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# VULNERABLE EU MIGRANTS' ACCESS TO WELFARE - A SOURCE OF CONFLICT?

A Comparative Study of Party-Political Approaches in Gothenburg and Stockholm

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## Abstract

Vulnerable EU migrants' access to welfare has become a controversial issue in Sweden since two rounds of EU Eastern enlargement. The political debate has comprised both inclusive and welfare protective preferences, however, previous research provides contradictory views on whether approaches to intra-EU migration separate parties according to the traditional left-right divide or cuts across the political spectrum. Simultaneously, patterns of local political conflict are yet under-explored despite the fact that a considerable amount of welfare state activities are dealt with on a local level.

Drawing on theories of welfare chauvinism and deservingness together with explanatory factors for party behaviour, this thesis aims to contribute to the understanding of political conflict surrounding vulnerable EU migrants' welfare from a local perspective. Parties' preferences are compared with each other in the two largest municipalities in Sweden, i.e. Gothenburg and Stockholm, to detect conflict patterns between the left-wing and the right-wing. Ideological and strategic perspectives are taken into consideration as well as the broader context of political conflict surrounding vulnerable migrant groups by comparing vulnerable EU migrants with undocumented migrants.

The qualitative text analysis of City Council documents and party programmes reveals that right-wing parties are more likely to express restrictive preferences. However, there is no strict left-right divide in the political conflict surrounding vulnerable EU migrants' access to welfare. Both inclusive and welfare chauvinistic opinions are found on both the left-wing and the right-wing. The thesis suggests that strategic behaviour provides a plausible explanation for why the issue cuts across the two blocs as parties change sides in the pursuit to gain beneficial positions. The findings also indicate that vulnerable EU migrants, unlike undocumented migrants, are politicised as a problem to the Swedish society.

**Keywords:** vulnerable EU migrants, local political conflict, Gothenburg, Stockholm, left-wing, right-wing, welfare chauvinism, undocumented migrants, deservingness, political party behaviour

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# 1. Introduction

Since two rounds of European Union (EU) enlargement in 2004 and 2007, Sweden has come in contact with a new socially exposed group from Central and Eastern Europe (CEE). These migrants are associated with implications such as poverty, unemployment and homelessness (McGarry & Drake, 2013:75; Zelano et al. 2014:3,7). Political parties' preferences have come to play a significant role in how this migrant group is approached by the Swedish society as these actors possess the authority to make concrete policy decisions. The outcome; vulnerable EU migrants' access to welfare support has become a controversial issue giving rise to political conflict. Political responses have been both inclusive and welfare protective, which is puzzling considering the notion of Sweden as a welfare state providing generous entitlements to immigrants (Berg & Spehar, 2013; Spehar & Hinnfors, forthcoming). A report published by the Swedish government in early 2016 sheds light on the local dimension of the conflict. Local policymakers were unprepared for the social consequences of this novel kind of intra-EU mobility and municipalities dealt with associated issues differently (SOU, 2016:13). The local political level will also be the foci in this thesis.

Scholars argue that the ideological left-right divide is a determining factor to how parties organise their inclusive and restrictive positions towards immigrants' social rights. However, recent findings suggest that this pattern of political conflict tend to dissolve as immigration issues cuts across the political spectrum. These contradictory views on Swedish politics refer to the national level (Azmanova, 2011; Hinnfors et al. 2012, Bucken-Knapp et al. 2014a,2014b; Green-Pedersen & Krogstrup, 2008; Rydgren, 2008). The aim of this thesis is to contribute to the understanding of political conflict from a local perspective. The objective is to examine the left-wing and the right-wing's preferences towards vulnerable EU migrants' access to welfare support in the two largest municipalities in Sweden, i.e. Gothenburg and Stockholm. The study stretches from 2007 to 2015 and includes ideological and strategic dimensions in order to make sense of party behaviour.

The motivation for conducting studies of this sort on the local political level proceeds from an understanding of the social contract between vulnerable EU migrants and the welfare state as essentially boiling down to concrete issues of access to welfare that is debated by local politicians. A growing body of research advocates the importance of a local political dimension as local governments' progressively become more active in implementing their own policies towards immigrant integration. This development is particularly evident in cities

as urban regions experience an exceptional rise in immigration (Scholten, 2013:154; Zelano et al. 2014:8,14,17).

To make sense of political approaches towards vulnerable EU migrants, it is necessary to broaden the perspective and relate the political conflict to attitudes towards other socially excluded migrant groups. Undocumented migrants are identified as one of the most vulnerable groups in Sweden and tend to face barriers preventing them from accessing welfare support (Wright & Ascher, 2012:286,305).

However, unlike vulnerable EU migrants, undocumented migrants' entitlements have been extended by the implementation of national legislation (SFS, 2013:407). Thus, undocumented migrants and vulnerable EU migrants both allegedly pose a certain burden to the Swedish welfare state. At the same time, the different levels of welfare generosity suggest that the burden is not perceived as equally reasonable. A current example that clearly portray the differences between the deservingness of the two migrant groups is the questioning of vulnerable EU migrant children's access to education. There are occasions when these children have been granted the right to schooling, but only after being labelled as undocumented (Bubenko, 2016; SKL, 2016).

## 1.1 Research Aim and Research Questions

The aim of this thesis is to contribute to the understanding of the political conflict surrounding vulnerable EU migrants' access to welfare support in Sweden from a local perspective. The objective is to investigate the approaches of the left-wing and right-wing by examining parties' preferences in Gothenburg and Stockholm. Ideological and strategic perspectives are taken into consideration as well as the broader context of political conflict surrounding vulnerable migrant groups by including preferences to undocumented migrants' access to welfare. An overarching research question together with two sub-questions, all classified as theory-testing, will guide the study and provide answers that fulfil the aim of the thesis.

### **Research Questions**

What are the political parties' preferences towards vulnerable EU migrants' access to welfare in Gothenburg and Stockholm and how do these preferences vary between left-wing and right-wing parties in the City Councils?

- Are parties' preferences towards vulnerable EU migrants' access to welfare explained by party ideology or strategy?
- How do parties' approach EU migrants' deservingness of welfare in comparison to undocumented migrants' deservingness of welfare?

## 1.2 Scope

The scope of the thesis implies certain limitations to the study. First of all, although welfare state activities are primarily carried out on a local level there are certain measures dealt with on the regional and national level. The most important services that Swedish municipalities are responsible for are schooling, social services and elderly care (SKL, 2015). This will determine the kind of welfare support that local political parties are likely to debate in the City Council, which in turn affects the issues covered in this thesis. Secondly, the thesis concentrates on two types of migration, vulnerable EU migrants and undocumented migrants, which means that some migration types also perceived as vulnerable, such as asylum seekers, are left out of the study. Finally, comparing Gothenburg and Stockholm over a period of nine years adds both spatial and temporal limitations to the study. These will be discussed further in the methods chapter.

## 1.3 Outline

The outline of the thesis proceeds from the introductory chapter with a literature review and an explanation of theoretical concepts divided into two sections. The first section deals with the political conflict surrounding immigration issues including previous research together with hypotheses based on prior findings. The following section introduces the chosen subject of political conflict in this thesis, i.e. vulnerable EU migrants' access to welfare. The methods chapter will describe the overall research design and the methodological tools used in this study. The results and the analysis of the qualitative comparison of the two municipalities are presented alternately. The thesis ends with a discussion of the results and a presentation of the answers to the research questions followed by concluding remarks with suggestions for further research.

## 2. Literature Review and Theoretical Perspectives

This chapter is divided into two sections with a number of sub-headings. The reason for this is to distinguish between political conflict surrounding immigration in general and the particular issue that is chosen as a subject for the conflict covered in this thesis. Thus, the first section introduces the reader to political competition in Sweden. The second half of the chapter is dedicated to a presentation of the case; vulnerable EU migrants' access to welfare support.

### 2.1 Politics Behind the Policies

#### 2.1.1 Studies of Gothenburg and Stockholm

Scholars within the field of migration studies agree on the importance of a new research agenda as the accession of ten CEE countries in the EU enlargement in 2004 and 2007<sup>1</sup> has led to a transformation of east-west mobility (Engersen et al. 2013:960; Favell, 2008:701; Korkut et al, 2013; Sasse & Thielemann, 2005:655). Studies of Sweden emphasise the country's unique approach to these changing conditions as the only member state not to implement any restrictions to free movement in neither of the two rounds of enlargement (Boswell & Geddes, 2011:180). Despite this liberal stance, the Swedish post-enlargement political debate was characterised by a fear of potential social and economic consequences of increased east-west mobility from less affluent CEE countries. These views were expressed through welfare protectionism, or so-called welfare chauvinism (Hinnfors et al. 2012:592; Zelano et al. 2015:5). To this day, studies show that Swedish municipalities have failed to formulate policies adapted to vulnerable EU migrants' situation. Instead, civil society organisations shoulder a lot of the responsibility of ensuring the well-being of this group (Spehar & Bucken-Knapp, forthcoming; Sävfält, forthcoming).

Local efforts targeting vulnerable EU migrants has varied between municipalities. Zelano et al.'s (2014:4,14; 2015:37-9) comparative study of Gothenburg and Stockholm explore public and civil society stakeholders' approach to CEE migrants. Although the report finds similarities between the municipalities in terms of the actual distribution of emergency assistance to EU migrants in need, there are variations in stakeholders approach to the migrant group. Whereas stakeholders in Gothenburg recognise homelessness and begging among Bulgarian and Romanian migrants as important issues, stakeholders in Stockholm place emphasis on implications related to the immigration of manual workers from Poland.

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<sup>1</sup> Accession countries in the EU enlargement in 2004: the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovenia, Slovakia (Cyprus, Malta); and in 2007: Bulgaria, Romania (EUR-lex, 2007).



Stockholm does find social consequences associated with Bulgarian and Romanian migrants relevant, however, to a lower extent than in Gothenburg. The composition of homeless migrants in Stockholm is perceived as more diverse than in Gothenburg including a larger share of Third Country Nationals (TCNs). Thus, there seem to be less of a focus on social issues connected exclusively to vulnerable EU migrants among stakeholders in Stockholm.

Several local studies of vulnerable EU migrants in Western Europe have focused on the preferences of public officials and civil society organisations (Castenada, 2014; Mostowska, 2014; Nilsson, 2014; Sävfält, forthcoming; Zelano et. al. 2015). Bucken-Knapp and Spehar (forthcoming), on the other hand, also explore the political dimension of the issue. According to their findings, there have been two heavily debated issues in Gothenburg and Stockholm in recent years, namely begging and municipality support to civil society organisations. Political parties in both cities tend to question the implementation of more generous welfare measures to vulnerable EU migrants due to the costs of increasing the level of support. The perception that responsibility for policymaking is situated on the national and EU level is also suggested as reasons for the passivity among both politicians and public administrators. The result is a lack of adequate policy-making targeting vulnerable EU migrants. However, the study does not further investigate how these preferences play out in the political conflict between the local left-wing and right-wing parties.

### 2.1.2 Patterns of Political Conflict - Left Versus Right?

A considerable amount of research on national level politics has explored the dynamics political conflict surrounding immigration. Some studies argue that the traditional left-right ideological division, including the party blocs and coalitions that these cleavages create, are of great importance in Swedish politics (Green-Pedersen & Odman, 2008; Green-Pedersen & Krogstrup, 2008:611; Oscarsson and Holmberg, 2011). The reason for this patterns of conflict is allegedly due to the difficulty for a single party to gain a majority in the country's multiple-party parliamentary system. The results from the national elections in 2010 and 2014 are presented as a telling example of the strong division between the mainstream left-wing coalition - the Social Democrats, the Greens and the Left Party - and the mainstream right-wing alliance - the Moderates, the Liberals, the Centre Party and the Christian Democrats. The anti-immigrant party, the Sweden Democrats, has so far been formally left out of these two blocs (Hagevi, 2015:77,79:87; Aylott & Bolin 2015:730).

Studies furthermore suggest that the left-right dimension is a major factor to how Swedish political parties organise their inclusive and restrictive positions towards immigrants. Although the Swedish welfare state is characterised as generous in terms of implemented policies, the politics behind the policies expose both generous and restrictive preferences. Parties belonging to the left-wing tend to share an inclusive position advocating measures that extend immigrants' rights. Right-wing parties, on the other hand, challenge an institutional approach to the Swedish welfare state by formulating restrictive welfare chauvinistic preferences (Dahlström & Esaiasson, 2011:360-1; Sainsbury, 2012:227; Spehar & Hinnfors, forthcoming; Slothuus, 2007:324,337).

However, prior studies also indicate that immigration issues do not always follow the traditional understanding of Swedish party politics. In fact, political preferences may cut across the left-right divide creating new cleavages and coalitions (Goul Andersen & Bjorklund, 1990; Azmanova, 2011; Berg & Spehar, 2013; Zolberg, 1999). Parties might find themselves with unconventional allies which are described as the formation of 'strange bedfellow coalitions' (Zolberg, 1999:86). Berg and Spehar's (2013:149-50) study suggests that the Swedish debate in the early 21st century concerning labour migration within the EU and from Third Countries created somewhat unholy coalitions. The Left Party, the Greens, the Christian Democrats and the Centre Party were able to find common ground against restrictive measures.

The alternative pattern of political conflict is described as a part of the transformation in today's society due to globalisation that manifests itself as a tension between security and order versus rights (Sasse & Thielemann, 2005:666; Castenada, 2014:89), or as an opportunity-risk cleavage (Azmanova, 2011:396). Studies of this sort argue that Western European states politicise migration as a security issue. This trend is described as a politics of fear where migration is framed as a problem of order and safety (Korkut et al. 2013:14; Azmanova, 2011:404; Fekete, 2014:66). Welfare chauvinism is identified as a part of this development creating a linkage between immigration and the degree of welfare state solidarity (Mau & Burkhardt, 2009; Bay & West Pedersen, 2006:420).

Research that explores motifs behind conflict patterns surrounding immigration and their access to welfare support in Western European countries tend to pay special attention to the influence of anti-immigrant parties (Bale, 2003; Dahlström & Esaiasson, 2011; Green-Pedersen-Krogstrup, 2008; Korkut et al. 2013:13; Kuisma, 2013; Rydgren, 2008; Sainsbury,

2012:137). The electoral success of these parties has, according to Bale (2003:69), resulted in mainstream right-wing parties adopting restrictive preferences to form powerful coalitions. The outcome has been an increased polarisation in European party systems. Green-Pedersen and Krogstrup (2008:611), as well as Green-Pedersen and Odmalm (2008:365), build their arguments based on Bale's conceptualisation. These scholars emphasise the presence of anti-immigrant parties and the right-wing coalitions' responding strategies when explaining differences in the political conflict between the Danish and Swedish party systems.

Also, recent studies of national politics in Sweden have widened the research scope by including mainstream left-wing parties' behaviour (Hinnfors et al. 2012, Bucken-Knapp et al. 2014a, 2014b). Turning the attention back to local research, Dahlström and Sundell's (2012:353,361) study of municipality councils ties into this research field by exploring anti-immigrant parties' influence over left-wing parties. The argument is that a restrictive climate in local political systems is beneficial for anti-immigrant parties, especially if the left-wing adopts a restrictive stance. However, the effect is only evident when the entire immigration discourse involving all mainstream parties take tougher positions towards immigration. Loxbo's (2010:295) findings relate to Bale's cross-national research by pointing towards evidence of increased political conflict and polarisation in local party systems due to the presence of anti-immigrant parties. Bolin et al. (2014:337), on the other hand, find no indication of mainstream right-wing parties conforming to the restrictive far-right agenda to gain majority coalitions. The influence of the anti-immigrant party, the Sweden Democrats, is only apparent in municipalities where the party holds a 'balance of power' position.

