesting views from clients of shelters, which seem to be a rich material for further analysis of multiple faces of experiencing a stay on a shelter in a wider context (of which "a lack of social housing" is just one of many characteristics). However, the theme of shelters, shelterization and wider (structural) context opens several general issues on the role of agents (including shelter providers and social workers) within wider structures.

First, providing social services to homeless clients is a demanding job with many challenges and complex linkages, ranging from the individual situation of the homeless person to systemic limits of institutionalized social work and structural conditions of housing markets and housing policies. Shelters are situated in the context of institutional and individual policies and practices which often keep people homeless instead of helping them. A lack of affordable/social housing is a widespread phenomenon in many cities around the world. However, any lack of social housing is neither static nor a "given" condition. Nor is it an excuse for resigning on professional standards and quality of social work in shelters, streetwork or any other type of social service. Any professional activity needs to reflect its context and find a mode of operation which will bring about (some) social change. Waiting for a top-down solution (like a policy change from a lack of social housing to adequate provision of social housing) does not make social change. Neither in the short-run nor in the long-run perspective.

Second, recently a shift in policy approaches from "managing homelessness" to "ending homelessness" has been taking place. Policies on ending homelessness (e.g. Padgett *et al*., 2016) are based on the simple idea – homeless people will stay homeless until they move in to a home and stay housed for a substantial time. The goal is to get homeless people into housing as soon as possible and provide them with support needed to stay housed. In other words, the aim is to increase the number of apartments available to people who are homeless from public, private or non-profit housing providers. This shift did not start with increased supply of social housing but with an active approach of social service providers, local and national policymakers and other actors to provide to house the homeless. In the Czech context, at least some shelters are active in this way and managed to find permanent housing for its clients.

Finally, what role can academic research play in this context? Based on the ethical principle of beneficence, researchers should have the welfare of the research participant as a goal of any research study. Housing, as one of the basic needs, is necessary for well-being and quality of life. Since there is no social housing legislation in Czechia and access to both public and private rental markets is limited for homeless people (Matoušek, 2013; Kocman and Klepal, 2016), increased social housing is needed. However, beneficence of academic research should not be limited to big goals, wide changes and sometimes (from practitioners' perspective) abstract recommendations. In the context of homelessness, research should provide necessary feedback to any policies and practices that have an impact on homeless people, be it structural failure of housing or social policies, local practices of displacement or criminalization of homeless people or inefficient interventions that aim but fail to help them. Paradigm change towards "ending homelessness" includes a shift in minds of social workers, since social housing is based on the support of households by social workers or other professionals. Frank but fair feedback and debate on social work with people who are homeless is thus as necessary as social housing provision.

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Response to Roman Matoušek

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In our paper, we neither claim that the problems associated with homeless shelters are exhausted by a lack of social housing, nor do we judge the quality of social services, but rather try to describe how this shortage further deforms the content of the service. In regard to how the shelters should be humanised, utilizing a bottom-up process, the authors have dealt this with in other papers (Glumbíková, 2017; Nedělníková, 2017).

The Matoušek's review is based on a concept of shelterisation that differs from the one in our paper. Our paper defines shelterisation as a "structural phenomenon" rather than the "effect of a long-term stay in a shelter."

Regarding the anchoring and defining of the lenses, it is necessary to reflect on which statements are produced by the authors and which statements are produced by the research participants. Lenses are based on secondary data analysis.

The paper does not aim to draw attention to the partial drawbacks or negative experiences of social service clients, but rather to link the expectations of clients in regard to social services from the homeless shelters to the overall context of a non-existent system of social housing in the Czech Republic that does not allow shelters to meet their objective, which is to direct their clients toward permanent housing. A certain degree of dissatisfaction verbalised by the clients is related to the fact that homeless shelters do not create conditions for regular housing (which is to be implemented elsewhere by the very nature of the set-up of the shelter service).

In the context of the aforementioned, we perceive the role of academic research to lie in the mapping and analysis of the current situation in this policy area in the Czech Republic. Such research can serve to support the arguments for the foundation of a social housing system, as well as to provide a warning about the effect of its absence on the functioning of social services.

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Book Reviews

Part F

"My Momma, She Strong". Stories of Female 'Managers of Evictions' in the US and Poland

Abstract_ *This article is an extended review of two recent books: Matthew Desmond's "Evicted. Poverty and Profit in the American City" and Beata Siemieniako's "Reprywatyzując Polskę. Historia wielkiego przekrętu" [Reprivatizing Poland. History of a Great Scam]. The books are especially useful to reflect on some of the gender issues of eviction. The two divergent contexts of the US and Poland show dissimilar cities, different social relations and legal frameworks, but all stories are embedded in analogous neoliberal socio-economic conditions that make the weakest suffer most to the benefit of unscrupulous landlords or entrepreneurs. It seems that the implicit gender dimension shown in these stories is not only a matter of women (especially mothers) being more vulnerable, but also that women bear an unequal burden, manage the situations, and take responsibility for their families. Women fight legal battles, call charities, borrow money, store belongings, search for accommodation. It seems that it is an untold story in many European contexts, and that there is a need of giving face and voice to the European 'managers of evictions' and a need for gender-sensitive ethnographies on housing exclusion.*

Keywords_ *Eviction, ethnography, coping strategies, gender, reprivatisation*

Eviction is one of the common elements of pathways to homelessness. Comparative research on evictions is difficult due to varying regulations and hard to obtain data (FEANTSA, 2018). Eviction is not only a legal procedure or a simple removal from housing; it may also be a form of violence, breach of privacy, and a "traumatic rejection" (Desmond, 2016, p.298). It puts enormous financial and psychological strain on households. Two recent books containing stories of evicted tenants have gained wide attention.

"Evicted. Poverty and Profit in the American City"

The ethnographic account of the post-2008 real estate crisis in Milwaukee, Wisconsin by Matthew Desmond has received positive reviews and several prizes. "Evicted" is an American type of ethnography-reportage. Since Nels Anderson's "Hobo" from 1923, ethnographic accounts of American homelessness gain the interest not only of poverty researchers, especially reports of homeless people living on the streets: Snow and Anderson's "Down on their Luck" (1993), Gowan's "Hobos, Hustlers, and Backsliders" (2010), Duneier's "Sidewalk" (1999). Deprived neighbourhoods are also of popular interest, for instance: Venkatesh's "American Project" (2000) gave an insight on coping strategies, informal economies, and everyday lives of America's most underprivileged. From a European perspective, these accounts seem to describe a ruthless, brutal world; the extent of misery, grime, despair and fear seems almost incredible (at least on this scale) in European welfare states.

By giving voice and face, by telling a story, these monographs have perhaps more impact on the image of homelessness than robust, quantitative sociological research. Desmond's highly praised book was published eight years after the collapse of the real estate market and gives a first-hand account of a handful of families and their struggle with derelict housing and evictions in Milwaukee. We learn about white inhabitants of the South Side's trailer park and the North Side's black families, as well as their landlords.

Arleen, Doreen and Others

The book is divided in three parts. In the first part, tenants struggle to pay their rents; in the second, they face eviction; and finally, we learn what happens afterwards. The families' stories are not straightforward however, and in reality, they could be considered homeless throughout the different pathways described in the book. They have been evicted previously, they have been in and out of shelters, living in cars, on the streets, at friends and family.

In North Side Milwaukee we meet Arleen. She has two boys, the younger one with severe asthma problems. Arleen's three older children are in care. Arleen, with her family, is evicted on one of the coldest days of the winter. She stays in an apartment with a young girl out of care, Crystal, who turns to selling sex to make ends meet. Arleen then goes to a shelter so that she can be eligible for Red Cross funds to pay for her storage (Desmond, 2016, p.210). The ninetieth landlord she calls finally accepts her, but soon she is forced to leave this "nice" apartment. She is in and out of precarious, run-down places around the city. In fact, having children does not shield her from evictions, but rather exposes her to it (Desmond, 2016, p.287).

Doreen has five children, a couple of grandchildren, and one of her daughters is pregnant. Another family with three children moves in next door. The youngest baby dies in a fire that breaks out in the run-down house. Doreen gets so depressed by the conditions in her house that she stops cooking and cleaning, she is repulsed by her home because she has no control over it, yet the family has to pay most of their income for it. Such a "home is sucking their energy" (Desmond, 2016, p.258).

Vanetta, another of Crystal's roommates, has three children, but when her work hours were cut and she couldn't make rent, and her electricity was about to be cut off, she took part in an armed robbery and ended up in prison.

Down south on the white side of the city live Pam and Ned, with four daughters and a fifth on the way. They are evicted from a trailer park, and Ned loses his undocumented work as a car mechanic. First, they place their older daughters at some friends, then they move to a hotel for $50 per night, live for a month at another friend's house, until they find a place to rent in spite their previous convictions, evictions and small children. Their asset however is that they are white.

There are also male characters like Lamar who lost his legs due to frostbite when, high on crack, he fell asleep in an abandoned building. He is taking care of his two sons as well as a bunch of other neighbourhood children. There's Scott, a gay male nurse, addicted to all kinds of medication and drugs. He is evicted from the trailer park, and after a couple years of living in a shelter and at friends', he finally gets 'clean'. Even during his recovery, he occasionally stays on the streets, as he cannot afford both methadone and rent. Finally he is offered a charity-subsidized permanent apartment. This is the only "positive" ending story in the book.

