

Local social policy innovation in Europe

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(Department of Sociology)

International Conference on
Current and Future Prospects of (Local) Social Policies
Experiences from Turkey and EU Countries

Kadiköy
11-13.1.2019



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Is it only an urban or local issue?

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The multiscalar puzzle of local social policy innovation in Europe

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What is social policy innovation?



Usually «social (policy) innovation» is defined...

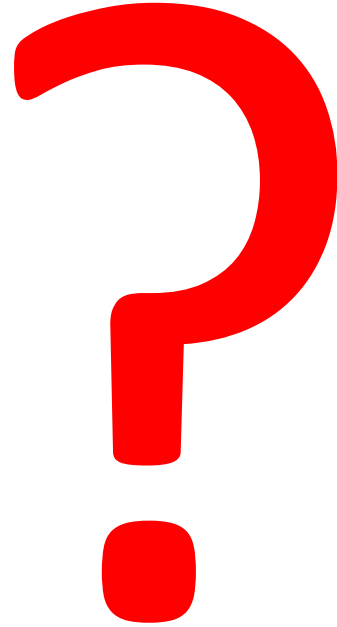
- ... As a process of social transformation aimed at satisfying needs that the current institutional arrangements were not able to meet;
- ... As a new organisational model or new forms of social entrepreneurship, or new social services or products;
- ... As new social relations among actors in a governance arrangement designed to favor *empowerment* and *capacity building*.

A common element to all definitions...

... is the importance of the local dimension!

The local dimension of social policy innovation

Is the local dimension really where innovation is taking place?



Is it really so?

Yes, but... it depends!

Structure of the presentation

- ① The relationship between social policy innovation and different scales
- ② The importance of contexts of social policy innovation
- ③ The capacities of local social policy innovation
- ④ A comparison of two Housing First experiences

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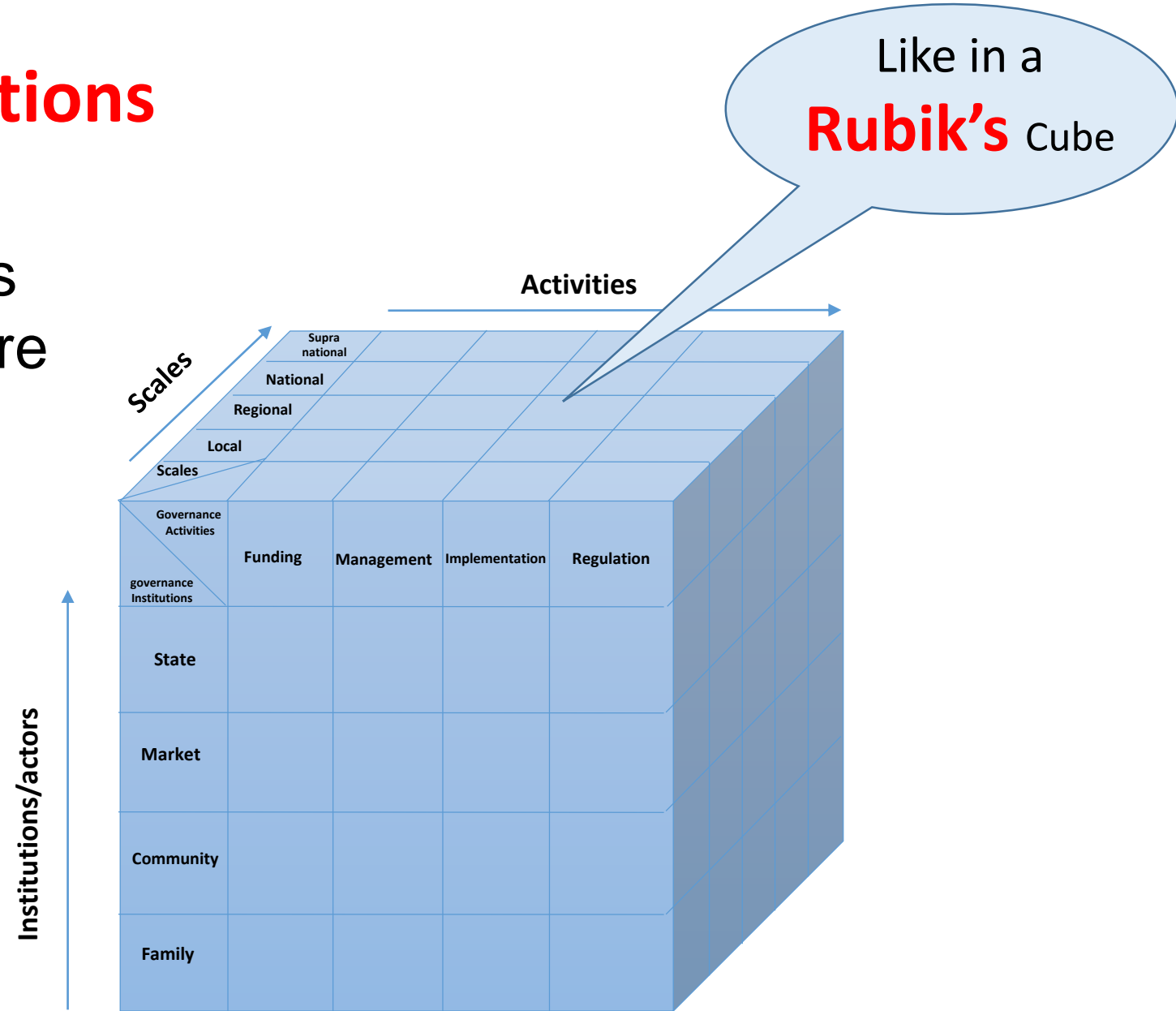
The relationship between social policy innovation and scales ...

... is quite complex!

There are many combinations

... the opportunity structures of social policy innovation are many!!!

$\approx 7.40 \times 10^{45}$ (options!)