Studies of Swedish party politics generate contradictory conclusions as to whether immigration issues create a left-right divide or cuts across the political spectrum. Studies on both national and local level also present a number of explanations as to why these conflict patterns occur. However, local studies of party competition tend to revolve around preferences towards immigration at large. Studies focusing on particular types of intra-EU migration, on the other hand, explore political conflict patterns on a national level. Thus, local party attitudes towards specific migrant groups are left out of the equation. Another common feature of local studies that investigate party preferences is their quantitative features using a large number of observations by including all 290 Swedish municipalities (Bolin et al. 2014:324; Dahlström & Sundell, 2012: Loxbo, 2010:301). This thesis will contribute to existing research on local political conflict by exploring left-wing and right-wing parties' approaches towards certain vulnerable migrant groups. A qualitative research approach

provides in-depth knowledge of party preferences by limiting the number of observations to two municipalities.

### 2.1.3 Hypothesis I and II

Two rival hypotheses are identified by previous research in terms of how restrictive and inclusive preferences are distributed between the left-wing and the right-wing. Confirmation or rejection of these is connected to the answer to the overarching research question.

Hypothesis I: Political preferences in the City Councils of Gothenburg and Stockholm towards vulnerable EU migrants' access to welfare support are divided between left-wing parties and right-wing parties where the former adopts inclusive preferences and the latter express welfare chauvinistic preferences.

Hypothesis II: Political preferences in the City Councils of Gothenburg and Stockholm towards vulnerable EU migrants' access to welfare support cuts across the left-right divide which means that inclusive as well as welfare chauvinistic preferences are found on both the left and the right side.

### 2.1.4 Ideology and Strategy as Explanatory Concepts

Scholars resort to a number of factors to explain why political parties adopt certain approaches towards immigration. Ideology is one of them. This concept refers to preferences rooted in a party's very foundation and comprises central principles that guide its actions (Lewin, 1988:2,6; Hinnfors et al. 2012:588-9). Thus, ideology stems from beliefs within the party itself and therefore creates consistent approaches towards certain issues that endure irrespective of external events (Bucken-Knapp et al. 2014a:558,2014b:587). Ideology may create a divide between Left and Right. However, preferences based on ideology could also express restrictive and inclusive positions towards immigration on both sides of the spectrum. For instance, the Social Democratic Party belonging to the left-wing and thus identified by some scholars as inclusive might adopt consistent restrictive preferences towards certain immigration issues due to ideology. Explanation for this behaviour is that the party's ideology "often regarded as a driving force behind calls for greater equality and inclusion, can also serve as the basis for policies that exclude and keep borders tightly controlled" (Hinnfors et al. 2012:588).

An alternative explanatory factor for conflict patterns between the left-wing and the right-wing is strategy, often referred to by scholars as deriving from an understanding of party

behaviour introduced by Downs (1957). According to this concept, parties are driven by their desire to gain political influence. Thus, the dynamics of political competition are explained by parties' efforts to win the electoral majority. Parties are willing to share common preferences and form coalitions if it is deemed beneficial for them to do so. The same principles may explain why immigration is put on the political agenda or not discussed at all (Bale 2003:69, Green-Pedersen & Krogstrup, 2008:612-4). This means that a party's rhetoric may change depending on whether it possesses a government position or finds itself in opposition. The concept of strategy may also imply that the presence of anti-immigrant parties affects the preferences of mainstream parties on both sides of the spectrum. Anti-immigrant parties add a restrictive tone to the debate and mainstream parties approach this rhetoric in the manner that will bring them the most favourable outcome (Dahlström and Sundell; 2012:353; Loxbo, 2010:295).

Consequently, party behaviour can either derive from ideological preferences stemming from within the party itself or strategic considerations determined by external circumstances. The suggestion is that both ideology and strategy are important factors in shaping political preferences towards immigration issues. However, the explanatory power of these two factors vary and is not equally important at all times (Bucken-Knapp et al. 2014a:558; 2014b:589,598-9). Lewin (1988:10) defines party behaviour as an interplay between ideology and strategy where political conflict is centred around ideology but that strategy may at times become necessary to facilitate the implementation of ideology.

Thus, political conflict patterns can be explained by both ideological and strategic behaviour. The above explanations of the concepts will be useful when answering the first sub-question by facilitating an examination of parties' positions in the debate surrounding vulnerable EU migrants' access to welfare. However, explanatory studies of party behaviour usually stretch over a longer period of time (Dahlström & Esaiasson, 2011; Green-Pedersen & Krogstrup, 2008; Hinnfors, 2012) or include investigations of large number of observations (Bolin et al. 2014; Dahlström and Sundell; 2012:353; Lewin, 1988; Loxbo, 2010:295). Thus, the answer to the first sub-question should be understood as tentative providing preliminary indications and suggestions of party behaviour.

## 2.2 Access to Welfare Support: Literature and Legal Context

The type of migration is an important determinant of whether political parties adopt inclusive or welfare protective preferences (Sainsbury, 2006:240, 2012:130). For instance, Berg and Spehar (2013:157) conclude that Swedish parties tend to be more welcoming to labour migrants than other types of migration due to the plausibility of self-reliance on the formal labour market. Additional studies indicate that vulnerable migrant groups are deemed as less deserving of welfare support as these recipients are allegedly not contributing to the host society, but instead, pose a certain burden (Andersson & Nilsson, 2009:168,177-179; van Oorschot, 2000:35-8,43). Both vulnerable EU migrants and undocumented migrants have encountered barriers preventing them from accessing welfare support in Sweden (Wright & Ascher, 2012:285,305; Zelano et al. 2014,2015).

The categorisation of vulnerable EU migrants in prior studies illuminate characteristics that could explain the limitations to their deservingness. The group is described as footloose migration recognised by flexible mobility patterns as well as social implications such as homelessness, poverty, begging and unemployment (Engbersen et al. 2013:972,977; Zelano et al. 2014,2015). Research on vulnerable EU migrants often focuses on the specific approaches to the European Roma minority in Romania and Bulgaria as they constitute a large portion of the migration type due to discrimination and poverty in their home countries. They are referred to as stateless (Fekete, 2014:67), "seen by the majority society as belonging neither in their home states nor in the host states to which they migrate" (McGarry & Drake, 2013:75). The demolition of Roma settlements and expulsion of individuals monitored by the French government in 2010 is a reoccurring example of vulnerable EU migrants' undeservingness of state support. Instead, Roma migrants are framed as a security threat not belonging in the French society (Castenada, 2014:88; McGarry & Drake, 2013:81,86; Nacu, 2012:1323). France is not an exception, though, prior studies highlight similar actions in other Western European states and cities, also in Sweden (Fekete, 2014:66,67; Nilsson, 2014).

Whereas many Western European countries continuously implement restrictive policies towards immigrants, Sweden has progressed in another direction, at least when it comes to undocumented migrants. The rights to education and healthcare for this group has been on the political agenda since the 1990's (Andersson & Nilsson, 2009:168,177-179). According to Wright and Ascher (2012:305) as well as Sainsbury (2012:245), human rights have been an important motivation factor for the promotion of undocumented migrants' rights in Sweden. In 2013, the right-wing national government implemented a new law that granted

undocumented migrants equal rights to healthcare and education as for asylum seekers after an almost unanimous vote in the Swedish Parliament. The only party that voted against the decision was the Sweden Democrats (SFS, 2013:407; Swedish Parliament, 2016).

Thus, local political parties also have certain legal guidelines to take into consideration when positioning themselves towards vulnerable migrant groups' access to welfare. In fact, the principle of non-discrimination of EU citizens in Directive 2004/38/EC has presented itself as a dividing line between the social rights of vulnerable EU migrants and undocumented migrants. Equal treatment of EU citizens discourages implementation of targeted integration and welfare efforts to vulnerable EU migrants even though other types of migrants with similar needs are entitled to specific support (Zelano et al. 2015:35-6). Another pitfall of the Directive is the focus in protecting the social rights' of EU citizens who do not pose an unreasonable burden on the host country, such as workers and students. Without employment or sufficient resources, vulnerable EU migrants have the right to reside in another member state for a limited period of three months. During this time, it is left to the host country to determine the level of welfare support reasonable to provide. Consequently, Zelano et al. (2015:40) argue that the barriers to entitlements for vulnerable EU migrants are in many respects a result of the EU Directive.

On a local level, the Swedish Local Government Act (1991:900) together with the Social Services Act (2001:453) regulate the minimum municipality responsibility for all individuals residing permanently as well as temporarily within its territory, including both EU migrants and undocumented migrants. According to these laws, municipalities are obliged to provide emergency assistance in terms of food, temporary housing and a ticket home. Also, particular attention should be taken to ensure children's best interests. In addition, individual municipalities have the authority to provide extended support based on their assessment. Thus, support granted to vulnerable individuals without a permanent residence permit, EU migrants included, may differ between municipalities ranging from emergency assistance to additional welfare support, such as education (City of Gothenburg, 2015a:11-2).

This thesis frame vulnerable EU migrants' access to welfare as a case of local political conflict where preferences to undocumented migrants situate the conflict in a broader context. At the same time, the comparison enables an investigation that could provide indications of whether the political conflict surrounding vulnerable EU migrants comprise particular characteristics. There are indications that this group is deemed as less deserving than other

migrant groups based on van Oorschot's (2000) understanding of access to support as determined by attitudes concerning deservingness in combination with studies of vulnerable migrants' difficulty to be granted welfare (Andersson & Nilsson, 2009:168,177-179; Sainsbury, 2006:240, 2012:130; Wright & Ascher, 2012:285,305; Zelano et al 2014,2015). At the same time, the legal context reveals that vulnerable EU migrants and undocumented migrants are subject to different social rights. This thesis builds on and elaborates these findings by examining whether actual differences in access to support between the two migrant groups are apparent in differences in deservingness. This means that parties approach ought to vulnerable EU migrants' access to welfare varies from preferences towards undocumented migrants' access to welfare.

### 2.2.1 Conceptualising the Welfare-Immigrant Relationship

The welfare-immigrant relationship is an essential component in understanding why vulnerable migrants' access to welfare is debated among political parties in the first place. The conflict proceeds from the principles of the social contract between the welfare state and its citizens which comprise a duality of rights and duties. The welfare state has a responsibility to provide welfare and citizens have the right to access support which is referred to as a social right. However, to be granted entitlements recipients have to fulfil certain duties (Marshall, 1963:71-2,84). Hence, access to welfare is subject to political recognition based on assumptions of the deservingness of the recipients (Sainsbury, 2012:11,136). An important aspect of the social contract is the conditionality it brings to non-citizens' social rights. Immigrants are not considered to be members of the club and thus subjected to further requirements (Marshall, 1963:71-2,84).

In an attempt to investigate this conditionality, Sainsbury (2012:10,15-6,243) distinguishes between inclusive and restrictive welfare states depending on the level of solidarity towards immigrants. Universal welfare states, such as Sweden, are defined as inclusive by the generous recognition of immigrants' social rights. Non-universal welfare states, on the other hand, tend to facilitate welfare-immigrant relationships characterised by requirements and conditions. Although Sweden is theorised as an inclusive welfare state in terms of policy outcomes, Spehar & Hinnfors (forthcoming) detects excluding forces present in political negotiations leading up to final decisions illuminating the boundaries of solidarity. This thesis proceeds from the understanding that the same principles also characterise the local social contract.



Several theoretical perspectives elaborate on how to make sense of political parties' approach to the welfare-immigrant relationship. Zolberg (1999:84-6) and Azmanova (2011) present an understanding of political attitudes towards immigration is either for or against. Berg and Spehar (2013) successfully use this dichotomy to analyse parties' approach to intra-EU mobility. However, apart from the possibility to theoretically place opinions somewhere between two counter poles, there will be no use of their extended framework. The framework is useful for studies of labour migration, however, less so when analysing preferences towards migrants positioned outside the formal labour market.

Instead, political parties' preferences towards vulnerable migrant groups are theoretically classified based on the concept of welfare chauvinism. Scholars describe welfare chauvinism as an unwillingness to grant the same welfare entitlements to immigrants as for the general population in a country. The concept refers to a protective stance, based on the assumption that access to welfare should be enjoyed by the alleged 'us' at the expense of the alleged 'them' and not the other way around (Bale, 2003:78; Goul Andersen & Bjorklund, 1990:212; Korkut et al. 2013:13). In line with this conceptualisation, restrictive political preferences may be defined as attitudes in favour of limiting the access to welfare support for vulnerable migrant groups. The effect on the welfare-immigrant relationship would be a decrease in the municipality responsibility to provide welfare. The definition of an inclusive preference, on the other hand, are the opposite of welfare chauvinism and comprise positions that express a willingness to increase the welfare support to immigrants. This entail an extension of the recipients' social rights and thereby greater responsibility for the municipality to grant these rights.

The conceptualisation of deservingness is inspired by van Oorschot's (2000:35-8,43) theory. The framework resorts to a number of criteria which creates a hierarchy of deservingness. This implies that some societal groups are perceived as more deserving of welfare than others. The actual need of social protection is less determining than criteria such as identity, control and reciprocity. The hierarchy indicates that immigrants are perceived as less deserving than citizens. However, the interplay between different criteria also suggests that deservingness varies among migrant groups. A presentation of the criteria will follow below. Each criterion can either be inclusive, justifying the deservingness of recipients, or restrictive by undermining the deservingness of welfare. Thus, the criteria tie into both inclusive and restrictive preferences.

The restrictive identity criterion distinguishes between the alleged us and them, members and non-members (van Oorschot, 2000:36). In combination with Hammonds and Ooms' (2012:75) concept of national solidarity, this means that the deservingness of migrants is inferior to citizens. Nation states are perceived as the ultimate boundary for organising social contracts. The inclusive identity criterion is based on cosmopolitan values that promote the equal deservingness of all individuals irrespective of state borders. Thus, argumentation of this kind refers to a universal or international solidarity (Hammond & Ooms, 2012:76; Wright & Ascher, 2012:305).

The control criterion from a restrictive perspective refers to arguments that emphasise the recipients' responsibility and ability to provide for their need. Recipients are deemed as less deserving due to their capacity to care for themselves without the support from the state. An inclusive control argument, on the other hand, reinforces the recipients deservingness of welfare support by accentuating their vulnerability and helplessness to show their lack of control (van Oorschot, 2000:36).

Finally, the reciprocity criterion relates deservingness to the recipients' contribution to the host society. The restrictive reciprocity criterion refers to recipients as unfavourable for the society (van Oorschot, 2000:36), and could be linked to duties towards the welfare state in line with Marshall's (1963) conceptualisation of the social contract. On the contrary, the inclusive reciprocity criterion accentuates the recipients as beneficial to the host society (van Oorschot, 2000:36).

The analytical framework in this thesis provides a tool for classifying the argumentation surrounding inclusive and welfare chauvinistic preferences. The framework is developed on the basis of van Oorschot's deservingness criteria, however, modified to conform to either an inclusive or restrictive reasoning. The criteria thus provide additional indications of restrictive and inclusive political preferences when answering the first research question. However, the framework primarily enables a comparison of the deservingness of different vulnerable migrant groups which ties into the second sub-question.

Figure 1. Analytical Framework

<b>Deservingness criteria</b>	<b>Restrictive preferences</b>	<b>Inclusive preferences</b>
<i>Identity</i>	Emphasis on the national solidarity	Emphasis on international/universal solidarity
<i>Control</i>	Emphasis on the migrants' ability to provide for its own welfare need	Emphasis on the migrants' lack of ability to provide of its own welfare need
<i>Reciprocity</i>	Emphasis on the migrants' as unfavourable to the host country	Emphasis on the migrants' as contributing to the host country

Table inspired by van Oorschot (2000)

### 3. Research Design and Methods

In this chapter, the comparative case study design and its delimitations are presented. The reader will also familiarise with the political party systems in Gothenburg and Stockholm. Subsequently, there is a description of the collected data together with an introduction of the appropriate qualitative method for analysing the material. The operationalisation will elaborate the indicators based on theory as well as the material itself in line with an iterative approach. The chapter ends with a discussion of the study's validity and ethical implications.

