



WILCO

Welfare innovations
at the local level
in favour of cohesion

WORK PACKAGE 4

**URBAN POLICY ORIENTATIONS IN LOCAL WELFARE
IN STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN**

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INTRODUCTION

This report describes and analyses urban policy innovations in local welfare in the city of Stockholm, Sweden. The report is part of the WILCO research project and is one of the deliverables for work package 4 (WP4).

1.1. Objective of the report

WP4 aims to understand local policy orientations and values in regard to welfare initiatives. Local policy orientations and values are normally produced in the political arena by politicians, technicians or experts, and the scientific community. In order to understand why decisions have been taken or not, it is argued in the WILCO project that we have to comprehend values and politics, technical constraints, and - in particular - expert discourses, which are developed by local epistemological communities (Majone 1997). Local epistemological communities define the core ideas of what good local welfare practices are, i.e. how successful or innovative efforts aiming to combat social inequality or to encourage social cohesion look like. They are not only responsible for the coherence regarding the local discourses on how policies have to be implemented or problems to be interpreted, but they are also related to other networks of specialists and stakeholders (Ferrera 1996).

1.2. Approaches

There are at least two approaches to analysing core values: on the one hand, the approach of Sabatier, who assumes that there exist coalitions of values and power relationships between these coalitions in specific policy fields (or constellations of actors, see for example Sabatier 1998, 1999). On the other hand, the approach of Jobert and Muller, who analyse, from the point of view of the public administration, what global and sectorial value orientations (which they call "referential") are (Jobert und Muller 1987). This report seeks to combine those two approaches by not only describing general and sectorial orientations, or configurations of coalitions of differences, but by simultaneously focusing on the coherences and contrasts between majorities and minorities, and between general orientations and sectorial ones.

1.3. Methodological approach and empirical material

Value orientations can be found in the official documents of the public administration and in debates in the local parliament that reflect also coalitions. A coalition is a discursively coherent group, which produces intersubjectively shared realities or truths, which are then reflected in the group's discourses and in documents. In order to analyse discourses, the methods used for this report include to (a) analyse documents linked to political debates in local parliaments and (b) carry out interviews with stakeholders in order to know better their commonly produced world.

In terms of documents in Stockholm, the seven most recent political party programs of the represented parties in the city council of Stockholm have been included in the study and thereafter analysed. Newspaper articles have also been used as empirical material. Two of the major local newspapers in Stockholm, the so-called *Dagens Nyheter* and *Svenska Dagbladet*, were selected as the main sources. Using search strings, such as "housing + Stockholm", "housing politics + Stockholm", "labour market + young + Stockholm", "unemployment + Stockholm" and "childcare + Stockholm", a set of articles were identified and deemed relevant for the study. In all 25 articles on the topic of child-care, 39 articles related to the labour market, and 43 articles on housing are included in the

analysis. Furthermore, recent political debates in the city council of Stockholm concerning housing, labour market, and child-care have also been included. In addition to documents, interviews have been conducted for the study. 18 qualitative semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders have been carried out aiming to describe in-depth positions and ideas in the relevant policy fields.

The empirical material included in the study has subsequently been analysed by focusing firstly on identifying the dominant general value system in relation the orientations and values concerning the local welfare state, and secondly, on the dominant sectorial values as regards child-care, unemployment and housing. Furthermore, we have also identified the points upon which the main coalitions agree and disagree regarding the orientations and values of the local welfare state and the dominant sectorial values in the field of child-care, unemployment and housing.

2. THE GENERAL LOCAL WELFARE SYSTEM AND POLICY VALUES

The organisation of the Swedish welfare state has a tradition of a high degree of self-government at the local level (Nordfeldt and Segnestam Larsson 2011). When the development of the Swedish welfare state accelerated after the second world war, the parliament and the government at the time decided to place a great deal of the responsibility for public services with the local authorities. One of the reasons was the belief that local administration and local responsibility could best meet local needs.

The current Local Government Act, which came into force in 1992, defines and differentiates the roles of municipalities, county councils, and regions as follows:

- Local authorities are responsible for matters relating to the inhabitants and their immediate environment.
- The main task of the county councils and regions is healthcare and regional development.
- The Swedish parliament has 349 members and is the supreme political decision-making body in Sweden.

Accordingly, Sweden's local authorities, county councils, and regions have a great deal of freedom to organise their activities as they see fit. Local authorities, county councils, and regions are entitled to levy taxes in order to finance their activities. Taxes are levied as a percentage of the inhabitants' income, and local authorities, county councils, and regions decide on their own tax rates. Tax revenues are the largest source of income for Sweden's local authorities, county councils and regions and account for approximately two-thirds of their total income. As a consequence, there are major variations in the average income of the inhabitants of Sweden's local authorities, county councils, and regions. The cost per inhabitant, for providing the services to which they are entitled, also varies. In order to ensure fairness, a system has been introduced, called the local government equalisation system, and managed by the state, with the aim of providing equitable conditions in all local authorities, county councils, and regions. The revenues are consequently redistributed on the basis of tax base and level of expenditure. Local authorities, county councils, and regions may also charge users for their services. A non-profit principle applies, however, which means that fees may not be higher than the costs relating to the service concerned.

Furthermore, local authorities, county councils, and regions may procure services from private companies. Activities carried out by private companies on behalf of local authorities, county councils, or regions are financed using public funds. Privately run activities that are financed using tax revenues must offer citizens services on the same

conditions as those which apply to similar public services. This means, for example, that citizens pay the same for a service irrespective of whether it is provided by the public sector or by a private company. In some areas, such as refuse collection, public transport, and dental care, it has long been common for local authorities, county councils, and regions to procure services externally. It is only in the recent decades, however, that private companies have begun to run preschools, schools, and care facilities.

The structure of the health care system is such that there are over 1,000 local medical centres, doctors' surgeries, and district nursing clinics throughout the country. Together, these form what can be labelled as the primary care structure, which is the foundation of the Swedish healthcare system. At local medical centres, patients can be treated for all the health problems that do not require the technical and medical resources of a hospital.

Three-quarters of the activities of the local authorities are directly related to demographic factors and are determined by the number of inhabitants, their age and their state of health. In regards to education, care and primary healthcare, for example, the local authorities are responsible for practically all primary and secondary education. Child-care, preschools, and schools account for over 40 per cent of municipal budgets. The local authorities are also responsible for special schools for the intellectually disabled, for adult education (*folkbildning*), and for Swedish language courses for immigrants. Elderly care and care of the disabled are also important tasks for the local authorities and account for almost 30 per cent of their budgets. Care and assistance is provided in the home and in sheltered accommodation.

2.1. Introduction to the local welfare system in Stockholm

Compared with the rest of the country, Stockholm stands out as having the highest rates of employment, and highest activity rate and GDP per capita. The county of Stockholm includes 26 municipalities of which the city of Stockholm dominates with 40 per cent of the population and 50 per cent of the employment (Hermelin 2011). The City Council is the supreme decision-making body of the city. The city provides Stockholm's inhabitants with a multitude of different municipal services. Most of the municipal activities in Stockholm are carried out in administrative or corporate form. In order for the city to develop in tune with its residents, a decentralized working model is argued to be required. Decisions on for example parking or child-care, are therefore supposed to be made closer to the resident, in the district council. Furthermore, Stockholm is divided into 14 district councils with the same responsibility and authority as the city's other committees and boards. The difference is that the district councils work within their respective geographic areas and have the overall responsibility for their activities. Most of the social services offered in Stockholm rest upon the legislations "Social Services Act" and "Support and Services for Certain Disabled People Act". In general, it is the district councils that are in charge of the citizen's welfare. The district councils work in close connection with the social services administration, which provides a variety of services to the district councils and is responsible for city-wide welfare programs.