7 401 196 841 564 901 869 874 093 974 498 574 336 000 000 000

combinations

That is

7.4 quattuordecillions

This creates **territorially diversified opportunity structures!**

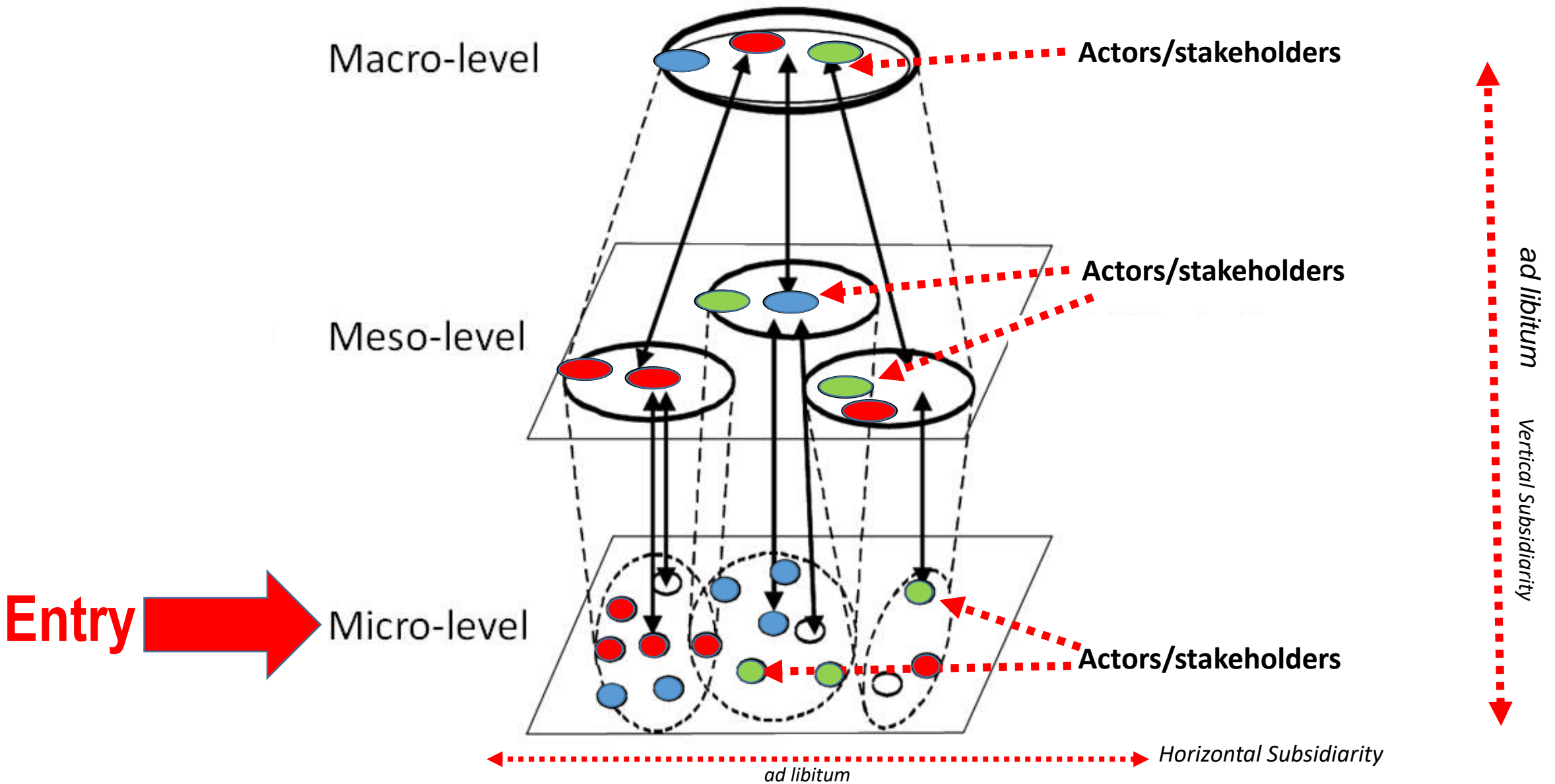
Which depend on specific contexts...

... and on the relations that the local dimension has with the other territorial scales within which it is embedded.

... and on the relations that the local actors have among themselves, their responsibilities and their available resources to address them.

Social policy innovation is embedded in this complexity!

... of which the local dimension is the entry point...



**The local dimension
entails «pros» and «risks»**

The «pros»

The local dimension is considered to be the privileged *locus* of social innovation because it allows to:

- better decode needs and to meet them (allegedly) more adequately;
- expand the options to experiment through participative practices of a multitude of actors...

... in one word...

In one word:

Subsidiarity

both vertical and horizontal

But is

Subsidiarity

intrinsically positive?

It depends...

The «risks» of subsidiarity (examples)

- ① Consolidate institutionally the ***territorial inequalities***, undermining inter-regional solidarity;
- ② Increase the problems of ***coordination*** among different territorial levels and multiplying the possibilities of ***conflicts***;
- ③ Increase the ***opacity*** of the policy making process and bringing about new problems of transparency and ***accountability***.

The «risks» of subsidiarity (examples)

- ④ foster **passive subsidiarity** i.e. delegation of social responsibilities to civil society (or Kin and Family) or lower scales without targeting adequate public resources;
- ⑤ fall into a **representativeness fallacy**: assuming that civil society “represents” the poor and is oriented to the “public good”;



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The «risks» of subsidiarity (examples)

- ④ foster **passive subsidiarity** i.e. delegation of social responsibilities to civil society (or Kin and Family) or lower scales without targeting adequate public resources;
- ⑤ fall into a **representativeness fallacy**: assuming that civil society “represents” the poor and is oriented to the “public good”;
- ⑥ produce **unstable innovative practices**, which might have no wider impact if not upscaled and/or institutionalized... or publicly funded!

They coexist

> Disentangling the **ambivalence** of the **coexistence** between “pros” and “risks” is a major task <

Ambivalence

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- 4 A comparison of two Housing First initiatives

The right equation is...

Social innovation + context = outcome

BANAL STATEMENT

Context matters!

