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**Local development
agreements as a tool
to stop segregation
in vulnerable
metropolitan areas**

The main elements
of the policy





Background

In 1998 the Swedish Parliament adopted a Metropolitan Policy with the objective to “end the social, ethnic and discriminatory segregation in the metropolitan areas and to work for equal and comparable living conditions for people living in the cities”. The integrated metropolitan policy was presented in the Bill “Development and justice – A policy for the 21st century” (Gov.Bill 1997/98:165)

When adopting the Metropolitan Policy, the Government addressed the importance of tackling the problem of segregation, which exists in Sweden, and - like in many other countries – has developed over a long period of time. The segregation in Sweden is to be found especially in metropolitan areas like Stockholm, Göteborg and Malmö, where social differences had increased during periods of economic growth as well as recession. The inflow of refugees and immigrants to Sweden during the recent decades also brought up the ethnic dimension.

The Government regarded the Bill as the start of the process of cooperation between central government and the municipalities, county councils and regions concerned with a view to promoting growth in disadvantaged neighbourhoods in metropolitan regions.

The Metropolitan Policy builds upon experiences from local mobilisation work in certain metropolitan municipalities carried out 1995 – 1998 by means of central government grants for special measures. These were intended to end the negative segregation by for instance developing action plans for areas. The municipalities are responsible for tackling and solving the problems but during the past ten years the central government has been increasingly involved.

Baseline Situation

The Swedish society underwent major changes in the 1990s. The composition of population changed both in terms of age and country of birth. Working life and the labour market changed at the same time as the deregulation of certain economic sectors advanced.

While certain improvements took place, such as rapid increase of real wages, lower mortality and improvement in educational levels, the proportion of the



population with various kinds of serious problems increased. The major problems were increasing unemployment, changes in working conditions, economic problems and decline in mental well-being.

After 2000 uncertainty and recession have been significant for the international situation. This has also affected the Swedish economy. The growth has declined and was expected to be no more than 1,4% in 2003 and 2,4% in 2004. The employment rate fell in 2002 for the first time since 1995. In 2004 employment is expected to increase to 77,6 % for persons aged 20 – 64. Open unemployment increased and was 4,5 % in February 2003 but is expected to fall in 2004. Youth unemployment is high (9,4%) and very sensitive to cyclical variations.

Persons born outside Sweden were hit hard by the decline in employment during the first half of the 1990s. In 1997 employment among immigrants started to increase, but it is still lower than among those born in the EU or EEA countries.

The economic situation became precarious for many people during the economic crisis of the 1990s, but especially among young people, single parents and immigrants. Even though the situation has improved and the income is now higher, this does not apply to the lowest income households. In 1990 about 5% of the population had an income that was lower than the basic social assistance allowance. This percentage increased during the second half of 1990s, but fell again to 7% in 2000. The most vulnerable groups, single parents with children, immigrants and young people have improved their financial position considerably since 1996, but have still not achieved 1991 level. In 2001 just under one third of the recipients of social assistance were dependent on a subsistence allowance from the social services on long-term basis.

The Government has set targets to increase the employment rate and to reduce dependence on social assistance. The economic downturn makes it more difficult to achieve the targets but the prospects will be better if the favourable trend as regards employment among immigrants continues.

National Action Plan for Inclusion

The future challenges are addressed in the National Action Plan against poverty and exclusion 2003-2005. The political measures are to facilitate partici-



pation in employment and access by all to resources, rights, goods and services, to prevent the risks of exclusion and to help the most vulnerable.

In the Swedish National Action Plan against poverty and exclusion the strategic approach adopted for 2003 –2005 indicates that the focus is on raising awareness of the social integration process in accordance with the open method of coordination, since it is not sufficiently well-known in many quarters, and to encourage and support the establishment of local processes aimed at social participation in partnerships between local authorities, other relevant authorities and organisations.

The implementation of the plan is based on closer collaboration between various bodies, both non-profit and professional, and at various levels of society with the focus on the needs of the individual.

At national level it is a question of facilitating and supporting collaboration at regional and local levels, and eliminating obstacles in legislation. Another area of collaboration is the Metropolitan Policy.

The Swedish Metropolitan Policy

The aim of the Swedish Metropolitan Policy is to break down the social, ethnic and discriminatory segregation in the metropolitan regions and to take measures to achieve equal and gender-equal living conditions for the inhabitants in these regions.

This is to be achieved by increasing employment rates, reducing dependence on social assistance, improving the inhabitants' knowledge of Swedish language, improving public health and democratic participation, and reducing crime. The Swedish Metropolitan Policy is built upon two objectives:

- to support development in the urban areas towards long-term sustainable economic growth
- to break down social, ethnic and discriminatory segregation in these areas and work for equal opportunities on both individual and gender level.

In order to achieve these objectives coordinated and long-term measures are needed in order to strengthen the capacity of inhabitants in the most vulner-



able housing areas and to take full advantage of the power and capacity of those inhabitants.

The mechanisms of segregation are very complex. This is why a holistic approach as well as cross-sector actions is needed in order to stop the segregation. According to international experiences segregation can be reduced and stopped only by long-term programs, built on a holistic view on how to develop the area, involving a variety of public and private actors, and building upon the participation and involvement of local inhabitants in the development processes. Cross-sector co-operation is a central prerequisite for the Metropolitan Policy.

The growth objective is broken down into more concrete objectives like increasing the competitiveness of the metropolitan region concerning business establishment and investment. Sweden's metropolitan regions should also have access to qualified work force matching the needs of the business sector and public sector. The Government's business sector measures should be adapted to the conditions and requirements in the respective regions.

Finances

The Government allocated more than SEK 2 billion (216 million €) during 1999 – 2003 for actions in order to achieve these goals. The program is being implemented through local development agreements concluded by the Government with seven metropolitan authorities: Botkyrka, Göteborg, Haninge, Huddinge, Malmö, Stockholm and Södertälje. These authorities have in turn identified 24 housing districts that were severely hit by the economic crisis during the 1990s. The housing districts have a large proportion of immigrants.

