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SOCIAL INNOVATIONS IN STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN

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INTRODUCTION – BACKGROUND TO LOCAL INNOVATIONS

Stockholm is among the fastest growing metropolitan areas in Europe. In an OECD territorial review from 2006, Stockholm was stated to be “one of the most successful metropolitan regions in the OECD”. The strengths of Stockholm that were highlighted in the report were research and development, concentration of advanced business, logistical and financial services, and specialisation in high-growth, high-tech sectors, notably information and communications technology (ICT). Weaknesses that were noted as risks that could undermine the region’s competitiveness in the long run, were factors such as “lack of new high-growth firms to stimulate the regional innovation system, challenges in the labour market especially with regard to the integration of immigrants, housing shortages and a transport network that has failed to keep pace with growth in the region” (OECD 2006).

The population of the city of Stockholm is growing by around 17,000 persons per year and the county of Stockholm is growing by between 30,000 to 40,000 new inhabitants every year. This puts enormous pressure on the housing market, and the construction of new housing has not kept pace with this demand, which has led to a severe housing shortage in the whole Stockholm region (Länsstyrelsen 2012; Boverket 2012a). Stockholm has an organised housing queue for rental apartments, but the number of years that one needs to be registered in the queue before being allocated an apartment is constantly increasing (Nordfeldt and Wiklund 2013). Young people and recently immigrated persons are especially vulnerable on the housing market. Landlord demands, such as references and a certain level of income, make it difficult for those entering the housing market for the first time (Nordfeldt 2012). Twenty-three out of 26 municipalities in the Stockholm region indicate a lack of housing for young people, and 21 of these also report an overall housing shortage (Boverket 2012a, 2012b).

In recent years, the problem of the housing shortage has been heavily debated, in the mass media, at the local policy level, and by organisations/networks of citizens. The latter plead for more rental units and protest against transformation and the selling of municipal housing stock. Among local politicians, there is a consensus that there is an urgent need to speed up the construction of new housing, but there are different views within local government between the majority and the opposition on how this should be achieved.

Overall, the employment rate is higher in Stockholm than on average in Sweden, but there are substantial differences between groups in the population. The unemployment rates for young people are substantially higher than for the older groups. The fastest growth in temporary employment is in the group of young adults. One obvious barrier to young people entering the labour market is low levels of education. Another striking difference in the unemployment figures is between people born in Sweden, the Nordic countries, EU/EFTA and outside of these regions. Unemployment rates for the first two categories have been somewhat reduced during the 2000, while for the latter two groups, there has been a limited increase. However, for people born outside of EU/EFTA, the unemployment rates are substantially higher than for the other groups. Young people and recently immigrated persons are also more likely to find temporary employment in the so-called “grey” labour market than other employees (Nordfeldt 2012, WP3 report).

Central issues in the local policy debate are how to find new jobs in areas of Stockholm with high unemployment, in order to counteract the mismatch between existing jobs and the unemployed. Solutions that are put forward in the political debate are different forms of support for new start-up enterprises. This has been highlighted as a way to create new jobs in the outer suburbs where the unemployment rates are high. Unemployment among

young people is also an issue on the political agenda, but there have been few suggestions for realistic solutions.

Segregation and segmentation in Stockholm

In Stockholm, there is clear ethnic segregation as well as segmentation. This is especially pronounced between city districts but also between neighbourhoods within the same district, consisting of both affluent residential areas and “Million Homes Programme” areas (Bråmås et al. 2006). Some suburbs in Stockholm metropolitan areas with a large immigrant population are areas that can be defined as resource poor. These areas mainly consist of large housing estates that were built during the “Million Homes Programme” when a million dwellings were built during a period of 10 years from the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s. These large housing estates are today associated with segregation and social problems. Refugees and immigrants, primarily from outside the OECD region, have been directed towards these so-called “under-privileged” suburbs (Nordfeldt 2012, WP3 report)

Diversity and choice - catchwords in local political debate in Stockholm.

In the field of social welfare, the ruling coalition within the local government - since 2006 consisting of the Conservative Party, the Liberal Party, the Centre Party and the Christian Democratic Party - has pursued a strong policy of marketing and privatisation. This has been implemented within the field of health care and social services (primarily within elderly care) and the housing market.

Deregulation and legislation on competitive procurement (LOU), ideas of “user choice” and a new legislation - the Law on Freedom of Choice” (Lagen om valfrihet, LOV) has made it possible for municipalities to engage alternative service providers in social welfare. In Stockholm, the law (LOV) is applied in various fields, e.g. in home-care services for the elderly, in daily activities and assistance for disabled persons, and regarding residential homes (vård- och omsorgsboende).