#### 3.1 Comparative Case Study

The research design conforms to a comparative case study of the two largest municipalities in Sweden, population wise (SCB, 2015); political conflict concerning vulnerable EU migrants' access to welfare support in Gothenburg City Council (Case 1) is compared with Stockholm City Council (Case 2). Unlike cross-national studies of political conflict, municipal politics provide an opportunity to study political party behaviour within one and the same country. Thus, the local level is ideal to investigate differences and similarities in political conflict in a particular institutional setting (Bolin et al. 2014:328; Dahlström & Sundell, 2012:354).

The case selection is motivated by the fact that immigrants primarily choose to reside in urban regions (Scholten, 2013:154). Statistics show that Gothenburg and Stockholm are subject to the highest rate of urbanisation in the country and attract a significant share of new residents from the CEE countries. The proportion of vulnerable EU migrants is uncertain as these individuals are not included in official population data (Zelano et al. 2014:8,14,17). Also, both Gothenburg and Stockholm have implemented city specific action plans targeting vulnerable EU migrants in 2015 which indicates that the municipalities are actively involved in independent policy-making concerning this issue (City of Gothenburg, 2015a; City of Stockholm, 2015a). Another motivation for selecting these cases are variations in the political majority. Whereas Gothenburg was ruled by a left-wing government, Stockholm had a right-wing government for most of the study until the local elections in 2014 (Swedish Election Authority, 2006;2010;2014). Consequently, the selection of cases are based on the principle of theoretical replication where the choice "predicts contrasting results but for anticipatable reasons" (Yin, 2009:54).

The urbanisation in Malmö, Sweden's third-largest city, is also rated as one of the highest in the country (Karlsson, 2015). Like Gothenburg, Malmö has a history of left-wing governments (Swedish Election Authority, 2006;2010;2014). However, when it came down to selecting one of these municipalities, the determinant criteria for choosing Gothenburg was population size together with the foundation of empirical material for further research that prior comparative studies of Gothenburg and Stockholm had generated.

### 3.1.1 Composition of Parties in the Gothenburg and Stockholm City Councils

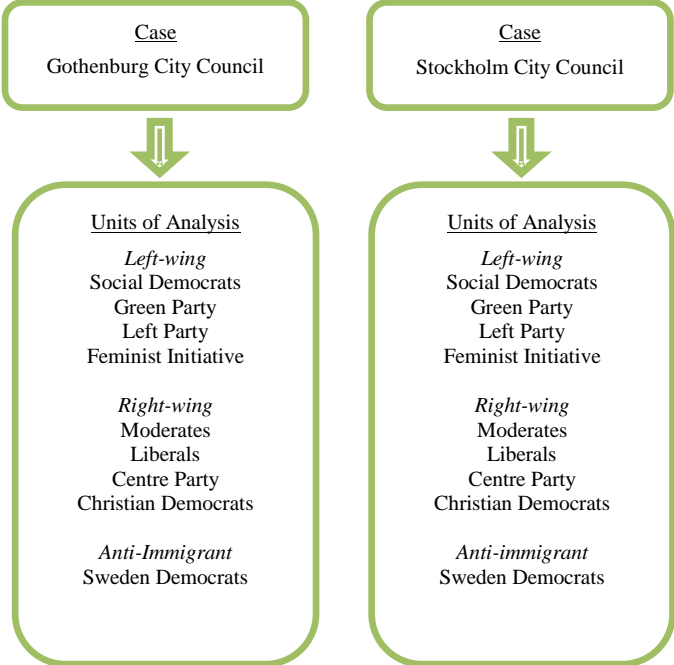
The units of analysis are the local political parties in the City Councils in Stockholm and Gothenburg. Local elections every fourth year means that the composition of parties in the City Councils has changed over the case study's timeframe. Gothenburg City Council has been governed by a left-wing majority during the entire case study. In 2007, the Social Democrats teamed up with the Greens and presented a common budget proposal (Eriksson, 2006). In 2010, the Left Party joined the majority coalition. The ruling left-wing gained yet another member when the Feminist Initiative was elected to the City Council in 2014. The Moderates has been the major opposition party over the years, followed by the Liberals and the Christian Democrats. The Centre Party were only part of the City Council until the election in 2010. The Sweden Democrats was elected to the City Council in 2006 and increased its number of seats consistently over time (Swedish Electoral Authority, 2010;2014).

Stockholm City Council was ruled by a right-wing majority in 2007. The Moderates had the largest amount of seats and formed an alliance together with the Liberals, the Centre Party and the Christian Democrats. The opposition parties were the Social Democrats, the Greens and the Left Party (Alliansen, 2006; Swedish Electoral Authority, 2006, 2010). This composition of parties was fairly consistent until 2014 when the allocation changed dramatically as the Social Democrats won the local election. The party gained majority ruling in coalition with the Greens, the Left Party and the new City Council member, the Feminist Initiative. Also, the Sweden Democrats entered the City Council for the first time in Stockholm the same year (City of Stockholm, 2016).

Statements from the local party Vägvalet is not included in the study as it is only represented in the Gothenburg City Council. The party is also left out of the results together with Mavericks due to their independent ideological position (Vägvalet, 2016). The Feminist

Initiative is classified as belonging to the left-wing as the party has joined the ruling left-wing coalitions in Gothenburg and Stockholm (City of Gothenburg, 2014a; City of Stockholm, 2016).

Figure 2. Comparative Case Study Design



Note: Own illustration

3.1.2 Delimitations

A case study is spatially and temporally bounded which limits the scope of the study and help steer the collection of material (Gerring, 2004:342; Yin, 2009:32). The City Council is the highest decision-making bodies in a municipality's political organisation and was chosen as the setting. The Council meetings are public which enables an investigation of motions, claims and interpellations as well as the political debate following these statements. However, Gothenburg and Stockholm are part of larger urban regions. Surrounding municipalities situated in these regions are left out of this thesis as the aim is to examine political approaches on a local, not on a regional, level.

The temporal boundary of the case study stretches from January 1st, 2007 to December 31st, 2015 and enable a longitudinal comparison. The starting date coincides with the second round of EU Eastern enlargement. Vulnerable EU migrants consist primarily of citizens from Bulgaria and Romania, and intra-EU mobility from these countries to Sweden did not exist before 2007 (Engbersen et al. 2013:972,977; Zelano et al. 2014:3). The end date was decided

due to practical reasons as it enabled a completion of the collection of data before the analysis of the material was initiated.

### 3.2 Collection of Data

The material consists of texts written by local political parties in the Gothenburg City Council and Stockholm City Council. These documents are formulated collectively or by specific members of the parties and comprise motions, written claims and interpellations. The material also consists of protocols of actual City Council meetings documenting every quote during the debates, in Swedish referred to as 'yttrandeprotokoll'. The texts were gathered from the municipalities' web pages using their online archives for public documents. Also, the 2010 and 2014 local party programmes were gathered from the parties web pages and through additional e-mail correspondence with the party secretariats.

Political debates are not restricted to the City Council meetings alone and an alternative data collection would include debate articles. Over the years, local and national newspapers in Sweden have published articles where local politicians fiercely express their opinions towards vulnerable EU migrants. The choice to only include statements from the City Councils and party programmes was a question of validity. The gathered documents explicitly portray the political conflict in the immediate context of municipality governance. Also, the objective was to limit the proportion of statements formulated by individual politicians as joint statements from a local party, such as party programmes, does not contain personal biases.

The collection of data was exhaustive. The temporal scope of the case study meant that texts published within the period of January 1st, 2007 to December 31st, 2015 were gathered. The keywords 'EU-medborgare', 'EU-migranter', 'papperslösa' and 'gömnda migranter'<sup>2</sup> was used to locate and sort the research material while going through the entire amount of documents from City Council meetings as well as party programmes. No statements were found in Gothenburg until 2008 according to the above keywords. All statements that referred to the welfare of vulnerable EU migrants and undocumented migrants were after the first selection gathered and included in the analysis. There was a total of 259 City Council meetings during the timeframe of this study, 12 to 15 meetings each year. 43 documents (25 documents from Stockholm and 18 documents from Gothenburg) were included in the analysis based on the search criteria as mentioned above for selection. Each document contained statements from

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<sup>2</sup> Keywords translated to English: EU citizens, EU migrants, undocumented migrants and hidden migrants

one or several parties. Out of 30 possible party programmes, 18 programmes were gathered and five of these contained statements relevant to this thesis according to the selection criteria. The right-wing alliance published a joint 2014 party programme in Gothenburg, which was left out of the study. The fact that party secretariats failed to respond to e-mails or were unable to find the right documents were another reason for not collecting all 30 party programmes.

Both the party programmes and the City Council documents were translated from Swedish to English. The translation was done by the author of the thesis. The author's first language is Swedish and the second language is English.

### 3.3 Qualitative Text Analysis

This thesis was carried out based on principles belonging to a qualitative research method. The constructivist approach understand knowledge as socially constructed and reproduced through interaction. This perspective gives weight to political debates as an influential arena for the creation of societal problems and reproduction of meaning (Bacchi & Eveline, 2011:111-4; Bryman, 2012:380; Tracy, 2013:40-2). A common critic against qualitative research is the lack of objectivity. The author of this thesis applied a critical and self-reflexive approach when conducting the study to ensure a high quality of research (Tracy, 2013:229,233-5).

Political conflict is carried out through language, often documented and communicated in written text (Grimmer & Stewart, 2013:1). Thus, text analysis is a useful method for making sense of political parties' preferences. The study's timeframe ruled out other qualitative methods such as ethnographic research and interviews which require the researcher's participation. The chosen text analysis is called argumentation analysis. According to this approach, political statements are understood as persuasive communication and special attention is given to the argumentation used in order to strengthen an adopted position. A version of this method called 'pro et contra' derives from the idea that a statement consists of one or several preferences together with a number of pro-arguments and contra-arguments that reinforce the preference. Pro-arguments support the chosen position while contra-arguments questions the preference. According to this method, the first step in the analysis is to identify and categorise the preference followed by a search for pro- and contra-arguments (Boréus & Bergström, 2012:91,94,98-100). Boréus and Bergström (2012:102) argue that



parties tend only to refer to pro-arguments as part of the political rhetoric. Thus, the focus of this thesis is primary to classify pro-arguments.

The argumentation is classified by the content in the texts through systematic coding guided by existing theories in order to find patterns (Bryman, 2012:304; Tracy 2013:186). The classification of preferences are sorted into exhaustive categories, either inclusive or restrictive (Esaiassion et al. 2010:158-9). The pro- and contra-arguments sought after are categorised as deservingness criteria according to the analytical framework in the theory chapter. Hsieh and Shannon (2005:1281) refers to this method as a deductive approach to qualitative content analysis.

Deduction is criticised for being too directed with the risk of significant findings getting lost in the process (Tracy, 2013:112). After an initial reading of the gathered data, it became evident that the criticism was warranted in this case. The classification of parties' preferences was in need of refinement in order to produce valid results. Thus, the thesis adopts an iterative research approach which is described by Tracy (2013:184) as a continuous interplay between grounded theory and deduction. It basically meant that concepts and indicators from existing theory were modified during the analysis process as additional indicators emerged from the text material. Consequently, the operationalisation presented in the next section consists of a combination of theory described at length in the theory chapter together with indicators and concepts drawn from the qualitative data.

### 3.4 Operationalisation

#### **Preferences**

Indications of a restrictive preferences comprise attitudes in favour of narrowing vulnerable EU migrants or undocumented migrants' social rights granted to them according to the law, i.e. emergency assistance in terms of food, shelter and a ticket back to the sending country. Indicators belonging to this category also includes arguments against additional support that exceeds the level of welfare according to the law, such as increased access to housing, economic aid, employment services, protection against violence, healthcare or education. Inclusive preferences are recognised by their lack of the above requirements and limitations. Instead, there is a willingness to increase the social rights of vulnerable EU migrants or undocumented migrants with additional support listed above. No further assessment is made

to the extent of inclusiveness or restrictiveness. Thus, there will be no analysis of whether parties are more or less restrictive or inclusive in relation to each other.

Furthermore, parties tend to position themselves according to the appropriate level of welfare support manifested in national laws, however, for different reasons. The classification of these preferences as either inclusive or restrictive is therefore done by considering the context of the debate. If a statement advocates access to welfare support according to the law as a response to a restrictive proposal, the preference is categorised as inclusive because the basic right to emergency assistance is recognised and defended. On the contrary, the same statement is classified as restrictive if the argumentation is a response to an inclusive proposal. The appropriate level of support according to law is accentuated to reject a more generous approach. Also, whether the pro-arguments that reinforce the preference are inclusive or restrictive may serve as an indication of the appropriate classification.

Inclusive preferences are also identified by a promotion of welfare support, such as alternative housing, in connection with evictions of settlements where vulnerable EU migrants or undocumented migrants reside. Restrictive preferences are distinguished by a disregard towards welfare entitlements in discussions about evictions. Thus, attitudes towards evictions are not in itself classified as inclusive or restrictive. However, the promoted level of municipality responsibility to provide welfare to the evicted immigrants is taken into consideration.

Left out of the classification are statements concerning a ban on begging as these preferences refer to restrictions of social implications of poverty and not restrictions of municipality responsibility to provide welfare support. Funding of civil society organisations providing support to vulnerable EU migrants or undocumented migrants in the sending countries are also excluded from the analysis. This support does not explicitly target vulnerable migrants residing in the municipality.

### **Arguments**

Arguments classified as belonging to the restrictive identity criterion questions the deservingness due to citizen status. This includes arguments referring to countries' responsibility to provide for its citizens. The inclusive identity criterion is identified by arguments referring to human rights, including international conventions, and other arguments advocating all individuals equal social rights irrespective of citizenship status.

The restrictive control criterion undermines deservingness by referring to the recipients' ability to care for their welfare need. The inclusive control criterion emphasises the vulnerability and helplessness of the recipients due to discrimination amongst other things.

The restrictive reciprocity criterion is recognised by the reference to recipients as unfavourable for the municipality. Vulnerable EU migrants or undocumented migrants are perceived as a burden or a risk to the municipality and the importance of duties such as to obey Swedish laws and pay taxes are accentuated. The inclusive reciprocity criterion is recognisable by the emphasis on recipients as contributing to the society, such as referring to resourcefulness.

The above-presented classification of preferences and arguments will enable a categorisation of each party's position in the political conflict and determine the deservingness of vulnerable EU migrants in relation to undocumented migrants. Thus, the operationalisation has so far provided analytical tools for answering the overarching research question and the second sub-question.

### **Ideology and Strategy**

The first sub-question is answered by a longitudinal and spatial comparison of inclusive and restrictive preferences in order to examine if ideology or strategy can explain the political parties' behaviour. Preferences that are stable over time and space are classified as rooted in ideology. Consistency between the municipalities and over the years of the study indicate that the position is not affected by external circumstances related to variations in political competition.

On the contrary, diverging preferences over time and space serve as a first indication that variations in the dynamics of political conflict affect a party's behaviour. However, to reinforce strategy as an explanatory factor, there must be a coincidental linkage in time and space between the discrepancy and changes in a party's mandate due to elections, the creation of majority coalitions or differences in the presence of anti-immigrant parties. For instance, if a party's change of opinion correlates with the entering of an anti-immigrant party in the City Council there is an indication that the party acts as a response to the presence of a far-right party. A strategic explanation for the behaviour becomes even more convincing if the change of preferences correlates with the creation of a grand coalition of parties sharing a common stance. An indication of strategic behaviour could also entail shifting preferences that coincide with differences in governing positions.

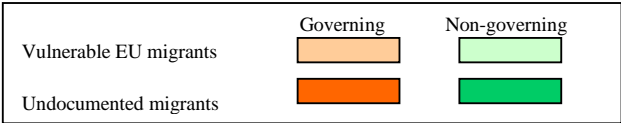
### 3.5 Structure for the Presentation of Results

The classification of the political parties' preferences and pro-arguments comprise the results of the thesis. Findings from Gothenburg is presented first followed by the results from Stockholm. Each local party's preferences are reported separately from Left to Right. The analysis of the results continues with comparisons between the parties in each municipality followed by a spatial comparison between the City Councils in the discussion of results.

