



Resituating the Local in Cohesion and Territorial Development



Case Study Report
The Stockholm Commission
Measures for an Equal and Socially Sustainable City, Sweden

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Report Information

Title:	Case Study Report: The Stockholm Commission. Measures for an Equal and Socially Sustainable City, Sweden (RELOCAL Deliverable 6.2)
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Version:	3 (final)
Date of Publication:	29.03.2019
Dissemination level:	Public

Project Information

Project Acronym	RELOCAL
Project Full title:	Resituating the Local in Cohesion and Territorial Development
Grant Agreement:	727097
Project Duration:	48 months
Project coordinator:	UEF

Bibliographic Information

Borén T (2019) *The Stockholm Commission. Measures for an Equal and Socially Sustainable City, Sweden*. RELOCAL Case Study N° 30/33. Joensuu: University of Eastern Finland.

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Table 1: Basic socio-economic characteristics of Stockholm.

Abbreviations

BID	Business Improvement District
EC	European Commission
EFRD	European Fund for Regional Development
EGTC	European Grouping of Territorial Cooperation
ESF	European Social Fund
EU	European Union
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
LUP	<i>Lokalt Utvecklingsprogram</i> (Local Development Programme)
LAU	Local Administrative Unit
NUTS	Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics
R&D	Research and Development
SGI	Services of General Interest
SME	Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises

Executive Summary

Stockholm, the capital of Sweden, represents a prime example of an internationally successful and competitive city, structured around a high cost, innovation-driven economy. But it is also a socially, economically and ethnically highly segregated city. In 2014, the Stockholm City Council got a new political majority, that decided to do something about the growing inequalities. In the city budget of 2015, the most important governing document of the city, the new ruling coalition stated that the development towards a more divided Stockholm should be halted and turned. Moreover, one of the four directive objectives (*inriktningsmål*) of the city up to 2018 was stated to be that Stockholm should be an integrated (*sammanhållen*) city.

As one important measure to achieve this goal, the city created the “Commission for a Socially Sustainable Stockholm” (*Kommissionen för ett socialt hållbart Stockholm*), from hereafter “the Commission”. The work of the Commission is the focus of this case study, it is an action by the city carried out 2015–2017 that in a direct sense addresses inequalities and spatial differences in life conditions within the city. The concrete task of the Commission is to “analyse differences in life conditions in Stockholm and to propose measures for an equal and socially sustainable city”. Its work included the successful production of grounded reports with a number of suggestions relevant to increase spatial justice. Moreover, the suggestions were swiftly decided upon and started to be implemented, some of which have impact on processes related to the distribution of life conditions. In short, it is possible to conclude that this action has positively contributed to spatial justice.

With the work and suggestions of the Commission, the city has started using planning and development instruments more pro-actively. The suggestions have so far informed a number of steering documents, for example the Comprehensive plan and the city districts’ Local Development Programmes, and is also about to lead to a change in land development practices by starting to include social value considerations. These changes are also examples of how power relations are altered based on local policy development, and would also mean that local district concerns are better represented in the overall development. Hereby power is also localized closer to the population.

However, it would be premature to conclude that this is also the case in practice. The study has shown that reports and suggestions of the Commission are not well known throughout the urban administration. The study has also shown the role of a ‘personalised power vertical’. These two phenomena hamper the intended development, especially if local leaders chose to focus on other objectives than those of the Commission. Therefore, it is rather possible to conclude that the city has developed a system that on the systemic level include these options. If local people and local decision makers will make full use of them remains to be seen.

On the question if the achievements of the Commission are solely place bound or if they can be achieved also across places and times, we can conclude that the concrete results of the Commission primarily are place bound, but that the basic policy idea is not. Thus, cities around Europe that struggle with severe justice related problems in urban space and where their current measures are not enough to address them might well try a commission tasked to deliver localised suggestions for how to address the issues in a new way.

1. Introduction

Stockholm, the capital of Sweden, represents a prime example of an internationally successful and competitive city, structured around a high cost, innovation-driven economy. But it is also a highly socially, economically and ethnically segregated city with severe problems of exclusion, rule of law and poverty in a number of neighborhoods (Skillnadernas Stockholm 2015, Polisen 2017). As in many capital regions in Europe and beyond segregation is deepening, but the process “is especially fast in Stockholm” (Andersson 2017:3). In 2014, after eight years of liberal-conservative rule, Stockholm City Council got a new leftist majority that decided to do something about the growing inequalities. In the city budget of 2015, the most important governing document of the city, the new ruling coalition stated that the development towards a more divided Stockholm should be halted and turned. Moreover, one of the four directive objectives (*inriktningsmål*) of the city up to 2018 was stated to be that Stockholm should be an integrated (*sammanhållen*) city.

As one important measure to achieve this goal, the city created the “Commission for a Socially Sustainable Stockholm” (*Kommissionen för ett socialt hållbart Stockholm*), from hereafter “the Commission”. The work of the Commission is the focus of this case study, it is an action by the city carried out 2015–2017 that in a direct sense addresses inequalities and spatial differences in life conditions within the city. The actual task of the Commission is to “analyse differences in life conditions in Stockholm and to propose measures for an equal and socially sustainable city”. Under the auspices of the Commission’s key concepts – equality in life conditions and social sustainability – the action is in the present study analyzed as broadly and concretely concerned with issues of spatial justice.

Guiding the present study, moreover, is the overall hypothesis in the RELOCAL-project that “the processes of localisation and place-based public policy can make a positive contribution to spatial justice and democratic empowerment” (Madanipour et al 2017, p.74). Spatial justice, in turn, “means an equitable spatial distribution of resources and opportunities, and fairness in the relations of power that shape and transform the social space” (ibid.). Two overarching research questions are of central concern: “Can spatial justice, as a fair and equitable distribution in space of socially valued resources and the opportunities to use them, be achieved through place-based strategies?” and if so “Are these achievements place-bound or can they be also achieved across places and times?” (ibid.).¹ The Commission as a case to study thus conceptually map on well to the theoretical point of departure of the RELOCAL-project, and also as a case of developing localization processes and place-based public policy in this field.

The work of the Commission had the following four starting points (*utgångspunkter*) (Stockholm stad 2017):

¹ A note on translation and language: ‘Equity’ and ‘equitable’ as used by Madanipour et al (2017) in the quotes above is understood in relation to the Swedish word ‘rättvisa’ (fair, just, equitable) without attributing to it a theoretically significant distinction relative to ‘equal’ or ‘equality’. In the Swedish material for this study, the words ‘jämlik’ or ‘jämlighet’ is used frequently and is in this text translated to ‘equal’ or ‘equality’. Thus, this text does not discuss nor make a theoretical distinction between ‘equality’ and ‘equity’ regarding legal or other rights and entitlements, or regarding processes of differentiation (cf. Holston 2011).

The Commission's analyzes and proposals for strategies and actions are based on current research and proven experience, and will be informed by the work of other cities and regions in the field of social sustainability.

The Commission will work closely and/or within the city's operations to accelerate change. The ambition is to continuously propose measures. To make this possible, the work is done in close cooperation with the city's administrations and companies.

The Commission strives for a transparent and communicative way in which business life, non-profit sector and Stockholmers are invited to share and conduct dialogue on the Commission's analyzes and forming of strategies and actions.

The Commission's work will take into account the city's operations from an overarching perspective (*helhetsperspektiv*) when it produces analyzes and actions.

Thematically, four broad and interconnected policy fields are addressed by the Commission, or "fields of development" as they are called: a) Democracy and security/safety (*Demokrati och trygghet*), b) Work and income (*Arbete och försörjning*), c) Housing/Living and urban environment (*Boende och stadsmiljö*), d) Education and upbringing (*Utbildning och uppväxtvillkor*). These in turn are not fully sectorial but overarches several 'ordinary' or sectorial policy fields. This means that many of the suggestions the Commission produced often involved several different administrations. It is thus a cross-sectorial action. Moreover, the Commission is also in some senses working in a trans-scalar manner – from the top administrative level in the city to the local neighborhood level – with the issues at hand. The Commission should have an over-arching or holistic perspective considering the whole of the city, and not just the dis-privileged neighborhoods when formulating its suggestions for change.

As opposed to many other projects, programs or actions the city has undertaken over the years in relation to issues broadly possible to place under the umbrella of spatial justice, the Commission works with the whole of Stockholm and in a more holistic sense. Earlier, particular neighbourhoods have gotten support in a rather 'fragmented way' (Franzén et al. 2016, Andersson 2017, Holmqvist 2017). The Commission thus represents a turn away from the 'projectification' of urban social development towards a more socio-spatially integrated understanding of social and territorial cohesion. Maybe talkative of this turn is that "A city for all" is the new motto for the city under the new political coalition. In the field of planning this would mean that the large and mighty sectorial planning administrations would have to adopt new routines, i.e. a kind of structural change of planning processes that could contribute to social sustainability and spatial justice. Other initiatives of the new ruling coalition are a social investment fund and developing the role of Local Development Programmes (LUP) in the 14 city districts, of which the social fund should support initiatives by the Commission, and the LUPs be a way to both localize and further develop the results and suggestions of the Commission in the city districts. The latter thus represents a 'process of localization' that could be important in order to foster procedural justice.

The Commission started its work in 2015 and ended it in the end of 2017, and has during this time presented 17 reports plus research reports and other background materials (see Annex 8.5) with a large number of suggestions on how the city could work to even out the differences between various neighborhoods. In 2018 a 'road map' for how the city could continue the work of the Commission and further follow up/implement its suggestions was produced (Färdplan 2018). However, when the road map was in the internal consulta-

tion phase, there was a new round of elections to the City Council (September 2018), and as often in Stockholm politics the governing majority was replaced. The new council did not prolong the Commission but some of its initiatives live on within the different urban administrations.

The primary target group of the Commission would be all Stockholmers as the Commission argues in their first report that all Stockholmers would gain socially and economically on equality in life conditions (Skillnadernas Stockholm, 2015), although in later documents from the city it is stated that the dis-privileged neighborhoods should be prioritized. However, based on the Commission's aim to level out differences it could also be assumed that the most dis-privileged in the current situation would also have the most to gain by the action. In fact, this would mean segregated districts and neighborhoods with low incomes, high un-employment figures, high rate of migrants, worse health situation and low level of education. In short, places that show many of the negative features of marginalisation and exclusion. It could also not be left out, as pointed to in an interview (Interview 8), that the more privileged groups and neighborhoods are negatively affected when measures are taken to level out differences, although this is not the aim of the Commission.

The work of the Commission is clearly connected to academic discourses in Sweden and beyond of social sustainability and to academic discourses of public health and well-being, but is not explicitly or directly related to any national or EU-policies or strategies (see Annex 8.4.5). Conceptual influences of these would be limited as the Commission primarily draws upon discourses based on the city's internal expertise and on academic work by external researchers. It is also, albeit in a more distant way, influenced by the ideological preferences of the new (2014–2018) political majority.

2. Methodological Reflection

The present study is conducted and structured according to the questions and headlines in the methodological framework developed within the RELOCAL-project (see Weck et al 2018). Important in this is that the study is primarily concerned with an action, rather than the place of the action. The action should moreover be analysed empirically and accounted for without support of literature sections of theory or background. The action in this case study is well documented and much of the processes and results of the action are described in detail in reports and minutes of various kind. Method-wise this promotes document analyses as a key method, but it also means that the interviews and other original material (see Annex 8.1) created in the research process starts from an informed level. For the study, 22 people have been interviewed in semi-structured in-depth expert interviews. In addition, 22 people (local 'place-users') were interviewed in shorter, structured interviews with questions concerning participation and engagement. A number of shorter field visits and participation in two seminars also contribute to the underpinning of the study. (See further Annex 8.4.1.)

The following analyses focus on "Housing/Living and the urban environment" (*Boende och stadsmiljö*), which is the one of the four policy fields of the Commission which most relate to urban geography and planning as a scholarly field. The choice thus also reflects the expertise of the Stockholm research team, which is a prerequisite when analysing knowledge-intense policy actions and the work of other experts. The particular theme aside, the policy field covered here should primarily be regarded as an example of how themes of various kinds might be engaged with in order to organise a city in a quest for spatial justice.

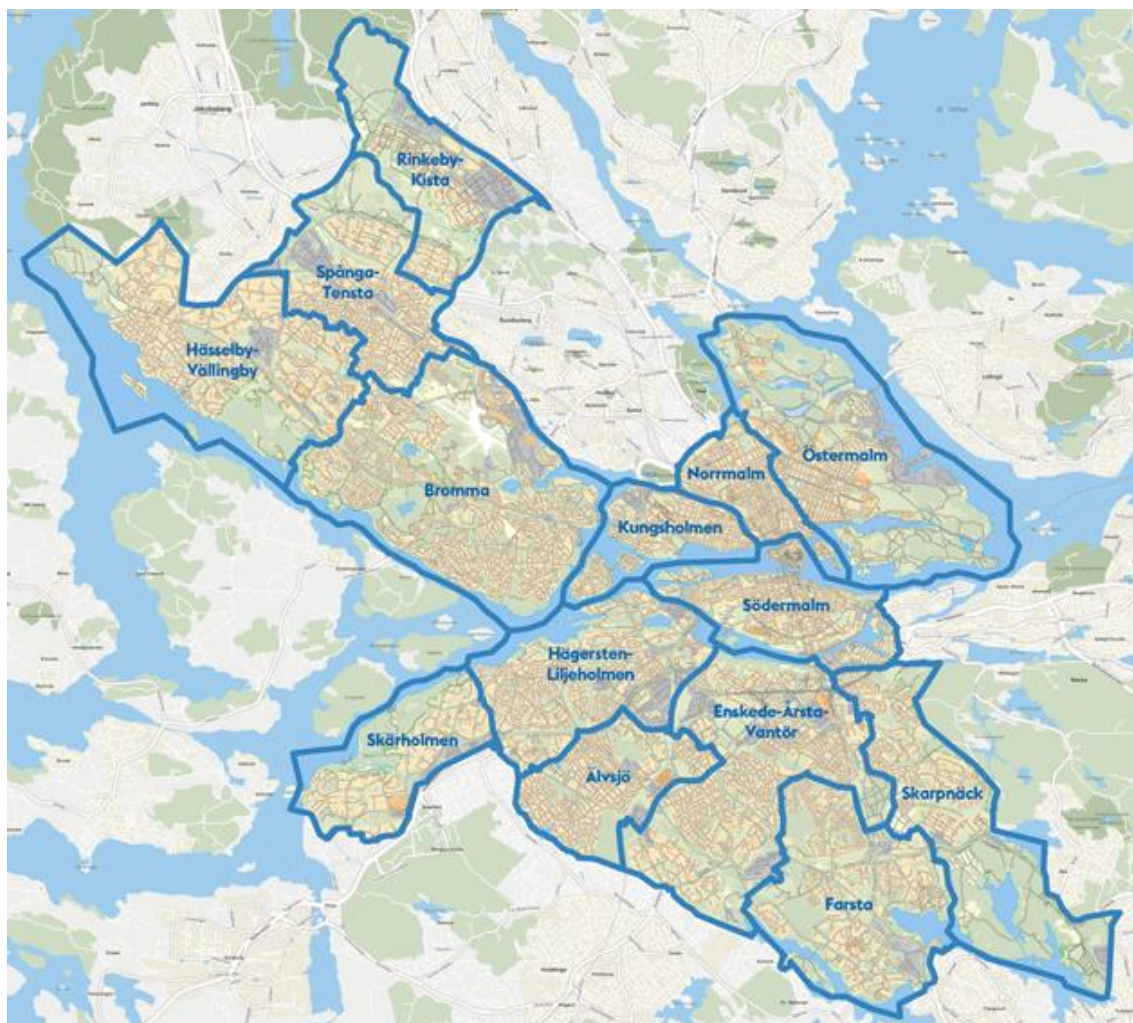
3. The Locality

3.1 Territorial Context and Characteristics of the Locality

The overall development of Stockholm and some of the factors, e.g. housing, that limit its development is shortly discussed below and in Annex 8.4.2.

