

Interim Report – Part B.1

Study on promoting multi-level governance in support of Europe 2020
(contract number CCI 2013CE16BAT019)

Stockholm:

**The Urban Game as a neutral platform for policy
coordination**

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Disclaimer: The information and views set out in this study are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the opinion of the Commission.

List of abbreviations

ERDF	European Regional Development Fund
ESF	European Social Fund
ESIF	European Structural Investment Fund
LDA	Local Development Agreement
KSL	Stockholm County Association of Local Authorities
NRP	National Reform Programme
OP	Operational Programme
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
TMR	Office for Regional Growth, Environment and Planning at the Stockholm County Council

1 Introduction

Many regions and cities in Europe contribute directly or indirectly to achieving the aims and objectives of the Europe 2020 Strategy. To gain more insights on the governance mechanisms at play when cities and regions deliver contributions to Europe 2020 objectives, DG Regio launched a study on “promoting multi-level governance in support of Europe 2020”. This study aims to document case studies, test the possibility to transfer learning on governance and to generate lessons from policy experiences.

The study focuses on two specific policy fields linked to the Europe 2020 Strategy, namely Energy Efficiency measures with a special focus on the existing building stock and Social Inclusion in urban areas.

The present case study is one of eight reports detailing examples of how policy actors pursue their objectives, explicitly or tacitly in support of Europe 2020, in the context of the different multi-level governance frameworks they find themselves. The reflections and lessons presented in this and the other reports form an important input to the conclusions of the overall study and for a series of networking and transfer meetings between local and regional representatives from various parts of Europe. The final results of the study, will highlight the processes and success factors leading to strong, high quality political and administrative partnerships across levels of governance and the lesson to be drawn on testing the transfer of experience in good governance.

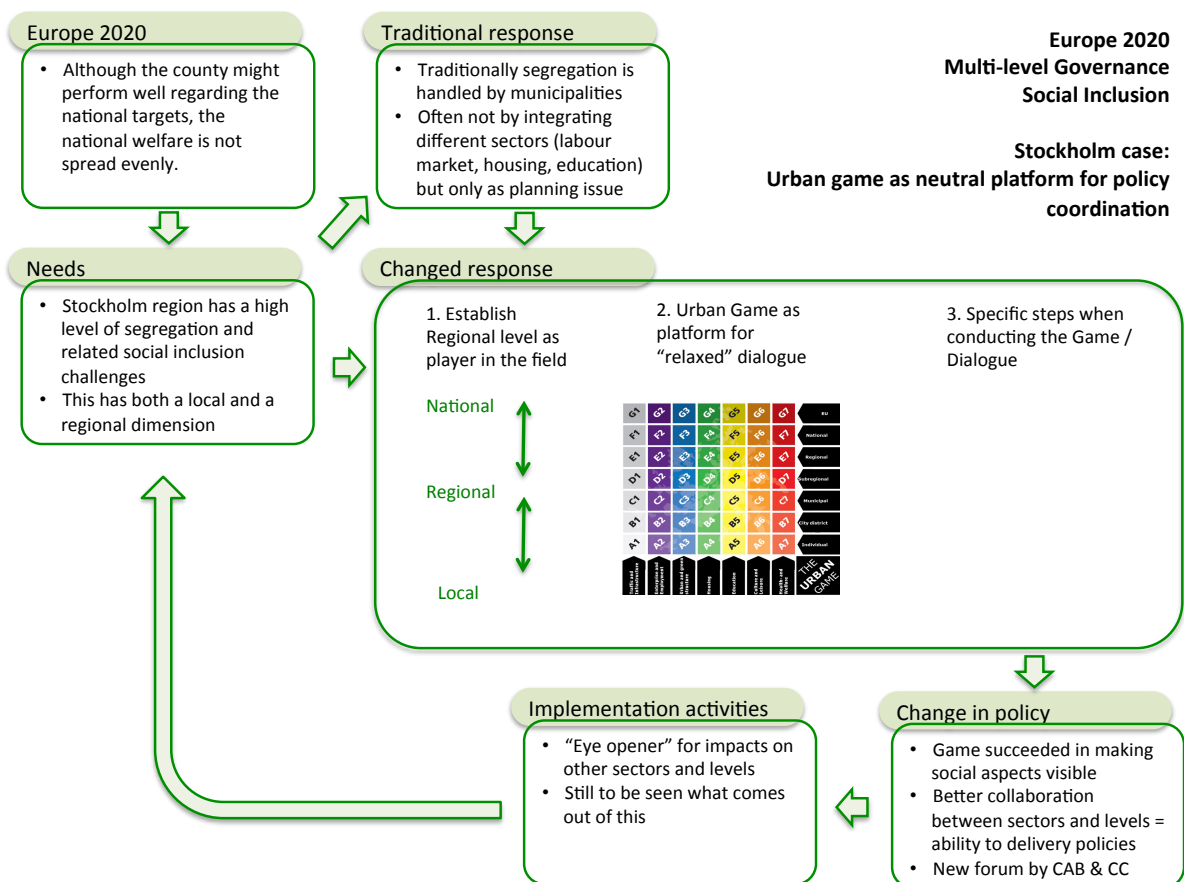
This study on promoting multi-level governance in support of Europe 2020 is led by Spatial Foresight GmbH and carried out in support of a wide range of collaboration partners.

Further details on the study and the progress made are available at <http://www.spatialforesight.eu/mlg.html>

2 Summary

The Stockholm region has high levels of socioeconomic segregation and the challenges of social inclusion are increasing. Whereas housing segregation is traditionally approached by the municipalities, there is an increasing awareness that it no longer can be dealt with by the single municipalities individually. Indeed, the tight functional integration of various municipalities in the region of Stockholm implies that socioeconomic segregation is both a local and regional challenge. (see figure - boxes on needs & traditional response).

In this context, the initiative for the Urban Game was a joint undertaking of the main regional agents of the Stockholm region; the Stockholm County Council and the County Administration Board. The game was developed through a process involving a wide range of different experts and drawing on broad evidence based on socioeconomic developments and policies in the Stockholm region.



With development of the Urban Game, the regional level aimed at establishing a platform outside existing governance structures, in order to deal with social inclusion issues. The tool is primarily designed to encourage discussions and to increase awareness about interdependences of developments and decisions in various sectors and at various levels of governance. The Urban Game approaches social sustainable development across sectors and governance levels:

- o The Urban Game takes on board the seven decision-making levels which are linked through programmes, plans, projects and directives related to sustainable social

development in the region of Stockholm. This ranges from the individual level to the European level.

- o The Urban Game operates across several sectors within sustainable social development, including transport, labour market, urban structure, housing, education, culture and health/welfare.

