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National strategies to fight homelessness and housing exclusion

Sweden

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**ESPN Thematic Report on
National strategies to fight
homelessness and housing
exclusion**

Sweden

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Summary

Homelessness and housing exclusion is an increasing problem in Sweden and in most European countries. The Swedish definition of homelessness is rather broad and shows substantial overlap with the ETHOS¹ Light definition. Between the first homelessness count in 1993 and the most recent one in 2017, the number of homeless people doubled. After 2011 the number of homeless people stabilised, possibly explained by the fact that fewer municipalities participated in the 2017 count. The 2017 count showed that almost half of the homeless population lived in long-term housing arrangements. It also showed an increase in the number of acutely homeless people (i.e. ETHOS Light categories 1, 2, 3 and 5) and a large increase in the number of homeless people within the secondary housing market. Moreover, the 2017 survey indicated that the profile of the homeless population had changed. An increasing number of homeless persons were women and an increasing number had a migrant background. Even though the national definition is broad, it still excludes several groups that in fact live in homeless situations – people without a residence permit, unaccompanied minors, undocumented migrants, mobile EU citizens and people who are placed within different forms of social services institutions and are entitled by law to support and services. There are also groups of people who find it more and more difficult to either enter the ordinary housing market or have the financial means to keep their housing. These groups include older people with care needs, pensioners with a guarantee pension, youths and young adults, students and newly arrived migrants.

In comparison with the other Nordic countries, Sweden does not have a national homelessness strategy. The housing market is highly deregulated. The municipal housing companies that previously had an important role in the housing market, providing public rental housing for all citizens, now have to act like other housing companies that are for profit and based on competitive market principles. A specific Swedish model that has been developed during the past two decades is now institutionalised: it consists of a secondary housing market where social services rent housing from municipal or private actors and then sub-let these apartments to their clients. Outside the secondary housing market, a hotel and lodging market exists. Many of the services outside the secondary housing market are delivered by actors other than public organisations. Shelters, hostels, hotels and other forms of special housing for homeless people are run by non-government organisations (NGOs), charities, and service-user organisations – both social enterprises and private companies.

A big driver behind the increase in homelessness and housing exclusion is the lack of affordable housing. The costs for producing new housing are high, and the rents in newly produced housing are disconnected from the user value system that exists in the rental housing market in Sweden. This has caused a dramatic increase in rental costs. Polarisation and social-spatial segregation have also increased. The refugee crisis in 2015 led to new legislation that forces municipalities to provide housing for newly arrived migrants. The new legislation has had direct effects on local housing markets. During the past decade, 'Housing First' initiatives have been established and shown positive results, but the scaling-up process has been slow, with only 20 out of 290 municipalities providing Housing First services. The issue of housing for economically disadvantaged households has been among the most important ones. A central debate has been over whether social housing would be a better approach than the existing model, since the latter has been shown to be part of the problem rather than a solution to homelessness.

¹ European Typology of Homelessness and Housing Exclusion.

1 The nature and extent of homelessness and housing exclusion

The National Board of Health and Welfare (Socialstyrelsen) is responsible, at the national level, for mapping out the extent and nature of homelessness in Sweden, as well as outlining strategies to feed this information into action plans for fighting homelessness at national, regional and local levels. The current definition of homelessness was used for the first time in the national homelessness survey in 2011. It resembles the definition used in a previous survey conducted in 2005, but some changes were made. In the National Board of Health and Welfare's survey from 2011, the ETHOS model was adapted to the Swedish context (NBHW, 2012, p. 23). Since the current definition uses situations of homelessness, it resembles the ETHOS Light definition. There have been five national homelessness surveys in Sweden since 1993 (1993, 1999, 2005, 2011 and 2017). The definition has changed every time a survey has been conducted. This has complicated the task of comparing the figures. The methodology of previous national surveys has been heavily criticised (Sahlin, 1994; Thörn, 2004). The current official national definition of homelessness in Sweden is divided into four homelessness situations:

1. acute homelessness;
2. institutional or assisted living;
3. long-term living arrangements organised by social services (e.g. the secondary housing market); and
4. private short-term living arrangements (NBHW, 2017a).