The 24 housing districts are geographically defined according to somewhat varying principles. The common feature is that in relation to surrounding districts there is an over-representation of persons with low income, persons dependent on social assistance and persons born out of Sweden. One common characteristic is that the inhabitants are young; 70 % are under the age of 45 (57% in the whole country). Some of the municipalities have decided to have a geographical demarcation, and the whole or major part of the district is covered by the local development work, while others have demarcated certain vulnerable areas within the district.



The municipalities are responsible of implementing the agreements in partnership with all relevant actors in the districts and based upon the situation and needs in the district expressed by the inhabitants.

The metropolitan authorities have committed themselves to contributing with the same amount as the Government, which gives a total investment of SEK 4 billion (432 million €) for the Metropolitan Policy. The guideline from 1999 indicated that the main part of the funding should be allocated to local development work including sports and culture (62%), pre school activities with focus on learning Swedish (26%), language development in schools (9%) and training measures for adults (3%). In 2001 the Commission of Metropolitan Areas made a proposal concerning the concentration of the future actions on employment and education. The Metropolitan Policy funding shall not affect or reduce previously received funding for ongoing special actions or projects in the district.

By 2003 some municipalities had already spent the money allocated to them, while others will have money left until 2005. 1,5 billion SEK have been allocated to the following measures: Swedish language (32%), employment, social benefits (17%), democracy (15%), safety in the district (12%), compulsory school (9%), public health (9%), adult education (4%) and growth (2%) according to the communication to the Parliament in December 2003. The figures in the annual report by the Commission of Metropolitan Policy published in February 2004 show some changes: Swedish language 19%, employment and social benefits 19%, compulsory school 16%, democracy 12%, safety 11%, public health 7%, growth 6%, adult education 5% and overall objectives 2%.

Local development agreements

Local development agreements are the main tool for achieving sustainable development. The agreements are based on the assumption that the best results will be achieved if the efforts are coordinated and spring from the inhabitants' perspective of what will work in their own community.

The local development agreements consist of locally formulated objectives, action plans with base line description, analysis, strategy and measures, a regulation of the tasks between the state and the municipalities in the respective district, and a monitoring and evaluation plan. The plan also indicates how the agreed measures shall be financed. The local development agreements are signed



by the state and the respective municipalities and approved by the Government.

The main objective of the local development agreements is to enhance a holistic approach in the development work. Four key methods are applied by the state, the municipalities and the districts when elaborating and implementing the agreements and action plans: management by objectives, cross-sector co-operation, long-term work and bottom-up approach:

- **Management by objectives** means that the national Metropolitan Policy objectives can be linked to the local objectives in a continuous chain of objectives. These are operationalised in the local development agreements where the objectives are put into local context. An appendix offers an in depth description of how the different actors have formulated the objectives together. Management by objectives forms the basis for monitoring and evaluation.
- **Cross-sector co-operation** is particularly addressed in the local development agreements. Overall and specific arrangements for cross-sector cooperation are described in an appendix to the agreements. Several new co-operation forms have been developed within the local development agreements. Much of the work is carried out within the framework of local partnerships.
- The base line descriptions, analyses and strategies in the action plans create conditions for **long-term work** and assessments of future actions. The choice of measures is based on the assessments of previous work. In projects the focus is usually more on the idea than on long-term results. In the Metropolitan Policy the long-term based development programs form a base for future scenarios of the districts. The development process will thus extend over a longer period of time.
- **The bottom-up approach** means that all measures make the inhabitants' interests and participation their first priority. This perspective is crucial for achieving long-term effects of the activities. The bottom-up perspective is implemented on the whole activity plan, starting from the base-line description, analysis and strategy to the choice of measures. The key question in community development work is participation and the Metropolitan Policy has focused on participation structures and mechanisms in order to increase participation.

Planning and development of the local development agreements is based on co-operation between different stakeholders. The main responsible for the development work are the district groups/neighbourhood groups with repre-



representatives from the municipalities, local state authorities, health care services, housing companies and associations or councils of associations.

The execution is on the responsible departments or sector authorities. The municipality is responsible for the co-ordination and the decisions are taken by the city council after the introduction of the district group.

Organisation

The Commission on Metropolitan Areas in Sweden is a drafting body in the Government Offices whose task is to develop and coordinate national metropolitan policy. The work of the Commission is based on the objectives and approach decided by the Parliament in accordance with the Metropolitan Areas Bill. The Commission monitors and evaluates progress towards the objectives of metropolitan policy, and presents an annual report to the Government on development of the disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Members of the Commission are State Secretaries from seven ministries and the Political Advisor of the Prime Minister's office. The Commission is chaired by the State Secretary to the Minister responsible for Metropolitan affairs.

There is also a group with officials from the Ministries involved in the Metropolitan Policy.

Linked to the Commission there is a reference group for central state authorities and sector authorities.

Additionally there are regional reference groups with representatives for the municipalities and the local state authorities.

The Office for Metropolitan Affairs was set up in February 1999 to prepare and administer the work of the Commission on Metropolitan Areas in Sweden. The office is a division of the Ministry of Justice.

The local development agreements are drafted in a dialogue between the municipalities and the Commission and submitted to the Government for approval. At the beginning the Metropolitan Policy has concentrated mainly on the segregation objective but since all local development agreements are established the focus will now be on the growth objective.



Annual revisions of the local development agreements are the core element in the learning- and improvement processes. These revisions are based on a dialogue between representatives of the districts, municipalities and the state. There are three levels in the revision process: local, municipal and national.

First the districts revise their local action plans that form the base for the municipal revision. In parallel there is a revision on national level through a continuing dialogue between the state and the municipality. The municipalities provide an annual October report on the development in the districts that, together with the local evaluation reports, forms the base for the revision process.