The Urban Game is a unique tool to clarify and understand how measures implemented at different governance levels and sectors relate to each other, and what measures need to be taken to achieve a sustainable result. The game-character helps opening up for discussions in an informal setting, allows for establishing a neutral environment where different governance levels and sectors can be brought together. (see figure – box on changed response)

It is too early to draw any conclusions about whether the Urban Game has actually changed the ability to combat socioeconomic segregation. Nevertheless, the Urban Game is used in the context of different local and regional policy decisions and plans in the Stockholm region - involving both civil servants and politicians. Furthermore valuable lesson can be drawn regarding a coordinated dialogue between stakeholders, which could also be applied in other policy fields. The key aspects of the Urban Game strengthening multi-level governances which can facilitate the implementation of the Europe 2020 Strategy are summarised in the table below.

The main result of the Urban Game so far is an increased awareness about the needs and advantages of better cooperation and coordination across governance sectors and levels. (see figure – box on change in policy)

The applicability of the Urban Game is high and it transfers well outside of regional and even national boundaries.

Key aspects of the Urban Game strengthening multi-level governance approaches to Europe 2020

Innovative approaches that could be of interest for others	Aspects that could be transferred (concrete methods or techniques)
Using the urban game as neutral discussion platform.	Using the Urban game as neutral discussion platform.
Establishing the region as platform for discussing local segregation.	Using the game for development and discussion of local and regional policies.
	Involve a wide range of stakeholders from different levels and sectors.

3 Methodology

This case study is primarily based on qualitative data such as interviews and literature studies. In order to map different aspects of the background, actions and implementation of The Urban Game up to this point in time, Sweco organised a workshop with the main initiators. One representative from the Stockholm County Council¹ and two representatives from the County Administrative Board² participated in the workshop on 3 December 2013. The participants were chosen for their central role in the process leading up to The Urban Game, as well as for their work in its on-going implementation.

To broaden the perspectives of The Urban Game and to include aspects from other sectors and levels, individual interviews were held with additional actors. These were a representative from the Södertälje municipality, one politician representing Stockholm County Council, one representative from the Stockholm County Association of Local Authorities (KSL)³, and a representative from the County Administrative Board. These four were identified during the initial workshop and selected based on their interests and their involvement in the initiation and implementation of the Urban Game.

Several reports and studies played a substantial role in the case study. The literature study provided useful information regarding the political and strategic context in which the Urban Game was framed. The main reports and studies that contributed to this case study are listed in the bibliography.

4 Situation prior to the governance change

The Urban Game in Stockholm and its implications for the contribution of multilevel governance to the social inclusion objectives of the Europe 2020 Strategy need to be seen in the specific context of the Stockholm region. This concerns in particular:

- the regional development aspects prompting stakeholders to become active;
- the Europe 2020 Strategy and its implementation in the area; and
- existing stakeholder and governance groups.

¹ The County Council is responsible for all publicly-financed healthcare and public transport in Stockholm County. The County Council is also responsible for regional planning and cultural subsidies.

² The County Administrative Board is the representative of the national government in the region and the coordinating body for State activities in the region/county of Stockholm. The County Administrative Board's task is to coordinate areas of public responsibility to support a sustainable society in which economic development, the environment and social welfare are interlinked

³ The Stockholm County Association of Local Authorities (KSL) is a politically controlled organisation comprised of the county's 26 member local authorities / municipalities. It is financed mainly through service fees. KSL is the hub for cooperation, dialogue and establishing support among municipalities. KSL also represents the municipalities in relation to external actors and organisations to strengthen the municipalities' and the region's voice and influence.

The region of Stockholm in a nutshell (2013)

Population	2.2 million inhabitants
Area	6 526 km ²
Financial volume of the relevant ERDF Programme	900 000 EUR (8,4 million SEK) (for 2007-2013)

Europe 2020 targets at national level

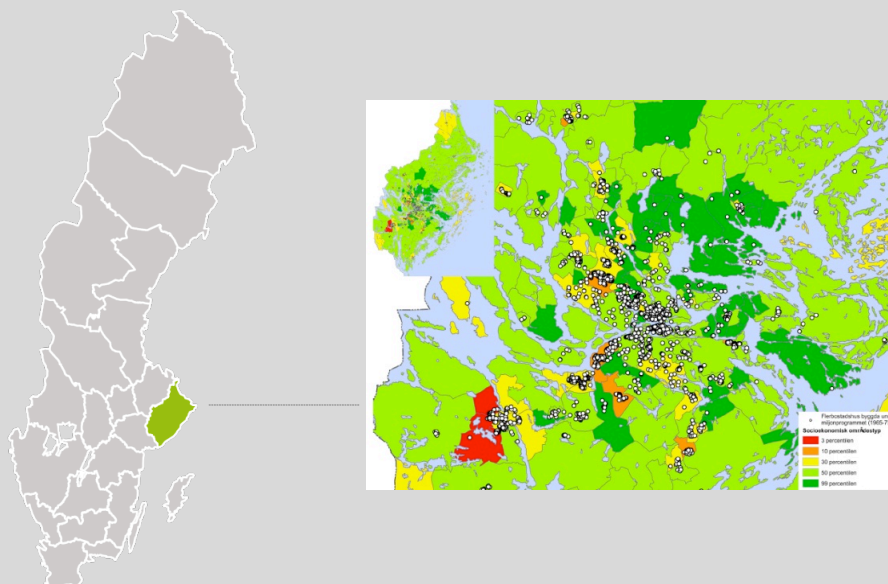
Employment	80 % of the population aged 20-64 to be employed
R&D / innovation	4 % of GDP to be invested in R&D
Climate change	17% reduction of greenhouse gas emissions from 2005 levels 49 % of total energy consumption from renewable sources
Education	less than 10% of children should leave school at an early age at least 40% of 30-34-year-olds should complete tertiary education
Poverty/ Social exclusion	Fewer people should be at risk of poverty or exclusion

Looking at the region of Stockholm, the objectives of the Regional Development Plan for the Stockholm Region – RUFSS 2010 – are going into the same direction as the Europe 2020 Strategy. With regards to social exclusion e.g. the first objective of the RUFSS 2010 is “An open and accessible region: The region must view diversity as a major asset. The inhabitants must have equal opportunities irrespective of their gender, age, sexual orientation, physical disabilities and background.”

Key governance stakeholders

National level	Swedish Ministry of Employment Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning
Regional level	Stockholm County Council Stockholm County Administrative Board Stockholm County Association of Local Authorities
Local level	26 municipalities of the region of Stockholm

Figure 1: Stockholm Region based on socioeconomic character



Source: Sweco / Stockholm County Council, 2013

4.1 Socio-economic development context and challenges

Urbanisation is a global trend that has accelerated in recent years, and Sweden is one of the fastest urbanising countries in the European Union. In recent years, the Stockholm region has stood out as a dynamic growth region in northern Europe, with an increasing population and a comparably high employment rate. However, the high urbanisation rate has put a lot of pressure on the region where some districts have not benefited as much from the increased welfare as other parts of the region. This regional imbalance is seen in higher unemployment rates and a lower educational level among inhabitants in some city districts.