2.2. Dominant policy values organising local welfare

This section presents the dominant policy values organising local welfare in Stockholm. There is agreement among political parties and interviewed actors regarding a host of issues related to local welfare, including the influence of citizens, collaboration among authorities, the significance of quality, and finally efficiency.

Beginning with the **influence of citizens**, a number of political parties and actors agree on the importance of having citizen to promote citizen empowerment, individual choice, and

self-determination. In one interview, for example, the social democratic politician comments the legislation on individual choice by saying that “there is a new law on individual choice, and I think that it is great.” (Interview 1, 2012) Other political parties and actors across the political spectrum in Stockholm concur with the positive view on the importance of political choice in local welfare. The Left party program states that “real freedom of choice should be sought, that is the activity must be tailored to the individual's desires and needs.” (The Left party program, 2009: 6); the Liberal party program claims that the party “has pushed to give more power to its inhabitants.” (The Liberal Party Program, 2010: 4); and the Conservative party program asks rhetorically “how should we increase the individual choice and take advantage of a wealth of ideas and knowledge by a diversity of providers in the area of local welfare?” (The Conservative Party Program, 2010: 3). One of the political parties, the Christian Democrats, argues interestingly enough that the importance of individual choice has little to do with politics: “Everything is not politics. Everything should not be policy. Stockholm residents would like to build their lives, not only affect their lives, together with loved ones, without political interventions and governance” (The Christian Democrats Party Program, 2012: 1).

Hence, according to the Christian Democrats, individual choice has little to do with politics and more about the fact that people in Stockholm would like to lead aspects of the lives without the intervention of politicians and local government.

Another policy value related to local welfare on which there seems to exist agreement across the various actors is the issue of **collaboration among authorities**. The Centre Party Program promotes a vision in which “Stockholm should be at the forefront in the collaboration between social services, schools and police,” and argues therefore that “new forms of cooperation should be developed” (The Centre Party Program, 2012: 1) in the interest of for example children. Additional examples of how the political parties argue for more collaboration among authorities include “children and families in need of assistance should never fall through the cracks in the city's various activities” (The Green Party Program, 2010: 4), “a close cooperation centred on the concrete activity must be developed among the social services, schools, and the police” (The Liberal Party Program, 2010: 17), and “the collaboration among schools, the social services, youth counsellors among others need to be improved” (The Green Party Program, 2010: 5).

Finally, as regards agreement on dominant policy values, there seems to be agreement on the significance of quality and efficiency in relation to local welfare. A number of extracts from the various party programs could serve as illustrations. The Liberal Party Program, for examples, has a separate section entitled “Making the activities of the municipality more efficient” (The Liberal Party Program, 2010: 10). One of the reasons why efficiency is important is detailed by the Left party: “An important reason for the wide support (for local welfare) - in addition to the idea about solidarity - is that a collective welfare simply put is effective” (The Left Party Program, 2009: 4). Efficiency is also discussed as part of the on-going debate regarding the privatization of welfare. The Left party argues that “It is to a large degree a myth that the public sector is more inefficient than private companies. Most of the time it is the other way around” (The Left Party Program, 2009: 6). Moving from efficiency to quality, the Left party, for example, talks about why quality is important: “To improve quality is about the fact that the public sector must be portrayed as an exemplary employer and as the best provider of welfare services.” (The Left Party Program, 2009: 6) The Conservative party program also addresses quality, but more in terms of having the comparatively best welfare services: “Our ambition is that Stockholm should have the best social services in Sweden” (The Conservative Party Program, 2010: 12). By way of commenting the agreement of quality and efficiency, even though the actors seem to agree with another, the definitions used indicate implicit disagreements. A civil servant for example argues in an interview that “politicians claim that ownership does

not matter, rather it is the quality of the service that matters.” The civil servant nuances this by saying that “It is important with quality, but it could also be subjective. One could agree on a basic service, and define quality as an added service” (Interview 5, 2012). Furthermore, having argued that there is agreement regarding the influence of citizens, collaboration among authorities, quality and efficiency, I would also like to highlight that the main actors seem to define these local welfare issues differently. Hence, it might be that the actors would disagree more if they were to scrutinize their different arguments in more detail.

As regards dominant policy values on local welfare in Stockholm, it should be mentioned that social innovation, as such, does not seem to be an important topic for the concerned actors, politicians, or journalists, at least according to the empirical material used for this report. However, of interest to the topic of social innovation, there seems to be agreement across the political scale regarding the role of civil society in local welfare, as long as they are not considered as a viable actor for producing local welfare (see the next section of this report). The Centre party, for example, “believes in the civil society. Everything does not need to be organization by public sector officials in every detail. One example is youth activities. (...) Activities in premises (for young people) could to a larger degree build on associations, voluntary work, and young people themselves.” (The Centre Party Program, 2012: 2) The importance of civil society concerns not only young people, but also homeless, at least according to the Green party. “The work to counter homelessness should build on cooperation with voluntary organizations” (The Green Party Program, 2010: 6). This echoed by the Conservative party: “We would like to continue this positive trend (i.e. decreasing rates of homeless people) and decrease the homelessness among the most marginalized to 2013. To succeed with this requires a broad palette of activities and cooperation with voluntary organizations” (The Conservative Party Program, 2010: 12). Similar opinions could be found among the interviewed representatives. “I also believe that the civil society actors could play an important role in the renewal of welfare” (Interview 5, 2012). However, as discussed earlier, the role of civil society does not replace the role of the public sector. The same interviewed representative: “Even if the civil society could do more in local welfare, I do not think that we would place all our faith in the civil society.”

2.3. Differing policy values regarding local welfare

Moving on to disagreements, there is also a set of policy values regarding local welfare on which the various actors disagree. These policy values concern the freedom of choice in health care, funding of and production of welfare by alternative organizations, and the democratization of welfare. We will present each value and illustrate our results with excerpts from interviews and party programs.

Beginning with the freedom of choice in health care, dubbed ‘Vårdval Stockholm’, the political actors in favour are predominantly from the right political spectrum. The Liberal party, for example, argues that “freedom of choice with a monetary system should exist in all social services, supported by the city utilizing the possibilities offered in the legal framework on freedom of choice.” (The Liberal Party Program, 2010: 22) The Conservative party claims that the implementation of freedom of choice has improved health care and that it will increase health care quality: “By having introduced freedom of choice in health care, we Conservatives have facilitated the move towards a more patient centred health care. It is through a plurality of providers, competition, and freedom of choice that the patient could receive care with a better quality” (The Conservative Party Program, 2010: 10).

Two additional political parties on the right side of the spectrum also talk about future political proposals in relation to freedom of choice in health care. “Private actors should be allowed to enter the arena for treatment of addictions. We would like to enlarge the freedom of choice in care to also include the care for drug addiction” (The Centre Party Program, 2012: 1). “Develop together with the county council a new model for family counselling that could be united with Vårdval Stockholm” (The Christian Democrats Party Program, 2012: 1).