The bottom-up approach is addressed via the dialogue between the state and actors involved at local level. The dialogues are very important as an instrument offering possibilities to direct communication with the inhabitants. Additionally there are monitoring conferences and seminars for dissemination and exchange of experiences.

In the annual reports the Commission for Metropolitan Areas reports on the progress of the work in the districts. In 2001 the Commission introduced for the first time the added value of the cross-sector local development work by explaining how measures in one target sector contribute to achieving goals in other sectors. Another issue that has been addressed in the annual reports is the inhabitants' participation in elections.

The districts have organised the development work in different manners in accordance to the situation and the needs in the area. Each district has involved local inhabitants into the development work in their own way. Some have used the existing structures, i.e. that public authorities have invited inhabitants to their meetings in the districts and arranged them in district offices, schools, housing companies etc. Others have created new structures, working groups and substructures, such as resident councils that operate more on the terms of the inhabitants. Some have arranged big meetings open to all inhabitants, others have informal meetings at occasions and places where people usually meet, like pre-schools, schools, cultural events and at meeting centres.

Evaluation is an important part of the development process. The Swedish Integration Board has since June 1999 been engaged in coordinating the national evaluation of the work on the local development agreements for the Govern-



ment. Additionally the Commission has allocated funds to the Multicultural Centre in Botkyrka for a study on the long-term development of a local society. NUTEK, the Swedish National Board for Industrial and Technical Development, will carry out a review of all the development agreements from the growth perspective. There are totally 150 evaluation reports and several other studies available on the website of the Commission www.storstad.gov.se. An external expert will evaluate the reports in order to turn the experiences into knowledge. During 2004 an evaluation program for the local development agreements will be introduced.

The local development agreements, local action plans as well as information on the policy can be found on the website, which also has a Metropolitan Forum, where residents in the 24 disadvantaged neighbourhoods can share their views on metropolitan policy and local development efforts. The information and communication is very well organised and functional and crucial for the success of the work both with local inhabitants and the different ministries.

The results so far

The actions and results are well documented, evaluated and reported since the start in 1998. 1000 actions in 24 metropolitan districts have been implemented. 250 000 persons have had the possibility to influence their personal development as well as the development in their housing district.

The overall impression is that the holistic approach and the cross-sector cooperation have contributed to a positive development in order to achieve the objectives of the Metropolitan Policy, as well as the objectives in other policy areas. Evaluations show that negative trends can be changed by Metropolitan Policy measures. There are still gaps between peoples' living conditions in the segregated districts, compared to national average in terms of employment, dependence on social benefits, education levels etc. If breaking the segregation is to be achieved, the long-term development work is crucial as the processes are often very long.

Raising the employment rate has been a priority issue within the Swedish Metropolitan Policy. New ways of working and cooperation have been established and disseminated to other districts. Local actors dealing with employment and insurance issues have been able to work with an individual approach



as a result of both increased cooperation and personnel resources. Evaluations show that the employment rate has increased more in the districts concerned than in other similar districts. The experiences from local development work will be mainstreamed into the general labour market policy.

However, the unemployment rate does not fall in the expected way, due to the fact that more and more inhabitants become customers of the employment office. The Labour Market Board reported in 2002 to the Government that the number of unemployed persons has decreased in districts covered by the development agreements, while the imbalance has increased in other parts of the municipalities. The cross-sector co-operation has resulted in common strategies for priority measures by the regional and local employment authorities and the municipalities.

According to the annual report for 2003 the employment rate increased in all the 24 districts with rates between 2% and 11% during 1998-2001. During 1998-2002 the employment rate of people with 3-year high school education increased by 6-15%. In the same period the dependence on social benefits decreased in 21 districts with rates between 1% and 13%, remained at the same level in 2 districts and increased in one district.

If the Government's objective to halve the dependence on benefits in five years by 2004 is to be achieved, there is a demand for further measures in order to increase employment.

The districts with local development agreements have experienced a more positive development as regards the decreasing dependence on social benefits than other districts with similar population structure.

The measures within preschool and compulsory school are the most developed and successful actions within the agreements. New methods and ways of working have been created, that enhance a positive development of language skills and learning among children, youth and adults. In many schools in the districts concerned the pupils have improved their results and the schools have got better reputation. The Government has contributed with additional personnel resources and enabled more support to the weak pupils.

One important objective is to reduce crime and increase safety in the districts in order to achieve the overall objectives in the Metropolitan policy: to increase



growth and stop segregation. There is a tendency that inhabitants move from the districts to a more attractive district when they get a job and when the income level is higher if the district is not attractive enough, people do not feel safe or the environment is not nice enough. . Then a movement spiral is set on course and even weaker groups tend to move into the districts when those who are better off move out. This is why it is important that the districts are regarded as attractive and safe and that crime is prevented. This is addressed in the report of Swedish Integration Board. As a result of the local development work crime prevention has been implemented through “centre hosts” and “inhabitants hosts”. Several local councils on crime prevention have been founded in the districts and they should have a central position in the future metropolitan policies.

Culture interpreted in a broad sense is a central mean in order to achieve the overall objectives in the Metropolitan Policy. Culture is addressed in many action plans as a mean to enhance a positive development in the districts. Culture can contribute to meaningful leisure activities for the inhabitants but also to improved language skills, community spirit and stronger identity. Many evaluations and studies show that the culture events and forums are the most effective ones in terms of meeting the inhabitants, involving them into activities and increasing participation instead of organised structures.

Women are a priority target group in several measures in the local development agreements. The lack of such measures was addressed in the national evaluation report published in 2002. In 2003 the municipalities have reported those measures that are aimed at improving the situation of women in the society. There are now special efforts on addressing girls. Many measures aimed at increasing employability have women with foreign background and low education as target group.

The Metropolitan Areas Policy addresses gender equality and future development actions in the districts will be based on statistics by gender or other basic facts that take into consideration differences between men and women.

Evaluations show a considerable improvement of women’s position in the labour market. The positive development regarding women at work has been stronger among women living in the districts that are part of the development work than in Sweden in general.