Name of Case Study Area	Stockholm stad / Stockholm municipality
Self-governing entity	Yes
Size	187,16 km ²
Total population (1)	2010: 847 073 2017: 949 761
Population density (2017) (2)	5100 persons per km ² land
Number of neighbourhoods	133
Number of City Districts	14
Mean annual income Stockholm (age 20-64) (3)	2014: 366 300 SEK 2015: 378 900 2016: 392 400 (1 Euro = 10,45 SEK, March 2019)
City District (Östermalm) with highest mean annual income 2016 (age 20-64) (3)	2014: 468 000 SEK 2015: 486 500 2016: 505 500 (1 Euro = 10,45 SEK, March 2019)
City District (Skärholmen) with lowest mean annual income 2016 (age 20-64) (3)	2014: 240 200 SEK 2015: 247 300 2016: 256 800 (1 Euro = 10,45 SEK, March 2019)
Level of development in relation to wider socio-economic context <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Disadvantaged within a developed region/city? Disadvantaged within a wider underdeveloped region? 	In Stockholm stad there are disadvantaged neighbourhoods within a developed city (and region).
Type of the region (NUTS3-Eurostat) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Predominantly urban? Intermediate? Predominantly rural? 	Predominantly urban.
Name and Identification Code of the NUTS-3 area, in which the locality is situated (NUTS 3 Code as of 2013)	SE 110 Stockholms län / Stockholm County
Name and Identification Code of the NUTS-2 area, in which the locality is situated (NUTS 2 Code as of 2013)	SE 11 Stockholm

Table 1: Basic socio-economic characteristics of Stockholm. Source: (1) Statistik om Stockholm (2019a). (2) Statistik om Stockholm (2019b). (3) Statistik om Stockholm (2019c).



Map 1. City districts, Stockholm. Skärholmen is an outer district located in the southwest of the city. Source: Stockholm stad, <http://www.stockholm.se/OmStockholm/Forvaltningar-och-bolag/Stadsdelsforvaltningar/> (retrieved 20 September 2018)



Figure 1. Bredäng, Skärholmen District in Stockholm. Photo: Lennart Johansson. Source: Fokus Skärholmen (2018). <https://vaexer.stockholm/omraden/fokus-skarholmen?page=21-9388=9> (Retrieved 20 September 2018.) (Used with the kind permission of Stockholm stad)

3.2 The Locality with regards to Dimensions 1 & 2

Analytical Dimension 1: Perception of spatial (in-)justice within the locality

Perceptions of segregation and understandings of spatial justice

The main stakeholder Stockholm stad has a clear, grounded and detailed perception of the segregation and fragmentation of the city concerning differences between districts and between neighbourhoods. They are aware of differences not only about standard measures of e.g. income, employment and level of education, but also in regard to many factors of everyday life such as health and dental health, schooling, safety and security, engagement in NGOs, sport clubs or other associations, and the grade to which these differences are existing in the various neighbourhoods. One of the main aims of the Commission has actually been to map out – over the whole city – how various districts and neighbourhoods differ (Skillnadernas Stockholm 2015). The differences are severe and highly problematic in a number of respects, not least because it includes the development of parallel societies in some neighbourhoods where rule of law is lost, where the freedoms and opportunities normal in developed democracies are encroached, and where other norms apply (Polisen 2017). The situation is especially problematic in twelve neighbourhoods (with 126 000 people, close to 15 % of the Stockholm population) (see further Annex 8.4.3).

The reasons for the development of these differences are not really discussed in detail by the Commission, but it states that the migration streams of how variously endowed (income-wise) people both from within and from without the city choose where to live is one important factor as to why segregation has occurred (Skillnadernas Stockholm 2015, p.14-15). However, in one of the research reports of the Commission, the reasons for segregation are spelled out more clearly:

The combined result of weak housing politics, market dominated building, conversion of rental apartments to tenant ownership [i.e. a type of privatisation], the lack of an active state refugee placing politics (*flyktingplaceringspolitik*) and a relatively slow labour market integration of new migrants (however better in Stockholm than in Gothenburg and Malmö) has served as important framing conditions for the recreating and deepening of segregation. (R. Andersson 2017: 4-5. See also Holmqvist 2017: 33)

Over the years, segregation has developed in certain neighbourhoods relating primarily to availability of relatively cheap rental apartments, affordable to people with low incomes. However, E. Andersson (Seminar 2, 2019) refers to results saying that ethnic segregation is actually decreasing whereas R. Andersson (2017) argues that over the years more neighbourhoods than earlier are affected by segregation, and that the processes also have an additional spatial aspect to it. Segregation tends to also push further outwards from the centre leading as well to worsening imbalances on the labour market (R. Andersson 2017). To this could be added that figures might be worse than officially known as illegal migrants and others not properly registered in the neighbourhoods most likely would go under the radar when mapping inequalities. Already in 2004, housing companies were well aware that “a large number” of people were living in apartments but not registered in them (Stenberg 2016: 29). Another side of the story is ‘over-registrating’ with several dozens of people registered in normal flats (Björklund et al. 2018).

The situation is understood by Stockholm stad in terms of social sustainability (or the lack thereof). In an analysis of differences between neighbourhoods in the city, the Commission argues that:

[S]ocial sustainability is about the distribution of life conditions (*livsvillkor*) that contribute to well-being and the integrated (*sammanvägda*) grade of well-being in society. A socially sustainable development means that society's resources are distributed (*fördelas*) in such a way that it creates possibilities for more people to realize their lives through education, work and a residency (*boende*) with access to wished for qualities. It also means that the social cohesion and affinity (*samhörigheten*) with society are strengthened by way of that more people are made part (*delaktiga*) in the development of society. And it means that people's needs of safety (*trygghet*) is secured. (Skillnadernas Stockholm, 2015: 10)

There are some explicit references to 'justice' in the first and founding report of the Commission (Skillnadernas Stockholm 2015) but in the general account of the concept of social sustainability, the distribution of life conditions, issues of individual and collective well-being, distribution of resources, and social and territorial cohesion stands out. Nevertheless, even if the Commission does not speak in conceptual terms of justice, the issue of spatial justice permeates its work if spatial justice is understood as "equitable spatial distribution of resources and opportunities, and fairness in the relations of power that shape and transform the social space" (Madanipour et al. 2017, p. 74). The two concepts of spatial justice and social sustainability thus show considerable overlap in this case. Interestingly, in the last report of the Commission, the word justice is mentioned more often, and with more force, than in the first report (see Färdplan 2018).

However, according to interviewees, the word 'justice' is perceived as too politically loaded in the Stockholm context (see also NordRegio 2019), but the word "equal" is more broadly accepted (Interview 1, 2018). This view is broadly confirmed in other interviews and as one leading politician relates:

Yes, I would say that from the blue side [liberal-conservative coalition] we about never talk about justice. It is even (...) a joke: 'yes, when there is liberal-conservative (*borgerligt*) rule in this city, then we write "freedom of choice" in all operational plans. Then, when there is a shift, you press "search and replace" and write "justice" in all those places'. I think that was pretty talkative. So we never speak about justice. (Interview 8, p. 17-18)

In the early days of the Commission the new ruling majority would also try to get the opposition on board (Interview 13, see also Dimension 3), and to then use a highly charged word would have been a hindrance. Some of the senior officers interviewed are also well aware of the sensitive nature of the word justice and say that when developing the suggestions for change, "equal access to" has been a key phrase in their discussions (Interview 3). In more practical terms, "equal access to" would mean that all people have similar access to urban qualities such as libraries, transport, schools, parks, housing etc., regardless of where they live in the city, which is thus a form of distributive justice. Another senior officer, working with local planning, explains that locally, in one of the districts of the city, they have decided that:

We have more or less decided for ourselves that social sustainability in Skärholmen is about meeting (*tillmötesgå*) the largest, local challenges. That that is social sustainability. (Interview 7, p.22)

This is an example of how the concept of social sustainability is operationalized in local practice and one may note that it has lost the relational aspects that are present in how the

Commission at large thinks of social sustainability. The Commission address social sustainability as a distribution of life conditions, in which differences between neighborhoods are in focus (that should be leveled out). Actually, this interviewee is involved in getting new groups of people to participate in dialogues with local planning authorities, and is in that sense working with the procedural aspects of spatial justice. When asked about spatial justice, however, the relational and distributional aspects, rather than the procedural aspects, are brought to the forefront. She lays out what spatial justice means to her:

To feel the same access and ownership over the city's spaces. Yes, if someone who lives in Bredäng should feel that the whole of Stockholm is my city, or to the extent one wants. And of course, to feel secure and able to be and move around where one wants. And have access to at least some type of basic functions, primarily in ones closest environment (*närmiljön*), regardless of where one lives... Yes. That one has both access to a playground close to where one lives, but that one may as well go to Vitabergsparken [a park in central Stockholm] as one's place, if one wants. (Interview 7, p. 22)

The concept of spatial justice has not, however, as the concept of social sustainability, had to be operationalized to function in local district planning practices. Moreover, the task within planning, as set by the Commission, is not only to develop suggestions for a city where the inhabitants have equal access to various urban qualities (distributive justice), or are able to understand and influence the planning process (procedural justice). It is also to ensure that the planning system itself promotes development where social sustainability, or justice, is included from the very start in order to be a tool in the city's work of leveling out differences within the city.

Skärholmen

In this study, as discussed in more detail in the following chapters, Skärholmen as a district was singled out to be a kind of test bed and learning ground for the Commission (see also Annex 8.4.4). Therefore, a number of interviews have been carried out in Skärholmen with various stakeholders in the district. A common theme in these interviews is that they express pride in the district and that it is important to try to change the representation of the district into something positive. Their narrations of the district and its position relative to other districts were not focusing on reiterating stigmatization processes, but rather to break them. One illustrative example is from the grouping with the name of 'Mitt127'. The figures in the name is the part of the five-digit zip code common for all neighborhoods in Skärholmen District and "mitt" literally translates to "mine". In their own words:

We have chosen the name purposefully, Mitt127. For 127, the postal code is for the Skärholmen district. And when we started, we wanted people to be proud of the area they live in. We used to say, "Skärholmen should be an area that people want to move to, not move away from." And when we took the name, it was so that anyone who becomes active and does something together with Mitt127, whether you are just a summer worker or supervisor (*arbetsledare*) or visitor, should feel that it is yours. That's why we chose "Mitt." And that you should be proud of 127. There are good things going on. And that's what we're trying to lift. Because if you look a few years back, so much in newspapers and stuff, it was negative about Skärholmen as a neighborhood. It's a suburb like ... it's a lot of crime. You only write when bad things happen. But we wanted to raise "Mitt" Skärholmen as a positive place where there are many role models, where there are locally anchored people who do things for the area, which we want to lift into a more positive context. (Respondent 1, Interview 5, pp. 17–18)

In relation to social boundary making the view discussed in Annex 8.4.3 that neighborhood borders within a district with time will lessen in importance is supported by the activities of this and other groupings working in the same spirit (Interview 6, 7 and 9), thus integrating the different neighborhoods socially and symbolically. The other end of the spectrum relative these ‘stories of empowerment’ contain stories of hopelessness connected to segregated neighborhoods. Young people in the concerned neighborhoods are well aware of the prejudices about these places, and the differences in perceptions of various districts throughout the city, especially regarding inner and outer districts (Interview 6, 9, cf. Aragonés and Arredondo 1985). To a fair degree, many of the actions the interviewees are involved in are concerned with installing confidence in the abilities of local youth, which is a fundament to long term local empowerment and directly counteracting stigmatization and internalizations of negative representations.

Regarding social boundary making within Skärholmen District, the perception of differences between the neighborhoods are not strikingly large, maybe with the exception of Vårberg that is mentioned in several interviews, although both Vårberg and Bredäng, two out of four neighborhoods in Skärholmen district, are on the list of ‘exposed’ neighborhoods (Polisen 2017, see Annex 8.4.3). However, if the neighborhoods in Skärholmen district are instead compared to Mälarhöjden, an affluent neighborhood just north of Bredäng (and situated in another district) the situation with segregated differences in Stockholm would be put in perspective (the mean income is more than double as high, see Områdesfakta 2019a, b). However, the interviewees rather discussed Skärholmen in relation to the inner city and not to the neighboring villa suburbs. The richest inner-city district, as comparison, also has more than double the mean income, and notably increased its mean income more than twice as much as Skärholmen 2014-2016, see Table 1, meaning that income polarization is increasing. Nevertheless, on the border between Bredäng and Mälarhöjden the city plans one of the physical planning interventions (conceptualized as a strategic link, see further below) to try to break down the (social) border between the neighborhoods by placing on it a new larger development with c. 1100 new apartments, two pre-schools, one school (900 pupils) and services (Fokus Skärholmen 2019). The new development has in its very name an integrating aspect to it, since it will be called Mälaräng, i.e. a combination of parts from both names.

Analytical Dimension 2: Tools and policies for development and cohesion

Overall development and social sustainability in local policy

The main stakeholder Stockholm stad’s perception of the overall development trajectory is captured in a slogan used e.g. in Färdplan (2018), namely: “It goes well for Stockholm, but not for all Stockholmers” (see further Annex 8.4.2). Since the new majority took over the City Council, social sustainability has had a very central role in practically all policy fields in Stockholm. As mentioned in the introduction, one of four directive aims for the city is that Stockholm should be an integrated (*sammanhållen*) city, and thus if achieved in effect would mitigate segregation and the fragmentizing role of social and physical borders within the city. The overall development of this policy is explained by a leading politician as something that *had* to be done:

I think that to us it was, it was extremely clear like this: ‘We have to’, or we perceived that we had our largest mandate in: ‘We have to build housing and we must decrease segregation’. We are pretty good at building housing, at least quantitatively. (...) But to decrease segregation. Even if we are good at that in our souls, the last decades have gone in the wrong direction. (Interview 13, p. 8)

If something has to be done, directive aims is one of the strongest instruments in translating policy to action. Directive aims are politically set and generally formulated goals and signify in the Stockholm context that all administrations and companies the city control should attend to this goal in relation to more or less all decision making, so that all decisions taken – large as well as small – contributes to stepping in the direction of the overall goal. Moreover, the directive aim is elaborated in the city's vision document and the new comprehensive plan, both of which are important steering documents, as well as in a row of other communications of the city. Basically, it would be hard to miss the political will of the new ruling coalition for anyone working in or close to the city.

The main stakeholders within the Commission and related actors are no exception to this. They are thus generally well aware of the directive aims, local policy and the political will to try to find ways to level out differences between neighborhoods. When the Commission produced its reports, they did not only go fact finding with researchers and urban administrations (see further Dimension 5), but they also studied the visions and other political steering documents (Interview 1, 3). Moreover, the construction of the Commission and its close cooperation with its Steering Committee, which consisted of politically appointed city directors and top level civil servants, "who work close to politicians" (interview 3) further made the suggestions put forward by the Commission constructed as close as possible to the 'politically possible' (see further Dimension 3).

In short, in this action the policy makers' political will to a large extent influenced visions and perspectives of the prime actors in the Commission, which is also clearly visible in the suggestions put forward and which address both distributive and procedural issues in relation to the directive aim of Stockholm as an integrated city.