HAS NON BANAL CONSEQUENCES

The «pros» and the «risks» are embedded in / and produced by broader contexts and processes of change

Different Rescaling processes

Different redistributive capacity

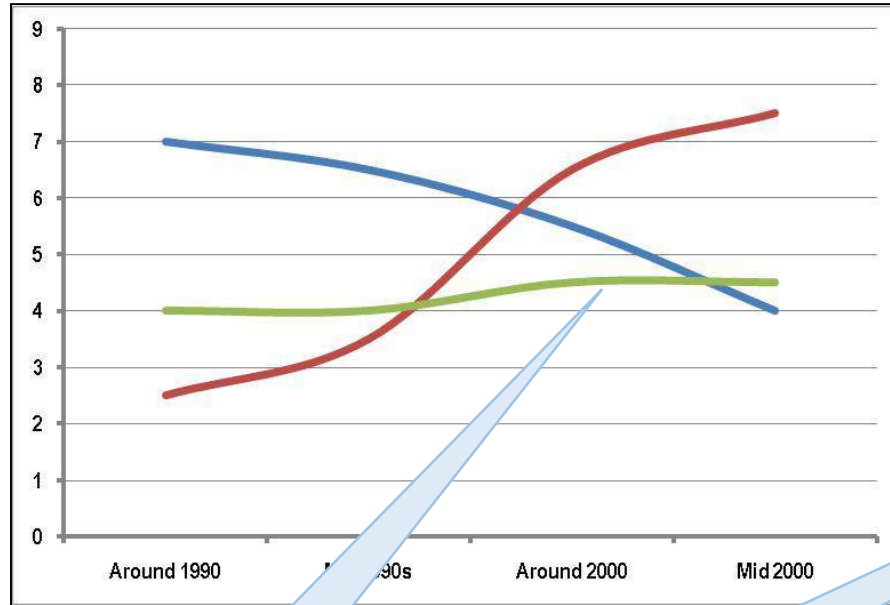
Different actors involved

Different degrees of territorial homogeneity

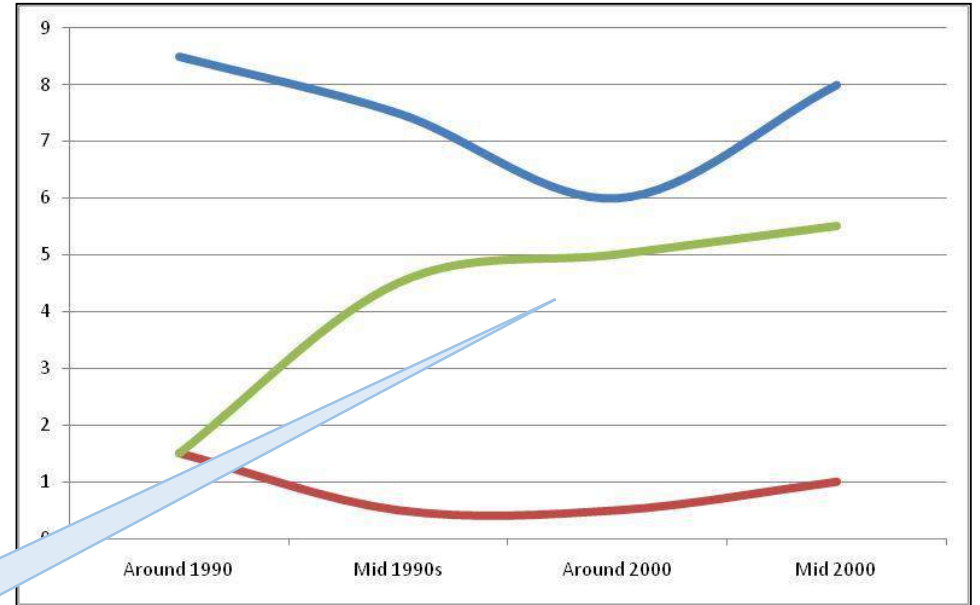
....different territorial organisation of policies