Segregation in the Stockholm region is manifested in a socioeconomic 'gap' where there are big differences in performance. The gap between the socioeconomically deprived areas and other areas in the Stockholm region is mainly seen in unemployment rates, educational levels, tax-financed subsidies, and crime rates⁴.

Socioeconomic inequalities in the region are sometimes regarded as a result of the past decade's urban expansion, where isolated enclaves of suburban towns and villages have been planned along the subway line. They are separated from other residential areas, resulting in a lack of natural integration⁵.

Mechanisms preserving segregation are complex and cannot be completely explained by isolated features. Consequently, socioeconomic development is not only determined by physical preconditions, but rather as a result of several factors and circumstances. Despite such reasoning, socioeconomic segregation in the Stockholm region is often associated with the Million Dwelling Programme (dwellings constructed during 1965-1975). Although it is often argued that the Million Dwelling Programme reinforces segregation, there is no clear link between socioeconomically deprived areas in the Stockholm region and the dwellings constructed during this programme⁶.

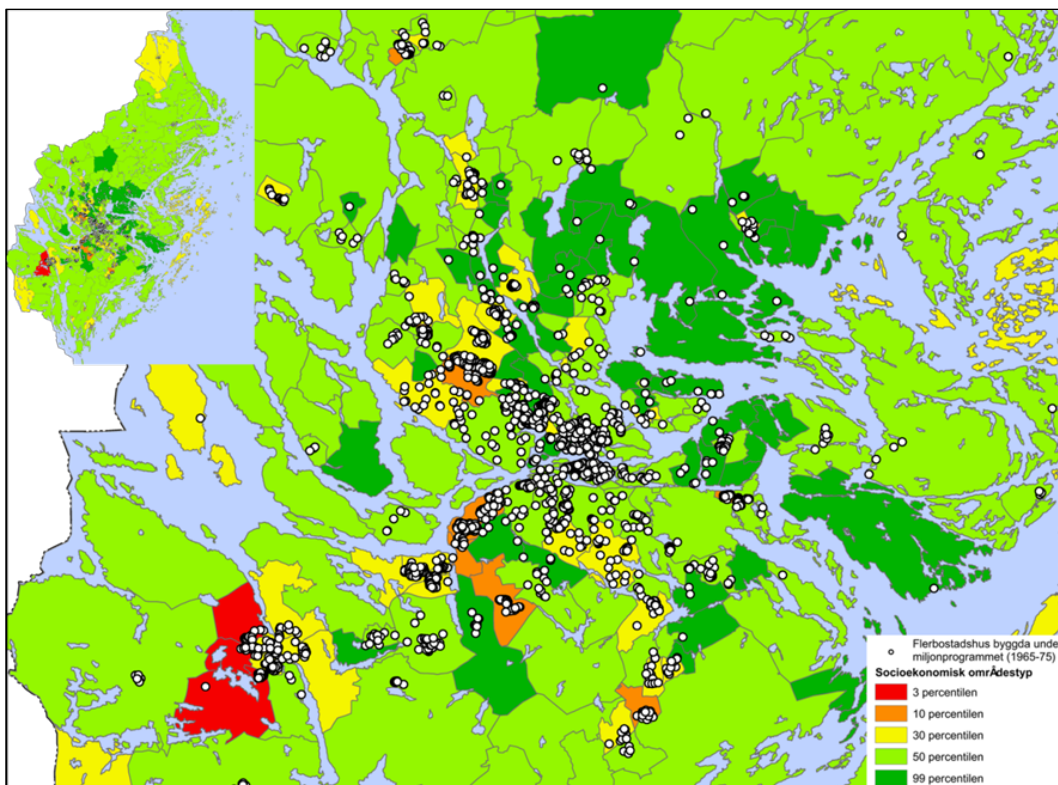
The map below illustrates areas in the Stockholm region based on a set of socioeconomic indicators. Areas that score low on the socioeconomic index are shown in red, whereas areas that score high are in green. The dots represent multi-family dwellings that were built during the Million Dwelling Programme.

⁴ Ministry of Employment, 2013, Urbana utvecklingsområden – statistisk uppföljning utifrån 7 indikatorer; 'Identified districts for urban development – evaluation based on 7 indicators'

⁵ Interview with Stockholm County Council and the County Administrative Board, December 3, 2013

⁶ Stockholm County Council, 2013, Stärk sammanhållningen; 'Increasing regional cohesion'

Figure 2: Residential Dwellings constructed during 1965-1975 plotted on areas based on socioeconomic character



Source: Stockholm County Council, 2013

The map clearly illustrates a regional imbalance. The spatial divide of socioeconomic characteristics between different areas is especially striking. The map also shows that there is no clear relationship between the dwellings that were put up during the Million Dwelling Programme and the socioeconomic character of the region.

There have been several actions targeting socioeconomic segregation in the Stockholm region during recent decades. From 1998 to 2006, policies supporting these districts were formulated within a metropolitan policy. The main policy tools were local development agreements (LDAs) which targeted specific deprived areas, focusing on improving inclusion of segregated residents with the labour market. The LDAs were written by the state, the municipalities and the districts, but were implemented primarily by the municipalities⁷.

The Metropolitan Policy was later replaced by an urban development programme in 2006. Focus within the urban development programme was on cooperation between and among local level municipalities and national authorities. The LDA was still the main tool for supporting deprived areas.

Urban development policy in 2006 targeted six out of 21 municipalities in the Stockholm region. The urban development policy and LDAs ended in 2011 and were replaced with a general policy focused on supporting employment and education. In the current reform introduced in 2012, the municipalities of Stockholm and Södertälje were targeted.⁸

⁷ OECD, 2006, Territorial reviews, Stockholm, Sweden

⁸ Ministry of Employment, 2013, Urbana utvecklingsområden – statistisk uppföljning utifrån 7 indikatorer, 'Identified districts for urban development – evaluation based on 7 indicators'

The 2011 reform also for the first time gave the County Administrative Board an assignment to coordinate knowledge exchange on urban development. The County Administration Board collaborated with other regional actors within this assignment. After 12 years implementing the LDAs, which involved only the national and local level, the national urban development programme now also includes the regional level.

4.2 Link to Europe 2020 Strategy

In this regional development context of social segregation, the Europe 2020 targets on social inclusion are of particular relevance. Although Sweden may perform well with regard to national Europe 2020 targets, there are considerable regional and local variations as outlined above.

