

Large Housing Estates in Sweden

Policies and practices

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RESTATE report 3i

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RESTATE
Restructuring Large-scale Housing Estates in European Cities:
Good Practices and New Visions for Sustainable Neighbourhoods and Cities

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RESTATE

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RESTATE is the acronym for 'Restructuring Large-scale Housing Estates in European Cities: Good Practices and New Visions for Sustainable Neighbourhoods and Cities'. In this project we focus on large housing estates built in the post-WWII period in ten European countries. The final objective of RESTATE is to produce a comprehensive, evidence based handbook, which draws on the experience in different European cities and sets out alternative, forward looking scenarios and new visions for large-scale post-WWII housing estates in Europe. This handbook will be produced in 2005.

Before the handbook can be written, a number of reports and papers will be published. This paper is one of them. The aim of the paper is to answer the following sets of questions:

- What is the philosophy behind the different existing policies with regard to large-scale housing estates in Sweden, specifically in the cities of Stockholm and Jönköping? What are the main aims? What are the main activities included in the policies and what is the balance between these activities?
- How are these policies organised? Who participates in the policy and who has decided about this participation? Can the policy be seen as a top-down or as a bottom-up process? What are the advantages and the disadvantages of these approaches? Has the policy, the way that it is organised and the way that it is perceived by residents and others changed over the time period that it has been in place?

These questions are essential to find out in order to analyse similarities and differences between the countries involved in this research. The papers that have been written by each country can be found at www.restate.geog.uu.nl.

In Sweden we have focused on two post-war housing estates in Stockholm (Tensta, Husby) and two in Jönköping (Råslätt, Öxnehaga). Multi-family housing (low-rise and some high-rise) in the public rented sector predominates these areas, and the areas show high numbers of ethnic minorities, primarily refugees. Several social problems/issues are publicly discussed in relation to the estates: under-employment, a high number of people depending on social welfare, lack of inter-ethnic interaction (ethnic segregation), school performances, safety issues, gender issues, over-crowding, etc.

To answer the questions mentioned above we have analysed reports and memorandums, written by, for example, state and municipality organisations and evaluation teams. We have interviewed a number of stakeholders in the neighbourhoods, at the municipal level, and at the level of central government. In total we have interviewed about 50 people, varying from ministers, and mayors and policy coordinators at the city level, to representatives for housing

companies and people working in the respective neighbourhoods. Also, virtual meetings (discussions through the internet) have been held with a group of international urban representatives of the countries in the RESTATE project.

The subsequent Chapter 2 provides a broad outline of some important national frameworks, such as the division of responsibility between different political and administrative levels, the historical development of housing regeneration policies and the structure of the Metropolitan Development Initiative (Storstadssatsningen). Subsequent chapters focus on different aspects of the policies and practices in our research neighbourhoods. Attention is paid to the main aims of the policies, the main activities, the way policies and actions are organised (who participates?) and the advantages and disadvantages of the policies and actions. We have chosen to discuss these policies in the perspective of each city, starting with Stockholm in Chapter 3 and followed by Jönköping in Chapter 4. Both chapters include summarising evaluations of the policies affecting respectively the city and the cities' estates. Chapter 5 provides some more condensed answers to the research questions guiding the Swedish part of the RESTATE research programme.

2 The relevant policies: a background and overview

2.1 General-selective and state-municipal policies

Policies on large housing estates could be either general or selective. By general we mean 'normal politics', which can and do influence many crucial aspects of the possibilities and restrictions for estate restructuring as well as the everyday life of their residents. It is often the case that money spent by different public institutions in their ordinary budgets affects different households and particular neighbourhoods in different ways and that changing the priorities within general policy fields – such as education, labour market, care for elderly and for children, state taxation etc. – can be of much greater importance for large housing estates than more selective, area-based interventions. However, general policies could also be specifically aimed at a particular housing segment, such as owner occupiers, public housing companies, or cooperative housing associations. If rules apply on a country-wide basis for all who are targeted by a specific policy it should still be regarded as being general in character.

Furthermore, we believe that it is crucial to distinguish between state and municipal policies, although the state can sometimes have strong influence on municipal policies (by regulating their duties and affecting their financial strength). In those countries that have relatively autonomous local governments (with for instance direct taxation rights), the municipalities might launch policies that have great impact on large housing estates within their territories. Sweden is such a country, having long historical traditions of autonomous local governments. The municipalities have the right to impose taxation and can in principle take free decisions concerning the local tax rate. Citizens pay income tax to the municipality in which they live (an average of 20.7 per cent in 2003) (www.svekom.se/adr/statis/ekonomi.htm/, visited on the 15th of December, 2003). At the regional level the county councils have the same rights (on average they tax 10.5 per cent on income) and these two bodies together run most welfare services in Sweden. In Table 2.1 we have not distinguished between municipalities and county councils. The reason is that the municipalities have a much greater role in relation to physical planning and social policies vis-à-vis particular residential areas. However, county councils

Table 2.1 – Policy types and policy levels

Policy type	State	Municipal
General	1	2
Selective	3	4

Source: own research, 2004

might be directly involved as partners in policies of all four types identified in Table 2.1 and in theory they can also launch their own initiatives.

This means that the democratic system in Sweden comprises three levels: the Parliament (Riksdagen), the county councils (21) and local authorities (290 municipalities). The number of municipalities decreased by some 90 per cent between the early 1950s and the mid-1970s. Alongside Romania, this places Sweden in a top position in Europe in terms of post-war municipal amalgamations (Nielsen, 2003). The dominant reason for the radical amalgamations was to increase efficiency in the wake of more demands being put on local authorities. Democratic arguments such as the risk of increasing the distance between the elected and the electorate were regarded to be of relatively less importance compared to efficiency arguments.

During the late 20th century, Sweden went through several changes in the political-administrative structure; some of these changes led to centralisation of power and influence and others to decentralisation. Probably most important was that the country became a member of the European Union in 1995 (centralisation of certain functions) and that the state rearranged its relations with the municipalities (mainly in the direction of decentralising functions).

Partly due to the amalgamation reforms, the 1990s also brought with it intra-municipal administrative changes, such as the setting up of a new tier in many large and middle-sized municipalities and the establishment of municipal district councils (stadsdelsreformer). This was a reform that was carried out with reference to the perception that local government was getting overloaded and too complex (once again an efficiency argument) and that decision-making was too centralised (democratic argument). This particular reform (decided independently by each municipality) can thus be seen as local attempts to increase the level of democracy and trust. But the reform was also a direct consequence of an economic crisis. Local authorities had to reduce their expenditures as the state placed more assignments and responsibilities on local authorities without providing them with adequate funding. Many politicians argued that the necessary priorities should be done closer to the citizens. Stockholm established a municipal district organisation in 1997 while Jönköping has not engaged in such a reform.

There are around 300 national boards in Sweden. Each one is subordinated by the government in terms of guidelines, rules and directives, but enjoy a rather high degree of autonomy. A government minister, for example, is not allowed to intervene in a particular case of a state board affecting for instance a citizen or a group of citizens. 'The state' is therefore not a homogenous body but quite often the opposite is the case: the state can be both fragmented and badly coordinated. Sometimes state policy in one field could be in conflict with state policies in other fields. Seen from the perspective of a particular housing estate this is a quite normal situation.

The assignment of the regional counties is primarily to provide health care. The counties are also in charge of the planning of dental care, which is supplied by both public institutions and private firms. Furthermore, together with the municipalities the counties are responsible for the public transportation system, and they develop policies for promoting regional growth. Lastly, the counties support cultural and tourism activities.

The municipalities are responsible for the elementary and secondary school system, the day nurseries (kindergartens), care of the elderly, roads and infrastructure, supply of electricity, water and the waste and sewage systems. The municipalities are also responsible for physical planning, for promoting industrial development and they decide on new constructions.

According to 'the special regulated competence', the municipalities are committed to provide service in different areas. Example of such areas are the Compulsory School Curriculum Act (skollagen), the Social Services Act (socialtjänstlagen), the Environmental Code (miljöbalken), the Planning and Building Act (plan och bygglagen), the Health and Medical Services Act (hälso- och sjukvårdslagen), etc.

The municipalities have a significant role with respect to the formation of policies concerning large housing estates in Sweden. This is due to the high degree of autonomy of the municipalities. State initiatives are mostly oriented towards national programmes for financial support that actors at the local level can apply for (type 1 in Table 2.1) but state programmes of type 3 have been developed more often in recent years. One such programme, the Metropolitan Development Initiative (MDI), will be discussed more in detail later on in this chapter and in the Stockholm part of this policy analysis.

Both the Stockholm and the Jönköping estates have been and still are affected by general state policies (type 1) and by general and selective municipal interventions (type 2 and 4 in Table 2.1). Stockholm has also been targeted by the MDI and its forerunners (type 3).

In the remaining parts of this chapter we continue to focus on the national level and we put emphasis on policies concerning housing and the built environment and employment policies (type 1 and partly type 3 in Table 2.1). While state policies in other policy fields (education, safety, etc.) can be important in relation to the estates, we judge that the most important policies concerning such issues are formulated and carried out by the municipalities and they will therefore be dealt with in Chapter 3 (Stockholm) and 4 (Jönköping).

2.2 A brief overview of housing regeneration policies in Sweden 1945-1995

Elander (1995 and 1999) provides us with a good overview of housing regeneration policies in Sweden. He identifies three stages, which will be briefly mentioned here although they primarily focus on physical restructuring policies: (1) *'The politics of inner-city slum clearance'* (1940s to 1960s), (2) *'From slum clearance to housing renewal, urban renewal and cautious regeneration'* (1970s and 1980s), and (3) *'Housing policy in question'* (1990s). As the inner-city slum clearance policy more or less predated the construction of the large housing estates one might assume that it has less relevance for estate regeneration policies. However, the slum clearance was related to the 'construction' of the large housing estates because the policy reduced the number of inner city dwellings at a time when cities grew rapidly and the need for new housing increased. The period also laid the foundation for much of the Swedish post-war housing policies, including giving the municipalities more effective measures to plan, initiate and manage housing development. These were the most formative years of the Swedish model, including setting up and expanding the role of municipal housing companies.

Thus, like in many other countries, post-war urban and housing renewal in Sweden started as a policy of inner city slum clearance and demolition with the effect of displacing many of the original occupants, mostly living in privately owned multi-family houses. Already in the mid 1970s the modernisation efforts had led to a situation where two-thirds of all multi-family housing in Sweden were built after the Second World War. Regeneration policies soon became mainly targeted at this part of the housing stock, commonly owned by municipal housing companies, and located on the periphery of the city. By the end of the 1970s, partially

as a result of citizen protests and partially inspired by the European urban renewal campaign, regeneration took a softer direction, and was at the same time spreading to newer estates (Elander, 1995).

With the successful implementation of the so-called 'Million Programme (MP)' during the period 1965-1974, housing shortages in Sweden had essentially disappeared and investments in the housing sector were reoriented towards rebuilding, renewal and extension.

Following Priemus and Metselaar (1992), urban renewal encompasses a broad set of policies, for instance physical planning, housing policy and building policy but increasingly also other fields of policy. Their observation gains further strength from the fact that urban renewal policy above all is municipal policy with all its local variations. In their international outlook, Sweden was one of the countries that the two authors found to be lacking an explicit, comprehensive urban renewal policy. Nevertheless, Elander (1995 and 1999) provides us with the following conclusions concerning the objectives, instruments used, and outcomes of Swedish renewal policies.¹

2.2.1 Objectives

- Renewal in the 1950s and 1960s was mainly area based and targeted at older inner city blocks of houses; later on at younger, more or less peripheral multi-dwelling estates.
- Renewal has not been explicitly targeted at special groups of the population, although in practice it did sometimes result in gentrification (with regard to inner city blocks), or 'turn around' on parts of the more peripheral estates, mostly owned by the municipal housing companies (Vidén and Lundahl, 1992). Conversely, other estates have at the same time experienced a tendency towards residualisation, i.e. qualitative deterioration and an increasing proportion of low income, unemployed, disabled and elderly tenants in the public housing stock. Concentration of immigrants on certain estates at the end of the 1980s became shocking to many politicians, housing managers and researchers, and expressions such as 'ghettoisation' and 'Liverpoolisation', earlier unheard of in the Swedish debate entered the arena (Öresjö, 1994).
- Since the mid-1980s priority was increasingly given to renewal of multi-dwelling estates owned by municipal housing companies and facing a concentration of social problems. Originally, renewal was overwhelmingly physical in character, resulting in radical changes in the affected buildings and their environments, while in the 1980s a softer approach became more common, taking into account not only physical but also social and cultural aspects, and also giving the residents more of a say in the renewal process. Although some of the measures were earmarked for better energy use or accessibility (e.g. installation of lifts), comprehensive renewal was favoured through comparatively more generous subsidies given to larger projects.

Of course, the rising building costs, the high interest rate until the late 1990s, and the generally worsened economic situation in Sweden are factors that strongly contributed to cooling down the demand for investments in the building sector. Thus, in the 1990s government programmes

¹ This section is based on Ingemar Elander's input to the UGIS evaluation report (Andersson and Palander, 2002). The sources are Elander 1995 and 1999.

to boost renewal initiatives were planted in a much harsher climate than similar programmes ten years earlier.

2.2.2 Instruments

- Carrot rather than stick was commonly used by the central government when it came to stimulating housing rehabilitation, although loans and subsidies were accompanied by quite detailed building norms and rules. The role of local authorities was to provide a general framework for renewal through plans and to give building permits according to rules laid down by the National Board of Housing.
- In formal terms as well as in practice, coordination of various kinds of actors was a precondition for rehabilitation to be implemented. Thus, private, cooperative and public landlords commonly worked with local government professionals in specific rehabilitation projects that also included local tenants' committees or groups of tenants organised on an ad hoc basis.
- The amount of capital put into renewal of multi-dwelling buildings may often have been a little exaggerated as many landlords have probably redefined a part of their maintenance as equal to renewal in order to be eligible for state support.

Compared to many other countries, Sweden has had a very comprehensive system of loans and subsidies. Thus more than 90 per cent of all housing produced in Sweden from 1946 to 1985 involved state loans (Niva, 1989), and there have been very few cases of housing renewal that have not attained state support (Hansen and Skifter Andersen, 1993).

2.2.3 Outcomes

In 1985, due to the renovation activities during the 1970s and early 1980s, only 5 per cent of all dwellings in Sweden fell below a basic modern standard. For example, the number of dwellings lacking toilet, bath and central heating was marginal. Thus, the purely physical reasons for renewal during the 1980s and 1990s were quite minor. On the other hand, the level of ambition in national and local policies rose, as indicated by such goals as adaptation of flats for the disabled, installation of lifts, energy conservation, improvement of the climate in dwellings, and minimisation of the degree of radon. In brief, common physical outcomes of restoration were: fusion of smaller dwellings, increasing number of rooms per dwelling, installation of lifts, installation of district heating, exchange of equipment in kitchen and bathroom and installation of three glass windows. Although it has for about 30 years been permissible to deviate from the concept 'lowest acceptable standard', in practice renovation has often followed the norms to be applied in new construction, thus causing physical change that has neither been necessary for technical reasons, nor in line with the demands of the residents (Blomberg and Vidén, 1985; Öresjö, 1993). To be honest, however, in the 1990s careful rehabilitation took a stronger position in the housing policy debate – and sometimes also in practice – than ever before during the post-war era, as illustrated by a number of rewards given to showpiece cases (Planera, Bygga, Bo, 1994).

Most of these national housing renewal policies have been of a general type (type 1 in Table 2.1) in the sense that the carrots used have encouraged many municipalities and housing companies to engage in certain types of physical restructuring projects. However, there have also been more selective state programmes focusing more directly on the situation in the

larger estates (type 3 in Table 2.1). This first programme was the ‘Social Housing Delegation’ (1975-1978), established immediately after the completion of the Million Programme. In the middle of the 1970s the so-called ‘environmental subsidy’ was introduced. This type of subsidy was present during a period of ten years and could be used for creating playgrounds, plantations, parks, and joint facilities, etc. In 1986 this subsidy was succeeded by a new subsidy for physical renewal destined to areas with social problems and with vacancies, owned by municipal housing companies. Along with other forms of subsidies for physical renewal, this policy resulted in large-scale turn-around projects in the late 1980s. The effect of this policy has been criticised in the Swedish debate on housing policy, for example by residents (Öresjö, 1996a). In addition there are also a number of selective programmes within the social policy area. These programmes are attached to the community work tradition with strategies such as ‘community organisation’, ‘community development’, ‘social planning’ and ‘social/community action’. These initiatives have been guided by a clear objective to apply a ‘bottom-up’ approach. This means that a municipality or a housing company usually has to serve as the principal actor in applications to the state for the funding of certain projects. It is also normally the situation that projects should be co-funded by a municipality or other local actors and that projects have to be approved by or at least discussed with the residents (Lahti Edmark, 2002).

2.3 The present area-based intervention

While the policies discussed so far have affected residential areas, and in particular certain types of residential areas, throughout Sweden the 1990s resulted in a dismantling of many general housing policies and the introduction of more selective measures aiming at particular housing estates. With respect to the two Swedish cities involved in the RESTATE project such selective state measures have been of significant importance in Stockholm but not in Jönköping.

Sweden did not have a specific policy for the metropolitan areas until 1998. The country has a long tradition of regional policies, initiated to support sparsely populated parts of the country that lagged behind in terms of population development and economic growth. However, in the 1990s the need for a specific metropolitan/urban policy became evident. This development has been analysed elsewhere (for instance in Andersson, 1999 and 2001 as well as in our RESTATE background report, Andersson et al., 2003) but it must be pointed out that several factors have to be taken into account when trying to explain the origins of this new policy field: the existence of urban policies in other European countries (policy diffusion), a more positive view on the role of large urban areas for economic growth in the country (connected to the expansion of knowledge-related businesses), increasing problems related to social polarisation and residential segregation in the big cities, and the influx of several hundreds of thousands of refugees who settled in suburban housing estates and who faced severe integration problems (social exclusion).

The Big Cities Policy does not only focus on economic growth, it also focuses on integration. The name of the government bill on metropolitan areas shows that the integration aspect was as important as economic growth. Directly translated it would be ‘Development and justice – A policy for metropolitan areas in the 21st century’. In accordance to its name the policy has two primary goals: to create economic growth and to combat economic, social and ethnic

The Metropolitan Development Initiative

The goals of the metropolitan policy are:

- to provide the foundations for sustainable growth in the metropolitan regions: in this way, metropolitan policy should be able to contribute to the creation of new employment opportunities in both the metropolitan regions and the country at large;
- to stop social, ethnic and discriminating segregation in the metropolitan regions, and to work for equal and comparable living conditions for people living in the cities.

The first goal* can be broken down into more concrete objectives:

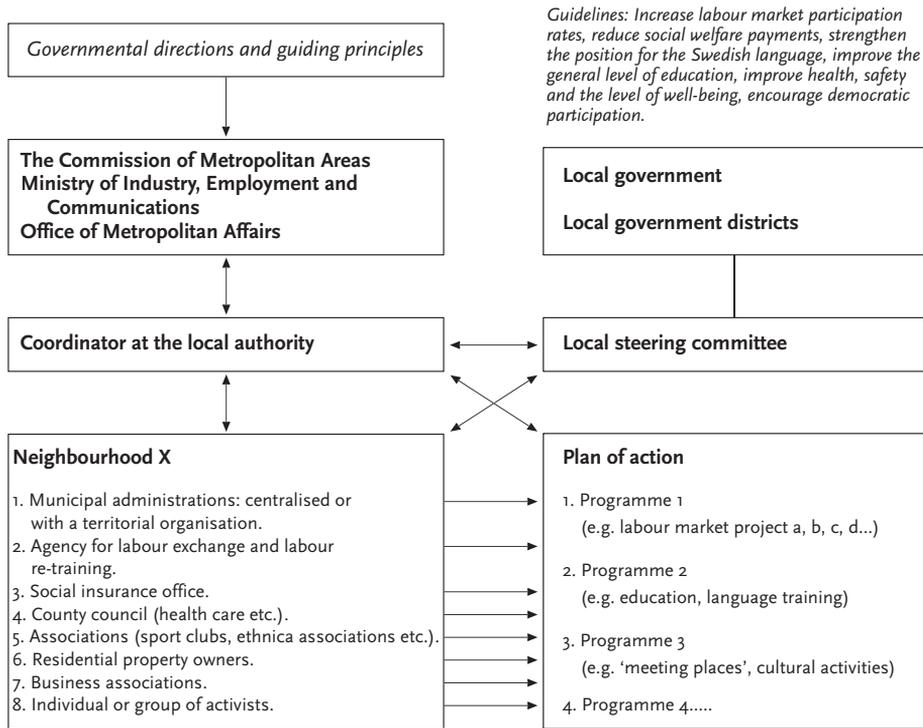
- Sweden's metropolitan regions should be able to compete with other European metropolitan regions for business establishment and investment.
- Sweden's metropolitan regions should have access to a qualified workforce whose skills match the needs of the region's business sector and public sector activities.
- Government business sector measures should be adapted to a greater extent than at present to the conditions and requirements of the respective regions.
- Sweden's metropolitan regions should safeguard and increase their attractiveness.

The second goal can be defined in terms of an analysis of existing inequalities and injustices, and an analysis of the factors that need to be altered in order to create equal living conditions. However, the government believes that the following long-term goals are of particular importance in order to stop segregation and create equal living conditions in the cities:

- Employment rates in socially disadvantaged housing areas should be raised for both men and women.
- Benefit dependency should be reduced.
- The position of the Swedish language should be strengthened among both young people and adults.
- All school students should be given the opportunity to reach secondary school attainment levels. It is vital that no student leaves secondary school (up to 16) without an adequate knowledge of Swedish/Swedish as a second language, English and mathematics.
- The educational level of the adult population should be raised; those who have not completed their upper secondary school (up to 18) or equivalent should be given the opportunity to do so.
- All city neighbourhoods should be experienced as attractive and safe by the people who live there, and provide sound and healthy living environments.
- Public health should be improved, both as measured in terms of health statistics and subjective assessments.
- Democratic participation should increase in the disadvantaged neighbourhoods.