TERRITORIAL RELEVANCE

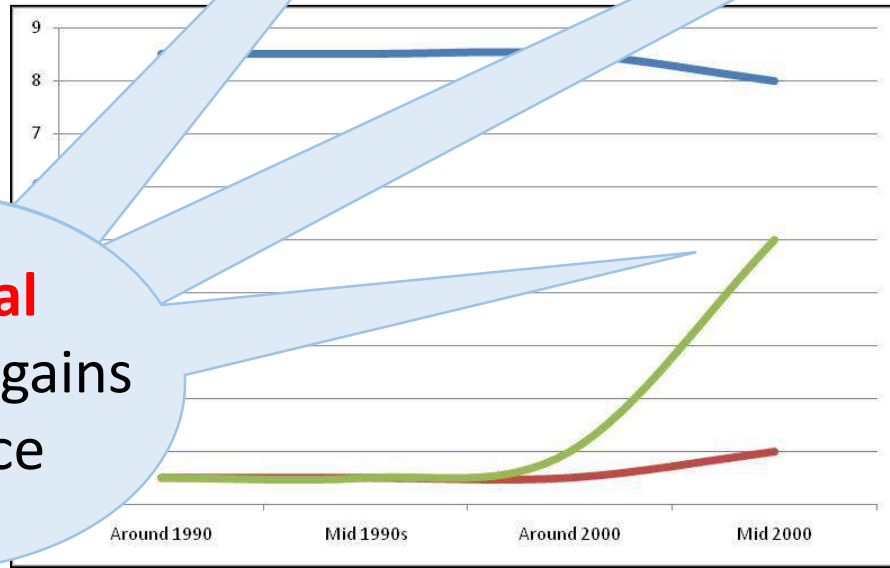
Italy 1989-2006



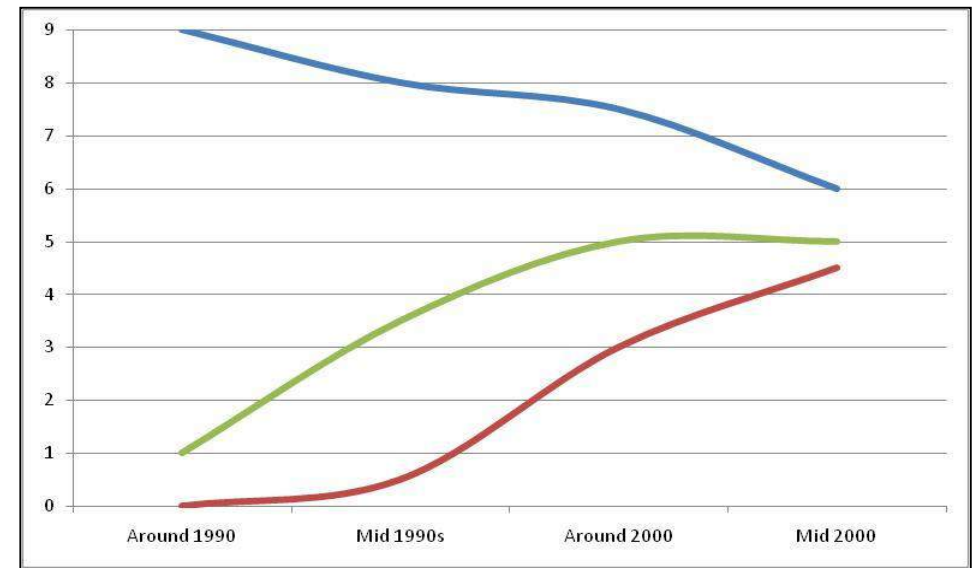
Finland 1989-2006



France 1990-2006



Poland 1989-2006



The **local dimension** gains relevance

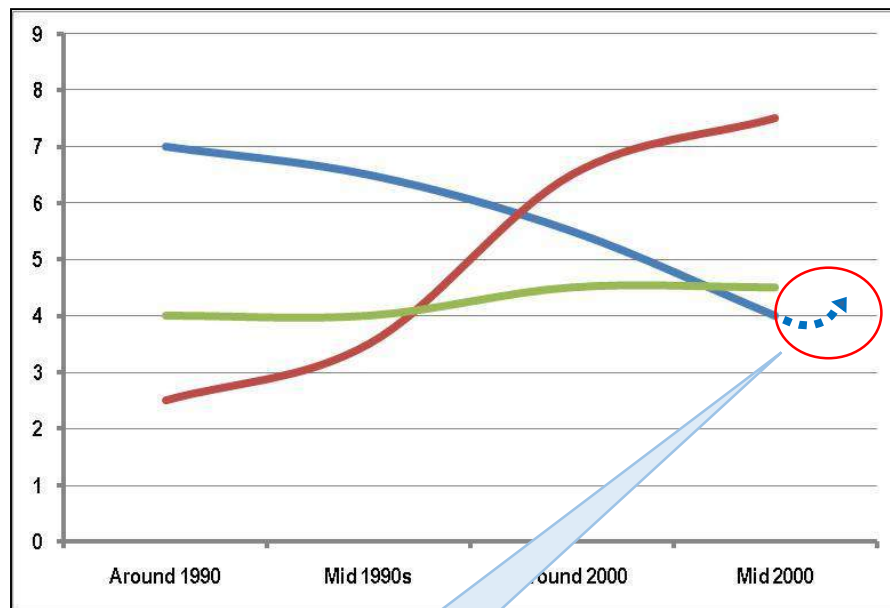
— = National

— = Regional (nuts2)

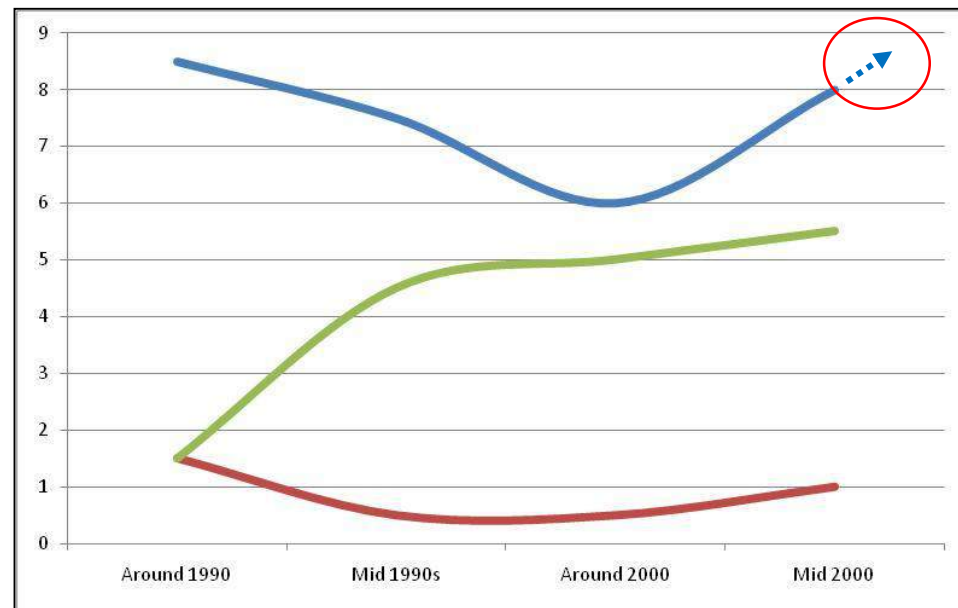
— = Local (nuts3)