Perception of impact

How, then, is the impact of the Commission perceived? Regarding the overall goal of leveling out differences in the city, and breaking processes of further segregation and fragmentation, one leading politician put it this way:

... If you really want to make a difference, then we have to find ways to do it. And I think that on the margin that happened... yes, but it went in that direction. Then it is clear that, we see now, the great trends continue in the direction they were heading, so that it would also be naughty to say that we succeeded. We did not, but in what is our toolbox I think we did some things that made a difference. (Interview 13, p. 11)

Regarding the overall trends mentioned by the interviewee these are all related to issues where the city does not have jurisdiction (see Dimension 1), and thus trying locally to fight processes that originate somewhere else and on which local decisions don't matter much is obviously hard or even impossible (cf. Borén and Koch 2009). Nevertheless, the Commission as a whole seem to be regarded by interviewees as a success anyway, especially regarding the analyses and reports (e.g. Interview 8), not least so since at least two parties in the then ruling coalition wants to take credit for initiating it (Interview 13). Had it been a failure, no one would like to be associated with it. Moreover, if we look in more detail, the Commission were set up to produce 'realistic' suggestions that would be possible to implement (Interview 13). It would for example:

...be easy to say like this: "Yes, but you should build a lot of rental apartments in Vasastan [an inner-city district] with cheap rent." Everyone agrees with that, but in practice,

how is it going to happen? So we wanted to get away from that, actually finding things that we can do here and now. (Interview 13)

Regarding these type of results – realistic suggestions – the general perception among the concerned experts and politicians is that the Commission was successful in producing well-grounded analyses, reports and suggestions, and getting them through the political machinery and into the budget, but that the impact of many of these has so far been limited. Why that is, is discussed in more detail in Dimension 3 and 5, but regarding the suggestions in the planning field it must also be considered that the actual impact of structural changes in the planning process may only be seen some time after a development has been realized on the ground, and planning and building processes generally take years in themselves. Nevertheless, there are examples of a clear impact already.

For example, regarding the Comprehensive plan, in the making of which the Commission had a large impact, one view is that it might have become too “political” and thus that its life expectancy will be rather short, as a new political majority might be likely to replace it (Interview 1). But till then, the comprehensive plan will be referred to in all new planning projects of the city, which must be regarded as major impact. The plan, for example, anoints four ‘focus areas’ where urban resources are lagging (and which are socio-economically weaker) compared to other areas and to where the city should direct investments. Investments should also, according to the plan, be directed to ten prioritized ‘strategic links’. These links should integrate neighborhoods, often with different socio-economic characteristics, more with each other.

Another example, regarding a suggestion concerned with the creation of social value when developing real estate, the perception is that the model proposed in Commission reports have a broad political anchoring and that the work with developing the model will continue, and that it will have effect and impact long after the Commission’s work per se is over (Interview 10). The model is now being tested in four pilot projects, which will further refine the model. In short, the model aims to integrate social sustainability issues from the very start in the planning process.

A third example is the implementation of the suggestions of the Commission in the Local Development Programmes (LUP) that all city districts have developed, and which should include the work of the Commission. One interviewee (Interview 8) stated that it was a pity that all the good work of the Commission and its thorough analyses, did not actually reach into the discussions of the deciding board in his/her district regarding the local development programme. The work of the Commission did not have an impact on the local development programme according to this interviewee even if the LUPs should, according to the implementation strategy, be considered when developing the LUPs.

4. The Action

4.1 Basic Characteristics of the Action

The Commission is formally organized as a “special development project” at the City Executive Office. It is led by the Chief Officer for Sustainability (*Hållbarhetschef*) at the City Executive Office and each of the four fields of development have one to two development leaders (*utvecklingsledare*) who may call on further thematic expertise when needed. The development leaders have large responsibilities in their respective fields of development. They organize the work and produce the reports with the suggestions of change, which is the core task of the Commission. The Commission reports to a Steering Committee (*styrgrupp*) consisting of city directors and other top civil servants, many of which are politically appointed. A political reference group with delegates from all but one of the parties represented in the City Council is also connected to the Commission. The organization is thus hierarchical and thematic (and not sectorial). It is also semi-autonomous in the sense that the Commission is an institution organized outside of the established sectorial administrations (Figure 2). Moreover, the Commission has a mandate to work in “near cooperation” with, across and within various administrations. It is as mentioned run by the city, but one of the four starting points of the Commission has been that it should aspire to work in dialogue with local communities, NGOs, businesses and citizens.

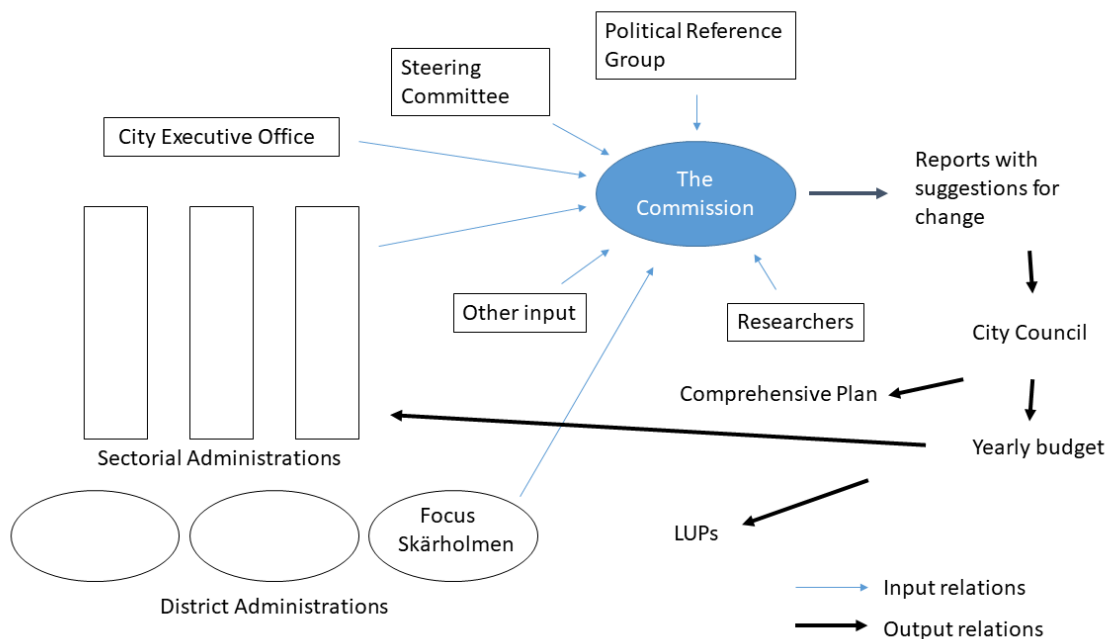


Figure 2. Schematic relations and organization of the Commission for a Socially Sustainable Stockholm.

During the life of the Commission (2015-2017) a few milestones may be pointed out, see Figure 3. What maybe stands out is the speed of which the Commission worked, and the speed of which the city started to implement its results. (For follow ups, after the ending of the Commission, see Annex 8.4.6.)

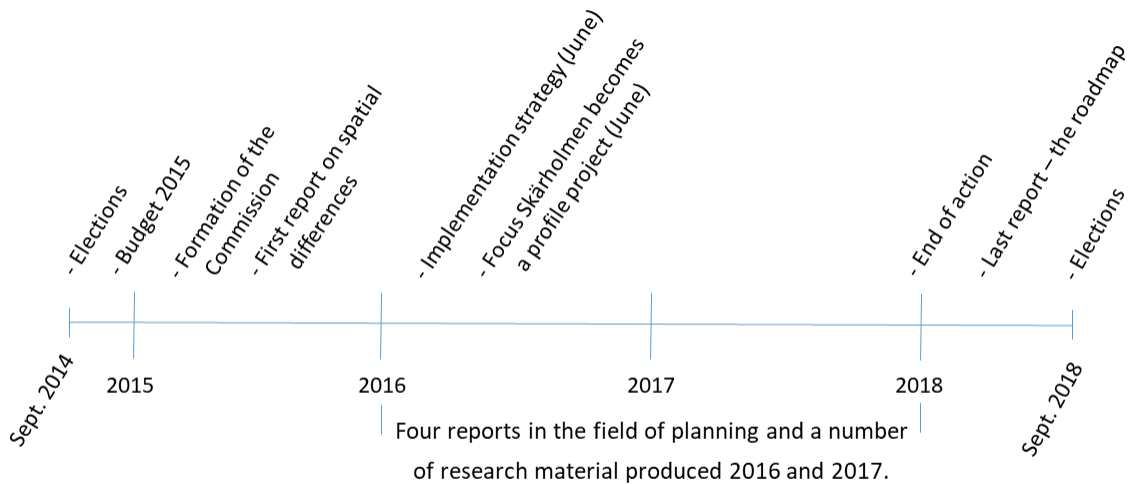


Figure 3: Action timeline. Important moments and the working life of the Commission for a Socially Sustainable Stockholm.

4.2 The Action with regards to Dimensions 3-5

Analytical Dimension 3: Coordination and implementation of the action in the locality under consideration

From the very start the idea of the Commission has been to develop suggestions that will make a practical difference on the ground. The directives for the Commission emphasize that “the aim with the work is to produce suggestions for measures that decrease the differences in life conditions that will be realized in practical change through ordinary governing and management within Stockholm stad” (Utlåtande 2016:98 RI+III, p.2). In June 2016, the strategy for implementation of the suggestions made by the Commission was approved. The strategy contained the following major elements: 1) A social perspective on investments, 2) Integration in the overall budget process of the city, 3) Strengthened financing, primarily through the Social Investment Fund (another initiative by the ruling coalition), and 4) Increased co-organization (*samordning*), especially with the LUPs, that is the local development programmes (Utlåtande 2016:98 RI+III).

Implementation of the suggestions started more or less immediately, and one city district – Skärholmen (see Figure 1, Map 1 and Annex 8.4.4) – was with some time assigned the role of being a kind of test ground. In a situation report (*lägesbeskrivning*) relating to the progress of the Commission in 2016 it is stated that:

[S]everal of the suggestions proposed by the Commission are being implemented and several of the suggestions contained in previous reports were taken into account in the context of the 2017 budget. That is also the purpose of the Commission. Suggestions that come from the Commission should in the same or slightly revised form be implemented quickly by the operations (*verksamheterna*). (Utlåtande 2017:123 RI+III, p. 7. (Dnr 159-1936/2016))

For the next year, the story is similar:

According to the strategy for implementing the Commission's suggestions, analyzes and measures will be integrated into the city's budget process. Proposed recommendations from the Commission can be found to be largely taken care of in the City Council's budget 2018. (Årsredovisning 2017, p.33)

The speed of implementation is in part motivated by the political cycle, with new elections coming up in September 2018. In relation to the political cycle, interestingly, the Commission reports are followed up within the regular budgetary process of the city meaning that funding of different suggestions might be quickly available. In short, this procedure forms the basis for fast implementation of the different suggestions put forward by the Commission, and economically empowers them. This also means that the city has put a lot of mandate and trust in the Commission. Rather than leaving suggestions to float through the regular administrative system, the suggestions put forward by the Commission are decided upon in City Council and placed into the budget without delays. The organisational form of the Commission is crucial for this to have developed with a) a kind of autonomy, b) devoted development leaders, c) strong support from the Commission leader, c) the relation to external research, and d) the relation to the Steering Committee.

The role of the Steering Committee has been crucial for the Commission. This was chaired by the City Director, i.e. the top civil servant in the city and appointed by politicians. Also the other members of the committee consisted primarily of directors and top civil servants, many of which were politically appointed.² The Commission has worked close to the Steering Committee which means that the suggestions have been processed in an actor-network with very large authority and hereby also close to political power. One interviewee relates:

But it is significant that we have had both this steering group, but also the cross-reference (*blocköverskridande*) political reference group. So it has been extremely valuable for all of these suggestions and the recommendations we have made in the commission work to be processed with the highest management of the city. And then it has been very fast that the City Council has also confirmed that they will be included in the city's annual budget, which is our main steering document when it comes to the commissions to the city's committees and companies. (Respondent 1, Interview 3, p. 4)

Apart from the speed of processing the suggestions from the Commission, the close relation to the Steering Committee, has meant additionally organisational benefits. According to Respondent 2 (Interview 3), this has meant, firstly, that suggestions of the Commission have been developed to become close to the organisationally and politically possible. The suggestions would thus not be dismissed when discussed in City Council, but rather have a very good chance to be approved and positively decided upon. Without this understanding

² The very top civil servants of the city, such as the city director is not elected as a politician to the post, but is appointed by elected politicians (so the ruling majority get people they trust on leading positions).

of the organisationally and politically possible, the respondent thinks that there would be a risk for the suggestions to be more loose ("*spretiga*"), whereas now they stick better together. Secondly, it has meant that the Commission and the suggestions have the:

mandate to actually challenge. For we have still been able to challenge quite strong interests in the city and have been allowed to pursue issues that we, as individual officers in our administration, normally do not ... we may not step into other administrations or city owned companies in that way. Now we still have the mandate: 'You may challenge what Stadshus AB does. You can review what [another] office does.' (Respondent 2, Interview 3, p. 5)

However, respondent 1 continues:

... but it is not just because we have had the steering group we have had, but we are also based on how the directive has been formulated for the Commission, in order for the Commission to be relatively autonomous. And also to have a close cooperation with researchers, actually being allowed to bring in, for the city, sometimes perhaps uncomfortable and different suggestions. (Respondent 1, Interview 3, p. 5)

The strong support from the Commission leader, as well as his superiors, has also been important in the actual work of the Commission. These also took part in the discussions of the production of the reports and suggestions – it was a "very tight bouncing back and forth" discussing what is possible to suggest, and in practice the leader of the Commission has been involved in dialogues with the investigators (*utredare*) that produce the reports throughout. In addition, since the Commission leader sits at the City Executive Office, whereas the investigators physically sit in their respective "home administrations", the leader has many times functioned as a "door opener". If the leader, placed as he is, calls one of the city's companies or administrations, this is likely to smoothen further contact for the investigators in the Commission, who are dependent on getting access to data, advice, and other information and cooperation from the various parts of the city.

Moreover, an organisational strength of the Commission, which is an extra-administrative structure of its own, seems to be that its suggestions are then 'placed' at one or a couple of the ordinary, sectorial administrations. The suggestions put forward by the Commission are thus both financially and organisationally in a favourable position. The follow up and control has been integrated in the ordinary budgetary processes, which secure its autonomy in a sense and its suggestions is later to be picked up by the regular administrations. The Commission, as discussed above, work both inter-sectorially and inter-scalarly, but at the same time draw upon the strengths of the established sectorial administrations that are key to city wide change when its suggestions are to be implemented. Nevertheless, exactly this is also what might be problematic, if as argued below, the sectorial and other administrations are not fully on track.

The role of the Political Reference Group is more distant to the work of the Commission than the Steering Committee, and did not take active part in producing the reports although they could initiate issues and discussions (Interview 8, 13). It consisted of eight leading politicians, one from every but one of the parties represented in the City Council. According to Interview 8, the role of the reference group changed over time from first mainly being an arena where the Commission informed about their work to with some time become a place for more interaction with the Commission. The overarching idea with having an inter-political reference group connected to the Commission was that all parties, i.e. including the opposition, somehow should relate to segregation (Interview 13). To get

the opposition on board was not all that easy but that all parties in the end placed leading figures in the reference group suggests that they all found the issues at stake, and the Commission, of importance.