The four situations of homelessness used by the National Board of Health and Welfare overlap with the ETHOS Light definition. 'Acute homelessness' includes people sleeping in public spaces and those in overnight shelters. It also includes those in accommodation for homeless people, as well as those living in mobile homes, non-conventional buildings and temporary structures (i.e. ETHOS Light categories 1, 2, 3 and 5). 'Institutional or assisted living' includes people residing in institutions who lack housing prior to release (i.e. ETHOS Light category 4). People in 'long-term living arrangements' include those who have been assigned accommodation through the social services. The housing situation is contractual, and often includes supervision and housing support (this category has no equivalent in the ETHOS Light definition, but sub-definitions in this category show some resemblance to the category 'transitional supported accommodation' in ETHOS Light category 3).

Almost half of homeless people in the most recent survey lived in different types of long-term housing (situation 3): 15,838 out of the total of 33,269. The apartments are often spread out in apartment blocks in the ordinary housing market. Table A1 in the Annex identifies the categories from the ETHOS Light typology that are used in the Swedish definition. Notably, it shows that the third situation used in the Swedish definition is not fully included. The third situation refers to housing that is part of what is called the secondary housing market. 'Private short-term living arrangements' includes people who reside temporarily with friends and relatives, as well as those with sub-lease contracts of less than three months (i.e. resembling ETHOS Light category 6, but without the sub-lease addition).

Table A2 in Annex provides the most recent available data on homelessness in Sweden. Certain groups are not included in the national definition of homelessness. People who lack a residence permit are not counted, and nor are unaccompanied minors, undocumented migrants and mobile EU citizens. Moreover, people who are placed in different forms of social services institutions are also excluded from the national definition of homelessness – such as child protection services, retirement homes or homes for people with functional disabilities (who are entitled to support and service according to the Swedish Act concerning Support and Service for Persons with Certain Functional Impairments [Lag (1993:387) om stöd och service till vissa funktionshindrade] (LSS)). There are also groups of people who find it more and more difficult to either enter the ordinary housing market or have the financial means to keep their housing. According to the County Administrative Board (2018) these groups include older people

with care needs, pensioners with a guarantee pension, youth and young adults, students and newly arrived migrants.

Homelessness and housing exclusion have increased over the last 10 years. The key drivers of the growing numbers of homeless people can be traced back to the so-called system shift in housing policy in the early 1990s (Lindbom, 2001; Sahlin, 2015). The Swedish housing regime has been described as corporatist (Bengtsson, 2006). The foundation of the Swedish model has been public housing. A large share of the rental housing market has traditionally been owned by municipal housing companies. This arrangement differs from other European countries, which have a system of subsidised social housing. The trends that can be seen today may therefore be traced back to different political decisions and pieces of legislation that have led to a highly deregulated housing market.

There is a housing shortage in 240 out of 290 municipalities in Sweden (NBHBP, 2019). The housing production rate has been low in relation to population growth since the beginning of the 1990s, despite increasing significantly during the last few years. Newly produced housing is expensive, so that even where housing is available, its cost makes it impossible for certain groups to access it. Another important factor derives from the 2011 legislation stating that municipal housing companies have to be run according to business principles and for profit (Sahlin, 2017). For many citizens it is a challenge to enter the ordinary housing market because they are not accepted as tenants. About 15% of municipal housing companies and 30% of private housing companies do not accept social benefits as a steady income. According to the National Board of Housing, Building and Planning (NBHBP, 2017) one-fifth of housing companies have an income requirement of three times the annual rent. Many housing companies refuse people who have rent debts and/or payment notices.

The profile of the homeless population has changed since the first survey in 1993, as follows.

- In 1993, 83% of the homeless population were men and 17% women. In the most recent survey (from 2017), 62% were men and 38% women.
- In 1993, 76.7% of the homeless population were Swedish and 23.3% had a migrant background. In 2017, 57% were Swedish and 43% had a migrant background (for a more elaborate comparison between the different surveys, see Knutagård, 2018).