TERRITORIAL RELEVANCE

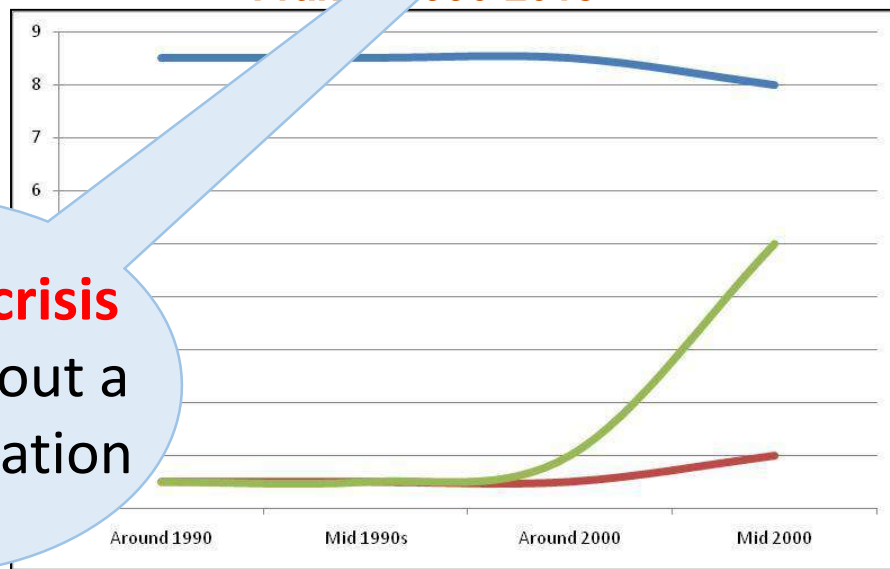
Italy 1989-2018



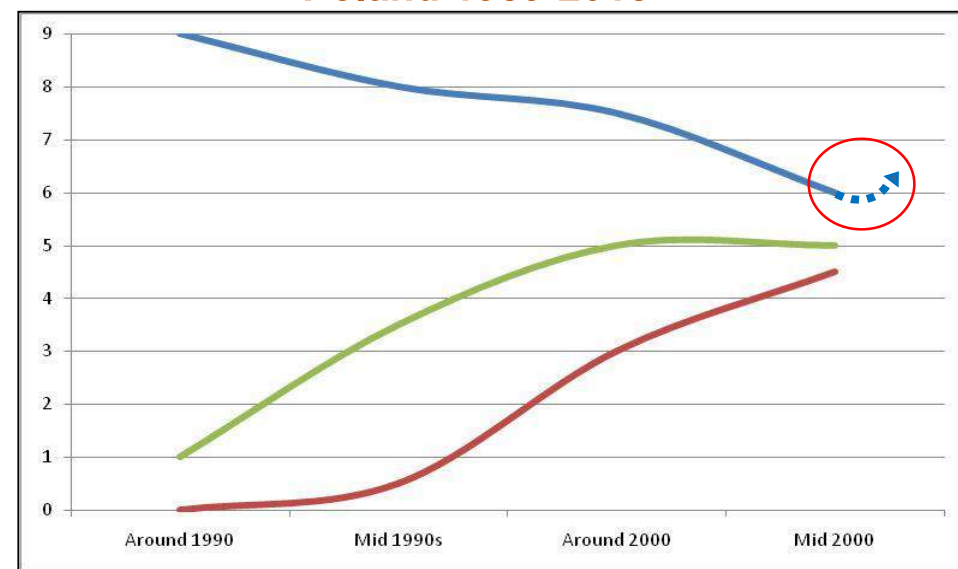
Finland 1989-2018



France 1989-2018



Poland 1989-2018



... but the **crisis** brought about a re-centralisation

— = National — = Regional (nuts2) — = Local (nuts3)

....different redistributive capacity

The redistributive effect of policies

Low income families before and after transfers

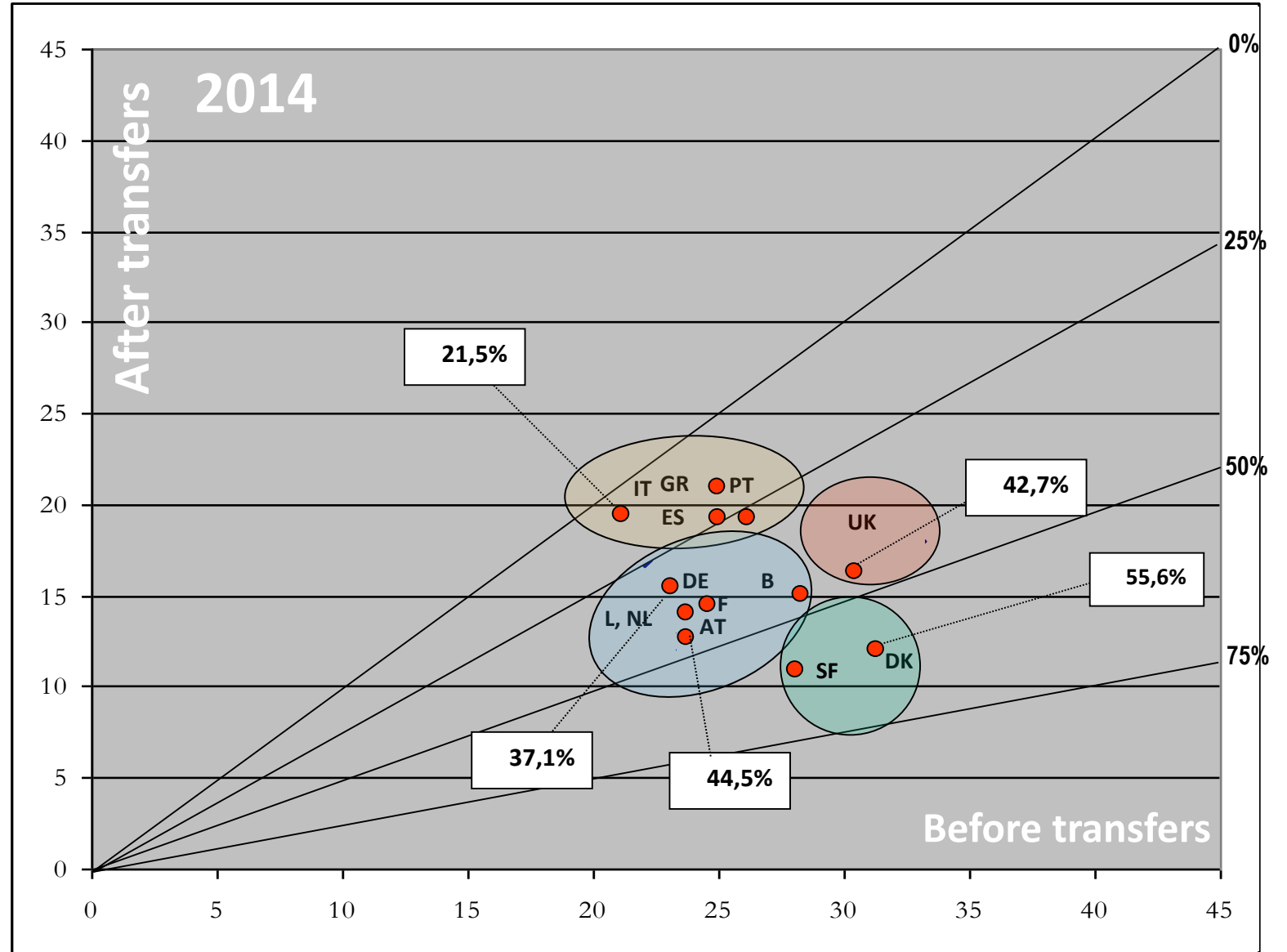
WELFARE SYSTEMS

Southern-Familistic ■

Anglosaxon-Neoliberal ■

Continental-corporative ■

Nordic-universalistic ■



Source: Own calculations on Eurostat (2016).