Many of the families in "Evicted" live on Supplemental Security Income (SSI), and 70-80% of it or sometimes even more, goes to the landlord. Evictions are portrayed as very violent procedures. Tenants often don't know the date of their eviction. The moving teams are accompanied by two armed sheriffs (Desmond, 2016, p.115). Most tenants don't show up in court, sometimes they are not notified (the summons goes to a previous address), sometimes they are scared, they have work to do or

children to take care of, but mostly there's nothing they can gain by going there. Power imbalances are clear at the courtroom in Milwaukee, where the tenants are black women and the landlords' lawyers wear "pinstripe suits and power ties" (Desmond, 2016, p.96).

Evictions and Gender

In spite of these stories of female tenants, gender is not explicitly addressed in Desmond's book, or in any other of the above-mentioned ethnographies on homelessness. Elliot Liebow's (1993) "Tell Them Who I Am" monograph of women's homelessness shelters stands out as one of the very few sound ethnographic accounts of women's homelessness. Women's experiences of homelessness appear also, for instance, in Passaro (1996) and Jasinski *et al*. (2010), but they are more focused on personal narratives and eviction is not a main theme of those accounts.

However, we know that eviction is an experience of many women-maintained households and that women "manage" crisis situations in families. In Europe, data on the composition of evicted households is collected in only 15 out of 28 EU Member States. From this incomplete data, it is evident that men are at higher risk of eviction. Single people, mostly men, represent between 50% and 71% of all evicted households. Lone parents, primarily mothers, comprise between 19% and 27% of households facing evictions (FEANTSA, 2018, p.93).

"Reprivatizing Poland. History of a Great Scam"

Gender issues also emerge only implicitly in a monograph on the reprivatisation of housing stock in Poland by Beata Siemieniako. In contrast to Desmond's ethnography, Siemieniako's book is an explanation of the historical and legal conditions that resulted in corrupt practices of reprivatisation of the housing stock at the expense of tenants in Poland.

Privatisation of property has been an issue in all of the post-socialist countries since the 1990s. The Polish government however still has not legally solved the problem. The extent of scandalous reprivatisation of the housing stock in Warsaw was brought fully to light in 2015, with the publication of a series of articles in the daily Gazeta Wyborcza and afterwards a book by journalists Iwona Szpala and Małgorzata Zubik (2017). Recently it has become one of the most politically hot topics. In Siemieniako's book we read about alarming and corrupt cases, whereby courts agreed to return properties based on bogus claims. On the tenants' side, evictions even lead to suicide (Siemieniako, 2017, p.189) and the murder of a tenants' activist, Jolanta Brzeska. There are also accounts of the daily struggle of tenants

like Gosia, a single mother of four children, whose dwelling is damp, mouldy and the only source of heat is a wooden stove (Siemieniako, 2017, pp.181-182). Or 70-year old Ala, whose rent rose by 500% in the last 5 years, and her apartment reaches only 7 degrees Celsius in wintertime (Siemieniako, 2017, p.47). There are many other women who struggle with their everyday lives but also fight legal battles against evictions.

As a lawyer working with tenants, Siemieniako also observes that women "manage" the eviction process and fight the eviction orders. According to her, it is because women feel more desperate and responsible for their families; because women more often form households without an adult male (older women, single mothers); and also because they are able to combine housework with going to welfare offices, institutions, taking care of paper work, lawyers, advisors and so on (Siemieniako, 2017, p.218).

Desmond, on the other hand, observes that inner city neighbourhoods and communities, as well as families, have been damaged to a point where no collective resistance like a rent strike is possible. Also, poor tenants themselves perceive evictions as individual failures of their neighbours (Desmond, 2016, p.180). In the Polish case of reprivatisation, often many tenants from the same building are affected at the same time, the enemy is much more concrete and the main addressee is the city hall, which makes collective action more likely.

Aside from the corrupt nature of some of Warsaw's restitutions, tenants often had no prior knowledge of privatisation of their dwellings, they had to face skyrocketing rents and struggle with new owners' extreme means by which they tried to push the tenants out, including: stalking, threats, cutting off water, heating, constant renovations causing noise, flooding, taking roofs off, installing a pigeon house in the attic and many more.

What is interesting is that the tenants who fight for their housing are almost exclusively women; both in individual cases as well as in tenants' organizations. Another Polish story on evictions concerns a "Mothers' strike" in the city of Wałbrzych in 2008 (Siemieniako, 2017, p.209). The city's economy was hit hard by the closure of the coal mines. New enterprises that took advantage of the city's tax breaks hired people almost exclusively on short-term contracts with no benefits. Single mothers "unlawfully" occupied vacant (and heavily dilapidated) dwellings because they had no other options. The city tried to force them to vacate the buildings by cutting off water, gas and electricity. The women fought back with a hunger strike and occupation of the city hall (Strajk Matek, 2011). The strike met with critique as it involved small children and pregnant women.

At present, Warsaw's tenants' organization (Warszawskie Stowarzyszenie Lokatorów) is fighting a battle against high heating costs. Mostly, female tenants are speaking up. They talk about dealing with unheated and damp dwellings, about electric heating that is tripling housing costs. One of the tenants, Maria, says in a radio interview that it is so cold in her apartment that she sleeps and washes in the kitchen. Iwona, another tenant, a mother of four, walks two kilometers every other day with two huge bags of wet laundry to dry it somewhere else, because her dwelling is too damp (Radio dla Ciebie, 2018).

Are women more willing or more desperate to come forward and speak out? Are their stories more likely to be heard and thus used by organizations and the media? Are there more women than men in such situations? Or are they actually the ones who finally have to deal with mould blacking the walls, and cooking dinner with the gas cut off?

Feminization of poverty

"Feminization of poverty", a concept first introduced by Diana Pearce in the late 1970s, means not only that women are poorer than men; but also that the whole system of gender imbalance in productive and reproductive work leads to the "feminization" of poor household headship. Other consequences of female poverty are isolation, loneliness, lack of institutional support, and feelings of shame (Daly and Rake, 2003). Naming the phenomenon made it more visible and initiated many studies on the gendered nature of poverty. In homelessness studies however a gender approach is much less apparent (Bretherton and Mayock, 2016).

Ruth Lister coined a concept of "managers of poverty", for women who bear an unequal burden of destitution. It relates both to the structural feminization of poverty, as well as to coping strategies on an individual level. In Polish sociology, Elżbieta Tarkowska was a big supporter of this concept that appeared especially in small-scale qualitative studies among poor households. In these studies, not only are financial resources taken into account, but also time resources and reproductive work (Tarkowska, 2002). In deprived households, it is usually women's responsibility to make ends meet: they cook dinner from scraps, they save money by walking to a faraway store for discount products, they collect scrap wood, they mend clothes, prepare conserves, sell and barter things, they borrow money and pay them back; they engage in informal work, and get in contact with charities and institutions to receive benefits. Women "intensify house work", they cope daily with poverty, and they cope also with shame and responsibility (Tarkowska, 2002).

Managers of Evictions

Examples in both books show that women are also in charge of coping with evictions as "heads" of households whether they have a partner or not. They often take on the burden of a legal battle, paper work, managing money, searching for help, storing things, searching for a new place, and deciding on where to place children and animals.

A common strategy of families in Milwaukee is not to pay the last rent if eviction is inevitable, to save up the money and be able to move (or buy new pair of shoes for a child). Women manage foodstamps (sell or swap them), bring food from charities, manage the little cash they have, and decide what to do with a tax refund or any additional resources that may come. Still, as Arleen would put it, "poverty could pile on; living it often meant steering through gnarled thickets of interconnected misfortunes and trying not to go crazy" (Desmond, 2016, p.285-286).

Women also make seemingly illogical choices in the face of complete lack of resources, which unfortunately makes middle class observers as well as other poor people reinforce stereotypes of the irrationality of poor people. Larraine, another trailer park inhabitant, facing eviction from her brother's trailer, to where she moved secretly, made herself a lobster dinner spending a whole month's worth of food stamps (Desmond, 2016, p.219). She threw the money away because she was poor and not the other way around. Saving was useless because she had so little. Crystal also regularly put some cash in the offering basket at her church (Desmond, 2016, p.246).

Studies repeatedly find that women avoid homelessness through utilising their family and social networks, doubling up and couch surfing (Baptista, 2010; Löfstrand and Quilgars, 2016). In Desmond's book, women's networks are already strained. They learn not to ask too often, as family members' resources are also severely limited. They save up these networks for true emergencies and evictions do not qualify as such (Desmond, 2016, p.158). Larraine's siblings struggle themselves and she does not want to strain family relations with requests. Also, a pastor refused to help Larraine because "poor people spend money foolishly" (Desmond, 2016, p.127). When Pam and Ned got evicted, Ned "refused to call his family […] Ned called home to brag but rarely to ask. So Pam worked her phone, calling almost everyone she knew and even churches" (Desmond, 2016, p.228).