Due to the changes in the definition of homelessness, the data are not fully comparable, which needs to be taken into consideration when discussing the changing profile. In addition, the survey is conducted during one week in spring. The number of homeless people therefore refers to those who were homeless during that specific week. The data do not say anything about how many people are homeless during a longer period, so the available data cannot provide definitive insights into homelessness trajectories or the dynamics of homelessness. Nevertheless, by comparing the different surveys it is possible to see that there has been a rather big change in the profile concerning gender and migrant background.

Additionally, the 2017 survey showed an increase in the number of individuals who were acutely homeless, and a large increase of the number of people in long-term housing solutions. The 2017 survey also showed that 48% of homeless women and 29% of homeless men were parents to children aged 18 and younger. The average age of homeless men was 41 and the average age of homeless women was 39. The National Board of Health and Welfare also noted an increase in the number of homeless people who were aged 65 or older. In 2017, 1,800 individuals aged 65+ were reported – an increase of roughly 300 since the 2011 survey (NBHW 2017a). A large share (over two-thirds) of the homeless population had been homeless for one year or more. The results from the survey also showed that more than 3,000 homeless (10%) individuals had been homeless for 10 years or longer.

2 Relevant strategies and policies tackling homelessness and housing exclusion

In 2007, the government launched a national homelessness strategy called *Homelessness, Multiple Faces, Multiple Responsibilities – A Strategy to Combat Homelessness and Exclusion from the Housing Market*. The ambition was high but the strategy only lasted until 2009. Sweden has not had a national homelessness strategy since then. The evaluation of the national homelessness strategy concluded that it failed to meet the four set objectives (Denvall et al., 2011). Nonetheless, two areas that showed positive results were support work to prevent evictions and different forms of budget and debt counselling.

There are no national or regional strategies at the time of writing. This is a big difference compared with neighbouring countries. In Sweden, municipalities have the main responsibility for the provision of housing for their citizens. The housing market has changed since the beginning of the 1990s, and the composition of local housing providers varies greatly. In some municipalities, municipal housing companies still play a big role and have a large share of rental housing. Other municipalities have sold the municipal housing companies and rely instead on private landlords and home-ownership.

Many municipalities, however, have launched their own municipal housing strategies and action plans to combat homelessness. Long-term housing solutions are often formulated as a main objective with a strong focus on preventive work, especially in relation to evictions. In the homelessness strategy for the city of Stockholm, the use of evidence-based methods is also stated as a goal. In several municipal homelessness action plans, Housing First is put forward as a strategy. Pathways to Housing, a non-profit corporation in New York, first developed the Housing First programme in 1992. The Housing First model is based on eight core principles.² It starts from the idea that homeless people need housing first before any other problems can be dealt with. Housing is a prerequisite. The homeless person also receives support services from a multi-professional support team, either an ACT team (assertive community treatment) or an ICM team (intensive case management). The housing is scattered within the regular housing market and the support team is on call 24 hours a day, seven days a week (Knutagård & Kristiansen, 2013; Pleace, 2016). The scaling-up of Housing First services is evident in municipalities such as Stockholm, Gothenburg, Malmö and Helsingborg. One challenge is to scale up the support teams necessary at the same pace as the provision of housing. Research has shown that in municipalities that have introduced Housing First services, there is a strong discourse on housing retention and tenancy sustainment (Knutagård & Kristiansen, 2018). In practice, the staircase model (described below, Section 3) or service-led strategies are still dominant. Another challenge regards market conditions, which place a responsibility on the individual to make the right decisions and to be an active consumer in the market. There is a risk that homelessness will come to be seen as an individual problem, and framed as if homeless people themselves have not made enough effort to find housing – either with another landlord, in another city or in a totally different region in the country (Juhila et al., 2017).

EU funding has not played a major role in enhancing homelessness responses in Sweden related to the national definition of homelessness. During the ongoing programme period, the focus has been on employability and there have not been any specific projects funded by the European Social Fund (ESF) directly targeting homelessness and housing exclusion. Some funding from the Fund for European Aid to the Most Deprived (FEAD) has been useful for targeting mobile EU citizens.