....different degrees of territorial homogeneity

Dispersion rate of labour market and income indicators (2013)

	SE	DE	AT	UK	IT	ES	PL
Labor market							
Total activity rate	1,84	3,08	2,56	3,57	13,39	3,81	3,69
Women activity rate	2,33	4,46	2,24	4,24	21,28	5,14	4,70
Unemployment rate	13,0	39,4	38,2	25,4	43,0	24,0	15,80
NEET rate	9,46	26,74	22,67	20,86	28,73	21,77	19,04
Poverty and income							
At-risk-of-poverty rate	18,73	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	59,48	34,61	n.a.
Income of households	8,52	9,72	2,56	15,75	19,84	17,32	17,02





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IT/SE **9,13**

....different contexts, different actors



....different contexts, different actors

Territorial organization	Role of the third sector	Level of Funding	Main private actors
DK, NO, FI, SE	 Less important (Increasing)		
FR	 Important (Increasing)		
DE, AT, CH, BE, IT, ES	 Very Important (Increasing)		
Post-Socialist hybrids	 Very important (Increasing)		

....different contexts, different actors

Territorial organization	Role of the third sector	Level of Funding	Main private actors
DK, NO, FI, SE	Less important	High	
FR	Important	High	
DE, AT, CH, BE, IT, ES	Very Important	Varying	
Post-Socialist hybrids	Very important	Low	

....different contexts, different actors

Territorial organization	Role of the third sector	Level of Funding	Main private actors
DK, NO, FI, SE	Less important	High	
FR	Important	High	Profit Non-for profit
DE, AT, CH, BE, IT, ES	Very Important	Varying (from very low to very high)	
Post-Socialist hybrids <small>Source: Kazepov and Barberis (2013: 238).</small>	Very important	Low	Non for profit

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- 1 The relationship among social innovation and different scales
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**Which are the capacities for
local social innovation?**

Contexts	Cities' social innovation		
Welfare regimes	Potential of developing social innovation	Capacity of up-scaling social innovation	Types of social innovation
DK, SE, NO, FI	Relatively high		
DE, AT, FR,	Relatively high overcoming frozen landscapes		
UK, IR	High capacity but frail innovation (subject to market logic)		
IT, ES	High capacity , but very fragmented		
PL, HU, CZ,...	Highly diversified (from low to high)		

Source: Adapted from Oosterlynck, Kazepov et al. (2013)

Contexts	Cities' social innovation		
Welfare regimes	Potential of developing social innovation	Capacity of up-scaling social innovation	Types of social innovation
DK, SE, NO, FI	Relatively High		
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Source: Adapted from Oosterlynck, Kazepov et al. (2013)

The potential of social innovation is **high** but indeed some urban cit(**y**)zenship systems are ***more inclusive*** than others...

Contexts	Cities' social innovation		
Welfare regimes	Potential of developing social innovation	Capacity of up-scaling social innovation	Types of social innovation
DK, SE, NO, FI	Relatively high	High capacity of up-scaling	
DE, AT, FR,	Relatively high overcoming frozen landscapes	Slow but high up-scaling capacity	
UK, IR	High capacity but frail innovation (subject to market logic)	Potentially high but tendency to replace the state (big society rhetoric)	
IT, ES	High capacity , but very fragmented	Very limited, not picked up by welfare state	
PL, HU, CZ,...	Highly diversified (from low to high)	Highly diversified –building new institutional arrangements	

Source: Adapted from Oosterlynck, Kazepov et al. (2013)

Contexts	Cities' social innovation upscaling		
Welfare regimes	Potential of developing social innovation	Capacity of up-scaling social innovation	Types of social innovation
DK, SE, NO, FI	Relatively high	High capacity of up-scaling	
DE, AT, FR,	Relatively high overcoming frozen landscapes	Slow but high capacity of up-scaling	
UK, IR	High capacity but frail innovation (subject to market logic)	Potentially High but big society rhetoric	
IT, ES	High capacity, but very fragmented	Very limited	
PL, HU, CZ,...	Highly diversified (from low to high)	Highly diversified institutionally driven	

Source: Adapted from Oosterlynck, Kazepov et al. (2013)

Contexts	Cities' type of social innovation		
Welfare regimes	Potential of developing social innovation	Capacity of up-scaling social innovation	Types of social innovation
DK, SE, NO, FI	Relatively high	High capacity of up-scaling	State supported social innovation
DE, AT, FR,	Relatively high overcoming frozen landscapes	Slow but high up-scaling capacity	Negotiated social innovation
UK, IR	High capacity but frail innovation (subject to market logic)	Potentially high but tendency to replace the state (big society rhetoric)	Self sustained social innovation
IT, ES	High capacity , but very fragmented	Very limited, not picked up by welfare state	Fragmented social innovation
PL, HU, CZ,...	Highly diversified (from low to high)	Highly diversified – oriented to build new institutional arrangements	Highly diversified institutionally driven

Source: Adapted from Oosterlynck, Kazepov et al. (2013)

The potential of social innovation is high, but indeed some urban citizenship systems are *more inclusive* than others...



This depends upon complex multi-scalar relations

To conclude...

«Is the local dimension the locus of social innovation?»

Yes, but...

**It is
hypersimplification**

Cities are a privileged entry point
because all levels conflate locally.

But...

But...

- Contextual settings (rights/duties, funding and in-kind resources, social justice principles informing regulation,...) strongly influence the outcome.
- Innovative initiatives and practices might even act as a Trojan horse for more neoliberal tendencies if not adequately backed up with “active subsidiarity” measures.

The issue to be investigated is how the risks of local social innovation we identified are distributed in different cities and countries...

... and what scale games are taking place across levels.

Who pays?