* Note that the area-based approach is used only in relation to the second goal and that the Stockholm RESTATE research team does not focus on the first goal. Jönköping does not take part in the MDI.

Source: www.storstad.gov.se/english/policy.htm, visited on the 16th of April, 2002



The planning process should prioritise grassroots perspectives (a 'bottom-up approach') and be characterised by a comprehensive view of the local problems and the inhabitants. Furthermore, the plan of action should be well coordinated.

Bottom-up

Comprehensiveness

Coordination

Source: Modified version based on Andersson, 1999. Note that the Office of Metropolitan Affairs was relocated to the Ministry of Justice after the September 2002 general elections. However, the minister in charge is still the same.

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Figure 2.1 – General structure of governmental involvement in local development planning in poor ('exposed') neighbourhoods 2000–2003

discrimination and segregation. Many assert that the policy initially tended to focus on economic growth, but in the implementation phase of the policy the integration and justice perspective definitely became more important in terms of funding, concrete programmes and media coverage.

In 1999, a new body – the Commission on Metropolitan Areas – was set up to develop and coordinate the newly-established national urban policy (Regeringens proposition, 1997/1998). In the government decision of 21 January, it was stated that this new commission would comprise the secretaries of state of seven ministries (justice, social affairs, finance, education, culture, industry, and the environment) and that it would have its home base at the Ministry of Culture. The commission has two main objectives: firstly, to promote economic growth

and better planning methods in the metropolitan areas and, secondly, to represent the state in negotiating Local Development Agreements (LDAs) with seven selected metropolitan municipalities. The LDAs involve a total of 24 poor and immigrant-dense neighbourhoods in these seven municipalities (Stockholm, Botkyrka, Haninge, Huddinge and Södertälje in the Stockholm region plus Gothenburg and Malmö), that were to share SEK 2 billion (EUR 220 million) over a three-year period (1999-2002) (Regeringsbeslut 21 januari 1999, Tillsättande av en storstadsdelegation). The local development agreements were negotiated over a couple of years. Gothenburg was the last to sign (March, 2001) and Stockholm was the first (October, 1999). This also means that the programme will end at different points in time, in the Gothenburg case the agreement lasts until 2005.

On 28 October 1999, the first (then still preliminary) LDA was signed by the city of Stockholm and the government (Ministry of Culture, 1999). The agreement concerned five neighbourhoods (housing estates) in Stockholm (Husby, Tensta and Rinkeby in the north-western part and Rågsved and Skärholmen in the southern/south-western part of the city). Seven main objectives for improvement were listed in the agreement: labour market integration, competence in Swedish, school performance, health, democracy/participation, security and well-being, and public and commercial services. Lastly, the agreement also stated that the costs for carrying out the programmes and projects shall be divided on a 50/50 basis between the state and the municipality.

Figure 2.1 summarises the present policy in terms of administrative structure, aims, guidelines and key actors. It can be noted that the ministry in charge of the programme has changed over a period of time. The programme had a couple of forerunners of a more experimental character and with less amount of money available for certain projects. When the first initiative was taken in 1995 it was located within the Ministry of Labour (1995), then the Ministry of Interior (1996-1998), the Ministry of Culture (1998-2000), the Ministry of Industry, Employment and Communications (2000-2002). The MDI responsibility is now placed on the Ministry of Justice, which coordinates both the Commission on Metropolitan Areas and the Local Development Agreements in its Office of Metropolitan Affairs.

Due to variations in the content of the local development agreements, we discuss the Stockholm agreement more in detail in the Stockholm chapter of this report.

2.4 Description of the estates

2.4.1 Tensta

About 10 kilometres northwest of downtown Stockholm the Tensta housing estate is situated. Together with its nationally and internationally more well-known adjacent neighbourhood Rinkeby, it forms the southern part of 'Järvafältet' (the Järva Field). In the beginning of the 1960s, the Järva Field had a rural character with only a few houses, and a substantial part of the Järva Field had been in use for military purposes. Stockholm City bought the land from the state and in January 1964, the Stockholm planning authority presented a general plan for the southern part of the field (Ferenius, 2000). According to the plan the area should be transformed into a modern suburb with housing for 30,000 people and 4,500 new workplaces. This was said to be the first stage in a long-term plan for the Järva Field, which aimed at new housing for 150,000 inhabitants. Akalla, Husby and Kista (see sections below) on the northern

fringe of the Järva Field were later to become the second phase in this modern colonisation process.

The planning principle guiding the general plan for the southern part of Järva was to form large but concentrated housing estates around a centre having subway connections and different kinds of services. The estates were planned to be dispersed over the large green field, leaving much green spaces in between. Internally, the blocks are organised in right-angled systems and the blocks are large. High-rise houses are placed along the passing highway (E18), but in perspective of what was considered to be high-rise at the time, they have a modest height of six-storey houses. Elsewhere, houses are lower but placed rather densely. Traffic separation is another key feature. The subway is of course underground. The ground level is planned for the cars. People walk and bike on separate paths. The entire concept in the general plan presupposed high ambitions in the actual detail planning and construction process in order to achieve variations in building styles. However, the latter failed in many ways.

Tensta has now close to 6,000 dwellings, with two-thirds of them being either one- or two-bedroom flats. Public housing companies own two-thirds of the dwellings, and most of the remaining flats are cooperative housing. The estate has a low employment rate, many residents rely upon social welfare, many have a low level of education, and until recent years the turnover has been high, with some 2,000 out of 16,000-17,000 people arriving in and leaving Tensta each year. In the period 1990-1995, half the 1990 population left the area, compared to a Stockholm neighbourhood average of 37 per cent. Tensta is one of the main points of entry to the Stockholm housing market, in particular for foreign-born refugees.

Tensta has been targeted by several municipal and state-initiated development programmes comprising both physical and socio-economic measures. During recent years the estate has taken part in the Metropolitan Development Initiative, funded by the state, and the Outer City Initiative (co-funded by Stockholm City and its public housing companies). The lion's share of the money has been spent on labour market and educational programmes.

2.4.2 Husby

The Husby housing estate is part of the Kista district authority in the northwestern part of Stockholm City. Kista borough consists of three residential districts – Akalla, Husby and Kista. Like in Tensta, the entire area used to be a green-field area, forming the northern part of the Järva Field. It was planned in the beginning of the 1970s, but completed just after the Million Programme period: Husby in 1975, Akalla in 1976 and Kista in 1977. All three residential parts of Kista are connected to the Stockholm subway system and each has its own station, located in the shopping centre where one also finds many types of administrative and public service facilities.

The Kista part of the borough is a result of an attempt to co-localise work, housing, service and collective transportation facilities. East of its shopping centre one finds an industrial district which is the home base for many leading Swedish and international firms in the electronics and IT business (Ericsson, IBM, Hewlett-Packard, ICL, Apple, just to mention a handful of many hundreds of firms). Kista, in contrast to the neighbouring estates Husby and Akalla, has a population which is primarily Swedish-born, on average better educated and rather well-paid.

The two remaining parts of Kista borough both have more rental housing (especially Husby), less industrial activities, and a poorer population. The Husby estate is situated between Kista and Akalla and it is the largest area of the three in terms of population numbers (11,500).

Husby, like Tensta, has taken part in the Metropolitan Development Initiative and the Outer City Initiative and the extra resources allocated to the municipal district have had a similar profile (labour market matching programmes, educational efforts for the adult population as well as for the children, and other social and cultural measures. The Outer City Initiative has primarily contained rather small-scale physical restructurings worked out within a participatory framework.

2.4.3 Råslätt

Råslätt is a large suburban housing estate, built between 1966 and 1972. The whole housing stock is owned by a municipal housing company and consists of 30 similar six- to eight-storey buildings with 2,657 apartments. An extensive area of fields and forest for walking and recreation surrounds the housing estate. The area has about 4,400 inhabitants, most of whom have a low income and many of whom are unemployed. More than 50 per cent have an immigrant background.

Råslätt is one of the examples of a large suburban area, built during the Million Programme. The programme had only been in progress for a few years, however, when a critical debate was sparked off. In 1975, the government appointed a committee to propose solutions for suburbs with problems. Råslätt was one of the suburbs where the government-induced pilot projects aiming at improving the situation in problem-ridden housing areas were introduced. Over a 15 year period this project together with various types of continuous actions and programmes created a very positive development spiral in Råslätt.

However, at the beginning of the 1990s it was obvious that Råslätt, like many other large housing estates in Sweden, was again facing a very difficult situation. One of the roots of this downward trend was a new and very complicated immigrant situation. In order to offset a negative development spiral in Råslätt, the municipality of Jönköping and the municipal housing company started a comprehensive project-programme in 1996 which continues at present. It is directly controlled by the city commissioner and is focused on increasing employment, improving knowledge of Swedish and rebuilding the shopping centre.

2.4.4 Öxnehaga

Öxnehaga is situated in the eastern part of the Jönköping municipality and was built during the years 1969-1978. Öxnehaga is not a typical large housing estate from the Million Programme. In the centre of the estate there are blocks of flats and in the southern and the northern parts there are areas with cooperatives and single-family houses. The blocks of flats and the centre of the estate are owned by a municipal housing company. The total number of dwellings in Öxnehaga is 2,041 of which 1,393 are rental flats in the blocks of flats, and 99 flats are special accommodations for the elderly people. In 2001 the housing estate had 5,325 inhabitants. A significant share of them have an immigrant background. The same is valid for the figures that illustrate unemployment and dependence on different kinds of allowances.

Öxnehaga is located very beautifully on a hillside with a magnificent view to the north over Lake Vättern. The area was very attractive at the time when it was built. Later on the reputation of the blocks of flats significantly degenerated partly on account of inferior (relatively)

housing standards, partly because of problems in the organisation of the housing service and management. The area, owned by the municipal housing company, has been renovated in several stages during the years 1985-1994 and the number of flats was reduced from 1,605 to 1,393. The buildings were interiorly and exteriorly redone. The roofs were changed, the open staircases were closed in, the flats were insulated and, in some of the buildings, elevators were installed. The costs for this rebuilding were very high. The situation of the poor standard of construction of the buildings has improved but there are still some physical problems with the blocks of flats. There needs to be additional renovation work done. The turnover rates are low in the single-family areas and in the cooperatives, but higher in the blocks of flats. Since 2001, there have been no empty flats in the area.

3 The Stockholm cases

The two large housing estates in focus of the Stockholm study are located in the northwestern section of Stockholm City, about 10 km from the city centre. They were constructed as a part of (Tensta), or just after (Husby), a large-scale housing construction scheme: the Million Programme (1965-1974). Tensta has been one of the poorest districts in the country ever since it was constructed, while social conditions in Husby deteriorated during the 1980s. Today they share many basic socio-economic characteristics, such as low-labour market participation rates, high immigrant (refugee) densities, problems related to health conditions and school performances. Physically, both the neighbourhoods and the dwellings are of a fairly good quality, viewed from a wider international perspective.

This chapter focuses on the policy aspects regarding interventions in Tensta and Husby. The aims are to introduce the relevant policies and to identify the philosophies behind policies that we believe affect these estates. The report furthermore explains the aims of the policies and how they are organised as well as give an overview of the methods and activities launched in order to implement certain policies. The analysis of the policies also includes an attempt to reveal who participates in the activities and especially if key policies are structured top-down or bottom-up and what the advantages and disadvantages of these approaches might be.

As we have described in the introduction, the main method used in this research report is face-to-face interviews, following a questionnaire used in all the RESTATE countries. The interviewees are not only politicians responsible for initiating the policies we discuss but also other actors that either are affected by the policies or actors that have taken part in the implementation of the policies or policy programmes at the local level. In Stockholm, a total of 22 interviews has been conducted with at least one actor representing each of the following five policy fields: housing and the built environment, employment and economy, education and skills, safety and health, and well-being. All interviews have been taped. The interviewees have all different types of responsibilities, ranging from government ministers to residents in the estates. Some of the interviewed have positions and knowledge that make them relevant for more than just one policy field.

Other sources for the report are of course public documents and also existing evaluations concerning the policies and sometimes single projects, as well as other types of written material on the subject.

3.1 Political and structural changes in Stockholm

Stockholm is the biggest municipality in Sweden and the district reform briefly discussed in Chapter 1 divided Stockholm into 18 districts councils primarily with reference to democratic arguments (Le Galès, 2002). Today, three quarters of the city's financial resources are passed on to the districts. Like elsewhere, the districts are said to '*have better qualifications to determine how to use resources, since they are placed closer to the inhabitants*' (www2.stockholm.se/english/, visited on the 4th of November, 2003).

The reform in Stockholm was initiated very late compared to similar reforms in some other cities (for instance Göteborg) and was not fully implemented until 1997. This was without a doubt an important decentralisation process, which also can be seen as an important step in the 'government to governance' direction. Since the establishment of local district councils, several of these (and not least the district councils in our case studies) have developed partnership-like structures both to expand their budgets and to decrease costs.

One effect of the membership in the European Union is that individuals have an opportunity to bypass both the national and local governments and turn directly to the European Union. One implication of this in the estates is that individuals and associations can initiate their own projects and seek funds from the EU. This has been quite common especially in employment and education policies.

For the Stockholm case it is important to note that the political balance tends to swing in each municipal election.² The city hall had a bourgeois majority in the early 1990s. In the mid-1990s (1994-1998), the left (Social Democrats, the Socialist and the Green Party) formed a majority government. The 1998 election led to a swing, bringing a liberal-conservative local government into power. In many ways, this regime introduced reforms that broke with elements that were regarded to be part of 'the Swedish model' (selling out part of the municipal housing stock, introducing private alternatives in many welfare sectors, including the schools and institutions that care for the children and the elderly).

'This tension is equally strong in Stockholm, where the mayor is not an anonymously interchangeable politician but a major political figure, transforming local government management, spearheading privatisation. This mayor has also initiated local management reforms, introducing market logics into the provision of public transport; he wants to make his city the European information and communication technology capital and is playing an active role in European networks of cities, devising and defending a development plan for the city council' (Le Galès, 2002, p. 243).

These policy shifts in the biggest city were rather irritating for the national government, which was Social Democratic at that time. However, the 2002 election once again resulted in

2 The city council is the supreme decision-making body of the city of Stockholm. The city council consists of 101 members. Municipal elections are held every fourth year in conjunction with the county council and parliamentary elections. In the most recent municipal election held in September 2002, participation was slightly more than 78 per cent. Distribution of seats (101): the Moderate Party (27), the Social Democratic Party (35), the Left Party (11), the Liberal Party (17), the Christian Democratic Party (5) and the Green Party (6).

The city council determines the rate of municipal tax to be levied and the level of fees to be charged and approves the budget and the returns required from each of its respective committees and corporations. As a rule, the city council meets twice a month and all the meetings are open to the public (www2.stockholm.se/english/, (governing the municipality), visited on the 27th of November, 2003).

a majority change in Stockholm City (but not in the Swedish parliament), and the new red-green majority in the city hall will definitely try to reverse or change some of the bourgeois reforms. As many of the residents in poorer estates vote for one of the leftist parties (if they vote; voting participation is low (around 50 per cent) in these estates) the general opinion is that leftist political parties are less pre-occupied with inner-city policy issues and that issues related to housing for the poorer part of the population are placed a bit higher on their political agenda. However, severe budget constraints now face the new majority and this will probably put important limits on any proposal to change both the amount of resources going to poorer districts and the initiation of new interventions in the large housing estates.

3.2 The Big Cities Policy and the municipal initiative

The most relevant policy for the case study estates in Stockholm is the Big Cities Policy (storstadspolitiken), officially labelled 'The Metropolitan Development Initiative' (MDI); (see Section 2.1).

The Metropolitan Development Initiative addresses social, economic, educational and health-related problems in so-called 'exposed residential areas' (utsatta bostadsområden), and it is carried out through Local Development Agreements (Lokala utvecklingsavtal) between the state (Office of Metropolitan Affairs at the Ministry of Justice) and the targeted municipalities. Each agreement requires a co-funding setup (on a 50/50 basis), whereby the municipality agrees to put an equal amount of *extra* resources into the targeted neighbourhoods. The co-funding arrangements vary from municipality to municipality but for Stockholm it contains two parts. When introducing the municipal district reform in 1997, Stockholm City developed a resource allocation system (resursfördelnings system), which ensures districts having a relatively poor population more resources per inhabitant compared to more well-off districts. When the Local Development Agreement was negotiated, the city argued that this should be regarded to be part of the co-funding setup, an argument that was accepted. Furthermore, Stockholm City introduced its own area-based programme for improving living conditions in the relatively poor estates already in 1996, an initiative that was called 'the Outer City Initiative' (OCI/Ytterstadssatsningen). This municipal programme was co-funded by the city itself and its three public housing companies. As a second component, the city of Stockholm argued that the OCI should be regarded as a municipal effort in the same neighbourhoods as were to be targeted by the state MDI programme. Also this argument was accepted by the state and the resulting agreement thereby comprises three elements: extra resources provided by the state for five selected housing estates (including Tensta and Husby), the OCI and finally the resource allocation system. Whether or not this should be seen as one, two or three different programmes is not clear but we have put some efforts into analysing at least parts of these components separately.

The state area-based programme (the MDI) placed employment and educational issues at the top of the agenda. The municipality's programme focused primarily on physical measures. The municipal OCI programme ended in 2003 and the MDI will undergo substantial changes (in terms of extra state money to particular project activities it ends in 2003 but the government now signals that the different state boards that play crucial roles in the neighbourhoods – for instance the Labour Office – will be given much stronger directives and guidelines in order to

improve conditions in the estates). The new majority in Stockholm City has now formulated a new programme called 'municipal district renewal' (stadsdelsförnyelse). This should be seen as a continuation (or development) of the Outer City Initiative but it will also take into account positive experiences accumulated as a result of the MDI.

The formulation of the new municipal initiative is a good example of how the policy formulation process works in Sweden. A policy draft was written by centrally placed political staff in Stockholm in early 2003 and all municipal offices, agencies and boards (including the municipal districts) were then asked to comment and criticise the plans for a new development initiative. The decision taken in October 2003 states that the new programme will run for the 2003-2006 period and that the budget will be SEK 600 million (EUR 66 million). The municipality and the public housing companies should each make an annual SEK 75 million contribution. The background for this initiative is quite similar to the one for the MDI. It is launched to prevent economic decline in the outer city and to improve integration. In fact the initiative is seen as a means to achieve the integration goals for the city:

- *'Conditions have to be created to improve a sustainable economic growth and development in the city as a whole, through measures in the outer city regarding provision of housing, new workplaces, improved business conditions and physical and electronic infrastructure.'*
- *'The differences between different parts of the city must be equalised, regarding employment rates, education, health, safety and access to service in terms of commercial service, culture, and leisure activities.'*
- *'Methods should be developed to make prejudices, racism and discriminating structures visible and to counteract them.'*

The text continues: *'These extra resources must not be used for investments that increase long-term budget expenditures. The projects should be of a social character (for instance education) and are supposed to have a long-term impact.'*

Like its forerunners, this programme also focuses on participation and collaboration within and between different levels. Actors from many different sectors are to be included and the organisation should also be flexible enough to make it possible for external actors to become involved. This programme should encourage citizen participation, an important element also in the earlier area-based programmes. Both Husby and Kista are positive to this initiative. The districts hope that the resources from this new initiative can maintain or develop some of the programmes or projects that started as part of the Outer City Initiative. Both Husby and Tensta for instance state that the new initiative probably enables them to rehire the 'citizen hosts' or 'centre hosts' they did find so valuable but could not afford on their ordinary budget when the OCI money ceased to exist.

The policies implemented in the suburbs focus above all on the employment issue. Linked to this are also the policies on education and skills improvements. Combating unemployment and increasing the labour market participation rate are the primary goals of the policies. One important type of strategy in this regard has been the setting up of 'matching programmes', which link job opportunities (identified by specific firms/employers) to unemployed people by giving them the accurate (tailorised) education and skills needed for the job. These matching programmes have been very successful (see below).

There is also a tendency that the safety and crime policy fields now gain higher local priority. The citizens and politicians perceive this as an up-coming crucial battlefield. In an interview

with the Minister of Integration and of Metropolitan Areas, she pointed out safety policies as the next step. The points below summarise the priorities made so far between the different policy fields:

- employment, education and skills;
- physical quality and the attractiveness of the estates;
- safety and crime;
- health.

The last policy field has lately been more or less neglected. However, according to respondents working in this field, this is not due to the fact that health conditions have improved but rather a question of money and priorities (see following section).

3.3 Philosophy behind the policy

3.3.1 Some definitions

By philosophy behind the policies and programmes we mean the ideas about what constitutes a problem and what motivates a certain intervention. The question asked is: What developments or what situation led up to the intervention? What are really the problems and what causes the problems? How could a state or a municipal intervention solve the problem? The theory of this approach is called 'policy theory' or 'programme theory'. Vedung explains the programme theory as the empirical and normative conception that lies behind a programme (Vedung, 1994, 1997).

According to the programme theory the intervention process is a cycle that contains different steps (Vedung, 1997). The first two steps aim at identifying the philosophy. The first step, called 'initiation', concerns the identification of a problem, and the solution which is thought to require public action. The demand for governmental action may originate from within the political system, for instance from the administration, or from external sources like interest organisations and the media. In the initiation process of the MDI and the OCI the media played a significant role. The media painted a rather black picture of suburban housing estates like Tensta and Husby, and that, among other things, lifted the problems in these areas on to the political agenda.