This is also linked to the implementation of the Europe 2020 Strategy in Sweden. The main responsibility lies with the national level as the regional and local level are only indirectly involved. Accordingly, not a lot of attention is paid in the NRP to any territorial diversity of challenges or potential in achieving Europe 2020 objectives. The focus is on labour market issues to strengthen social inclusion as underlined in the national reform programme for 2013 (see box below).

Excerpt from Sweden's National Reform Programme (NRP) 2013⁹

"The Government's principal objective is to take Sweden towards full employment by reducing exclusion.

The Government shares the view expressed in the recommendation that labour market participation needs to be improved, particularly in terms of the level of employment among young people and other groups with a weak foothold in the labour market. Counteracting long-term unemployment and increasing employment among these groups is one of the most important challenges facing the Government over the next few years. For this to be possible, the labour market must become more inclusive and flexible.

The Government's policy focuses on continuously following-up and improving the labour market situation for groups with a weak foothold in the labour market. Young people, older people, people born outside Sweden, those with at most a lower-secondary education and those with disabilities entailing decreased work capacity have a poorer labour market situation than the population as a whole. The Government's policies are a combination of measures to stimulate supply and demand for labour and to stimulate the matching of job-seekers and vacancies.

Since 2011, discussions have been taking place between the Government and the social partners, known as the tripartite discussions, aimed at finding shared solutions to the remaining problems. The Government's objective for taking part in the discussions is to identify measures to reduce equilibrium unemployment and increase lasting employment, particularly by improving job opportunities for people with a weak foothold in the labour market. Three areas have been in focus:

- establishing new paths into the labour market for young people through work introduction agreements;
- providing improved opportunities for realignment in the labour market; and
- introducing a system of central government support for short-term employment in periods of deep economic crisis."

⁹ Available on the European Commission's website at www.ec.europa.eu.

4.3 A background to governance

In Sweden, social inclusion issues are traditionally handled at the national level for overall policies and principle directions, and the local level for day-to-day business and the implementation of policies.

For the Stockholm region, experience shows that trying to solve the problem locally with limited resources and tools is not a successful way of dealing with socioeconomic segregation in housing. The need for the municipalities to work together with the region appeared imminent¹⁰, so the regional level has emerged as a new governance level in this field. This case study describes how the regional level has tried to establish itself and at the same time facilitate the vertical and horizontal coordination of various policy initiatives.

The Swedish government has supported specific measures targeting city districts and individuals in recent decades. Measures targeting these socioeconomic distressed areas were formulated within the framework of a metropolitan policy (1998 – 2006) and an urban development policy (2006-2011). The general objective has been positive socioeconomic development in city districts with high socioeconomic exclusion. The focus has been on achieving sustainable living environments and improving educational outcomes by applying individual policies¹¹.

Despite a range of initiatives in recent decades, the impact of individual policies on the structures that create and maintain socioeconomic housing segregation has been rather limited. As a consequence, measures and policies targeting individuals were reviewed and a need to approach socioeconomic segregation in a more comprehensive manner was suggested. The lack of a coherent regional policy was explicitly expressed in the 2006 OECD territorial review.

In that report the OECD pointed out a clear link between socioeconomic residential segregation and a lack of integration in the labour market in the Stockholm region. Stockholm was recommended to reform its metropolitan governance and take into account the support of the relevant officials at all governmental levels, as well as the private and non-profit sectors.

In addition, the OECD did not consider the individual policies applied in the Stockholm region to be an adequate comprehensive metropolitan policy. This was mainly because the individual measures addressed very limited issues regarding geographical area and scope. It was additionally highlighted that experiences from other OECD countries focusing on distressed neighbourhoods proved to be more successful when they adopted a multi-sectorial approach¹²).

The OECD review, together with several other reports and evaluations, became a driver for government change in the Stockholm region. Although action was taken in recent decades to reverse socioeconomic housing segregation, experience put these issues in a somewhat different light. The social aspects were recognised as a question of economic and regional growth, which in turn showed that a deeper approach was needed to deal with these

¹⁰ Interview with one representative from Södertälje Municipality, 24 January 2014

¹¹ Ministry of Employment, 2013, Urbana utvecklingsområden – statistisk uppföljning utifrån 7 indikatorer; 'Identified districts for urban development – evaluation based on 7 indicators'

¹² OECD, 2006, Territorial reviews, Stockholm, Sweden

issues. This supported strategies to address social inclusion through a cross-sectorial and cross-level approach¹³

Shortly after the OECD review was published, the local authorities of Södertälje and the regional actors in the Stockholm region agreed to work together on an international project in 2008. The Södertälje municipality has faced socioeconomic challenges for a long time, and the municipality's request for collaboration was a call for a more comprehensive approach towards sustainable urban development.

Indeed, it became obvious that a coordinated response to the challenges is needed to go beyond the municipal level, since the functional integration of the region demonstrated that people no longer go about their daily lives limited to one municipality. Hence, developments and policy interventions in one municipality have impacts on social inclusion in others.

Need for vertical coordination

In order to achieve social inclusion in deprived areas, collaboration between the local and the regional scale is considered important. However, most of the civil servants at the local level today operate within their own field of expertise and do not work on a strategic level¹⁴

In this context, the challenge was how to establish governance approaches at regional level without challenging existing structures and without creating negative responses from key stakeholders at local or national level.

There was a perception that the regional level could serve as an important platform for improving or facilitating:

- coordination between different levels of decision making;
- coordination between different sectors of decision making; and
- functional coordination between decision-making in different places.

However, the main question was how to establish the regional level in the existing governance system.

5 The Urban Game: Tool and method for coordinated policy dialogue

The governance change described in this case study is firstly about establishing the regional governance level as a player in social inclusion policies in the region. Secondly it is about the approach or tool to accomplish this, i.e. the Urban Game. In short, the Urban Game functions as awareness raising tool.

Before developing the Urban Game, the appropriate sectors and governance levels in the region were identified. Sustainable social development was a combination of regional and local planning and several governance levels and sectors needed to be addressed to reverse the negative impact of the socioeconomic housing segregation.

The seven sectors and seven levels of governance forming the horizontal and vertical axes of figure 3 show the 'playing field' of governance stakeholders. The organisations inside the 'playing field' were involved in the development of the basic approach of the Urban Game.