Another policy implemented is the privatisation of the housing market. In Stockholm, this has been manifested by transformation of rental apartments to owner-occupied apartments, especially in the centre of the city and the inner suburbs. Tenants living in more distant suburbs have been less interested in buying their rented apartments. Some real estate has instead been sold off to private landlords. This transformation peaked in early 2000 and then again in the late 2000s (Nordfeldt & Wiklund 2013).

Stockholm administration

Stockholm is organised into 17 field-specific departments, 14 district administrations and 16 municipal companies owned by the Stockholm City Hall AB. The district administrations are responsible for municipal services and care for those who live in the district: preschool, elderly care, support and services to people with disabilities, social psychiatry, social care for individuals and families, consumer advice and leisure and cultural activities.

2. SOCIAL INNOVATIONS IN STOCKHOLM – THREE EXAMPLES

In the following section, we will describe the three social innovations that have been the focus of our research in Stockholm. These are the (1) “Filur project” within the local labour market; (2) “Children of Single (Lone) Mothers Project” targeting single mothers with low income, and (3) The “Miljardprogrammet” (“the billion project”) which is a citizen/activist-driven project related to housing. The case studies in Stockholm have been chosen according to a broad definition of innovations, as ideas or approaches that are new in a particular context, but implemented in practice to some degree. The innovations

combine the policy fields and target groups highlighted by the WILCO project in different ways.

The empirical material for this report has been collected from websites, various official documents and through interviews with staff and users of the studied projects. The interviews form the primary basis for the descriptions of the respective innovations, also including interviews that are not directly referred to in the text below.

2.1. The Filur Project

2.1.1. Short Description

The European Social Fund and the Stockholm City administration finance the Filur project, which has been running since 2010. The target group of the project is young persons facing difficulties entering the labour market. Participants are enrolled in Filur through the so-called *Jobbtorg* (job centres) or via the special responsibility of the labour market administrations concerning young people. Persons can also be recruited from local employment centres or from the social insurance office. Young people enrolled from *Jobbtorg* are, however, the dominant group. An interviewed job coach at the Filur project estimated that 90 per cent of the participants were enrolled from *Jobbtorg* (interview 1). As Filur has cut ties with the *Jobbtorg* organisation, it is appropriate to give a short description of this organisation in order to clarify the context within which Filur is working. *Jobbtorg* is an initiative introduced by the right wing majority in the city of Stockholm in 2006. The decision to implement *Jobbtorg* was taken in 2007 along with a modified set of guidelines for the administration of social welfare benefits (utl. 2007: 117 and utl. 2007: 116).

Jobbtorg was initially referred to as a “special project designed to help people from Stockholm to move from social welfare benefits to work” (utl. 2007: 117), which was in line with the dominating activation policy within the Swedish labour market policy (Johansson 2009; Thorén 2008). This project had a clear two-headed goal: to help people to help themselves in finding employment, and to reduce costs for the city district administration by reducing the number of people dependent on social welfare benefits (utl. 2007: 117). The term “welfare dependency” with the obvious connotation (in Swedish) of welfare addiction (*bidragsberoende*) was used frequently in the debate to describe the problem that *Jobbtorg* was intended to address (utl. 2007: 117). The idea of *Jobbtorg* was to standardise the municipal efforts and resources available to assist unemployed people dependent on social welfare benefits, which meant centralising the organisation within the city of Stockholm. Prior to *Jobbtorg*, there had been a number of different projects and organisations cooperating with city district administrations to support people on social welfare benefits to find employment. Initiatives for different projects are also taken at *Jobbtorg* as part of their method of working. The objective of these projects is to develop regular activities at *Jobbtorg* as these projects are designed to try out new methods and ways of working (interview 2). The successful methods are supposed to be singled out and then adopted as regular *Jobbtorg* activities. Filur is an example of such a project (interview 3).

With the help of personal job coaches, an staff member interviewed stated that *Jobbtorg* is supposed to establish an individual planning document, a “work-plan”, for each “candidate” to sign (the unemployed person is called an “aspirant” or candidate at *Jobbtorg*). This work-plan can include short work-related courses, learning Swedish, internship, as well as requirements of daily attendance and job-searching activities at the *Jobbtorg* offices. It can also include participation in one of the projects currently running, for example, at Filur. Because of the modified set of guidelines for the administration of social welfare benefits, there is a strong incentive for people who receive social welfare

benefits to cooperate with the job coaches and follow their individual work-plan at *Jobbtorg*. Daily attendance is required as a norm, and attendance and even late arrival is reported directly to the administrators of the social welfare benefits at the city district administration (interview 2). This means, for instance, that too many “late arrivals” can cause a person’s right to social welfare benefits to be questioned. Unexplained non-attendance usually deprives a person of that right.