With family resources being so limited, it is more often that "strangers brushed up against each other" and help each other in an emergency (Desmond, 2016, p.161). That's how Arleen stayed with Crystal and how Crystal shared an apartment with Vanetta for a while.

Whatever the circumstances, the mother of the family is responsible for the family to stay afloat and to keep everyone's spirits high. "My momma, she strong", says Natasha, the pregnant daughter of Doreen: "and she's got us out of way worse situations than this. I mean from shelters, livin' on the street, churches, cars. I got a lot of faith in my momma. Yeah, we've been on the street a few times, but my momma, she always had it" (Desmond, 2016, p.77).

Evictions and Domestic Violence

Another gender dimension of evictions is linked to domestic violence. The largely absent partners of women portrayed in "Evicted" are nevertheless present in the way women fear to call 911. Bothering the police may be used against the tenant and speed-up eviction. The costs for emergency calls may penalize landlords, who may receive a "nuisance citation".

Similarly, in Poland the regulations of removing the perpetrator from premises are not enforced and women fear to file cases, due to lengthy, exhausting and often humiliating trials. According to the Ministry of Justice, in 2015 in just over 2,000 cases, courts agreed to the removal of the accused from the home, while about 75,000 new "blue cards" indicating new domestic violence cases are registered by the police each year. The problem is that court orders take time, during which the parties are often forced to share a dwelling.

Common neoliberal context

Deindustrialization of the city centre and the loss of mainly black jobs in cities of the American Rust Belt are comparable to the deindustrialization of post-socialist cities like the Polish Wałbrzych. Geography of advantage and disadvantage (Desmond, 2016, p.89) is most apparent in American cities where race intersects with poverty. The "small act of screening" (collecting background information about prospective tenant's income, credit evaluation, eviction and criminal record) and other landlords' practices create not only segregated areas, but also a situation where rents are relatively higher in dilapidated housing and poorest tenants have no choice but to put up with terrible conditions. In fact, the worst properties bring the biggest returns. Housing has become a business, with professional property owners buying up foreclosed properties. In Milwaukee, a city of 600,000 inhabitants, 16,000 people are evicted per year. Desmond estimates that the scale of other forced removals without a court order is double that number. Three in four evicted tenants are black; of those black evicted tenants 75% are women. In fact, one out of every 17 black women is evicted through the court system in Milwaukee in a year (Desmond 2016, pp.97-98). One in five black women in Milwaukee has experienced eviction in her lifetime (Desmond 2016, p.299). Evictions put social relations, education and whole neighbourhoods under strain, people lose possessions, jobs,

and move to poorer and more violent neighbourhoods, while at the same time being denied access to public housing.

Siemieniako claims that the overall socio-economic context made "wild reprivatisation" possible. It was the neoliberal conviction about the "sacred right of ownership" and the perception that tenants are demanding, lazy and dishonest (Siemieniako, 2017, p.95). In reprivatized buildings, tenants are treated as objects, and called "meat filling" or "flesh insertions" to the building (Siemieniako, 2017, p.145). According to the Ministry of Justice, between 20,0000 and 30,000 new cases for vacating dwellings are delivered in a year, yet there are just under 9,000 evictions carried out annually in Poland in recent years. About one third of those rulings did not secure the tenant's right to a social dwelling. About 70% of evictions are from the municipal stock. The extent of locking people out of homes on the private rental market is unknown. There is also no data on the composition of evicted households.

Landladies and Landlords

Women are on both ends of the evictions; they are both tenants and landladies. They have the power to accept and reject prospective tenants, they can fix a clogged toilet and replace a broken widow, or not; they have discretion on whether and when to evict, they can make the eviction even more painful and costly or they can let the family stay, double up with another household, and work off the arrears.

Obviously, landlords care for their own profits and the housing market is only one part of a larger system of exploitation of the poorest inhabitants, such as moving companies, storage facilities, loan sharks, and pawnshops. There are also brokers, like Belinda, working as a "representative payee" managing the finances of SSI recipients. People like her guarantee steady income to the landlords and act as middleman in case of problems. They charge a monthly fee of $37 per client. Belinda had 230 clients (Desmond, 2016, pp.61-62). Some landlords also like people with vouchers that cover the difference between 30% of tenants' income and "Fair Market Rent" calculated for the whole city. It actually means they can raise rents in deteriorated housing.

Relations between tenants and landlords aren't easy. Desmond suggests that female tenants are more likely to avoid landlords when they fall behind with the rent by "ducking and dodging". Whereas men are more likely to confront a landlord, and work off the rent. In his view, it is because of the gendered guide to interaction: women should not display anger or aggression (Desmond, 2016, p.129). It may contradict the concept of women as managers of evictions, but on the other hand there are many examples in the book that show women's struggles to do everything they can to stay. And in some cases they have to confront another woman, like

Shareena, the landlady in the North Side Milwaukee, who "deals with people", while her husband "dealt with messes" (for instance when a tenant's boyfriend was shot dead) (Desmond, 2016, p.15).

Conclusion

"Evicted" is a fascinating ethnography. Matthew Desmond is almost invisible in the stories, however he does describe how he lived in a trailer park on the South Side and followed the people throughout their struggles. In "Evicted" there is commentary on the housing market, legal proceedings of evictions, history of American racial segregation and more interspersed in the text, and there are also rich references in endnotes. In the epilogue, the author takes a stand writing not only about consequences of evictions on the individual level, which were illustrated in the book, he also gives some recommendations. It is hard not to agree with his suggestion that decent housing should be considered a universal right, or that there should be publicly funded legal services for tenants. Further, Desmond suggests that the American voucher program should cover all poor families. In his opinion, that would balance landlords' gains and tenants' burden. Of course discrimination against voucher holders would have to be made illegal. He seems quite optimistic should these recommendations be followed: "homelessness would almost disappear" (Desmond, 2016, p.308).

No ethnography on evictions has been published in Poland yet, but Siemieniako's book points to the breadth of the subject. By way of ethnographies, we could reveal and give voice to the women and men who struggle daily on the verge of homelessness, and thus remain largely unseen by homelessness statistics and their stories watered-down in general statistics on precarious or insecure housing. Ethnographies, however cannot fall short of explanations and stop at shocking accounts about maggots in sinks and sagged ceilings.

Intersectional approaches to dimensions of exclusion could be powerful tools to explain the way evictions are experienced and managed and could provide an analytical framework for the ethnographic account. One of the most often cited fragment from Desmond's book points precisely to this intersection of race, gender and poverty: "If incarceration had come to define the lives of men from impoverished black neighbourhoods, eviction was shaping the lives of women. Poor black men were locked up. Poor black women were locked out" (Desmond, 2016, p.98).

But it is only when we meet Arleen, Doreen, Lamar, Scott and their children, that we learn what eviction looks like. When we face the stories of Maria and Iwona from Warsaw, Marta and the anonymous mothers from Wałbrzych, we may understand what it feels like to be constantly harassed in one's own home. We also need to

meet Tobin and Shereena, the landlords from Milwaukee, the officials in the Warsaw's city hall and "reprivatisation entrepreneurs" like Marek M., to see that poverty is not just low income, poor jobs and bad luck, but to understand it as an unequal relationship. These books let us see the housing market as one that is not just walls or lack of thereof, but also as a system that creates power imbalance, poverty and despair.

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Bruce O'Neill (2017)

The Space of Boredom: Homelessness in the Slowing Global Order

Durham: Duke University Press, pp.280, $25.95

The book represents an ethnographic study analysing and explaining an intriguing issue – boredom – and the lived experience of it by homeless people. This spatial framework of analysis is situated in Bucharest, the capital city of Romania, and analyses boredom as a particular feature of homeless people and homeless living conditions generally as well as in the context of the development of homelessness in Romania.

The book starts with a *Preface,* giving preliminary details on: (1) the topic, the category of population studied, the ethnographic approach, and the social-economic context that triggers boredom as a phenomenon among homeless people in Bucharest; (2) the methodology of the analysis, based on fieldwork and direct interaction with both homeless people and different representatives working in the field of managing homelessness; and (3) the scientific contributions of the study to advancing ethnographic knowledge on the topic. Boredom among homeless people is particularised in the framework of a post-socialist country facing the new challenges of a global economic crisis, while transitioning to fully function as a capitalist European country. The research used participant observation, documentary photography and interviews with homeless people in Bucharest, both women and men, of different ages and backgrounds. It investigates boredom as a construct of their daily lives, dominated by the lack of stability of a home, relationships and a job. Besides characterising and explaining homelessness in Romania, the ethnographic findings evidence boredom in relation to social exclusion that is linked to the global consumerism of a capitalist society, in the aftermath of a global economic crisis, and in the final stages of post-communist transition.

Starting with the case study of a homeless man in Bucharest who feels deeply bored, the *Introduction* of the book differentiates boredom from depression, the former resulting from a lack of financial and relational resources for socially marginalised people to access the new consumerist meanings of daily living. Detailing the social, political and economic background of Romania from the beginning of the

20th century, with emphasis on the communist period and the post-socialist transition process, the book contextualises the development of homelessness, its national and local management processes and the general characteristics of homeless people in Bucharest. Including useful references to theoretical thinking on boredom, it goes on to explain the production of boredom in different living spaces of homeless people – shelters, squatter camps and the railway station – all share the same outcome, boredom, which represents life at the margins of a competitive global economy.