The actors opposing freedom of choice in health care, oftentimes referred to as Vårdval Stockholm, are found at the left side of the political spectrum. The Left party argues that “Vårdval Stockholm means that health care becomes a good on a market instead of being distributed in accordance with needs” (The Left Party Program, 2009: 16). Another actor, a civil servant, comments on the effects of the implementation of freedom of choice by saying that “I do not think that Vårdval Stockholm has improved anything. (...) As a result of the privatization of the sector, it has become much worse for the patients.” (Interview 6, 2012) As a result, the freedom of choice in health care must be abolished, at least according to the Left party: “In the Stockholm County Council, we must act to demolish Vårdval Stockholm as fast as possible, as this system distributes resources in an extremely unfair manner” (The Left Party Program, 2009: 25). It would seem as if freedom of choice has led to inequalities and needs to be abolished as fast as possible, at least according to the Left party.

Moving to another policy value, there seems to be conflict among the various actors as regards funding of and production of welfare by alternative organizations. Again a pattern could be discerned in relation to the traditional political spectrum. Political parties on the right side of the spectrum are for alternative organizations, such as private and civil society organizations, being part of the production of local welfare. The Centre party argues, for example, that “welfare services should be financed publically, but could easily be provided privately. In such a way could we have more of quality, freedom of choice, and plurality.” (The Centre Party Program, 2012: 1) The Liberals echo such an opinion: “As obvious it is that the financing of public services should be made by taxes, provision of welfare services could be made by many actors.” (The Liberal Party Program, 2010: 3-4) The Conservatives talk more about the effects of production of welfare services by alternative organizations than arguing for such a policy value as an ideological dimension: “It has been four years in which the citizens of Stockholm has experienced great changes - all with the purpose of creating more freedom of choice in everyday life, greater economic safety, and world class welfare services” (The Conservative Party Program, 2010: 3).

On the other side of the spectrum, we find for example the Left party that is against the production of welfare services by alternative organizations. One excerpt from their party program could serve as an illustration: “It is naturally important that the provision of welfare is carried out by a public sector regime and financed by taxes.” (The Left Party Program, 2009: 5). There is in other words no doubt that welfare at the local level should be funded, provided, and evaluated by the public sector in the minds of the politicians of the left.

One of the reasons why the left side of the political spectrum is against both freedom of choice and the provision of welfare by alternative organizations could be because these political actors consider local welfare as an instrument to overcome differences in society. A few examples of such policy values could be identified in the empirical material. The Social Democrats, for example, argue that “when the differences increase and more and more needs financial support, more children and young people are also affected by economic marginalization. The activities of the city should be characterized by a redistributive profile and be distributed to where they are needed the most” (The Social

Democrats Party Program, 2010: 1). Another illustration comes from the Left party: “An important dimension is that the tax system is used both for financing public activities as well as for decreasing income differences” (The Left Party Program, 2009: 4). These types of opinions are also commonplace among some of the interviewed people for this study.

Finally, as regards disagreement on dominant policy values, the various actors do not seem to agree on what is referred to as the **democratization of welfare**. It seems as if the disagreement yet again pertains to traditional political party lines and that the political parties on the left, that is the Social Democrats and the Left, argue for more involvement of citizens in the affairs of the city. “The district councils should be developed and constitute fora for the local democracy,” argues for example the Social Democrats in their party program (The Social Democratic Party Program, 2010: 1). The Left is even more convinced that the local welfare should serve as an arena for democracy, and that the vehicle for more democracy should be the public sector. One of the proposals to “democratize the public sector” is consequently to “employ more public servants in the county council, the municipality, or the district council with the assignment to promote the development towards more democracy and codetermination” (The Left Party Program, 2009: 21).

3. SECTORIAL POLICY VALUES AND INNOVATIONS

In the previous parts of the report, dominant values and points of divergence in regards to the general local welfare system have been described. The sections below will identify sectorial references, policy values and discursive innovations concerning the three fields of child-care, housing, and unemployment.

3.1. Child-care

Before going into the details of the sectorial policy values found in the empirical material, the role of local authorities in providing child-care in Sweden is outlined. The roots of the Swedish child-care system can be traced back to the second half of the 19th century (Nordfeldt and Segnestam Larsson 2011). Industrialisation and migration to the towns had given rise to widespread poverty among families. Infant crèches were opened for the children of single mothers obliged to work for a living. Work shelters took in schoolchildren from poor families in the afternoons while at the same time trying to teach them some rudimentary crafts. Child-care was in other words an important measure for allowing for more children while simultaneously providing labor in the expanding industrial economy of Sweden.

These motives where in the latter period of the 20th century complemented with educational concerns. In contemporary Sweden, all children are entitled to a preschool place, and public child-care is formally extended to children aged 1-12. In Sweden, compulsory school begins at the age of seven but prior to that almost all six-year-olds attend voluntary preschool classes designed to prepare them for the first grade. Children who have yet to start school or preschool classes for six-year-olds can attend regular preschools, family day care homes and open preschools while older children have access to leisure-time centres, family day care homes and open leisure-time activities

In terms of the shared responsibility for child-care between national and local authorities in Sweden, "governance by the rulebook" has been replaced by a more target-oriented and results-oriented system when it comes to division of responsibilities among national, regional, and local governments in managing child-care (Nordfeldt and Segnestam Larsson 2011). This means that the central government in Sweden now outlines the overall goals for child-care while the local authorities are responsible for implementing them. The

regulations governing child-care are set out in the Education Act. The present Education Act came into force in 1995 and prescribed stricter compliance on the part of the local authorities than previously. The Act defines the forms of child-care that are to be provided. It also spells out the obligation of local authorities to provide child-care for children aged 1-12 to the extent required in order for parents to work or study.

Moving then to the sectorial values related to child-care in the local welfare system in Stockholm, as a way to simultaneously introduce the topic and summarize the main findings of the result, there seems to be a dominance of agreement on the various dimensions related to child-care in Stockholm. As described below, the policy actors at the local level in Stockholm agree, at least explicitly, on issues such as the importance of gender pedagogy, quality, the lack of child-care, opening hours, and resources, among other things. There are differences, especially when the details of the arguments are scrutinized, but these are of a more implicit character. As a contrast, we can really only find one policy issue of relevance for child-care in Stockholm, that is child-care allowance, on which the various actors disagree. However, before going into the details of child-care allowance, the report will summarize the main topics of agreement.

The report starts with the importance given to integrate gender dimensions into child-care practices. Examples of statements made by the various political parties could serve as illustrations and support for the overall impression. The Social Democrats, for example, argue that “child-care pedagogy should have a gender and an equality perspective and provide all boys and girls with the same opportunities.” (The Social Democratic Party Program, 2010: 4). Other examples derive from the Liberal party: “the environment should be shaped such that it avoids a limited gender role thinking” (The Liberal Party Program, 2010: 15) and from the Green Party “all child-care facilities should have access to gender pedagogues for an explicit focus on developing both boys and girls” (The Green Party Program, 2010: 7). The focus on gender dimensions in child-care is also evident in the interviews and the debates that have been included as empirical material for this study. The Left party, for examples, argues for gender pedagogues in one of the political debates: “We in the Left party would like for example to have gender pedagogues in every city district as spearheads for this kind of development” (Debate on child-care, 2011), and one of the interviewed respondents, a privileged respondent, argues that “all personnel in child-care and day care should be gender educated” (Interview 11, 2012).

A second topic, on which the various actors agree, is quality in child-care. The Liberal party claims that “child-care is one of the most appreciated activities in Stockholm. The quality is high and the plurality close to unique.” (The Liberal Party Program, 2010: 14) The Conservatives also agree on the importance of focusing on quality in child-care in Stockholm, but seem to be, in comparisons to the Liberals, less satisfied with the current level of quality, as most of their attention is focused on how to increase quality. For example, “we must also reinforce our efforts for higher quality in child-care, the school, and elderly care” and “develop more and more explicit quality indicators that measure how the individual needs of each child is met in child-care” (The Conservative Party Program, 2010: 3, 9). Quality is also a topic discussed in some of the interviews, here is one example: “those in these activities have a higher level of well being if the personnel has a higher quality” (Interview 1, 2012). The policy maker here indicates that quality of the work force in child-care is important for wellbeing.