Filur was initiated on political request by a group of professionals specialising in youth unemployment at *Jobbtorg*. This group was commissioned to investigate the possibility for a new project for young unemployed people who seemed to experience special difficulty in getting a foothold in the labour market (interview 3). The staff group went on a tour of inspiration and came back with elements from different fields and organisations. Today, the Filur project is built on four elements. The first element is the so-called “7-twenty” method (7-tjugo-metoden), which is a concept adopted from an employee-owned cooperative in the Swedish city of Borlänge, called *Arbetslinjen Klippan* (Arbetslinjen Klippan 24 January 2013). The 7-twenty method is described as a pedagogic and self-strengthening method. The second element is referred to as “Try-out-a-job”, which is not supposed to be an internship, where the young person is forced to take whatever job is offered. Instead, it should be an opportunity for the young person to make a decision about a line of work that appeals to them, and then try it for a 4-week period (interview 3).

The job coaches at Filur try their very best to match the young person to the labour market according to their wishes. The interviewed head of the project says that the 7-twenty method works on mobilising a young person’s motivation for 8 weeks and then the “Try-out-a-job” scheme is supposed to follow as a logical consequence (interview 3). During the 8 weeks that the participants follow the 7-twenty method, the job coaches also work individually with each participant to try to assess and map the needs of support for each participant. This is the third element. At the beginning of the project, the mapping method used was ADAD (short for Adolescent Drug Abuse Diagnosis), which is a standardised questionnaire used within the social administration office in their work with young drug abusers. The project leader states that the original idea was to get results that could be comparable in the municipality.

However, ADAD is no longer the method used for mapping the participants at Filur. Instead, the job coaches have a continuous and individual approach, meeting each participant for individual talks every week (interview 3). The fourth element that constitutes the Filur project is the mentor programme. Here the original idea was inspired from Mentor Sverige and Skandia Idéer för livet (ideas for life). The structure of this mentor programme, as well as its intensity and length, were adopted. “Our thought was that after the 8 plus 4 weeks of the Filur project, each participant should be able to have a mentor, someone who was already working professionally within the field of work that the young person had decided to aim for, and that that mentor should be available for the young person at least once a month for 2 hours” (interview 3). However, the mentor programme is the part of the Filur project that has not been working so well. The project leader explains that there has been a problem with timing and matching, as well as with recruiting mentors and maintaining the interest of the young person so long after the end of the project with so much changing in a young person’s life (interview 3).

2.1.2. Conceptions and ways of addressing users

In the project application to the ESF, the following is written about the target group of the Filur project:

At Jobbtorg and within the community there is a growing group of young people, aged 16-24, who fail to establish themselves in the

labour market or who fail to continue their studies despite the support and interventions that are available to them. This group represents the project's target group. They get stuck in Jobbtorg or disappear for short periods of time only to then reappear (...) Some young find it difficult to understand and to live up to the demands placed on them in meetings with various authorities. Many risk getting stuck in the support systems, which means that they are at risk of permanent welfare dependency.

Further,

Our target group often lack fundamental social and practical skills required to be deemed employable by employers. It is a sprawling group of diffuse problems. Some young people are immature, others experience mental or emotional problems, they are on sick leave; they return and become sick again. It is likely that some young people carry undiagnosed disabilities. Common to the group is low self-esteem and lack of confidence in their own potential. Many young people lack education; others have completed high school but have missing grades in one or more subjects.

Svenska ESF Rådet, 7 February 2013 (authors' translation)

The target group has broadened since the start of the project, and today most young unemployed people that wish to participate can do so (interview 3). The participants that we interviewed came from *Jobbtorg* and had been offered a place in the Filur project after a few weeks and up until a couple of months after enrolling with *Jobbtorg* (interviews 4 and 5). The project leader points out that the sooner a young person joins the project the better, and she says that sometimes the regulations of the national employment office can be ineffective as it only allows a young person to enter the Filur project after 3 months of unemployment when the young person is listed in the so-called “youth guarantee” (*ungdomsgarantin*) (interview 3).