However, this was according to Interview 8 not enough to infuse the Commission with the power it would need to have true and direct effect in many of the deciding bodies throughout the city, i.e. for instigating real change on the ground. The logic is explained in Interview 8 as an order that must be understood as an alternative form of power relating to what might be called a 'personalised power vertical', that overrun the power inherent in guiding and steering documents, ultimately even the budget. In short, the various Executive Directors (*Förvaltningschefer*) (i.e. the top manager of an administration) listen to and follow the will of their City Commissioner (*borgarråd*) and if the Commissioner is never talking about or referring to various reports or suggestions of the Commission, they will be perceived as subordinate. From the Executive Director via their Heads of Departments to the professionals in the departments doing the actual work of implementing, the will of the Commissioner runs down the organisation in an economy of priorities where people follow the calls of their superiors. What the Commissioner prioritize to be included in "the various dictums (*tjänsteutlåtanden*), operational plans (*verksamhetsplaner*), four-month reports (*tertiärrapporter*) and such like, is what is almost totally governing" (Interview 8, p. 9). Maybe, Interview 8 continues, if the Mayor herself had "chaired the Commission" (i.e. the Steering Committee and/or the Political Reference Group), then things might have been different "because what the Mayor says, is important to all" (p.10). This thinking gets support in other interviews with persons on various levels and is further discussed in Dimension 5. Thus, even if there were great support for the Commission and its work, this would not necessarily mean that its suggestions would be prioritized in actual practice.

Analytical Dimension 4: Autonomy, participation and engagement

Transparency and procedural justice

The Commission has been working in an environment conditioned by great transparency, and the city has a well-developed transparency service (see Annex 8.4.7). Nevertheless, in a practical sense, in order to in detail use the opportunities inherent in these, one must be somewhat of an expert, understand the language used and not the least so have the time to read vast amounts of documents in order to make true sense of the decision making process. Thus in practical terms, these transparency opportunities are not equally distributed in the population, nor between the collective endowments of different neighborhoods. In order to fully make use of the freely available transparency services of the city, individuals (and businesses, NGOs and/or local communities) must have a certain amount of cultural capital in order to understand how the system is working in relation to their neighborhood.

In the words of one informant when asked explicitly about procedural justice, that everyone should be able to be informed about planning projects and engage in consultations, dialogues, protest etc., she says that:

No, but it does not work, because those who can are the ones who also have had the conditions to learn. And there is where we fail, with those who cannot. ... Something I would like to accomplish before I am finished here, it is to link city building and urban development to the school much more clearly, that there should be an educational material. That is to say, when reading social studies at the secondary school (*högstadiet* [i.e. pupils 13-15 years old]), one should leave comments in a consultation. One should be involved, one should learn this type of process by participating. If we do that, we will

be able to educate all Stockholmers so that in any case they have a basic understanding of what this process is. (Interview 7, p. 22)

Also for more institutional stakeholders, the transparency services could be developed. SKAFAST, an association working in a BID-like (Business Improvement District) manner that organize local real estate owners and who have both the time, skills, language, will and resources needed, and who normally comment on all new plans in Skärholmen, sometimes miss the opportunity since the “alerting” of new planning projects is not as developed as it could be (Interview 11). There is currently no way to subscribe to alerts, e.g. via e-mail. Instead interested parties have to follow when new projects are announced (*kungjorda*) (in normally very small ads) in the press. An alerting service, open to all interested persons, NGOs, businesses and others, would most likely facilitate for them to engage and participate in the formal consultations connected to every new or change of local plans. In short, an alerting service would be empowering, as well as increase transparency. The press, moreover, plays a significant role not only by alerting but also as an arena for information and discussion on new projects. The local press do publish on these issues but when the local press is mentioned in interviews, it is almost exclusively in relation to issues of place representation (Interview 5, 7, 9) and not as an important arena for debate, complaints or transparency of local or other decision-making.

Regarding local decision-making, it should also be noted that political accountability in the Swedish system regarding planning and development in certain respects is fairly weak, at least when it comes to sub-municipal localities, like neighborhoods or districts. Municipal authorities both have “planning monopoly” and are relatively free to organize the municipality’s administrations. In Stockholm the local political district committees are organized so that they represent the turn-out of the last elections in the city as a whole, which in short means that there are no local district elections where voters might replace local district committees or persons therein. Local district politicians are thus in principle accountable to the city at large, and not to the local district electorate.

Processes of participation and engagement

Processes of participation is a central notion in understanding the momentum of the Commission as a policy action in the field of spatial justice. However, this does not only involve processes directly relating to the Commission, which had as one starting point that it should interact with business, citizens and the non-profit sector in a “transparent and communicative” way. But to further localise development, including participation and engagement, the city (among other things) developed directives for Local Development Programmes. The directives contained “a combination of city-overarching priorities and local measures that proceed from the preconditions of the districts and the inhabitants’ own priorities” (Riktlinjer LUP 2015: 5). The work with local development programmes in the districts should be decentralised to the District Committees and have a clear citizens’ perspective, but it should also according to the directives include the analyses and suggestions of the Commission. To what extent the results of the Commission actually influenced the Local Development Programmes is questioned by a then local leading politician (Interview 8), as he/she argues that the local policy makers and administration did not read the Commission’s reports (see further Dimension 5). Nevertheless, as pointed out in Dimension 2, it would be hard to imagine that the local decision makers and administrations would have missed the overall directive aims of the city.

Moreover, the general engagement (for example in urban movements of various kinds) in dis-privileged neighbourhoods in Stockholm is generally low (Starhe 2014, see further

Annex 8.4.3,). This is so although there are several municipal 'legitimacy initiatives' with varying degree of self-organisation (Interview 4, 5, 7, 9, 12, 14, 15), aiming to get people more involved, to participate more and have channels through which to articulate local view-points, in addition to the normal public consultations connected with every planning project. One of these initiatives are 'Citizens' meetings' (*Medborgarmöten*) that are held every six month in every neighbourhood in Skärholmen. These are run by the local crime prevention council, which is connected to Fokus Skärholmen and engages a number of 'formal' actors in Skärholmen, for example the church, the police etc. However, in relation to engaging citizens more broadly in local affairs, respondents (as well as the proceedings of these meetings) speak of the meetings as very focused on security issues (*trygghetsfrågor*), that they are not that well-attended and that it is always the same people that show up. Moreover, those who show up are those who already are knowledgeable with various projects and developments but the problem is to try to include those who are not already actively engaged (Interview 7). From a read-through of the minutes of all the meetings in Skärholmen District 2015-2017 it is also obvious that the questions raised at these meetings are normally very locally focused and does not normally regard the neighbourhood explicitly in relation to other parts of the city. It should also be noted that not all people have an interest in participating in planning dialogues etc., even if they on a more or less daily bases uses an area (Interviews 16-33). However, from these interviews it is also possible to conclude that the knowledge of how to engage and participate is limited, even if one should want to take a more active part. Some interviewees had also difficulties understanding the question, as if it would be too far out for them as individuals to actually have opinions that could count.

Although the Citizens' meetings represent a forum for interaction, they can hardly be regarded as enough if the task is to include a fuller spectra of the citizens' perspectives in local development. People instead have been sought out (Interview 7, 14). Therefore, in Skärholmen, which aims to build 4000 new apartments in the near future, they developed a way to try to connect developers with both the aims presented in the Local Development Programme and with the perspectives of groups not normally included in the consultation processes. Interview 7 relates how they did: First, they went to developers and a large number of actors connected to the actual planning process and had workshops with them. Secondly, they actively reached out to groups who normally do not partake in dialogues, for example young people and migrant women. This included training a number of young people in interview technique and then to employ them to interview other young people (with questions defined in the first workshops). In total 186 interviews were conducted, that were then analysed. Then they went back to the developers and others in the planning project and held additional seminars/workshops saying that – this is the perspectives of the people here, can you build in relation to these wishes? The work in Fokus Skärholmen has also contained clear incentives to include issues of social sustainability in developing as land allocation rights were given late in the process when the developer had already shown what social impact the development would have, that is land allocation rights were given after the legally binding detail plan had been decided.

Taken together this changes the mechanisms involved as to how a development project is grounded locally and would also increase their legitimacy as local space is transformed. The model is, however, work intensive and might therefore suit large development projects better. To what extent the model will be included in changing the routines of the large sectorial administrations is to be seen, but it has been applied in development projects in Skärholmen. The model has also resulted in 'seven keys' aiming to strengthen the work with a socially sustainable development (see further Skärholmens stadsdelsförvaltning 2017).

Analytical Dimension 5: Expression and mobilisation of place-based knowledge and adaptability

What forms of place-based knowledge have been expressed and taken into account?

The Commission may be seen as a nexus for academic and practice related place-based expert knowledge. The Commission is built for organisational learning based on sources situated both inside and outside of the city administration. The Commission 'collect' knowledge from these in a systematic and structured manner (see further Annex 8.4.8), analyse it and present it in reports. To this could be added the 'political knowledge' or 'sensitivity' of the politically possible that the Steering Committee of the Commission provides when producing the Commission reports, which shapes the reports and the suggestions. In Annex 8.5, all the Commission's reports, their authors and development leaders, and the researchers' reports are listed together with other written material used by the Commission.

An additional aspect of the Commission reports is that they should represent knowledge of the administrations to get 'realistic' suggestions (see Dimension 2), but also with the idea that the suggestions should be products of civil servants, and not politicians (Interview 13, see further below). It was important to reduce the influence of party politics and one way of doing this was to make sure that suggestions were based on external academic research, and the experiences and knowledge of un-political civil servants/professionals.

Nevertheless, during the research an additional question came up that relates to the implementation of suggestions, which to fair degree is dependent on how well the knowledge and suggestions present in the commission reports are disseminated. Interviewees relate that deciding bodies within the city would know about the Commission but would not have any detailed knowledge about its reports or suggestions. Although there are examples of how civil servants were seen sitting deep-reading the research reports (Interview 1), several interviewees argue that a major problem is that politicians in the deciding bodies do not know enough of the results of the Commission, they have not read the reports nor understood the suggestions. As one long-term politician explained:

Thus, the fault with all this, and this is not only true in this area, but it applies to all these environmental management documents ... It is, as I see it, that it is really important that the managing director who is the top boss really has some kind of education for both his officials and so on, and for the politicians. To tell them that now this has been done, and this, and this, and this. ...Some of these [reports] have been taken to the council. This is what applies. And not least, the chairman, who is [a salaried] politician in the committees, must properly take note of this and say that we must think about this. (Interview 2)

There are also conflicting goals in the committees' and administrations' assignments (Interview 2), e.g. cost effectiveness and incomes vs. social sustainability, and if the Director of the Administration push one goal, other objectives tend to be not regarded as equally important. Moreover, the interviewee, who also runs an in-house seminar series on planning issues for civil servants and politicians (of all colours), say that the political minority never comes, they are actively opposing it and do not want to engage in the seminar series (thus refusing to learn and discuss). Moreover, he relates that there are limited possibilities to question what the civil servants have done, for example concerning social sustainability, as the civil servants has prepared the different plans and errands for decision in the Committee. In short, the power of final decision makers seems to fall short in relation to

civil servants. It would thus be crucial that civil servants are well aware of, in this case, the reports and suggestions of the Commission. Another example concerns the development of the Local Development Programmes, in which the suggestions of the Commission should be central. A leading politician relate that instead:

I knew of these reports, but these district council politicians had never read them. They were also quite long, so that possibly they had heard of them, but they had in any case not read them. The members of the associations had definitely not read them. The general public you sometimes brought in, because we also had some such kind of citizen-budget-like meetings, though it was not the citizens' budget. They didn't know at all that these reports existed. And that meant that the discussion out there ended up completely beside the solid work that had been done in these analyzes [of the Commission]. And since I felt that the district administration, and also the district committee chair who led this, not actively referred or took in [the reports], then the local development programme was based on a completely different discussion. (Interview 8, p. 4-5)

What has been the scope of flexibility in regards to changing contexts?

The Commission would, according to Interview 13, in some form or another most likely have continued its work if the political majority of 2014-2018 had been re-elected. However, the newly elected City Council do not mention the Commission in their first budget (Budget 2019) and it has, in short, not been prolonged. The political context has changed dramatically and this raises questions if the work of the Commission is flexible enough to live on? According to Interview 8, the reports are still referred to, especially by the now opposition, in political discussions. This indicates that the knowledge production they represent will be important touchstones in the years to come. Earlier strategic knowledge reports produced by the city have also shown a considerable life expectancy, e.g. about globalisation and future economic developments from the 2000s, which support the view that also the Commission reports will have a role to play even if the political circumstances have changed. Also the fact that the political reference group of the Commission consisted of all parties (except one) supports the view that the reports and the suggestions might have a chance of survival in the new political context. But maybe most important to this end is that the Commission was constructed to produce suggestions that would not be too connected to party politics, and thus easier to accept for any party, independent on political hue. A leading politician relate:

Because what we wanted, the reason why the suggestions were made there [in the administrations] was precisely that we wanted both to have it in the operations so that it could be implemented. But we also wanted the 'Malmö-advantage', that it should not be party-politically ready suggestions, but that there was some kind of independent group that could 'lift the ceiling' or what to say. For the same reasons, we had this with the research reports, because they will stand completely on their own. And you can't control at all what comes up. And in the next step, the officials [in the administrations] are still more 'framed in', how do the structures work and so on. But they are not quite as 'party-locked', or what to say, as we [politicians] might be. So, therefore, it was important that it was the Commission's suggestions. (...) Even though [the suggestions] was clearly in our direction, it was we who appointed the Commission and it was we who thought that this [segregation] is a huge problem. (Interview 13, p. 4-5)

But what then about the suggestions by the Commission, decided upon by the City Council and that have already started to be implemented? At least in the case of developing a mod-

el for a more socially sustainable land development, the key persons working with it has not received any signals that they should stop or rethink, rather the phrasings are a bit different now with the new regime, but content-wise no practical difference (Interview 10). According to Interview 13, if a suggestion or reform actually works, or is popular, it is likely not to be rolled back even if the political majority change.

5. Final Assessment: Capacities for Change

Synthesising Dimension A: Assessment of promoters and inhibitors (in regards to the action: dimensions 3 to 5)

The first and absolute most important promoter for developing spatial justice in the city is the political will and mandate, beyond rhetoric, to actually do so. If it is called spatial justice, social sustainability or something else is of lesser importance than if socio-spatial relations actually are addressed in a democratic manner in favour of getting a city where life conditions in various neighbourhoods are on a more comparable level. Although there have been serious initiatives earlier from both political camps, it is only from 2014 and the budget of 2015 that measures addressing the whole city at the same time were initiated, and with the aim not only to better the conditions of and in dis-privileged neighbourhoods, but also to try to break the *processes* leading up to severe socio-spatial differences. While the latter does not seem to be happening at the moment in Stockholm, the goals were too highly put, the actual will to address the problem with segregation and a fragmented city is the first, and probably the most important, step on a long journey.

Thus, if long-term temporal aspects of spatial justice are considered, the spatial relations starting to be changed in the 2014-18 period might prove important in producing a spatially more just city in the future. The question then is if an action in the form of a commission, like the Commission studied here, is a relevant and forceful tool to realise that political will of change? And if so, what has promoted its successes? And what has hold it back?

Stating first that the successes include delivering upon its assignment, that is to “analyse differences in life conditions in Stockholm and to propose measures for an equal and socially sustainable city”, the Commission has produced one report mapping and discussing the differences between neighborhoods with regards to a number of life condition-criteria, and 16 reports with further analyses, background and grounded suggestions of change. All within its period of mandate (2015-2017) plus one follow-up report – a ‘roadmap’ – in 2018 discussing further action. In total the Commission has thus produced 18 reports, four in the field of planning, and a large number of research material (see Annex 8.5). Moreover, with slight changes, the suggestions for change of the Commission have passed City Council decision making and made their way into the city budget, thus making it possible to start implementing the suggestions. But what, apart from the necessary political will, promoted this to actually happen?