Definitions

<i>Philosophy</i>	The ideas, thoughts, opinions, plans, motivation or discourse that inform and guide a policy or a programme.
<i>Initiative</i>	The formulated action to launch some sort of intervention. In the context of urban development programmes initiatives are often taken independently or jointly by the state, a municipality or a housing company.
<i>Programme</i>	The formulated strategy and the operationalised set of activities that constitute the policy.
<i>Project</i>	A time limited part of a programme concerning a specific area of intervention, e.g. to carry out measures to improve health, or to restructure a part of the housing stock.

In the so-called 'preparation step' the problem is established on the political or national agenda. In this stage, the implementability of the proposed measures and the evaluability of later results are to be achieved. Firstly, the nature of the problem is identified. Alternative options for action are discussed and the presumed consequences of the alternatives are calculated. Then the goals are set and the alternatives are addresses in the light of what is to be achieved. Preparation is hereby concerned with goals, means, costs, benefits, implementability, and sometimes also evaluability. These stages involve negotiations and compromises between the actors involved. Before we go on discussing the philosophy behind the Stockholm programmes, definitions of certain terms are presented (see former frame for definitions).

3.3.2 Integration

The overarching philosophy behind the Big Cities Policy (the MDI) and the Urban Fringe Policy (the OCI) is ideas about 'social justice and social equality'. However, in the discourse on political interventions in poor housing estates, these ideas relate strongly to the more explicit notion 'integration', and that is one of the reasons for us to coin the underlying philosophy in that way. The other reason is that there seems to be political consensus regarding the importance of integration, while the notion of social justice has a leftist connotation. The fact that policies have been rather robust despite changing political majorities in the Stockholm City Hall speaks in favour of this interpretation. By integration, policy makers mean decreasing levels of ethnic and social residential segregation and improved levels of socio-economic inclusion in key social arenas such as the labour market and in politics (system integration). There is definitely an ethnic component in the integration philosophy: the estates are immigrant-dense and the basic idea is to make it easier for the new Swedes to be included in mainstream

Integration

Integration leads all citizens to feel a responsibility for, an affinity with and a sense of participation in the community. Integration entails equality between people, and the existence of functioning communication, understanding and respect between people of different social and ethnic backgrounds. For an open, integrated society to function, it must have a foundation of common frames of reference and legal standards, common meeting places and a common language.

Segregation

A segregated city is one in which people live under such vastly different conditions as to shatter the city's sense of social, economic and cultural community. Despite the short geographical distances involved, there is a great gap between the realities of different parts of the same city. When social segregation is reinforced by ethnic segregation, the gap may be further widened, leading to alienation and division along social and ethnic lines, destructive antagonisms and disintegration. Segregation ultimately undermines human dignity and is a threat to democracy.

Source: www.integration.stockholm.se/integration/programmet/pop_english.pdf, page 14, visited on the 27th of November, 2003

The programme is based upon five visions for the city:

- We want a city in which everyone is needed, everyone has a job and everyone enjoys the same rights and obligations.
- We want a city in which all share a common rule of law, have access to a common language and have common meeting places.
- We want a city that is free of racism and discrimination.
- We want a city in which all children and young people enjoy a good childhood with good care, meaningful leisure activities and equal opportunities for education and future employment.
- We want a city in which everyone lives in a safe, attractive neighbourhood.

Swedish society. Living conditions and opportunities should be the same as for native-born Swedes and the level of interaction between Swedes and 'the new Swedes' should be raised (social integration). The philosophy of integration can be seen as part of a broader equalisation idea, to make the immigrants equal to average 'Swedes', in economic as well as social terms. Their employment, income, health-rates, their participation in politics (and so on) should not be different from 'Swedes' as a group. The importance of the integration philosophy in relation to the state's interventions in these neighbourhoods is also displayed by the division of tasks between government ministers. The Minister of the Big Cities Policy is also the Minister of (immigrant) Integration.

In the late 1990s Stockholm City also formulated an Integration Programme. The goal was to make Stockholm the first city in the world to break the development towards increased social and ethnical segregation. The Integration Programme was first introduced in 1997 (Social Democratic local government), and then modified in 1998 and 2001 (Liberal/Conservative local government). The 2001 English version contains definitions of the key concepts of integration and segregation (see former frames).

Integration is intended to be promoted by citizen participation. The discussion on participatory democracy started already in the 1960s and one of the reasons was probably that public sector responsibilities had grown substantially and affected much of the citizens' every day life. Representative democracy was criticised for 'not being enough' to guarantee good and legitimate decisions, and as a complement some people wanted to extend the role of citizens beyond just voting. Carole Pateman argued for instance that political participation was not only good in itself; it also strengthened the individual participants so they could participate in other spheres of the society as well (Dahlberg and Vedung, 2001).

The discussion on participatory democracy was intensified in the 1990s not least as a consequence of the decentralisation process. However, contrary to the 1960s the participatory perspective now was imposed from above and not demanded or struggled for by the citizens themselves. In 1994, a new act (Regeringens proposition, 1993/1994) increased the possibility for the municipalities and the county councils to delegate decision power for exemplary citizens. In a recent evaluation (2001) it turned out that as much as 90 per cent of the Swedish municipalities have some sort of citizen participation activity. The most common type of citizen participation is consultation (Ds, 2001).

In connection to the Stockholm area-based interventions the idea is that participation in the development of a local milieu increases the level of integration for the participant. She/

he becomes part of the neighbourhood and this involvement will lead to empowerment and help her/him to be more included in the Swedish society. This might open up other doors as well. The argument that integration is (partly) achieved by promoting participation seems to be based on combinations of six different arguments. The first argument is that participation can educate and foster good citizens, the second is that participation could help satisfying the participants' needs. The focus here is on the activity itself, to do something together with other people. Thirdly, it could also be a strategy for strengthening the legitimacy of public activities. Fourthly, it might also make the public activity more effective. Fifthly, citizen participation can also be used to redistribute decision power, i.e. empowering the citizens. Finally, citizen participation can also improve the quality of public services (Dahlberg and Vedung, 2001). In the MDI and the OCI the first two arguments are the most frequently used.

3.3.3 Economic development

Another philosophy behind these policies is the idea that economic growth is crucial in order to deploy a social justice strategy. The economic growth rates have tended to be lower in recent decades and this puts pressure on public budgets, not least in a situation of a greyer society (older population). There is more or less a general opinion that economic growth has to increase and that, given the fact that the present capitalist economy is more based on service and knowledge production, many believe that urban regions and especially the big cities have a crucial role to play. In order for metropolitan regions to function as 'engines of economic growth' politicians acknowledge the importance of improving the cities' human capital, establishing good housing and living conditions and avoid severe social conflicts. To manage this it is regarded important to combat unemployment, to decrease the social welfare dependency rate, and to improve education and skills. Thereby the two philosophies guiding the concrete national urban policies are linked to each other.

3.3.4 Neighbourhood attractiveness

As can be seen above, ideas about integration strongly influence also the municipal interventions. There is however good reason to add also a second notion when considering Stockholm City's policies, namely both the social and physical notion about improving the attractiveness of the neighbourhoods. Many large-scale suburban neighbourhoods have a bad reputation and representations of such kind negatively affect the areas. In many ways the level of immigrant density and the socio-economic position of residents in estates like Husby and Tensta are considered to make these neighbourhoods less attractive to some categories, e.g. native Swedes, but so does also the type of environment created by the predominant choice of building materials (concrete), urban density and the relative lack of more personalised spaces.

3.4 Organisation of the policy

The Metropolitan Development Initiative was initiated by the central government in 1998 and the Outer City Initiative a couple years earlier. They use different organisational forms. The main actors which implement the state policy are the municipalities and especially the municipality districts but these form partnerships that vary from one policy area to another. The partnerships are predominantly public-public, and involve state agencies (i.e. local labour

offices for employment programmes), county council units (i.e. 'family centres' for health-related programmes) but they could also involve private firms (matching projects) and ethnic, sports and other types of local associations for employment, cultural or youth projects.

The guidelines and directives for the MDI have been formulated by the government (and of course approved by the Swedish parliament (Riksdag)). The local development agreements are signed by the government and the city but they have been developed and are implemented by the local district councils and their administrative staff. The local coordinator of the MDI programme is one of the senior members of this staff.

Stockholm City's own intervention, the OCI, had a different organisational design. As this intervention was funded jointly by the municipality and its three public housing companies, the latter have had a stronger influence on the OCI compared to the MDI. Both interventions have strived to involve the residents but the OCI, at least at the outset, was organised to guarantee such an involvement (establishing working groups for generating ideas and projects). Due to the fact that these groups were not adequately informed about their mandate, budget restrictions and the decision-making process, confusion and frustration soon emerged. Although many concrete projects have been carried out in close cooperation with the residents (often physical improvements, such as better illumination, greener yards, more exciting playgrounds etc.), decisions on how to prioritise among the proposals have been taken by the local district council and then finally by the Real Estate and Traffic Committee (Gatu-och fastighetsnämnden). OCI coordinators have had important roles both locally (in Tensta and Husby) and centrally (at the Department of Integration). The latter have had a coordinating role for the OCI programme in the entire city (about ten housing estates).

3.5 Housing and the built environment³

One of the major problems facing Stockholm City is the extremely low level of new constructions during the last decade, which has resulted in severe housing shortage in the region. Unintentionally, this might have contributed positively to the social situation in poor housing estates since vacancy and migration rates have dropped to very low levels and people who normally would leave these estates when their income situation improve, have difficulties finding housing elsewhere in the city.

Many of our interviewees declare that there is a tendency that the quantitative goals of specific housing policies often are achieved but not the qualitative and social goals. The policies on housing in the 1990s are no exception. Social projects often tend to fail because the qualitative both are both harder to define and more difficult to reach due to the lack of those planning instruments and economic resources that are needed. There is also an evaluation aspect of this: physical interventions are easier to evaluate and they make lasting and normally visual imprints in the local environment of the estates. Therefore the conclusion often is

3 This section is primarily based on interviews with representatives of the municipal housing companies (both at the central and local level), the Real Estate and Traffic Administration and Stockholm City Planning Administration. The interviewed are Marika Lundin, Olle Hagberg, Gillis Edholm, Tahir Hussain, Yngve Persson, Claes Tornérhielm, Agneta Agerbjör, Torsten Malmberg, Ingela Lind, Hardy Hedman, Teres Lindberg and Margareta Catasús. We have also interviewed the Minister of Housing and Local Authorities, Lars-Erik Lövdén.

that qualitative or social projects are a failure and a waste of money. In reality it is of course extremely difficult to measure social effects of physical interventions as well, but physical interventions still have the advantage that their costs and time frames can be fairly precisely calculated. At times when money is the most important factor, no one spends resources on a project that may not pay off. However, there is a political awareness of the need to mix social and physical projects.

The state's area-based intervention (the MDI) does not exclude physical projects but the overwhelming part of the money has been channelled to employment and educational efforts. The Outer City Initiative, on the other hand, has primarily concerned physical investment, normally of a smaller scale type. It should be said that some of the residents in the estates do not like this separation of 'physical projects' from 'social projects'. They have the opinion that all physical projects have a social dimension and indeed produce social outcomes. Their definition of a social project is when people meet and discuss a problem, identify a solution and then work together to realise it. A project on improving the built environment in the estates is thus both social and physical.

3.5.1 Main aims of the policy

Different projects have been launched with reference to different objectives, which makes it a bit difficult to single out one or two general motives for all types of physical interventions. The overarching idea nevertheless seems to be the issue of 'making the estates more attractive'. Although it is seldom expressed in an explicit way, we judge that many actors involved in the programmes mean more attractive for 'ordinary Swedish citizens'.

The main aim of the policy on housing and the built environment in Tensta and Husby could therefore be expressed as follows: 'to make the quality of the estates' milieu as comparable as possible to any other estate' (equalising conditions).

At the time when the city's OCI programme was launched in the mid-1990s, the general opinion was that the large Million Programme housing estates lagged behind other areas in terms of housing quality. The need for reinvestments and physical improvements was quite evident although the perception was that 'the real problems' were not of a physical character (but rather unemployment, rapid influx of new immigrants, high turnover etc.). Especially the OCI programme, but later also the MDI, opened up new channels for funding physical and other improvements, thereby also increasing the incentives to make investment in these areas.

Besides different new investments in order to increase environmental qualities, there is a belief that schools have crucial roles for many households' choices of residential areas and that the quality of the schools is of fundamental importance for keeping and attracting more resourceful households. But also other types of physical investments can be noticed, for instance restructuring and modernising the shopping centres. The aims of such investments are similar: shopping centres must be competitive. If they are not, people will shop elsewhere and maybe also move elsewhere because of inadequate service facilities.

The policy on housing and the built environment has so far not included measures targeting one of the biggest problems in the estates, namely the unbalanced composition of dwelling sizes. There is a lack of both big and small apartments.

3.5.2 Main activities in the policy

The core activities of this policy have been to improve the facades of the buildings, for example repainting, improving safety through better illumination for pedestrians, modernising playgrounds, and improving maintenance of green areas. One of the OCI's flagship investments is the Husby swimming facility, a multi-million investment that definitely has been welcomed by the residents in Husby and the surrounding estates. In Tensta, the flagships are the Gallery of Modern Art and the Blue House (used for different kinds of youth activities). Both investments were accomplished by OCI funding.

Improvements of actual housing standards have not been prioritised although the upgrading of kitchens and bathrooms are made at rather fixed intervals (in Sweden, apartments are always fully equipped and the housing company is responsible for the external as well as the interior maintenance). The housing companies foresee that it will soon be necessary to do major interior reinvestments as the basic infrastructure (sewage pipes etc.) will have to be modernised.

The municipal housing companies also try to find ways of coping with the present overcrowding problem, which has emerged due to an 'uncontrolled secondary migration of recently arrived refugees'. The overcrowding problem does not only affect health and social conditions for the residents and increase maintenance costs for the housing companies, it is also pointed out as a major problem for the children and therefore for the schools. Besides trying to add some new housing to care for the larger families, flats are also merged into bigger ones when there is an opportunity for this.

The shopping centre in Tensta has been renovated and made into a modern shopping galleria. Despite this, the Tensta shopping centre as well as the centres in other estates have problems attracting certain types of retail businesses, especially attractive stores like H&M (which is a fast expanding Swedish multi-national company). Now there are mostly local shop owners in the centres. In 2002, Stockholm City set up a new municipality owned company (Centrumkompaniet) which was given the directive to specialise on the shopping centres. These premises were earlier taken care of by the municipal housing companies which owned the centres as well as most of the residential property in the estates. This new municipality owned company has made genuine efforts to attract some of the multi-national firms but so far without succeeding. The larger companies obviously regard it to be a big risk to invest in these estates, or they judge that the purchase-power of an estate where half of the residents is unemployed is not enough to make a profit.

3.5.3 Organisation of the policy

Two different committees and their respective administrative units in Stockholm play important roles for the physical aspects of housing-related issues. The Real Estate and Traffic Committee have overall responsibility for land administration, development projects, highway maintenance, traffic surveillance and for the implementation of plans that involve the physical environment in Stockholm. The Stockholm City Planning Committee, also appointed by the city council, has been given the responsibility for the city planning in Stockholm – in general and in detail – and for granting building permits, providing maps and making housing accessible to the handicapped.

Specific policies targeting Tensta and Husby were initiated by the municipality of Stockholm in 1995 as part of the Outer City Initiative. The above-mentioned central units and the housing companies are the key actors.

3.5.4 Participation in the policy

The possibility to actively participate in the implementing phase has been quite large for the residents. The policy in fact encourages people in the estates to take an active interest in the improvement of their own housing and environment. The municipal district administration and the housing companies arrange joint and open meetings in order to discuss what the priorities should be. All are welcome to participate; however, the meetings have not been successful. There has been only limited interest among the residents to show up for these meetings. There are several explanations for this. Many of the respondents argue that lack of command of the Swedish language is an important reason. A substantial part of the residents are foreign-born – many are recently arrived refugees – and they might judge that they will not understand the issues being discussed at these meetings. Some respondents say that the residents have enough trouble as it is, e.g. unemployment, poverty and isolation. Therefore, they do not have the motivation to engage in a meeting about selecting colour for the facades. Yet another explanation is that the projects have been going on for years and many of the ideas put forward by the residents have not been realised.

A pessimism regarding what can be achieved is evident and deeply rooted. People feel that active involvement does not make a difference. The problem could of course also be due to lack of information or that information is provided through the wrong channels. The announcements of the meetings are often published in the local newspaper, which does not have many readers, or on posters in Swedish. The municipality and the housing companies have not been trying hard enough to reach out to the residents. As far as we can judge, they have not tried more unconventional forms of advertising, as providing information about the meetings on local TV, a channel which broadcasts in other languages than Swedish. Furthermore, there are probably a number of individual explanations as well (not enough time, do not plan to stay etc.).

To achieve a higher level of participation in the meetings is regarded to be important for a number of reasons. When participation is low, there is a risk that decisions taken with reference to public opinions are much less democratic than decisions taken in the normal representative democratic way. Furthermore, those who attend these meetings are often those who already are political engaged or those who speak Swedish fluently and therefore those who already are quite integrated in the Swedish society. The new immigrants, who in fact are the target group for many of the policy initiatives, might even get less resources within a participatory framework than without it.

There is yet another aspect of the wish for a participatory model. There is an explicit aim in these interventions to make the residents in these neighbourhoods more active and to break their assumed social isolation. There is a widely accepted conception that the inhabitants in distressed estates are isolated and lonely. This line of reasoning follows from the fact that foreign-born, or even the children of the foreign-born, face problems to be accepted in the Swedish society as equals. They do not have the same chances of getting employed; they do not have the same opportunity to enter into higher education, and so on. They are discriminated against and they are therefore believed to be socially excluded in a more general sense, i.e. being isolated as individuals. But the fact that immigrants are discriminated against, excluded or isolated from mainstream Swedish society does not have to cause isolation. Many of them might be included in other parts of the society and not the least in local ethnic groups or in global diaspora communities. They do not necessary stay at home alone just because they

are poor and unemployed. The large number of ethnic associations is just one sign that might indicate that the notion of social isolation is a misconception.

The effort to increase participation can also be seen as a part of the process towards new governance structures. This process is not problem-free and the reform meets resistance. Governance is time-consuming because it allows more interest groups and actors to be evolved in the decision-making process. This has led to resistance and some tensions in the estates. Some actors express the view that they already knew about the needs in the estates and the open meetings were only a waste of time, delaying implementation. The residents answered that if they (the municipal district administration or the housing companies) already knew about the needs, why did not anything happen? According to those who defend the participatory framework, open meetings as one step in the process towards governance are both necessary and important in order to force the municipal companies to take action.

This idea of the participation of residents is launched as a step towards a bottom-up approach and, as stated above, this is seen as a key element in combating segregation and isolation. But the inhabitants in the estates and some in the district administration do not always view it in this way. The result of the attempts to increase the residents' participation in the projects is not only positive; there is also a seamy side. As stated above, the intervention and the participatory framework that it requests led to improvements of the estates. But from the residents' point of view this can be interpreted as if the immigrants have to struggle and fight to get even the smallest things done in 'their' estate. They have to engage in long meetings just to get the facades painted. In estates having a bigger share of 'Swedish inhabitants' these improvements are done automatically and the residents do not have to take an active part in them. There is a conception that what Swedes get for free, the immigrants have to fight for. Seen from this perspective, the demands upon residents to participate can unintentionally function as stigmatising. The housing companies and the local state defend themselves by referring to their good intentions. This problem is also an example of the conflict between the inner city and the suburban parts of Stockholm. The suburbs sometimes feel marginalised and that the inner city is superior.

3.5.5 Evaluation: advantages and disadvantages

The policy on improving housing and neighbourhood quality has been quite successful. A lot has been done to improve the houses and yards to make them look more attractive. But there is still a need to renovate the interior of most dwellings. The apartments are exposed to a high level of wear because of high densities (overcrowding). The need for both bigger and smaller apartments is urgent. If the policy should be understood as an attempt to improve the milieu to make the living conditions better for the residents, it has failed. But if the intention of the policy was to make the estates look better and to be more pleasant to be in, it is a success, or at least the policy has made a difference. At least to some extent we can also say that the intention to make people active in the development of their estate has had positive effects on integration and inclusion. The respondents have informed us that some of the residents who started to engage in the open meetings have later on taken the step into politics, both at the local and national level. This is certainly a marginal phenomenon but it has turned out well for some individuals. The political participation in these estates is generally low and this has negative consequences for representation and legitimation. If there are no immigrants in politics, who

can represent their interests? It has also been stated that immigrants at the local political level have a hard time to become accepted as politicians.

3.6 Employment and economy⁴

Employment policies have been the most important component in the recent development programmes in the two estates. Although the levels of unemployment are not high in either of our estates, both Tensta and Husby have very low labour market participation rates. Underemployment is therefore the main problem. Employment levels used to be relatively high before the severe economic crisis that hit Sweden with full strength in 1992-1994. In Tensta, in one of our two estates, employment rates fell from 63 to 39 per cent between 1990 and 1995. This was due to two parallel processes of which the general economic crisis was one and the other was the very high level of refugee immigration. Less than 15 per cent of the refugee cohort which arrived in Stockholm between 1990 and 1995 were employed in 1995 (Andersson, 1998).

3.6.1 Main aims of the policy

The state MDI programme has eight goals. Two of them concern employment aspects:

- Employment rates in socially disadvantaged housing areas should be raised for both men and women.
- Benefit dependency should be reduced.