Chapter One describes boredom in the case of two homeless men living rough in a squatter camp. The intriguing aspect is that boredom is part of their current daily life, but not during the communist period, when most of their free time was occupied by the need to stand in the queue at grocery stores in order to be able to buy food for their families. The social, political and economic context to current rough sleeping and past communist practices for work and daily living are highlighted, and serve to illustrate the objective and subjective characteristics of these two situations of deprivation, both resulting in distinct experiences at the level of the individual. This part of the book also includes a close look at an example of displacement from the global economy, based on the story of a young homeless person living in a public shelter localized at the margins of the city. The story emphasises the role of ethnic stigma in the construction of individual social and economic disruption that ultimately leads to everyday boredom.

Focusing on the homeless shelters in Bucharest and explaining the background of their organization and functioning, based on both homeless residents' testimonies and personal documentation on the topic, Chapter Two develops the idea of an entire infrastructure of displacement and boredom. Returning to a case of street homeless men that live in a squatter camp, the investigation of boredom continues by discussing boredom in relation to global consumerism. The low-qualified homeless men found themselves without a job, a home or financial resources to satisfactorily fill the passing of daily time, so that they find themselves to be deeply bored. Although normal life and the "disciplinary society" involve a range of boredom due to the obligation of respecting schedules and performing repetitive tasks, the author explains that while boring work results in financial resources that may ensure individual stimulation within one's free time, homeless people, despite having a greater amount of free time, enjoy much less opportunities to use it for personal satisfaction, and experience generalized boredom.

Chapter Three is a complex study of boredom that is closely linked to social exclusion in the context of ageing and poverty. Life in the shelters for poor older people, people with bad health and those with limited financial resources are particularly vulnerable to boredom, as they are at the margins of the city, of society,

of the global economy and of life in general. The discussion revolves around the experiences of several pensioners, and opens debate on the old communist pensioning system and the former regime of pensioners, who used to represent a reliable support for younger members of their families. This is in opposition to the current situation for older people who find themselves excluded and in a process of displacement, during the post-socialist transition period and with the additional effects of the global economic crisis.

The loss of hope for a chance to improve their living conditions and displacement from public, social and economic life is constant for homeless people, and means boredom is inescapable. Boredom emerges and strongly develops as the homeless people experience a social death in relation to the city. Chapter Four uses interviews with different homeless men to illustrate boredom as a construct of structural factors which lead to long-term homelessness – the global economy that highly disadvantages the low-skilled middle-aged men, consumerism as the leading theme of a fulfilling post-socialist life, and an inefficient and under-financed social protection system. Developing the parallel between life under communism – a currently desirable life – and life under the global economy, the analysis delves into the mechanisms of social death in the context of homelessness, while highlighting the social suffering and violence faced by the vulnerable population.

Chapter Five is an ethnography of underground sex markets, dealing with the black market opportunities that the homeless people use in search of means of survival and living, and the use of sexual favors as an antidote to boredom. For some, making money to pay for distractions such as drinking and smoking is the first choice for a way to fill time. Additionally, relationships and the satisfaction of sexual needs on the street are characterized by specific dynamics that turn homeless men to occasional sex with other men – the lack of sufficient money constitutes an impediment to maintain heterosexual relationships or paid intercourse with female prostitutes. In the end, boredom seems to represent a distinctive aftermath of homelessness, with homeless people in the same daily battle for a satisfactory life as the general population (which, as opposed to the homeless people, ends in the attainment of financial resources that seem to support all other components of a normal social life).

Beyond homelessness, boredom acts as a general threat to the daily wellbeing of Romanians, with consumerism the constant stimulus of defense against it. An international coffee company promoted their instant coffee product with the slogan: “Defeat boredom!” which is also the title of Chapter Six. In fact, for homeless people, coffee and cigarettes represent the most available and the most often used instrument to defeat boredom on a daily basis. At the same time, such practices of small consumerism represent a means for the inclusion of homeless people into

social dynamics, by increasing the mobility of the homeless people from the margins, and making use of different commercial spaces. The study accompanies several homeless people in their adventures for consumption in places such as: the gas station shop, the mall, the hypermarket or the fast food restaurant, while unveiling the strategies employed by the homeless people to integrate themselves in the flow of those spaces and in the conversations with the other consumers or the local representatives of those spaces.

The book ends with a new look at the hotspot of nighttime entertainment in the old-town district of Bucharest. It highlights the social pressure of globalism in the world of homelessness and makes reference to a general antagonism between the hyperactive – hyper-passive pace. Within the specific case of homelessness, boredom mostly emerges as the disappointment of not living a standard life and it represents the lack of formal productivity, while all informal activity is internalized as inactivity in the end.

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Josef Bäuml, Monika Brönner, Barbara Baur, Gabriele Pitschel-Walz and Thomas Jahn (2017)

Die SEEWOLF-Studie. – Seelische und körperliche Erkrankungen bei wohnungslosen Menschen [The SEEWOLF-Study – Mental and Physical Illness among Homeless People]

Freiburg im Breisgau: Lambertus Verlag, pp. 324, €26.00

There is a joke among medical doctors: "Whoever regards him- or herself as being in good health has just not yet received sufficiently thorough medical examination". The 232 homeless people studied for the book under review have indeed received thorough medical examination, with an average duration of between seven hours and 14 hours. They had to participate in three separate examinations: a psychiatric assessment, an intelligence test and a physical examination (in exchange for a meagre incentive of 30 Euros for their participation). The results of these examinations were supplemented with additional information from their medical records and separate external ratings by medical experts and social workers.

First results of the study, which was conducted between 2010 and 2012, were published in a summary of 14 pages in 2014 and widely distributed in German media. Spiegel online reported in 2014 under the heading "Many roofless people suffer from mental dysfunctions" (Spiegel online, 2014; all translations by the author of this review). A medical journal (aerzteblatt.de, 2014) reported that rising rents on urban housing markets, often quoted as a reason for rising numbers of homeless people in Germany, were "only one side of the coin. The other one is a gap of psychiatric care." Almost all press publications also referred to the estimated number of homeless people in Germany (at that time 335,000 people as an annual prevalence estimate) and presented the study as based on a "representative sample" of this group in Munich. The authors of the study confirmed later that the study conducted in Munich "can be regarded as representative for the general situation of homeless people, especially in metropolitan areas with a diversified support system" (Bäuml *et al.*, 2017, p.34).

But in late 2017, the whole study was published as a book and it is now possible to check sample design and details of the research. Indeed the book starts again in the preface with the question of "why a certain part of the population fails to

procure their housing autonomously and with success. Is it solely due to the economically caused scarcity of housing in areas of high population density like Munich or is it not even more likely that individual reasons are responsible for it?" (Bäuml *et al.*, 2017, p.13).

For those who are not familiar with the housing market in Munich: Munich is the city with the highest housing prices in Germany. Some facts from the most recent report of Deutsche Bank Research (2018, p.2) about the housing market in Germany: "In Munich, apartment prices more than doubled between 2009 and 2017. During this period, the population rose from 1.36 million to 1.53 million. There is a shortage of several tens of thousands of residential units. The vacancy rate is near zero, and current and planned future building activities will not suffice. The supply shortages should drive house prices and rents upwards in the coming years." So you don't have to be particularly weak or ill to struggle seriously when looking for affordable housing in Munich. But if you are ill and have additional problems on top of being poor you are highly probable to struggle even more and to remain excluded from permanent housing.

SEEWOLF is an acronym derived from the long original title of the study but is also intended to remind us of Jack London's The Sea-Wolf, because, as the main author lets us know in a separate preface, many of the homeless people examined showed "an unbelievable toughness and preparedness to suffer privations" but also the willingness "to fight and not give up" (p.11).

For the authors of the SEEWOLF study, the main results are as follows: 93 per cent of their sample had a diagnosis of mental illness (including addiction) at some point in their entire life (life-time prevalence), 74 per cent of the sample had an acute mental illness in need of treatment during the last month (1-month prevalence), 55 per cent had at least one personality disorder and a large part of the group suffered considerable cognitive impairment.

Even if we learn from the same authors that quite a considerable proportion of the general population, namely 50 per cent, has a life-time prevalence of mental illness when examined properly, and that the 1–month prevalence in the general population of Germany is at 27.7 per cent (see Bäuml *et al.*, p.225), mental illness was obviously much more widespread in the Munich sample of homeless people than in the general population.

The authors have undoubtedly used a number of internationally acknowledged diagnosis instruments like the Mini-Mental Status Examination (MMSE), the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale (WAIS), Clinical Global Impression Scale (CIDI) or the Structured Clinical Interview (SCID I and II). However, medical experts have criticised that such clinically tested instruments might be met with doubts when

applied to homeless persons: Interview questions regarding problems falling asleep or having undisturbed sleep at night, feeling depressed or having feelings of anxiety or being threatened might have very different meanings for people who lack the protection of a home than for those having one or living in a protected environment. And behaviour that might otherwise be seen as an indicator of unrealistic judgement of their life situation might also be interpreted as a necessary adaptation to a life on the streets (Kunstmann, 2017).