Everyone represented in the empirical material also agrees on the problems related to a lack of child-care, in terms of for examples too few schools, lack of facilities, and lack of number of slots for children. Beginning with the view that there are too few schools, mainly actors on the right side of the political spectrum express a concern: “More and more people would like to live in Stockholm and there are more and more children in need

of child-care” (The Conservative Party Program, 2010: 9), “continue the development of child-care facilities” (The Christian Democrats Party Program, 2012: 1), and “the rate of development must go hand in hand with the number of children in need of child-care facilities” (The Liberal Party Program, 2010: 14). One of the privileged observers echoes these opinions in one of the interviews carried out for this research project: “the child-care has not been expanded in the same rate as Stockholm has grown” (Interview 12, 2012). Another of the bottle necks for expanding child-care in Stockholm is by one of the political parties related to a lack of facilities for child-care: “The city needs to be more stringent and consequent, based on its own need, in placing demands on its own housing companies, requirements on reorganizations of tenant housings, and in relation to permits for new facilities in making room for facilities for child-care” (The Social Democrats Party Program, 2010: 3).

The opening hours of child-care facilities are another dimension of improving the access to child-care. One of the local newspapers reports on child-care facilities not being able to fulfil their obligations (DN, 2011). Opening hours seem to be an important dimension for the political parties as well. The Social Democrats argue “opening hours in child-care should be improved so that they work for parents who work uncomfortable hours, and the city should be able to offer child-care during night time” (The Social Democrats Party Program, 2010: 4). The Green party agrees: “the city should offer safe child-care even to parents who work evenings, nights, and weekends” (The Green Party Program, 2010: 2). Other actors concur, as well, such as the Conservatives: “child-care must be flexible and be open beyond ordinary office hours so that the single parent can combine working and family life” (The Conservatives Party Program, 2010: 10). The Liberal party is also concerned about the opening hours: “We must in a more effective manner monitor that child-care fulfils those opening hours stipulated by the regulation (...) Those child-care facilities that receives financial support from the city are obligated to be open between 6.30 AM to 6.30 as long that there is a need” (Debate on child-care, 2011).

There is finally a concern about facilitating access to child-care. A news article has a heading criticizing the line for child-care access: “The child-care line in Stockholm is ruled out” (SvD, 2011). An interview with a civil servant confirms: “There is this problem with people not having access to child-care.” (Interview 6, 2012). The lack of slots for child-care is also debated in the political debates, here illustrated by an argument made by a representative of the Social Democrats:

The fact that we do not have a common line for children to the public and to the private schools ruins planning and increases costs. The fact that we do not have a close cooperation in relation to facilities and activities among the child-care and schools in the various city districts ruins, according to my opinion, planning and increases costs (Debate on child-care, 2011).

As a consequence, the various actors also discuss what needs to be changed. One of the ideas is to enforce regulation, at least according to the Christian Democrats. “The parent should be offered access to child-care within three months from the time of applying, if this is not put in effect a compensation to the amount of 80 per cent of the cost for a child-care slot should be paid out” (The Christian Democrats Party Program, 2012: 1).

The number of children per group in child-care is another topic being discussed by the various actors. The Christian Democrats say that “a maximum of 15 children in the child-care groups” (The Christian Democrats Party Program, 2012: 1), “today, the groups of children are increasing in number all the time and the possibilities for the youngest to be noticed and to be safe decrease” (The Social Democrats Party Program, 2010: 4), and

“both public and private child-care schools should maintain the highest quality with small groups of children and properly trained personnel” (The Green Party Program, 2010: 6). The issue of number of children per group in child-care is also discussed in media and in the political debates. The local news paper report, for example, that “Congestion increases in child-care” (SvD, 2009). One example from the political debate, made by the Christian Democrats: “the goal of the city of no more than 14 children per group and 18 children of the elderly are not met overall in the city, and it is not acceptable. Especially for younger children, it is important to keep down the size of the group.”

As a consequence of the identified problems in child-care in Stockholm, most actors in the related political debate seem to agree that **more resources** are needed as a solution. One example from the Social Democrats: “We therefore increase the allocation for child-care and suggests actions for more facilities for child-care purposes” (The Social Democrats Party Program, 2010: 3). The Liberals would like to see more targeted programs: “Child care and schools in disadvantaged areas are to be given specific resources.” (The Liberal Party Program, 2010: 18) The Conservatives discuss how they have been able to introduce tax cuts while increasing the resources allocated for child-care: “Tax cuts have been implemented while we at the same time have increased our investments in child-care, schools and elderly care” (The Conservative Party Program, 2010: 6). More resources as a solution and as a dimension of the political discourse is also present in the political debate on child-care. Two examples: “I think we all agree that it is good to have more money for child-care”, and “We would like child-care to have proper financial abilities to provide educational activities for kids” (Debate on child-care, 2011).

There are also examples of policy values in child-care in Stockholm on which all actors agree, but there seem to exist different ideas on how to define and implement the value. One such policy value is the child-care guarantee. The Social Democrats conceptualize the guarantee primarily in relation to having access to a child-care close to home: “Improve the child-care guarantee so that every child could have a school close to home” (The Social Democrats Party Program, 2010: 5). The Conservatives agree, “We would like to see a more local implementation of the child-care guarantee than the law stipulates”, but it also related to the sense of the parents on parental leave: “The child-care guarantee is important. People in Stockholm on parental leave should not need to be anxious about how the children will be cared for when they start to work again” (The Conservatives Party Program, 2010: 9). The Left party is also concerned about parents away from child-care, their focus seem to be more on parents working during the holidays, however. One illustration from one of the political debates: “Parents with a summer need (of child-care) are excluded from many child-care schools, this underscores the sorting of children from different living conditions” (Debate on child-care, 2011).

As mentioned, most actors seem to agree on the various policy issues related to child-care at the local level in Stockholm. There is, however, one issue on which the actors disagree, that of child-care allowance. Those in favour of child-care allowance are primarily found on the right side of the political spectrum. The Christian Democrats, for example, argue in their political party program: “develop the child-care allowance and increase the level to at least 6000 SEK per month” (The Christian Democrats Party Program, 2012: 1). The Conservatives are also in favour of the child-care allowance, particularly in relation to a multitude of providers in the field of welfare. “It is also for that reason (a multitude) that we have decided to be in favour of introducing child-care allowance in Stockholm” (The Conservatives Party Program, 2010: 9). One news article also reports on the wide adoption of the child-care allowance among parents (SvD, 2009). As a contrast, actors on the left side of the spectrum are against the existence of child-care allowance. The Social Democrats argue that “child-care allowance is a betrayal towards the children as it hinders the child to have access to child-care” (The Social Democrats Party Program, 2010: 4).

They continue: “Through a child-care that is open when most needed, by a school child-care of a sufficient quality and that could provide support with homework, through better and working communications, and by abolishing child-care allowance will we make it possible and attractive to work” (The Social Democrats Party Program, 2010: 4).

The child-care allowance is also criticized by other actors than the political parties at the left. One of the privileged observers claim, for example, that “child-care allowance hinders women in their development.” (Interview 9, 2012) A news article also discusses potential problems with child-care allowance: “child-care allowance risks becoming a trap for women” (DN, 2006).