The main emphasis in the labour market programmes is placed on supply-side measures, i.e. educating unemployed and otherwise non-working people for both the local and city-wide labour market. The aim is thus to match job opportunities and job vacancies with people's qualifications and to make sure that the residents of the estates have a human capital that is relevant for the employers. The bottom line of this strategy is however not to provide employers with labour but to find ways of getting more immigrants into work. Some efforts have also been placed on the demand side, i.e. jobs. Both Tensta and Husby must be regarded to be among the frontrunners with respect to creating new solutions for old problems.

3.6.2 Main activities in the policy

In Tensta, measures to decrease unemployment rates have to a large extent been directed to the project 'Lunda Nova'. This project is implemented through cooperation between the local district administration, private business and the labour office. 'Lunda Nova' contains measures like business advisory service, courses and education for unemployed, matching of unemployed

4 This section is primarily based on interviews with Mayor Teres Lindberg, responsible for labour market and integration issues, and some local actors engaged in the work to improve the labour market participant rates. The discussion on integration is closely connected to the employment issues and we have therefore also interviewed the Minister of Integration and Urban Policies, Mona Sahlin. The others are: Björn Jacobsson, Hardy Hedman, Ricardo Osvaldo-Alvaros, Isa Turin and Tahir Hussain.

and local companies, cooperation between schools and the business community. It has been a successful project in terms of creating jobs and decreasing the unemployment rate in Tensta. The project has also resulted in new businesses. Fruitful cooperation between public and private actors and the localisation of a business district employing around 5,000 people close to the neighbourhood are seen as success factors.

In Husby, more emphasis has been placed on matching programmes in general and on projects directed to different targeted groups, such as unemployed youngsters, women, and unemployed Somalians. The project 'Kista-matching' has been especially successful. About 80 per cent of the participants in the project have got a job after completed education. The unemployment rate decreased substantially in the early years of the new millennium and the interviewed judge that the programme has had a decisive role in this development. This is mainly due to projects like 'Kista-matching' in which unemployed residents are given tailor-made education in cooperation with specific companies that have promised to employ the participants after completed education. The project has now been extended to the whole area of Stockholm and is re-named into 'Stockholm-matching'. The interviewees agree that Husby with its proximity to the Kista Science Park has different local conditions than most deprived neighbourhoods. One of the interviewed sees this proximity as problematic and negative for Husby. She declares that the proximity creates a myth of the neighbourhood as rich and wealthy, which makes it harder to get funding for development. 'Husby exists in the shadow of Kista's success'. The companies in the Kista Science Park are predominantly big international firms and they have faced a lot of problems over the last couple of years due to lower demands for IT and Telecommunication goods. The matching programmes thus have to re-adjust their focus to occupations and sectors that could be expected to hire more people in the foreseeable future (for instance care for the elderly).

3.6.3 Organisation of the policy

The overall responsibility for employment policies is placed upon a state agency, the Swedish National Labour Market Administration. The central authority of the Swedish Labour Market Administration (Arbetsmarknadsverket – AMV) is the National Labour Market Board (Arbetsmarknadsstyrelsen – AMS). In each of Sweden's 21 counties there is a County Labour Board (Länsarbetsnämnden – LAN), to which the Public Employment Services (Arbetsförmedlingar – Af) are responsible. The Af (i.e. local Labour Office) has a key role in the MDI employment programmes but like the rest of the Metropolitan Development Initiative, the extra economic resources for labour market initiatives are channelled through the municipal district council. The key partnership is often the district's Social Department and the Af, but as the matching programmes involve private firms these have some influence over the content of specific educational/apprenticeship programmes. The policy is carried out by the municipality and the districts have the main responsibility for formulating both the overall strategy and concrete projects. However, non-municipal actors have also initiated projects aiming at increasing the employment rates, and such initiatives can be funded either by the MDI budget or by the European Union.

It is important to notice that although we focus rather much on specific ongoing programmes, such as the MDI and the OCI, such extra resources are normally of much less significance for the development in the estates than the ordinary state and municipal activities. Employment policies are a state responsibility and the priorities made in the ordinary budgets

of AMS (AMS, 2002) and LAN are of crucial importance. One of the rationales behind the government's MDI programme was to alter priorities and 'normal practices' in different public sectors. (*The MDI should focus on methodological development and innovative ideas*).

3.6.4 Participation in the policy

Normally, the Labour Office (Af) does not deal with people not fit for the labour market. Many immigrants are for example disqualified from getting assistance from the Af because they fail to pass their class in introductory Swedish. Such individuals live on social welfare, i.e. cash benefits provided by the municipal district's social office. The key idea behind the Kista-matching programmes was to use money allocated to social assistance in a more productive way. The matching programmes were partly funded in this way and contrary to normal Af routines, the programmes opened up a possibility for all residents to get a chance to enter the labour market. The success of Kista-matching was obvious very early on and the programme was expanded into Stockholm-matching in 2002. Now three municipalities in the Stockholm region participate and both Kista and Spånga-Tensta municipal districts continue to work along these lines (www.stockholm.se/Kista, visited on the 17th of December, 2003). The programme is now partly financed by the European Union's Social Fund.

Kista municipality district has also initiated a sister project to Kista-matching, called 'Iftiin' (which means 'the light'). That project is based on the same concept but it is reserved for unemployed Somalians.

Also the Lunda Nova-matching programme is accessible for all residents and not excluding certain types of individuals from taking part in employment programmes has been one of the major achievements in both Tensta and Husby.

3.6.5 Evaluation: advantages and disadvantages

The advantages of the broad and active matching programmes have been pointed out by many evaluators but their existence still relies upon extra funding. Precisely this fact is also the major disadvantage of the programme. It is indeed discouraging to notice that successful and innovative methods cannot find sustainable economic solutions within ordinary budgets. Except for the district councils creative use of money from one budget to be used for future-oriented investments in human capital, and for the obviously good idea not to exclude certain people from the Labour Offices' services, the actual method (matching unemployed people with job vacancies) is indeed what all labour market programmes are all about. Compared to the large sums used for doing ordinary business in the Labour Offices, the extra resources put into Kista-matching and Lunda Nova are not very big and the latter have proved to be much more successful. Still many local actors wait for structural reforms of the way that the labour market authorities operate.

The employment rate for Husby and Tensta is now around 50 per cent (age 20-64 years), which indicate that underemployment is still an important issue. The problem is thus not solved but the initiatives taken during the last five to ten years have made a positive difference in the estates.

The policy was intended to increase labour participant rates for both women and men. It is the view of several of our interviewees that rather limited attention has been paid to gender. The top priority has been to bring as many people as possible into the labour market (at least away from social welfare). The policy has been relatively successful and benefit dependency

rates have indeed decreased. This is also one of the policy areas where residents themselves have been able to initiate a project and this could either be taken as a sign that people are dissatisfied with the way the policy has been carried out, or the opposite, that they are satisfied because they have been able to formulate their own projects according to some residents' specific wills and needs.

3.7 Safety⁵

According to our informants, crime rates for Husby and Tensta are not considered to be higher than in other parts of Stockholm. However, the police say that there may be more criminals that lives or spend time in these estates. Statistics are one thing, public opinion in Stockholm another. Like other poor and immigrant dense housing estates around the world, media representations often tend to spread the message that the estates are unsafe, and that they are dangerous places to visit and live in. Therefore, much work has been done of a more cosmetic character, with the explicit idea to try to establish a more positive image of the estates. But data reported in our background report (Andersson et al., 2003, Table 10.1) indicate that a substantial share of the residents (25-30 per cent) has experienced problems with burglary, graffiti, vandalism, car steeling and violence. Values for Husby are somewhat higher than for Tensta. Safety issues are regarded to be important and crime prevention councils have been set up in both estates.

3.7.1 Main aims of the policy

The state MDI programme has one explicit goal that concerns safety:

- All city neighbourhoods should be experienced as attractive and safe by the people who live there, and provide sound and healthy living environments.

The main aim of the safety policy in the two estates is to make the estates safer and to reduce the number of crimes and criminals. This is also a strategy to make the estates more attractive for commercial interests, residents and visitors.

3.7.2 Main activities in the policy

The projects' most comprehensive goal is to decrease the number of crimes committed and to increase safety in the estates. They are also supposed to prevent people to commit crimes intentionally or unintentionally. This is achieved through several strategies. One is crime prevention, that is to prevent that crimes occur and to reduce the risk to be exposed to crime. Another method is to prevent people, mainly young people, to engage in criminal activities. This latter strategy is more long-term and focuses on activities that build community responsibility among children and adolescents.

5 This section is primarily based on interviews with people directly engaged in work related to safety and crime, such as the local police and representatives from the crime preventing councils. The interviewed are: Per Granhällen, Gunilla Glatz, Mohammad Derakhshan, Stefan Toll, Tahir Hussain and Claes Tornérhielm.

The first thing that the crime preventing council did was to initiate an investigation on crime and safety to get better knowledge of what was problematic. This questionnaire is supposed to be updated every second year. Then the council tried to get in touch with different actors that could help the council to carry out practical work. Most activities done in this field are physical improvements such as better lighting, speed bumps and so on. A lot is done to prevent the residents to unintentionally commit criminal actions because they have no other option. To give one example: traffic separation does complicate life for the citizens in different ways. It is for instance illegal to park outside the entrance of the apartment buildings to unpack groceries. To do it correctly the citizens are supposed to park the car at the parking lots, sometimes 500 metres from the apartment, and then carry the grocery bags all the way home. This is a rule that many do not follow and the crime preventing council then tries to find a solution to such problems, in fact caused by the traffic separation and physical planning.

The municipal districts in both Husby and Tensta have also invested in so-called 'centre hosts' (centrumvärdar) or 'citizen hosts' (medborgarvärdar). Their assignment was to walk around in the centre and in the neighbourhood and to be a service patrol for the residents, answering all kinds of questions. They also reported to the police if something illegal was about to happen. This activity was much appreciated by the residents and the police (which in the beginning was sceptical because they feared it could develop into a citizen's guard (medborgargarde)) was very pleased with these hosts. Unfortunately these hosts were almost exclusively financed by funds from the Metropolitan Development Initiative and when these funds ended they could not find ways to pay for the activity. The new municipal initiative (the district renewal programme) might open up a possibility to rehire the hosts.

3.7.3 Organisation of the policy

Safety is primarily a police duty but both residents, shop owners, housing companies, the municipal district administration and the police itself have the opinion that the police is understaffed and has far too little presence in the estates. The area-based interventions (the MDI and the OCI) comprise safety-related programmes and like the rest of the area-based interventions, the municipal district council has a key role in initiating and funding different types of safety projects.

3.7.4 Participation in the policy

In this policy we have found perhaps the best example of public-private partnerships. The actors who participate in implementing the policy on safety are a group of actors from different sections of society. Usually the police, representatives of the municipal district council and municipal housing companies are among the key public sector actors, and from the private sector actors like local businessmen associations, associations for retired people, private landlords, tenants associations, sports associations, etc. participate. The councils have meetings with all actors once a month. At the meetings they can discuss what has to be done and how to pay for it. Funding for certain measures is organised differently from action to action. Sometimes the municipal housing companies fund a project and sometimes different co-funding arrangements are set up. To conclude, in theory the crime prevention council is open for all actors. However, in practice the current members and finally the municipal district's representatives decide who can participate and who cannot. For practical reasons the council cannot have too many members. All participating individuals represent some type of group interest.

3.7.5 Evaluation: advantages and disadvantages

The work to create a crime prevention council has not been unproblematic. Many actors want to be a part of the discussions but are not willing to pay the bill. To raise enough funding has been a big problem for the councils and still is. The organisation of the councils is different in the estates and they rely on particular individuals and their skills. In Rinkeby, a neighbourhood next to Tensta, the council's organisation is fully developed and the crime prevention job works very well. They have found a partnership structure where there is consensus concerning the crucial issue of how to split the costs for the projects. As said, this has been more problematic in Husby and Tensta. Both municipal district councils have budget deficits which makes it problematic to initiate new projects. The municipal housing companies feel that they do enough and they have so far not been willing to fund projects that they basically see as the primary responsibility of other institutions.

The advantage of the policy on safety is that the discussions have started, councils have been set up and that the awareness about what to do has increased. At the moment, the lack of funding hampers further development.

According to a recent evaluation on crime rates in poor neighbourhoods (*Brottsförebyggande insatser i utsatta områden- En studie av storstadsarbetet, 2003*), the rates have at least not increased but one should remember the difficulties and uncertainty that prevail in the field of crime statistics. The programmes currently going on are in line with the main aims of the policy and the target population is the residents. The opinion expressed by our interviewees is that people in general were quite satisfied with the measures until the centre/citizen hosts disappeared.

3.8 Education and skills⁶

Programmes on education and skills are key components of both the city's general development policy and of the Metropolitan Development Initiative. Specific projects have often been closely linked to certain employment measures, such as the matching programmes. The policy on education has however also focused on the quality of the ordinary school system and how to make the schools in these neighbourhoods more attractive. The former government in Stockholm introduced a new school admittance system for the upper secondary school students. They can now apply for any school in the city and marks from the 9th Grade are used as the primary allocation instrument. Due to the fact that schools in inner city Stockholm are regarded to be more attractive, this has put pressure on schools located in the large suburban estates that tend to lose their very best students. The schools in Tensta and Husby face many problems. Increased competition over the number of students is only one of them. Schools in these estates have had severe problems with high turnover rates. As much as 30 per cent of the students in a particular class might be exchanged during a single educational year. This turbulence, and the fact that the multi-ethnic character of the estates results in students

6 The information on education and skills is based on interviews with actors in this field. The informants are: Isa Turin, who works with business associations in Husby, Rashid Chowdhury, who works at Kista Open Academy, Hardy Hedman, teacher at Kista Sport gymnasium and a leading christian democratic politician in Stockholm, and Erik Nilsson, mayor with responsibility for educational and cultural issues in Stockholm City.

speaking many different languages, pose big challenges for school planners in the city and at the district level.

3.8.1 Main aims of the policy

The state MDI programme has three goals that more specifically focus on education:

- The position of the Swedish language should be strengthened among both young people and adults.
- All school students should be given the opportunity to reach secondary school attainment levels. It is vital that no student leaves secondary school (up to 16 years) without an adequate knowledge of Swedish/Swedish as a second language, English and mathematics.
- The educational level of the adult population should be raised; those who have not completed their upper secondary schooling (up to 18 years) or an equivalent level, should be given the opportunity to do so.

3.8.2 Main activities in the policy

Almost all special activities in this area of intervention are somehow connected to the aim to improve the immigrants' command of the Swedish language. Language courses for immigrants are often combined with vocational training. A lot of efforts have also been made in the schools to advance the knowledge in Swedish and this is also seen as a way to improve school results more generally. One method is to expand the time used for reading. In some schools the students spend entire weeks only reading books. The public libraries in these neighbourhoods have also been given more resources; there is a political ambition to make these libraries the best in the city. Other important measures concern the methods applied for bi-lingual education and the development of education programmes in the mother tongue. Since 1976, all schools in Sweden *have* to provide all children with basic education in their mother tongue. Most teachers in these schools have been given extra professional training to be able to better understand the problems facing immigrant children learning both a new language and managing the rest of the curriculum.

Pre-school language classes have been organised for children aged 3-5 years, and these initiatives are regarded to be one of the most successful measures taken as a part of the MDI programme.

The projects on adult education and skills improvements are focusing on complementary education, including validation programmes, and the raise of the basic level of education for those who have had limited school education in their home countries. Validation of educations and exams are major problems for immigrants and many efforts have been put into finding more effective, quicker and secure ways of validating not only academic exams but also different types of manual skills. It used to be the case that immigrants had to spend many years upgrading their education, and this has often been a waste of time either because it is not necessary or because it brings immigrants even further away from a job. On the job training is now seen as a much better method both to acquire the language competence needed and to make immigrants functionally suited for a job in Sweden.

Kista Open Academy, KOA, is an initiative to make complementary education easier. The concept is to be an open university without specific requirements concerning formal

educational background. The learning can also be done over the internet and at evening courses. This makes it easier for students with children and it also makes it possible to combine studies with a part-time job. Complementary educations and skills development programmes are also organised by firms and other institutions in the neighbourhoods.

In the compulsory school system most activities have focused on making the schools more attractive; attractive not only to pupils living in the neighbourhood but to all school children in Stockholm. 'Profiling' schools and educational programmes have been one of the most common measures taken. Profiles could be of different kinds, for instance in sports, science, IT, and international business. Some schools have also tried to become an around-the-clock institution by opening the facilities up for other activities and to engage parents more deeply in different matters than used to be the case. As the competition between schools tends to increase as a consequence of the new allocation system and the expansion of non-public schools, making schools attractive is a top priority.

At higher levels of school education (gymnasium) efforts are made to build partnerships with certain high-tech firms and with the Royal Technical School which are present in the Kista area. The idea is not only to provide these students with an attractive educational profile but to show potential employers that the human capital existing in poor estates is misused due to the existence of racial and religious prejudices. Finally, the idea is to help the younger generation to build networks in the Swedish society. Contrary to the Swedish-born students, these children cannot rely upon informal social networks when trying to get into the labour market after completed education.

3.8.3 Organisation of the policy

Like in other areas, efforts made as part of the special programmes on education must be seen in relation to the ordinary educational systems. Since 1989, school education is a municipal task (it used to be the responsibility of the state) and a substantial part of the municipal districts' budgets are used for basic education. For a long time Sweden has had a well-developed public system for adult education and from time to time an enormous amount of resources have been allocated to big national programmes in order to give people with little school education the chance to increase their educational level.

The extra efforts described above have often been initiated as part of the MDI programme. As said before, one of the ideas with this initiative is to find new and innovative methods to improve the standard way of doing things. If projects and certain measures prove to be successful, the state assumes that the municipality will adjust their normal organisation and priorities to make room for new practice.

The municipality and the districts carry out this policy but there are also non-public initiatives. The bulk of initiatives in this field is definitely handled by the municipal district administration and in particular the local educational institutions themselves.

3.8.4 Participation in the policy

The municipality, the districts and the local schools, together with the parents, have made joint efforts to improve the attractiveness of schools. The pupils have also had a say. It has sometimes been problematic to involve the parents. The reasons for this are similar as for the lack of participation in other types of programmes (communication problems; cultural differences,

i.e. many immigrant parents are not used to taking an active part in their children's school education).

There have also been several non-public initiatives to start schools or educational activities for the adult residents. In Tensta, a group of women in the mid-1990s started a very successful project (Livstycket) that combined studies in Swedish for immigrants with sewing activities.

3.8.5 Evaluation: advantages and disadvantages

The policy on education is formulated to inspire people to study. However, economic incentives sometimes work in the opposite direction. If a person has problems finding a job, and lives on social welfare, he or she can try to improve the educational level and thereby hopefully improve the chances of getting employed. However, economically this is negative for the individual because the person then has to finance the subsistence him-/herself, i.e. apply for a study loan. This will in the short run, and perhaps also in the long run, have a negative impact on the economic situation of the individual. This is also a disadvantage of the policy because it discourages people from studying. The matching programmes discussed above provided a solution to precisely this problem by allowing people living on social welfare to take part in the educational programmes.

At this very moment, there is a vivid debate going on in Stockholm concerning the future existence of the 'Livstycket' project in Tensta (see former section). According to the budget proposal for 2004, there is no money allocated for the continuation of this project. The reason is that the project has been financed by different types of external money (for instance the MDI) and that the city now has a very constraint budget situation and says it cannot afford funding the project. Once again, this shows that the sustainability for even successful programmes is by no means guaranteed. Despite the fact that Livstycket is cost-effective the city council might take a short-term decision that in fact will be more costly for the municipal budget.

The projects on employment have focused on the local labour market and local solutions. This implies that the target population is reached by the efforts but the pace of developments is often regarded to be too slow, an opinion that is easy to understand in a situation where the need for more work opportunities is urgent. This also affects the level satisfaction with the programmes.

3.9 Health and well-being⁷

Health issues are the responsibility of the county council, but certain reforms in the early 1990s transferred some responsibilities (the care for elderly people and the disabled) from the county councils to the municipal level. Normal business within this sector means the existence of local health centres (general medicine competence; family doctors as well as a district nurse) that care for the local population, local child health care clinics, local prenatal clinics and different types of specialised and centralised hospital services. A new trend, especially in immigrant-dense areas, has been to establish Family Centres (sometimes a combination of child health care clinics, prenatal clinics and social support functions for families and women in particular).

⁷ This section is based upon interviews with Lena Nordgaard and Börje Ehrstrand but it also relies to a quite high extent on written sources.

They usually have the aims to provide an important meeting place for children and the parents in the neighbourhood, to strengthen the social networks and to be some sort of knowledge centre for health issues.

The latter is a type of new health-related institution that has been realised partly due to the MDI and such facilities are often co-funded by the county council and the municipality. The policy on health is very vague and that can explain why it has not been a prioritised programme area.

Much of the existing activities within this field focus on women and children. Little or nothing is done for men. One of the respondents states that 'men's health is forgotten'. There is an urgent need in several areas for improved health care, like dental-care and psychological care.

3.9.1 Main aims of the policy

The MDI contains one health-related, albeit quite imprecise, goal:

- Public health should be improved, both as measures in terms of health statistics and subjective assessments.

The main aims of this policy are not so much to improve health as to work preventive with certain aspects of health, i.e. the development and dissemination of methods and strategies in the field of public health. In Tensta they have formulated some own goals to be achieved. The main goal is to create equal health conditions for all socio-economic groups. Today, the immigrants tend to be in a worse physical and psychological health condition, a circumstance partly explained by the high rate of unemployment and the trauma many refugees have experienced. In Husby the goals are a bit different. Here they want to create meeting places and activities to support the citizens, especially mothers, unemployed and the disabled.