² The eight principles are: (1) housing as a basic human right; (2) respect, warmth and compassion for all clients; (3) a commitment to working with clients for as long as they need; (4) scattered-site housing, independent apartments; (5) separation of housing and services; (6) consumer choice and self-determination; (7) a recovery orientation; and (8) harm reduction (Tsemberis, 2015, p. 18).

The National Board of Health and Welfare is responsible for monitoring homelessness at the national level in Sweden. In its assessments, EU indicators on housing are not used. However, a lack of rental housing and the often harsh conditions attached to being approved as tenant (i.e. requirements for regular work income) are important structural factors that pose barriers for some homeless people to find suitable housing, as noted by the Board in its communications on homelessness and evictions (NBHW, 2017b). Failure to pay rent is mentioned in some municipal investigations on homelessness (Borås Stad, 2018; Malmö Stad, 2018).

The refugee crisis after 2015 has also had direct effects on local housing markets. In 2015 more than 160,000 people sought asylum in Sweden. New legislation (SFS 2016:38. The Act on reception for settlement of certain newly arrived immigrants) forces municipalities to provide housing for newly arrived migrants. The government funds the first two years of the establishment phase and after that the municipalities take over the financial costs. This has led to competition between groups of homeless people and other groups that find it difficult to access the housing market.

3 Analysis of the current patterns of service provision and challenges in implementing Sweden's responses to homelessness and housing exclusion

The mainstream approach to homelessness services in Sweden is still based on the so-called 'staircase model' or 'continuum of care'. The logic behind the staircase model is that clients are expected to prove that they are housing-ready by being sober, abstinent from drugs and participating in treatment for any addiction or mental health problems, in order to move on to the next step (Knutagård, 2009; 2018). Abstinence and accepting treatment are prerequisites in order to progress on the staircase. An independent apartment becomes an end goal, rather than a means to social integration. Research has shown that it is very difficult to exit the staircase model at the top (Löftstrand, 2005; Knutagård, 2009). Many homeless clients cannot comply with all the rules in the different housing arrangements, which leads to failure and exclusion from the programme, meaning that they have to start climbing all over again. To exit the staircase model successfully takes time and people have to move from one housing arrangement to another in order to progress. Very few enter the ordinary housing market. According to the National Board of Housing, Building and Planning (2014) only 7.8% of tenants with a municipal (social) contract within the secondary housing market could sign a 'first-hand contract' (a signed agreement with the landlord) during the year. In 2008 there were 11,270 municipal or social contracts given to homeless households; and in January 2019 there were approximately 26,100 municipal contracts (NBHBP, 2019; Sahlin, 2017).

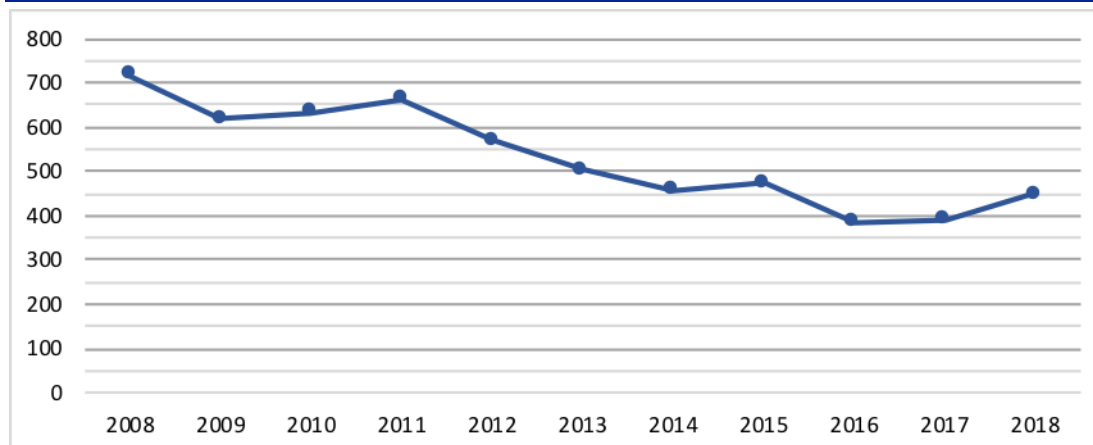
The responsibility for the provision of housing lies at the municipal level. This has made social services an important landlord in the housing market. Most municipalities have established a so-called secondary housing market. Outside this market, there is a hotel and lodging market that consists of other forms of housing options, ranging from night shelters to category housing (congregate housing) and training flats. Shelters are funded by public funds but they can be run by either municipalities, non-government organisations (NGOs), service-user organisations or private companies. Night shelters are often run by NGOs such as the City Mission or the Salvation Army. There are a few night shelters with direct access from the streets (with a queuing system), but a majority today operate and distribute sleeping quarters on referral from social services. To get access to these shelters people must have Swedish citizenship, or alternatively a permanent or temporary residence permit. Consequently, EU migrants, for example, are denied shelter. In some cities, the authorities have provided temporary emergency winter shelters in cooperation with NGOs or churches. There are also a few permanent shelters run by local NGOs.