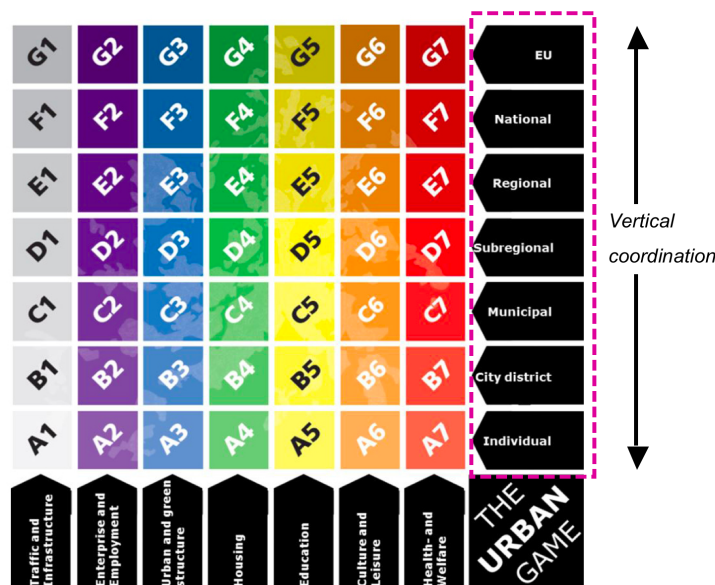
¹³ Interview with Stockholm County Council and the County Administrative Board, Workshop, December 3, 2013

¹⁴ Interview with one representative from Södertälje Municipality, 24 January 2014

The Urban Game is a tool as well as a method aiming at enabling and encouraging discussions regarding sustainable urban development in the region. More specifically, the Urban Game aims high, at visualising how different measures implemented on different governance levels and sectors relate to each other, in terms of both vertical and horizontal coordination.

One of the main objectives of the Urban Game is to highlight coordination issues between different levels in relation to specific policy initiatives and to visualise how socioeconomic residential segregation relates to different modes of governance. The vertical axis of the 'playing field' represents the main domains of governance in Swedish society, with coordination roles at potentially seven different levels.

Figure 3: Vertical coordination at play in the Urban Game



The Urban Game and the process of sustainable social development in the Stockholm region link the seven vertical levels through programmes, plans, projects and directives. Since the decision-making power and focus varies between the different levels, not all of the seven levels identified are of the same importance. The most important levels are mentioned below.

- *European Union (EU)*: The European level comes in with regard to EU funding through the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) and European Social Fund (ESF), and with regard to the agenda setting in various policy fields (e.g. with the Europe 2020 Strategy).
- *National (and regional)*: The process of the Urban Game also links to the national level. The need to apply a multi-level governance approach to reduce socioeconomic residential segregation was addressed by the Swedish government in a directive to the County Administrative Board¹⁵. Further, as socioeconomic residential segregation is closely connected to wider issues related to housing and employment, actors representing the national level also play a central role in the

¹⁵ Interview with Stockholm County Council and the County Administrative Board, workshop, 3 December 2013

- process. More recently, the EU has also drawn attention to the rigidities in the Swedish housing market.¹⁶
- *Municipal*: The planning system in Sweden is based upon municipalities having authority for regulating their land use and development. In the context of the Urban Game, Södertälje and Stockholm are the two main municipalities representing the local level. Both are being targeted in the current urban development policy.
 - *Individual*: The individual level appears relatively weak as compared to the other levels. Workshops around the Urban Game show that most measures related to socioeconomic residential segregation are considered by game participants to be on a municipal or regional level. This is interesting; especially since the last decade's metropolitan policy put the emphasis on the level of individuals rather than adopting a wider urban or regional scope.¹⁷

The Urban Game operates across several sectors within sustainable urban development. Horizontal coordination embodies traffic, employment, urban structure, housing, education, culture and health/welfare.

As previously illustrated, the main actors involved in the pre-study operate within several of these sectors. On the national level, the Ministry of Employment represents the business and employment sector, whereas the National Board of Housing, Building and Planning represents the housing sector. Municipality level representatives are from municipal comprehensive planning (spatial planning) and education.

Figure 5. Horizontal coordination at play in The Urban Game



The Urban Game as a tool addresses the lack of functional coordination mechanisms. Playing the game gives participants a broader understanding of how measures taken in

¹⁶ http://ec.europa.eu/europe2020/europe-2020-in-your-country/sverige/country-specific-recommendations/index_en.htm

¹⁷ Stockholm County Council, 2013, Det urbana spelet – resultat av en förstudie om hållbar urban utveckling, 'The Urban Game – results from a pre-study on sustainable urban development'.

different sectors on different governance levels affect others. The game is used in several development processes to ensure that actors from different sectors and governance levels are aware of the need for new functional coordination mechanisms.

The following section presents the development and general ideas about coordinating responsibility and then details experience in "how to play the game" and "how to mobilise stakeholders" to participate.

5.1 Key players and their motivation

The initiative for the Urban Game was a joint undertaking of the main regional actors in the Stockholm region; the Stockholm County Council and the County Administration Board. Several municipalities and other actors were involved in the mapping and analysis of knowledge and experience during the pre-study. The County Council and the County Administration Board are responsible for the regional development plan in the Stockholm region.

The joint initiative was taken as part of implementing the 'increasing regional cohesion' strategy and the County Administration Board's responsibility within the Swedish government's urban development policy. Representatives from the Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning and the Stockholm County Association of Local Authorities as well as local authorities in the Stockholm region (Stockholm, Södertälje) were involved in the pre-study.

To establish the regional level as important for sustainable social development and social inclusion, it was necessary to find a way that would be acceptable to other stakeholders in the field. The involvement of such a wide range of stakeholders is important for the credibility and success of the approach, so the motivation of the various stakeholders is important.

Traditionally, the regional level is weak in Swedish government (except in the fields of public transport and health care services). In Stockholm the regional level is also in charge of regional planning. Regional planning is, however, mainly a dialogue platform. In that sense in Stockholm regional planning is largely about providing evidence on regional development aspects and creating consensus among relevant stakeholders, mainly the municipalities, regarding the objectives and vision for further development of the region. Also when it comes to social inclusion policies at regional level, the regional level serves mainly as a platform for information collection, dialogue and consensus finding.

Table 1 below provides an overview of the motivations of particular stakeholders to participate in dialogue through the Urban Game.