Some of the ratings of "participation behaviour" gathered from external experts (social workers, psychologists, directors of the institutions) for a subsample of examined homeless individuals (or inmates) are highly questionable. Questions about "adjustment to rules and routines", "assertiveness" or "group skills" will probably rather reflect the survival skills in enforced communities than tell us anything about the individual´s potential to live in regular housing. And the particularly negative judgement about inmates' "capacity for family and intimate relationships" have to be seen in light of the fact that many of those examined persons lived in single-sex shared accommodation – surely not the most favourable external conditions to build an intimate relationship.

But the main reasons why the results of this extensive and elaborated study are neither providing us with useful information about "the general situation of homeless people" in Germany nor about the necessary measures to change this deplorable situation are twofold:

1. The sample: By no means do we have here a sample, in which the 232 examined homeless people could be defined as "representative" for several hundred thousand homeless people in Germany. They cannot even represent the homeless people in Munich. The authors themselves quote (on p.20) the Munich social department that at the end of 2013 about 5,800 homeless people (single people and families) were living in Munich. The authors ignore the 2,300 homeless families with children and even from the remaining 3,500 single homeless people they have exclusively focused their study on a subgroup of 1,635 people in specific NGO institutions from which they have drawn their sample. Sofa surfers, people sleeping rough and those provided by the municipality with temporary accommodation in hostels etc. were ignored by the study. From the remaining 1,635 people, a further 15 per cent was excluded because they didn't speak German well enough (see p.96 of the study). And finally, of the originally envisaged 25 per cent sample (N=413), only 232 persons participated in the study; no information is provided about the reasons for the high non-response rate of more than 40 per cent.

If we take a closer look at the institutions from which the sample (184 men and 48 women) was selected we learn (at p.50) that almost 50 per cent of the people included in the study were living in institutions which were financed under section

53 of the Social Code XII (52 people) or in so-called "long-term institutions" (61 people). In order to get a hostel place financed under section 53, it is a necessary pre-condition to have a psychiatric diagnosis, because access to these hostels is exclusively restricted to people seriously disabled by mental health problems. Equally, long-term institutions for homeless people are by definition reserved for people who are diagnosed as permanently unable to live on their own, because they are too old and/or have serious health conditions like Korsakoff's syndrome and the like. Given that for 50 per cent of the whole sample it is a prerequisite to have a serious mental health problem in order to get access to the institutions where they were selected from, and given that 27.7% of the general population is diagnosed with a 1-month prevalence of mental illness, it is almost surprising that the rest of the sample (drawn from low threshold shelters, emergency accommodation, supported communities and "reintegration" hostels) seemed to have fared pretty well in terms of this type of diagnosis. Unfortunately there is no further information available about the diagnosis results per type of accommodation, obviously because numbers would have been too small for this type of analysis.

That the sample is highly selective can also be seen from some of the profile information provided. Only 14.5 per cent of the people in the sample had a migration background (according to the National Alliance of Services for Homeless People, BAG W, the share of users with a migration background of NGO services for homeless people was higher than 28 per cent in 2013). The median age in the sample was 49.5 years. The average duration of homelessness was as high as 61.3 months, i.e. more than 5 years. Even if we know that cross sectional studies like this one tend to over-emphasise long-term homelessness, this high average duration is a clear indicator for the selectivity of the sample.

2. The conclusions drawn from the examination: The authors make extensive reference to the national and international psychiatric literature about homelessness and mental health problems when they present the methodology and results of their examinations. But despite the large amount of studies quoted as underpinning their approach and results, they tend to ignore studies that would likely speak against them. One of their statements quoted several times in the press is that in Germany, like in the US, psychiatric deinstitutionalisation has led to a massive "displacement to the pavement" of chronically mentally ill people, thereby increasing the share of mentally ill people among homeless people. Both claims, the allegedly extremely high proportion of mental illness among homeless people and the deinstitutionalisation as the main causal factor for it, have been seriously criticized by prominent authors like Montgomery *et al*. (2013) or Snow *et al.* (1986) who haven't made their way into the reference list of Bäuml *et al*.

To avoid any misunderstanding: of course nobody should ignore that mentally ill and addicted people have a high risk of becoming homeless and that it is a scandal that all too often they do not receive the necessary support and care they need. But what is the right type of support for this subgroup of homeless people, no matter how large or small it may ever be? Bäuml *et al.* seem to regret that there are no measures to force them into psychiatric care. They state (on p.238) that the NGO institutions for homeless people would have more time and capacity to care for those homeless people without acute mental illness, if one could successfully "transfer" the others (and they explicitly refer to 74% of all homeless people) to psychiatric and psychotherapeutic treatment, "in case of need also against their will, accompanied by the necessary legal requirements" (p.236). And they mean and state explicitly that the transfer should lead into "institutionalised psychiatry" (p.238), i.e. into mental health hospitals. For the remaining homeless people, the only conceivable consequence according to the authors seems to be small improvements of their conditions in institutional accommodation. So the only conclusions of Bäuml *et al.* from answers to questions about satisfaction with living conditions are that single rooms in institutions and enough qualified staff should be the rule (p.118). The idea that access to individual self-contained housing and floating support might be an option does not occur to them.

What – in this context – is even more ignorant, in light of the many references quoted from other European countries and elsewhere, is that the massive evidence about the convincing results of the Housing First approach is not mentioned at all. Housing First has turned out to be a much more adequate response to the issues of particularly the group of people who are the focus of the SEEWOLF study – that is, people with complex problems, mental health issues and addiction. A large number of studies have proven during the last 20 years that people with serious mental illness can be stabilised in their own apartments with appropriate financial and social support and with respect for their personal choices, even after long histories of homelessness and even if they have a double diagnosis. A lot of this supporting evidence has been published in psychiatric literature in the US, Canada and elsewhere. A literature review published in 2015 listed 184 publications (Raitakari and Juhila, 2015) and many more have been made available after that.

"Housing first" is mentioned only once on the 324 pages of the SEEWOLF-publication, on page 233, in a short review about "The Situation of Homeless People in International Context" and the reference mentioned is followed immediately by another one referring to Summergrad (2015), who according to the authors demands that for the "often severely mentally ill" homeless people "standards for the treatment of patients against their will have to be revised and adapted".

In an “important introductory remark” and in the conclusions, the authors of the SEEWOLF study emphasise that the study “in no way wants to contribute to the partially already existing stigmatisation of roofless or homeless people” (p.12) and that the result “is not at all meant to contribute to a global psychiatrisation of all people who are affected by homelessness” (p.239), but that is exactly what it does.

Interestingly enough, the authors do not consider the question why, given that more than a quarter of the general population of Germany has been diagnosed with a mental health problem in need of treatment during the preceding month, only a tiny minority of them is homeless. Obviously, it is possible for the majority of mentally ill people to live in regular permanent housing. All efforts should be directed to support the rest of them, and the large number of homeless people who do not suffer from mental illness to do so as well.

Strategies to end homelessness without forcing homeless people into psychiatric hospitals exist and should be implemented in Germany and elsewhere. That such strategies should also include adequate psychological and psychiatric support for those homeless people in need of it, but on a purely voluntary basis, is an important requirement and one of the substantial elements of the Housing First approach. The authors of the SEEWOLF study and those who have commissioned the study are urgently requested to start reading about it.

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Beth Watts and Suzanne Fitzpatrick (2018)

Welfare Conditionality

Abingdon: Routledge, pp.208, £28.99

This very welcome book 'Welfare Conditionality' by Beth Watts and Suzanne Fitzpatrick is published as part of Routledge's Key Ideas series and stands up well to the test of being a lively and original treatment of the subject matter. The authors participated in a five-year research programme into Welfare Conditionality; Sanctions, Support and Behaviour Change[1] within which they undertook a major international evidence, policy and normative review of welfare conditionality. The book benefits from this research; the authors are clearly on top of their game and have an encyclopaedic and interdisciplinary knowledge of the subject. This well written book is, at first glance, deceptively simple. It also seems short, organised into just five core chapters. However, the authors pack a lot into a tightly written text of 156 pages. There is an extensive bibliography and very effective index. After a short introduction, the five main chapters set the context for conditionality and go on to examine the techniques, the subjects, the impacts and the ethics of conditionality. The conclusion goes further than most conclusions offering benefit in the form of 'a framework' to assess welfare conditionality.

Readers of this journal will be most interested in the author's wide-ranging discussion of housing policy and practice as a key site for conditionality (p.67). This includes exploration of various themes including criminalisation of vagrancy, banning food distribution and use of anti-social behaviour orders. It also reviews recent UK trends towards more conditional, probationary and renewable social housing tenancies and the tendency towards segregated 'very social' housing practices in France, Austria and Sweden. The authors also reflect optimistically on UK housing associations' resistance to implementing behavioural conditions and the growing support for the principles underpinning the Housing First approach. In their consideration of behavioural conditionality in the context of street-homelessness, the authors do not sit on the fence. Having surveyed a range of views concerning conditionality in homelessness, including the 'right to be homeless' and anti-intervention perspectives, the authors clearly conclude that conditionality and

1 Funded by the UK Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC), see www.welfareconditionality.ac.uk

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some level of enforcement is morally justifiable if and when used to compassionately shepherd homeless people into rehabilitative social services (p.76). Albeit the authors are also clear that local level discretion to enforce conditions can also be used for discriminatory and oppressive ends and are especially mindful about the limits to vulnerable claimant's knowledge and understanding (p.95).