The role of the housing companies as well as the relation between the housing companies and the residents have changed a lot during the recent years. New working methods and organisation forms have been developed. According to the evaluation this is particularly important from the integration perspective since the housing companies have been involved in activities that go beyond their traditional roles. The housing companies through their employed staff come closer to the inhabitants than many other actors due to their continuous presence in the districts. They are able to create informal relations to the inhabitants and should be given a much clearer role in the integration process by taking full advantage of their experience. The municipalities would have much to learn from these “housing hosts”, who know much about the everyday life in the districts. According to one study the municipal administration would become much more effective if they co-operated more with them.

Participation and partnerships

The democratic participation and involvement are both objectives and measures in the Metropolitan Policy. As a measure participation is the method that ensures a long-term, sustainable and successful development of the Metropolitan Policy. Measures in other fields will affect mobilisation, involvement and participation in the districts.

The political objectives of the Metropolitan Policy are broad and can be translated and broken down in many ways, which also has happened in the districts: The local development agreement should be formulated on the basis of the conditions and needs in the districts. There must be space for local initiatives, for use of resources according to needs and for the bottom-up perspective.

The implementation of what is formulated as participation- or bottom-up perspective has not been easy. Enquiries to inhabitants, meetings and “future workshops” – a planning and participation method - were supposed to involve the inhabitants. They have got information about the project and were invited to deliver comments, proposals and wishes. As platforms for the “residents dialogue” meeting points have been supported and even created. At local centres, idea- and information offices people can meet each other but also politicians, officials, administrations and organisations.



Several studies show that there is a stronger tendency among the inhabitants to become involved in issues concerning their everyday life than in formulating objectives and strategies for the action plan. It has been much easier to gather people to events like theatre performances, outdoor movies, exhibitions etc. than to involve them in activities that requires time and continuity.

Those responsible for the actions at local level have often interpreted the objectives to realistic measures based on existing project traditions or institutional functions, which often tend to limit the participation and real involvement of the inhabitants. The shortcomings are explained by the paradox of authorities on the top mobilising participation at the bottom. The evaluations on democracy and participation clearly show the importance of local people participating in the dialogue concerning planning and implementation of the measures.

According to the report "Är medborgarna med?" (Are the inhabitants involved?) the office of Survey and Statistics in Stockholm asked the inhabitants how and where they wanted to express their opinions. Only 6-10% had participated in the open meetings of the district board that offer possibilities to meet local politicians. 20 % of the inhabitants say that they would be interested in this possibility while 20 % say that they are not. 18% would prefer to use phone or internet instead of personal meetings.

Linkworking and networking based on trust and belonging to the same group is regarded as particularly valuable. Local integrators, resource persons, are important actors in order to break the traditional forms of intervention and problem focused actions. Those who have the adequate information about the situation of the inhabitants, their living conditions and their potential should have a central role when planning and implementing the actions. By organising the actions like internal exchange between people with different kind of resources and needs, but also with solidarity interests, the gap between authorities' top-down perspective and a bottom-up perspective has decreased.

Maintaining the dialogue with inhabitants and allowing them to have control over the project improves the chances of long-term and sustainable development. The task of the municipalities is to create favourable conditions for development without trying to control it. According to the Committee on Democratic Development this also involves building a democratic infrastructure, applying the bottom-up approach and making decisions at appropriate level, i.e. those who are affected by the decisions or their representatives.



Participation of the inhabitants is an issue often addressed in the political debate as an issue of priority in successful community development work. The evaluation report "Organisering för demokrati och delaktighet" (Organisation for democracy and participation, Swedish Integration Board 2000:8) states that the circumstances were not very encouraging for increased participation when the local development agreements were elaborated. In fact the circumstances made the involvement and participation of the inhabitants difficult.

There is little or no evidence in the reports on the actual processes, but it is clear that the municipalities have been very serious about this issue. They have tried to organise residents' councils, public meetings and organised meetings with the inhabitants. In spite of the many efforts the results are weak, especially among the inhabitants born out of Sweden.

The cross-sector cooperation has contributed to a holistic view on the problems among the individuals and in the 24 districts. Above all it has been a question of taking advantage of the municipal, regional and state resources located in the districts. But the municipalities have expressed their disappointment concerning true cross-sector co-operation that should have involved all partners. In some districts there are shortcomings concerning co-operation with the insurance office, and others report difficulties in co-operation with the employment authorities. The reasons are related to lacking instructions and regulations or resources.

Co-operation within the municipalities and with the regional state authorities functions well.

The way forward

The Swedish Metropolitan Policy has now entered the second phase when the successful actions shall be mainstreamed into the existing structures. State authorities shall be given clear mandates and guidelines for achieving the cross-sector objectives, which was addressed in the national evaluation report in 2002. The agreements on cross-sector co-operation in the local development agreements shall be developed. There will be an increased demand on co-ordination of measures during the mainstreaming phase that the government intends to support.



The aim is to put the successful measures on a regular basis, transform experience to learning structures, continue the development of methods and adapt the organisational solutions among the co-operating partners in order to prevent short term project cycles in favour of long term need of the residents and districts. The focus during the transfer period shall be on a long-term learning and improvement process during which it is crucial to develop the methods for mobilising and involving inhabitants.

In some of those districts that already concluded the project the metropolitan policy has been mainstreamed. The new structures and organisation of work and co-operation became permanent after the project. More emphasis is put on developing future scenarios in all districts as a strategic tool to involve diverse groups and institutions in the society, from local inhabitants to state authorities.

The policy debate

The Swedish Integration Board conducted the national evaluation in 2002 and addressed some important issues that already have affected the implementation of the Metropolitan Policy and also brought up some issues for a broader discussion.

The question was raised whether local measures really can affect the processes that create and maintain the ethnic and socio-economic segregation. By the Metropolitan Policy the disadvantaged inhabitants in certain vulnerable housing districts can be compensated – a fact that is ever so important and affects peoples' everyday life. But the impact of these measures on the factors that generate segregation and unemployment is weak.