3.9.2 Main activities in the policy

The policy on health, as part of the MDI, was directed towards measures that primary were to be launched in the 'preventive field'. The county council and the municipal district formed a partnership to jointly finance a new appointment, and a 'health planner' was hired. The assignment was to bring different actors in the health field closer together, so they could be more complementary and resource-effective in their work to improve health conditions in the estate. One important task was to improve the information given to the citizens concerning unhealthy behaviour and how to avoid such behaviour. The basic idea is of course that preventive measures save money in the long run. However, this post was withdrawn after a number of years because of growing deficits in the county council budget. Hence, today the preventive work is more or less cancelled and the focus has shifted towards more acute tasks within the healthcare field. When resources for basic health care are nowhere to be found, it is believed that money cannot be spent on preventive health. This is somewhat of a Catch 22 situation: it is impossible to invest today in order to save money in the future when there is a lack of resources in the present.

Most of the work currently being carried out within this policy field concern issues such as child birth and child upbringing, sex education, preventing and eliminating female genital mutilation, and information on physical activity and food.

In both Husby and Tensta family centres have been established. Their activities focus on mothers and children, and the fathers are sometimes excluded. However, the staff is aware of this and they sometimes try to more actively involve also the fathers. They have also established a health centre for young people, and seek to hire male doctors and nurses so the men do not hesitate to come. Efforts have also been made to employ people with good language skills to prevent language difficulties and they have produced information videos about how the Swedish health care system works in several different languages, to be shown in the waiting room at the health care centres.

3.9.3 Organisation of the policy

The municipality, the districts and the county council are in charge of the implementation of special measures initiated as part of the MDI. The key organisational axis is the partnership established between the county council and the municipal district administration.

3.9.4 Participation in the policy

The actual policy has come to focus on mothers and their children. This means that male health issues have been neglected and that male participation is relatively low. The main actors are primarily the municipal district, the country council and the local health care centre.

The actors who participated in formulating the policy are predominantly found at the governmental and regional level although people working in these estates since long have been aware of the specific health problems that exist and they have also argued for more resources and intensified action to come to terms with the problems. But much of the policy has therefore been influenced by local actors working more practically with health issues in the areas. The MDI policy was formulated by the state and then implemented by the municipal district and the country council. But according to the respondents much of the work was indeed initiated by residents themselves and by local actors. In this sense one could also see at least some of the interventions as anchored in a bottom-up perspective. The local actors knew about the need and they took some initiatives to respond to this need. The family centres in Husby and Tensta and a newly established central for abused woman in Tensta are direct results of the initiatives taken by individual local actors.

The fact that fairly little has been done concerning men's health can at least partly be explained by the fact that health care service in Sweden as elsewhere is dominated by female employees. It is therefore understandable if they have better qualifications to identify women's need of health care measures. In Tensta, 31 per cent of all employed in the health care sector are men and in Husby 34 per cent (USK statistics).

3.9.5 Evaluation: advantages and disadvantages

A disadvantage of the policy is its vagueness. This can be a part of the explanation as to why key actors have more or less neglected this part of the MDI. It is also obvious that the different measures taken are not gender equal; they have a tendency to prioritise women's and children's health over male health. This vagueness also makes it hard to judge if the policy is delivered according to the formal intervention decision or not.

The intention to work with preventive measures is good and can save money as well as individual suffering in the future. The disadvantages of the policy are the lack of money to do so and that this policy field is not prioritised. The advantages are furthermore that the health centres dare to bring up sensitive subjects such as female genital mutilation and gender equality issues. Important work is done at the centres for young people. Another good thing in this field is the effort to manage the misunderstandings and problems that arise out of language problems. To summarise: the advantages of the policy are a few different but successful projects but the intention of the policy as a whole to prevent bad health and increase well-being is just partly implemented and there is still a lot to be done. This policy is more or less interrupted due to budget constraints. It remains to be seen if a change in attitudes or an improved economic situation for the county council can resuscitate this policy field.

3.10 Social aspects

Conceptual dualisms such as equality-inequality, cohesion-fragmentation, inclusion-exclusion have a prominent role in the sense that they underpin and inform the interventions taking place in Tensta and Husby. As integration (basically social justice) has been identified as a basic philosophy behind the two initiatives (the MDI and the OCI) it is of course of little surprise that social aspects are the most fundamental aspects of current policy interventions in the Stockholm housing estates. It is obvious that equality between foreign-born and native Swedes is not reached with respect to several of the policy areas described above. As these inequalities co-vary with residency, residential segregation is viewed both as a consequence of the subordinate position of (refugee) immigrants and as an important cause to their subordinate position.

The policies focus on ethnic, social and economic equality but relatively little on gender issues. Because of Sweden's substantial refugee and immigrant influx over the last decades, there is political consensus that the country now is multi-cultural and that multi-culturalism should be mainstreamed, i.e. it should be an integrated part of all policies and practices. The new multi-cultural society needs other structures and policies than did the old society and the political awareness of this is obvious in the policies.

One sign of the government's dedication to take action on these issues was the establishment of the Swedish Integration Board in 1998. The government thereby changed the policy from an 'immigrant policy' to an 'integration policy' encompassing everybody and not only immigrants. The policies are about identifying and preventing structures and systems of inequalities that lead to a segregated society. The work for integration and equality is seen expressed as a work for development (www.integrationsverket.se, visited on the 16th of December, 2003).

3.10.1 Integraton and inclusion

Although integration is the key concept informing both the MDI and the OCI, it is repeatedly stated that this is not a social goal that can be achieved by actions taken only by the government or other public institutions. On the contrary, if improvements are going to be realised it will necessitate fundamental changes in the way ordinary people, work places and public institutions handle cultural diversity. The problem for interventions like the MDI and the OCI is that public institutions have a rather strong position concerning supply-side measures (such

as carrying out educational programmes that increase the level of skills for certain categories of residents) but that they more or less lack effective means to affect the demand side of the problem, i.e. that employers choose not to hire immigrant labour. Housing allocation provides another example of this problem. The municipalities may exert a fairly good control of their own housing companies but they lack effective means to control the hiring policy of private rental companies or discriminating practices in financial institutions (mortgagee).

For a long time, the municipal district staffs in Tensta and Husby have had a clear insight in these problems and they often stress that the problems facing 'their' residents are not problems that can be solved at the local level. Although they welcome the area-based initiatives, they also point out the risk that such policies tend to suggest that the problems can indeed be solved in the estates.

3.10.2 Neighbourhood actions and activities

Immigrant organisations

There are a large number of immigrant associations in both Husby and Tensta. They are often based on one specific ethnic group or a nationality and tend to focus on cultural issues. The organisations usually have a meeting place and offer activities for the members. However, some of the organisations are open for more than one group. Collaboration between the different immigrant organisations is rare. Our informants say that immigrant associations seldom engage in questions like neighbourhood renewal and they are not really encouraged to do so.

Estate festivals

In Husby as well as in Tensta the residents have their own festival or market once a year lasting for one or two days. In Husby the name is the 'Husby Festival' (Husbyfestivalen) and it started six years ago by an initiative from residents and the employees of one of the municipal housing companies. (www.svebo.se/godagrannar/_pdf/husbyfestivalen.pdf, visited on the 16th of December, 2003). In Tensta the festival is called the 'Tensta Market' (Tensta marknad). The Tensta Market has been arranged for the last 16 years. The festivals and markets have expanded over the last years and the Husby Festival had 6,000 visitors this year and the Tensta Market as many as 17,000 visitors according to one respondent. The festivals' concepts contain similar elements such as concerts, all kinds of shows, 'Tivolis', food from all corners of the world. The festivals are arranged by the residents for the residents, but they also attract people from all over Stockholm and even from abroad.

These events are very important for the estates. They offer something to be proud of and the residents have to work together to manage these events. They stimulate network-building among residents, stimulate commercial activities and help create a community spirit. People who normally do not have a reason to visit these estates get an opportunity to see the estates and to interact with the residents.

Sport

Sport is seen as an important mean for integration in our case study estates (www.stockholm.se/files/27300-27399/file_27381.pdf, visited on the 16th of December, 2003). One of the most popular sports in both Husby and Tensta is basketball. Basketball attracts both girls and boys and has almost reached a 50-50 gender goal. Basketball is also the sport that attracts most

immigrant youngsters (www.dn.se/DNet/jsp/polopoly.jsp?d=575&a=3868, visited on the 16th of December, 2003).

Soccer is also a popular sport in these estates. In both Husby and Tensta there are public baths that on certain days only allow access for women. In Husby, ice hockey is also an important sport.

3.11 Conclusion of the Stockholm cases

The conclusion of the Stockholm cases are made under six headings: policies, philosophy behind the policies, actors, collaboration and participation, projects and advantages/disadvantages.

3.11.1 Policies

Policies can be considered 'normal business' or they can be launched as a reaction upon perceived problems or they can simply be launched to avoid particular types of criticism launched by the political opposition. The types of policies which we discuss here are not considered 'normal business' but specific programmes initiated with the explicit aim to combat segregation, which in the 1990s surfaced as a big social and political issue in Sweden in general, but in particular in the metropolitan regions.

Two comprehensive area-based policies affecting our two Stockholm estates have been launched since 1995. One of these was initiated by central government and the other by the municipality of Stockholm. The policy initiated by the government by a decision in 1998 is called the 'Metropolitan Development Initiative' (Storstadssatsningen) and it includes measures regarding eight specific goals, which we have grouped into six different areas of interventions: employment, command of the Swedish language and improvements of school results, safety, culture and leisure, health, and democratic participation. These measures are to be implemented by the municipality and the municipal districts and the cost for them is divided on a 50/50 basis between the state and the municipality. In both Husby and Tensta the local district council and district administration, which are the key organisers of the partnerships set up to implement and carry out the initiative, have focused on the two first measures (employment and education). Although no formal promise was given by the government to continue funding the many programmes and projects launched as part of the MDI (only small sums of money will remain after 2003), it came as somewhat of a surprise when the government earlier this year announced that no further funding will be put into the targeted neighbourhoods in 2004.

The municipal area-based policy was initiated in 1995 and it is formally called 'The Outer City Initiative' (OCI; Ytterstadssatsningen). Since 1998 this initiative has been linked to the MDI in the sense that the MDI required a co-funding setup. Stockholm City argued that two already existing programmes should be considered as the city's contribution to the MDI, namely (1) the OCI, which shares the MDI's focus on participation and citizens involvement but deals primarily with physical improvements, and (2) the internal resource distribution scheme (introduced in 1996) that provides poor city districts with a substantial amount of extra money for running basic social services. For instance, a school in Tensta might get more than three times the sum of money per pupil as a school in a middle-class dominated district. The state accepted the proposed co-funding principle.

Although primarily aimed at physical improvements in areas dominated by municipal housing companies, the OCI had originally a broader scope: education to improve employment rates, improvements of the physical environment through renovation and planning, converting rental housing into cooperatives, mixing tenures in new buildings, safety, and improving conditions for business. However, over the years the measures came to focus almost exclusively on education, physical improvements and safety. The costs for the measures are shared on a 50/50 basis by the Stockholm City and the four municipal housing companies owned by the city. Both Tensta and Husby have been part of the Outer City Initiative.

3.11.2 Philosophy behind the policies

The overall philosophy underpinning both the state and the municipal interventions can be labelled 'integration'. During the 1990s, Stockholm experienced growing socio-economic and ethnic/racial segregation. The national economic crisis in the early 1990s hit Husby, Tensta and similar estates in a severe way and employment rates were drastically reduced. Employment rates are still very low despite a late 1990s recovery. Especially the very low level of immigrants' labour market participation rate as well as their clustering in a number of large housing estates propelled political debates and new policy strategies. So ideas of a better social, economic, cultural and political integration inspired these programmes. An element in the integration philosophy is that social and ethnic mix is a positive thing; social integration is thereby linked to ideas about spatial integration.

The socio-economic dimension is strongly linked to the ethnic dimension. This easily leads to confusion: sometimes actions are taken to make these estates more 'Swedish' as it is considered negative to have almost only immigrants in a neighbourhood. Only recently have politicians come to realise that 'immigrant-dense' areas have their pendant in 'Swedish-dense' areas; the latter used not to be seen as problematic or as part of the segregation problem. This gives us two perspectives on segregation where just one side of it is considered to be negative. Our view is that many more actors now realise that integration is a two-sided process which has to include measures that affect behaviour and planning practices in the entire city.

The Metropolitan Development Initiative also rests upon a second philosophy, the idea of economic development. During the economic crisis in the early years of the 1990s and well into the latter part of the decade, growth rates in metropolitan areas declined. Metropolitan areas are often considered to be 'engines' of the country's economic growth and it was therefore viewed as crucial to turn this development around. We have identified a secondary philosophy also in the Outer City Initiative, namely the perceived need to improve the estates' 'attractiveness'. The estates have a bad reputation and this affects the inhabitants as well as the long-term development of the estates and it affects who move in and out. One might also say that many actors perceive a better social and ethnic mix as an important element in increasing attractiveness.

3.11.3 Actors

Programmes (comprising a package of different projects within a specific field) have mainly been formulated and implemented by the municipal district council and its administration units (Department of Education, Social Affairs etc.), often in collaboration with the employment office (a county-based, state-owned unit), the municipal housing companies, local associations and the residents. Both the MDI and the OCI have had an appointed municipal district civil

servant fulfilling the role as coordinator and advisor. But we have also identified single projects that have been initiated by residents themselves. Interestingly, this has mostly been in the field of employment and educational activities. These projects have sometimes been financed by the European Union or co-funded by the EU.

Almost all projects have relied a lot upon individual actors and their intentions and will. Projects might change dramatically when a key actor is replaced and some projects even close when a key actor quits. This means that the initiatives and skills of individuals working or engaging in the neighbourhoods have a fundamental impact on certain developments.

3.11.4 Collaboration and participation

The participation of inhabitants has been emphasised in the MDI as well as in the OCI. The form for this participation has varied over time and different methods have been used in order to improve dialogue and participation. Normally, representatives of the district administration organise and chair public meetings concerning both general and more specific policy matters. It is a common experience that this type of 'bottom-up from above'-way of approaching the participation issue seldom generates participation en masse. A rough estimation is that around one hundred inhabitants per estate have been more or less active in different working groups, showing up for meetings and engaging in local discussions on strategic matters. Those who take an active interest in the meetings (and in special 'future conferences', held in Tensta in particular) tend to be inhabitants who already are active in the local community. *If* such persons have an immigrant background, they have probably been living in Sweden for many years, i.e. being part of the most well-integrated section of the immigrant population. The initiative from above to work with a bottom-up perspective was based on the fact that immigrants, many of them being recent refugees to Sweden, in these neighbourhoods were less integrated in the Swedish society. However, the theory that a participation model would lead to better integration did not work out as well in practice as it was supposed to do. There are several explanations as to why there has been a low level of participation in local development working groups and the most common is that many of the residents do not show up because of language problems.

Collaboration between different actors has been difficult in other areas as well. Traditionally, the organisation of Stockholm City and the districts is very compartmentalised and sectorised. The ambition to collaborate also demands structural changes in the administration and this process has been conflict-ridden. There is definitely a view that collaboration means giving up power and influence over decisions or at least being forced to share it with other actors. In times of budget constraints and budget cutbacks, collaboration and negotiations are seldom performed in an atmosphere of trust. Redistributing power has proved to be difficult for many actors in the administration, and it is only in one area of intervention where we have found a good example of horizontal, transversal collaboration, and that is on safety matters.

3.11.5 Projects

In terms of budget allocation, the lion part is channelled into employment and educational projects. These areas of intervention have also been linked to each other in several successful 'matching programmes' where work opportunities (identified by private firms) have been matched with unemployed people (mostly immigrants) through taylorised educational programmes. Projects on housing and the built environment were supposed to be both physical

and social but the latter type dominates the picture. Projects aiming at improved safety have primarily used physical measures (for instance investments in improved illumination and traffic safety). Health-related projects have focused on women and children and male health issues have been more or less neglected.

3.11.6 Advantages and disadvantages of the policies

The pros and cons of the above mentioned interventions are very much the same that have been identified in the international literature on area-based urban programmes (for instance in the UGIS project; Vranken and Burgess et al., forthcoming).

Advantages

- Resources for strategic planning and the analytic capacity have increased at the municipal district level. This is an effect of the extra resources provided but it is also due to the demands that especially the MDI put on the municipal districts to work out short and long term plan of actions.
- The inter-departmental (horizontal) relations have improved within the municipal district. The integrated character of the programmes necessitates cooperation and according to our sources this has worked out rather well.
- Some of the measures taken have been successful, leading to improved safety, better educational methods and better labour market integration.

Finally, Stockholm policies on large housing estates are not confined to the specific programmes mentioned here. The above-mentioned budget allocation mechanism, which ensures poor districts extra resources for schools and other social service programmes, has crucial importance for the overall situation in the estates. It is our judgement that a radical change in the calculation of such a system would have much worse social effects for the inhabitants than cancelling the MDI and OCI.

Disadvantages

- Although it is stated that the interventions should focus on *processes and not on projects* it has turned out to be problematic to find a sustainable financial solution even for successful parts of the intervention, for instance the matching programmes in Husby and the Lunda Nova Employment Office in Tensta.
- When the state or the municipality identify, select and target a poor neighbourhood it may lead to further stigmatisation, i.e. the area is not treated as a 'normal area'.
- Combating segregation (or improving integration) by measures taken only in poor and immigrant-dense areas easily means 'blaming the victim', i.e. the poor areas have to solve 'their own problems' although the problems are not generated by local but region-wide processes. Potentially important developments (like the selling-out of public housing in central Stockholm, which leads to inner city gentrification) have not been discussed from the perspective of the situation in the urban periphery.
- The two programmes (MDI and OCI) have not been integrated. They have run parallel with different coordinators both locally and in the city's central administration.

- Successful individuals continue to leave the estates. This is not a bad thing in itself but as long as the interventions have 'area goals' and not only goals for individuals the success for individuals does not necessarily translate into a success for the neighbourhood.

The Metropolitan Development Initiative has been rather thoroughly evaluated. Bunar, being responsible for evaluating the MDI programme in two southern Stockholm estates (Skärholmen and Rågsved), arrives at the conclusion that the interventions have succeeded quite well in improving 'the opportunity structure' (job related measures, teachers' competence level etc) while measures with the potential to strengthen the 'communities' (in terms of safety, democracy, culture, well-being) have been weak and with less impact on the everyday life of people living in the estates (Bunar, 2003). The outcome can of course differ between estates even if similar strategies are used but Bunar's conclusions correspond quite well with our own view of the MDI effects for Tensta and Husby.

4 The Jönköping cases

Jönköping is the tenth largest municipality in Sweden, with 119,000 inhabitants as of November 2003. The two large housing estates that are in focus in this study are located in the south (Råslätt) and in the east (Öxnehaga) of Jönköping. They were both constructed during the Million Programme (1965-1974). Råslätt is the poorest part of the municipality and has also the highest share of immigrants in the region.

This chapter focuses on policy aspects with respect to interventions in Råslätt and Öxnehaga during the recent decade. In this chapter the most relevant policies and the philosophies behind them are introduced. Furthermore we analyse the aims of the policies, as well as positive and negative effects in terms of advantages and disadvantages respectively. Participants are also identified for each policy. The method used in this chapter is the same as for the Stockholm cases, with interviews and various reports and documents from the municipality.

The problem of segregation has very much been limited to a few areas in Jönköping. A special programme for integration has been carried out in the municipality, with the objective to reduce problems tied to segregation in these areas. Within this programme more than 100 projects have been implemented focusing on (1) labour market and employment, (2) education and language skills, (3) culture, (4) public participation, and (5) sports and other leisure activities. During six years (1997-2002) the municipality spent more than SEK 40 million (approximately EUR 4.5 million). The programme has been managed directly by the city council, and the different municipal committees and organisations have had to apply for funding for each particular project.

There are different indications that support the hypothesis that the programme has been able to reduce different problems of segregation in the two areas in focus for this analysis. The employment rate as well as the income per capita has increased in Råslätt during the time of the programme. However, the business cycle was very strong during the last years of the 1990s and also in 2000. This means that one should not draw too many conclusions about the efficiency of the programme. Although, we believe that several projects that have been carried out within the programme have been successful. Different evaluations have been made that support this statement (Pettersson, 2002; Öresjö and Vindelman, 2002; Integrationsprojekt, 1997-2002, 2003). The Jönköping municipality also received SEK 10 million from the state government to develop the Integration Programme further and to carry out various forms of evaluations, etc.

4.1 Organisation of the policy

Although the Integration Programme described above is very interesting, it would be far too narrow to provide an overview of how the Jönköping municipality addresses questions concerning segregation and integration. The projects that have been carried out within the Integration Programme should instead be considered as a type of mobilising effort in purpose of influencing the routines in the different committees and organisations in the municipality. Since the Integration Programme has been managed directly by the city council, there has been a close link between policy makers and the different activities. This means that the implementation process has worked fast. An analysis of the different activities, with respect to how the various policy documents and policy programmes that are formulated in the different parts of the municipality's organisation, must be made. In these policy documents the fundamental philosophy is formulated for how the policy should be implemented on a neighbourhood level, independently or if the activities are carried out in a project form or within the ordinary work in the committees and organisations in the municipality. According to this philosophy there should be a *'cooperation between various administrations, organisations and associations, municipal housing company and the business community in Jönköpings municipality, and the members of the society should have possibilities to participate in the municipality work'*. The three catchwords in the municipalities programmes are: cooperation, integration and public participation.

The most important strategic policy documents in the municipality are the comprehensive plans. There are regulations stipulated by the state government regarding how municipalities work with comprehensive plans in the Planning and Building Act. In this regulation it is stipulated that the comprehensive plans should be revised once every election period (four years). Even if the comprehensive plans acknowledge the neighbourhood level, their objective is to point out and highlight the most wanted characteristics of the overall development of the municipality. In Jönköping the comprehensive plans are made as one merged policy document and activity programmes which are formed by different committees and organisations in the municipality. The plans show then what activities these committees and organisations will carry out on the neighbourhood level during the coming years.