While the book is clearly inter-disciplinary, the authors' own backgrounds in law and philosophy shine through in both their willingness and ability to debate and take positions in key arguments about welfare conditionality. In Chapter Three, the authors are even-handed in their assessment of rational-based behavioural economics and models of human agency and concur on the need for more middle range behavioural theories that are socially embedded and contextually rational (p.111). Likewise, in Chapter Seven's discussion about the ethics of conditionality the authors reject any one normative perspective including rights based perspectives, which the authors argue, are too unqualified in their critique of conditionality. They argue instead for a pluralist social justice framework that allows a triangulation of different normative perspectives within which conditionality can be ethically appraised.

Social housing tenants and homeless people's experiences of conditionality are well served by this book, as are the experiences of unemployed people and those who are sick and disabled. Conditionality as applied to low income families with children is also discussed, largely focusing on conditional cash transfers in developing countries, and income management, immunisation and school-enrolment in developed countries. While space is tight, other subjects or themes might merit more attention than given. The conditional treatment of lone parents, while mentioned a number of times, is not a specific focus of discussion, perhaps thereby missing the option of introducing gender as a more explicit variable of overall analysis and bringing the enforcement of sexual behaviour into the discussion. Migrants' differing experiences of conditionality might merit more consideration. The authors are interested in how conditionality is used in Nordic welfare models to safeguard robust welfare safety nets in increasingly competitive global markets; they could extend that discussion to explore how conditionality is used to reinforce social, cultural and economic norms in a context of increased migration. Chapter Seven's 'framework' to assess the efficacy and welfare conditionality includes seven tests or questions to test the ethics and efficacy of conditionality. These include questions about, in order; legitimacy of the ends being pursued; alignment with ultimate societal goals; plausibility of the theory of change; effectiveness in question of the approach; degree of benefit over non-conditional alternative approaches; the level of proportionality; and lastly, the degree of cost effectiveness. Given the high possibilities of discriminatory application of conditionality, a test for equal treatment might also be useful in such a framework.

Some of the strengths of the book lie in the disciplinary background of the authors; coming from a political sociology perspective, I would have enjoyed more treatment of the politics of conditionality and a more thorough investigation of how conditional regimes are often linked to broader political discourse, and often stigmatise and disempower claimants. This seems particularly important when one distinguishes, as the authors do, between the threat and the imposition of sanctions. Sanctions shifts power in all sorts of ways. The book raises hard political questions why conditionality is the choice or technique of social control for the poor. It also raises important questions about unintended consequences. There are scar effects of conditionality, which may not only crowd out intrinsic positive motivations but may also create hostility towards service providers. There are also impacts for non-government agencies as institutions are forced to shift their culture and relationship with service users. An outcome of UK research, the book inevitably over-focuses on UK and to some degree Anglo Saxon evidence. However, let none of these small gripes undermine this well written and well-researched book. Other books are due to be published from this welfare conditionality project. One can only look forward to them and hope they reach the same high standards as this first publication.

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Y-Foundation (2017)

A Home of Your Own: Housing First and Ending Homelessness in Finland

Keuruu: Otava Book Printing, pp.127, available:
https://ysaatio.fi/assets/files/2018/01/A_Home_of_Your_Own_lowres_spreads.pdf

As a faculty member at a school of social work, an important part of my job is to teach courses in social welfare policy to students pursuing Masters of Social Work degrees. A constant challenge I face in teaching these courses is to find ways to make the policy process feel accessible to my students, the majority of whom are interested in becoming clinical social workers and have little prior exposure to the world of policy analysis. My students tend to have a lukewarm (or worse) response to the typical policy reports. Many such documents tend to be overly dense and technical, and also contain enough bar charts and data tables to overwhelm most readers. As just one relevant example, the most recent version of the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development's Annual Homeless Assessment Report to Congress contained, by my count, more than 70 tables and charts over the course of only 76 pages.

It was therefore somewhat refreshing to read A Home of Your Own: Housing First and Ending Homelessness in Finland, a book that takes an entirely different approach to telling the story of the development, implementation, and impact of a national policy initiative. Although the success of Finland's national strategy to address homelessness is already widely known in certain circles (among others, Nicholas Pleace wrote about the Finnish approach in the September 2017 issue of this journal), A Home of Your Own packages this story in a way that will be appealing to a wide range of new audiences. The book's magazine-like layout, which makes heavy use of callout boxes, photographs, personal narratives, and even floor plans of supported housing units helps to make it an informative, highly accessible and relatively quick read. Authored by the Y-Foundation, a non-profit that was a key partner in the development of Finland's national strategy, the main text of the book is comprised of nine brisk chapters spread across less than 100 pages. Given its format and length, I can imagine giving this book to students, relatives, friends or other colleagues who have little knowledge of policy or homelessness with the

confidence that they would be able to come back in just a few hours newly endowed with a fairly firm, albeit broad, understanding of how Finland has gone about tackling homelessness.

In terms of its structure and substantive content, the book starts with two chapters that provide context on the "why" and "how" Finland has gone about pursuing a coordinated national response to homelessness. These chapters trace Finland's shift from a reliance on the staircase model as its preferred approach to homelessness to the implementation in 2008 of a national strategy to reduce long-term homelessness in which the Housing First model served as the foundation. What jumps out in these chapters is that the success of this national strategy (initially known as Paavo I, and subsequently updated with Paavo II in 2012) was rooted in the involvement of stakeholders from multiple sectors in its development and in the tailoring of the Housing First model to the existing contours of the Finnish social welfare state. This latter point raises the question of whether countries with a less robust system of social protection are likely to face significant barriers in replicating the Finnish approach at an equally large scale. I found myself wondering what the authors thought about this question, but it remains regrettably unanswered both in these chapters and in the book as a whole.

Having provided the necessary background, Chapters 3 to 8 then detail the implementation of this plan from several different angles. Chapter 3 describes how the plan required a shift in both the philosophy and practices of actors across multiple sectors, including national and municipal government officials, non-profit service providers and formerly homeless residents in supported housing. The importance of involving multiple sectors crops up again in Chapter 6, which explains how the collaboration of actors from all of these sectors was crucial for the success of the plan in producing 1,250 new housing opportunities and achieving a 35% reduction in long-term homelessness between 2008 and 2015. Of particular interest in this chapter is the account of the role that "experts by experience" (i.e. persons with lived experience of homelessness) played in the development and implementation of Finland's national strategy. There is impressively broad thinking on display about the role that such experts by experience can and do play at multiple levels.

Chapter 4 takes readers inside two congregate supported housing programs developed through the national plan and thus provides an up-close and in-depth portrait of what Housing First looks like in the Finnish context. The personal narratives of residents living in these developments are the most compelling part of this chapter and make for the most impactful reading in the entire book. As an American reader, I found the story of one resident, an American expat who became homeless in Finland after his business fell on hard times, to be an interesting, albeit discouraging lens through which to view my own country's orientation towards providing

social protection to vulnerable individuals. Indeed, providing permanent, government-funded housing to an American immigrant in need appears to be entirely non-controversial in the Finnish context, a stark contrast to the current situation in the United States where ascendant political forces are aggressively pursuing the passage of policies that would deny immigrants even the most basic safety net protections.

The final two chapters of the book (Chapters 8 and 9) are more forward looking and make it clear that authorities in Finland are not satisfied simply with making substantial progress in reducing long-term homelessness. Chapter 8 details the shift in the Finnish strategy towards an increasing emphasis on homelessness prevention. Building on the success of its earlier Paavo I and Paavo II plans, the Finnish implemented the Action Plan for Preventing Homelessness in Finland in 2016, which will guide the country's approach to homelessness through 2019. Chapter 8 briefly describes the wide range of strategies that are being developed and implemented by this plan and readers are likely to zero in on those strategies that align closely with their interests. For example, I found the idea of developing "housing social work" as a new area of practice that will be integrated into social and human services training curricula to be highly intriguing and one that social work education in the United States would do well to adopt. The final chapter of the book (Chapter 9) touches briefly on emerging challenges that will affect efforts to address homelessness in Finland, not the least of which is impending structural reforms to the administration and organization of social and health services.

As a whole, A Home of Your Own is likely to be most appealing to those readers interested in the 30,000-foot view of how Finland has achieved impressive results in reducing homelessness. For those who want more of the nitty-gritty details or who are looking for a more traditional and in-depth policy analysis, this book is likely to leave you wanting. Indeed, one criticism I had of A Home of Your Own, is that I frequently found myself wanting more information than the book provided about the many policy decisions, service models, funding mechanisms or historical developments that the book mentions. I also wondered whether there had been any rigorous empirical evaluation of the impact of the Finnish approach. Along the same lines, while the book does mention some of the challenges to the successful implementation of Finland's strategy, one wishes the story had been told through a lens that was a bit more critical. Surely there were some more bumps in the road than readers are let in on. However, this critique is admittedly rooted in my own particular bias, and so it is perhaps more fair to offer this point as a caution to potential readers who may be hoping for a book that is more in the traditional academic mould.