Breaking segregation and the process that reproduces segregated housing, requires changes in the relation between municipalities and housing districts. The factors that maintain the interregional hierarch, in which the housing districts in the Metropolitan Areas are subordinated, must be changed in the first place. The development on district level is restrained by the fact that people moving out of the district often have jobs. They are replaced by immigrants who usually are unemployed. In all housing districts the number of employed people moving out of the districts was bigger than among those moving in. The big challenge of the future metropolitan policy work is to change this socio-economic selective moving.



This conclusion does not change the fact that the situation within the 24 housing districts is developing towards the right direction – the employment rate increases while the dependence on social benefits decreases. Many of the projects aim at developing better conditions for the pre-schools and schools and to create new social and employment initiatives that has not been possible within the traditional activities. But too often they remain as separate actions with no possibilities to influence the structures that cause socio-economic and ethnic segregation.

The construction of the Metropolitan Policy is a conflict of objectives. The choice of a strategy for geographical areas on one hand and the many concrete measures in the local development agreements aiming at better living conditions for the inhabitants on the other hand, might cause false expectations since the measures targeted to individuals will not necessarily benefit the districts.

If the State intends to continue the initiation of local development work with current district focus, the objectives must be adapted to this strategy according to the Swedish Integration Board.

Another question raised is about involvement and participation. In the guidelines for local development agreements it is stated that the involvement and participation of inhabitants is crucial for the implementation of successful development work. The municipality has to demonstrate how the local dialogue to increase involvement will be implemented.

The evaluation reports show weaknesses in the involvement processes. The issues addressed by the Metropolitan Policy are far too extensive and abstract in order to really interest and engage the inhabitants. Involvement doesn't always mean real possibilities to influence the local development work. Democracy processes with success are those where there are clear incentives for the inhabitants for committing themselves to metropolitan work.

Another issue raised by the Swedish Integration Board is that growth aspects should not direct the future work within the local development agreements. The Commission on Metropolitan Areas in Sweden made a "new deal" in May 2001 by earmarking 600 million SEK for measures on employment and education. At the same time the geographic frame for the measures was widened by addressing the importance of co-operation on regional level. According to the Integration Board this means a clear divergence from the original, more holistic intentions in the metropolitan policy, and a step aside from the original idea



that the evaluations of the experiences of the local actions should direct the future work. Focusing only on some objectives reveals a certain degree of impatience by the State and might restrain the profound ambition of long-term local development. There is no evidence that the inhabitants or those working with the metropolitan policy at local level would have asked for this focus.

The Metropolitan Policy pays much attention to evaluation of the measures compared to many previous projects in vulnerable housing districts. The “new deal” was implemented before presenting the results of the local evaluations.

The European context

All EU Member States have specified their priorities in relation to the strategic objective of the Lisbon European council of making the European Union “the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world, capable of sustained economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion”. In their plans the Member States specify their priorities in relation to the objectives in this area that were agreed by the Nice European Council, supplemented by the Copenhagen Council. One of the objectives is to “mobilise all relevant bodies”.

The Swedish Metropolitan Policy and the local development agreements have been highlighted in Sweden’s NAP against poverty and social exclusion 2003-2005 as good practice for strengthened local co-operation and mobilisation of all actors, which is a goal in the EU strategy against poverty and social exclusion.

The Swedish interpretation of objective 4, mobilising all relevant bodies, is a central issue in the Metropolitan Policy. The implementation through local development agreements is exceptional in many ways. Not only does it involve different bodies in the cross-sector co-operation, it also defines the roles and responsibilities of the actors, including the financial responsibilities. The participation of the inhabitants is regarded as crucial for successful development work. There are no proposals on methods, it is up to the municipalities to decide the extent and means of participation.

Despite some shortcomings, the overall impression is that the true intention of the policy is to put it into practice and to achieve long-term development in



disadvantaged districts. The evaluation process extends over many years and provides important information on the progress of the processes and how the situation concerning employment, dependence on social benefits and the educational level has changed.

The evaluation process is still in progress, but the results so far are encouraging: they clearly show that the local development agreements have had a positive impact on the inhabitants in disadvantaged housing districts. They can contribute to positive changes in a geographical area, improve the quality of life and impact the social cohesion. The lessons that will be learned should be disseminated widely. It is of particular interest to know how the involvement of inhabitants has succeeded, which methods of participation did work and under what conditions.

The Swedish experience of the local development agreements can also contribute to the European debate on governance. Local employment development and social inclusion demands a redefinition of relationships, a redistribution of authority, responsibility and resources between those levels. Amongst the most crucial factors are the legal status and the competencies of the local level, its financial and human resources and the degree of responsibility in policy development. Finding the right balance between the administrative powers of the public authorities, the local enterprises and the civil society is what governance is about. It requires intensive communication and consciously organised co-operation between different actors.

Because of their democratic legitimisation public authorities are uniquely able to combine the diverging interests of the various players into common actions, and they are most likely to contribute to the dissemination of European policy objectives at local level as well as to ensure the transfer of local experiences and innovations from the local to the national and European levels.

In a manner analogous to the European employment strategy, the implementation of a management by objectives approach is to be recommended for employment development at local level, which should entail the procedural aspects of good governance, such as participation and partnership, transparency and accountability, effectiveness and efficiency. For many local administration units this will necessarily entail a comprehensive modernisation process: quality standards and controlling, monitoring and evaluation systems will be required.



Mutual learning is another key element in the concept of governance. In the future, through inter-municipal co-operation on European and on national levels the exchange of experiences and bench-learning processes between local partnerships could be promoted.

Cross-sector co-operation and a multi-sector approach to social inclusion is a significant feature in the Finnish and Swedish NAPs for inclusion. The Finnish NAP states that in order to prevent social exclusion and to improve people's life management skills it is necessary to increase the number of joint services agencies and to expand multi-professional co-operation between the social-, health-, education-, employment authorities on one hand and between the municipalities, the Social Insurance institution (KELA) and other actors involved on the other.