The current comprehensive plans in the Jönköping municipality were approved in 2002. From these plans one finds that a number of issues are given a high priority, such as public participation, health and security, social matters, a water waste survey in the municipality, cause- and effect analysis and sustainable development. According to what is stipulated in the Planning and Building Act, the comprehensive plans have been formed by consultation with citizens in Jönköping (Översiktplan, 2002).

Another important policy document is the 'Municipal programme' (Kommunprogrammet Jönköpings kommun, 2003). This is a document, in which the Executive Committee clarifies areas that are given political priority. One example of such an area is regarding children and youngsters. In this document it is said that children and youngsters should be acknowledged in all forms of political decision-making, in a process of collaboration between the committees and organisations in the municipality on the one hand, and children and youngsters (in various organisations) on the other hand. Initiatives from children and youngsters should be carefully acknowledged and considered as important. On the neighbourhood level there should be neighbourhood groups for collaboration for children and youngsters that can ensure



Figure 4.1 – District group Öxnehaga

opportunities for individuals to make their voice heard and promote people to take active part in the ordinary work the municipal carry out for children and youngsters. One example of such groups for neighbourhood collaborations is presented in Figure 4.1. This example originates from Öxnehaga, which is one of the neighbourhoods that are analysed in Jönköping. A similar group for neighbourhood collaboration is also present in Råslätt.

The efforts to work closer with children and youngsters in practical policy-making in Jönköping have been recognised on a national level in Sweden. Jönköping received an award 1997 for this work from the board for youth and the Swedish association of local authorities. The motivation for this award was:

'The Jönköping municipality is awarded for the organisation of the well thought-out and integrated work with youth. The municipality has very clearly formulated the objectives for the policy, to promote the influence of youngsters in a general way and to integrate new forms of forum providing opportunities for youngsters to have influence in the municipal organisation' (Idéskrift om samverkan och inflytande, 1998).

Although the ambitions are a collaborative approach for policy-making, we still find that the policy programmes have developed further in the office committees oriented toward social policy, compared to the urban planning department. According to our analysis of the policy documents and programmes for activities it appears that the spatial planning administration

and the social services administration are not totally coordinated in all respects concerning the efforts to reduce segregation. There are several possible explanations to this phenomenon. One is traditions that are common to be found in the different parts of the municipalities organisation all over Sweden. Other possible explanations could be attributed to how the different parts of the municipal organisation focuses on different tasks. We will analyse this problem more in detail in the following sections of this report with respect to the parts of the policy documents that concerns the neighbourhoods that are in focus in our study.

4.2 Housing and the built environment

In Jönköping, as well as in most other parts of Sweden the new construction activity is at a relatively low level. During the middle of the 1990s the housing market in Jönköping experienced problems with vacancies. This problem has disappeared during the last years, and instead there is a shortage of housing. One explanation to this development is that Jönköping is a region that has a relatively strong growth and a positive net migration. The two housing estates Råslätt and Öxnehaga both had vacancies during the 1990s, which now have vanished.

The two large housing estates Råslätt and Öxnehaga do not look exactly the same. Råslätt consists of 30 uniformly built six- to eight-storey buildings and is a typical suburban large housing estate from the Million Programme. In Öxnehaga the entire area was designed with a mixture of living arrangements, including blocks of flats, cooperative housing and single-family housing.

In Öxnehaga one finds the blocks of flats in the middle of the area and two single family housing areas around. Öxnehaga has also one area with cooperatives. This was established in 1977 and is made up of free-standing houses with yards. All together there are 80 houses that are members in the cooperative housing society association. There are duplexes, row houses and one-level homes.

In Råslätt there are only rental flats, all owned by the municipal housing company Bostads AB VätterHem. also owns the rental flats in Öxnehaga, but in this area there are also cooperative housing and small houses. A flat in a cooperative housing society is owned by a cooperative housing society association. Tenants own a share in the association from which they have the right to rent a flat or a house. Cooperative housing society organisations own and manage the dwellings. A deposit is paid when a dwelling is occupied, and a monthly or yearly payment is made to the association for the use of the dwelling (Planungsbegriffe in Europa, 2001). The deposit serves as a price on the specific housing unit, traded at the open market.

4.2.1 The Housing Support Programme

According to the Law of Housing Support introduced in January 2001, every municipality is responsible for planning and formulating guidelines for housing support within the municipality. In the Jönköping municipality there is a Housing Support Programme for 2004-2008. Here the need for housing is listed and a judgement is made for the future needs in the municipality. The Housing Support Programme is made up of a special working group whose members come from different effected municipal committees. As their foundation, they have actual policy documents that affect the entire municipality. These policy documents come from various committees, along with prognoses for future population development. The Housing

Support Programme targets the whole municipality, specific neighbourhoods and also the estate level. In the programme all planned (known) new construction is listed. According to this list one should expect around 550 newly constructed housing units per year during the period 2003-2008.

In the Municipal Housing Support Programme for 2004-2008, which was accepted by the city council in 2003, the issues of housing for the elderly, the physically and mentally disabled, individuals with developmental problems, some households receiving assistance and people with abuse problems are particularly addressed. There is also a housing need for people that the social services actively work with and are judged suitable for regular housing. The social services have guarantee flats for these people. People who can handle living in guarantee flats should have their own lease contract and the social services should then get a new guarantee flat from the municipal housing company. In the Jönköping municipality, there is a special contract between social services, Bostads AB VätterHem and the real estate owners' association. This contract states that abusers have the possibility to receive their own lease contract for the flat. Accordingly, there is collaboration between different authorities and administrations in Jönköping.

The Municipal Housing Support Programme for 2004-2008 also addresses the problem of excess demand of small flats in the city centre, which are particularly popular among the young and elderly. Between the years of 1988-1995, there was a baby boom in Sweden, which means that the Jönköping municipality can expect an increasing demand for greater need for smaller flats in the near future. The government is trying to stimulate the building of more small flats by offering a temporary investment government grant. Along with this, it can be said that in Sweden the standard of living for flats has risen greatly in the last decade and any older flats without modern conveniences rarely exist.

Main aims of the policy

The objective with the policy is that a Housing Support Programme should be made by each municipality in order to certify that local housing markets are working as efficient as possible. According to the law the city council should present guidelines for the housing support and the provision of housing in the municipality.

Main activities included in the policy

A number of activities, beside physical construction are included in the policy strategy. Such policies are for example housing for the elderly, housing for the mental and physical disabled. There is also housing available for households that receive financial support from social services, and for people that are dependent on drugs, students' accommodations, etc. The objective is to provide everyone a housing opportunity. In the Housing Support Programme the 'Programme for Integration' is also included as a means to promote integration.

In the overall programme for housing support in Jönköping, private investors are the main actors concerning construction of new housing. Most of the new construction is planned in the central parts of the city and in areas for small houses. When it comes to actions against residential segregation in the Housing Support Programme, the municipality relies on the Integration Programme, referred to earlier in this report. It deals mainly with employment generating measures, neighbourhood networks, sport and leisure activities as well as cultural events. This will be described later on in this report.

Organisation of the policy

The Housing Support Programme is initiated by the municipality and the city council is responsible for the overall policy. On the estate level the housing company owned by the municipality and the different committees and organisations in the municipality have important roles. The city council collects information about planned investments and also initiates a dialog with private investors regarding needs and demand for housing.

Participation in the policy

The activities in the Housing Support Policy Programme are carried out primarily by the landlords, and the different committees and organisations in the municipality. In the large housing estates, the housing company owned by the municipality has an important role. In Råslätt there is no private actor at all. The investments from the private investors are mostly focused on activities in the central part of the city, and on location where the demand is particularly strong.

4.2.2 Renovation and renewal

Main aims of the policy

There have been a number of renewal activities in both Råslätt and Öxnehaga. The original construction of Råslätt was of a relatively good quality from the beginning. Nevertheless, Råslätt suffered from a lack of service supply during its first years, and the area has been renovated in different periods. In Öxnehaga the quality of the construction was worse and there have been more expensive renovation periods. The main aims of the renovation and renewal in Öxnehaga has been to improve the quality of the estate. In Råslätt the renovation and renewal has been more focused on improving the outlook of the estate and to add important service facilities in the area.

Main activities included in the policy

The renewal of Öxnehaga has been extensive. In several aspects the estates have been reconstructed totally according to an initial poor construction quality. Significant problems with stairways and insufficient soundproof flats caused a demand for comprehensive renovation and renewal to take place in the estate. During the time period 1985 and 1994 the flats in the estate were renovated and redone. The roofs were changed, the open staircases were closed in, and the flats were insulated. In some of the buildings elevators were installed. In 1991, a six-storey high-rise building was built in the centre of Öxnehaga.

When Råslätt first was completed in the early 1970s there was a lack of service facilities in the estate. The first renewal of the area was then focused on constructing various types of commercial and public buildings for services. Later on the green areas, with parks and playgrounds have been renovated and also the fronts of the buildings. The latest major investment in the area took place in the first years of the 2000s, when the centre of the area was rebuilt.

Organisation of the policy

The housing company owned by the municipality has had a key role for the reconstruction and renovation of the housing areas. The construction has been carried out by entrepreneurial constructors, on commission from the landlord and owner of the estates.

Participation in the policy

Open meetings and different forms of activities have been offered with the purpose of engaging residents in the areas to actively participate in the process of rebuilding and renovating the estates. The tenants' association has been an important part in this process. It is, however, often difficult to evaluate the degree of power that residents have in practice with respect to their influence on different decisions. In some cases this power appears to be significant, and in some cases more weak. The different committees and organisations in the municipality that work in the particular estates, and particularly the housing company owned by the municipality, are the most important actors that participate in the forming the policy.

Evaluation: advantages and disadvantages

Interviews with politicians and managers from the central office in the municipality confirm that the spatial planning administration and the social services administration are not totally coordinated in all respects concerning the efforts to reduce segregation. There are several possible explanations for this. One is related to Swedish tradition to keep such policy issues apart from each other. Nevertheless, problems with segregation are acknowledged in the different plans for neighbourhood development that the spatial planning administration makes for the different parts of the municipality. In judging the analysis of the municipality's policy documents, it appears as though segregation and integration is a question for the socially involved administrations and not as something for the Urban Planning Department. However, during the last year the collaboration and coordination between the two administrative offices has improved, which can be attributed to that there is now a senior project manager from the spatial planning administration who now acts on commission from the city council. This function is rather free standing and the distance between decision and implementation has become shorter.

The interviews from Öxnehaga shows that the people from the cooperatives think that the centre has decayed, and there is no longer the same offering of businesses and other services as there were when the area was first built. Also the supply of services in Råslätt has decayed during the last decade. In Öxnehaga it has become expensive to shop, because there is no competition between the shops, so those who live in the single family housing area and in the cooperatives usually travel to the local shopping centre to do their shopping instead. Public transportation has also deteriorated for those who do not live in the blocks of flats. To get to their area, they must change buses in the centre of Öxnehaga. The cooperative area is quite popular with a good economy and many people want to live there.

According to the interviews from Öxnehaga, the mix of different forms of tenure in the estate has not solved problems related to segregation in the area. Instead it has promoted a division of the area into smaller areas with totally different populations.

The interviews also indicate that five years ago a neighbourhood association was started in Öxnehaga which works together with the police. In this association one lives in the cooperatives and in single family housing areas. A neighbourhood association means meetings

with police and helping neighbours watch their homes when no one is home, collect the mail, move chairs that are sitting outside, hang out the washing, etc.

4.3 Employment

Employment is an area that is given a high priority in Sweden on all different levels. Since the employment rate on average is between 75 and 80 per cent for people in the working age 20-64 years, anyone who does not have a job will naturally be outside essential parts of the society. Municipalities also receive their revenues from personal income tax. This means that both individuals and the municipalities have strong motives to work and to encourage working. In other words, there are both social and economical explanations why it is considered important to have a job.

The employment rate in the two areas (Råslätt and Öxnehaga) has been very low compared to the average in Jönköping. In the year 2000 the employment rate was 57 per cent for men and 41 per cent for women in Råslätt. At the same time the average employment rate in the whole municipality of Jönköping was 82 per cent for men and 74 per cent for women. In Öxnehaga the corresponding figures was 75 per cent for men and 63 per cent for women in the year 2000. When the situation was at it worst, during the middle of the 1990s, the average employment rate in Råslätt was down to 33 per cent.

This means that the employment was approximately 30 per cent and 45 per cent below the average level for men and females respectively in Råslätt compared to the average situation in Jönköping. In this perspective Råslätt constitutes the weakest area in the metropolitan region. The figures for Öxnehaga does not reveal the situation in the large-scale housing area in a perfect way since the data also covers areas with small houses. This means that the large-scale housing area in Öxnehaga should be assumed to be on a lower level compared with the figures above. If we assume that the small housing area (30 per cent of Öxnehaga) perform as similar other small housing areas in the municipality, the employment rate in the large-scale housing area in Öxnehaga would be 71 per cent for men and 55 per cent for women.⁸

4.3.1 Employment instead of welfare subsidies

During the late half of the 1990s and the first years of the 2000s a programme for integration and stimulation of employment has been carried out in the municipality, targeted towards the large-scale housing areas in particular. The programme was called 'work as a replacement for allowance', and had the purpose to integrate people that could be considered as 'outsiders' into the labour market. The programme was carried out in collaboration between the municipality and the local labour market office. Employment was offered for a 12-month period for this group of people, which consisted of persons that where unemployed and received social services (Pettersson, 2002). Most of these persons were immigrants that never had a job in Sweden. The programme has been carried out in six different phases, each phase employing between 70 and 100 persons distributed between the four most segregated areas in Jönköping.

The philosophy behind this policy has been that long-term unemployed and people outside the labour market should be offered a possibility to have a job during a 12-month period and

8 Assuming employment rate in small housing areas are 85 per cent for men and 80 per cent for women.

be given an opportunity to benefit from this in the search for an ordinary job. The philosophy has also stressed the importance of using an 'ordinary' search process, with formal application and interviews, etc.

Main aims of the policy

Different types of employment and labour integration projects managed by the municipality of Jönköping, have had different goals for performance, in general between 50 and 70 per cent dependent on what type of population that is in focus. For the programme as a whole, the goal has been that 60 per cent of the ones who get employed in the programme should get a job or start with targeted studies. The aim of this programme has also been to stimulate the overall employment rates in the large housing estates and to provide these areas with more 'good examples' of people who have a job and thereby stimulate the integration process.

One important aspect of the project is that individuals that are 'outsiders' get an opportunity to not be sorted out by the usual allocation mechanisms. Thereby outsiders can be assumed to be motivated to enter the search process. Being employed, one can expect to receive references, access to contact networks, etc. that is most important with respect to getting new jobs in the future. Also immigrants who originate from countries where the labour market is more regulated are expected to get important experiences from the search procedure. On the individual level, the aim has been to provide outsiders with references, contacts and awareness of their competitiveness

Main activities included in the policy

The target population for the project has been people who are long-term unemployed and living on welfare, in particular immigrants. The project has offered 12-month employment, which individuals have had to apply for by regular procedures. In order to be qualified, the individuals should have been either dependent on social services or meet other criteria's for being regarded as outsiders.

The method used by the project was to identify persons that were qualified for the project and then offer them the possibility to apply (with formal applications) for the jobs offered. After applications have been made, the applicants matching the offered jobs were interviewed (approximately half of the applicants) and after this the rule of 'best man/woman for the job' was applied in order to match the supply and demand side.

Organisation of the policy

The project has been managed by a municipal committee that is in charge of labour market projects, together with the Integration Programme managed by the city council. An administrating group consisting of four project managers has been working on the project. The project managers have been working in the four large housing estates in Jönköping that exhibit most significant problems with low employment rates and segregation. The project managers have also been working in close collaboration with the staff in the different committees and organisations of the municipality that have their activities in the large housing estates.

Participation in the policy

The particular project has focused on people that are outside the labour market, in particular immigrants, who live in the four most segregated housing areas of Jönköping. The project has

been carried out in five phases, each employing around 70-80 persons. The municipality have had a leading role in the project, but also the local Office for the Public Employment Service and the County Labour Board has taken part and provided financial means for the project. The people employed in the project have mostly had their job within the public sector.

Evaluation: advantages and disadvantages

The employment rate is significantly lower in the large housing estates compared to the average in the municipality of Jönköping. The spatial concentration of unemployment has served as a motive for municipality to become involved in employment programmes in areas like Råslätt and Öxnehaga. The different administrative offices in the municipality meets the problems on the personal level, which may explain why they are likely to become involved in the labour market policy in a practical manner.

The employment in both areas is dominated by occupations in the public sector, particularly in public services, and also in retail. In Öxnehaga there are also a number of people that are employed in the manufacturing industry sector. This type of employment did not exist in Råslätt in the year 2000. This last notation is interesting since the manufacturing sector constitutes an important part of the local economy in Jönköping. Around 25 per cent of the total employment in Jönköping is within the manufacturing and construction industries.

In Råslätt 10 per cent of all people who are working have their job in Råslätt. The corresponding share for Öxnehaga is 8 per cent. In general one finds that it is rarer that people live and work in the same area, given that they live in small housing areas (between 2 and 5 per cent of all working people), compared to people who live in large-scale housing areas. Of course, people who live in the central parts of the city are more likely to also have their job in the same area (around 20 per cent). The phenomenon that people live and work in the same area is therefore tied to the large-scale housing areas, which in turn is one type of aspect of integration and segregation. Nevertheless, integration through the labour market must be considered as most important since it also reflects economic integration and makes people self-supporting by their working income.

One result from this project is that it has influenced the local labour market office to work in another way when they serve this particular type of people. New educational programmes have also been introduced, for example within social service, restaurants and teaching in elementary schools.

From an evaluation of this programme one finds that around 70 per cent of the people that took part in the programme and were hired for a year moved on to another occupation or went to study programmes after the employment had ended in the programme. The performance of this programme was in line with the goal for the programme, which was 70 per cent. Interviews with the persons that participated in the programme shows that the programme generated contacts, references and understanding of the personal competitiveness on the labour market for the individuals (Öresjö and Vindelman, 2002).

The particular form of labour market programme that is described above can be assumed to work most efficient in times of economic recovery, when the absorption on the labour market is strong. During times of recession it is likely that the positive effects from the project would be smaller. From interviews with people who have participated in the project we find that immigrants get language training on their jobs, they express that they build up a stronger self-

confidence and that they become more healthy. Nevertheless, it is also possible that a backlash occurs afterwards if they do not get a job within a reasonable time.

One effect that can be related to the project is that new forms of educational programmes have been initiated in the municipality. These programmes are particularly target immigrants' specific situations on the labour market. Such programmes are for example making some types of higher education more accessible for immigrants by relaxing various forms of restrictions (i.e. English language) that otherwise prohibit immigrants from applying to the programmes.

Finally one must notice the potential problem with crowding out that may occur from this type of employment programme. There is always the possibility that someone who gets employed by the subsidised project crowds out someone else who otherwise would have got the job unsubsidised. If this phenomenon occurs employment through the project would not be motivated.

4.4 Safety

The Comprehensive Plan in the Jönköping municipality states that every individual in the Jönköping municipality shall have a secure and safe environment in which to live and work (Översiktsplan, 2002). Safety and security are one of the objectives found in the children and youth political programme for the Jönköping municipality. The municipality believes that children and youth should feel safe and secure, through the availability of adults who will listen and care. Many adults should be given the opportunity to be involved in theme- and information meetings, as well as organised parent nights. Housing and traffic environments shall be designed so that they feel secure. Harassment, oppression and violence shall be fought against. There should be a drug- and alcohol-free meeting place with adults. The municipality's authorities shall be designed to meet the requirements of many different individuals so that everyone has an equal opportunity. Having a job can have a great effect on whether one feels secure (Så gjorde vi – ett barn- och ungdomspolitiskt handlingsprogram, 1999).

In this chapter we will present policies from the Jönköping municipality, the police and from the municipal housing company Bostads AB VätterHem. We present the policies for crime prevention from the municipality and the police together because their work is cooperative between these two administrations.

4.4.1 The Comprehensive Plan and the local council of crime prevention in the Jönköping municipality and police work with strategies for crime prevention

Health and safety are given priority at the local government level in the Comprehensive Plan for the Jönköping municipality (Översiktsplan, 2002). It is also given priority in the strategies for police work with crime prevention.

The police authority, which is a state government authority (central public office), supports the municipality in the practice of crime prevention. A local council for crime prevention has been developed within the municipality of Jönköping through close cooperation between the police, the city council and the municipality. The local chief of police of each area is responsible for the cooperation (Strategier för polismyndighetens brottsförebyggande arbete, 2000).

Main objectives of the policy

The local council for crime prevention was formed in 2001, with the main objectives that the municipality of Jönköping should be a safer and more secure municipality. Cooperation occurs between local police, organisations, associations, the business community and representatives from various administrations in the Jönköping municipality. The local council for crime prevention works with the main objectives to counteract threats and violence, as well as lighting conditions and graffiti problems (www.jonkoping.se/omjkgg/-brottsgor.htm, visited on the 8th of November, 2003).

The main aims for the police work are to prevent and reduce violence, to prevent different sorts of criminality and operative planning which means that the police are present in those areas where crime and violence are committed.

Main activities included in the policy

The local police support public groups who, voluntarily and within the law, engage in crime prevention activities. According to the police authority the existence of public engagement is necessary as a complement to the local council for crime prevention. In crime prevention work, the police cooperate with social services, social workers in the field, night patrols, security guards, and rescue services (Strategier för polismyndighetens brottsförebyggande arbete, 2000).