The political parties' preferences and pro-arguments are placed into two tables to enable an accessible overview, one for the Gothenburg results and one for the Stockholm results. The Gothenburg table proceeds from 2008 while the Stockholm table starts with the year 2011 as no relevant statements were found on the preceding years during the collection of data. Preferences towards vulnerable EU migrants and undocumented migrants are separated in colour coordinated boxes. Light colours equal vulnerable EU migrants while dark colours mark preferences towards undocumented migrants. Empty boxes mean that a party did not formulate any statements towards the two migrant groups' access to welfare that year. Green boxes (light and dark) indicate that a party was not in governing position during that particular year while orange colours mark the years when a party was part of a ruling government. White boxes imply that a party did not have any seats in the City Council during that year. In the Stockholm table, there will be two rows dated 2014, one pre-election and one post-election, with the purpose to detect immediate changes in connection with the election as there was a change of government from right-wing to a left-wing ruling that year.

Figure 3. Template for Table of Results

	Sweden Democratic Party	Moderate Party	Christian Democratic Party	Liberal Party	Centre Party	Social Democratic Party	Green Party	Left Party	Feminist Initiative
2008	Preference Vulnerable EU migrants Pro-argument								
2009									
2010									
			Preference Undocumented migrants Pro-argument						
2011									
2012									
2013									
2014									
2015									



Note: Own illustration

### 3.6 Validity and Reliability of the Research

Reliability and validity refer to the quality of the study. This thesis aims to achieve a high reliability by adopting a transparent research process and a systematic use of methodological and theoretical tools (Bryman, 2012:390; Tracy, 2013:128). Validity refers to whether the use of methods and theory allows for a study that "investigate what it is intended to investigate" (Kvale, 2007:122).

The internal validity has been mentioned previously in the methods chapter in connection with the presentation of data collection. The section discusses the risk of producing results based on personal opinions as the data includes statements by individual local politicians. The choice to leave out debate articles and instead include party programmes was intended to minimise the influence of individual politicians' preferences.

Another potential weakness of the study is the theoretical concepts' level of abstraction. Political parties do not themselves define their preferences as inclusive or restrictive and the deservingness of immigrants is not explicitly mentioned. In fact, there was lots of euphemism and double-talk built into the political rhetoric which at times made it difficult to classify the statements. Thus, there is a considerable distance between the theory and the indicators which cause problems of validity (Esaiasson et al. 2010:65-6). Consequently, the iterative approach was introduced to build a bridge between theory and empirical findings.

The external validity of the study refers to the generalisation of the results. Generalisation to larger populations is difficult in qualitative research with a constructivist approach as knowledge is context-specific. Instead, analytical generalisation transfers empirical findings to other subjects and situations by its contribution to a broader theoretical framework (Bryman, 2012:392; Kvale, 2007:126-8; Tracy, 2013:231). The external validity of the study is strengthened by the use of multiple cases which enable a replication of the findings (Yin, 2009:44). The generalisation of the results to the national level, on the other hand, must be made cautiously as the characteristics of political conflict differs between the levels. The same carefulness should be prevalent in any attempts to transfer the results to other European cities. Variations in national welfare systems may affect local political parties' preferences in other countries.

### 3.7 Ethical Considerations

An important quality of research is the ethical considerations taken by the researcher and a discussion of eventual implications of the thesis for the studied subjects are in order (Tracy, 2013:242-4). Two considerations, in particular, are relevant to elaborate on. First of all, the qualitative data partially consists of statements made by individual party members. The names of politicians are left out of the results, however, their identity may be recognisable by their opinions. On the other hand, confidentiality requirements ought to be considered as less strict for politicians than for non-public figures. Secondly, to do research on vulnerable societal groups entail certain ethical considerations. There is an added value in illuminating social issues through research in terms of creating incentives for change and to combat attached problems. However, by emphasising the issue area and disseminating certain perceptions of vulnerable migrant groups lead to a reproduction of meaning which might reinforce problematic stereotypes. This is especially crucial in this thesis as the perspectives and voices of the vulnerable migrant groups are left out of the study.

## 4. Analysis of Results

### 4.1 Gothenburg City Council; Findings From 2008 To 2015

The first statement in the Gothenburg City Council concerning vulnerable EU migrants' access to welfare was formulated in 2008 (2008/08:140; City of Gothenburg, 2009). A number of EU migrant families had taken up residence at Meros Camping, a camping site in Gothenburg primarily populated by socially marginalised residents, which sparked a vivid public debate (SVT, 2015; Lundgren, 2009). The debates in the City Council coincided with increased public awareness of the issue.

#### **Social Democratic Party**

The findings suggest that the Social Democrats adopted a restrictive stance towards vulnerable EU migrants until 2015 when the party changed position. The first statement was formulated in 2008 and 2009 when the party argued that the municipality had, in agreement with local laws, provided the appropriate level of support to vulnerable EU migrants residing at Meros Camping (2008/08:140; City of Gothenburg 2009:6,13). The preference is classified as restrictive as the statement was a response towards an inclusive motion that aimed at increasing the level of support.

*"We must constantly make a consideration between limited financial resources and the responsibility that the municipality has over its residents [...] National legislation provides boundaries for how to act in this type of case. The municipality has followed these rules and intends to continue doing so" (Social Democrats, City of Gothenburg 2009:6,13).*

The party adopted a similar approach in 2014. Once again, legal limitations were bolstered, however, this time, differences in terms of access to welfare between vulnerable EU migrants and other residents in Gothenburg was justified by referring to taxes. The implication that taxpayers are more deserving of certain measures is a pro-argument that ties into the reciprocity criterion.

*"We have laws that govern us, and according to the Local Government Act, we are obliged to use tax money to ensure the welfare of the people of Gothenburg<sup>3</sup>. The support we provide to these people [vulnerable EU migrants] is through non-profit organisations" (Social Democrats, City of Gothenburg 2014b:21).*

In 2015, the party changed its position and adopted an inclusive approach (City of Gothenburg 2015c:30; 2015e). In the negotiations concerning an action plan targeting vulnerable EU migrants, the Social Democrats did not only advocate municipality responsibility to provide basic emergency assistance but also argued in favour of extending

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<sup>3</sup> Read "Göteborgare"; a designation similar to "Londoners"

the support in terms of granting access to education for the children of vulnerable EU migrants. The party justifies their inclusive preference by referring to education as a human right in line with the identity criterion.

*"school attendance [for vulnerable EU migrants' children] should be considered as a human right. We cannot distinguish between our children and others" (Social Democrats, City of Gothenburg 2015e).*

The Social Democrats approached the issue of undocumented migrants once. The party's preferences in 2011 reveal a different stance to national legislation. The party was willing to disregard national laws and restrictions to increase undocumented women's access to protection from violence (City of Gothenburg, 2011:60,63). The party further reinforce the preference by the inclusive identity criterion.

*"We need to proceed from the principles of human rights [...] We cannot begin discussions of laws when it comes to individuals in need of protection against violence" (Social Democrats, City of Gothenburg 2011:60).*

### **Green Party**

The Greens did not engage in the debate concerning vulnerable EU migrants' access to welfare until 2015. The party promoted increased access to basic emergency assistance and education. The recipients' deservingness is based on pro-arguments referring to the identity criterion.

*"In Gothenburg, all children have the right to develop their potential. It does not matter if the children's dads beg on the streets or are directors at Volvo [...] In Gothenburg, we follow the Convention on the Rights of Children" (Greens, City of Gothenburg 2015e).*

The party was more vocal about undocumented migrants' social rights and spoke out on the issue on several occasions. The Greens expressed inclusive preferences by arguing in favour of increasing undocumented women's access to support and protection as a response to the Left Party's motion in 2011 and the budget negotiations in 2013. Inclusive control pro-arguments were used to reinforce the position in 2013 (City of Gothenburg, 2011:60,63; 2013b:79). The party also promoted undocumented migrants' access to welfare in 2014 (City of Gothenburg; 2014b:49).

*"Some women are especially vulnerable in our society, where inequality turns into physical violence. We highlight in our budget proposal how undocumented women, but also women with an addiction, older women or women with disabilities are at particular risk" (Greens, City of Gothenburg 2013b:79).*



## **Left Party**

The Left Party adopted inclusive preferences towards both migrant groups over the years and was active in formulating interpellations and motions referring to issues concerning the migrants' welfare. In 2008, the Lefts' interpellation argued that EU migrants residing at Meros Camping were not provided adequate welfare support. Municipality actions were allegedly only taken as a consequence of extensive media coverage. The party promoted increased municipality responsibility, especially for the EU migrants' children, irrespective of Swedish law (2008/08:140; City of Gothenburg, 2009:7). The Left Party's pro-arguments in the debate following the interpellation are classified as belonging to the identity and the control criteria.

*"Following laws and regulations have been the primary objective instead of making sure that the families' situation improves [...] All of us have a responsibility for children, regardless of whether they are Roma, Swedish, African or whatever [...] Their options must have been much worse if a mom and dad decide to take their children and move to the pile of garbage that Meros Camping is. Then it is our duty to try to help these people" ( Left Party, City of Gothenburg 2009:8,11-2).*

In 2010, the party articulated a motion stressing the importance of granting undocumented women targeted protection against violence (2010/11:14). The party's inclusive preference expressed a willingness to disregard any laws that might restrict the municipality's responsibility and the pro-argument refers to the identity and control criteria.

*"Women who live in hiding in Sweden without a residence permit is particularly vulnerable when it comes to men's violence [...] These women are often more vulnerable and isolated than Swedish women in the same situation" (Left Party, 2010/11:14).*

*"UN Conventions must apply to undocumented women" (Left Party, City of Gothenburg 2011:59).*

In 2015, the Left Party supported the proposed action plan targeting vulnerable EU migrants with pro-arguments referring to the inclusive identity criterion similar to the rest of the left-wing parties.

*"I am glad that there is a majority in the City Council who recognises [...] that human dignity is inviolable and universal" (Left Party, City of Gothenburg 2015e).*

## **Feminist Initiative**

The Feminist Initiative promoted the social rights of both vulnerable EU migrants and undocumented migrants. The party also referred to undocumented migrants in its 2014 election manifesto before being elected to the City Council (City of Gothenburg, 2014b:14; 2015c; 2015f:12-3; Feminist Initiative, 2014:6). The statements are all classified as reinforced by the identity criterion.

*"Undocumented migrants and EU citizens should be included in a [homeless] strategy since human rights refer to everyone who lives, works or stays in Gothenburg [...] everyone should have access to basic support such as decent housing, fair working conditions and protection against violence and discrimination" (Feminist Initiative, City of Gothenburg 2014b:13-4).*

The party's willingness to grant access to education for vulnerable EU migrants' children in 2015 was justified by the same pro-argument. The party also argued that evictions should not be conducted unless the municipality could provide housing alternatives to evicted EU migrants. In this case, the deservingness of the recipients is strengthened by the control criterion.

*"It mainly affects the socially and economically vulnerable EU citizens who already face discrimination and do not have a social protection in their countries of origin. Poverty is not extinguished automatically after three months. We oppose the implementation of evictions if there are no offers of alternative housing for more than a few days" (Feminist Initiative, City of Gothenburg 2015e).*

### **Moderate Party**

The findings from the Moderates' statements show a consistent, restrictive approach towards vulnerable EU migrants and undocumented migrants. The party was satisfied with the Social Democrats' response to the interpellation in 2009 concerning vulnerable EU migrants at Meros Camping. The statement is classified as restrictive as the party referred to Swedish laws as a response against an inclusive interpellation (City of Gothenburg, 2009:9-11). The same indicators were evident in the party's hesitant approach towards a motion that promoted increased access to protection from violence for undocumented women in 2011 (2010/11:14).

*"I argue there should be an investigation first before we act. International conventions may be pursued as long as this is done" (Moderates, City of Gothenburg 2011:60).*

In 2015, the party acknowledges vulnerable EU migrants' right to emergency assistance, however, it is classified as a contra-argument. The main preference was made against the generous proposals in the action plan targeting vulnerable EU migrants (2015/15:156). There is an apparent reference to the restrictive identity criterion in the pro-arguments.

*"The plan reflect an ambition that goes beyond what the municipality should be responsible for. We have a responsibility to prevent misery by providing emergency assistance. But we cannot and should not take over the state's, the sending countries' and the EU's responsibility [...] And it is not at all clear that we are obliged to grant access to education based on the Convention on the Rights of Children when there are compulsory schooling in their countries of origin" (Moderates, City of Gothenburg 2015e).*

Also, the Moderates' endorsement of evictions of settlements is classified as restrictive because it did not include any reference to the welfare of vulnerable EU migrants. The

illegality of these settlements was highlighted together with an accentuation of migrants' duties to follow certain rules in line with the reciprocity criterion (2015/15:156; City of Gothenburg 2015e).

*"Regardless of whether they are citizens or here visiting from another EU country, individuals are subjected to the same rights and obligations in Sweden. One cannot settle down on someone else's land" (Moderates, City of Gothenburg 2015e).*

## **Liberal Party**

The Liberals adopted inclusive preferences towards vulnerable EU migrants over the years. The party agreed with the Lefts in 2009 that the municipality's efforts to care for vulnerable EU migrants were inadequate. The pro-arguments relate to the control criterion.

*"Things have started to happen. However, one can definitely say that we have acted too late. We are dazed. It applies to all of us. Otherwise, we would have discussed this issue a long time ago [...] The tragedy is that these people think Meros Camping as a better option than to stay in their countries of origin. We might as well view them as refugees" (Liberals, City of Gothenburg 2009:11).*

In the years that followed, the issue of vulnerable EU migrants was raised on one occasion by the Liberals (2013a:63). However, the migrant group was not the central issue in the debate and is therefore not classified as either restrictive or inclusive. The Liberals' local party programme in 2014, on the other hand, promoted increased municipality support to vulnerable EU migrants. The pro-argument referred to begging as an involuntary act thereby emphasising the inclusive control criterion.

*"Migrants and beggars are consequences of the free movement within the EU and efforts must be intensified to improve the conditions for these people, both in their countries and in Gothenburg. No one starts begging voluntarily" (Liberal Party, 2014:22).*

In 2015, however, the Liberals changed its preferences expressing both inclusive and restrictive positions. The party first agreed with the Moderates and argued against vulnerable EU migrant children's access to education (City of Gothenburg 2015d). The party later agreed to the proposed action plan that contained inclusive proposal concerning education. The preference is strengthened by the control criterion. The Liberals also argued in favour of providing employment services during the debate which would further increase the level of support.

*"The reason for increasing numbers of poor EU citizens migrating to Sweden is widespread poverty, exclusion and xenophobia in the sending countries [...] We must help the people who come here" (Liberals, 2015/15:156).*

*"During the referral process, several respondents stressed the importance of educating all children. A few of [vulnerable EU migrants'] children attend our schools. They have no access to education in their countries of origin since they are not welcome to the otherwise compulsory schooling in these countries [...] I would like to transform our labour market policies in a way that enables us to offer low-wage jobs to [vulnerable EU migrants]" (Liberals, City of Gothenburg 2015e).*

The Liberals position towards undocumented migrants' access to welfare was also inclusive and the party made the issue part of their party programme in 2010 by emphasising the right to health care based on the inclusive identity criterion.

*"All people should be treated on the basis of humanitarian values and human rights. Even those who live in hiding are entitled to health care" (Liberal Party, 2010:19).*

The Liberals position towards the Left's motion in 2011 concerning undocumented women was, however, ambiguous. The party demanded a legal investigation before increasing access to protection against violence together with the remaining right-wing. However, when the motion was debated in the City Council, the Liberals emphasised the municipality's responsibility to provide protection based on the identity and control criteria.

*"The municipality should do its utmost to help them in their plight - it is our duty. We believe that these people should be offered support in line with the Convention on Civil and Political Rights and the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women" (Liberals, City of Gothenburg 2011:61).*

### **Christian Democratic Party**

The Christian Democrats approached the issue of vulnerable EU migrants' welfare by taking a restrictive stance. In 2009, the party agreed with the Social Democrats explanation of the municipality's actions towards vulnerable EU migrants at Meros Camping. The argument was that the municipality had done enough and was not obliged to increase the support (City of Gothenburg, 2009:9-11). However, the Christian Democrats position in 2015 was equivocal. The party stressed the importance of granting access to education for children belonging to this migrant group on the basis of inclusive identity pro-arguments (2015/15:156).