3.2. Employment

By way of introduction to the sectorial values on employment, it should be noted that Sweden has a tradition of encompassing and redistributive income security and active labor market policies at the national level (Nordfeldt and Segnestam Larsson 2011). The traditional labor market policy can be described as a universalistic model of activation. This policy has been directed towards different segments of the population and with the aim to integrate or re-integrate unemployed citizens into the labor market. This has often been combined with - at least formally - strict forms of work enforcement within the social protection system. The practice of labor market policy today, however, is more of combination of job service, guidance, labor market programs, vocational induction schemes, rehabilitation for working life and activities for young persons with functional limitations.

Decentralization in this field has taken place since the mid 1990s (Nordfeldt and Segnestam Larsson 2011). Since then the municipalities have been the primary actors to run different forms of programs to activate unemployed and persons on social welfare benefits. It is up to the different municipalities to develop programs - within frames of the central policy - that are adapted to local needs and resources. A new trend in the field of employment at the local level is organizational coordination between authorities such as insurance and employment offices in line with “one-stop-shop-models”. In Stockholm, there are different programs for different target groups among the unemployed (Nordfeldt 2012). A relatively new program is *Jobbtorg* (provided at job centers) that started in 2008 and is available in seven different areas of the city.

After having but briefly introduced the field of employment, including policies and recent changes in the responsibility between the national and the local level, we will turn our attention to the local policy orientations and values in regard to employment in Stockholm. As in the case of the field of child-care, as well as regarding the dominant policy orientation related to local welfare in Stockholm, the agreement on policy issues related to employment seem to dominate the current debate. The various actors, political parties, interviewed representatives, and journalists, agree on the importance of creating new jobs particularly by the private sector, the relationship between employment and segregation in the city, youth employment, the need for more collaboration, and how employment issues are important for people with disabilities, among others. In contrast, there are really only a limited set of policy issues on which the actors explicitly disagree with each another, including the above-mentioned program *Jobbtorg* as well as on the role of trade unions.

We start our description with the issues on which there is agreement. As indicated above, all actors agree on the need to create new jobs in order to be able to tackle unemployment in the city. One of the main solutions to creating new jobs seems to be to promote the private sector. One of the promoters behind the private sector as a solution is

the Centre party: “By promoting more jobs and entrepreneurship we will have less welfare dependents and more tax payers” (The Center Party Program, 2012: 2). The Centre party also argues that it would like to “make it easier, more fun and more lucrative to be an entrepreneur” (The Center Party Program, 2012: 2). One of the interviewed civil servants also discusses the assumed positive relationship between employment and the private sector. “We work jointly to create more employment opportunities. (...) We work together with the city districts, south of Stockholm, to establish more businesses.” (Interview 7, 2012) It is not, however, only the Centre party and the occasional interviewee that agree on the importance of the private sector in creating more jobs. The Green party argues that “entrepreneurs and companies must be given the best conditions for starting new and develop existing businesses” (The Green Party Program, 2010: 15), and the Liberals say that “Stockholm should offer a good climate so that businesses can be created, grow, and compete internationally” (The Liberal Party Program, 2010: 4).

In terms of problems related to employment, all various actors seem to talk about segregation as a root cause for unemployment, although their proposed solutions for tackling segregation differ somewhat. The Liberals for example argue that “some neighbourhoods (in Stockholm) are characterized by excessive unemployment and social deprivation” (The Liberal Party Program, 2010: 4). Another example, this time from the Social Democrats, stating the problem and outlining a proposed solution:

Unemployment in Stockholm is extremely unevenly distributed between different neighbourhoods. The city would be able to earn a huge amount, both humanly and financially, if unemployment in outer suburbs fell to today's average level for all of Stockholm. We Socialists want the city to increase funding for more targeted efforts to areas and groups where unemployment is particularly high (The Social Democrats Party Program, 2010: 2).

Even though all actors seem to agree on segregation and unemployment as a problem in certain parts of the city, there are, as mentioned, different ideas on how to tackle the problem. Whereas the Social Democrats argue for more resources, the Conservatives for example would like to see an increased focus on promoting entrepreneurship: “Prioritize efforts to increase the number of jobs and conditions for entrepreneurship in the suburbs.” (The Conservative Party Program, 2010: 13) In one of the interviews, this time with a privileged observer, how unemployment oftentimes in the debate is linked to ethnicity is discussed, whereas the interviewed argues it to be more of a structural problem, and implicitly indicating that the solution is to be found in the structural foundation: “Segregation is one such concept that is used to make it an immigrant problem. I think it is a labour and a welfare problem, unless you can ensure that there are jobs.” (Interview 12, 2012) One of the structural problems, however, could be linked to ethnicity in general and discrimination in particular: “Many who immigrated to Sweden during the last 20 years are not been able to enter the labour market. It depends on discrimination.” (Interview 12, 2012)

Another commonality across the political actors and various coalitions is the focus on **youth unemployment** as a problematic area in need of particular attention. The Social Democrats, for example, state that “youth unemployment is on a record high”, “long term unemployment among youths in Stockholm has increased with 390 per cent”, and therefore one must “enable young people to job experiences and qualifications with the help of internships and jobs in the community.” (The Social Democrats Party Program, 2010: 9) Other political parties concur with the Social Democrats, at least in their focusing on youth unemployment as a significant problem: “That young people are not entering the labour market is a major problem for society. Stockholm should invest heavily in more jobs for

young people.” (The Green Party Program, 2010: 7) “Young people in the high school age must never be unemployed.” (The Liberal Party Program, 2010: 27) The consequences of young people being unemployed is also discussed. One media article in a local newspaper highlights young people ‘outside of the system’ (DN, 2005) and interviewed respondents express societal concerns: “If children and young people are not caught up and get educated, they become unemployed; it will lead to crime, poverty, and unsafe neighbourhoods.” (Interview 7, 2012) In terms of solutions, in addition to the Social Democrats focus on internships as a solution to youth unemployment, the Conservatives promote *Jobbtorg* as a solution: “For the Stockholm young, who fall outside of the labour market and who need support to get back, the city’s *Jobbtorg* in which the activities are directed at the Stockholm youth could be enhanced and refined” (The Conservatives Party Program, 2010: 19).

The report will return to the topic of *Jobbtorg*, as it is one of the dimension on which the various coalitions disagree. One of the interviewed policy makers also talks about various additional solutions, including “that you have holiday youth workers, allowing them establish contacts for future jobs, allowing them to work on holidays, training that may not require as much reading...” (Interview 2, 2012).

There are also a set of issues of minor presence in the policy discourse on which the political actors and coalitions seem to agree, including the need for partnership, full time work, and people with disabilities. Starting with the need for partnership, actors on various sides of the political spectrum agree on the need for the public sector to work closely with the private sector to be able to better tackle unemployment. The Social Democrats, for example, argue that “the collaboration with the private sector should be used to strengthen the structural possibilities for the private sector to recruit young people and groups that have difficulties in entering the job market” (The Social Democrats Party Program, 2010: 2). A civil servant expresses similar ideas: “Politics can not only encourage people to work anymore. It must find, in cooperation with business and non-profit organizations - models to make more people able to work.” (Interview 5, 2012) Another issue is about the right to full time work. The Christian Democrats argue that “the number of part work positions should be decreased and more full time positions for those who would like to work more time” (The Christian Democrats Party Program, 2012: 1), the Social Democrats argue that “full time should be a right, part time a possibility” (The Social Democrats Party Program, 2010: 2), and the Green party that “the possibility to work full time or part time should be offered to those who so wish” (The Green Party Program, 2010: 6). There is finally unity among the various actors on the requirement that people with disabilities should have the right to work. “There must be room for those who can not handle the strict requirements of the labour market,” argues for example the Centre party (The Centre Party Program, 2012: 1). The Liberals claim that “the city should function as an example, and even more so, it should design workplaces so that it is possible to work in the city for people with disabilities” (The Liberal Party Program, 2010: 28). The Christian Democrats are even more specific in their argumentation: “500 new jobs in the city for people with disabilities,” and “establish mentors and coaches who can help people with disabilities in their working environments” (The Christian Democrats Party Program, 2012: 1).