Who are the scale-keepers?

Who jumps scale

What is the outcome?

For doing this we need to understand the complementarities between social innovative practices and their contexts

Examples of how we investigated local social innovation:

<http://improve-research.eu/>

Thanks for your attention!

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universität
wien



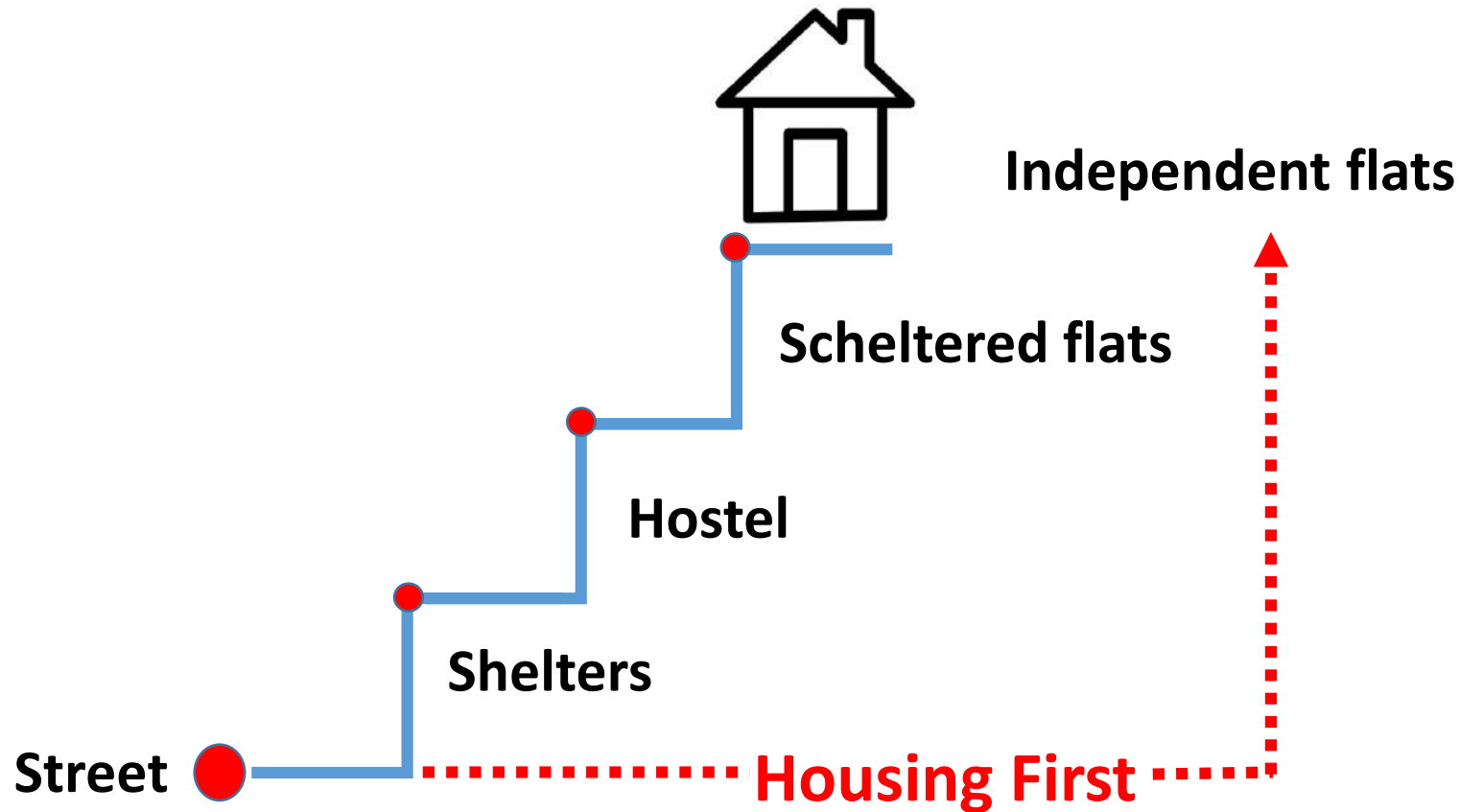
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- 4 The capacities of local social innovation

The Housing first project

Housing First is a famous social innovation developed in 1992 in New York (Tsemberis, 2010) spreading rapidly in the US first and in Europe afterwards.

Housing first: the basic idea



The project foresees a housing intervention in favour of homeless people, often with mental health and drug/alcohol problems

Housing First characteristics´

HF considers housing an unconditional human right and operates in order to reduce damage working with them as long as it is needed.

Housing First characteristics'

HF provides furnished flats rented on the market with contracts preferably signed directly by the former homeless people.