Figure 6: Main actors involved in the process of the Urban Game

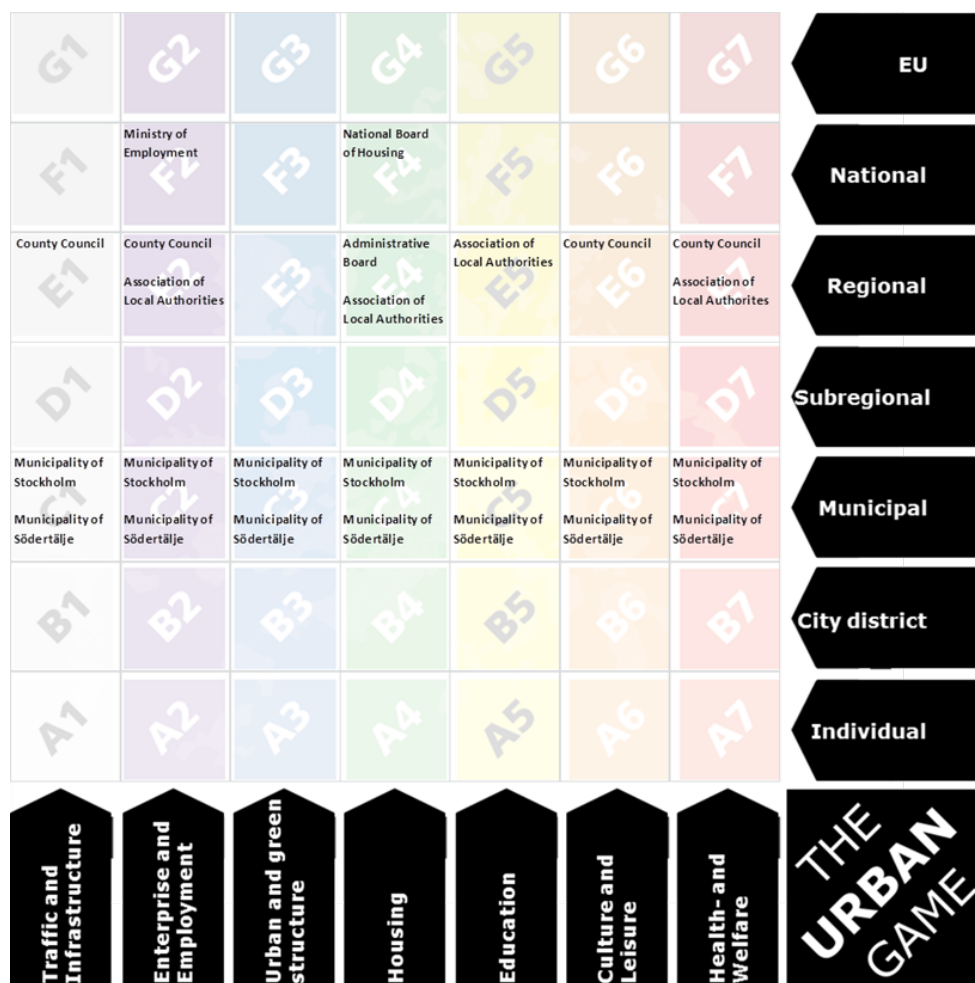


Table 1: stakeholders and their motivation for being involved

Stakeholder	Motivation for being involved
Stockholm County Council	Enabler and initiator motivated by the ambition to obtain a mandate to start the process of social inclusion as part of "The regional development plan for the County of Stockholm" ('RUFSS 2010').
Stockholm County Administrative Board	Enabler and initiator motivated by the ambition to get a mandate to start a process of regionally coordinated social inclusion policy as part of "The regional development plan for the County of Stockholm" ('RUFSS 2010').
Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning	National 'observer' of urban development in Sweden, which saw the exercise as an important input towards their governmental assignment to monitor and develop metropolitan policy.
Municipalities of Stockholm and Södertälje	Municipalities are key players for social inclusion measures in Sweden. They were part of the national initiative to improve defined deprived areas.
Stockholm County Association of Local Authorities (KSL)	Aspires to monitor cooperation among and between municipalities in the Stockholm region. Therefore, although the KSL does not yet have any official commitment in the process of the Urban Game, they are nevertheless an interested party in the process, as they aim at conveying information and trends in the region.

5.2 Evolution of the Urban Game

The development and test phase lasted 5 months and the Urban Game lasted for 12 months. The pre-study was between August 2012 and January 2013. It initiated a long-term process of regional development focusing on increasing cohesion, which is one of the strategies of the Regional Development Plan for the County of Stockholm (RUF 2010). The work continues in 2014.

Within the framework of a pre-study, information was gathered on the relevant sectors and levels of governance to formulate a comprehensive approach to sustainable social development in the region. The idea of a game emerged, since this can be used to invite all relevant stakeholders for an open discussion without presuppositions. Focusing on the character of a game implies that (a) there were no expectation of immediate commitments from the stakeholders, and (b) no existing positions or responsibilities of any stakeholder were challenged. The work was initiated in January 2012 and mainly driven by a senior staff member of the Office for Regional Growth, Environment and Planning (TMR) at the Stockholm County Council. This was very much inspired by the results from the OECD review and the needs of the municipality of Södertälje.

From a wider perspective, the process was initiated at regional level and governed by actors from the Stockholm County Council (regional authority) and the County Administrative Board (national representative at the regional level). So the process is closely connected to the regional development plan for the County of Stockholm (RUF 2010) and in particular to the 'Increasing regional cohesion' strategy.

According to a representative from the County Administrative Board, the Urban Game can be considered as a logical continuation of the work and processes linked to the priorities and strategies in the framework of the current regional development plan for Stockholm¹⁸

Time frame for implementation

JANUARY 2012	The need to apply a multi-level governance approach in order to handle socioeconomic residential segregation is addressed by elected bodies. Stockholm County Council and Stockholm County Administrative Board were given a mandate to produce cross-level and cross-sectorial governance mechanisms.
FEBRUARY-MAY 2012	Three workshops, one with Stockholm County Council and two with students' from Stockholm University and Lille identify challenges and formulate the mission.
AUGUST 2012	Consultants at Sweco conduct a cross-sectorial pre-study on how to approach sustainable urban development in the Stockholm region. The study is supported by an expert group representing different sectors. The result is The Urban Game.
NOVEMBER 2012	The Urban Game is played for the first time at the RUF conference. Actors representing the regional level participate.
JANUARY 2013 →	The 'The Urban Game' report is published. The game is played in different locations and contexts (see figure 7 below) with great interest from several actors.