It is important to note that there is a huge variety of services provided in the 290 municipalities. Large cities and municipalities will have the broadest range of services;

whereas small towns and municipalities will have very few services, and often have to buy services from other municipalities (this variation is presented in more detail in Pleace et al. (2018)). In the larger cities, there is a greater variety of housing options, from ordinary apartments to night shelters. These cities are able to provide special healthcare services, as well as different forms of activities and social integration projects.

Many municipalities have assigned staff to work on preventing evictions. Social services have a special responsibility for following up evictions where children are affected. According to Kronofogden (Swedish Enforcement Authority), the number of enforced evictions that involved children increased by 17.1% between 2017 (211 evictions) and year 2018 (247 evictions) (see Figure 1). There are big variations between the different municipalities. Malmö, the third largest city in Sweden, had the highest number of evictions in 2018. Research has shown that most evictions are caused by rent arrears. It has also shown that evictees are most often poor – more than half have no income from the labour market, and two-thirds received social assistance (von Otter et al., 2017). However, only 6% of all applications for eviction lead to an enforced eviction. There is currently very little knowledge that can clarify whether households manage to retain their leases or if they are informally or formally forced to move out before they are formally evicted (ibid.). According to Kronofogden, in 2018 almost 86% of all enforced evictions that affected children were carried out because of rent arrears. In 38% of the enforced evictions, rental arrears were less than SEK 10,000 (€929). Eviction is clearly a barrier to re-enter the housing market, but research has also shown that an even bigger barrier, and a cause of homelessness, is the problem of not being able to enter the housing market in the first place (Nordfeldt, 2012).

Figure 1. Number of children affected by enforced eviction in Sweden, 2008-2018



Source: Kronofogden [Swedish Enforcement Authority] (2018).

One key challenge for many homeless people is a lack of employment (Knutagård, 2019), which is almost impossible to acquire if the person has addiction or mental health problems. The profile of the homeless population also differs between different regions, municipalities and cities. In the city of Malmö, there are more homeless people with a migrant background; there is also a larger number of women with a migrant background with children who have lived in Sweden for a short period of time, compared with the capital Stockholm. In Stockholm, the proportion of homeless migrants is lower and they have lived in Sweden for a much longer period of time (NBHW, 2017a).

There are also many private companies that rent out temporary accommodation. This can be everything from hotels and hostels to camping parks, but also flats that are rented out on a day-to-day basis at a high cost. Some service-user organisations also run housing alternatives for homeless people. They normally start with collective housing where the user shares a flat with several others. They are often organised like the staircase model where the user or member can climb step by step until they can get a

flat of their own. These organisations are often user-driven and are focused on people with an addiction.