*"The action plan states that these children should be granted access to education. For us, it is given. The Convention on the Rights of Children shall apply to all children, everywhere and always" (Christian Democrats, City of Gothenburg 2015e).*

However, the classification of the preference ends up as restrictive based on the statements that immediately followed the above reasoning. The party stated an additional demand that entailed forcing the sending countries to fund the welfare support. The preference is reinforced by the restrictive identity criterion.

*"The proposed measures in the plan [targeting vulnerable EU migrants] may entail costs for the City of Gothenburg that should be paid for by other Member States. The municipality should implement these actions. However, it is not reasonable that Gothenburg is not compensated for social expenditures" (Christian Democrats, 2015/15:156).*

In 2011, the response to the Left Party's motion concerning undocumented women's right to protection resembled the ambiguity illuminated in the Liberals answer in this case. The Christian Democrats' demand for further legal investigations was combined with an argumentation on the need to provide support pending the investigation in line with international conventions and lack of control pro-arguments.

*"All people are equal and it is clear that undocumented women, as well as others, should get the help and support that they need in vulnerable situations. Therefore, we must increase their access to protection. There is some legal uncertainty, but the women cannot wait" (City of Gothenburg, 2011:60).*

### **Sweden Democrats**

The Sweden Democrats were the only party that explicitly argued in favour of further restrictions to vulnerable EU migrants' access to welfare in 2009 based on the control criterion and the party's position was consistent over time.

*"Tourists and job seekers may stay in other Member States. However, the people at Meros Camping is a case of social tourism which we have been warned about before [...] We must set boundaries" (Sweden Democrats, City of Gothenburg 2009:10).*

In 2014, the social rights of vulnerable EU migrants and undocumented migrants were mentioned together when the party stressed the importance of limiting access to welfare support. Restrictive identity and reciprocity criteria strengthen the party's argumentation in the response against including the migrant groups in a strategy for promoting human rights in Gothenburg.

*"Welfare support is not a human right for Europeans staying in Gothenburg [...] Did I understand you correctly, that all EU migrants and those who have been refused asylum, so-called 'undocumented, should have the right to receive social assistance in Gothenburg? It is the taxpayers' money that is wasted" (Sweden Democrats, City of Gothenburg 2014b:21).*

In 2015, the Sweden Democrats articulated an interpellation concerning a ban on begging that was heavily rejected by other parties in the following debate (City of Gothenburg, 2015b:17-32). The party was vocal in the City Council that year expressing restrictive preferences towards the provision of welfare support to vulnerable EU migrants and undocumented migrants residing in Gothenburg on numerous occasions (2015/15:163; 2015/15:156; 2015/15:203; 2015/15:77; City of Gothenburg, 2015c; 2015d:9,17,28; 2015e; 2015b:17,20-

1,23-6,28-30; 2015f:12). The pro-argumentation comprise both identity and reciprocity criteria.

*"The Sweden Democrats believe that some EU migrants and undocumented migrants do not have the right to various forms of support since they do not pay municipal taxes" (Sweden Democrats, 2015/15:203).*


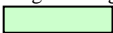


*"These [vulnerable EU migrants] are the responsibility of the sending countries [...] Thus, the municipality should immediately cease all expenditure of welfare support to EU migrants" (Sweden Democrats, City of Gothenburg 2015c).*

### 4.1.1 Comparison of Political Preferences in Gothenburg

In this section, a longitudinal comparison is made between political parties' preferences in the Gothenburg City Council. The Centre Party did not express any opinions during this study's timeframe and is therefore left out of the analysis. Overall, the debate concerning vulnerable EU migrants' access to welfare became more vocal over the years. 2015 was the most eventful year as all of the parties in the City Council engaged in the issue.

Figure 4. Table of Results Gothenburg

	Sweden Democratic Party	Moderate Party	Christian Democratic Party	Liberal Party	Centre Party	Social Democratic Party	Green Party	Left Party	Feminist Initiative
2008								Inclusive Identity & Control	
2009	Restrictive Reciprocity	Restrictive	Restrictive	Inclusive Control		Restrictive		Inclusive Identity & Control	
2010									
				Inclusive Identity				Inclusive Identity & Control	
2011									
		Restrictive	Inclusive Identity & Control	Inclusive Identity & Control		Inclusive Identity	Inclusive	Inclusive Identity & Control	
2012									
2013									
							Inclusive Control		
2014	Restrictive Identity & Reciprocity			Inclusive control		Restrictive Reciprocity			Inclusive Identity
	Restrictive Reciprocity						Inclusive		Inclusive Identity
2015	Restrictive Identity & Reciprocity	Restrictive Identity & Reciprocity	Restrictive Identity & Reciprocity	Inclusive Control		Inclusive Identity	Inclusive Identity	Inclusive Identity	Inclusive Identity & Control
	Restrictive Reciprocity			Restrictive					Inclusive Identity

	Governing	Non-governing
Vulnerable EU migrants		
Undocumented migrants		

The findings from the left-wing's statements indicate that both inclusive and restrictive preferences were expressed. The Left Party and the Feminist Initiative's statements have been consistently inclusive. The Greens expressed inclusive preferences towards vulnerable EU

migrants' access to welfare, however, the party did not engage in the issue until 2015 as the debate became more prominent. Thus, a longitudinal comparison of the party's preferences is not possible. The Social Democrats, on the other hand, altered its opinions over the years. The party adopted restrictive preferences in 2009 and 2014, however, expressed inclusive preferences in 2015. The change of opinion that year created a uniform left-wing position concerning access to emergency assistance and education.

The findings from the right-wing alliance also comprise mixed preferences. The Moderates and the Christian Democrats expressed restrictive preferences consistently over the years. The Liberals, on the other hand, adopted an inclusive approach in 2009 and 2014. The party altered its position in 2015 by expressing restrictive preferences towards access to education, however, changed opinions once more in City Council debates later that year.

The Sweden Democrats formulated restrictive preferences consistently by arguing against increased welfare support in 2009, 2014 and 2015.

So far, the findings suggest that the left-wing parties tend to express inclusive preferences while the right-wing tend to adopt restrictive preferences towards vulnerable EU migrants' access to welfare support. However, there is no strict left-right division in the political conflict as the Social Democrats and the Liberals expressed mixed preferences.

Regarding deservingness, the inclusive control and identity criteria were most commonly used when justifying vulnerable EU migrants' access to support. Parties expressing restrictive preferences emphasised reciprocity and identity. There was a difference between the Liberals use of deservingness criteria compared to the left-wing. The Liberals only referred to the control criterion while the Social Democrats, the Greens, the Lefts and the Feminist Initiative all made use of both control and identity.

A comparison between preferences towards vulnerable EU migrants and undocumented migrants was also conducted. The results indicate that undocumented migrants were not as heavily debated in the City Council as vulnerable EU migrants were. However, parties adopted similar preferences towards the two migrant groups. All left-wing parties consistently expressed inclusive preferences while the right-wing parties adopted restrictive preferences except for the Liberals and the Christian Democrats. In 2011, the two parties formulated both inclusive and restrictive preferences. In this particular case, the right-wing adopted a unified



restrictive coalition in the end, however, varied in their argumentation in the negotiations leading up to the final decision.

The comparison between the migrant groups also reveals that parties used similar criteria to justify the deservingness of the two migrant groups. The use of restrictive deservingness criteria, on the other hand, was different between the migrant groups as the parties did not reinforce their restrictive preferences by undermining the deservingness of undocumented migrants.

## 4.2 Stockholm City Council; Findings From 2007 To 2015

The presence of a new group of migrants among the homeless population residing in Stockholm's shelters was recognised by the Moderates and the Social Democrats in the City Council in 2007 and 2009. However, the first statement concerning vulnerable EU migrants' access to welfare was formulated in the budget negotiations in 2012 (City of Stockholm, 2007:50-1; 2009:174-5;2012a:50-2).

### **Social Democratic Party**

The findings suggests that the Social Democrats adopted a consistent, inclusive approach to vulnerable EU migrants over the years. In 2013, the party expressed a position concerning vulnerable EU migrants' access to welfare by welcoming the right-wing's inclusive position in the budget negotiations that year (City of Stockholm, 2007:50-1; 2013:113-4). In 2014, the inclusive statement consisted of a promotion of a city strategy targeting homeless EU migrants that would imply extended access to support (City of Stockholm 2014a:108). The Social Democrats did not change position in the conflict in connection with the election in 2014 when the party became part of the ruling majority. However, post-election statements comprise pro-arguments reinforcing recipients' deservingness through control pro-arguments.

*"They have been subject to discrimination and harassment, lived under conditions of slavery and came to our country and other nations to seek help [...] We argue in favour of increased resources to shelters and the development of a strategy" (Social Democrats, City of Stockholm 2014b:153).*

In 2015, the party's approach to municipality responsibility highlighted the importance of providing evicted EU migrants access to housing alternatives in connection to evictions. The Social Democrats refer to the inclusive control criterion (City of Stockholm, 2015d:77; 2015e:33; 2015/15:12a).

*"To address this vulnerability - EU migrants suffering and poverty - we need to consider the historical vulnerability of Roma, but also the economic situation in these countries. The municipality must continue to develop the work. We need to support non-profit organisations and provide assistance in connection with evictions in terms of arranging emergency accommodations" (Social Democrats, City of Stockholm 2015d:77).*

The Social Democrats also showcased inclusive positions towards undocumented migrants as a response to two motions in 2012. The statements are based on pro-arguments referring to the control and the identity criteria.

*"The City of Stockholm can do more for undocumented women [...] The municipality has a responsibility to respect and promote the human rights of all within the territory. Stockholm does not only have to conform to the Municipal Act but also to the international legal documents that Sweden has ratified" (Social Democrats, 2012/11:29).*

*"We recognise that undocumented women are very vulnerable because of their position outside society's safety net" ( Social Democrats 2012/11:10).*

### **Green Party**

Like the Social Democrats, the Greens also approached the issue of vulnerable EU migrants' welfare by adopting inclusive preferences. The party welcomed the right-wing's inclusive position in the budget negotiations in 2013 and referred to the identity criterion (City of Stockholm, 2013:113-4). The position was consistent in the 2014 negotiations both before and after the local election when the party joined the ruling majority and the pro-arguments is classified as belonging to the inclusive control criterion (City of Stockholm 2014a:109; 2014b:146,151).

*"This refers to incredibly vulnerable people [...] The parties in the new majority is working towards increasing the number of accommodations. We have raised the level of ambition when it comes to providing support for poor EU citizens" (Greens, City of Stockholm 2014b:146,151).*

In 2015, the party recognised the social rights of vulnerable EU migrants on a number of occasions (City of Stockholm, 2015e:39;2015f;2015g;2015h; 2015d:81; 2015c:21; 2015/15:24; 2015/15:20). The Greens' approach to municipality responsibility for welfare highlighted the importance of providing evicted EU migrants access to housing alternatives and to increase their access to welfare. The statements are reinforced by inclusive control criteria.

*"Discrimination and poverty cause people to make life choices that separate them from children, family and home. The City of Stockholm cannot solve this problem, but the city must nevertheless form an action plan to keep moving forward with this issue" (Greens, City of Stockholm 2015f).*

The findings also suggest that the Greens adopted an inclusive position towards undocumented migrants. In fact, the party recognised the issue of vulnerable EU migrants' welfare together with undocumented migrants in the 2014 party programme.

*"The municipality must strengthen its efforts for homeless EU migrants and homeless, undocumented migrants in Stockholm" (Green Party, 2014:45).*

A motion formulated by the Greens in 2011 revolved around the protection of undocumented migrants' fundamental rights with a special focus on children's access to support and education (2012/11:29). In the motion and the following debate in 2012, the party made use of pro-arguments for municipal responsibility which tie into the control and identity criteria (City of Stockholm 2012a:146).

*"Undocumented migrants' social, economic and legal vulnerability creates situations where adults and especially children are in extreme need of support [...] There are gaps in the city's implementation of human rights that undocumented migrants pay the price for" (Greens, 2012/11:29).*

In 2014, the Greens once again stressed the importance of granting undocumented children access to certain welfare measures. Identity and control criteria are used as pro-arguments.

*"Undocumented children are one of the most vulnerable groups in our society [...] We believe that children who are sick should get medical regardless of whether they have the right papers or not, it is a human right" (Greens, City of Stockholm 2014c:81).*

## **Left Party**

The Left Party expressed inclusive preferences from 2013 when the party stressed the need to extend municipality responsibility further by increasing the number of beds for vulnerable EU migrants in the city's shelters (City of Stockholm, 2013:113-4). This inclusive approach to the issue of vulnerable EU migrants was consistent over the following years. The pro-arguments in 2014 are classified as belonging to the identity criterion and the party argued against any limitations to the access of welfare support referring to the control criterion in 2015 (City of Stockholm, 2015b:44; 2015e:31).

*"It is becoming increasingly evident that EU citizens should be included in a programme. We cannot ignore the need for a strategy. The city's efforts must be based on human rights" (Left Party, 2014/14:69).*

*"For us, the problem is poverty, discrimination and inequality. The solution will never be further restrictions. Instead, we provide more accommodation places, increased support to non-profit organisations, and an extension of the number of social workers" (Left Party, City of Stockholm, 2015e:31).*

The Left Party was also inclusive towards undocumented migrants. The party's motion in 2011 promoted undocumented migrant women's support and protection from violence. This statement together with the response to the Greens' motion about undocumented migrants fundamental rights the same year are both justified by inclusive control and identity pro-arguments.

*"Women who live in hiding without a residence permit in Sweden is particularly vulnerable when it comes to men's violence" (Left Party, 2012/11:10).*

*"Increasing the support to undocumented migrants to levels above emergency assistance would be a political signal that the society has a responsibility to live up to international human rights conventions" (Left Party, 2012/11:29).*

Undocumented migrants' social rights were put on the agenda once more in connection to the 2014 revision of guidelines for economic aid (2014/14:50). The Left Party stressed the importance of granting undocumented children economic support and access to health care based on the inclusive identity criterion.

### **Feminist Initiative**

The Feminist Initiative was elected to the Stockholm City Council in 2014. The party expressed inclusive preferences towards vulnerable EU migrants consistently and the pro-arguments are identified as referring to the identity criterion.

*"The municipality of Stockholm must take more responsibility for the poor EU citizens who come here. The objective must be that no one should have to live on the street [...] We need to raise the bar to ensure the human rights" (Feminist Initiative, City of Stockholm 2014b:135-6).*

In 2015, the party argued in favour of providing evicted EU migrants welfare support (City of Stockholm 2015d:76). The justification of this inclusive position was based on pro-arguments referring to identity and reciprocity. Furthermore, the Feminist Initiative, unlike the other left-wing parties, acknowledged the right to education and employment services.

*"According to the UN declaration that we have signed, vulnerable EU migrants should be offered housing, schooling and work" (Feminist Initiative, City of Stockholm 2015e:31).*

*"A long-term solution to the situation requires that poor people get help. Inspired by the approach in the City Mission's projects, the municipality could view vulnerable EU citizens as a resource for our society" (Feminist Initiative, City of Stockholm 2015b:44).*

Undocumented migrants were also on the party's agenda during 2014 and 2015. The Feminist Initiative emphasis on the need of increasing the welfare support to undocumented migrants is based on inclusive identity arguments. Undocumented children were the primary focus in

terms of economic aid and access to education (City of Stockholm, 2014b:135; 2015b:103; 2015c:77).

*"Undocumented migrants should be offered support on the basis of human rights. To begin with, undocumented women subjected to violence should be offered protection, all children should be entitled to access school and preschool, and the guidelines on support to undocumented children should be revised" (Feminist Initiative, City of Stockholm 2014b:135).*

## **Moderate Party**

The Moderates did not adopt a consistent approach to vulnerable EU migrants' welfare over the years. The party took an inclusive position during the budget negotiations in 2012 and the pro-arguments refer to the control criteria.