But there are very few indications on projects or measures involving people on local level in the development processes. In Finland as in many other Member States more attention is paid to co-operation between authorities and organisations in order to combat exclusion instead of empowering people and giving them possibilities to become involved in development processes at local level. This objective can be realised in various projects but they will remain as single actions as long as there is no local agreement that includes a statement on the responsibilities, the actors, the finances and mainstreaming. The Swedish Metropolitan Policy, as it is put into practice through the local development agreements, is an important contribution to the debate on sustainability in the development processes.

In relation to the Local Action Plans for Employment, LAPs, the local development agreement goes further. The local development agreements define the actions and secure funding of those actions that are planned and agreed locally. This is not always the case in LAPs. The structure and the task of the LAPs are different since they operate at municipal or even broader level while the local development agreements are very local and closer to the inhabitants. Evaluation reports of local and territorial partnerships demonstrate the same difficulties concerning participation as the evaluations of local development agreements. It is crucial that the objective is clear and that the role, task and responsibility of each partner are clearly defined.

Involving NGOs, social partners and civil society in local partnerships requires a methodological approach if there is a true interest to give them a voice. This is clearly demonstrated also in the evaluations of local development agreements.



In this context the Swedish experience and the local evaluations, that contain much qualitative information, provide new experience to the European level and may improve the implementation of other policies.

The question of local partnerships and civil society promoting better social inclusion is a matter of debate at European level. The role of non-governmental organisations and civil society at large is also a subject of debate. The European foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions has carried out much qualitative research to analyse why certain partnerships work well and how the experiences could best be transferred. The most relevant publication in this context is "Local partnership: a successful strategy for social cohesion" (Geddes 1998)

A four-dimensional approach to local partnership was adopted:

- a formal organisational structure for policymaking and implementation,
- the mobilisation of a coalition of interests and the commitment of a range of different partners,
- a common agenda and multi-dimensional action programme and finally
- a vehicle for combating unemployment, poverty and social exclusion and promoting social cohesion and inclusion.

This approach takes into account the territorial dimension to social exclusion. The traditional focus of social policies had been on sectors (housing, health and education) or categories (women, the elderly, young people, people with disabilities, ethnic groups, migrants). There was a need for these initiatives to be supplemented by a more integrated and multi-dimensional approach, reflecting the complex causes of social exclusion. Local partnerships were seen as a way of bringing together institutions and local communities to create new alliances and policy initiatives for the promotion of inclusion.

Thirty detailed studies showed that policies for social cohesion and inclusion on national and regional level could be more effective if supplemented by social inclusion initiatives at local level, especially in disadvantaged areas. The research also demonstrated how local partnerships with civil society alongside other policy programmes bring added value in the promotion of a more socially inclusive society.

The research showed that local partnerships contribute positively to both the processes and the outcomes of social inclusion initiatives. They can lead to



better policy coordination and integration as well as stimulating and creating innovative ideas. Importantly this facilitates multi-dimensional approaches to social inclusion and in this way the partnership can be good value for money.

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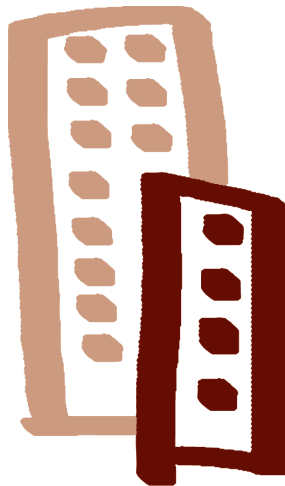
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Annex

Fact sheet



Statistics and diagram

Development within the Swedish Metropolitan Policy

Within the framework of the Swedish Metropolitan policy seven municipalities have signed a local development agreement concerning development work in 24 city districts. In this fact sheet statistics and diagrams are published to show in which way the 24 city districts have developed. The following indicators have been used:

Benefit Dependency 18-64 year, 1998-2001(%)	25
Upper Secondary Schooling (3 year) 24-64 year, 1998-2001 (%)	26
Employment Rate, 20-64 year, 1993-2001	27
Election 2002	28

In the diagrams the 24 city districts (24 stadsdelar) as a whole have been compared to Stockholms län (Stockholm region), Skåne län (Malmö region), Västra Götalands län (Gothenburg region) and Sweden as a whole.

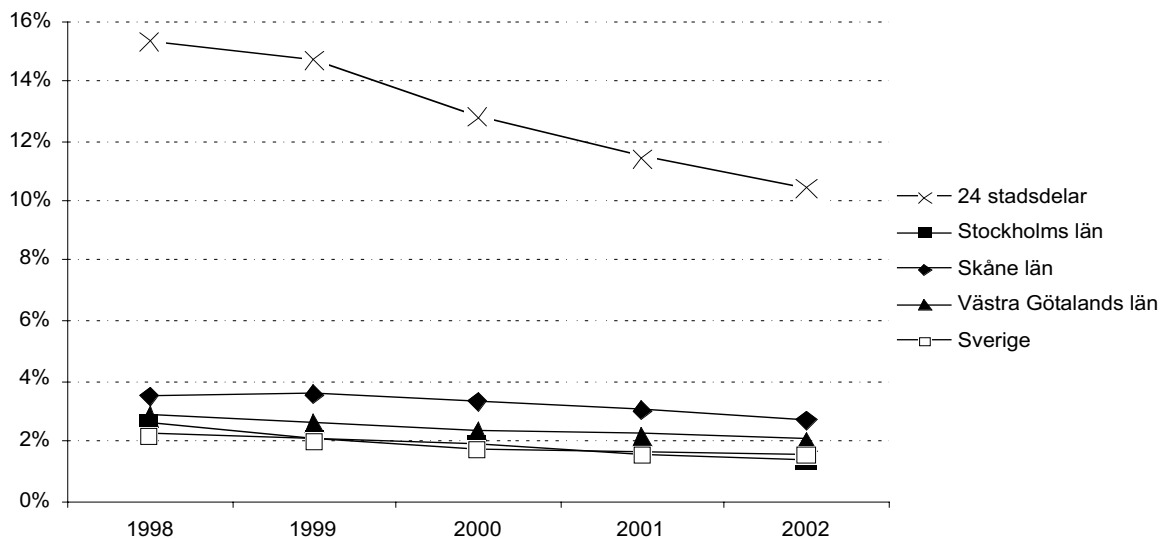
The statistic material has been delivered by the Swedish Integration Board that has developed a special database (STATIV) to be able to follow up development in the city districts within the local development agreement.