One challenge is the insufficient monitoring of the effectiveness of the services provided. In Stockholm, only 22% of homeless persons who were part of the local homelessness count in 2010 were also reported as homeless in the count done in 2012. This corresponds well with research that shows a large turnover among people experiencing homelessness. A relatively small number of people stay homeless for a very long time. There is, however, a general lack of data concerning the effectiveness of the existing system. It would be of great interest from a research perspective if it were made easier to collect data on homelessness trajectories, and to have access to data that show how different housing arrangements lead to long-term housing and exits from homelessness. There is also a lack of data and monitoring relating to the costs of homelessness, and it would be very useful to have more longitudinal research on homelessness and a further development of how to count and measure homelessness. It is six years between the surveys in Sweden, which makes it rather difficult for municipalities to use the data. A homelessness survey every second year would make it possible to use the data more effectively at a local policy level. Many municipalities do their own homelessness counts every year or every other year, but they also use different definitions from the one adopted by the National Board of Health and Welfare.

The studies that have been conducted so far on Housing First services show promising results, not only in terms of very high housing retention rates, but also in the social integration of formerly homeless persons (Knutagård & Kristiansen, 2018; Uhnö, 2016; Folkesson, 2017). One recent study concludes that Housing First is significantly more efficient for an individual's recovery than the staircase model (Bothén, 2018).

The lack of affordable housing that homeless people can access is the main problem. Newly produced rental housing is too expensive for many citizens. The reason behind the high rental costs is not only production costs, but also the fact that newly produced housing is exempted from the user value system. So-called presumption rents are valid during the first 15 years. Not until after that will tenants be able to test the rent against the value of use. Presumption rents have dramatically increased rental levels.

One method adopted by several municipalities is to try and stimulate vacancy chains in the housing market. The city of Helsingborg has conducted small mobility pilots that show some potentially positive results. The idea is to move more affluent households up the housing ladder, so that more financially vulnerable families or individuals will get access to affordable homes. The results might help the municipality in their planning for housing supply. The local housing company has been active in finding ways to relocate households to newly produced housing, leaving apartments with lower rents behind. This has been done by subsidising the first few rental payments, and helping with the practicalities when moving to a new home (Annadotter & Knutagård, 2019). There is very little research evidence that supports the idea that the construction of new homes leads to vacancy chains in the housing market. Instead, research shows that vacancies are filled by households from the same housing market sub-groups (Sands, 1976; Magnusson-Turner, 2008; Clark, 2013; Rasmusson, Grandér and Salonen, 2018). Newly produced apartments also attract households from other municipalities. This influx cuts the chain in the municipality where the housing exists, but could create vacancy chains in the city where the household moves from. The challenge here is that since housing provision is a municipal responsibility, there is a struggle between municipalities for affluent households at the same time as municipalities try to prevent less-affluent households moving into the municipality. This indicates that homelessness and housing exclusion cannot be dealt with only on a local level, but calls for an integrated strategy where there is a cooperation on a local, regional and national level.

The main innovation in homelessness services in Sweden has been the introduction of Housing First services. These are still provided on a small scale. Only 20 municipalities out of 290 provide Housing First, and in these municipalities it is only used as one intervention beside the ordinary organisation of homelessness work (Knutagård, 2015).

Another important change is the development of flexible mobile support (both ACT teams, FACT³ and ICM) and the growing interest in peer-support and the inclusion of homeless people's lived experience in the planning and designing of interventions (Knutagård & Kristiansen, 2018). Many municipalities have housing support services, and support workers will visit clients in their homes. There is no comprehensive research showing the efficiency of these services. Research suggests that there is still a need to provide more flexible mobile support, such as ACT or similar services, and that traditional housing support often has a strong focus on control.

The recent legislation (SFS 2016:38) that forces municipalities to take on newly arrived migrants may result in innovative solutions. There is a great risk that some will use inappropriate housing arrangements, but there are also promising examples where municipalities have found ways to rapidly house newly arrived migrants in regular housing. A research project started recently at Lund University, *Scanian homes: Reception, settlement or rejection – homelessness policies and strategies for refugee settlement*, will study the different strategies municipalities take to providing housing, both for newly arrived migrants, homeless groups and other groups that struggle to enter the regular housing market.⁴

Summing up, the results put forward in this report call for the following recommendations.