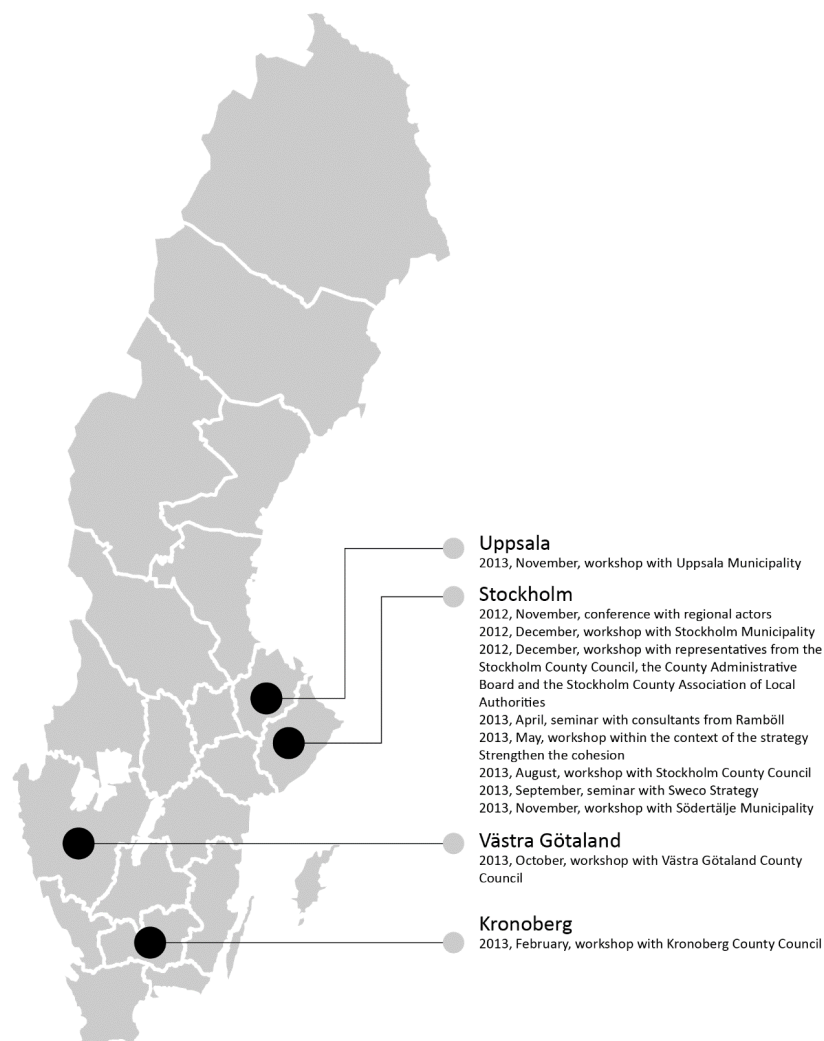
¹⁸ Interview with one representative from the County Administrative Board, 17 December 2013; The representative works with regional planning strategies that are closely related to measures addressed in The Urban Game, including the development of the ERDF regional operative programme 2014-2020.

The cost of developing the Urban Game (both in terms of budget and the number of actors/beneficiaries involved) was around 1 million SEK (approx. 110 000 EUR), in addition to around 200 000 SEK (approximately 22 000 EUR) for work carried out in 2013. A major part of the cost consisted of work in-kind within the ordinary regional structure while implementing the regional developmental plan.

Possible next steps, include the process to increase the use of the Urban Game in the region of Stockholm as well as in other parts of Sweden and Europe. In particular within the Stockholm region, the emphasis will be integrating results of the Urban Game in the regional development plan and its related processes.

With regard to that the Urban Game itself it is envisaged to revise the playing cards taking on board results of the discussions that emerged in the context of the Urban Game. Furthermore, the manual shall be improved to make the Urban Game less dependent on the assistance of a “live” game leader.

Figure 7: 'Distribution of the Urban Game in terms of location and time periods 2012-2013'



Modes of governance

The modes of governance at play are a combination governing by authority (which started the process) and self-governing when it comes to the actual focus of the Urban Game.

- **Governing by authority** – the need of more comprehensive approach in order to handle the socio-economic segregation is for example addressed in a directive by the national government targeting the regional actors in Stockholm. Within the work of urban development, the directive states that the county administrative board in Stockholm should mobilise relevant actors and stimulate knowledge exchange in order to achieve a positive development in city-districts suffered by social exclusion (Ekonomistyrningsverket, 2013, regleringsbrev 2012-12-13).
- **Self-governing** – the Urban Game has been developed through bottom-up incentives and self-motivated actions (i.e. the main actors/initiators representing the County council and the County administrative board). Furthermore, the Urban Game is to support self-governing processes and provides an opportunity to discuss the whole current governing system that is affecting the results of sustainable urban projects.

6 Governance reflections – general overview

The main achievement of the Urban Game is the awareness raising about sustainable social development and the multitude of related stakeholders, objectives and activities. In doing so the Urban Game laid the ground for better coordination of policies and actions in the field of social inclusion.

6.1 Changes in organisational capacity

The Urban Game is a tool that offers the option of discussing and suggesting a number of measures to achieve sustainable urban development, in different sectors and at various levels. The tool shows how measures in one sector and on one level can positively or negatively influence measures in other sectors and on other levels. The tool works as an ‘eye-opener’ for participants at different levels and sectors to act in a more comprehensive way to address the negative consequences of socioeconomic segregation. As such, the Urban Game is a direct response to the Stockholm region’s need for a more coherent regional policy in relation to divergent socio-economic conditions. In the absence of an explicit national policy addressing territorial disparities within regions, the Urban Game links tacitly to the objectives of Europe 2020, especially as it helps formulate metropolitan policy on socially sustainable urban development in the Stockholm region.

6.2 Major obstacles

An initial challenge for the pre-study was to create a platform for an interdisciplinary discussion between 10 experts from different agencies. At the first interdisciplinary workshop, the experts from different sectors appeared to talk at each other rather than with each other. The experts steering the pre-study concluded that a game approach could create ‘a forgiving environment’ where it is possible for participants to comment without being an expert in the given area.

The challenge now is to engage relevant actors and to create a critical mass of knowledge and insight on governance, coordination, joint action that increases regional cohesion, to produce innovative and more effective governance of social inclusion policies in the region. In that context major obstacles relate to the reluctance to move from dialogue to improved

cooperation and coordination across policy sectors and levels. This is not at least expressed by a rather slow rate of change.

6.3 Main results of the governance changes

The results of the Urban Game are increased awareness about the needs and advantages of better cooperation and coordination across governance sectors and levels. In the very long-run formal changes on how responsibilities are shared may possibly occur changes; that is however not the main focus of the Urban Game.

The Urban Game itself is oriented towards problem-solving in the field on socioeconomic residential segregation, as it provides a new approach of how to overcome a situation where unrelated decisions and actions of multiple stakeholders no-longer can solve the issues at stake. Being an innovative approach, the game has undeniably had the ability to promote a learning process among people involved in the process.

Some examples of concrete policy development contributions are:

- enabling collaboration between sectors and levels, as well as establishing a new forum that includes the County Administrative Board and the County Council;
- using the Urban Game in a workshop to assist formulating the (EU) structural funding programme in the Stockholm region for the coming period. The workshop highlighted the need for a sustainable perspective in the regional programme that includes the social perspective, to create conditions for financing strategic projects with both social and structural funding programmes.

It is, however, too early to draw any further conclusions about whether the Urban Game has actually changed the ability to deliver policies. In 2014 the tool is used in different contexts and different situations where the need to discuss multi-level-governance and cross-sectorial coordination is important.

Besides its potential to change policy developments, the Urban Game was also developed to establish the regional level in Stockholm as a stakeholder in the field of social inclusion and sustainable social development. Given the developments and the interest the Urban Game has received, clear progress towards this objective has been made.

Overall, some effects from the Urban Game workshops have already been recognised. First, the game succeeds in making social aspects visible, supporting implementation of the strategy: 'increasing regional cohesion' and Stockholm's regional development plan. It has also affected the EU regional structural funding programme for the region.