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Bureau for Metropolitan Affairs
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Benefit Dependency 18-64 year, 1998-2001 (%)

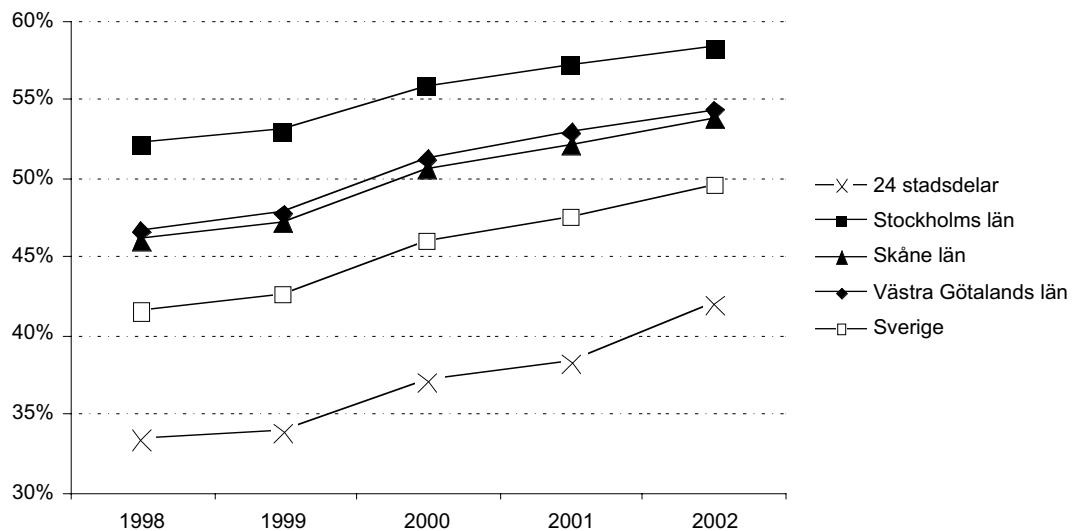
	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	1998-2002
Stadsdelar:						
V Skogås	5,4	4,9	3,6	2,5	2,4	-3,0
Vårby	6,2	6,5	5,2	4,9	4,7	-1,5
Flemingsberg	7,2	6,6	5,8	5,1	4,9	-2,3
Alby	6,9	5,0	3,4	2,6	2,2	-4,7
Hallunda-Norsborg	4,6	3,7	2,8	2,3	1,8	-2,8
Fittja	11,1	10,9	7,0	4,0	3,0	-8,1
Jordbro	4,4	3,0	2,3	2,2	2,0	-2,4
Rågsved	16,1	14,2	12,7	11,1	10,6	-5,5
Skärholmen	14,2	11,9	10,2	7,2	6,1	-8,1
Rinkeby	26,7	21,4	19,1	15,6	13,4	-13,3
Tensta	23,6	20,3	17,1	13,9	11,9	-11,7
Husby	18,0	15,4	12,9	9,7	7,6	-10,4
Fornhöjden	7,4	6,0	5,5	3,2	7,2	-0,2
Geneta	7,4	8,1	7,1	5,6	6,4	-1,0
Ronna	9,1	9,3	9,3	6,4	9,5	0,4
Hovsjö	7,0	8,2	7,4	5,1	10,9	3,9
S Innerstaden	14,4	14,7	13,3	13,0	11,8	-2,6
Fosie	13,1	15,0	13,6	13,2	11,6	-1,5
Hyllie	13,3	14,9	13,5	11,8	10,4	-2,9
Rosengård	40,5	44,9	40,8	37,5	31,8	-8,7
Bergsjön	19,0	18,2	16,9	16,9	17,5	-1,5
Gårdsten	20,6	20,8	16,9	18,2	18,0	-2,6
Hjällbo	30,0	28,4	24,2	22,5	19,1	-10,9
Biskopsgården	24,4	23,7	17,6	14,5	12,2	-12,2
24 stadsdelar	15,3	14,7	12,8	11,4	10,4	-4,9
Stockholms län	2,6	2,1	1,9	1,5	1,4	-1,2
Skåne län	3,5	3,6	3,3	3,0	2,7	-0,8
Västra Götalands län	2,8	2,6	2,3	2,2	2,0	-0,8
Sverige	2,2	2,0	1,7	1,6	1,5	-0,7





Upper Secondary Schooling (3 year) 24-64 year, 1998-2001 (%).