From our interviews, it has been suggested that *Jobbtorg* can have a deterrent effect on the participants, and it remains unclear how much the fear of having to return to *Jobbtorg* is a motivating factor to continue Filur. Both interviewees said that they found *Jobbtorg* ineffective, unnecessary and unhelpful. They agreed that sitting at *Jobbtorg* was like being pulled downwards to a place where people were “just sad and only doing things because they had to”. Both of the interviewed participants described incomprehensible rules at *Jobbtorg*, and they both said that the offer to start at the Filur project seemed like a good option. They stated that the individual mapping showed them their capabilities and increased their self-confidence and pride in themselves (interviews 4 and 5). The project leader confirmed that the project provides better chances compared with *Jobbtorg* and is an opportunity for the young participants to get the time to examine their own motivations and start to build self-confidence around who they are, what they want and are able to do (interview 3).

2.1.3. Internal organisation and modes of working

The Filur project is an ESF-funded project run by the Stockholm municipality, administered by their organisation, *Jobbtorg*, which is organised within the labour market administration. The project is controlled by a board. The chairperson of the board is also the coordinator of the youth activities at *Jobbtorg*. The rest of the board consists of representatives from the employment office, social insurance office and the employment department, the city district administration, and *Jobbtorg*. Initially, there was also one representative from Stockholm City Mission, but not any longer. The project leader says that a decision was made to have only civil servants on the board, based on arguments of efficiency (interview 3).

The venue of the Filur project, with its address in central Stockholm, has an obvious advantage. The project leader works here alongside three job coaches and one career and education counsellor. In addition, they have one administrator and one economist working part-time in the project. They also have one informant employed through a special youth employment programme run by the municipality. The idea of that the programme enables young people to gain employment in the municipal organisation, or in one of its many companies, for a limited period of time during which *Jobbtorg* finances the young person's salary (interview 3). The advantage of the venue of Filur is that it is shared with the youth employment programme, which means that the matchers working in the youth employment programme, along with their contacts in different administrations and companies, can meet directly with the young participants in the Filur project and help them to find interesting jobs in the municipality.

2.1.4 Impact on the governance of local welfare systems

The impact that the Filur project will have remains to be seen. At the time of the case study, it was often referred to politically as successful. In a survey conducted in January 2013, 78.5 per cent of the young people that had participated in the project and finished during 2010, 2011 and the first 6 months of 2012, had become self-supporting (Stockholms stad 2013). According to the project leader, parts of the Filur project will be implemented in the regular activity at *Jobbtorg* after the project has ended (interview 3). The project's termination date has recently been prolonged until June 2013. However, one can probably say that more activities based on an individual approach working with pedagogical self-strengthening methods will be continuously directed towards the young and unemployed in the near future.

2.2. Fryshuset - Children of single (lone) mothers (*Barn till ensamamma mammor*)

2.2.1. Short Description

Fryshuset is a foundation headed by the YMCA. When it started in Stockholm in 1984 it was located in a former cold-storage building (hence the name - *Fryshuset*, meaning "cold storage" in Swedish). The creation of the organisation can be seen as a response to young people's needs.

During its lifetime, *Fryshuset* has become a well-known and entrepreneurial organisation with a wide range of different activities. Today, *Fryshuset* runs schools and social programmes as well as vocational training, seminars and conferences, courses in theatre, music, and sport, as well as hosting events, concerts, parties and discotheques. Public funding covers around 5 per cent of the activities, and the rest is financed by a mixture of grants, endowments and fees for services such as educational and social programmes (fees that are not paid by young people or individual clients but by co-operational partners and government agencies). *Fryshuset* also runs activities in Malmö and Gothenburg. Throughout its lifetime, *Fryshuset* has worked to find new and innovative solutions to social youth issues and problems. Within the organisation, new projects have constantly been started. *Fryshuset* also cooperates with a range of public and private stakeholders.

Since 2007, *Fryshuset* has run a project addressed at children of single mothers in Stockholm, and since 2010, this has also run in Malmö. The focus for this activity is on the children but indirectly the activity also affects the mothers, and as a part of this activity, *Fryshuset* offers parent education and different kinds of lectures for the mothers. The aim is to support and strengthen children that are living with a single mother in economically vulnerable circumstances. *Fryshuset* describes the support as being provided from a health perspective with focus on the children's and the mothers' everyday situation.

2.2.2. Conceptions and ways of addressing users

The project offers three types of activities for single (lone) mothers and their children. The first is the monthly meetings. Up to 500 people - mothers and children - have been attending a monthly meeting in the Stockholm project. On more normal occasions, the participation involves around 100 persons. At the monthly meetings, mothers and children form separate groups. The group of mothers can, for example, participate in lectures concerning aspects of health, during which they will also have time to network and support one another. Meanwhile, the group of children are divided according to age and take part in sports, arts or music workshops together with volunteers - "amigos" - in the project (interview 6).