Key to this success is a number of interrelated factors, discussed in detail in Dimension 3, 4 and 5, including the particular (semi-autonomous) organizational form of the Commission, the directives for how it should work, devoted experts as development leaders for the different policy fields of development, and the support they and the Commission has had from top-leaders, or actor-networks of great authority, in the city. These conditions proved beneficial in producing suggestions of change that were “non-party political” (i.e not primarily based on ideological prepositions), based on academic research (to learn something new, and to get academic legitimacy) and professional knowledge (to be feasible and ‘realistic’). A rich experience during research, not discussed in detail above but still presumable important to success, is the personal engagement shown by the interviewees for the issues at hand. From researchers finding additional funding to write the research reports for the Commission, to senior staff saying their health were punished in the process of wanting to do a good job (a pressed time schedule did not help either) to leading politicians, directors and managers taking an active and supportive interest. Central to the

engagement, interviewees stress, is the trust put in the Commission as well as its organizational semi-autonomy. I take it to mean that people who are trusted and can work relatively independent for issues they find important are often ready to go an extra mile. Also that the work of the Commission so clearly addressed a directive goal of the city, was considered as significant and had politicians' and directors' eyes on it, and that it was a new way to deal with the issues at hand would also have been important in fostering engagement.

So what then has inhibited the work of the Commission? If suggestions are already in the budget and in strategic documents of various kind, should it not be to 'just to start to do them' in the various administrations? Two inhibiting factors stand out as important: organizational learning, and the role of a 'personalized power vertical'. The first concerns that the analyses, reports and suggestions of the Commission seem to not have penetrated into the deciding bodies of the city. Politicians would know of the Commission, interviewees say, but not have read its reports. This is especially clear regarding political committees (both district and sectorial), but also civil servants preparing the decisions for politicians seem to have had too limited knowledge of the suggestions, and/or what they would mean to them. In addition, suggestions of change that would also necessitate a new organizational support-structure in the administrations, that would also have to be developed. Secondly, regarding the 'personalized power vertical' it seems as if, even though several leading politicians and top-ranked civil servants supported the Commission, it would have needed even further support from the top. In an economy of priorities, civil servants understand what is regarded as (most) important, and if the Mayor or City Commissioners do not inspire their directors on the issues at hand these in turn are not likely to inspire their respective organizations to act on the suggestions of change. The issues then become subordinate and not regarded as pertinent for professional success. There might also be goal conflicts at the various administrations contributing to further diffusion of interest in the issues at hand.

To these could be added factors of minor inhibiting relevance: some of the suggestions might not be so new, but are refurbished articulations of what is already done. These are obviously not hard to implement, but on the other hand do not involve change (since they are already in place). Moreover, some parts of city operations, e.g. schools, are very independent and decide much for themselves what and how to do things (and thus need not consider suggestions for change unless they want).

Synthesising Dimension B: Competences and capacities of stakeholders

The basic capacities of the city as the main stakeholder in this action to engage with the problems at hand is limited but not forceless. The main drivers of inequalities between neighbourhoods are in effect situated outside the jurisdiction of the locality and primarily relate to national and beyond political, economical, social and legal developments over which the city has limited control and restricted possibilities to influence. Also, the right of individuals to settle where one want is a basic feature in the processes involved although a minor change in this right has recently been decided upon.³ As long as there are no major

³ A change has recently been made in 'EBO', that is in the law that regulates that asylum seekers may settle where they may themselves arrange a place to live (i.e. often with fellows from their country of origin) and still keep state daily monetary allowances. This possibility has led to increased segregation, and further exploitation of vulnerable groups, critics of the law argue (see e.g. Godner 2016, Grosshög 2019a). Others would argue that the possibility is a road to integration (see Grosshög 2019a, b). The recent change in EBO state that asylum seekers may lose their state daily allowance if they chose to settle in certain already segregated districts.

changes to these circumstances and contexts, it is difficult to see that the city as a local actor will be able to halt and turn processes of segregation and fragmentation, even in cooperation with other local parties.

However, in more concrete and local terms segregation is produced and re-produced in relation to the spatial pattern of the availability of affordable housing for people with low incomes as low-priced (rental) housing is concentrated in certain neighbourhoods. Locally the city is a prime actor and the ultimate decision maker in the field of planning, and the various planning instruments including land development processes could be actively and pro-actively used in order to lessen the impact of processes of segregation. Also, the city as a self-governing entity is relatively free to choose how to organise itself, and what strategies to use for its own development (e.g. form commissions of the type discussed here). Thus, the local effects of segregation processes could be addressed by these means and in that sense the locality can develop upon its capacities on these issues, i.e. circumstances allow for developing localised action.

The Commission have done just that – developed the local potential for change – and its suggestions represent measures addressing both distributive and procedural justice, in a not small sense empowering the city with analyses, reports and suggestions. With the Commission and its work, the city has developed its competences in the field of social sustainability, which largely – following the conceptual grounding of the Commission as well as interviewees’ perceptions – show considerable overlaps with the conceptual field of spatial justice.

The work to an extent has also meant further empowering both more local decision-making, expanding the role of city districts, and trying to get people more involved and active in the development. The former, if successful, will change some pertinent relations regarding sectorial and district administrations that would allow for more local considerations when, for example, developing land. However, regarding the latter, getting people more involved and active for the sake of the district or for the city at large seems to not have radically changed relations between formal and informal engagements. Development of this type of civic life is still to a considerable degree dependent on municipal initiative and support, especially in dis-privileged neighbourhoods. Although there are examples (e.g. Mitt127) of how young people in Skärholmen on the bases of place (wanting to do something for the district) start with organising local actions, that over the years formalise and grow, and that now get support by the municipality to drive and expand their operations further, even ‘exporting’ the idea to other municipalities. Actions like these, that counteract stigmatisation processes, represent important forms of empowerment that by example also could be inspiring for more loose groupings to also formalise their organisation in order to empower themselves and others, and potentially in the long run also influence local decision making.

Synthesising Dimension C: Connecting the action to procedural and distributive justice

The knowledge created within the city in the reports of the Commission will (is already) functioning as a reference material in debates of various kind, and the different ‘fields of development’ aside, the mapping of inequalities and differences of the city in the first report (Skillnadernas Stockholm 2015) was important in putting these issues firmly on the political agenda, and might turn out to be a corner stone as to when these issues started to be addressed in a new way. A way that includes the whole city, and is not ‘just another project’. This would be a crucial aspect to spatial justice development as including the

whole city necessitates reflecting on the relations between various neighbourhoods, and as to why stark differences occur. As Madanipour et al (2017) reminds us:

On their own, the number and composition of agents and material objects are not judged to be just or unjust. It is only when they mediate the relations between people and territories, and only in comparison with others, that they find such meanings. Relations, therefore, are the focus of analysis. (Madanipour et al., 2017: 78).

The suggestions of the Commission, at least in the planning field, address how the city could level out differences between neighborhoods, and include more social value when developing land. Distributive justice issues are addressed in the form, among other things, of trying to get a more equal distribution of urban qualities but also in trying to direct investments to dis-privileged neighborhoods (e.g. also supported by the new Comprehensive plan) in order to make them more attractive. If more attractive, the Commission argues, positive spirals of development might be set in motion which would in effect level out differences over the long run. To physically integrate neighborhoods is another suggestion made in order to lower the social boundaries between neighborhoods with very different socio-economic character. Suggestions like these would if realized most likely have positive distributive justice effects on the directly concerned dis-privileged neighborhoods. However, to what extent these, or any of the other measures suggested by the Commission, could have negative external effects on other neighbourhoods or groups of people is not discussed in detail by the Commission. However, for some suggestions that will obviously be the case. For example, one suggestion is to engage in dialogue with the state in order to try to get subsidies to pay for housing for people who cannot afford it themselves (see Annex 8.4.2 for a short discussion on the housing crises). If granted, this obviously means that the state will take the money from somewhere, which thus will get less. To what extent this may still be a way to contribute to spatial justice is beyond the scope of this study to assess, but the logic behind trying to get the state to pay, however, is that the city does not have jurisdiction regarding population growth, migration or settlement rights, whereas the state to some extent has. Nevertheless, it seems unlikely that the political situation on the national level is such that it would allow for those transfers, at least in any major arrangement that would solve the issue with affordable housing.

The approach of the Commission also included developing suggestions that would change the routines and practices of the large sectorial administrations, who with their administrative capacity and competences are key to city-wide change. The actual impact over time remains to be seen, as most reforms are not yet settled within the administrations but are further developed within them – content-wise, and organisationally, or might not have ‘survived’ the implementation phase and with time will fade into oblivion. It should also be mentioned that the change of planning routines might be a lengthy process in itself, and to be able to see actual change in the urban social landscape thanks to these is an even longer process.

There are, however, also examples of when the work of the Commission has already resulted in planning measures that will continue to have effect over time. The development of the new Comprehensive plan is in several respects closely related to the work of the Commission. One example concerns physically integrating neighbourhoods, especially in or close to the four ‘focus areas’ of the plan where dis-privileged neighbourhoods should connect better to other neighbourhoods close by, often more affluent. This is conceptualised as strategic links and the plan denotes ten prioritised strategic links to which investments and planning efforts should be directed in order to increase dis-privileged neighbourhoods’ accessibility to urban qualities, and to increase movements and exchanges to

and from the concerned neighbourhoods. The comprehensive plan is a steering document, albeit not legally binding, that should influence all new planning and development projects until it is replaced by a new one. Moreover, if some of the suggestions realised in the comprehensive plan survive in some form or another into the coming ones, the long term effects of the reforms and suggestions of the Commission may also turn out to have a rather significant influence on how urban and other resources are distributed in space, thus concretely affecting distributive justice.

Concerning procedural justice, the Commission has contributed a number of suggestions on how to further involve various actors in order to create more social value locally, and to contribute to break segregation, when developing. These also include suggestions aiming to stimulate local area planning and more local engagement, particularly giving the districts a larger role, who would know the local needs and conditions better. To the extent that will happen, it would represent a major change and a shift of power from sectoral administrations to local districts. Two types of actors stand out as important in the suggested changes: developers and districts. But the suggestions also include writings about how to include local people. In Focus Skärholmen, several of the ideas have been developed and tested in practice, and have thus already been part in the long-time transformation of urban space. To what extent the procedural reforms will play a role in the future and for wider applications outside Focus Skärholmen remains to be seen. For example, as discussed above, questions are raised as to how much of the results of the Commission were actually included in the Local Development Programme of Skärholmen district. This does not exclude that other districts have behaved differently, but it seems as if that would only happen in relation to how the local 'personalised power vertical' translates in each district, and how the 'economy of priorities' is played out in the various district administrations. In short, it would depend on how engaged leading figures behave in the district. The role of active citizens, local urban movements, NGOs etc. is important here since they in turn may build opinion and put pressure on the leading figures to act, but in the disprivileged districts and neighbourhoods the general rule is that these are in short supply.

6. Conclusions

The RELOCAL hypothesis is that the processes of localisation and place-based public policy can make a positive contribution to spatial justice and democratic empowerment. The key questions that need to be explored are: a) Can spatial justice, as a fair and equitable distribution in space of socially valued resources and the opportunities to use them, be achieved through place-based strategies? and b) Are these achievements place-bound or can they be also achieved across places and times? (Madanipour et al, 2017, p.74)

The Commission was an initiative that aimed to “analyse differences in life conditions in Stockholm and to propose measures for an equal and socially sustainable city”. Its work included the successful production of grounded reports with a number of suggestions relevant to increase spatial justice. In conclusion then, the Commission represents a positive force in developing place-based public policy that address the issues at hand. Moreover, the suggestions were swiftly decided upon and started to be implemented, some of which over time will have impact on processes related to the distribution of life conditions. Pending future decisions and developments, the impact stemming from the work of the Commission have the potential for impact that may also be conceived of as considerable. In short, it is possible to conclude that this action has positively contributed to spatial justice.

In addition, one of the major contributions to spatial justice of the Commission is that these issues (in terms of social sustainability) is put more firmly on the political agenda, increasing awareness of the situation at large but also in detail mapping the differences between neighborhoods in the whole city. The knowledge and suggestions produced by the Commission represent local and democratic empowerment of the city to act on the topic. That the action had city-wide reach may also turn out to be important in another sense as well: it may represent a turn away from the ‘projectification’ of actions aiming to mitigate the negative effects of segregation and exclusion. If so, future actions are better armed to both think and act on the role of spatial relations when engaging with segregation, social sustainability, (in)justices or other issues at hand.

However, the spatial (in)justices in the form of segregation and exclusion in the city is primarily stemming from processes over which the city has no or limited jurisdiction (e.g. labour market relations, population growth, migration, settlement rights), and therefore it cannot be expected that the city would be able to halt or turn these processes. Further democratic empowerment of the local, that is further jurisdictions and localizing decision making rights to the city-level or below could eventually be helpful in these respects. For example, a minor change in settlement rights has recently been nationally decided upon that will strengthen municipalities in relation to both the state and the individual. But the opposite is also a possibility – i.e. that the state takes on a larger responsibility over issues now placed at municipal level, e.g. schools or for housing, both of which are discussed as options to fight further local fragmentation and segregation. So, the situation is complex and this study does not provide a clear answer or recommendation on this issue, other than that the issue must most certainly be addressed by a number of reforms on several layers of power. The local level is not enough. Moreover, one may conclude with certainty that the current situation is not satisfying from a local spatial justice-perspective. Municipalities have to deal with issues that relate to processes they cannot control.

Yet, if the question is: “Can spatial justice, as a fair and equitable distribution in space of socially valued resources and the opportunities to use them, be achieved through place-

based strategies?" (Madanipour et al 2017, p.74) the answer is nevertheless more positive. Even if the city is not to be blamed for the current situation, nor have the instruments to change the processes, they still control a few keys to address the issue locally. One of them is the planning system in which the city control many of the mechanisms involved and is also the final decision maker when it comes to legally binding plans and building permits. With the work and suggestions of the Commission, the city has shown that it is prepared to start using these instruments more pro-actively. The suggestions have so far informed a number of steering documents, for example the Comprehensive plan and the districts' Local Development Programmes, and is also about to lead to a change in land development practices by starting to include social value considerations. These changes are also examples of "how relations of power that shape and transform the social space" (Madanipour et al. 2017, p.74) are altered based on local policy development, and would also mean that local district concerns are better represented in the overall development. Hereby power is also localized closer to the population.

However, it would be premature to conclude that this is also the case in practice. The study has shown that reports and suggestions of the Commission are not well known throughout the urban political and administrative system. The study has also shown the role of a 'personalised power vertical'. These two phenomena hamper the intended development, especially if local leaders chose to focus on other objectives than those of the Commission. Therefore, it is rather possible to conclude that the city has developed a system that on the systemic level include these options. If local people and local decision makers will make full use of them remains to be seen. In liaison with this, the role of disseminating the results of the Commission stands out as important. But the concept needs to include also people more generally. The city does actually sit closely to an important key for that as well, as many schools (pupils aged 6-15) and gymnasiums (students aged 16-18) are municipally owned. Following a suggestion from one of the informants (Interview 7): Include active participation in a real planning project in class. Over time the population will know better, and possibly also enact more of their democratic opportunities in relation to local development, and the system as a whole would also gain in legitimacy.

Turning now the question if the achievements of the Commission are solely place-bound or if they can be achieved also across places and times, we can conclude that the concrete results of the Commission primarily are place bound, but that the basic policy idea is not. Thus, cities around Europe that struggle with severe justice related problems in urban space and where their current measures are not enough to address them might well try a commission tasked to deliver suggestions for how to address the issues in a new way.