*"I want to stress that we, alongside shelters for the homeless, are opening shelters for homeless EU citizens so that they will not be forced to reside in the streets, beg and suffer during the winter" (Moderates, City of Stockholm 2012a:50).*

In 2014, on the other hand, the preferences had changed and become restrictive arguing against increased support. The rejection of a strategy targeting homeless EU migrants is justified by pro-arguments referring to the restrictive control criterion.

*"We are afraid to create some sort of homelessness strategy for the group as they do not suffer from any addiction, and have not been homeless in their country of origin and so on" (Moderates, City of Stockholm 2014a:108).*

After losing the election, the Moderates held on to its hesitant approach to increased access to housing in Stockholm. Instead, there was an emphasis on support abroad.

*"I am concerned about the signals you are sending out about discontinuing the evictions and instead, increase the housing alternatives [...] this is not a solution. I rather think that we need to work more with organisations in countries such as Romania" (Moderates, City of Stockholm 2014b:152).*

In 2015, the Moderates wrote a motion and an interpellation proposing an establishment of municipality governed security guards to ensure order and safety in public spaces to facilitate evictions of the rising number of settlements populated by vulnerable EU migrants (2015/15:12b; 2015/15:9). The party recognised the municipality's responsibility to provide emergency assistance. However, the preferences are classified as restrictive because the main arguments that year revolved around the problem of begging and how to facilitate evictions of settlements. There was no mentioning of evicted migrants' access to welfare support (City of Stockholm, 2015e:34; 2015b:43-4; 2015c:134). The quote shows that restrictive identity and reciprocity pro-arguments are used.

*"Should Stockholm take care of thousands of poor EU citizens from Romania? Is that not the responsibility of the sending countries? [...] Many of the people who reside in settlements in Stockholm causes a lot of problems. They defecate in public sandboxes and parents are very concerned about their children. They cannot let their kids out to play in some areas because of the danger of encountering this situation" (Moderates, City of Stockholm 2015e:33,37-8).*

The Moderates also adopted restrictive preferences towards undocumented migrants rights to support and protection. In 2012, the party signals that the municipality is already providing the appropriate support to the migrant group and that extended social rights were not necessary.

*"The municipality meets the legal requirements for providing support and protection to those who reside in the municipality, both through its operations and contributions to organisations" (Moderates 2012/11:29).*

### **Liberal Party**

The Liberals adopted a consistent, inclusive approach to vulnerable EU migrants in the City Council as the migrant group's social rights was accentuated by a promotion of increased as well as targeted support (City of Stockholm 2012a:52; 2013:104). The party's statements in 2012 are classified as control pro-arguments stressing the recipients deservingness of support.

*"We cannot stand by and watch how people in the EU are subjected to such oppression and discrimination in their countries that there is no alternative for them but to leave their country [...] We acknowledge the problem, and we are trying to take our share of responsibility. I am glad that the parties currently represented in the Stockholm City Council share this opinion" (Liberals, City of Stockholm 2012a:52).*

Furthermore, the Liberals (2014:27) treated the issue as part of the election campaign and placed it on the manifesto in 2014 by advocating increased access to housing and employment services. The party did not alter its opinions after suffering defeat in the election in 2014 (2015/15:12; 2015:12; 2015:9; 2015:111; City of Stockholm, 2014b:133). Instead, the party reinforces inclusive preferences by referring to the control criterion.

*"The discrimination and vulnerability of the Roma minority and other marginalised groups in Southern Europe has become painfully obvious [...] The municipality of Stockholm has taken a social responsibility beyond the requirements under the Social Services Act. We will continue at this level of responsibility" (Liberals 2015/15:12).*

The Liberals were also inclusive towards undocumented migrants as the party stressed the importance of municipality responsibility for providing welfare in 2012. The control criterion justifies the position.

*"These [undocumented women] are some of the most vulnerable groups in our city [...] I will work to ensure that when we take the decision for next year there will be a clear statement included*

*recognising the municipality's obligation to provide protection" (Liberals, City of Stockholm 2012b:100).*

## **Centre Party**

The Centre Party has been engaged in the political conflict surrounding vulnerable EU migrants' access to welfare from an inclusive standpoint since 2013. The position is categorised as reinforced by inclusive control pro-arguments.

*"For them [vulnerable EU migrants] it is a better option to beg in Stockholm and sleep in cold tents or hope to win tonight's lottery for beds at the City Mission and the Salvation Army, then to stay at home with family and friends [...] It is good that Stockholm takes responsibility beyond what the law requires. But we want to do more" (Centre Party, City of Stockholm 2013:113).*

The party did not change its position after the right-wing lost the election in 2014 (City of Stockholm 2014b:134). In 2015, the Centre stressed the importance of providing support in connection with evictions and granting access to employment services based on the inclusive control criterion.

*"Evictions, which will be required, should be done according to the rule of law and alternatives must be provided in terms of housing" (Centre Party, 2015/15:12).*

*"We want to create meaningful employment as a proper alternative to begging [...] the reason people come here is that they live in deprivation, poverty and discrimination in their home countries" (Centre Party, City of Stockholm 2015d:71,78).*

## **Christian Democratic Party**

The Christian Democrats did not express any preferences concerning vulnerable EU migrants' access to welfare until 2015. The party formulated an interpellation to the City Council that year stressing the need to facilitate evictions of settlements without mentioning the issue of providing welfare support to evicted EU migrants (2015/15:24). Instead, there was a focus on regulations and migrants' duties which refers to the reciprocity criterion (2015/15:24; City of Stockholm, 2015b; 2015e:38).

*"We welcome these people [vulnerable EU migrants], however, with a freedom of movement follows obligations, including providing for one's livelihood" (Christian Democrats, City of Stockholm 2015e:38).*

These indications of a restrictive preference became even more evident when the party argued against granting vulnerable EU migrants' children access to education.

*"Several rights are given to those who intend to reside permanently in Sweden according to the freedom of movement, to apply for jobs or education. However, there cannot be granted any rights*

*to education if the idea is to stay in the country for no more than a few weeks and beg for money"*  
(Christian Democrats, City of Stockholm 2015e:35).

The Christian Democrats engaged in the debate concerning undocumented migrants' right to welfare in 2012 by responding to two inclusive motions. The preferences are classified as restrictive because the statements signal that Stockholm is already providing the appropriate support. Thus, the party argued against extending the level.

*"There is no doubt that [undocumented women] have the right to protection in municipal shelters [...] But we do not earmark additional funds for specific protection for this reason"* (Christian Democrats, City of Stockholm 2012b:96).

### **Sweden Democrats**

After being elected to Stockholm City Council in 2014, the Sweden Democrats formulated several statements expressing restrictive preferences towards vulnerable EU migrants' access welfare. The party reinforced the position through pro-arguments which refers to the identity criterion.

*"These people [vulnerable EU migrants] are taking a huge amount of resources from Swedish citizens in need of support [...] It is first and foremost not Stockholm or Sweden's responsibility to take care of other EU citizens, but it is every European country's task to provide for its citizens"*  
(Sweden Democrats, City of Stockholm 2014b:145-6).

The party kept its restrictive position in 2015 and the statements tie into restrictive control and identity pro-arguments (City of Stockholm, 2015d:70-83; 2015e:33-4,40-3). The Sweden Democrats also formulated an interpellation and a motion of a ban on begging which later got rejected in the City Council (2015/15:12a; 2015/15:20).

*"What evidence do you base your allegation on when you say that these people [vulnerable EU migrants] have no other choice and they have to come to Sweden to support themselves? [...] It is not Sweden's task to care for foreign nationals, instead, we should put more pressure on countries like Romania and Bulgaria to shoulder a greater social responsibility"* (Sweden Democrats, City of Stockholm 2015d:74).


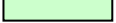




#### 4.2.1 Comparison of Political Preferences in Stockholm

The longitudinal comparison between political parties' preferences towards vulnerable EU migrants' access to welfare support in Stockholm consists of statements from 2012 to 2015. Overall, the debate became increasingly vocal over time including all political parties in 2015 and the preferences diverged progressively from a joint inclusive position in 2012-2013.

Figure 5. Table of Results Stockholm

	Sweden Democratic Party	Moderate Party	Christian Democratic Party	Liberal Party	Centre Party	Social Democratic Party	Green Party	Left Party	Feminist Initiative
2011									
							Inclusive Identity & Control	Inclusive Identity & Control	
2012		Inclusive Control		Inclusive Control					
		Restrictive	Restrictive	Inclusive Control		Inclusive Identity & Control	Inclusive Identity & Control	Inclusive Identity	
2013				Inclusive Control	Inclusive Control	Inclusive	Inclusive Identity	Inclusive	
2014 Pre-election		Restrictive Control		Inclusive		Inclusive	Inclusive	Inclusive Identity	
							Inclusive Identity & Control	Inclusive Identity	
2014 Post-election	Restrictive Identity	Restrictive		Inclusive	Inclusive	Inclusive Control	Inclusive Control		Inclusive Identity
									Inclusive Identity
2015	Restrictive Identity & Control	Restrictive Identity & Reciprocity	Restrictive Reciprocity	Inclusive Control	Inclusive Control	Inclusive Control	Inclusive Control	Inclusive Control	Inclusive Identity & Reciprocity
									Inclusive Identity

	Governing	Non-governing
Vulnerable EU migrants		
Undocumented migrants		

The results suggest that the left-wing parties consistently expressed inclusive preferences towards vulnerable EU migrants' access to welfare support. The Social Democrats, the Left Party and the Greens adopted inclusive preferences consistently from 2013 to 2015. The Feminist Initiative joined in after being elected to the Council in 2014. There is no indication that the election results affected the left-wing parties preferences other than that the Social Democrats began to justify their inclusive preferences with deservingness criteria after gaining a majority.

The findings from the right-wing alliance, unlike the left-wing, showcased a variety of inclusive and restrictive preferences. The Moderates expressed inclusive preferences in 2012, however, changed its position in 2014. The Christian Democrats adopted a restrictive position as well, however, was not as outspoken which makes it difficult to draw any conclusions over time. The Liberals and the Centre Party, on the other hand, consistently adopted inclusive positions towards vulnerable EU migrants' access to welfare. Consequently, as the Moderates, later accompanied by the Christian Democrats, shifted from inclusive to restrictive, the right-wing alliance's positions diverged.

The Sweden Democrats expressed restrictive preferences consistently after being elected to the City Council in 2014.

Furthermore, there is no indication of immediate changes in the right-wing parties preferences after the election. The Moderates expressed restrictive preferences both before and after losing its majority position. However, one could argue that the issue became more prominent on the party's agenda after the election considering its restrictive motions and interpellations in 2015.

Consequently, the findings from the Stockholm City Council show that a majority of the parties expressed inclusive preferences towards vulnerable EU migrants. Also, the political preferences became increasingly divergent over the years, however, not according to the traditional left-right divide. Instead, the left-wing parties, as well as the Liberals and the Centre Party, adopted inclusive preferences while the Moderates, the Christian Democrats and the Sweden Democrats expressed restrictive preferences. Nevertheless, right-wing parties were the only ones to express restrictive preferences.

A comparison of the parties' use of inclusive deservingness criteria depicted a difference in the inclusive argumentation between the right-wing and the left-wing as the Moderates, the Liberals and the Centre Party solely referred to the control criterion. Left-wing parties, except for the Social Democrats, justified their positions by using a mixture of control, identity and reciprocity criteria. The analysis also reveals that there was a change in the usage of restrictive preferences in 2015. Unlike previous years, vulnerable EU migrants deservingness was questioned from a number of different perspectives reflecting a shift of tone in the debate.

A comparison between the political conflict surrounding vulnerable EU migrants and undocumented migrants suggests that the latter migrant group was not as heavily debated

during the period. However, the statements that were, in fact, formulated in the City Council shows a cleavage between parties similar to the political conflict towards vulnerable EU migrants. The left-wing parties together with the Liberals were all adopting an inclusive position. The Moderates and the Christian Democrats responded by expressing restrictive preferences.

Furthermore, the deservingness criteria used to justify undocumented migrants welfare support, control and identity, were also the most commonly used to reinforce vulnerable EU migrants' deservingness. However, the deservingness of undocumented migrants was not questioned by restrictive criteria. The Moderates and the Christian Democrats argued against an extension of undocumented women's right to protection from violence in 2012 without elaborating their argumentation further. The Sweden Democrats and the Centre Party's silence towards the issue of undocumented migrants' access to welfare were another discrepancy between the migrant groups.

## 5. Discussion of Results

In this chapter, the analysis of political parties' preferences in Gothenburg and Stockholm over time is completed by a spatial comparison that ultimately provides answers to the thesis' research questions. The aim of this thesis was to examine the Swedish political conflict surrounding vulnerable EU migrants' access to welfare on a local level. In order to do so, a study was conducted with the objective to answer an overall research question and two sub-questions. The structure of this chapter is organised according to these questions.

### **What are the political parties' preferences towards vulnerable EU migrants' access to welfare in Gothenburg and Stockholm and how do these preferences vary between left-wing and right-wing parties in the City Councils?**

The findings suggest that political parties' preferences in the negotiations leading up to final decisions comprised both inclusive and welfare chauvinistic preferences. The parties in Stockholm went from a uniform inclusive approach in 2012 to a polarisation of inclusive and restrictive preferences over the years. Political parties' preferences in Gothenburg was already diverging in 2009.

Furthermore, a majority of the parties in Stockholm adopted inclusive approaches while welfare chauvinistic preferences were found on both sides of the political spectrum in Gothenburg. Parties that took welfare chauvinistic positions in Stockholm, i.e. the Sweden Democrats, the Moderates and the Christian Democrats, were however actively placing the issue on the City Council agenda. In Gothenburg, the Sweden Democrats was the only party that formulated restrictive proposals to the Council. The remaining Gothenburg statements were restrictive responses to inclusive statements. In 2015, the political conflict engaged all parties in both municipalities and the tone of the debate had become heated. The migrants' deservingness of support was more fiercely questioned compared to previous years. However, a majority of parties in Gothenburg also found consensus regarding the issue of granting access to education that year.

The analysis of the results suggests that preferences towards vulnerable EU migrants do not follow a strict divide between the left-wing and the right-wing in neither of the two municipalities. The parties that expressed inclusive statements in Stockholm were the left-wing together with the Centre Party, the Liberals and the Moderates whilst the Social Democrats and the right-wing expressed restrictive preferences in Gothenburg. However, most parties that adopted restrictive positions did at times express inclusive preferences as

well. The fact that the two major opposing parties from the left-wing and the right-wing, the Social Democrats and the Moderates, expressed both inclusive and restrictive preferences further disprove the assumption that the political conflict creates a left-right divide. The only party with a consistent welfare chauvinistic attitude over time and space was the Sweden Democrats.

Although the results did not find a clear line of conflict between the left-wing and the right-wing, the allocation of preferences still differed between the blocs. The left-wing, except for the Social Democrats, expressed inclusive preferences. A majority of the parties that expressed restrictive preferences, on the other hand, belonged to the right-wing or the far-right. There was also a difference between the left-wing and the right-wing in terms of the argumentation of vulnerable EU migrants' deservingness of support. Even though the parties belonging to the right-wing expressed generous preferences, they did not refer to universal solidarity to justify their position. Instead, international conventions were a popular tool for the left-wing and was applied to undermine eventual limitations to welfare support in accordance with national legislation. Thus, unlike the right-wing, the left-wing treated vulnerable EU migrants' access to welfare as a human rights issue.

### **Are parties' preferences towards vulnerable EU migrants' access to welfare explained by party ideology or strategy?**

The first sub-question enabled an investigation as to why parties positioned themselves in a certain way in the political conflict surrounding vulnerable EU migrants. The analysis of party behaviour generated mixed results. The suggestion is that ideological and strategic considerations could explain party behaviour on both sides of the political spectrum and in relation to both restrictive and inclusive positions. Thus, the explanatory power of the two factors varied between parties. However, as the study is tentative, these findings must be regarded as initial suggestions.