From interviews with the former neighbourhood police in Öxnehaga and the local police in Råslätt, it was discovered that neighbourhood police have been found in Råslätt and Öxnehaga since the beginning of the 1970s. In the middle of the 1990s, the police authority in the municipality of Jönköping was reorganised, and the neighbourhood police in Öxnehaga gradually disappeared from the area. The opportunity for the police to work closely with individuals disappeared and along with it, the possibility to make contacts, participate in daily activities, inform and lecture in schools and cooperate with organisations and associations locally. Neighbourhood police returned to Öxnehaga in the fall of 2003. In Råslätt they have existed the entire time.

In interviews with the local police from Råslätt, it was discovered that neighbourhood police have existed there since the middle of the 1970s. The duty of the local police is to work together with the various associations and public authorities that exist in the housing estate regarding among other things the situation involving children and youth. There is contact with the social services administration (especially social workers in the field), schools, recreation groups, the youth centre and the municipal housing company Bostads AB VätterHem. The police participate in the local district group that exists in Råslätt, where they can inform people about what is happening in the area and receive information from the public authorities and other associations. If something happens in the area, the local cooperation group can take care of it in different ways.

Organisation of the policy

Possibilities for the police to build relationships with those living in the area can occur in different ways. Partly through patrols around the area, both on foot and in cars where they meet those living there, and partly through visiting recreation centres where many of the youth gather, and through education in schools on laws and rights. Associations and organisations contact the police when they want information or tips on what is going on in the area. The police also give the inhabitants the opportunity to contact them by having an open locale one

day a week that is always staffed. The police in Råslätt work approximately 50 per cent of their time in Råslätt, and the rest of their time is spent working for Jönköping county. This means that they also meet many youth in the city's centre during evenings and on weekends. It is an advantage to have built-up relationships with the youth who come from the areas where they are working.

'The built-up relationships are an advantage and that is what they are missing in the Million Programme. The children and youth that live in those areas are anonymous, and similarly those who go into town are also anonymous. If we still had neighbourhood police in these areas, we would have a better idea of who lives there' (interview with the local police in Råslätt).

According to interviews with the police, the most common forms of crime are theft, breaking into cellars, breaking into cars and breaking into schools. Drug abuse is also found and is a reason as to why theft exists. Violent crimes involving the innocent rarely occur. The main work for local police is crime protection policy programmes. The municipality invests money and schools receive extra resources in Råslätt and Öxnehaga.

Participation in each policy

People living in the estates participate in the parents' group, both in working and decision-making. They work during the evenings and weekends. There is also collaboration between the police, schools, pre-schools, the social services especially the social workers in the field, different organisations, youth recreation centres and the welfare centres.

Evaluation: advantages and disadvantages

Advantages are the cooperation and collaboration between many different organisations and administrations and that the local police recognise the youth when they are in the city centre. Advantages are also the prevention activities in the local estates with which the police work. Disadvantages are that the police have less time to work in the estates than they had before.

Security and Safety Policy Programme, Bostads AB VätterHem

For the municipal housing company, safety and security are prioritised and they have a special policy programme, the Security and Safety Policy Programme. Bostads AB VätterHem's objectives are to create safety and security in the housing estates. Their work at the moment is to develop plans of action, which should be implemented on the housing estates level. For example, the municipal housing company has developed a project about safety and security in the housing estate of Österängen.

'Every year the housing company performs a survey on how it is to live in their housing developments in order to get a foundation for preventative work. The survey asks questions about the security and safety in the area. The last survey conducted showed that one-quarter of the residents in Öxnehaga do not feel safe in their area during evenings and nights. The same number has concerns about the security against break-ins. The figures for Råslätt are somewhat lower' (Nöjd-kund index Öxnehaga, 2003). From interviews with staff from Bostads AB VätterHem we know that the results are the same from other housing estates in Jönköping. Nevertheless, it is likely that there are differences between different parts of a housing area with respect to safety.

Main aims of the policy

In the policy programme one can read that Bostads AB VätterHem shall, through its actions, work towards the development of promoting safety and security for Bostads AB VätterHem's tenants and employees. Security and safety is created by designing housing areas with a safe environment in close cooperation with the public authorities and organisations. Bostads AB VätterHem shall give information and education about security and safety to the employees. The municipal housing company shall also map out their security and safety questions while at the same time work towards continuous improvement and have an effective action plan and actively work to prevent disruptions (Trygghets- och säkerhetspolicy, 2003).

Main activities included in the policy

In the Security and Safety Policy Programme are also directives for how various problems should be handled, as well as both short- and long-term preventive measures for avoiding problems. The problems which are addressed in the policy programme have to do with disturbances from tenants, damages/disturbances in and outside of the blocks of flats, threats and violence, break-ins as well as traffic and parking problems within the housing area (Trygghets- och säkerhetspolicy, 2003).

Preventive work to avoid disturbances includes having good contacts with the police, schools and the social services authority, as well as having personnel on-call that can react immediately to the reported disturbance. Additionally, information is given out to schools and recreation associations. Threats and violence are prevented by educating personnel in how to deal with conflicts and disturbances with violent individuals (Trygghets- och säkerhetspolicy, 2003).

Organisation of the policy

From interviews with staff from Bostads AB VätterHem there was an example about how different it is to work in municipal housing areas near the city centre and in outlying areas. If there are two people fighting in the housing area near the city centre people call the police but if the same situation would occur in a housing estate in the outer neighbourhood they call the municipal housing company. This means that people have different demands on the municipal housing company in different areas. In areas like Råslätt and Öxnehaga there is a clear marked expectation that the municipal housing company shall take an active part in the cooperation with organisations that work with safety and security not only in one block of flats but in the whole estate.

Participation in each policy

People who participate in the policy are employees at Bostads AB VätterHem and those who are living in the estates. During the spring of 2003, for example, the local district group in Öxnehaga (see Figure 4.1) created the improvement programme '20 points programme' as a foundation to begin a new cooperation project in Öxnehaga. The programme addresses among other things the need for parents to patrol the area during evenings and weekends (Inventering av förbättringsåtgärder – ett så kallat 20-punktprogramme för områdena Österängen and Öxnehaga, 2003). According to one interview, a parents' group from the blocks of flats, the cooperative housing area and the single-family housing area was formed in October 2003. These parents organise various activities for the children and youth and they have the

responsibility for organising parent patrols in the area. Those who collaborate in the policy are different organisations and administrations at the estates Råslätt and Öxnehaga.

Evaluation: advantages and disadvantages

Advantages are the cooperation and collaboration between many different organisations and administrations in the estates and that the municipal housing company is a part of this collaboration. People appreciate the policies from the municipal housing company that emphasise safety and security in the estates. Advantages are also the involvement from parents and other people living in the estates. Disadvantages are that it is difficult for the parents' group to survive for a longer period of time, because the work is voluntary and it is difficult to keep people in the group.

4.5 Education and skills

The educational level in the region of Jönköping is not very high compared with other regions of the same size in Sweden. Seventeen per cent of the population in the age of 25-54 years has a long-university degree (three years or more of university studies) in the municipality of Jönköping in 2003. Jönköping is on ranking number 44 of all municipalities in Sweden. At the same time Jönköping is the tenth largest municipality in Sweden. The phenomenon with a comparatively low educational level is spread throughout the whole county and correlates also with the income level. On the one hand this is a problem because the population in the region has a low purchasing power, on the other hand the lower level of salaries constitutes a comparative advantage for industries that can benefit from low labour costs. The last notation may contribute with one explanation to why the manufacturing industry is strong in the region, and why there is a high representation of small and medium-sized firms in parts of the county.

In this chapter we will present the municipality School Plan, Special Working Plans for the schools at Råslätt and Öxnehaga and some examples from linguistic development projects that are included in the Integration Programme.

4.5.1 The School Plan and the Special Working Plans

According to the municipal policy document for the elementary and secondary school, the Swedish Education Act, the National Curricula and the UN's Declaration of Human Rights for Children and the Child Convention are the basis for all activities within Jönköping municipality's School and Childcare Committee. The School and Childcare Committee is responsible for the creation of a School Plan which lays out the political priorities for the school organisation (Senior Secondary School Committee, 1999).

School management is outlined in the School Plan along with the state's documented mandate. Basically everything required for the operation of the schools is provided for within the School Plan, which is part of the municipality plan. The municipality reviews and ratifies their focus concerning schools and education annually and includes this in their Operation and Investment Plan (Senior Secondary School Committee, 1999).

The Jönköping municipality employs a 1-20 year perspective where all activities involving schools are concerned (everything from preschools on up to upper secondary schools). The goal is to prepare students with the knowledge and skills they will need to lead productive lives and

become responsible citizens. The municipal preschools and compulsory schools in Jönköping have been divided into five geographical 'schools and childcare areas.' Each of these areas has its own school board for schools from preschool to upper secondary schools. In the pre- and compulsory schools these boards are comprised of parents who make up the majority. In upper secondary schools the majority on the board is made up of students, and two students act as ombudsmen (www.jonkoping.se/sprak/education.htm, visited on the 20th of November, 2003).

Pre-school services are provided for children between the ages of one and five, and compulsory schools are for children from six or seven to sixteen years of age. There are also separate special schools for those children who have different types of learning disabilities. These schools are often integrated into the compulsory basic schools, and make up nine school years. Specially trained individuals work with these students. In the municipality of Jönköping you can find a special school of arts and culture, upper secondary schools and municipal adult education. The municipality has an obligation to provide first language tuition to pupils who speak a language other than Swedish with their parents (www.jonkoping.se/sprak/education.htm, visited on the 20th of November, 2003).

Main aims of the policy

The School and Childcare Committee has presented four main areas in the School Plan: children and youngsters, learning, the pedagogue as the leader in learning and the principal as the leader of pedagogic activities (Senior Secondary School Committee, 1999).

Main activities included in the School Plan

The compulsory schools at Råslätt and Öxnehaga collaborate very closely with the youth recreation centre and the policy plans are written in the same sense. They also collaborate with different organisations, preschools, the library, the social services, local police and the municipal housing company Bostads AB VätterHem. All committees and administrative offices in the municipality of Jönköping have the mission to collaborate with the purpose of providing children and youngsters equal opportunities and to counteract economical and social segregation.

Organisation of the policy

The schools at Råslätt and Öxnehaga make their own special Working Plans with the School Plan as a starting point, then they organise their work from those plans.

Participation in the policy

The special Working Plans are planned and worked out in cooperation between staff and pupils at the schools and parents in different cooperative district groups. Pupils and parents have possibilities to participate in the work at the schools both in Råslätt and Öxnehaga.

Evaluation: advantages and disadvantages

Advantages are the political priority regarding children and youngsters. This means that initiatives from the children and youngsters are acknowledged and considered as important. The Jönköping municipality received an award for the work with children and youth. The municipality has a lot of forums where children and youth can participate. There are also forums, especially in the schools, where the parents can participate.

Disadvantages are that many prerequisites for the ordinary school activities have been changed in the last years.

The Integration Programme – linguistic development projects

Here three projects are presented about linguistic development: 'Framtidsfolket läser i Råslättsskolan, Böcker för alla and Språkutveckling – kulturmöten – mångfald – synsätt – värderingar' (Integrationsprojekt 1997-2002, 2003).

In Råslätt schools, 85 per cent of the students have an immigrant background, and the schools in Råslätt started an extensive information campaign a few years ago on the importance of language for a child's future development. Öxnehaga also has a high percentage of students with immigrant backgrounds, and various language programmes exist here as well.

The municipality of Jönköping and the Integration Programme stimulate and support linguistic development projects with the purpose to reach the children's language knowledge level. Many of those projects are realised in the schools especially at Råslätt and Öxnehaga and two other areas.

Even today new language projects are starting in the estates, for example, one project in Öxnehaga which aims to create meeting places where personnel who work with children and youth have the possibility to discuss their work with language development at different levels.

Main aims of the policy

The objectives of these projects are to create a love of reading and creative language environments for children in the schools and to create good environments for the parents to give their children support with their studies and to turn the schools into family pedagogic centres. Another goal is to regularly provide the multi-lingual students with good and relevant literature, both in their mother tongue and in Swedish. Another objective is to work with rhythmic dance and drama in order to develop 6-8 year old's speech and communication skills (Integrationsprojekt 1997-2002, 2003).

Main activities in the policy

By creating a creative language environment, every child in Råslätt and Öxnehaga schools receives nourishment and stimulation in their knowledge and identity development. School libraries are being used to help stimulate the process, and the purchase of books has been prioritised. Another activity to help language development among multi-lingual children is the use of rhythmic, dance and drama (Integrationsprojekt 1997-2002, 2003).

Organisation of the policy

In the libraries they have obtained children's literature in Arabic and easier books for older people to stimulate the love for reading and to increase word comprehension. Meetings with the parents have been organised in order to give parents knowledge about good language developing literature and they are given the possibility of purchasing the books cheaply.

A special person has been employed (six months) to review and oversee the purchasing of books for the school library. This person also gives recommendations for appropriate purchases and other activities.

There is a project in Öxnehaga schools that involves rhythmic dance and drama to develop language skills of younger children. Translations of famous children's songs into mother

tongues (Arabic and East Syrian) develops the language skills in that the songs can be sung in both Swedish and their respective native languages (Integrationsprojekt 1997-2002, 2003).

Participation in the policy

Multi-lingual children and youth plus their parents and staff from the schools and preschools, at Råslätt and Öxnehaga, participate actively in the projects.

During interviews it was discovered that two people that run a language preschool in Jönköping's municipality were hired by the municipality after they had participated in a project within the framework of the Integration Programme.

Evaluation: advantages and disadvantages

Advantages are that people are reading more and the statistics of lending at the libraries shows that the children are reading a lot. Advantages are also that there has been a linguistic development among children and youth and their parents both in Råslätt and Öxnehaga. Disadvantages are that it has sometimes been difficult to find the right people to employ in different projects and that the projects are limited in time.

4.6 Health and well-being

The World Health Organisations (WHO's) comprehensive public health aim, equality in health, is one of the Swedish national aims for public health work. The work to promote good health deals with preventing disease and suffering of all forms. Another national aim is for all individuals to have the opportunity to develop and use their own capacity to realise their life socially, economically and mentally. This goal is valid for Jönköping county council as well. The county council is responsible for the comprehensive public health work along with the municipalities in the county, which includes the Jönköping municipality (Hälsopolitiskt programme för Jönköpings län, 1998).

In this chapter we will present the Comprehensive Public Health Plan that governs the Public Health work in the county council, the municipality of Jönköping and the different estates in the municipality.

4.6.1 The Comprehensive Public Health Plan

The Comprehensive Public Health Plan governs the public health work in the Jönköping county council. Different activities and projects are driven throughout the entire county council, the Jönköping municipality and within different estates, both for groups and individuals. Health work occurs in cooperation between the municipality, the county council, organisations and the people who live in both Råslätt and Öxnehaga.

Main aims of the policy

Public health work can be defined in many ways and the county council in Jönköping has chosen the following definition:

'The work aimed at the population shall protect and improve the individuals health and quality of life. The work shall be aimed at preventing diseases and damages at their source and at decreasing

inequality in health between different groups in the community' (Hälsopolitiskt programme för Jönköpings län, 1998, p. 2).

Public health work is comprehensive work that should permeate all activities and should be conducted in cooperation with many participants at a local, regional, national and international levels. The following six points are the comprehensive vision for the county council of Jönköping:

- *'promote cooperation and work to achieve a comprehensive view among all participants within public health work;*
- *work to promote health, prevent disease and to create equal conditions for everyone in the county;*
- *efforts specially directed towards groups most exposed to health risks;*
- *take the initiative to perform education, research and development activities within the area of public health;*
- *distribute the research and development results so that they contribute to long term sustainable development;*
- *utilise and spread experiences from local, regional, national and international public health'* (Hälsopolitiskt programme för Jönköpings län, 1998, p. 3).

Main activities in the policy

Public health work can be directed at a specific target group, for example maternity care, child care, school health care and youth counselling centres. Public health work can also be directed at organisations, where schools would be a good example. Disease prevention is also part of the municipality school plan. Health promotion activities in the schools can be the reorganisation of school classrooms, cooperation, activities against discrimination and harassment, and cooperation with parents (Hälsopolitiskt programme för Jönköpings län, 1998).

Public health work is also directed towards the individual when it comes to mammography, birth control and vaccinations. There are also child healthcare services, dentists and adult education as further examples (Hälsopolitiskt programme för Jönköpings län, 1998).

Organisation of the policy

Both Råslätt and Öxnehaga have social services and health care services nearby and available. There is a district health care centre, a dentist, a maternity clinic, a children's clinic and a social services office in both areas. This means that those that live in these areas have medical care and disease prevention (maternity care, child care and school health care, dental care and social services) in close proximity and everyone has access to these services.

Participation in the policy

Children and youth participate in health projects about, for example, prevention work against drugs and alcohol. This is often a cooperation between health care organisations, the youth centre, the school, the school-nurse, sports organisations and the police. Also parents participate in projects about health promotion in different ways.

There are possibilities for people who live in Råslätt and Öxnehaga to participate in different projects that directly and indirectly lead to better health. People for example, who live in Råslätt and Öxnehaga participate in sports clubs which indirectly leads to better health. You can also find collaboration between many organisations for example schools, police, health care centre, nurseries, youth centres, municipal housing company and others.

Evaluation: advantages and disadvantages

In Sweden, the population is considered very healthy, both in an international and historical perspective. Sweden has a health and medical service that works for everyone, or at least for almost everyone. The Swedish social welfare policy has built up trust among the citizens. Despite this, there still are those who find themselves outside the system, and the number of these individuals is escalating at the same rate as joblessness increases, abuse problems increase and the number of individuals with psychiatric problems can not get the medical care that they need (Haglund and Svanström, 1992).

Health development is effected by inequalities in living conditions between those who have work and those who have not, between those who can take care of themselves and those who depend on subsidies, as well as between the Swedish and the immigrants. Some groups run a greater risk for illness than those who live under socially better conditions.

Many of the people living at Råslätt and Öxnehaga are unemployed. The employment rate in Råslätt is the lowest among all areas and in parts of Jönköping and in Öxnehaga it is significantly lower than the average in Jönköping. This means that you have some groups in the estates with a greater risk for illness.

Participation and employment indirectly improves peoples' health. One example is a quotation from the evaluation of the project Work instead of social security, 100 Work which is a project from the Integration Programme in the Jönköping municipality where Råslätt and Öxnehaga are involved.

'First and foremost our economy has become better. I felt much better myself because I had someplace to go. I got contacts with working life and people. I stressed more but we all felt better. My children go to day care and youth centre and hang out with other children. The times we were home together were much more harmonious than before' (Öresjö and Vindelman, 2002, p. 30).

At the same time that many studies show that indirect activities targeted towards groups with greater risk for illness is important for people's health and well-being, it is also difficult to judge the long term effects of these types of indirect measures.

4.7 Social aspects

The municipality has the greatest responsibility in ensuring that the social aspects are brought up and handled. Social aspects consist of different parts of the municipal administration and are regulated in different ways. There are some mandatory activities, for example, the care of the elderly and disabled, the school and childcare administration and the administration of spatial planning. Other activities are on a voluntary basis, like the recreational and culture administration.

Social aspects are important parts of the other chapters on Jönköping concerning safety, education and skills and health and well-being and there is a close cooperation between the different participants. In this chapter we will present the social services in the municipality and the recreational services. It is these two activities that are closely related to the other chapters.

4.7.1 The social services in the Jönköping municipality

The social services is a specially regulated administration that the municipality must run. It is regulated by, among other things, the Social Services Act, the Health and Medical Services Act

and the act concerning support and service for persons with certain functional impairments (the Disability Act). In the Jönköping Municipality Comprehensive Plan it states that social services shall, as an important part within prevention services, cooperate in community planning at all levels to promote a good environment in the municipality and develop advantages for good quality of life. Included in social services are elderly care, individual and family care as well as care for the disabled. According to the Comprehensive Plan (2002) the Jönköping municipality will continue to develop social services, while at the same time further develop cooperation with the county council (Översiktsplan, 2002).

Main objectives of the policy

Elderly care is regulated mostly by the Social Services Act and by the Health and Medical Services Act. In the year 2001, there were approximately 21,000 people in the Jönköping municipality that were 65 years old or older, approximately 18 per cent of the population. This number will increase by about 11 per cent by the year 2010, to 23,000. The next decade will require increased resources within elderly care and care for the disabled (Översiktsplan, 2002).

The main objectives of social services, according to laws, are to promote economic and social security, promote equality in living conditions and promote peoples active participation in the society. Other aims are complete participation in the community, equality for the disabled and good health and care equally for the whole population (www.jit.se/lagbok/980620t.html, visited on the 19th of May, 2003; www.notisum.se/rnp/SLS/LAG/198207963-.htm, visited on the 19th of May, 2003).

Main activities in the policy

Many elderly get their needs met through home care, which means that they receive help in their own homes. This help is available around the clock. For those who require so much care that the quality of care cannot be guaranteed through home care, there are elderly care facilities available. Special accommodations for the elderly shall offer integration in different housing areas throughout the municipality so that care should be available close to relatives and residences. The municipality has about 2,000 locations situated throughout the entire municipality. Another aspect that should be addressed regarding care for the elderly in community planning is to plan built-up areas so that the elderly do not experience difficulties in living an independent life. The needs of the elderly need to be prioritised in community planning work in order to create a sustainable community for everyone (Översiktplan, 2002). There exists integrated special accommodation for the elderly in both Råslätt and Öxnehaga. The number of people 65 years and older in Råslätt for 2002 was 643 people, approximately 14 per cent of the total population and in Öxnehaga it was 584 people, approximately 11 per cent of the total population (Områdesfakta, 2003).