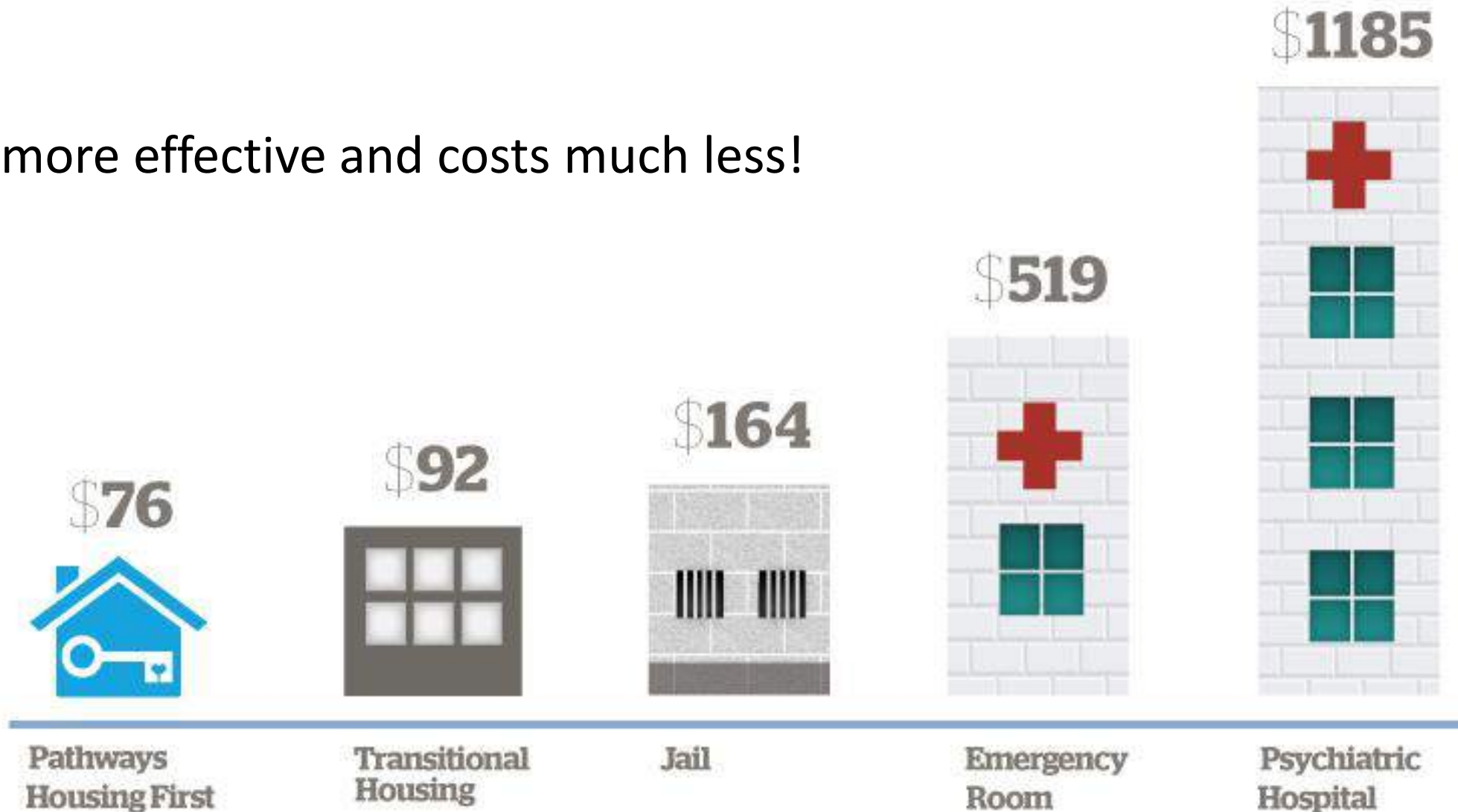
Housing first: the only conditions

Only conditions are:

- Two visits a week by a social worker;
- The payment of 30% of the beneficiaries income (if available) in order to cover rental costs.

Housing First: an economic success...

It is more effective and costs much less!



The Housing First project

In the IMPROVE* project (H2020) we studied **Housing first** initiatives in different cities belonging to very different contexts: Bologna, Budapest, Camden/London, Stockholm and Vienna.

Here I will refer to Bologna (Italy) and Stockholm (Sweden).

(*) www.improve-research.eu

Housing first: Bologna and Stockholm

They are very different contexts belonging to different welfare and housing regimes

	BOLOGNA	STOCKHOLM
Name of the project	„Tutti a casa“ (2012)	Bostad Först i Stockholms Stad (2010)
Project leader	NGO „Piazza Grande“	Municipal social services
Type of organisation	NGO	Public
Other actors	Municipality of Bologna, Health services, Employment service, NGOs, housing NGOs,...	Public housing company, University of Lund, Municipal services for the homeless, Municipal social services, one NGO.
Network	NGOs + public sector	Public sector
Funding type	Predominantly private	Public
Funding sources	Multiple sources: Bank foundation, private donors, municipality.	Municipal social services, targeted budget for homeless people.

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	BOLOGNA	STOCKHOLM
Name of the Project	„Tutti a casa“ (2012)	Bostad Först i Stockholms Stad (2010)
Aim	Housing project aimed at housing autonomy	Experimentation of an unconditional housing right
Target	Families with minors in precarious housing conditions, single adult homeless	Homeless people with dependency issues and mental health
Beneficiaries	160 (2012-2013)	35 (2010-2014)
Housing units	40 private flats rented by the NGO in Bologna and its province	24 public housing units aimed at social targets
Contracts	Predominantly with the NGO	With the municipality during a 9-24 months trial, afterwards directly with beneficiaries

Housing first: Bologna and Stockholm

Bologna. The big challenge was to find funding for the payment of the rent. In Italy until very recently (and still) a minimum income as a social right was missing. Cost-effectiveness as one of the main motivations by the municipality.

High reputation of
“Piazza Grande” for
fund-raising

Complex system of
governance with many actors

Housing first: Bologna and Stockholm



Public funds

Stockholm. Completely funding by the municipality, involving mostly public actors. The public sector can innovate(!) Integration of services (including health and social services)



Learning institutions



Public actors

Territorial patterns of Social Innovation ...

- Local
- Bottom-linked
- Networked

Types of social innovation

Local

- Without scalar strategy (locally trapped or selfsufficient)

Types of social innovation

Bottom-linked (trans-scalar)

- The local as a starting point, but...
- ... connected with networks, organisations and institutions operating at other territorial levels
- Related to and involving *scale-keepers* who define the distribution of resources available at higher levels
- Creation of new networks of actors to *jump scales*

Types of social innovation

Networked

- Promotion of local practices by multi-actors alliances active at multiple scales

Types of social innovation

Local	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Without scalar strategy (locally)
Bottom-linked (trans-scalar)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">The local as a starting point, but...... connected with networks, organizations and institutions operating at other territorial levelsRelated to and involving <i>scale-keepers</i> who define the distribution of resources available at higher levelsCreation of new networks of actors to <i>jump scales</i>
Networked	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Promotion of local practices by multi-actors alliances active at multiple scales

... By controlling access to resources they define the rules of «scale games»: who accesses, who jumps scales,...

Types of social innovation

Local

- Without scalar strategy (locally trapped or selfsufficient)

Bottom-linked (trans-scalar)

- The local as a starting point
- ... connected with other scales and institutions operating at other scales
- Related to and dependent on the distribution of resources across scales
- Creation of new networks of actors to *jump scales*

... The difference lies in the origin of the initiatives, local or supra-local. Starting local, networking and going back local

Networked

- Promotion of local practices by multi-actors alliances active at multiple scales