The results indicate that the Sweden Democrats adopted a stable welfare chauvinistic approach whilst the Left Party expressed a consistent, inclusive position over time and space. Thus, the suggestion is that these parties approach the issue based on ideology which generates preferences that endure irrespective of differences in party competition dynamics. The analysis of the Feminist Initiative's behaviour is less convincing as the observations do not stretch over more than two years. However, like the Left Party, the Feminist Initiative adopted a consistent, inclusive position since the election to the City Councils in 2014.

The comparison between Gothenburg and Stockholm also found that there were parties that presented diverging preferences over time and space indicating that their positions were chosen based on strategic considerations rather than ideology. Parties belonging to both the left-wing and the right-wing changed opinions over time and space in a manner that served them the most beneficial position in the debates. Thus, these findings are significant as they may provide a plausible explanation of why the political conflict did not follow a strict left-right divide.

The analysis found indicators that made it possible to connect the inconsistency of the Social Democrats, the Moderates and to some extent also the Liberals' approaches with a strategic behaviour. In the period 2009 to 2014, the Social Democrats expressed restrictive preferences in governing position in Gothenburg whilst adopting inclusive preferences as an opposition party in Stockholm. The analysis thus provided indications of a behaviour that change in accordance with differences in the party's mandate. The change of opinion in Gothenburg 2015 was beneficial for the party as a grand coalition of parties was formed in favour of an inclusive action plan targeting vulnerable EU migrants.

The Moderates initially adopted inclusive preferences as part of a ruling majority in Stockholm. During the same period, the party expressed restrictive preferences as the major opposition party in Gothenburg. Thus, the findings indicate that the Moderates' diverging behaviour coincides with differences in governing positions. Also, the adoption of inclusive preferences would have been more beneficial for the party in Stockholm than in Gothenburg as a majority of the parties in the former municipality positioned themselves on the generous side of the conflict. As the party later changed its stance in 2014, there was no explicit connection to the electoral defeat in Stockholm. However, the restrictive preferences first appeared in the middle of the electoral campaign in May when the presence of the Sweden Democrats probably was more tangible than in 2012 and could have affected the outcome.

In fact, both the Social Democrats and the Moderates expressed restrictive preferences in Gothenburg at times when the parties in Stockholm adopted inclusive preferences. In line with the concept of strategy, the inconsistency could be explained by differences between the municipalities in terms of the presence of the Sweden Democrats. The presence of the anti-immigrant party stretched over the entire research period in the Gothenburg City Council whilst being limited to 2014 and 2015 in Stockholm. Thus, the Social Democrats and the Moderates could have adopted restrictive preferences as a response to the far-right. In sum,

divergences between the two major opposing parties' preferences, the Social Democrats and the Moderates, correlated with differences in governing positions, the creation of grand coalitions and the presence of the anti-immigrant party the Sweden Democrats.

The Liberals were consistently inclusive in Stockholm but expressed both inclusive and restrictive preferences over time in Gothenburg. However, the indications of a strategic behaviour are not as convincing as for the Social Democrats and the Moderates. The party adopted the same restrictive position as the Moderates once in 2015 forming a unified right-wing, however, changed opinion a few months later. When a majority of the parties in the Gothenburg City Council, including the Christian Democrats, expressed their approval of EU migrants' right to education in the negotiations later that year, the Liberals joined the majority side of the conflict.

The analysis of party behaviour also encountered challenges as a number of parties did not formulate enough statements during the research period in order to compare them over time and space. The Greens' comments in the Gothenburg City Council were limited to one year which ruled out a temporal comparison. A similar complication presented itself when analysing the Christian Democrats as the party did not engage in the debate in the Stockholm City Council until 2015. The Centre Party's consistent, inclusive position in Stockholm was not subject to a spatial comparison and thus left out of this section.

### **How do parties' approach EU migrants' deservingness of welfare in comparison to undocumented migrants' deservingness of welfare?**

The second sub-question was formulated with the objective to situate the political conflict in a broader context. The findings revealed several differences in how parties approached the two groups. For instance, undocumented migrants were subjected to other types of support and the debate concerning the migrant group was not as prominent in the City Councils. The fact that undocumented migrants have been subject to national legislation in recent years suggest that the social rights of this group is primarily dealt with on a national level rather than a local level.

Three findings, in particular, will be focalised in order to answer the research question. First of all, the restrictive argumentation in the political conflict surrounding undocumented migrants differed from the arguments towards vulnerable EU migrants. Whereas the latter group was politicised as a security issue and a problem to the Swedish society, there was no such conceptualisation of undocumented migrants. There was neither any reference made to

the sending countries' responsibility to care for their citizens. In fact, apart from the Sweden Democrats' statements, there was no questioning of undocumented migrants' deservingness of support in connection to welfare chauvinistic preferences.

Secondly, both migrant groups were deemed as deserving of support based on the same factors; the importance of granting all individuals welfare based on human rights and the migrants' vulnerability. Thus, vulnerable EU migrants and undocumented migrants were deemed deserving based on the same arguments but it was only vulnerable EU migrants' deservingness that was questioned by mainstream parties.

The analysis also suggests that debates concerning the two migrant groups resembled each other in terms of conflict patterns. Parties expressing welfare chauvinistic opinions towards one of the migrant groups was likely to adopt a similar approach to the municipality's responsibility towards the other group.



## 6. Concluding Remarks

To conclude, the thesis suggests that welfare chauvinism is present in the local political conflict surrounding vulnerable EU migrants in Sweden. Thus, the findings conform to prior studies of political party preferences towards immigration that reveal the existence of a politics of exclusion which contradicts the notion of Sweden as an inclusive welfare state (Bolin et al. 2014; Bucken-Knapp et al. 2014a,2014b; Dahlström & Sundell, 2012; Loxbo, 2010; Spehar & Hinnfors, forthcoming). Although local right-wing parties are more likely to express welfare chauvinistic preferences, there is no strict division following the left-right cleavage. These findings are in line with the perspective of scholars such as Goul Andersen & Bjorklund, (1990), Azmanova (2011) and Zolberg (1999). Furthermore, the thesis suggests that parties' strategic behaviour could provide explanations for these conflict patterns as the major opposing parties' preferences have shifted over the years.

Hence, the results from the study confirm hypothesis II. An overall estimation based on findings from both Gothenburg and Stockholm suggests that political preferences towards vulnerable EU migrants' access to welfare support cuts across the left-right divide as inclusive and welfare chauvinistic preferences are found on both sides of the political spectrum. Hypothesis I is therefore rejected. Although right-wing parties were more likely to express welfare chauvinistic statements in the City Councils, the patterns of political conflict did not follow a left-right divide.

### **Policy Implications**

The findings from this thesis reveal that the local political conflict surrounding vulnerable EU migrants' access to welfare creates coalitions that overstep bloc boundaries. A plausible outcome is that negotiations of this sort have a good chance of generating concrete policy decisions as both left-wing and right-wing parties tend to position themselves on the same side of the conflict. For instance, a majority of parties from both blocs expressed a willingness to grant vulnerable EU migrants' children access to education in Gothenburg. However, this view contradicts previous studies of Gothenburg and Stockholm which found that vulnerable EU migrants face barriers that prevent their access to welfare. Zelano et al. described the pitfalls embedded in EU Directive 2004/38/EC while Spehar and Bucken-Knapp's (forthcoming) focused on the policy stalemate among local policymakers as a result of an uncertainty concerning the municipalities' responsibility towards the migrant group. An alternative implication of a conflict between parties where issues cut across the traditional

left-right divide is the unpredictability it brings to political negotiations. This ought to generate an uncertainty of how to deal with the issue at hand in a concrete manner as conventional agreements and alliances no longer apply; especially when neither EU directives nor national laws provide clear directions.

Furthermore, by placing the findings from this study in a broader European context, certain characteristics of the local political debates could be related to a rise of a politics of fear in EU member states. Party preferences in Gothenburg and Stockholm involved a politicisation of vulnerable EU migrants as a security issue. The Moderates motion to establish municipality governed safety guards indicates a conceptualisation of vulnerable EU migrants as a matter of safety and order. The Sweden Democrats proposal to ban begging is yet another example of this approach. Previous research describes the linkage between restrictive policy outcomes and the presence of a security discourse that depict immigrants, and especially vulnerable EU migrants, as threats to the host society (Korkut et al. 2013:14; Azmanova, 2011:404; Fekete, 2014:66). Interestingly, this thesis has shown that a securitisation has not been prominent in the local debates surrounding undocumented migrants. This further points towards certain particularities of the political conflict surrounding vulnerable EU migrants.

### **Further Research**

Turning the attention to the limitations of this thesis and suggestions for further studies, the first issue concerns the investigation of party behaviour. The comparisons of preferences over time and space encountered difficulties as a number of parties did not engage in the debate. There was no classification of silence and parties who did not formulate any statements were left out of the analysis creating blank boxes in the table of results. Another research method or use of theory could have proven sufficient in terms of capturing the meaning of silence and thus strengthened the validity of the study. Furthermore, as already mentioned, the temporal and spatial boundary of the case study also entailed particular problems of determining party behaviour and further studies are needed to draw any affirmative conclusions. However, this study adopted a tentative approach and should be regarded as a first attempt to explain the behaviour of local political parties in the conflict surrounding vulnerable EU migrants.

During the course of the study, it also became evident that the parties' approaches was in many respects affected by external events. The suggestion is that the public debate concerning Meros Camping influenced the parties in Gothenburg and helped place the issue of vulnerable EU migrants' access to welfare on the political agenda already in 2009. Also,

national policymaking granting undocumented migrants' access to healthcare and education could explain why the local debate was scarce in comparison to EU migration. Thus, further studies of a broader societal debate or from a multi-level-governance perspective are motivated.

The lack of restrictive pro-arguments directed against undocumented migrants also provides an interesting topic for further research. The increased size of immigration from Syria to Europe did not affect the results of this thesis as this migrant group, i.e. asylum seekers were not included in the study. However, one could draw the conclusion that the numbers of undocumented migrants in Sweden will increase. The government has implemented stricter rules for asylum seekers in the fall of 2015 and projections estimates that 80 000 individuals that migrated to Sweden last year will be denied residence permit (DN, 2016). The relevant question in relation to this thesis is how these events will affect local parties' approach to undocumented migrants' access to welfare.

The investigation of local political conflict may also be continued by including other municipalities in Sweden. For instance, a comparison could be carried out between urban and rural areas where the presence of EU migrants might be perceived differently. A similar comparison could be conducted between European cities to detect national variations on a local level. There are examples of transnational studies, such as the Imagination research project (2015), which compare urban implications and governance of CEE migration in Sweden, Austria, Poland, Turkey and the Czech Republic and the Netherlands. However, the project has not yet published any reports about political party approaches to intra-EU migration.

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# Appendix I. List of Quotes in Original Language

## Quotes From Parties in Gothenburg

### 2009

"Som kommunföreträdare måste vi dock göra en ständig avvägning mellan de begränsade ekonomiska resurser som kommunen förfogar över och dess ansvar gentemot kommuninvånarna [...] Gränsen för hur man agerar i den här typen av ärenden heter svensk lagstiftning. Den har kommunen följt och har för avsikt att fortsätta följa" (Social Democrats, City of Gothenburg 2009:6,13).

"Lagar och regler har fått gå före, istället för att välja att förbättra situationen för dessa barnfamiljer [...] Självklart har varje individ i den här församlingen och i samhället i övrigt ett ansvar för barn, oavsett om de är romska barn, svenska barn, afrikanska barn eller vad du vill [...] om en mamma och pappa tar sina barn och flyttar in i den avskrädeshög som Meros Camping är, så har alternativen varit mycket värre. Det måste man ha förståelse för. Då är det vår skyldighet att försöka hjälpa de människorna från campingen" ( Left Party, City of Gothenburg 2009:8,11-2).

"Trots allt börjar det hända saker. Att det är för sent kan man absolut konstatera. Vi är yrvakna. Det gäller nog alla här. Annars hade vi diskuterat frågan för länge sedan [...] Det tragiska är att alternativet Meros Camping är bättre för de här människorna än det som de kommer ifrån. Vi kan i någon mening se dem som internflyktingar" (Liberals, City of Gothenburg 2009:11).

"Man kan vistat som turist och arbetssökande i andra medlemsländer. Men i fallet Meros Camping är det tal om social turism, som det har varnats för [...] Vi måste sätta gränser" (Sweden Democrats, City of Gothenburg 2009:10).

### 2010

"Kvinnor som lever gömda i Sverige utan uppehållstillstånd är en grupp som är extra utsatt när det gäller mäns våld [...] Dessa kvinnor är ofta mer sårbara och isolerade än svenska kvinnor i sama situation" (Left Party, 2010/11:14).

"Papperslösa flyktingar har rätt till vård. Alla människor ska behandlas utifrån grundläggande humana värderingar och mänskliga rättigheter. Även den som lever gömd har rätt till vård" (The Liberals, 2010:19).

### 2011

"Att lyfta de mänskliga rättigheterna. Det är där vi måste ta avstamp [...] när det kommer till en människa vi kan identifiera, som kommer till oss i behov av skydd, som har varit misshandlad och så vidare, får vi inte börja diskutera lagar och paragrafer" (Social Democrats, City of Gothenburg 2011:60).

"FN-konventionerna måste gälla papperslösa kvinnor" (Left Party, City of Gothenburg 2011:59).

"Jag tycker detta måste utredas först, innan vi kan ta tag i det. Så länge det sker kommer vi givetvis att följa de konventioner som finns" (Moderates, City of Gothenburg 2011:60).

"Självklart ska vi från vår sida göra allt för att hjälpa dem i deras utsatta situation - det är vår skyldighet. Vi anser att dessa personer ska erbjudas hjälp med stöd av konventionen om medborgerliga och politiska rättigheter samt deklaration om avskaffande av våld mot kvinnor" (Liberals, City of Gothenburg 2011:61).

"Enligt principen om alla människors lika värde är det klart att papperslösa kvinnor lika väl som andra ska få den hjälp och det stöd som de behöver i utsatta situationer. Så är det inte i dag, och

det måste vi ändra på. Enligt Stadskansliet råder det dock en del juridiska oklarheter, men kvinnorna kan inte vänta" (Kristdemokraterna, City of Gothenburg 2011:60).

## 2013

"Vissa kvinnor är särskilt utsatta i vårt samhälle, där ojämställdheten övergår i fysiskt våld. Vi lyfter i rödgrönt budgetförslag fram hur papperslösa kvinnor, men också kvinnor som har ett missbruk, äldre kvinnor eller kvinnor som har en funktionsnedsättning löper särskilda risker i och med sin livssituation" (Greens, City of Gothenburg 2013b:79).

## 2014

"Sedan har vi lagar som styr oss, och enligt kommunallagen måste vi använda skattemedel för göteborgarna - och det gör vi. Det stöd som vi ger till de här personerna är via frivilligorganisationer" (Social Democrats, City of Gothenburg 2014b:21).

"Papperslösa ska få möjligheter till försörjningsstöd, det är jätteviktigt" (Greens, City of Gothenburg 2014b:49).

"Med hänvisning till att de mänskliga rättigheterna avser alla som bor, verkar eller vistas i Göteborgs stad anser vi att papperslösa och EU-medborgare måste inkluderas i [hemlöshets] strategin [...] alla bör ha tillgång till grundläggande behov som ett anständigt boende, rättvisa arbetsförhållanden samt skydd mot våld och diskriminering" (Feminist Initiative, City of Gothenburg 2014b:13-4).

"Migranter och tiggare, är en konsekvens av den fria rörligheten i EU och arbetet måste intensifieras för att förbättra villkoren för dessa människor både i deras hemländer och i Göteborg. Ingen människa tigger frivilligt" (Liberals, City of Gothenburg 2014a:22).