The fundamental idea behind these monthly meetings is that children of mothers who can be considered as socially vulnerable, need to have at least one window of opportunity where they can enjoy themselves and laugh, without having to think about and take responsibility for a mother feeling bad. The idea of the project is to encourage joy, says the project leader who we interviewed, "we are good at joy" (interview 6). She continues by explaining that the project wants to give these children positive childhood memories. "The children can come here and know that they don't have to look after their mothers while they're here, which is something that the staff experience a lot." According to her, children behave according to how sad their mothers are, and do not allow themselves to feel happy. At the project, it works the other way around as well. The mothers that come here are responsible for their children 24/7 and for them this is a much-appreciated "break" or time to just sit and relax for a while, knowing that the child is having a great time in the other room (interview 6).

The second activity offered by the project is what they call "activities". During these "activities" the idea is that they take the whole group, mothers and children together, to do something extraordinary. It can be visiting a museum, or going to the public swimming pool, visiting a fun park or a zoo. For instance, last summer, the project leader told us that the whole group was taken to a large zoo about 3 hours away from Stockholm. That trip took a lot to organise: "We have become experts at arranging events" she states, and mentions that six packed buses left *Fryshuset* at that time and they received much recognition from other colleagues in the house when they saw the number of people that this project involved (interview 6). The main idea behind these activities is to build up and support the relationship between mother and child. The project leader says that the children need to see their mothers laugh and have a good time. She argues that in the child's view, these activities are things their mothers take them to do, without having to think about the cost, and this is a way to build up the role of the mother in the eyes of the child. This part of the project is costly and the three people employed in the project have worked out a special way of fundraising. They try to give lectures to companies and invite them to come in to co-organise these events with them. In that way, the companies will experience how the funds have been used, and hopefully how they have also created value for the company (Interview 6).

The third activity at Children of Single Mothers is called the "boomerang meetings". This is a part of the project that has been going through many changes and, at the time of the study, had reached a form that the project staff were very pleased with. At the beginning of the project, the staff received many calls from mothers having all kinds of problems. These could be related to legal issues of custody matters, or health, or questions about how the social services function and act, and often these were questions that the three project leaders did not have the competence to answer. This resulted in an idea to arrange a fair twice a year where they invited experts from different fields and institutions to come and give personal counselling to the mothers. For many of the mothers, this meeting can be a first step to establishing a relationship with the appropriate institution. During

these and all meetings, the project invites volunteers. The project leader explains that she and her two colleagues could not possibly meet all the needs and answer all the questions of the participants. The volunteers are called “fellow humans” in the project and they are there to support the mothers during meetings (interview 6).

Beside these activities, the project leaders do a lot of work “behind the scenes”. They give lectures and try to represent and make visible the group Children of Lone Mothers. “There is much to be done to make people recognise the problems of these children”, the project leader states (interview 6). The special method of fundraising, mentioned above, is also a way to make more stakeholders recognise this group. The project has also recently initiated cooperation with *Södertörns högskola*, a university college in Stockholm, where they give lectures to university students who are studying to become teachers. Here the project leader sees a good opportunity for influencing the general view of this group of children (interview 6).

2.2.3. Internal organisation and modes of working

There are three persons working in the project. They have become “event experts” and organise most of the target group’s activities. They also raise funds and apply for allowances. Volunteers are engaged in the projects as “amigos” who are there to attend to the children, and “fellow humans” who support the mothers. Fundraising and advocacy are important responsibilities taken on by the project staff, and both responsibilities seem to encourage the other, giving them the same purpose.

2.2.4. Impact on the governance of local welfare systems

Making the group of children of economically vulnerable mothers visible to politicians, who, according to the project leader, hold a lot of prejudiced thinking against this group, could have an impact on political decisions about, for example, the availability of child care outside business hours and child care at night, which has been debated locally at different periods of time. Another field where advocacy of this group can have an impact is in the discussion about the national norm of social welfare benefits, which today does not include leisure time activities for children (for example, fees for sport or music lessons), or monthly Internet costs. This could mean that some children do not receive information sent out from their schools or from other organisations that communicate mostly via the Internet. These are questions that the project at *Fryshuset* is advocating, and where it might have an impact on the welfare system (interview 6). Another aspect that is important is the way that they try to bring the help closer to the mothers by arranging the boomerang meetings; thus, working to empower the mothers to start their individual processes for a better situation.