All the same, the authors of A Home of your Own have done a commendable job in putting together a book that is ambitious without trying to do too much, informative without being overly complicated, and accessible without being over simplified. This makes for a winning formula and book that is overall successful in what it sets out to achieve.

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Carol L. M. Caton (2017)

The Open Door: Homelessness and Severe Mental Illness in the Era of Community Treatment

New York: Oxford Press, pp.160, €43.42

Although only 160 pages in length, "*The Open Door: Homelessness and Severe Mental Illness in the Era of Community Treatment"*, authored by Dr. Carol Caton, a well-known community mental health researcher at Columbia University, provides a knowledgeable and comprehensive perspective on the development of programs and policies addressing homelessness among people with severe and persistent mental illness in the post-deinstitutionalization period in the United States. As stated by the author in the preface, the book is intended to provide a review of the "state of science" in describing the history of community treatment targeting homelessness. Based on my reading, I judge it as having accomplished this objective.

The book has ten chapters, each with a particular theme that takes us over a period of 35 years, from the closing of psychiatric institutions in the United States, to the rise of homelessness among people with severe mental illness, the development of community mental health services, the initiation of housing programs and policies addressing homelessness, the recent focus on homelessness prevention, and future directions for research on promoting recovery and community participation. The book moves along quickly with each chapter broken into a series of short sections. However, to fully appreciate its rich content, I needed to read it in several sittings.

Although, the chapters are sequenced in a chronology that tells the story of the rise of homelessness in America and its response to date, their themed focus allows them to be read on their own. To some extent, each chapter represents a review of the research literature on a topic related to the homelessness of people with severe mental illness. Moreover, many of the chapters are unique in how they summarize the research.

Chapter 1 "*The Open Door: The Mental Health System Transformed*" sets the stage for the rest of the book by recounting the story behind the closing of psychiatric institutions and how mental health and social services that were put in place in the 1970s and 1980s fell short of addressing the needs of deinstitutionalized patients

leading to them being inadequately housed, socially marginalized, and frequently homeless across the country. The chapter argues that current gaps in community mental health services in the United States continue to play a major contributing role to the large number of people with severe mental illness who experience chronic homelessness.

Chapter 2 "*Voluntarism and the Rise of Advocacy*" describes the increasing public awareness of the growing homelessness problem across the United States in the 1970s and the move from addressing it locally through services to public and legal advocacy efforts undertaken at the state and national levels. It is also noted that the media has also played an important role in these advocacy efforts. These advocacy efforts produced the McKinney-Veto Homeless Assistance Act in 1987, legislation that continues to exist today and serves as the main source of federal funding for programs serving people who are homeless. Also in the late 1980s, the National Alliance to End Homelessness was created with the purpose of developing housing solutions. The chapter underlines the success of advocacy efforts of community organizations, the media, law, and citizens in bringing attention to the homelessness issue and much-needed reforms to public policies.

Chapter 3, "*Homeless People with Severe Mental Illness"* describes the subgroup of individuals with severe mental illness who are chronically homelessness. It is these individuals, representing approximately 15-20% of the homeless population that are the focus of the book. The chapter cites research that identifies the risk factors contributing to the homelessness of this population, including childhood adversity, substance abuse, violence and victimization, criminal behaviour, and medical comorbidities. The chapter ends with interesting and rich case narratives of three individuals with mental illness who are homeless, drawn from qualitative research conducted by the author and intended to inform the development of prevention programs.

Chapter 4, "*Overcoming the Problem of Disengagement from Treatment"* presents the research on the lack of participation in mental health treatment of people with severe mental illness who are homeless. The chapter reviews the reasons behind this disengagement from services that includes lack of insight, the stigma associated with mental illness, and situational and financial barriers. It goes on to examine the research on interventions to increase engagement, notably the leveraging of entitlements and housing, involuntary inpatient treatment, assisted outpatient treatment, and voluntary approaches to decision-making like shared decision-making.

Chapter 5, "*Mental Health Services Take to the Streets*" reviews the research on the outreach services and programs that were developed to engage people with severe mental illness who were homeless and not receiving any mental health

services. In particular, it examines the state of the evidence on the effectiveness of community mental health programs targeting the population such as case management, CTI, ACT, integrated treatment for people with dual disorders, peer recovery support, and supported employment.

Chapter 6, "*From the Streets to Homes"* presents the range of specialized housing that has been developed for people with severe mental illness beginning with the early board and care homes of the 1970s, followed by the creation of emergency shelters, early forms of single site supportive housing, and scattered site supportive housing. Types of supportive housing are categorized in the chapter based on four characteristics: housing first versus housing readiness, high demand versus low demand environments, intensity of supportive services, and transitional versus permanent. The chapter ends with a description of different examples of types of supportive housing programs located in different parts of the United States.

Chapter 7, "*Challenges to Bringing Housing to Scale"* focuses on permanent supportive housing, defining it as any housing that combines subsidies and treatment and support services. The chapter notes that there is no agreed-upon standard model for permanent supportive housing with the exception of the Pathways Housing First model, which has adopted the recommended characteristics for supportive housing of the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration. It reports on the findings of consumer preference research that show that a majority of individuals prefer independent living in regular housing over living in single site housing with on-site support. In spite of these preferences, it is indicated that housing decisions are usually made by service providers who are partial to group living for people with severe mental illness. The research on housing outcomes is summarized as showing that "*any type of housing*" is effective in assisting people to leave homelessness and that permanent supportive housing reduces the use of crisis health care services. On the other hand, the value-added impact of permanent supportive housing on behavioural outcomes is less clear. The chapter raises two important issues that need to be addressed as permanent supportive housing is scaled up, namely how individuals can graduate from single-site supportive housing into regular housing with intensive support and developing shared housing as a permanent supportive housing option.

Chapter 8, *"National Initiatives to End Homelessness"* describes the large-scale national effort to scale up permanent supportive housing across the United States through the implementation of a Ten-Year Plan to End Chronic Homelessness in 2000. The plan, initiated by the National Alliance to End Homelessness was intended to capitalize on the emerging findings of the effectiveness and cost-effectiveness of permanent supportive housing. The focus of the plan was to end chronic homelessness among individuals and included the development of local

ten-year plans and the use of point-in-time counts to track progress over time. Although significant effort was expended on these plans, there has not been a comprehensive evaluation of their implementation. In this context, the author presents in the chapter the results of interviews with key informants involved with the implementation of the ten-year plans in five American cities, notably Portland, Oregon, San Francisco, Houston, Salt Lake City, and Washington, DC. The interviews and point-in-time count data showed a decrease in chronic homelessness in each of these cities. The chapter notes that nationwide, chronic homelessness has decreased in the U.S. by 31% between 2007 and 2015.

Chapter 9, *"Can Homelessness Be Prevented"* is a short chapter that emphasizes the importance of combining programs that end chronic homelessness with interventions that prevent it from occurring in the first place. The author summarizes the state of the research on prevention as showing that "at present, there are no evidence-based homelessness prevention approaches, but that ongoing work in the area is promising" (p.135). The chapter distinguishes between population-level prevention policies focusing on development of more affordable housing and increased disability entitlements and high-risk prevention programs that target individuals at imminent risk of becoming homeless. Three high-risk prevention programs are highlighted in the chapter, New York City's Homebase Program, Massachusetts Tenancy Preservation Program, and Discharge Planning laws in several states. The Homebase Program offer case management, tenant and landlord mediation, employment assistance, legal services and short-term financial assistance. The Tenant Preservation Program provides mediation services between landlords and tenants with disabilities at risk of eviction. Research on both of these programs has shown impressive outcomes. The chapter concludes with a call for "the scientific study of prevention interventions to identify what works best for whom" (p.139).

Chapter 10, "*Beyond Housing: Opening the Door to Community Participation*" ends the book with the idea that achieving housing stability for people with severe mental illness who have been chronically homeless is only a first step. Once housed, the goal needs to be shifted to the pursuit of "recovery" where individuals with severe mental illness are empowered to pursue personal goals, work towards reaching their potential, and develop meaningful relationships in the community. The chapter also highlights the importance of diminishing stigma and facilitating social inclusion, both challenges faced by individuals living in permanent supportive housing. The book ends on a positive note with a short section on the promising early research on early intervention programs targeting psychotic disorders.

As someone who conducts research in the areas of community mental health and homelessness, the book provided an interesting historical perspective on familiar research addressing the housing needs of people with severe mental illness. The book's biggest limitation is its exclusive focus on severe mental illness and homelessness in the United States. This might make it of less interest to *EJH* readers. However, I believe that the described history and cited research in the book on programs and policies yield knowledge that can have some utility and application in Europe, particularly in the context of countries that are in the process of deinstitutionalization. I would recommend this book to other researchers, program developers, and policy makers who are working on ending chronic homelessness and integrating people with severe mental illness in their country.