"det är inte en mänsklig rättighet att bli försörd i Göteborg om man är europé [...] Förstod jag dig rätt, att alla EU-migranter och de som har fått avslag på sin asylansökan, så kallade papperslösa, ska ha rätt att få socialbidrag i Göteborg? Det är ändå skattebetalarnas pengarsom går till detta" (Sweden Democrats, City of Gothenburg 2014b:21).

## 2015

"när det gäller skolplikten [för EU-migranternas barn] är för oss barnkonventionen och de mänskliga rättigheterna ett grundläggande ställningstagande som vi måste ha. Vi kan inte ha skillnad mellan våra barn och andras" (Social Democrats, City of Gothenburg 2015d).

"I Göteborg har alla barn rätt att utveckla sin potential. Det spelar ingen roll om pappa sitter och tigger på gatan eller om han är Volvochef [...] I Göteborg följer vi barnkonventionen (Greens, City of Gothenburg 2015d).

"Jag är glad att det finns en majoritet här inne som står upp för [...] att människovärdet är okränkbart och universellt" (Left Party, City of Gothenburg 2015d).

"Det drabbar främst socialt och ekonomiskt utsatta EU-medborgare som redan utsätts för diskriminering och inte har ett socialt skydd i sina hemländer. Fattigdom upphör inte per automatik efter tre månader. Vi motsätter oss att avhysningar görs när människor inte kan erbjudas tak över huvudet under mer än ett fåtal dagar. Vi menar att långsiktiga lösningar behövs gällande boendesituationen" (Feminist Initiative, City of Gothenburg 2015d).

"ambitionen i planen går utöver vad kommunen bör ansvara för. Vi har i kommunen förstås ett ansvar för att undvika nöd och vi gör det genom att erbjuda tak över huvudet och akuta insatser. Men vi kan inte och ska inte ta över det ansvar som ligger på staten, på hemländerna och på EU. [...] Och det är inte alls självklart att barnkonventionen skulle innebära att vi ska ordna skolgång i Sverige - när det finns skolgång och skolplikt i hemlandet" (Moderates, City of Gothenburg 2015d).

"Man har samma rättigheter och skyldigheter i Sverige - oavsett om man är medborgare här eller besökande från ett annat EU-land. Man får inte bosätta sig på någon annans mark" (Moderates, City of Gothenburg 2015d).

"Under remissens gång har flera remissinstanser betonat vikten av att skola erbjuds alla barn. Ett fåtal barn finns i våra skolor. De har ingen skola som väntar på dem. För trots att det finns skolplikt i dessa länder är de inte välkomna [...] Jag skulle vilja ha en helt annan arbetsmarknadspolitik så att det fanns låglönejobb som man kunde erbjuda" (Liberals, City of Gothenburg 2015d).

"Orsaken till att allt fler fattiga EU-medborgare kommer till Sverige är utbredd fattigdom, utanförskap och främlingsfientlighet i hemländerna [...] Vi måste hjälpa de enstaka människor som väljer att komma hit" (Liberals, 2015/15:156).

"Handlingsplanen anger att skola ska erbjudas dessa barn. För oss är det en självklarhet. Barnkonventionen ska gälla alla barn, överallt och alltid" (Christian Democrats, City of Gothenburg 2015d).

"Det som föreslås i planen kan innebära kostnader för Göteborgs stad, som mot bakgrund av ovan borde betalas av andra medlemsstater. Det är för oss självklart att Göteborg ska genomföra dessa åtgärder, men det är inte rimligt att våra kostnader lämnas helt utan kompensation" (Christian Democrats, 2015/15:156).

"De betalar ingen kommunalskatt och Sverigedemokraterna anser i och med det att vissa EU-migranter och papperslösa inte ska ha rätt till olika former av bistånd eller stöd" (Sweden Democrats, 2015/15:203).

"Dessa är respektive hemländers ansvar [...] Således bör alla utgifter för EU-migranter som staden frivilligt bekostar med skattebetalarnas pengar omedelbart upphöra" (Sweden Democrats, City of Gothenburg 2015b).

## Quotes From Parties in Stockholm

### 2012

"Stockholms Stad kan göra mer för papperslösa kvinnor som befinner sig i en krissituation [...] Stockholms Stad har ett ansvar att respektera och främja de mänskliga rättigheterna för alla som befinner sig i Stockholm. Det är inte endast kommunallagen som stadens enheter är skyldiga att förhålla sig till, utan även de internationella juridiska dokument som Sverige har ratificerat" (Social Democrats, 2012/11:29).

"Vi vet att papperslösa kvinnor är väldigt utsatta eftersom de befinner sig utanför samhällets alla skydds nätverk" (Social Democrats, 2012/11:10).

"Papperslösas sociala, ekonomiska och legala utsatthet skapar levnadssituationer där vuxna och framförallt barn är i extremt behov av stöd och hjälp [...] Det finns luckor i hur staden implementerar medborgerliga och mänskliga rättigheter. Luckor som framförallt papperslösa får betala priset för" (Greens, 2012/11:29).

"Kvinnor som lever gömda i Sverige utan uppehållstillstånd är en grupp som är extra utsatt när det gäller mäns våld" (Left Party, 2012/11:10).

"Att öka stödet till papperslösa till mer än nödhjälp vore en politisk markering om samhällets ansvar för att leva upp till de internationella konventioner om mänskliga rättigheter" (Left Party, 2012/11:29).

"Jag vill särskilt trycka på att vi, vid sidan av härbärgen för hemlösa, startar härbärgen för hemlösa EU-medborgare för att de ska slippa sitta på våra gator, tigga och fara riktigt illa på vintern"(Moderates, City of Stockholm 2012a:50).

"Staden uppfyller de krav som lagstiftningen ställer på att ge stöd och skydd till de som vistas i kommunen både genom egen verksamhet och genom bidrag till organisationer" (Moderates 2012/11:29).

"I Stockholm kan vi inte stillatigande se på hur människor i vår gemensamma union utsätts för sådant förtryck och diskriminering hemma i sina egna länder att de inte ser någon annan utväg än att lämna sitt land [...]Vi ser problemet, och vi försöker ta vår del av ansvaret. Jag är glad att de partier som idag finns i Stockholms kommunfullmäktige är eniga om detta" (Liberals, City of Stockholm 2012a:52).

"Det här är några av de mest utsatta grupperna (papperslösa) som vi har i vår stad [...] Jag kommer att verka för att det när vi tar beslut för nästa år tydligt ska finnas i beslutet att vi är skyldiga att ta emot, oavsett om man bor i staden eller inte (...)Det gäller att sprida information om att man har rätt att vända sig till kvinnojourer och att i det här landet kan man få hjälp. Där tror jag att vi kan bli bättre" (Liberals, City of Stockholm 2012b:100).

"Det råder ingen tvekan om att de [papperslösa kvinnor] har rätt att få skydd också i de kvinnojourer som vi har runt om i staden [...]Men vi pekar inte ut och säger att det ska gå extra pengar till en kvinnojour" (Christian Democrats, City of Stockholm 2012b:96).

## 2013

"Jag har egentligen inte så mycket att invända. Jag är faktiskt på allvar glad att vi här i salen är överens om det grundläggande synsättet i frågan" (Social Democrats, City of Stockholm 2013:113-4).

"Även jag delar det du säger. I det här fallet är det medmänskligheten som förenar oss. Det känns att de nationella gränserna är konstruerade i detta fall" (Greens, City of Stockholm 2013:114).

"Vi är överens i den här frågan [...]Men problemet är också att (härbärges-)platserna där inte räcker till" (Left Party, City of Stockholm 2013:114).

"Att tigga i Stockholm och att bo i kalla tält eller hoppas vinna kvällens lotteri om sängar hos Stadsmissionen eller hos Frälsningsarmén ser de [EU-migranter] som ett bättre alternativ än att bo hemma med familj och vänner [...] Det är bra att Stockholm tar ansvar utöver vad lagen kräver. Men vi vill mer" (Centre Party, City of Stockholm 2013:113).

## 2014

"De har varit utsatta för diskriminering och trakasserier, levt under slavliknande förhållanden och kommit till vårt land och andra länder för att söka hjälp här [...] Vi satsar bland annat mer pengar på härbärgen och tar fram en strategi" (Social Democrats, City of Stockholm 2014d:153).

"Detta handlar om otroligt utsatta människor [...] Vi i den nya majoriteten jobbar för att få fler boendeplatser. Vi har höjt ambitionerna när det gäller att ge hjälp och stöd till fattiga EU-medborgare" (Greens, City of Stockholm 2014d:146,151).

"Staden måste stärka sitt arbete för EU-medborgare från andra länder och papperslösa som lever som hemlösa i Stockholm" (Greens, City of Stockholm 2014c:45).

"Här i vår stad lever gömda och papperslösa barn, och det är en av de allra mest utsatta grupper som finns i vårt samhälle [...] Vi menar att barn som är sjuka ska få medicin oavsett om de har papper eller inte, att detta är en mänsklig rättighet, en rättighet enligt barnkonventionen och en självklarhet i ett modernt och mänskligt samhälle" (Greens, City of Stockholm 2014e:81).

"Det blir allt tydligare att EU-medborgare ingår i programmet. Vi kan inte blunda för behovet av en strategi. Stadens insatser måste utgå från vad som är mänskliga rättigheter"(Left Party 2014/14:69).

"Vi arbetar för att papperslösa och gömda människor ska erbjudas insatser utifrån sina mänskliga rättigheter. En början är att papperslösa kvinnor säkras plats på kvinnojourer och skyddade boenden, att alla barn har rätt till skola och förskola och att socialnämnden ser över riktlinjerna för bistånd till papperslösas barn" (Feminist Initiative, City of Stockholm 2014d:135).

"Stockholms kommun ska också ta bättre ansvar för de fattiga EU-medborgarna som kommer hit. Målet måste vara att ingen ska behöva bo på gatan. [...] Vi behöver höja ambitionsnivån för allas mänskliga rättigheter" (Feminist Initiative, City of Stockholm 2014d:135-6).

"Jag är lite oroad över de signaler man skickar ut om att man inte ska avhysa längre och att man ska ha fler boendeplatser [...] Jag tror inte det är lösningen, utan jag tror snarare att vi måste jobba mer med organisationer i länder som Rumänien (Moderates, City of Stockholm 2014d:152).

"Vi är lite rädda för att bidra till att skapa någon form av hemlöshetsstrategi för den gruppen, för de har oftast inte ett missbruk, har inte varit hemlösa i sitt hemland och så vidare" (Moderates, City of Stockholm 2014b:108).

"Inför valet var det också flera av partierna som ville ha en tak-överhuvudet-garanti för alla. En strategi är förvisso bra, med det är inte en tak-överhuvudet-garanti. Centerpartiet är nu det enda partiet som har en sådan i sin budget" (Centre Party, City of Stockholm 2014d:134).

"Stockholms stad tog ett stort ansvar för att hjälpa dem som kommer till vår stad [under föregående mandatperiod] [...] Vi i Folkpartiet välkomnar därför den nya majoritetens initiativ att ta fram en strategi för stadens arbete med fattiga EU-medborgare" (Liberals, City of Stockholm 2014d:133).

"Dessa människor tar enormt mycket resurser från svenska medborgare som behöver hjälp [...] Det är först och främst inte Stockholm och Sverige som ska ta hand om andra EU-medborgare, utan det är varje EU-lands uppgift att ta hand om sina medborgare" (Sweden Democrats, City of Stockholm 2014d:145-6).

## 2015

"Om vi ska försöka lösa denna utsatthet på riktigt - den nöd och fattigdom som många EU-migranter befinner sig i - behöver vi ta hänsyn till och beakta denna historiska utsatthet av romer men även den ekonomiska situation i dessa länder. Vi från stadens sida måste fortsätta utveckla arbetet bland annat vad gäller uppsökande verksamhet. Vi behöver stödja de ideella organisationerna och ge stöd i samband med avvisningar och ordna sovplatser och akutboenden" (Social Democrats, City of Stockholm 2015c:77).

"Diskriminering och fattigdom får människor att göra livsval som tar dem från barn, familj och hem. Lösningen finns inte i Stockholms stad, men icke desto mindre behöver Stockholm en handlingsplan och en linje som för frågan framåt" (Greens, City of Stockholm 2015f).

"Avhysningen kommer att behöva göras, men vi vill inte att människor som sover på gator eller i tillfälliga läger runt om i Stockholm ska behöva avhysas till ingenting och drivas från gathörn till gathörn. Därför har vi satsat på fler temporära sovplatser, och tagit fram det åtgärdsprogram med 16 punkter som kommer att följas av en långsiktig strategi för hur frågan om fattiga EU-medborgare i Stockholm ska mötas" (Greens, 2015/15:24).

"För oss är inte problemet att man inte kan gå och handla i sin lokala matbutik utan att stöta på dessa inslag i gatumiljön utanför. För oss är problemet fattigdom, diskriminering och ojämlikhet. Lösningen kommer aldrig att bli ytterligare förbud eller hårdare gränser. Vi erbjuder istället fler övernattningsplatser, ökar stödet till frivilligorganisationer, utökar antalet socialarbetare som möter den här målgruppen" (Left Party, City of Stockholm 2015d:31).

"FN:s deklaration ska även gälla dem [EU-medborgare], och då ska vi enligt de avtal som vi har skrivit på erbjuda bostad, skola och arbete"(Feminist Initiative, City of Stockholm 2015d:31).

"En långsiktig lösning på situationen kräver att människor får hjälp att kunna ta sig ur fattigdom. Här kan vi inspireras av de projekt som pågår inom till exempel Stadsmissionen, där man ser EU-medborgare som är utsatta som er resurs för vårt samhälle" (Feminist Initiative, City of Stockholm 2015a:44).

"Ska vi i Stockholm ta hand om tusentals fattiga EU-medborgare från Rumänien? Är inte det en huvuduppgift för hemlandet? [...] Många av de människor som bygger upp de här lägren och bosätter sig på olika platser medför en massa problem. De går till sandlådor och andra ställen och utträttar sina behov. Det finns många föräldrar som är mycket oroliga för sina barn. De kan inte släppa ut dem i vissa områden på grund av att de riskerar att stöta på detta" (Moderates, City of Stockholm 2015d:33,37-8).

"diskriminering och utsatthet som södra Europas romer och andra marginaliserade grupper lever under har de senaste åren blivit plågsamt uppenbar [...] Ett kategoriskt förbud mot att bevilja alla former av hjälpinsatser till utsatta personer, på det sätt motionärerna verkar föreslå, innebär sannolikt ett lagbrott. Stockholms stad har under den senaste mandatperioden tagit ett socialt ansvar som har gått utöver vad staden är ålagd att göra enligt socialtjänstlagen. Vi ska fortsätta ta det ansvaret" (Liberals 2015/15:12).

"Avhysningar, som kommer att krävas, ska ske på ett rättssäkert sätt och alternativ måste finnas som härbergsplatser eller andra lösningar" (Centre Party, 2015/15:12).

"Dessutom vill vi skapa meningsfull sysselsättning som ett riktigt alternativ till att tigga [...] anledningen till att människor kommer hit är att de lever i utsatthet, fattigdom och diskriminering i sina hemländer" (Centre Party, City of Stockholm 2015c:71,78).

"Vi säger välkomna hit, men med den fria rörligheten följer också skyldigheter, bland annat att själva ordna bostad och försörjning" (Christian Democrats, City of Stockholm 2015d:38).

"Om tanken är att permanent uppehålla sig i Sverige enligt den fria rörligheten, att söka jobb eller utbildning och skaffa sig en egen försörjning framöver följer också flera rättigheter. Men om tanken inte är något annat än att under några veckor vara här för att tigga om pengar kan man heller inte dra slutsatsen att skolgång ska vara en rättighet" (Christian Democrats, City of Stockholm 2015d:35).

"Vad har du för belegg när du säger att de här människorna inte har något annat val och att de måste komma till Sverige för att klara sin försörjning [...] Det är inte Sveriges uppgift att ta hand om utländska medborgare Vi ska istället sätta större press på att länder som Rumänien och Bulgarien tar ett större ansvar" (Sweden Democrats, 2015c:74-5).