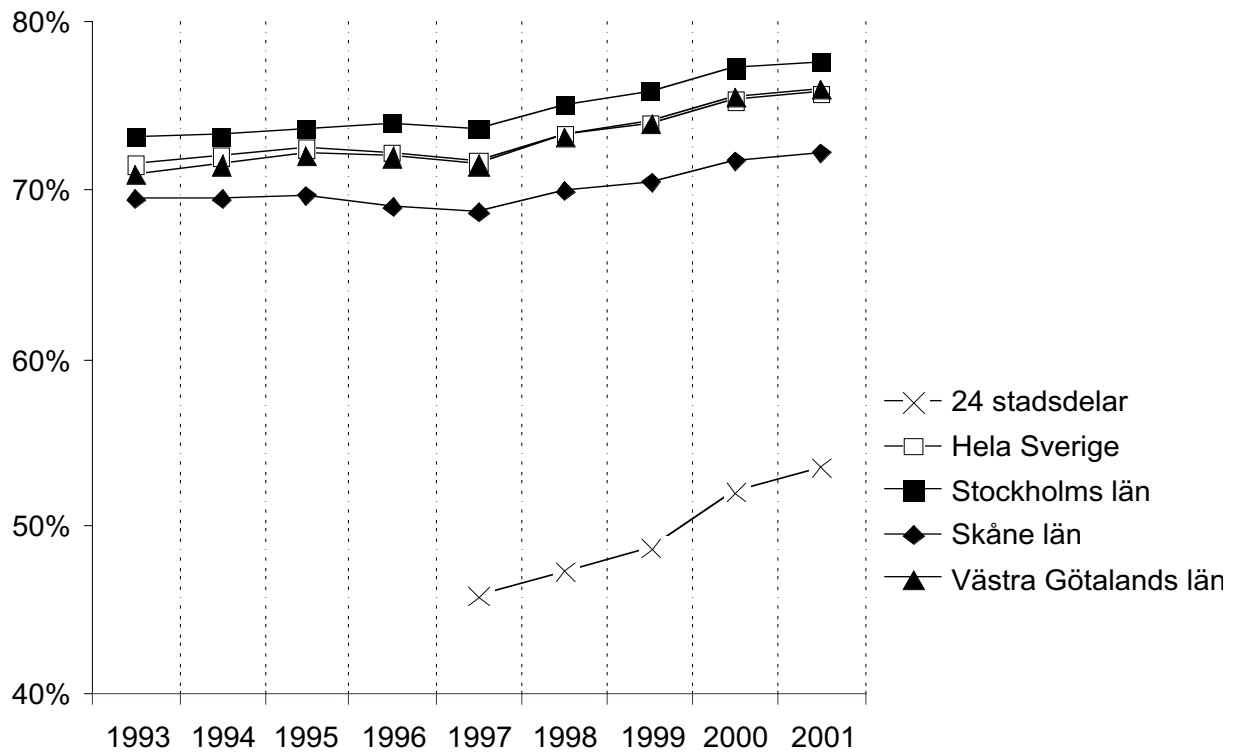
	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	1998-2002
Stadsdelar:						
V Skogås	31,7	32,9	36	37	39,4	5,3
Vårby	32,3	32,9	36,4	38	40,9	8,6
Flemingsberg	37,2	37,8	41,5	42,5	45,5	8,3
Alby	34,5	36	39,4	40,5	43,6	9,1
Hallunda-Norsborg	30,8	31,1	33,5	34,9	37,1	6,3
Fittja	25,7	26,3	29,8	30,7	33,9	8,2
Jordbro	33	33,2	35,6	37	38,8	5,8
Rågsved	37,7	38,9	41,9	43,4	46,5	8,8
Skärholmen	37,9	38,6	40,9	41,6	43,7	5,8
Rinkeby	32,3	32,3	34	34,3	38,5	6,2
Tensta	35,1	34,3	36,8	37,1	40,8	5,7
Husby	41,9	41,6	44,9	46	50,5	8,6
Fornhöjden	30,7	31,1	34,9	36,9	40,7	10,0
Geneta	22,9	23,8	27	29,2	32,7	9,8
Ronna	26,4	25,5	28,6	31,1	35,0	8,6
Hovsjö	20,7	20,6	24	26,8	31,0	10,3
Södra Innerstaden	43,9	45,9	51	53,5	58,6	14,7
Fosie	28,7	29,7	33,4	35,4	38,9	10,2
Hyllie	36,5	37	40,3	41,6	44,6	8,1
Rosengård	30,2	30,1	31,6	32,5	37,4	7,2
Bergsjön	32,6	32,7	36,5	37,9	41,7	9,1
Gårdsten	26,3	26,3	29,5	31,7	35,3	9,0
Hjällbo	32,5	32,2	34,1	35	38,5	6,0
Biskopsgården	33,4	33,9	37,1	38,8	41,5	8,1
24 stadsdelar	33,3	33,8	37	38,3	42,0	8,7
Stockholms län	52,1	53	55,8	57,1	58,2	6,1
Skåne län	46	47,1	50,4	52	53,7	7,7
Västra Götalands län	46,6	47,7	51,2	52,8	54,3	7,7
Sverige	41,5	42,6	45,9	47,4	49,5	8,0





Employment Rate, 20-64 year, 1993-2001 (%)

	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
24 stadsdelar					45,8%	47,3%	48,7%	52,0%	53,4%
Hela Sverige	71,4%	71,9%	72,4%	72,1%	71,6%	73,3%	73,9%	75,2%	75,7%
Stockholms län	73,0%	73,2%	73,5%	73,8%	73,5%	75,0%	75,8%	77,2%	77,5%
Skåne län	69,4%	69,4%	69,6%	69,0%	68,6%	69,9%	70,4%	71,7%	72,1%
Västra Götalands län	70,9%	71,4%	72,0%	71,9%	71,4%	73,2%	74,0%	75,4%	75,9%
Kommuner:									
Huddinge	74,7%	74,8%	74,6%	74,5%	74,4%	75,9%	76,7%	78,0%	78,0%
Botkyrka	69,2%	68,3%	67,5%	66,7%	66,6%	67,9%	68,7%	70,7%	71,3%
Haninge	74,3%	73,8%	73,8%	73,7%	73,2%	74,9%	76,1%	78,0%	78,5%
Stockholm	70,3%	70,6%	71,0%	71,2%	71,0%	72,5%	73,5%	75,1%	75,3%
Södertälje	70,9%	70,5%	71,1%	71,5%	71,0%	71,3%	72,1%	73,3%	74,1%
Malmö	62,4%	61,6%	61,2%	60,6%	60,4%	61,7%	62,2%	63,6%	64,3%
Göteborg	64,8%	64,7%	65,1%	65,2%	64,4%	66,4%	67,5%	69,5%	70,3%





Election 2002 (compared with 1998 %)