2.3. Miljardprogrammet (The Billion Programme)

2.3.1. Short description

The background to *Miljardprogrammet* (The Billion Programme) can be traced to the so called “Million Homes Programme” (*Miljonprogrammet*) and the political consensus about the need to upgrade these areas both in terms of the physical buildings and environment, and range of services, but also dealing with the negative connotations that many of these areas are beset with.

The Million Homes Programme was launched in the mid-1960s to combat the housing shortage. A million dwellings were built over a period of 10 years. Many of the large housing estates that were built in the suburbs of the big cities during this time are today associated with segregation and social problems. Refugees and immigrants, primarily from outside the OECD region, have been directed towards these so-called “under-privileged” suburbs.

In a report published in 2006, measurements of segregation and social exclusion were described based on a summary of four factors: rate of income, education, immigration and employment. The conclusion from this was that 8 per cent of neighbourhoods can be defined as “socially vulnerable to a high degree”, and 19 per cent as “partly socially vulnerable”. Many of the areas that are classified as socially vulnerable were identified at the end of the 1980s and a conclusion in the report was that there have been no significant changes in segregation in the late 1990s and early 2000s (USK 2006; Nordfeldt 2012).

The idea of *Miljardprogrammet* is to unite and inspire the people living across the different Million Homes programme areas in Sweden to take action and start positive processes, or innovations, in order to change the million programme areas in the direction of what the citizens want (Miljardprogrammet 2012). One could say that it functions both as a meeting place and as a think-tank for ideas and for innovative processes. However, it is also supposed to function as a platform for negotiations with relevant politicians and civil servants. It is an initiative that strives for communication across the more than 100 or so different million programme areas in Sweden. At the core of the *Miljardprogrammet* lies a sharp critique of how decisions about the areas are taken at municipal and state levels. According to the initiator of *Miljardprogrammet*, political decisions are mostly based on the way that the Million Homes Programme areas are depicted in the media: as run down, deprived areas whose residents are mostly unemployed people without opportunities (interview 7). The initiator says that the politicians rarely live in the Million Programme areas themselves, and therefore, they are easily manipulated by the negative picture they get from the media. However, for the citizens this picture can become absurd when they cannot identify with what is said about them and about the places where they live. He argues further that decisions based on the negative media picture, becomes an obstacle to entrepreneurial ideas and engagement that exists among the citizens in these areas (Interview 7).

2.3.2. Conceptions and ways of addressing users

The project started in 2011 after the initiator had made a survey on the types of changes required by citizens in the Million Homes Programme areas. This survey was in itself a response to the many political discussions about different ways to change the status of the Million Programme areas, from costly renovations to special job projects aimed at providing more job opportunities in the areas. According to his survey, the main change requested by the citizens was better service in the centre. (The Million Homes Programme areas, as well as most suburbs, are built around a centre with shops and municipal facilities that can include libraries, public swimming pools and sports facilities as well as health care-centres.) The citizens also requested enhanced security and better housing standards and public environments, as well as better police, education and health care (interview 7). In 2012 the ideas of *Miljardprogrammet* was put into print:

The core aspect of Miljardprogrammet is that we who want to change things are often stopped by others, who do not want the same things as us. The way things normally work is that you get an idea of something that you want to do. You apply for money to do it from the municipality or somewhere else. If you get the money you move to action but if you don't you don't and that is where things go wrong.(...) No matter if you get the money or not you will take action; you will just have to figure out a different way. Almost everything is possible and what it depends on is whether or not people are doing things; if they put their time into it (..) Those who have the power over money or allowances are very seldom people from the Million Programme areas (...) In the end, the result will be that the status of the Million Programme areas will be

viewed with respect, and we who live here will be viewed as resources and people that are needed in society. And when we and our areas get the respect that we deserve, a lot of other things will change too - our chances of getting a job or something as central as our self-confidence.

Miljardprogrammet, 2012 (authors' translation)

The document also gives very firm practical advice, such as how to organise a start-up meeting (“you will need a flipchart”, “papers to distribute for people to write their ideas” and “you will need to take people’s email addresses” etc.), how to see possibilities rather than problems, and how to talk to the media with a smile (sic) without confirming their negative view of the Million Programme areas. There are also recommendations about which other organisations to approach, for example, to hire a venue for meetings, and thorough advice is given on how to draw the attention of the local media to the start-up of *Miljardprogrammet* in each area (Miljardprogrammet, 2012).