The municipality should offer people with different types of disabilities support in the home or, if this is not sufficient, in special accommodations for the disabled, like group homes. The municipalities' responsibility includes schools, daily activities and healthcare activities within the special facility. The most common approach is group homes that are integrated into housing areas. Housing area planning needs to pay close attention to the social environment as a measure of security and belonging. For the psychiatrically handicapped, there is a lack of housing within ordinary housing areas. The municipality must work harder so that housing areas and their outer areas have the possibility for security and solidarity for this group.

The municipality must also plan for the possibility to offer daily activities and work. Open and commercial services shall be available for everyone (Översiktsplan, 2002). There exists integrated special accommodation for people with different sorts of disabilities in both Råslätt and Öxnehaga.

Social services individual and family care has the job of providing support for individuals and families when their needs cannot be provided for elsewhere. Centralised areas of work are support for children and youth, economic assistance and help for people with drug addiction problems. The overall development of the community and the general welfare policy impacts individual- and family care. How the employment market develops, how the national social insurance system is organised and the general quality of childcare and schools also effects operations (Översiktsplan, 2002).

All people who live and reside in the municipality of Jönköping have access to all activities that the municipality has to offer in terms of individual needs. As stated before, there are special accommodations for both the elderly and the disabled in the two estates.

Organisation of the policy

A political commission exists that leads and is responsible for social services in the municipality. Then there are the civil servants who are responsible in making sure the work is carried out. Social services are available nearby to both Råslätt and Öxnehaga. Social services offices, which are staffed with personnel who work with both individual and family care, are connected to the district health care centre in the housing estates. Personnel who work with elderly care and care for the disabled are also available in these areas.

Participation in the policy

There are direct and indirect possibilities for people to participate in the policy. The possibility for people to directly participate in the social services is so that they can potentially influence their own situation. Other organisations allow for people to participate indirectly. Representative participation is possible within elderly care and care for the disabled through the existence of representatives who, through different organisations/advisors, can participate in different activities. We have presented many different cooperating groups from both Råslätt and Öxnehaga, and people from social services are included as representatives for the activities in many of these groups, like the social workers in the field.

Evaluation: advantages and disadvantages

There exists an overall sector cooperation around the social questions in the municipality, where different organisations are cooperating. Equality between the sexes, ethnic equality, social and cultural integration as well as inclusion are social aspects that should permeate throughout all municipal policy documents. Social services, school and childcare services, recreational and leisure services as well as cultural services have the greatest responsibility when it comes to the social aspects in the Jönköping municipality (Översiktsplan, 2002).

According to the laws, elderly people and people with different sorts of disabilities shall have the possibility to live life as independently as possible. The principle of normalisation is valid, which means that all people have the right to live a normal life within a community accessible to everyone. Consideration should also be given to the different ethnic minorities. There will be more and more older immigrants living in the estates, and more individuals

who will come to require social services. Their situation can be made easier by observing, for example, their special language requirements. The municipality's Integration Programme has given immigrants the chance to get work within, among other things, social services, which is a way of dealing with special language needs.

Often it can be difficult for the individual person to participate in different activities, but they have the possibility and they are able to get help from different organisations. Despite the high ambition that exists for people to influence and have control over their daily lives, in practise it seems it is difficult to live up to these high ambitions because of, among other things, the economic and cultural barriers.

4.7.2 Recreational services

Recreational services' different areas of concentration are child and youth activities, association and benefit activities, sports activities, swimming activities and administrative activities (Så ska vi göra!, 1999).

Main objective of the policy

The main objective of recreational services and their plan of action is a collective strategy policy document where it states that '*recreation services will offer and provide recreational areas, recreational activities and support to associations for all inhabitants of the municipality, regardless of where they live/work within the municipality. Our department will create opportunities for a stimulating and meaningful leisure time, good health and social inclusion*' (Så ska vi göra!, 1999, p. 3).

The main point for recreational services activities is that they are available for everyone regardless of where they live, which means that 'proximity' is an important understanding. Recreational services pay attention to which needs and wishes the municipality's residents have, and those that are most important and most asked for receive resources.

The needs and wishes that the residents have expressed are, among other things, a meaningful leisure life, social belonging, health, physical activity, special adaptations for the physically disabled, areas that offer a variety of activities and economic advantages. Emphasis is placed on the social aspects in terms of more contact and cooperations with, for example parents, in order to prevent social problems. There is good access for the disabled so that they can participate in activities. There is a large amount of flexibility to change the contents within the services based on need and request (Så ska vi göra!, 1999).

Main activities in the policy

The Jönköping municipality has one of the highest number of organisations and associations in Sweden. It has about 700 organisations and associations, of those about 400 are entitled to subsidies from recreational services. Recreational services has been divided into five districts, and each district has a district leisure and recreation officer for support. The goal with this organisation is to develop relationships, initiate new activities and offer basic training in leadership. Cooperation with the service is an advantage for the municipality and creates positive recreational habits for the members of the community (Idéskrift om samverkan och inflytande, 1998).

From a public health perspective, the Jönköping municipality has intentionally relied on simple spontaneous sport activities to complement and develop children and youth presence

to stimulate play and sports. An integrations project that finished in Öxnehaga during the summer of 2003 was the 'Puls Arena', Sweden's first spontaneous recreational area. This is an outdoor area for beach volleyball, street basketball, football, skateboard, Frisbee-golf, climbing walls, running tracks, table tennis and much more. The aim of Puls Arena is that it should suffice as a meeting place for everyone regardless of age and sex. Puls Arena is located in the middle of Öxnehaga close to the school and recreational area. This project was carried out in cooperation between children and school administration, recreational services and the municipal housing company Bostads AB VätterHem (Tidningen Fritid, 2003).

Organisation of the policy

There are a number of clubs in Råslätt and Öxnehaga that involve themselves with both the people who live there and those people who live in the Jönköping municipality. In Råslätt there are 21 organisations and in Öxnehaga there are 16. These groups work together with different municipal administrations concerning different questions and they work together within their different regions. In Råslätt one can find an Albanian association 'Liria', an Islamic Centre Jönköping, the Kurdisk Cultural Association, Råslätts Swim Club and a Syrian Association. In Öxnehaga there exists an environment that tries to create a connection between the children and youth of different areas. Some of the organisations have participants that come from the single-family housing area, the cooperative area, and the large-scale housing area. Some examples of the various associations that exist are IFK Öxnehaga (football club), Huskvarna Innebandy Club, Huskvarna Bow and Arrow Club and the Lebanese association (interviews, 2003).

Participation in the policy

The residents are stimulated to participate and effect the different activities, and this provides opportunities for those who have moved into the area. There is also a lot of room available to support and stimulate those associations that take the initiative and will run different activities within the recreational sector.

All children and youth up to a certain age have the possibility to participate in, for example, youth recreational centre activities, and they have the ability to influence the associations contents based on their wishes.

Evaluation: advantages and disadvantages

The existence of so many associations and organisations in the Jönköping municipality, and in Råslätt and Öxnehaga, are partly responsible for creating trust and cooperation between the people living there. Being a member of an association increases teamwork and builds confidence. The civilian society is made stronger if there are many associations with active members and if there is the possibility for integration.

Puls Arena is a way to motivate people voluntarily in the form of spontaneous activities. People are not required to be a member of any special association in order to use or participate in activities in Puls Arena.

Interest in participating in various associations, as well as interest in volunteer work in Sweden has diminished in the last few years, which can be a threat to the strength of the civilian community. Associations that separate themselves or which target specific groups or cultures, are a threat to cooperation and integration.

4.8 Conclusions of the Jönköping cases

The municipality of Jönköping has been working actively for ten years with an Integration Programme that has targeted the large housing estates in the city. The most important experiences from this policy programme are tied to the way it has been managed and carried out. First, the special policy efforts that have been made within the Integration Programme have also been linked and connected to the regular work and activities in the committees and organisations in the municipality. Second, the policy efforts have to a large extent been made in collaboration between different committees and organisations within the municipality and actors outside the municipality (such as housing companies).

In this report we have only been able to present a very narrow picture of all the policy efforts that have been made by the municipality in Jönköping. When analysing the work that has been done in Jönköping, it is most important to acknowledge the use of projects that are time-limited. The resources from various projects could be seen as special efforts that aim to stimulate a social mobilisation. The resources tied to the different projects have very much been integrated in the regular activities in the committees and organisations in the municipality, and therefore it is natural to see them as an incorporated part of these policy areas also. Taken as a whole, the projects can be characterised as a string of pearls serving as spearheads. This metaphor should be interpreted from the fact that in areas such as Råslätt and Öxnehaga there is a continuous need for mobilising efforts of a type that ties different actors together. The spearhead activities are in general formulated from above (not from the bottom).

A specific type of 'spirit' has been developed in Råslätt. This phenomenon has been developed over time and characterises a uniting spirit that motivates different actors working in the estate to mobilise efforts in order to 'fight' for the area in different ways (Öresjö, 1996b). For example to argue for more resources destined to Råslätt and to carry out projects in the area. This type of 'spirit' does not exist in the same way in Öxnehaga.

A special feature of the way that Jönköping uses projects that are time-limited is the propensity to establish collaboration and to coordinate activities within the different parts of the municipality and with other actors. However, these efforts are most significant with the social sector and less strong between i.e. social and spatial planning.

The policies that have been used in the Jönköping cases that targets the large housing estates in this report have been oriented towards a number of areas. Nevertheless, employment has been an area of priority. Also in the Jönköping cases we can see that 'integration' has been dominating the philosophy behind the policies. This is for example very clear concerning the policy for stimulating employment. The efforts to increase the 'attractiveness' in the areas have also served as a guideline for the policy-making.

The municipality has been a key actor concerning the policy efforts. But also other actors and, of course, the residents' participation has been given priority. In most cases the first initiatives have been taken by people who work in the municipality or by politicians, which means that it is not a pure 'bottom-up' approach that applies. Nevertheless, one could argue that the driving forces in the process come from both above and from the bottom when different projects are initiated and carried out.

5

General conclusion of the analysis of current policies on large housing estates in Sweden

When concluding the experiences of the Swedish cases it appears to be important to acknowledge the high degree of autonomy for the Swedish municipalities. The municipalities have strong fiscal power, as well as opportunities to form their own policy within several important policy fields, including education, social service and spatial planning. At the same time, the national policy sets a number of restrictions, which the municipalities have to cope with, and the state also launches specific programmes such as the Metropolitan Development Initiative. Accordingly there are significant differences as well as similarities with respect to policies targeting large housing estates in Jönköping and Stockholm. The Stockholm cases illustrate clearly the national policy of the 1990s and early 2000s in this field, while the Jönköping cases demonstrate how a municipality located outside the metropolitan areas handles similar problems. In both Stockholm and Jönköping the programmes last for a specific time-period. The report shows that although the basic philosophies guiding policy interventions are similar in the two cities there are also differences concerning for example the ambition to integrate ethnic integration policy efforts into the regular activities in the municipalities.

In this section we first present a brief summary of our conclusions, and then we also offer a further developed analysis of our findings. When we summarise the experiences from the selected large housing estates in Stockholm and Jönköping, we can identify three notions/concepts as being the most important philosophies behind the policies targeting large housing estates.

- ‘Integration’. This notion relates to ideas about social justice and social equality and has a strong ethnic connotation in relation to policies on large housing estates.
- ‘Attractiveness’. The neighbourhoods have to be attractive to live in and differences between the estates and other neighbourhoods should be minimised in order to provide conditions for a better social mix.
- ‘Fear’ of the long-term consequences of social exclusion and residential segregation. This relates to ideas about neighbourhood effects, i.e. that the present level of segregation is harmful to the goal of building a sustainable society and that children who grow up in ‘segregated neighbourhoods’ have less possibilities to develop. They run the risk of being excluded and to resort to deviant behaviour.

When it comes to policy strategies we have identified six important items:

- Policies versus large housing estates are a combination of general and selective approaches but the overall tendency has been that general policies are weaker now and do not suit so

well in a society experiencing a high level of immigration and a more pronounced level of residential segregation. Selective policies, such as area-based interventions, seem to have gained ground.

- Although physical projects are sometimes carried out, the focus is on social problems which are tackled by socioeconomic policy interventions. When physical improvement projects do occur they are not strongly integrated with social measures.
- We would like to emphasise the key role that the municipalities have in the Swedish system in general but also in the field of housing restructuring policies. Policies are differently organised in Jönköping and Stockholm, partly because of scale/resources, partly because Jönköping does not have a municipal district organisation, and partly because Stockholm but not Jönköping has taken part in the government's Metropolitan Development Initiative (MDI).

However, despite these organisational differences, the actual interventions in all four case study estates can be characterised in the following way:

- 'Bottom-up from Above' characterises the view on participation.
- Public-public partnerships are typical for restructuring efforts in Sweden. The private sector is sometimes involved but this involvement is rather weak and has a project-based character. Also volunteer organisations such as neighbourhood associations, churches and ethnic communities play a minor role in the restructuring programmes.
- Policies – both general and selective ones – are changing. Methodological development' is a key word guiding the interventions.

5.1 Philosophy behind the policy

The overall philosophy underpinning both the state and the municipal interventions can be labelled 'integration'. During the 1990s, both Stockholm and Jönköping experienced growing socioeconomic and ethnic/racial segregation. The national economic crises in the early 1990s hit the large housing estates in a profoundly negative way and employment rates were drastically reduced. Employment rates are still very low despite a late 1990s recovery. Especially the very low level of the immigrants' labour market participation rate as well as their clustering in a number of large housing estates propelled the political debate and claims for new policy strategies. So ideas of a better social, economic, cultural and political integration inspired these programmes. An element in the integration philosophy is that 'social and ethnic mix' is a positive thing; social integration is thereby linked to ideas about spatial integration.

We have also identified a second philosophy that is relevant for both the Stockholm and the Jönköping cases, namely the perceived need to improve the estates' 'attractiveness'. The estates have a bad reputation and this affects the inhabitants as well as the long-term development of the estates and it affects the flows of migrants. One might also say that many actors perceive social and ethnic mix as an important element in the strive for improved attractiveness.

5.2 Main activities and the balance between these activities

In terms of budget allocation, the lion part is channelled into employment and educational projects. These two areas of intervention have also been linked to each other in several successful 'matching programmes' where work opportunities (identified by private firms) have been matched with unemployed people (mostly immigrants) through taylorised educational programmes. Projects on housing and the built environment were supposed to be both physical and social but the latter type dominates the picture. If construction is of good quality, physical reconstructions are mostly oriented towards strengthening the commercial areas and the local service structure. This latter type of reconstruction is often motivated by reference to the need of improving the attractiveness of an area.

5.3 Organisation of the policy

It is common that different forms of policy efforts are carried out in the form of projects that have a specific time-limit. Programmes (comprising a package of different projects within a specific field) have mainly been formulated and implemented by the municipal district council and its administration units (Department of Education, Social Affairs etc), often in collaboration with the employment office (a county-based, state-owned unit), the municipal housing companies, local associations and the residents. Both the MDI and the OCI (in the Stockholm cases) have had an appointed municipal district civil servant fulfilling the role as coordinator and advisor. But we have also identified single projects that have been initiated by residents themselves. Interestingly, this has mostly been in the field of employment and educational activities (in the Stockholm cases). These projects have sometimes been financed by the European Union or co-funded by the EU.

Almost all projects have much relied upon individual actors and their intentions, will and skills. Projects might change dramatically when a key actor is replaced and some projects even ends when a key actor quits. This means that the initiatives and skills of individuals working or engaging in a neighbourhood have a fundamental impact on certain developments.

5.4 Top-down or bottom-up?

The ideal picture of the Swedish policy for renewal of large housing estates and dealing with problems related to housing segregation is characterised by the so-called 'bottom-up' process. In practice however, this often transfers into something that could be called 'bottom-up from above'. Pure bottom-up projects, initiated and carried out by the residents, often face significant problems in practice. In an evaluation of the Jönköping Integration Programme it transpired that most of the successful projects were the ones that were initiated by people employed by different municipal units. However, in order for a policy effort to be successful it appears to be of major importance that there is a broad acceptance for a specific project among people in the particular estates.

The participation of inhabitants has been emphasised in the MDI as well as in the OCI in the Stockholm cases. The form for this participation has varied over time and different methods

have been used in order to improve dialogue and participation. Normally, representatives of the district administration invite and chair public meetings concerning both general and more specific policy matters. It is a common experience that this type of 'bottom-up from above'-way of approaching the participation issue seldom generates participation en masse. A rough estimation is that around one hundred inhabitants per estate have been more or less active in different working groups, showing up for meetings and engaging in local discussions on strategic matters. Those who take an active interest in the meetings (and in particular 'future conferences', held in Tensta) tend to be inhabitants who already are active in the local community. *If* such persons have an immigrant background, they have probably been living in Sweden for many years, i.e. being part of the most well-integrated section of the immigrant population. The initiative from above to work with a bottom-up perspective was based on the fact that immigrants, many of them being recent refugees to Sweden, in these neighbourhoods were less integrated in the Swedish society. However, the idea that a participation model would lead to better integration did not work out as well in practice as it was supposed to do. There are several explanations to the low level of participation in local development working groups and the most common is that many of the residents do not participate because of language problems.

5.5 Advantages and disadvantages of the policies

The pros and cons of the above mentioned interventions are very much the same that have been identified in the international literature on area-based urban programmes (for instance in the UGIS project; Vranken and Burgess et al., 2003, forthcoming).

Advantages

- Resources for strategic planning and the analytic capacity have increased at the municipal district level and in the particular estates.
- The inter-departmental (horizontal) relations have improved within the municipal district.
- Some of the measures taken have been successful, leading to improved safety, better educational methods and better labour market integration.

Disadvantages

- The long-term effects of time-limited projects could often be questioned. When the time for a project expires it is common that financial recourses for alternative funding are lacking, which terminates the new practices even if they have proven to be successful.
- Projects that are carried out during a limited time are also likely to generate a time-limited mobilising effect among the residents. If expectations are not transferred into long-term prospects there is a risk that residents distrust new types of initiatives and projects.

Expectations play a crucial role. If people start to distrust renewal policies there is less probability that they will be successful. There is of course also the possibility that expectations are non-rational and based on incomplete information. The transferability of local success stories is often limited so even if a particular project design and method can be locally successful, contextual matters may be so important that it turns out to be very difficult to

repeat the project in another local context. Although this might be discouraging one should nevertheless not underestimate the effects that a limited project might have for the residents in a particular housing estate. Working with renewal in segregated areas has been characterised as 'swimming against the tide' by Ann Power and Rebecka Tunstall (Power and Tunstall, 1995). The performance and function of a segregated large housing estate can by various means of policies be improved, but this does usually not solve fundamental structural problems in the society. This statement is very much supported by experiences from both the Stockholm and Jönköping cases. The large housing estates remain ethnically and socially segregated, but this does not mean that the projects and political efforts are wasted.

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List of people interviewed

The Swedish government

- Mona Sahlin, Minister of Integration and Urban Policies, Stockholm/national government
- Lars-Erik Lövdén, Minister of Housing and Local Authorities, Stockholm/national government

Stockholm City

- Björn Jacobsson, director of the Integration Office, Stockholm/central city administration
- Hardy Hedman, teacher in Kista, former chairman of the Board of Integration, Husby/Stockholm/central city politics
- Erik Nilsson, mayor, Division of Education and Culture, Stockholm/central city politics
- Torsten Malmberg, project leader, 'Vision for the South', Stockholm City building office, Stockholm/central city administration
- Ingela Lind, director of the Stockholm City Planning Office, Stockholm/central city administration
- Teres Lindberg, mayor, Division of Labour Market and Integration Issues, Stockholm/central city politics

Tensta

- Marika Lundin, local office director of the municipal housing company, Familjebostäder
- Stefan Toll, local police director of the southern Järva Field
- Ricardo Osvaldo-Alvaros, social worker, former project leader of the OCI in Tensta
- Margareta Catasús, the Real Estate and Traffic Administration
- Agneta Agerbjer, local office director of the municipal housing company, Svenska Bostäder
- Lena Nordgaard, former health planner

Husby

- Rashid Chowdhury, coordinator Kista Open Academy, an open university
- Isa Turin, economic development coordinator, Kista
- Yngve Persson, local office director of the municipal housing company, Svenska Bostäder
- Gunilla Glatz, member of the crime preventing council
- Mohammad Derakhshan, member of the crime preventing council

Tensta/Husby

- Olle Hagberg, employee of the municipal school building housing company, Sisab
- Gillis Edholm, director of the municipal housing company Svenska Bostäder
- Tahir Hussain, Sisab employee and Tensta resident
- Claes Tornérhielm, shopping centres' coordinator and engaged in estate festivals

Rinkeby

- Per Granhällen, head of the crime preventing council in the neighbouring estate Rinkeby
- Börje Ehrstrand, school headmaster in the neighbouring estate Rinkeby

Jönköping

- Municipal managers on local levels and former large housing estate managers
- Residents and former residents
- District manager at Bostads AB VätterHem, Råslätt
- Project manager from the Jönköping municipality
- Local policemen
- Clergyman
- Project manager, former district manager in the Jönköping municipality
- Teacher from one of the schools
- Two district leisure and recreation officers, one working at the youth recreation centre and one who formerly worked at the youth recreation centre
- Financial manager from the Jönköping municipality
- Former chairman ÖxnehagaHem (municipal housing company)
- Project coordinator of the Jönköping municipality, former social welfare officer at Öxnehaga
- Manager Bostads AB VätterHem (municipal housing company)
- District manager at Bostads AB VätterHem, Öxnehaga
- Foreman at Bostads AB VätterHem, Öxnehaga
- Headmasters from schools
- Representative of residents' association
- Politician in the Jönköping municipality and former politician in what used to be the Huskvarna municipality. Chairman for the municipal executive board, the Jönköping municipality
- Former local policemen
- Social welfare officer in the Jönköping municipality, working at Öxnehaga
- Manager for social workers in the field
- District manager for social workers
- District manager for the child and school administration
- Chairwoman at the tenants' association