Having outlined the issues on which there is agreement, we now turn our attention to the limited number of issues on which the various actors disagree. One of them is the role and importance of trade unions. The social democratic party is really the only political party discussing the role of trade unions as a solution to employment related problems: “We want to strengthen the role of trade unions in order to achieve a fair, safe and better functioning labour market” (The Social Democrats Party Program, 2010: 8). The consequences of a reduced role of trade unions for the labour market is also discussed in

one of the interviews carried out for this study with one of the privileged observers. “The unions have been reduced in the degree of organization. This also means that we have had more difficult to maintain orderliness in the labour market, which we have been renowned for as part of the Swedish model” (Interview 12, 2012).

As mentioned, the proposed solution to tackle unemployment, *Jobbtorg*, is another dimension on which the political actors and various coalitions disagree. Those in favour tend to be found on the right side of the political spectrum. One longer excerpt from the Conservatives party program both promotes and explains the *Jobbtorg* solution:

For those who have been out of the labour market for a long time there is *Jobbtorg* Stockholm. *Jobbtorg* Stockholm is a unique change of Stockholm's labour market system that has successfully managed to help more than 10,000 people from living on grants and being alienated to self-support or training. *Jobbtorg* Stockholm must continue to develop and refine its methods to better support Stockholm youth and Swedes born abroad than is the case today. (The Conservative Party Program, 2010: 5).

The positive significance of the social innovation *Jobbtorg* is also supported by one of the interviewed respondents, in this case a so called privileged observer: “By *Jobbtorg* we get a large proportion of the people in work and it's much better than welfare dependency” (Interview 10, 2012). One of the local newspaper also support the solution: “900 people got work through the *Jobbtorg*” (SvD, 2008), and “The *Jobbtorg* shows the way to work” (SvD, 2008). There are also examples of actors in favour of the *Jobbtorg*, but in their support for the solution also would like to promote improvements. One example is the political party, the Christian Democrats: “Develop the *Jobbtorg* to get more people from Stockholm in work.” (The Christian Democrats Party Program, 2012: 1) The Liberals are of a similar mindset: “The *Jobbtorg* must immediately be able to receive clients on a short notice.” (The Liberal Party Program, 2010: 27)

It would seem, however, that not everyone is as enthusiastic about the social innovation called *Jobbtorg* as the actors on the right side are. A local newspaper argues that the solution is not for everyone: “The *Jobbtorg* not capable of getting everyone work” (DN, 2011). The Social Democrats would like to see a much larger set of solutions working for the unemployed: “Unemployed with financial assistance must be helped back into work through a wide range of measures: educational, municipal matching functions, and help in arranging internships” (The Social Democrats Party Program, 2010: 13). An interviewed political representative also expresses doubt about some of the characteristics of the proposed solution. “There are still some dubious, I think, elements of a compulsory character, meaning that you should be there, you can not have a holiday. You get like a situation where unemployed children may not leave town because mom and dad should be on the *Jobbtorg* during the summer” (Interview 3, 2012).

3.3. Housing

Sweden has had a national housing policy since the late 1940s in the sense that it has been directed towards the housing market as a whole and not towards special categories of households or tenure (Nordfeldt and Segnestam Larsson 2011). “Good housing for all”, regardless of income, has been the overall goal for the national housing policy and an important ingredient of social welfare policy. The semi-public bodies - for example the local housing companies - have played a central role in the political goal of good housing for all. Public housing became in this way a cornerstone of the Swedish welfare policy.

During the 1990s, however, Swedish national housing policy changed dramatically with a deregulated housing market and a more market oriented approach (Nordfeldt and Segnestam Larsson 2011). Swedish national housing policy transformed as a consequence from a general to a more selective policy where public housing no longer can be considered as a cornerstone in the welfare system. This is a policy change that has been supported by both former social democratic governments and the previous liberal/conservative government. In this way the Swedish policy follows mainstream European policy, with less tax benefits and restrictions.

As a consequence to these changes housing policy is no longer a particularly visible policy field on the national level. The responsibility for housing supply lies at the local level, with the local authorities. The local authorities are according to the national law of housing supply obliged to compile a policy for local housing supply, once every length of office. Additional consequences include the closing down of public housing assignment agencies, the adoption of market principles by municipal housing companies, and the conversion of rental apartments into co-operative apartments.

Moving from a general introduction of local housing to the policy field of housing in the city of Stockholm, it is obvious that housing is a hot political issue, at least based on the amount of the empirical material that addresses housing and not the least in comparison to the sectorial fields of for example employment. Another outcome of a comparison among the sectorial policy fields is that housing seems to be a topic on which the political actors and various coalitions are more in conflict with another. The various actors agree on issues such as the fact that housing is considered a problem, should be related to segregation as a political issue, the solution to the housing problem is to build more, including promoting mixed housing, student housing, and upgrading the billion program in the suburbs, and finally homelessness. The various actors also disagree on a number of topics, such as the need to lessen the pressure on Stockholm, the transformation of tenure apartments to condominium, and the deregulation of the tenure market.

The report starts with the overwhelming support for the policy idea that the solution looking for a problem is to **build more**. Here follows a number of examples of such policy statements, deriving from political actors across the political scale:

*Build at least 15,000 new apartments during the political term.
(The Christian Democrats Party Program, 2012: 2)*

*We want to build 15,000 new apartments in the next political term.
(The Social Democrats Party Program, 2010: 10)*

The Green party wants to build 15,000 new homes by 2014. (The Green Party Program, 2010: 10)

We have kept our promise about 15,000 new housing units from 2006 to 2010 and would like to continue at the same pace with the additional 15,000 housing units by 2014. (The Conservative Party Program, 2010: 18)

Construction companies owned by municipalities should be created to break the big construction companies' strong dominance and push down prices. (The Left Party Program, 2009: 27)

There are several almost identical formulations regarding the solution to build more across the political parties. A couple of the interviewed respondents agree. A political

representative, for example, argues that “our solution must surely be to build more. And also make sure to develop public housing in all parts of town” (Interview 3, 2012). A civil servant talks about their contribution and their view on the issue: “We have tried to build condominiums and smaller townhouses and homes. You should be able to choose from condominiums or tenure apartments or houses” (Interview 7, 2012).