Second, the Urban Game has got a lot of attention and as more and more stakeholders participate in its awareness raising effect becomes stronger. It will be played by the Executive School at The Royal Institute of Technology - targeting managers working with sustainable urban systems. An English version of the game has been used very successfully in Södertälje. The game should also be included in several events in 2014. An overview of where the game has been played so far is presented in Figure 7.

6.4 Durability

The Urban Game has the potential to inform and influence long-term policy developments in the region of Stockholm. As a ‘mind-tool,’ it is too early to draw conclusions about its impact and whether it has really changed the ability to deliver policies. Although participants might experience it as an ‘eye-opener’, they will probably require a little more time before seeing new collaborations between actors, across levels and across sectors. Results from governance and restructuring are not expected for some years. Looking at the overall vision for Stockholm, the Urban Game will hopefully contribute to a new metropolitan policy and help the region approach its vision; ‘Stockholm 2030’¹⁹.

7 Lessons learned - successes and pitfalls

In this section the lessons learned will be discussed along the stages of the policy cycle. This provides a structured overview of the governance arrangements’ successes and pitfalls when using the urban game as new approach in support of the Europe 2020. Along the stages of the policy cycle governance processes and arrangements can be depicted as they evolve over time and how they succeed each other. The lessons learned on the governance arrangements are thus discussed stepwise, starting with the **identification** of needs that feed into the policy **formulation** process and, in an ideal world, are followed by the policy **implementation** stage. The policy cycle concludes with the **accountability** of the described policy.

The development process and the game itself was a direct response to the many studies and reports that showed the lack of a coherent regional policy for Stockholm. The main lesson learned from the Urban Game is the importance of a profound knowledge base in achieving governance change.

The OECD review, together with several other reports and evaluations, became a trigger for action to reverse socioeconomic segregation. In this sense, the knowledge base was an important framework for developing a new governmental approach. The knowledge base contributed to legitimising and prioritising the work.

One of the main lessons learned in the identification phase is to need to build the policy dialogue on profound knowledge and draw lessons from previous experiences – acknowledge former mistakes and failures.

KEY SUCCESS FACTORS: 1) Based on a detailed analysis of social needs, 2) Profound knowledge-base in order to legitimise and prioritise the process.

Regarding the policy **formulation**, the Urban Game is an inclusive process with representatives from different levels and different sectors. This inclusion is undeniably important, especially since the Stockholm region aims at adopting a coherent regional policy. Collaboration is thus considered essential to formulate a comprehensive approach (policy-mix), and move away from isolated measures targeting individuals and city districts.

Further, the Urban Game was developed in order to visualise how measures within different sectors and by different actors at various governance levels relate to each other. The game

¹⁹ Stockholm County Council, 2013, Utvärdering av det urbana spelet; ‘Evaluation of The Urban Game’

itself is thus a result of a policy innovation, where new and innovative methods have played a central role. Considering the attention and interest among actors so far, there is a likelihood that its creative and playful approach has contributed to its success.

A proper method or an innovative tool can help mobilise actors and solve problems arising from experts not communicating with each other. As such, the Urban Game opens up an arena for cross-sectional discussions, where participants can broaden their horizons and are also encouraged to delve into matters in which they are not experts.

The main lesson learned with regard to the policy formulation has been the importance to mobilise and involve representatives from different policy sectors and levels.

KEY SUCCESS FACTORS: 1) Inclusion of different government levels and fields, 2) innovative tool/method that helps mobilise actors and solve problems arising from experts not communicating with each other.

Implementation of the Urban Game has in many ways been facilitated and supported by regional and national politics. The need to apply a multi-level governance approach in order to handle socioeconomic residential segregation is addressed in the current appropriation directive from the Swedish government. Another central role in the story of the Urban Game is played by “The regional development plan for the County of Stockholm” (RUFSS 2010).

The County Administrative Board and the County Council both have a mandate to initiate and implement The Urban Game through RUFSS 2010 in order to increase regional cohesion. In addition, the holistic approach of RUFSS 2010 has also proven to facilitate the Urban Game process. For example, the comprehensive approach adopted in the Urban Game is in many ways in line with the overall objectives of RUFSS 2010. As such, the common platform mandated through RUFSS 2010 is an important facilitator to the implementation of the Urban Game.

However, the game has, up to now, mainly been directed towards public sector agents. It has been suggested that non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and private sector agents should be part of the process of further developing the game.

One of the main lessons learned regarding the implementation is the importance to keep the balance between establishing a neutral/out of the box dialogue-platform, and departing from a shared vision (plan/program or similar) Establish a neutral/out of the box platform

KEY SUCCESS FACTORS: Builds on an existing regional policy platform (“The regional development plan for the County of Stockholm”, RUFSS 2010) which could facilitate the implementation and development of new measures.

POSSIBLE PITFALLS: Failure to maximise relevance - hence the importance of mobilising all relevant actors (including NGOs and private actors) and to open up the Urban Game to all levels.

In relation to the last phase in the policy cycle, **accountability** is the Urban Game monitored and communicated by the Stockholm County Council and the County Administrative Board. Results from the workshops are also being evaluated by the Stockholm county council. In order to accumulate knowledge on how to approach sustainable urban development, constant feedback and evaluation are important in the Urban Game process. Feedback from the workshops can hopefully provide Stockholm County Council with valuable information on how to increase regional cohesion.

The main lesson learned regarding accountability is the need for feedback and evaluation loops to both accumulate knowledge and increase legitimacy. In that respect, it certainly also plays a role to ensure that the participants in the Urban Game are those actually having a mandate in the sector they do represent.

KEY SUCCESS FACTORS: Established regional actors with a recognised mandate and legitimacy to act and lead the process forward.

Although The Urban Game has been implemented and used on several occasions, it is still in an early phase and is under continuing development. One obvious difficulty is how to evaluate results from the game and assess its successes and failures. Further, due to the nature of The Urban Game as a 'mind-tool', where the process is in many cases the product, policy results and governance-level re-structuring will suffer from a certain time delay. However, this should not be regarded as a problem, but rather as a feature of the type of product/method that the case study embodies.

The Urban Game has been developed for the specific challenges facing the Stockholm region, i.e. socioeconomic segregation, however the game as a method exemplifies an approach that can be widely adopted by other city districts, municipalities, or regions. As discussed throughout this case study, the Urban Game reaches out to different sectors as well as political and administrative levels to encourage cross-sectorial and cross-level collaboration. In that respect, the game is not limited to a specific field of interest, but can be used by different actors in the public sector or consultancy firms, or for educational purposes. The main lesson learned is that the innovative tool that the Urban Game represents has proven to be an efficient approach to enable discussions and bring out new perspectives when approaching issues caused by existing structures.

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