To some extent, reading this book is like taking a journey in which the successes and challenges over the past 35 years of ending homelessness among people with severe mental illness in the United States are highlighted. At the end of this journey, you are left with the impression that we have the means to end chronic homelessness and that we are making progress in this direction. At the same time, there remains the need for further research that can continue to inform the development of effective programs and policies that not only end homelessness for people with severe mental illness but also help them to build a meaningful life in our communities.

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Carole Zufferey and Nilan Yu (Eds.) (2018)

Faces of Homelessness in the Asia Pacific

London & New York: Routledge, pp.160, £105.00, ebook £35.95

Purpose and intent

This is an ambitious book. Its purpose is to provide 'practitioners, students, educators and researchers' with a 'broad understanding of what it means to be homeless' in the Asia Pacific, and to demonstrate the 'diversity of homelessness' in terms of how it is defined (or not) and how it is perceived and experienced across this region. The geographic scope of the book alone is huge. It addresses homelessness in eight countries that collectively comprise some 40 percent of the world's population (3 billion of 7.6 billion). Two countries, China and India, have populations in excess of 1 billion; a further two, Japan and Philippines, are over 100 million, South Korea is 50 million, Australia 24 million, Sri Lanka 21 million, all are in the top quartile of the United Nation's ranking of national populations; even Hong Kong with 7 million is ranked in the second quartile. These countries not only differ in size, but also differ from each other in levels of economic development, political governance and cultural and social structures. And, especially within the largest, exhibit considerable internal uneven economic, political and social development. That the book even comes close to achieving the stated objectives is testament to the discipline of explicit editorial direction and to the selectivity of subject matter adopted by the individual authors of the country chapters.

To ensure coherence and the basis for some comparative analysis, the editors instructed the contributors to, first, explore the scale, distribution and lived experience of homelessness within their respective countries and, second, to structure their chapters around a critical analysis of state policies and the role of non-government organisations. For the most part the chapter authors adhere to these instructions, especially in relation to the analysis of state policies. However, to make their task manageable, most authors tailor their accounts by, *inter alia*, limiting the depth of historical coverage and/or geographical focus, and by limiting their analyses to particular demographic or social groups. Only the chapters on Hong Kong and Australia – two of the smallest countries – attempt a national coverage.

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Overview of the substantive chapters

In Chapter 2, Kiener and Mizuuchi, examine post second world war developments in state sponsored homelessness programmes in Japan; programmes which have had only limited success buffeted as they have been over the years by the vagaries of economic growth and fluctuating welfare provision. Their 'case study' of day labourers in Tokyo, Osaka and Yokohama is set in a present day context characterised by a widening of homelessness demographics to include educated, married and previously-housed households. The authors conclude on an 'optimistic' note identifying recent increases in welfare benefits plus, tellingly, the introduction of revanchist 'city cleaning' policies, in reducing visible homelessness.

Qiu and Zufferey (Chapter 3) illustrate the nature of homelessness in China through an examination of selected social groups: older people, women and children and migrants drifting between rural and urban locations. They identify the ways in which Chinese state polices effectively downplay any official recognition of homelessness – the focus of policy is variously on 'rescuing' or 'criminalising' those without shelter and other vulnerable people. State controlled 'Aid Stations' provided limited assistance and support and, while there is evidence of increasing involvement of non-government organisations, these lack resources and frequently refer homeless people to the equally under-resourced state run 'Aid Stations'. Overall the picture painted by Qiu and Zufferey is one of neglect and containment.

Goel and Chowdhary's India chapter (Chapter 4), focusing on housing and homelessness in Delhi, examines the complex interrelationships of homelessness with gender, class and caste, domestic violence and abandonment of children. The picture is one of increasing politicisation, including the denial of citizen's rights, criminalisation and lack of access to shelters and temporary housing.

In Chapter 5 on Sri Lanka, Ariyadasa, McLaren and McIntyre-Mills, examine the treatment of homeless children in resource-starved government institutions and volunteer-run children homes. In a country torn by war, environmental disaster and characterised by deep poverty, the institutionalisation of children has exposed them to chronic deprivation and depleted life chances. Attempts by the state to regulate children's homes have had very limited success. The authors conclude that while state intervention might offer some future alleviation, too many children in Sri Lanka continue to be deprived of their basic human rights.

The Republic of Korea's welfare responses to homelessness (Chapter 6) are examined by Kim and Heo. While the Ministry of Health and Welfare draws up five year plans and undertakes nation wide surveys and central government provides finance, the implementation of homelessness policy in Korea is largely the shared responsibility of the provinces and local authorities. The authors demonstrate that

since the Asian financial crisis of the 1990s which has led to persistent unemployment and recurrent economic crises, Korea has experienced increases in homelessness, certainly among men who have traditionally made up the majority of homeless people, but also among new homeless demographics: women, young people and older sections of the population. The authors argue that for homelessness to be effectively addressed, there is a need for the development of community-based initiatives, a programme of job creation and the sustainable financing of homelessness support facilities.

The authors of Chapter 7, Kornatowski and Wong, adopt an historic and 'national' perspective in examining homelessness in the 'Special Administrative Region' of Hong Kong. Here the importance of the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis (as in Korea and Japan) is identified in drawing public and official attention to visible homelessness. While a One-Stop homelessness service run by a public-NGO partnership has been in place since the early 2000s, the structural barriers to rehousing – substandard housing, low wages and unaffordable rents – have yet to be serious addressed. The authors conclude with explicit recommendations regarding length of tenure in temporary housing and the expansion of the One-Stop facility to provide integrated support including mental health rehabilitation.

Nicolas and Gray's Chapter 8 on Metropolitan Manila describes in some detail the experience and conditions of homelessness among street families, illustrated with several telling vignettes. The approaches of successive Philippine governments to homelessness have variously wavered between housing and welfare and have had only a limited impact. The mass housing schemes of the distant and recent past have effectively been sequestered by middle income families, while the cash transfer schemes, designed to provide social security and insurance for the poor and homeless, has been prejudiced by a enduring distinction between the deserving and underserving. Summarising, the authors draw attention, within the context of a minimalist state welfare provision, to the manner in which urban commercial and infrastructure development has been and continues to be prioritised over housing and shelter.

The last of the substantive chapters (Chapter 9) by Horsell and Zufferey deals with homelessness in Australia. Here the focus is on definitional issues and policy discourse. In terms of the 'sophistication' of the national definition of homelessness (periodically challenged domestically) and the swathes of resources that have been invested in homelessness research and policy development, Australia stands apart from the other countries considered in this book. It is the only chapter to mention 'housing first' and while not explicitly cited by the authors has also engaged in discussions regarding 'ending homelessness': such a scenario is light years away from policy discussion in most other countries in the Asia Pacific. Nonetheless, Horsell and Zufferey draw

attention to the persistent and – as elsewhere in the developed world – the growing problem of homelessness in Australia, exacerbated by continued social inequalities, the fragility of welfare provision and the failings of the housing market.

Assessment

In the introduction to this book the editors are at pains to emphasise that our understanding of homelessness is 'very much circumscribed by our situatedness' which is 'heavily dependent on geographical, cultural and historic contexts in which we find ourselves and from which we draw meaning' (p.1). Their intent is to challenge preconceptions and expose readers to the diverse and the complex nature of homelessness beyond familiar bailiwicks. Yet for this 'western situated' reader the overriding message of the substantive chapters is that the determinants of homelessness in the Asia Pacific often mirror closely those in Europe and North America: social inequalities, economic volatility, political caprice combining in complex intersectional ways with individual attributes of the homeless population. Similarly, pathologisation and criminalisation of homeless people and the neglect of structural imperatives replicate trends in attitudes and programmes embedded in the 'western context'. Of course there are differences, such as the extraordinary resilience of many Asian Pacific homeless people associated in part with the functionality of informal economies, and the importance of family support structures. But even here the differences are not absolute, though the sheer scale of homelessness in several Asia Pacific countries certainly trumps that of the 'west'. Other drivers of homelessness, barely touched upon in this book, such as environmental catastrophe (as illustrated by the August 2018 floods in Kerala) and social oppression (such as the continuing coercion of the Uighurs in the China's Xinjiang province) also mark out the 'different' nature of the homeless experience in some parts of the Asia Pacific; but such catastrophes and conflicts are not without precedent in the 'west' – though again, arguably, scale makes a difference. In an increasingly globalised world, 'situatedness' is not what it used to be.

Despite the above challenges –in a context where the bulk of academic research on homeless originates from and is focused on Europe and North America- this book is a welcome addition to the growing literature on homelessness in a part of the world rapidly growing in economic and political importance yet still 'home' to a large percentage of the world's homeless population.

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European Observatory on Homelessness

European Journal of Homelessness

The European Journal of Homelessness provides a critical analysis of policy and practice on homelessness in Europe for policy makers, practitioners, researchers and academics. The aim is to stimulate debate on homelessness and housing exclusion at the European level and to facilitate the development of a stronger evidential base for policy development and innovation. The journal seeks to give international exposure to significant national, regional and local developments and to provide a forum for comparative analysis of policy and practice in preventing and tackling homelessness in Europe. The journal will also assess the lessons for Europe which can be derived from policy, practice and research from elsewhere.

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