In the Stockholm case, the concrete results of the Commission in the policy field that has been the object in the present study, address in large part the particular interpretation Stockholm has made of the Swedish planning system, and also proceed from a local mapping of differences between Stockholm districts and neighborhoods. Nevertheless, several of the measures suggested would fit, maybe with some adjustments, also other cities in Sweden and beyond, e.g. the planning strategy to break down (social) boundaries between neighborhoods by physically integrating them.

More importantly, however, is that the basic policy idea and organization of the Commission is transferable in space and time. Similar organizational forms for similar agendas have been tried more or less independently in the three largest cities in Sweden, thus apart from Stockholm also in Malmö and Gothenburg. Regarding transferring the idea and organizational form of the Commission to other places, the inherent localized aspects of the organizational learning is crucial. In short, localized organizational learning is key to

the capacity of this organizational form to ‘travel’ successfully. It would ensure that out-of-context solutions are not even becoming suggestions.

The idea then is to start from a local empirical mapping of the issues addressed. A second step is to use *both* city external and city internal expertise to formulate substantiated suggestions for change. Moreover, relying on external academic (and thus city independent) researchers is an important feature of the external expertise, bringing in academic knowledge (and legitimacy) to the action. A third step is to organise it semi-autonomously but with clear links to the very top leadership. Most likely, the national context could vary as long as the locality is autonomous and have some degree of real power, including financial power, to address the issues at stake. But financial capacity of the locality seems preliminary not to be the main issue, rather using existing resources in new, innovative ways are key. In short, with proper and localised organisational learning, things done anyway could be done differently.

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8. Annexes

8.1 List of Interviewed Experts

Interview 1: Respondent 1: Commissioned external researcher. Respondent 2: Commissioned external researcher. Date: 10 September 2018. Recorded interview: 2 h 7 min.

Interview 2: Long-term Stockholm politician. Date: 20 September 2018. Recorded interview: 1 h 18 min.

Interview 3: Respondent 1: Senior Planning Expert. Respondent 2: Senior Planning Expert. Date: 18 October 2018. Recorded interview: 1 h 11 min.

Interview 4: NGO activist. Date: 22 November 2018. Telephone interview, unrecorded.

Interview 5: Respondent 1: NGO activist (initiator, leader). Respondent 2: NGO activist (project leader). Date: 20 December 2018. Recorded interview: 1 h 5 min.

Interview 6: Church social worker. Date: 20 December 2018. Recorded interview: 57 min.

Interview 7: Senior Planning Expert. Date: 7 January 2019. Skype meeting. Recorded interview: 1 h 24 min.

Interview 8: Leading politician. Date: 11 January 2019. Recorded interview: 59 min.

Interview 9: Project leader (democracy empowerment). Date: 15 January 2019. Recorded interview: 1 h 13 min.

Interview 10: Respondent 1: Senior Planning Expert, Stockholm City. Respondent 2: Senior Planning Expert, Stockholm City. Date: 18 January 2019. Recorded interview: 1 h 15 min.

Interview 11: Respondent 1: Managing Director (local BID-organisation). Respondent 2: Planning Advisor (local BID-organisation), Date: 24 January 2019. Recorded interview: 49 min.

Interview 12: Respondent 1: Director (cultural institution). Respondent 2: Communications Director (cultural institution). Date 24 January 2019. Recorded interview: 53 min.

Interview 13: Respondent 1: Leading politician. Respondent 2: Political secretary. Date: 28 January 2019. Recorded interview: 43 min.

Interview 14: Local district politician in Skärholmen. Interviewed by Sofia Santesson. November 2018. Recorded interview: ca 30 min.

Interview 15: Local district politician in Skärholmen. Interviewed by Sofia Santesson. November 2018. Recorded interview: ca 30 min.

Interviews 16-33. Structured interviews carried out in November-December 2018 with local place users in the centre of Skärholmen, primarily people living and/or working in Skärholmen. Interviewed by Santesson. Length: 5-15 minutes per interview.

Seminar 1: Attending the seminar “Markpolitik och social hållbarhet” organised by the Stockholm Commission in the City Hall. The seminar presented and discussed a new report (*Markpolitik och social hållbarhet*) by the Stockholm Commission. Date: 14 November 2017. Time: 08:00-09:30.

Seminar 2: Presenting and discussing the case study at Higher Seminar in Dept of Human Geography, Stockholm University. Discussant prof. Eva Andersson. Date: 22 January. Time: 13.00-14.00.

8.2 Stakeholder Interaction Table

Type of Stakeholders	Most relevant 'territorial' level they operate at	Stakeholders' ways of involvement in the project (What do we gain, what do they gain)
Local politicians	-Interview 2, 8, 13 Municipal level. -Interview 14, 15: City District level	We gain information on the case. They gain information on RELOCAL.
Local administration	- Seminar 1: Stockholm municipality -Interview 3, 10: Municipal level. -Interview 7, 9: City District level.	We gain information on the case. In all but Sem 1, they gain information on RELOCAL.
Associations representing private businesses	-Interview 11: City District level.	We gain information on the case. They gain information on RELOCAL.
Municipal associations	-Interview 4: Neighbourhood level and Southern Stockholm Region. -Interview 5: City District level	We gain information on the case. They gain information on RELOCAL.
Non-profit/civil society organisations representing vulnerable groups	-Interview 6: City District level.	We gain information on the case. They gain information on RELOCAL.
Other local community stakeholders	-Interviews 16-33: Neighbourhood level.	We gain information on the case. They gain information on RELOCAL.
Colleges and universities	-Interview 1: Stockholm region. -Seminar 2: Stockholm region.	We gain information on the case. They gain information on RELOCAL.
Cultural institutions and associations	-Interview 12: District level/Southern Stockholm Region.	We gain information on the case. They gain information on RELOCAL.

8.3 Additional photos



Skärholmen at a distance. Photo: Thomas Borén.



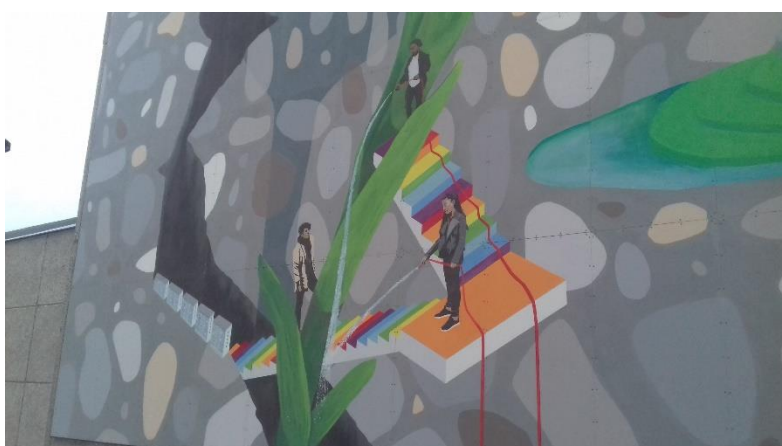
Citizens' office in Skärholmen. Photo: Thomas Borén.



Development in Bredäng. Photo: Thomas Borén.



Kulturhuset-Stadsteatern (house of culture-the city theatre) in Skärholmen. Photo: Thomas Borén.



Mural in Skärholmen. Photo: Thomas Borén.

8.4 Additional information

8.4.1 More on method

The research process at large started with reading various material and reports from the Commission to form a basic understanding of the action and related processes. After this basic grounding, a critical choice was made to do a process analyses of how suggestions of the Commission travel within the city from idea to implementation and effect. This methodological choice means that different actors and stakeholders are involved at different times during the life cycle of the suggestion, e.g. from researchers, urban officers at different levels of scale and in different administrations, to local stakeholders (incl. NGOs, population) affected by the suggestion when implemented. The idea of this approach (i.e. where in the process is what happening) is to understand the strengths and eventual weaknesses of this organisational form of experimental governance for pursuing spatial justice.

The methodical choice is also reflected in the sample of the interviewees, which thus primarily consist of experts and decision makers who have been involved in the action. A few people were also interviewed who might have other kind of knowledge or grounded experiences of importance to understand the work of the Commission. Sampling continued till saturation was reached and for the study, 22 people have been interviewed of which one over skype, one over telephone and 20 in face-to-face meetings, often in pairs. The interviews were in-depth, semi-structured and often lasted about an hour. Most interviews were carried out at the place of work of the respondents, which also thus in some cases involved field visits. The interviews were in all cases but one recorded and later transcribed. In addition, 22 people were interviewed in shorter, structured interviews conducted with 'place users' with questions concerning participation and engagement. The interviews were carried out by the author (Interview 1–13) and Sofia Santesson (Interview 14, 15, 16–33), see Annex 8.1.

In addition to document analyses and interviews, the author did a couple of field visits to Skärholmen District as well as participated in a seminar organised by the Commission (Seminar 1), and one organised by the Department of Human Geography, Stockholm University (Seminar 2). One workshop with stakeholders was planned to January 2019 but had to be cancelled since several important stakeholders thought it would be too early (in relation to their internal processes) to participate.

8.4.2 The overall development trajectory

The main stakeholder Stockholm stad's perception of the overall development trajectory is captured in a slogan used in e.g. in the Färdplan (2018), namely: "It goes well for Stockholm, but not for all Stockholmers". The overall economy has for a long time been going very well and Stockholm was not hit hard by the global crisis in 2008. The city has successfully managed to restructure its economic base to a service and innovation driven economy the last decades and contains e.g. globally leading ICT-industry and a large financial segment. The economy is furthermore diverse and hereby not very sensitive to branch specific ups and downs. The population is rising fast. The last decade with 15 000 people per year, mainly based on natural increase and migration, and is estimated to reach 1,3 million at 2040, that is an additional population of c. 350 000 people in about two decades (Översiktsplan 2018, see also Statistik om Stockholm 2018). Stakeholders perceive of this as a "challenge" (Översiktsplan 2018), especially with regard to housing, but it is also one in which the city do not have jurisdiction. The population is young and form families, and migration to Sweden and Stockholm primarily relates to international treaties and national law. Unemployment is rather low in Stockholm (5,6 % in Stockholm County, 6,3 % in

Sweden) (SCB 2019) but is problematic for certain groups, especially for new arrivals but also for foreign born more generally. The unemployment figures, at least nationally, are for some groups over 90% and for migrants after eight years in Sweden c. 50% (SVT 2018). A particular problem are young people age 16-24 who neither works nor studies, e.g. c. 20% in some neighbourhoods in Stockholm (Färdplan 2018). The low employment rate among migrants is generally regarded as a problem of failed integration policies and a loss since their capacities are not realised, neither on the personal level nor for the society at large.

An additional important internal limitation to a further positive development trajectory is mainly conceived of as a housing crises, especially for people with no or low income, young people and others who are new on the housing market. The problem is discussed at length by the Commission and the basic problem is that there is not enough affordable housing and that it is very difficult to build new housing according to Swedish standards to a price that people with no or low incomes can afford (Seminar 1, Interview 2). The city has tried to develop low cost housing (the so called 'Stockholm houses'), but according to Interview 2 this program largely failed to deliver. To this can be added new national rules the last couple of years for bank loans that seem to both have hampered the building rate and the possibility for people to raise the money needed to buy an apartment or other housing. The problem with "the severe housing shortage" in Stockholm was pointed out already in 2006 by OECD (2006, p. 123) and the risk this has of spilling over and hamper economic (and social) development more generally.

The external circumstances affecting the overall development trajectory is not much discussed within the Commission (in the field of planning), but would consist of things of which the city has limited control, e.g. global economic development, international treaties, and national laws and regulations, e.g. regarding taxation, migration, settlement rights (e.g. 'EBO', see further Synthesising Dimension B) or the labour market. Nevertheless, the new coalition felt, as mentioned, they had try to do something and started by looking for examples of what good practices had been developed elsewhere, and in the end found the example of Malmö, a city in Southern Sweden. Malmö had some years earlier (2010) initiated a commission of similar kind albeit more focused on health and well-being in relation to segregation (Interview 13).

8.4.3 Physical spaces of difference

Regarding the (social) boundaries within the city it can first be noted that the city has 14 districts (*stadsdelsområden*, see Map 1), and 133 neighborhoods (*stadsdelar*). In a city of c. 935 000 people (2016) the neighbourhood level is thus as a mean fairly large scale and 'close' to people (c. 7000 persons/neighbourhood). The neighbourhoods are furthermore fairly homogenous with regards to building style (see Cover photo, Figure 1 and photos in Annex 8.3), social composition and the like and their respective borders would in general terms correspond with the mental representations of urban space among not only stakeholders but also among the concerned populations at large.

The districts, on the other hand, is a fairly late political construction (introduced 1997, reformed 1998 and 2007) that combines or spans a number of often very different neighbourhoods. Thus, within a district there might be severe differences and sometimes rather hard social boundaries between its different neighbourhoods. The differences (and social boundaries) within the districts would be particularly significant in some of the ten outer districts, whereas the four inner city districts would be more homogenous both in socio-

economic terms and in physical planning. Roughly speaking, in the inner city districts you would largely identify with your district (Södermalm, Kungsholmen etc.), rather than your neighbourhood, whereas the opposite would be true for the outer districts. However, to some extent, as the district administration reform settles with the population and the districts become actors on the “identity field” (e.g. in pre-schools and in other practical issues and arenas on which they interact with the local population), it can be assumed that their role as a significant place in itself, i.e. a place to identify with, will be strengthened and eventually will mean that social boundaries between neighbourhoods will lessen in importance. This is also an aim with the work of the Commission, to integrate the city, which in a practical sense address to physically connect neighbourhoods with very different socio-economic character with each other.

Nevertheless, whereas the districts would have some political agency and administrative force, the neighbourhoods are largely without formal political and administrative capacities. They could however have NGOs and associations that act on behalf of the interest of the neighbourhood (e.g. Hökarängens stadsdelsråd, see Borén and Young 2017, see also Stahre 2014). The overall picture however is that in the more dis-privileged neighbourhoods that kind of organised urban community action for the sake of the neighbourhood is weak or non-existent (Stahre 2014, cf. Kings 2011), whereas it would be stronger in more affluent neighbourhoods. Also in this field, the Commission (in another ‘field of development’) has developed suggestions for change, e.g. trying to stimulate NGOs, civic life and social participation in general.

The city has, as mentioned, a detailed image of differences between various neighbourhoods but it could also be noted that dis-privileged neighbourhoods in the media often are broadly discussed and understood as ‘utanförskapsområden’ (neighbourhoods of exclusion), which is a generic term relating to segregated places. However, in conjunction with the detailed image of the fragmentation well known in the city and the more generalised term ‘utanförskapsområden’, is another type of spatial representation of which many would be aware and that structure the perception of dis-privileged neighbourhoods. The discourse has the last number of years been complemented with additional terms classifying neighbourhoods in relation to their exposure to criminality. In a detailed police intelligence report from 2017 (Polisen 2017), covering the whole country, this classification is used that is also talkative of the severity of the problems involved. The basic classification is in neighbourhoods that are “särskilt utsatta” (‘especially exposed’) and “utsatta” (‘exposed’), and a middle category of neighbourhoods that are ‘exposed’ but also run a risk to turn into ‘especially exposed’. In Stockholm municipality there are three neighbourhoods with a total population of c. 47 000 in 2017 (Statistik om Stockholm, 2018) that are especially exposed out of six in the Stockholm region (23 in the country as a whole), and nine neighbourhoods are categorised as ‘exposed’. All 12 are situated in outer parts of the city and all would also be understood as ‘utanförskapsområden’.