Miljardprogrammet uses the networking ability that is provided by Facebook to communicate. *Miljardprogrammet* is a programme without any leader or board; however, the inspirational role of the person that initiated it is important when it comes to understanding the attention that the *Miljardprogrammet* has been getting (for example in DN, 18 October 2011, etc.). The initiator is well known for his engagement in the suburbs and clearly his personal position is an advantage. It is, however, uncertain as to how many communities have actually been adopting the programme since the start of 2012. On Facebook today there are three groups registered from different Million Programme areas, and these are Vårby, Alby and Jordbro. Around 1,300 people have “liked” the page. It is of course uncertain whether this is a real count of how many people and communities are engaged. *Miljardprogrammet* is supposed to be running from 2012-2020 (interview 7).

Miljardprogrammet addresses users (or “citizens” as we should say in the case of *Miljardprogrammet*) in an empowering way, focusing on their possibilities to change things in a desired direction rather than on problems or political hindrance. It is a project that seeks to be a platform for all residents that want to be engaged in positive change in the Million Programme areas across Sweden. It can be seen as an attempt to create a positive identity for the people in the areas, enhancing the sense of community so that it can become strong enough to change the negative media picture to a more positive one. The way to do that is to let the people living in these areas come up with and be inspired by their own innovative ideas, and to get them in touch with other people, neighbours and friends that can support them.

2.3.3. Internal organisation and modes of working

Miljardprogrammet has an ad hoc organisation based on civic engagement and participation. On their website the project is described as a “true democratic project”, which seems to reflect the fact that there is no formal organisation or representation at all. The initiator and also entrepreneur, is the face people associate with *Miljardprogrammet*, although he is clear about not wanting to represent the programme more than others that are engaged in it.

2.3.4. Impact on the governance of local welfare systems

What impact *Miljardprogrammet* will have on the governance on local welfare systems remains to be seen. At the core of *Miljardprogrammet* lies a critique of the governance of the local welfare system, which is understood to be too paternalistic and manipulated by the negative assumptions of the media. The ideas behind *Miljardprogrammet* could encourage citizens’ suggestions and expertise in neighbourhood revitalisation. The

programme recognises that the Million Programme areas are in need of (social) change, but it stresses the ideas should be engagement led and from a bottom-up perspective.

CONCLUSIONS

In Stockholm, social innovation is a less used term than in our second case study - the city of Malmö (Nordfeldt and Carrigan 2013). Innovation is not part of the policy discourse in Stockholm. The lack of interest in social innovation may appear contradictory, considering the strong emphasis that the steering majority of the local government places on diversity and consumer choice. Deregulation and legislation on competitive procurement (LOU) and freedom of choice (LOV) have opened windows of opportunity for alternative service producers. So far, these windows have mainly been filled by private for-profit health care companies. This means that there are new providers within the welfare field, but these procurements do not require innovative or new types of services.

The three innovative activities that we have chosen to study in Stockholm, and that are described above, spring from different needs and exemplify different kinds of ideas and approaches, as well as stakeholders. These examples also relate, in different ways, to the local government. The discussion below will focus on the innovations separately, with a final discussion on some common traits. Commonalities will be discussed with a focus on partnership, diffusion and scaling up, and finally, sustainability.

The Filur project is based on a highly topical issue - youth unemployment - and a perceived need to develop a model that is targeted towards young unemployed persons in a marginalised position in relation to the labour market, and also to the education system. These young people are sometimes labelled “young outside”. The Filur project can be described as a new way to deliver service, but within the dominant system. Filur is developed and institutionalised within the public sector, and made possible by EU funding. The model that is used in the Filur project is in itself a “mosaic” that comprises a collection of ideas and methods, which are combined and “translated” into a model that is especially adapted to young unemployed persons. This model works more intensely with the target group and with a higher degree of individually adapted measures. The innovative strands are thus limited to fit in with the dominant “working line” within the activation policy that since the 1990s has been the prevailing approach for labour market policy. Participating in Filur is a requirement to receive social welfare allowances.

The second innovation, Children of Single (Lone) Mothers, is an example of an innovation initiated within the civil society and by an organisation known for its entrepreneurial ways of working. *Fryshuset* is a Stockholm-based organisation but with networks and contacts in municipalities in different parts of Sweden. As described above, the Swedish welfare system has opened up to alternative producers of welfare services. A parallel development is that during the last few decades civil society organisations have attracted growing interest and have been granted greater legitimacy from local governments. However, this has resulted in a growing rate of social services produced by CSOs but only to a limited degree. However, there are expectations that CSOs can deliver new solutions for unsolved social problems and help to strengthen the welfare system by filling gaps.

One might argue that the project Children of Single Mothers is more in line with the traditional role of civil society organisations, namely to focus attention on new needs and new groups with needs that are not covered in other ways. A traditional role of these organisations is to be pioneers and to offer services that are not covered by the public sector. Since the start of the organisation, *Fryshuset* has worked as a pioneer and entrepreneur within the field of youth policy.