In addition to the cry to build more, the political actors also agree on the need to increase the pace of construction, densify the city, build higher and promote the suburbs. In a similar fashion to the statements in favour of building more the actors seem to mimic their statements: “Increase the pace of housing construction” (The Centre Party Program, 2012: 2), “The construction pace should be doubled” (The Social Democrats Party Program, 2010: 3), and “Housing construction must continue at a rapid pace” (The Liberal Party Program, 2010: 8). An interviewed civil servant nuances these types of statements: “There is a housing shortage, we have high prices for apartments, and we build less than we should in order to be able to match the population growth.” (Interview 8, 2012) In relation to the call to densify the city, “the City should be built densely, space-efficiently, in the proximity of commuting, and with more housing, especially for young and students,” argues the Green party (The Green Party Program, 2010: 10). The Left argues that “new homes can be created by a densification of existing settlements.” (The Left Party Program, 2009: 28) The dense city is supposedly also more environmentally friendly (The Centre Party Program, 2012: 2) and “provides, among other things, a more sustainable energy consumption, less fuel consumption, allows a better waste management, and increases public transports.” (The Liberal Party Program, 2010: 6) As regards building higher as a solution, a set of political actors, primarily on the right side of the political spectrum, proposes building higher buildings to solve housing problems. An example of a statement is “by building upwards, among other things, we use city land more efficiently and saves environmental areas” (The Centre Party Program, 2012: 2). The Liberals agree with the solution to build higher, but nuances the solution, by arguing that it is mainly suitable for the suburbs: “In the central city, the view of the settlements and distinctive steeples should be preserved” whereas “In other parts of the city, higher houses can offer other qualities.” (The Liberal Party Program, 2010: 8) Finally, there are also proposals to promote the suburb as a solution. “Instead of focusing municipal operations to the inner city, they should be spread to suburbs,” and “companies that have offices in the city should be encouraged to move to the suburbs, where more jobs are needed” are examples of statements made by a political party, in this case the Green party (The Green Party Program, 2010: 2, 11). Other examples of support for the idea to promote the suburbs include “the development of the suburb is essential to the future of the Stockholm” (The Conservative Party Program, 2010: 18) and “with a modern and bold architecture the suburbs can become more attractive to live in” (The Liberal Party Program, 2010: 9).

Another topic of agreement among the various actors is on the need for a diversity of housing forms. Statements to the fact include “promote a diversity of housing. Encourage owned apartments” (The Christian Democratic Party Program, 2012: 2), “the city should be mix with a fair distribution between residential and office space, condominiums and tenant apartments” (The Green Party Program, 2010: 10), “new neighbourhoods should be planned with mixed housing forms, sizes of apartments and leasing forms” (The Left Party Program, 2009: 25), and “Stockholm needs housing in different forms. A mixed development creates favourable conditions for an integrated and cohesive city. Owned apartments are an excellent addition to condominiums and tenant apartments” (The Liberal Party Program, 2010: 9).

It should be commented here that so called owned apartments is a new housing form, and could explain why it is discussed here explicitly. A couple of the interviewed respondents also talk about the importance of a mixed supply of housing and leasing forms. A politician

talks, for example, about the fact that “society works best if, for example, mixed leasing forms; that one next to each other are able to stay regardless of income, interests and family size.” (Interview 2, 2012) “To have varying leasing and housing forms in all neighbourhoods, there should be both houses, condominiums and tenant apartments,” comments a civil servant (Interview 8, 2012). And a privileged observer argues that “One should work with continuous upgrading, ensure that there is mixing leasing forms in all neighbourhoods. That you do not sell all tenant apartments.” (Interview 12, 2012) The latter comment refers to the on-going transformation of the housing arena in Stockholm, in which a large proportion of the tenant apartments are transformed into condominiums. This discussion is also one of the policy issues on which there is disagreement, and it will be described in more detail below.

Interestingly enough, in relation to the discussion above on the transformation of a large number of tenant apartments to condominiums, there seems to be agreement on the need to build more tenant apartments. “The housing shortage in Stockholm is not just a housing problem, it is also a lack of tenant apartments and a lack of student housing,” argues the social democrats (The Social Democrats Party Program, 2010: 3). Additional statements on the need to build more tenant apartments include “Stockholm needs more tenant apartments, not less” (The Green Party Program, 2010: 11), “it is critical that the municipal companies continue to build more tenant apartments” (The Liberal Party Program, 2010: 18), and “municipalities with few tenant apartments should be required to build more inexpensive tenant apartments” (The Left Party Program, 2009: 25). There is also an article in the local newspaper, arguing for the need to “Save the tenant apartment in Stockholm” (SvD, 2011).

Another topic of common interest is the so called *million program*, that is the ambition during the second part of the 20th century to build a large number of tenant apartments and condominium in the suburbs of Stockholm. The Christian Democrats argue for a “continued modernization of the million program and the suburbs” (The Christian Democrats Party Program, 2012: 2), and so do the Liberal party and the Green party: “Stockholm million program areas must undergo an extensive renovation” (The Green Party Program, 2010: 11) and “these (million programs) residential areas will be refurbished and the work on long-term development will continue” (The Liberal Party Program, 2010: 4). The Centre party explains in a longer statement their view on the problem with the million programs: “the problems in these areas consist of lack of language knowledge, higher proportion of unemployed among others. Projects, such as *Järvalyftet* and *Söderortsvisionen*, where the city interacts with property owners and others to rehabilitate the areas, must have the full support and resources from the city” (The Centre Party Program, 2012: 2). An article in a local newspaper also argues that it is time to stop talking about these areas in a negative fashion (DN, 2011).

The various actors also agree on the importance of focusing on particular groups in society, including students, homeless, and people with disabilities. Starting with the students, there is unity among the political actors and various coalitions on the need for more student housings. Examples of statements include “prioritize the work for more student housings” (The Christian Democrats Party Program, 2012: 2), “build more student housings” (The Social Democrats Party Program, 2010: 11), and “therefore, among other things, significantly more student housing should be built” (The Liberal Party Program, 2010: 5). A set of the actors are quite specific on the number of student housings that are required: “3000 new student housings should be built in the county of Stockholm” (The Social Democrats Party Program, 2010: 11), “quickly build a new district with space for 6,000 students” (The Centre Party Program, 2012: 3), and “we want 4100 new student housings to be produced during the term, which represents an increase of 30 per cent from the current number” (The Conservative Party Program, 2010: 18). Moreover, all actors talk

about the importance of improving the situation for the homeless. “Combat homelessness” (The Social Democrats Party Program, 2010: 13), “vision zero for homelessness must yield results” and “children and youth should never be homeless in Stockholm.” (The Green Party Program, 2010: 3, 6), and “we have worked hard and diligently to reduce homelessness in Stockholm and the number of homeless people has decreased in recent years” (The Conservative Party Program, 2010: 12). Finally, as regards people with disabilities, political actors agree that this group has particular housing needs. The Christian Democrats propose to “build more collective housing and create more alternative housing” (The Christian Democrats Party Program, 2012: 2) and the Left party argues that “many are in line for a housing adjusted for people with disabilities or for a housing with particular support” (The Left party Program, 2009: 24).

Having outlined the issues on which there is agreement, we now turn our attention to the fairly large - at least in comparison to the other two sectorial fields of child-care and employment - number of issues on which the various actors disagree. One somewhat odd opinion, mainly expressed by the Left party, is that a potential solution to the housing problem is to relocate work opportunities and the such to other parts of Sweden and thereby **lessen the pressure** on the Stockholm housing arena. “Society should be more active than today in locating work positions so that excessively severe imbalances can be corrected, and hence, the pressure against the Stockholm would ease, at least somewhat.” (The Left Party Program, 2009: 25) One of the ways in which the pressure could be eased is “if towns and cities outside the region were to be stimulated by investment in new infrastructure, educational institutions and cultural institutions, the strain on moving to Stockholm would decrease” (The Left Party Program, 2009: 26).