An ‘especially exposed’ neighborhood is according to the definition characterized by the growth of parallel social structures that is not only threatening local society but already have a strong effect on it, with consequences for many areas of life. Children and youth risk being picked up in criminal structures and/or in violence encouraging movements, authorities are opposed and counteracted, local businesses are affected and subject to ‘protection’, drugs are sold openly and rule of law is incapacitated. In these ‘parallel societies’, which is another term used media discourse, basic rights and freedoms normal in democratic societies are lost, and other norms apply. The Police state that the situation in these neighborhoods is ‘acute’ and, moreover, that “criminal actors are all the more visible in political contexts” (Polisen 2017: 28).

In the “exposed” neighborhoods – nine in Stockholm municipality with a total population of c. 79 000 people (Statistik om Stockholm 2018), 18 in the Stockholm region, 32 in the country – the situation is characterized as “severe” with an alternative social order that “diverts from the democratic social system regarding formation of norms, economy and rule of law” (Polisen 2017: 32). In Skärholmen district, two out of four neighborhoods are classified as ‘exposed’. In the Stockholm region there is also one neighborhood positioned in-between these two types, i.e. a place that is turning into “especially exposed” if measures are not engaged against it.

Moreover, the 12 ‘especially exposed’ and ‘exposed’ neighborhoods match well onto the map of poverty and segregation in Stockholm. To sum up, not only is the differences with-in the city well known to the main stakeholders by way of their own reports. What is also known, by way of rather extensive media coverage of the police intelligence report, is the severity of the problems involved.

8.4.4 How has the spatial scope of intervention been defined and by whom?

The spatial scope of the action is defined to Stockholm municipality. The founding document is the City Budget 2015 decided upon by the City Council in December 2014, which only mentions ‘Stockholm’ in relation to the Commission and not particular districts or neighbourhoods. In the first report of the Commission (Skillnadernas Stockholm 2015) the question of spatial scope is somewhat elaborated, since it relates to the city’s goal of a more integrated city, and it is argued that an equal city would be good for all Stockholmers no matter if a person comes from a rich or poor neighbourhood. The first report also wishes to understand how (all) the different parts of Stockholm differ from each other in relation to a number of indicators of equality and social sustainability. In later communications of the city, however, there is more focus on the neighbourhoods that are in most need, saying that efforts should concentrate on these. Moreover, in practical terms one district (Skärholmen) have been chosen to be a learning ground for the Commission. The Commission suggested that the city, in its work with social sustainability, should work with “profile projects” since the city at large did not know enough about social sustainability. As stated by one interviewee:

And we have to enter the city building projects, because that is where we get the real knowledge, where we can try new forms of land allocation and cooperation with the district and local business and civil society and so on. So that then, in this way, it became so in this work that we got a decision in the City Council about "Focus Skärholmen" as such a profile project area. (Respondent 1, Interview 3, p. 3).

This also shows the flexibility involved, but there are other instances of flexibility. For example, in an internal consultation round for one of the reports of the Commission, the Culture Administration replied extensively and both researchers and the stream leader thought it was a good idea to include them more extensively, and thus their viewpoints, ideas and data made its way into first research reports and later commission reports (Interview 1, 2018). Nevertheless, the great test of the Commission and its results would be when the political context change, which it did in September 2018.

8.4.5 EU cohesion policies

The main stakeholder Stockholm stad have during 2014-2018 adapted and developed an EU-policy in which it overall strongly supports and argue for the subsidiarity principle. In relation to social sustainability, the policy states that the city welcomes:

European collaboration with the purpose to increase growth, employment (*sys-selsättning*) and integration. The city underlines that education, growth politics and poverty reduction primarily is a national and local responsibility, but supports at the same time effective and cost effective EU-drives (*EU-satsningar*) in these areas. (EU-policy, n.d., p.4)

Justice is not mentioned in the policy but again, in Stockholm justice-related issues are rather understood in terms of social sustainability. In relation to the specific action discussed in this study, there is no mentioning of the EU or any of EU's policies in the main documents. Moreover, to initiate or fund the Commission did also not relate to EU or EU-opportunities for funding, but when starting to implement some of the suggestions of the Commission, especially in certain fields of development, the possibilities of EU structural funds were looked into:

I know that, in terms of this steering group, in the next stage when it was time for implementation, then it was above all one manager there, who looked a lot at what there is for EU support that can be linked, not at least so in to labour market policy and the reception of new migrants (*nyanlända*), there was a lot in the Structural Funds. So in that way there really was an EU-link, that one saw to the resources available in the systems, and if we can use them in when implementing. (Interview 13, p.11)

Another leading politician states that for him/her it was, during the interview, the first time he/she heard the expression "European Cohesion Policy" and although he/she mentions that they use the EU's Social Development Fund to get some projects started he/she continues reflecting:

The EU is, in fact, considering how EU-friendly the parties that now govern is, it is actually quite strange that we have not spoken about EU at all. (...) I sometimes have the feeling that as soon as you get into that with the EU, it will be a bit like this: 'Yes, it is hard to search and it is a lot of accounting.' But I imagine that we in Sweden are pretty bad at utilizing the resources that actually exist, which we pay a lot for. (Interview 8)

Thus, in the case of the Commission, rather than EU influences, or national influences for that matter, it is the inter-urban connections that have mattered – for inspiration and know-how Malmö has served as a prototype. However, it should be underlined that the initiative to do *something* to fight segregation and further integration and inclusion was a local initiative, developed within and among local power circles in Stockholm, and then developed in relation to good practice examples found elsewhere, local expertise and external research.

8.4.6 Follow up activity

The Commission's mandate ran out by the end of 2017, and this particular action ended. Nevertheless, in the budget for 2018 the City Council (*Kommunstyrelsen*) were given the task to develop a roadmap as to how the Vision 2040 could be realized with the bases in the work and results of the Commission. This resulted in a report called "Roadmap for a Stockholm for all" (2018). "Stockholm for all" is the title of the vision document of the city

which was finally accepted in beginning of 2017. The roadmap were meant to receive “an especially strong position as material (*underlag*) for prioritizations in budget”, and should be a strategic document with a “longer time perspective than the budgets one-year time perspective, but with a shorter time horizon than the year 2040, when the vision should be accomplished” (Roadmap, 2018, p. 8). However, the political majority changed after the elections in September 2018, and most likely the new majority will develop their own vision documents and then the road map, which is based on the Commission’s work to steer towards realizing the old majority’s Vision 2040, will become obsolete. Actually, regarding the Vision 2040, the former political opposition had already clearly and early on indicated that it would be replaced should they win the next election, which they did (Utlåtande 2017: 5 RI, p.6; Andersson and Borén 2019).

So formally, the follow up activity of the Commission’s results and suggestions will most likely not follow the roadmap, but as mentioned by one interviewee, once the suggestions of the Commission has made it into a budget (and being placed with one or several sectorial administrations) it might be difficult to trace them back to the Commission (Interview 3). Thus reforms initiated by the Commission might live on within various administrations and if they don’t challenge the new majority and/or are popular among citizens they might not be rolled back (Interview 13). Also LUPs and the Comprehensive plan will live on and hereby also the suggestions from the Commission. One problem with the LUPs is that the district administrations generally is low on power in relation to the sectorial administrations. The comprehensive plan on the other hand is maybe too infused with ideas from this regime, that it risk being prematurely replaced.

8.4.7 Transparency

The Commission has been working in an environment conditioned by great transparency. Both the reports of the Commission, and the research reports as well as some other material have swiftly been publicly available on the Stockholm city web site, as well as presented and discussed in well attended seminars (e.g. Seminar 1). Moreover, in Stockholm much of the political decision-making in both the City Council and in various deciding organs is made publicly available on web sites (e.g. www.insynSverige.se). This does not only include the minutes of a meeting where a particular decision has been made but also include extensive accounts of debate and the critical view points of the opposition.

In terms of justice this gives each and everyone (at least with access to a computer) the *opportunity* to follow the decision making process and be informed on various measures taken by the city in their neighborhood. It could also be mentioned that every plan errand (in addition to the consultations stipulated by law), from start to building permit, in a structured and systematic sense is made public on the internet with maps, plans and documents. In addition, the Swedish ‘Offentlighetsprincipen’ could be mentioned: everyone – from private persons to journalists – has the right to demand to get copies of more or less all documents, including personal correspondence of civil servants and politicians. There are some limitations to this but formally, it gives everyone an equal opportunity to be informed on a very detailed level. The system is also a type of ‘check and balances’ to both civil servants and politicians, and is hereby fostering a correct handling of each and every case. In short, errors, misbehavior or disrespect for the formal rules and regulations by people of position would always run the risk of being exposed.

8.4.8 What forms of place-based knowledge has been expressed and taken into account

The Commission may be seen as a nexus for academic and practice related place based expert knowledge. In short, the Commission is built for organisational learning from sources situated both inside and outside of the city administration regarding its main task and its four main policy fields (*utvecklingsområden*).

One of the basic ideas of the Commission, and a directive from the city, was that the work should be “scientifically grounded” and conducted in collaboration (*samverkan*) with independent researchers (Budget 2015). One main aspect of this is by way of reports (*underslagsrapporter*) from researchers active in relevant fields, who in these reports also make suggestions for change. This give the reports with suggestions later put forward by the Commission not only academic input but also a broader legitimacy from outside the urban administration itself. And, as mentioned in Dimension 3, the possibility to contribute with suggestions that fit ill with pre-conceptions of decision makers in the city.

The topic of the commissioned research was, according to Interview 1, decided upon in cooperation with the Commission in a process that might be described as both parties having to adapt to one another. The city have no experience in commissioning research which led to discussions (e.g. on legal arrangements, contracts) taking time from the research itself. The commissioning of the research was moreover under-funded (Interview 1, 13), but personal engagement to some extent complemented this. In one case researchers could use other project money in the work for the Commission (Interview 1). There was also not much understanding of researchers’ workflow with researchers often being occupied for years ahead, whereas the Commission was working with much shorter periods. Although the involvement of academic researchers must be seen as part of promoting academic place based knowledge in stimulating change, the detailed process of how this were realised in practice could be fine-tuned and developed as it seems as if there are aspects here that hold back the full potential of this measure.

The research reports are primarily not founded on primary data (interviews, fieldwork, surveys etc) (the financing and timings would not allow the creation of new data) but first and foremost build upon academic literature and earlier research of the researchers, although workshops with stakeholders within the urban administration sometimes are mentioned in the research reports. Many, but not all, of the researchers are connected to state universities located in the Stockholm region (including Uppsala) and with great knowledge of the city and the theme they are writing on in the research reports. Nevertheless, the selection of which researchers should be invited and by whom caused some worry within the opposition. In one case (not related to the policy field in focus here) a politician within the Political Reference Group took active involvement in choosing researchers. In other cases, researchers would belong to the same academic and professional network of senior officers in the Commission. Researchers were not recruited in an open tender process.

The Commission’s reports, in turn, are not only based on the research reports but are also based on other materials originating from outside of the city (eg. compilations of statistics made by consultancy firms, and comments and descriptions by other researchers), as well as dialogues with, and lessons from other cities. Moreover, other external research and reports (from other authorities) as well as media have been covered, and the authors of the commission reports have participated in external seminars and conferences. In addition, the Commission should also engage in “open and multifaceted dialogue” and “contin-

uously arrange talks, lectures and conferences” (En stad där vi möts, p. 7), which is a base both for additional learning, and additional dissemination (Seminar 1, 2017).

The ‘internal’ grounding of the Commission reports is also broad. Apart from a close reading of steering documents of the city, such as the Vision or the Comprehensive plan, and depending on the theme of the report, the authors have engaged with different administrations in the city through internal workshops and seminars. Sometimes personnel from these administrations also have had a larger role in writing as well as in developing back ground material upon specialised aspects, e.g. on land exploitation policies, covered in the reports. In addition, the drafts of the Commission reports were sent on city internal consultancy rounds for comments from various relevant administrations. In this way the Commission also got relevant knowledge from different administrations, including those close to the population, e.g. city district administrations. An example of the latter is how a local initiative in one of the city districts is described in comments on a Commission report. The local initiative concerns a model for organisational learning that includes several local actors, including developers (who in the end do the actual changes in the physical landscape) that the district is developing (Tjänsteutlåtande Dnr 1.5.1./ 028-2017, pages 8-9).

So the Commission ‘collect’ knowledge from outside both itself and the city in an systematic and structured manner, but also the experiences within the different city administrations on various scale levels is highly relevant to the Commission and included. To this could be added the ‘political knowledge’ or ‘political sensitivity’ of the politically possible that the Steering Committee of the Commission provides when producing the Commission reports, which shapes the reports and the suggestions. What is not referred to in the commission reports are direct input from citizens, businesses or NGOs.

In Annex 8.5, all the Commission’s reports and the researchers’ reports are listed together with other written material used by the Commission.

8.5 Reports from the Stockholm Commission

The list of reports and publically easy available material in this annex, is copied from the webpage <http://www.stockholm.se/OmStockholm/Ett-socialt-hallbart-Stockholm-2/Rapporter-fran-hallbarhetskommissionen/> (last visited 31 May 2018), and shows the total production of the Stockholm Commission with regards to its reports and its research basis (*forskningsunderlag*). The webpage was last updated 29 May 2018. All the titles presented are available on the above web page.

The list below is organized in relation to the four policy fields of concern for the Commission. The project reports are presented with titles and abstracts in Swedish, the research basis (*forskningsunderlag*) with titles of them and their annexes. All reports are in Swedish, but some of the research basis is in English.

One to two development leaders (*utvecklingsledare*), who organized the work with the reports and wrote them led each field of development. These are:

Democracy and security/safety (*Demokrati och trygghet*): Johanna Löfvenius (all reports), and Elisabet Bremberg (one report)

Work and income (*Arbete och försörjning*): Shores Ibrahim (three reports), Rebecka Hagman (two reports)

Housing/Living and urban environment (*Boende och stadsmiljö*): Åsa Dahlin (all reports), Christoffer Carlander (two reports)

Education and upbringing (*Utbildning och uppväxtvillkor*): Ariane Andersson (three reports), Erik Nordstrand (one report)

Apart from the reports in the four fields of development, the Commission has also produced the first report on differences in the city (*Skillnadernas Stockholm*, 2015), and the consultation version of the final report (*Färdplan för ett Stockholm för alla*, remissutgåva, 2018) – the ‘roadmap’ to further action after the Commission had ended its work.

Demokrati och trygghet

Stad i samverkan – Stockholms stad och civilsamhället

Författare: Johanna Löfvenius

Känslan av samhörighet och möjligheten till delaktighet och inflytande i samhället är grundläggande för människors välbefinnande och hälsa. Hög tillit mellan människor och stort förtroende för myndigheter främjar den sociala sammanhållningen och bidra till känsla av trygghet. Med utgångspunkt i en kartläggning av det civila samhällets roll för att stärka den sociala sammanhållningen visar rapporten hur Stockholms stad på ett strategiskt sätt kan samverka med och skapa förutsättningar för föreningsliv och medborgerlig organisering.

Medborgare med mandat – Dialog och delaktighet i Stockholms stad

Författare: Johanna Löfvenius

Resursstarka medborgare deltar i större utsträckning i dialoger, allmänna val, politiska partier samt i det civila samhället och får därmed också ett större inflytande över beslutsfattande än mindre resursstarka medborgare. Rapporten sätter fokus på hur medborgarnas medskapande i stadens utveckling kan stärkas, och hur ett mer jämlikt deltagande i dialogprocesser kan främjas.