There are elements of advocacy in this innovation. There is a will from workers in the project, from *Fryshuset*, to raise attention about the issue of child poverty and the situation for unemployed or low-income single mothers. The staff from *Fryshuset* implements this by cooperation with a university college in Stockholm and by giving lectures and seminars to different stakeholders, including politicians. In this way, there is an ambition to contribute to long-term changes for the target group, both concerning the children and the mothers. The project might also shed light on local needs for child care at “uncomfortable” times - for example, night-time child care. This could be an important basis for single mothers to get a job, although many jobs in occupations that are still female-dominated, within health and social care, have “uncomfortable” working hours. Child care in the evenings and at night is currently on the local political agenda in Stockholm.

The third innovation - *Miljardprogrammet* - is a citizen initiative started by a local entrepreneur. *Miljardprogrammet* can be defined as a policy innovation, but it has so far been put into practice only to a limited degree. It has a clear policy orientation and is spread via social media.

The discourses and development lines that have constituted the basis for *Miljardprogrammet* reflect a political consensus about the need to improve the living conditions in the outer suburbs. The political standpoints on how to do this are thus different. One comprehensive proposal is to promote the building of mixed dwellings both in terms of the physical buildings and of types of ownership. Another suggestion is to move workplaces, such as local administrations, from central districts to outer areas. The problem areas that are pointed out are especially the so-called “Million Homes programme” areas. There is a need for long-term development in these areas. Problems here are often related to the population, for example, lack of language skills and high rates of unemployment. These areas are often defined as “immigrant areas”. At the core of *Miljardprogrammet* lies a sharp criticism of how decisions about the areas are taken at municipal and state levels. *Miljardprogrammet* aims to engage people in these areas so they can influence political decisions and their own living conditions. Within this programme, citizen initiatives are encouraged to participate in entrepreneurial activities and co-production. In this way, *Miljardprogrammet* could lay the groundwork for local innovation, but to what extent and in what ways still remains to see.

Partnerships

Partnerships are a feature of all the innovations, but vary in design and extent. The three cases feature both intra- and inter-organisational cooperation. Filur is mainly based on intra-organisational cooperation between units in public administration, but reaches out to employers in different sectors. *Fryshuset*'s funding builds on a mix of grants, endowments, and fees for services that are paid by government agencies but also by co-operational partners, such as private for-profit businesses. *Fryshuset* works with platforms and networks for youth activities and advocacy. *Miljardprogrammet* is a platform for citizen motivation, which builds on networking and contacts between citizens, politicians and different stakeholders involved in neighbourhood revitalisation.

Scaling up and diffusion

Filur is in itself a result of diffusion, i.e. a mosaic of different inspirations and tangible work methods used in other contexts. In our case study, we found no indications of a desire to spread or scale up this concept. A possible explanation for this is that within the public sector there are no incentives, or time, to “sell” an innovation to other stakeholders/places.

During *Fryshuset's* nearly 30-year lifetime, the organisation has had ambitions to spread its know-how and methods to other municipalities. This has partly succeeded, but there have also been many hindrances to spreading locally initiated activities to other places and stakeholders. *Fryshuset's* answer to the problem of diffusion has been to build networks with local entrepreneurial stakeholders and initiatives (Engel 2013).

In *Miljardprogrammet*, scaling up and diffusion are core aspects. The idea is described as a call to unite and inspire people living across the different Million Programme areas in Sweden to take action and start positive processes in their respective neighbourhoods. To spread ideas and inspiration the programme is using social media such as Facebook. At the same time, this means that the programme is dependent on individual engagement and driving forces.

Sustainability

The sustainability of the studied projects is hard to predict and still remains to be seen. The Filur project is described as a success in a report summarising the 3-year duration of the project. This has also been confirmed in an evaluation (Stockholms stad). The work model will therefore be implemented in the ordinary activities of *Jobbtorg* Stockholm.

Fryshuset is a stable organisation with a range of activities based on needs, so as long as the organisation believes there is a need for these activities, which are not covered by other organisations, they will probably find ways to finance them and continue. One way for *Fryshuset* to achieve sustainability is through inter-sectoral and multi-sectoral partnerships with the public and the private sector.

Miljardprogrammet is a platform for citizens' involvement and, therefore, as described above, is heavily dependent on citizen engagement for its maintenance. Therefore, the long-term outcome and sustainability remain to be seen. However, the issues that *Miljardprogrammet* is addressing will probably remain matters for public debate for the near future.

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