Another issue on which the various actors disagree is the transformation of tenant apartments into condominiums, as alluded to before in this report. Those in favour include mainly actors on the right side of the political spectrum, but also the Green party that normally takes side with the left side. Examples of opinions in favour of the transformation include: “Encourage the transformation from tenant apartments to condominiums in the suburbs” (The Christian Democrats Party Program, 2012: 2), “Conversion to condominiums in municipal housing should continue in the suburbs in areas where the tenant apartment dominates” (The Liberal Party Program, 2010: 9), and “Therefore we want to continue to offer the opportunity for transformation in the suburbs and also allow leasing apartments” (The Conservative Party Program, 2010: 18). One of the interviewed respondents, a civil servant is more moderate in its take on the transformation, weighing advantages and disadvantages: “The transformation of tenant apartments to condominiums probably has had both positive and negative consequences [...] It has certainly played a role in that there are people who earned some money because they bought at a good price and then have been able to sell” (Interview 8, 2012). There are also sets of actors that are against the transformation of tenant apartments into condominiums. Most of them are found on the left side of the political spectrum, but not all. The social democrats argue that the city immediately should stop the transformation, and that they “believe that there must be an end to the sell-out of public housing apartments” (The Social Democrats Party Program, 2010: 10). The Left party voices similar concerns: “The transformations must be stopped. The politically controlled public housing companies must be given a more active role” (The Left Party Program, 2009: 25). A media article in a local newspaper also argues that there is a need for a working public housing arena (SvD, 2012).

There is also disagreement on the deregulation of the tenant market. Those in favour, mainly the Centre and the Liberal party argue that a deregulation of the tenant market promotes a multitude of housing and leasing forms. The Centre party argues in more detail to “reform the tenant rent system and create a multitude of housing. The traditional forms of accommodation; condominiums, tenant apartments, and houses are now complemented

by owned apartments” (The Centre Party Program, 2012: 1). The Liberals in turn argue that “a careful re-regulation of the tenant rent needs to be implemented. An agreement between the city's housing, (the association for landlords) and (the association for tenants) should be created” (The Liberal Party Program, 2010: 9). There are also media articles in favour of a deregulation of the tenant market, supporting the introduction of market rents (SvD, 2003, 2011). Those against the deregulation of the tenant market include the Left party, which argues that tenant rents should be kept at the current level (The Left Party Program, 2009: 25).

CONCLUSIONS: COHERENCE AND INCOHERENCE IN LOCAL WELFARE SYSTEM POLICY VALUES

This report has described and analysed urban policy innovations in local welfare in the city of Stockholm, Sweden. Using official documents of the public administration in Stockholm, debates in local parliament, and excerpts from interviews with various stakeholders, the focus of the report has been on identifying the dominant general value system in relation the orientations and values concerning the local welfare state, and secondly, on the dominant sectorial values as regards child-care, unemployment and housing. Furthermore, the report has also identified the points upon which the main coalitions agree and disagree regarding the orientations and values of the local welfare state and the dominant sectorial values in the field of child-care, unemployment and housing. This final section of the report summarizes some of the main findings and discusses the degree of coherence in local welfare system policy values.

4.1. Dominant policy values

We begin by summarizing the main empirical findings related to the dominant policy values on local welfare in Stockholm among the political actors and the various coalitions. There is agreement among political parties and interviewed actors regarding a host of issues related to local welfare, including the influence of citizens, collaboration among authorities, the significance of quality and efficiency, and the role of civil society in local welfare. The combined result portrays a welfare system at the local level in transformation away from the traditional social democratic welfare regime. This should come as no surprise, given that Stockholm during the latter period has been ruled by right-wing and more liberally oriented political parties in addition to a general overhaul of the welfare system in Sweden as well as in most other welfare societies. As a consequence, the influence of citizens have been given more attention in the political discourse, civil society is considered a viable alternative as a welfare service provider, and quality and efficiency are deemed as important aspects. In this context, it should be mentioned that social innovation, as such, does not seem to be an important topic for the concerned actors, politicians, or journalists, at least according to the empirical material used for this report. Finally, even though there is agreement regarding the influence of citizens, collaboration among authorities, and quality and efficiency, among other policy values, it was also highlighted that the main actors seem to define these local welfare issues differently. Hence, it might be that the actors would disagree more if the different arguments were scrutinized in more detail.

4.2. Differing policy values

Moving on to differing policy values, there is also a set of policy values regarding local welfare on which the various actors disagree. These policy values concern the freedom of choice in health care, funding of and production of welfare by alternative organizations, and the democratization of welfare. An analysis of the various coalitions that are formed for and against these policy values, a patterned could be discerned along traditional

political lines. In the case of funding of and production of welfare by alternative organizations, for example, political parties on the right side of the spectrum are for alternative organizations, such as private and civil society organizations, whereas the political parties on the left prefer publically funded and publically produced welfare services. One of the reasons why the left side of the political spectrum could be against both freedom of choice and the provision of welfare by alternative could be related to the view of local welfare as an instrument to overcome differences in society.

4.3. Sectorial policy values

There are also agreement and disagreement on policy values and discursive innovations concerning the three fields of child-care, housing, and employment. Beginning with child-care, the policy actors at the local level in Stockholm agree, at least explicitly, on issues such as the importance of gender pedagogy, quality, the lack of child-care, opening hours, and resources, among other things. There are differences, especially when the details of the arguments are scrutinized, but these are of a more implicit character. As a contrast, we can really only find one policy issue of relevance for child-care in Stockholm, that is child-care allowance, on which the various actors disagree. In relation to employment, the various actors, political parties, interviewed representatives, and journalists, agree on the importance of creating new jobs particularly by the private sector, the relationship between employment and segregation in the city, youth employment, the need for more collaboration, and how employment issues are important for people with disabilities, among others. In contrast, there are really only a limited set of policy issues on which the actors explicitly disagree with each another, including the Jobbtorg as well as on the role of trade unions. Finally, the various actors agree on issues such as the fact that housing is considered a problem, should be related to segregation as a political issue, the solution to the housing problem is to build more, including promoting mixed housing, student housing, and upgrading the billion program in the suburbs, and finally homelessness. The various actors also disagree on a number of topics, such as the need to lessen the pressure on Stockholm, the transformation of tenure apartments to condominium, and the deregulation of the tenure market.

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THE WILCO PROJECT

Full title: Welfare innovations at the local level in favour of cohesion

Acronym: WILCO

Duration: 36 months (2010-2013)

Project's website: <http://www.wilcoproject.eu>

Project's objective and mission:

WILCO aims to examine, through cross-national comparative research, how local welfare systems affect social inequalities and how they favour social cohesion, with a special focus on the missing link between innovations at the local level and their successful transfer to and implementation in other settings. The results will be directly connected to the needs of practitioners, through strong interaction with stakeholders and urban policy recommendations. In doing so, we will connect issues of immediate practical relevance with state-of-the-art academic research on how approaches and instruments in local welfare function in practice.

Brief description:

The effort to strengthen social cohesion and lower social inequalities is among Europe's main policy challenges. Local welfare systems are at the forefront of the struggle to address this challenge - and they are far from winning. While the statistics show some positive signs, the overall picture still shows sharp and sometimes rising inequalities, a loss of social cohesion and failing policies of integration.

But, contrary to what is sometimes thought, a lack of bottom-up innovation is not the issue in itself. European cities are teeming with new ideas, initiated by citizens, professionals and policymakers. The problem is, rather, that innovations taking place in the city are not effectively disseminated because they are not sufficiently understood. Many innovations are not picked up, because their relevance is not recognised; others fail after they have been reproduced elsewhere, because they were not suitable to the different conditions, in another city, in another country.

In the framework of WILCO, innovation in cities is explored, not as a disconnected phenomenon, but as an element in a tradition of welfare that is part of particular socio-economic models and the result of specific national and local cultures. Contextualising innovations in local welfare will allow a more effective understanding of how they could work in other cities, for the benefit of other citizens.