Att synliggöra det omedvetna – En rapport om att förebygga diskriminering i Stockholms stad

Författare: Johanna Löfvenius

Stockholm ska, enligt stadens vision, vara en stad fri från diskriminering. Sverige har därtill en stark diskrimineringslagstiftning. Ändå vet vi att diskriminering förekommer. Ett antal studier visar på upplevelser av diskriminering vid myndighetskontakter, såväl i Sverige som i Stockholm. I rapporten Att synliggöra det omedvetna – En rapport om att förebygga diskriminering i Stockholms stad föreslår Hållbarhetskommisionen åtgärder för att främja en förvaltning som återspeglar stadens befolkning, öka kunskapen om diskriminering och normkritik bland chefer och medarbetare samt utveckla stadens uppföljning på området.

Tryggare tillsammans – Trygghet och kollektiv förmåga i Stockholms stad

Författare: Elisabet Bremberg & Johanna Löfvenius

Trygghet i vardagen är en förutsättning för att kunna delta i samhällslivet. Det är därmed en grundläggande rättighet för alla. I Stockholms stads senaste trygghetsmätning framkommer att allt fler stockholmare känner sig otrygga i sitt bostadsområde och är oroliga för att utsättas för brott. Högst andel otrygga finns i de socioekonomiskt svagaste delarna av staden. För att förstå skillnader mellan olika områden avseende upplevd otrygghet och viss typ av brottslighet lyfter forskning fram en social process som kallas kollektiv förmåga.

Arbete och försörjning

Allas rätt till kunskap – Kortutbildade och vuxenutbildning

Författare: Shores Ibrahim och Petra Wårstam Larnhed

En gymnasieexamen stärker avsevärt möjligheten till att få ett jobb. Att inte ha slutfört grundskolan minimerar chanserna väsentligt. Rapporten kartlägger gruppen kortutbildade i Stockholms stad och föreslår åtgärder för att långsiktigt främja rekryteringen till stadens vuxenutbildning och förutsättningarna för studenterna att fullfölja sina studier.

Dold potential – Hinder och möjligheter för unga stockholmares etablering på arbetsmarknaden

Författare: Shores Ibrahim och Petra Wårstam Larnhed

Unga med funktionsnedsättning, unga utrikes födda och unga som inte har fullföljt gymnasiet har svårt att etablera sig på arbetsmarknaden och utvecklingen är oroande. I denna rapport fördjupas analysen av ungas etablering på arbetsmarknaden med särskilt fokus på just dessa grupper och vad staden kan vidta för åtgärder för att förbättra utsikterna för arbetsmarknadsetablering.

Fokus nyanlända – För en hållbar etablering och inkludering

Författare: Shores Ibrahim och Rebecka Hagman

I grunden finns väldigt goda förutsättningar för nyanlända att få ett arbete och etablera sig i Stockholms stad. Men trots många insatser är gapet mellan inrikes och utrikes födda stort. Rapporten beskriver vilka faktorer, mekanismer och strukturer som påverkar nyanländas etablering och inkludering med särskilt fokus på hur förutsättningarna för olika grupper av nyanlända ser ut i Stockholms stad idag och ger förslag på hur arbetet kan utvecklas.

Företagande i en stad för alla

Författare: Rebecka Hagman

Företagande har stor betydelse för en socialt hållbar utveckling. Företagande ger individer som startar och driver företag egenmakt och försörjning, skapar arbetstillfällen för fler och bidrar till levande och trygga stadsdelar. I Stockholm är förutsättningarna för företagande generellt goda och företagandet är varierat i hela staden.

Boende och stadsmiljö

Från delad till enad stad – Översiktsplanering för social hållbarhet

Författare: Åsa Dahlin

Översiktsplanen är ett av stadens viktigaste styrdokument för stadens fysiska utveckling. Rapporten beskriver hur det sociala hållbarhetsperspektivet kan stärkas i översiktsplaneringen med särskilt fokus på hinder och möjligheter för en sammanhållen och socialt blandad stad.

Staden där vi möts – Arkitektur och kultur i det offentliga rummet

Författare: Åsa Dahlin

I den starka förändringstakt som nu råder av den fysiska miljön i staden är det avgörande att arbeta medvetet med de sociala värdena i Stockholms offentliga rum för att nå målet om en stad som håller samman. I fördjupningen har därför undersökts vad staden idag gör för att utveckla det offentliga rummet och vad Stockholms stad behöver göra för att utveckla stadsrum som främjar såväl social sammanhållning och trygghet, som en mer levande och attraktiv närmiljö för medborgare i hela staden.

Skapa värden – markpolitik och social hållbarhet

Författare: Åsa Dahlin och Christoffer Carlander

Stockholms stad äger mycket mark och intresset av att bygga i hela staden är i nuläget stort. Det ger staden handlingsutrymme. Rapporten ger förslag på hur strategiska investeringar, tydliga riktlinjer för social hållbarhet vid markanvisning och innovativ samverkan med byggaktörer kan skapa en mer sammanhållen och socialt hållbar stad.

Vägen hem – socialt hållbar bostadsförsörjning i Stockholms stad

Författare: Åsa Dahlin och Christoffer Carlander

Trots att bostadsbyggandet ökat markant i Stockholms stad och i Stockholmsregionen är bostadsbristen fortsatt hög och bostadsmarknaden har blivit ännu svårare för många hushåll. Det påverkar människors möjligheter att forma sina liv på ett likvärdigt sätt och möjligheterna till ett väl fungerande samhälle. Att utveckla en socialt hållbar bostadsförsörjning är därför avgörande.

Utbildning och uppväxtvillkor

En skola där alla ska lyckas

Författare: Ariane Andersson, Per Janson, Helena Nilsson och Sayeh Tealohi

Utvecklingsområdet Utbildning och uppväxtvillkor fokuserar under 2015 och 2016 på "likvärdig utbildning med hög kvalitet". En likvärdig utbildning uppstår när skolan kompenserar för individers skilda förutsättningar, så att alla har lika möjligheter att nå ett gott studieresultat. Rapporten beskriver skillnader i skolresultat utifrån migrationsbakgrund och föräldrars utbildningsnivå samt hälsa. En stor utmaning för Stockholms skolor är boendesegregationen som också återspeglar sig i elevgrupperna. Utifrån detta redogör rapporten för åtgärder som kan vidtas för att kompensera för dessa skillnader.

Den lärande skolan

Författare: Ariane Andersson, Cecilia Göransson, Per Janson och Sayeh Tealohi

Utvecklingsområdet Utbildning och uppväxtvillkor fokuserar under 2015 och 2016 på "likvärdig utbildning med hög kvalitet". En likvärdig utbildning uppstår när skolan kompenserar för individers skilda förutsättningar, så att alla har lika möjligheter att nå ett gott studieresultat. Denna rapport behandlar fyra avgörande beståndsdelar för att åstadkomma en hållbar skolutveckling: skolkultur, ledarskap och lärande organisationer samt stödbaserad inkludering. Rapportens fokus är således på skolans inre liv och vilka förutsättningar som finns för att bidra till en hållbar skolutveckling.

Förskolan – En god investering i jämlika livsvillkor

Författare: Ariane Andersson och Elin Sandberg

Forskning visar att deltagandet i en förskola där stöd ges till utveckling har stor positiv påverkan på barns utveckling och lärande långt upp i skolåldern och välbefinnande senare i livet. Rapporten Förskolan – En god investering i jämlika livsvillkor visar hur staden kan skapa ett jämnare deltagande i förskolan över staden och stärka förskolans roll i att skapa goda uppväxtvillkor för barn.

Jämlik fritid, bättre framtid – Om unga stockholmares fritidsvillkor

Författare: Erik Nordstrand

Meningsfulla fritidsaktiviteter har stor betydelse för barn och ungas identitetsutveckling, självkänsla, sociala kompetens och problemlösningsförmåga och hälsa. Stockholms stad kan göra mycket för att unga får tillgång till passande fritidsaktiviteter, både som arrangör och genom att fördela ekonomiskt stöd till civilsamhället. Rapporten Jämlik fritid, bättre framtid visar på skillnader i tillgång till fritidsaktiviteter och ger förslag på hur kvaliteten och likvärdigheten kan förbättras, hur utbudet kan utvecklas och hur staden kan styra och följa upp de insatser som görs.

Underlagsrapporter från forskare och bilagor

Demokrati och trygghet

Civilsamhälle, social sammanhållning och tillit, underlagsrapport. *Författare: Susanne Wallman Lundåsen och Lars Trägårdh*

Öppna rum för deltagande: Idéer för demokratiseringen av Stockholm, underlagsrapport. *Författare: Nazem Tahvilzadeh*

Grassroots Movements & Stockholms Stad: Bridging the Gap. *Författare: Deepika Dipes Dugar, Ida Niskanen, Kristina van der Mey, Maria Telenius, Peng Wu, Savas Caliskan*

Evidensbaserade åtgärder mot etnisk diskriminering vid myndighetskontakter. *Författare: Jonas Larsson Taghizadeh och Per Adman*

Kollektiv förmåga, brott och otrygghet i Stockholms stad. *Författare: Manne Gerell, Anna-Karin Ivert, Caroline Mellgren*

Arbete och försörjning

Stockholms högutbildade på arbetsmarknaden. *Upphov: Sweco.*

Unga i Stockholm som riskerar utanförskap och insatser som kan underlätta deras inträde på arbetsmarknaden, underlagsrapport. *Författare: Anders Forslund*

Unga stockholmare som står långt från arbetsmarknaden. *Upphov: Sweco*

Kortutbildade och vuxenutbildning, underlagsrapport. *Författare: Andreas Fejes*

Kortutbildade i Stockholms stad. En kartläggning av gruppen och dess etablering på arbetsmarknaden. *Upphov: Sweco*

Nyanlända på väg mot etablering i Stockholm. *Författare: Ayca Çelikaksoy och Eskil Wadensjö*

Boende och stadsmiljö

Kulturnärvaro – inspel till boende och stadsmiljö, underlagsrapport. *Författare: Ann Legeby, Daniel Koch och Eshan Abshrini*

Bilaga 1 till delrapporten Staden där vi möts: Tillfällig arkitektur ger plats för kultur. *Författare: Malin Zimm*

Bilaga 2 till delrapporten Staden där vi möts: Inspel till kommissionen för social hållbarhet. *Olika texter författade av: Alexander Ståhle (Tät och rättvis stad); Jerker Söderlind (Kanariefåglar och elefanter); Monica Andersson och Jonas Berglund (Till Kommissionen...); Björn Hellström (Stadsutvecklingens spelrum); Henrik Nerlund (Inspel om utveckling...).*

Jämlika livsvillkor och stadsbyggande – inspel till pågående översiktsplanearbete, underlagsrapport. *Författare: Ann Legeby, Daniel Koch och Lars Marcus*

Hur kan markpolitik och planering påverka segregation och social hållbarhet?, underlagsrapport. *Olika texter av Roger Andersson (Socialt hållbart samhällsbyggande – en introduktion); Hanna Zetterlund (Samma verktyg, olika utfall); Emma Holmqvist (Implementering av stadsbyggnadsvisioner)*

Möjligheter och begränsningar med markpolitik som verktyg för att bygga en mer sammanhållen stad. *Upphov: Evidens*

Socialt hållbar bostadsförsörjning i Stockholms stad – tänkbara strategier. *Författare: Hans Lind och Thomas Kalbro*

Bostadsforskare om bostadskvalitet. *Olika texter av Ola Nylander (Inledning); Paula Femenias (Dåligt planerade lägenheter skapar en ombyggnadsproblematik; Morgan Andersson (Universal Design i bostadsbyggandet); Hanna Morichetto (Bostad, atmosfär, välbefinnande & hälsa); Anna Braide Eriksson (Hur kan vi ge förutsättningar för alla att leva i goda bostäder)*

Utbildning och uppväxtvillkor

Elevsammansättning, klyftor och likvärdighet i skolan, underlagsrapport. *Författare: Nihad Bunar*

Hållbar skolutveckling för alla, underlagsrapport. *Författare: Nihad Bunar*

Jämställd och jämlik!, underlagsrapport. *Författare: Ulf Blomdahl och Stig Elofsson*

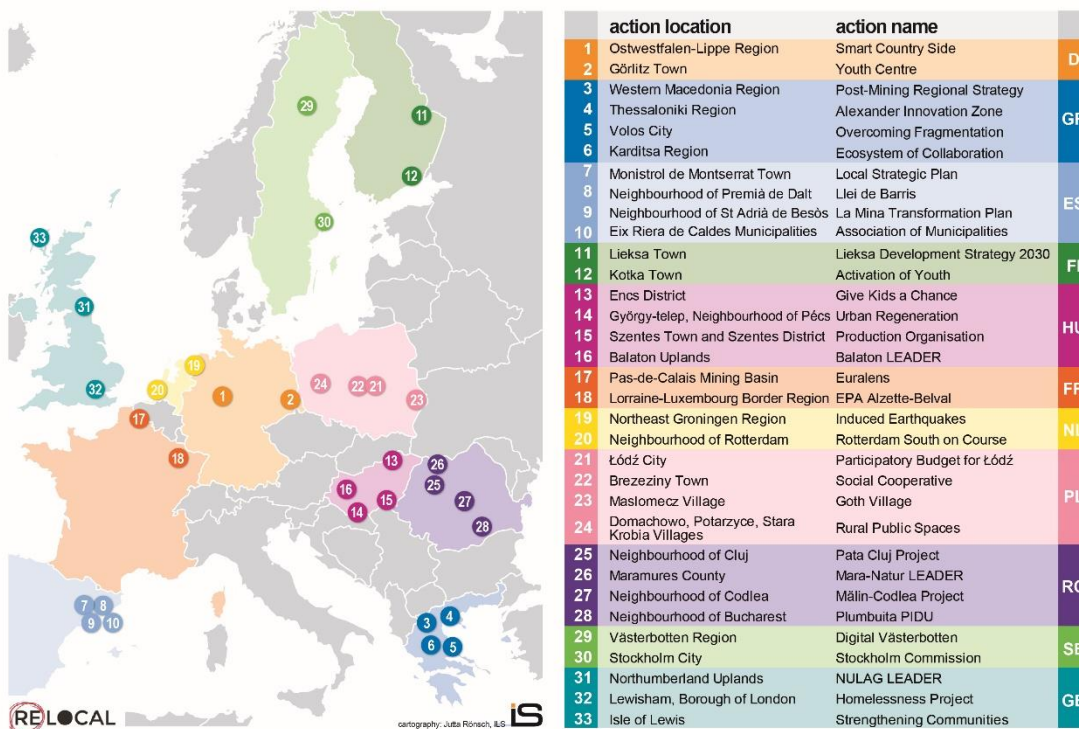
Barn och våld: Fördjupningsstudie. Underlagsrapport. *Författare: Maria Eriksson*

The RELOCAL Project

EU Horizon 2020 research project ‘**Resituating the local in cohesion and territorial development**’ –RELOCAL aims to identify factors that condition local accessibility of European policies, local abilities to articulate needs and equality claims and local capacities for exploiting European opportunity structures.

In the past, especially since the economic and financial crisis, the European Social Model has proven to be challenged by the emergence of spatially unjust results. The RELOCAL hypothesis is that **processes of localisation and place-based public policy** can make a positive contribution to spatial justice and democratic empowerment.

The research is based on **33 case studies** in **13 different European** countries that exemplify development challenges in terms of spatial justice. The cases were chosen to allow for a balanced representation of different institutional contexts. Based on case study findings, project partners will draw out the factors that influence the impact of place-based approaches or actions from a comparative perspective. The results are intended to facilitate a greater local orientation of cohesion, territorial development and other EU policies.



The RELOCAL project runs from October 2016 until September 2020.

Read more at <https://relocal.eu>

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