- First, it is important to adopt a new integrated homelessness strategy in Sweden that connects all levels and makes a shift from service-led to housing-led services, including scaling up the Housing First model.
- Second, an integrated homelessness strategy will have very little effect unless there is large-scale production of affordable rental housing that citizens can demand.
- Third, there is a need for increasing the use of the child perspective within social services in relation to preventing evictions, the type of housing that is provided and how support is designed and delivered. There is also room for improvement concerning listening to homeless children's stories and lived experiences.
- Fourth, there is also a need for a better monitoring of the effectiveness of existing services.

³ Flexible assertive community treatment.

⁴ <https://www.soch.lu.se/en/research/research-projects/scanian-homes-reception-settlement-or-rejection>.

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Annex

Table A1: ETHOS Light categories defined as homeless in Sweden

Operational category		Living situation		Definition	Defined as homeless in Sweden
1	People living rough	1	Public space/ external space	Living on the streets or public spaces without a shelter that can be defined as living quarters	Yes, the category 'acute homelessness' includes this definition.
2	People in emergency accommodation	2	Overnight shelters	People with no place of usual residence who move frequently between various types of accommodation	Yes, the category 'acute homelessness' includes this definition.
3	People living in accommodation for the homeless	3	Homeless hostels	Where the period of stay is time-limited and no long-term housing is provided	Yes, the category 'acute homelessness' includes these definitions, except for 'transitional supported accommodation'. The latter more resembles the category 'long-term living arrangements', and its sub-component 'temporary accommodation'.
		4	Temporary accommodation		
		5	Transitional supported accommodation		
4	People living in institutions	6	Women's shelter or refuge accommodation		
		7	Healthcare institutions	Stay longer than needed due to lack of housing	Yes, the category 'institution or assisted living' includes these definitions. No housing available within 3 months prior to discharge.
5	People living in non-conventional dwellings due to lack of housing	8	Penal institutions	No housing available prior to release	
		9	Mobile homes	Where the accommodation is used due to a lack of housing and is not the person's usual place of residence	Yes, these definitions are included in 'acute homelessness', but defined as a sub-category of living in a 'tent, vehicle, trailer, or cabin'.
		10	Non-conventional buildings		
11	Temporary structures				
6	Homeless people living temporarily in conventional housing with family and friends (due to lack of housing)	12	Conventional housing, but not the person's usual place of residence	Where the accommodation is used due to a lack of housing and is not the person's usual place of residence	Yes, the category 'private short-term living arrangements' includes this definition. The Swedish category 'private short-term living arrangements' is broader as it also includes sub-lease contracts of short duration; it should be shorter than 3 months and the person can stay with people other than family or friends.

Table A2: Latest available data on the number of homeless people in Sweden

Operational category		Living situation		Most recent number	Period covered	Source
1	People living rough	1	Public space/ external space	1. 647 people	3-9 April 2017	The national mapping of homelessness in Sweden, (NBHW, 2017a)
2	People in emergency accommodation	2	Overnight shelters	2. 1,229 people	3-9 April 2017	NBHW (2017a)
3	People living in accommodation for the homeless	3	Homeless hostels	3. 1,903 people	3-9 April 2017	NBHW (2017a)
		4	Temporary accommodation	4. 1,325 people		
		5	Transitional supported accommodation	5. Long-term living arrangements=15,838 persons (closest equivalent to transitional supported accommodation). Out of this number, 1,036 persons have a 'short-term' contract.		
		6	Women's shelter or refuge accommodation	6. 464 people		
4	People living in institutions	7	Healthcare institutions	7. 4,194 people	3-9 April 2017	NBHW (2017a)
		8	Penal institutions	8. 705 people		
5	People living in non-conventional dwellings due to lack of housing	9	Mobile homes	9. 343 people in tents, cars, caravans, camping sites		NBHW (2017a)
		10	Non-conventional buildings	10. See item 9 above		
		11	Temporary structures	11. See item 9 above		
6	Homeless people living temporarily in conventional housing with family and friends (due to lack of housing)	12	Conventional housing, but not the person's usual place of residence	12. 4,364 people +temporary sub-lease of less than three months in other persons' homes: 802 people +temporary lodgers in other persons' homes: 560 people	3-9 April 2017	NBHW (2017a)

