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The foundation upon which society is built?: Socio- economic sustainability regarding jobs and income in municipal planning, now and beyond economic growth

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And the strangest thing about the nightmare street was that none of the millions of things for sale were made there. They were only sold there. Where were the workshops, the factories, where were the farmers, the craftsmen, the miners, the weavers, the chemists, the carvers, the dyers, the designers, the machinists, where were the hands, the people who made? Out of sight, somewhere else. Behind walls. All the people in all the shops were either buyers or sellers. They had no relation to the things but that of possession.

*- Ursula K. LeGuin, *The Dispossessed**

Abstract (svenska)

Uppsatsen syftar till att undersöka möjliga innebörder av socio-ekonomisk hållbarhet gällande jobb och inkomst, relevanta för en framtid bortom BNP-tillväxt, att därur utveckla möjliga kriterier för detta, och att diskutera möjligheter för dessas operationalisering i framför allt kommunal planering. Detta har skett med hjälp av en litteraturöversikt av dels till- och frånväxt, men främst alternativa perspektiv på frågor om arbete och inkomst, genom intervjuer med praktiserande kommunala planerare, samt genom analys av planeringsdokument från tre kommuner. De föreslagna kriterierna är: Ingen upplevelse av fattigdom; tillhandahållande av nödvändig service; allas möjlighet till meningsfull sysselsättning; och envars inflytande över egen situation och tid.

Abstract (English)

This thesis aims to explore possible meanings of socio-economic sustainability regarding jobs and income, relevant to a future beyond GNP growth, to there-from develop possible criteria for this, and to discuss possibilities for their operationalization in especially municipal planning. This was done with the help of a literature review of partially growth and degrowth, but primarily alternative perspectives on questions of work and income, through interviews with practising planners and analysis of planning documents from three municipalities. The proposed criteria are: Nobody experiencing poverty; provision of necessary services; everybody's opportunity to meaningful employment; and having power over one's own situation and time.

Keywords: socio-economic sustainability, degrowth, zero-growth, jobs, work, income, municipal planning

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1. Introduction

1.1 Background and context

In the conventional Swedish sustainability discourse, the word "sustainable" is usually followed by "development". On national, regional and local level, official documents link development tightly to increased economic activity of the type that fit within the framework of gross domestic product (GDP). "Sustainable growth" and "green growth" are re-occurring concepts, often treated almost as synonymous with economic sustainability (see e.g. Commission of the Future of Sweden, 2013; Urbäck, 2011; Norrköping, 2011). The word *arbetslinjen*, "the work line", describes politics aiming at increasing the employment rate, mainly as increased wage-labour as part of a growing economy, expected to be the key to solve socio-economic problems. This is part of national politics, but is manifested also at the level of municipal planning, where the ability to attract financial investors in the form of "the market" to provide municipal population with work has increasingly gained focus. Also globally, both among explicitly market-oriented organizations such as the World Bank (see e.g. World Bank, 2012), and organizations that primarily hold other goals, such as the United Nations (see e.g. FAO, WFP & IFAD, 2012), there is a well-spread belief in the capability and necessity of economic growth to be a main weapon to fight human deprivation – poverty, unemployment, environmental injustice and starvation.

But not everyone believes in the infinite capability of economic growth. The popular idea of decoupling – economic growth without consequentially increased out-take of natural resources – has been questioned. So have the clear connections between economic growth and social well-being. Especially since the highly influential *Limits to Growth* (Meadows et al., 1972), critics have warned for the impossibility of growth's continuance beyond the limits of natural resources. E.g. Malmaeus (2011) has pointed out how Sweden, as many other countries, has made international deals e.g. within the European Union to work for increased economic growth, and institutions and projects on several political levels aim at economic growth. At that, the expectation of continued growth has shaped decision-making, behaviours and institutions for decades. Economic growth has become institutionalized; we are "locked" onto a growth track. A sudden, uncontrolled zero-growth situation would have devastating effects on people's lives, with strongly increased unemployment and poverty (ibid.). But the questioning of the sustainability of economic growth has grown continually stronger after the global financial crisis of 2008, with Tim Jackson's *Prosperity Without*

Growth from 2009 as an important part of the debate. If GDP growth is not the key to solve socio-economic problems, there is a need for formulating other paths for society to take. In the words of Katie Raworth (2012), we have to fight human deprivation without depleting the natural resources.

This thesis is done in relation to a newly started (spring 2014) research project on possible scenarios for a Swedish society beyond GDP growth – one scenario with low growth, one with zero-growth, and one with “negative growth” or degrowth – that at the same time fulfills certain sustainability criteria (<http://www.bortombnptillvaxt.se>). With this thesis, I aim to provide a puzzle piece towards achieving a more practical and concrete understanding of socio-economic sustainability aspects of jobs and income beyond growth, more specifically in the context of municipal planning.

1.1.1 The role of the municipality

According to Tunström (2009), Swedish urban and regional planning has come to focus not only on the physical structure, but as envisioning life in the planned region – a life of which the physical environment is but one component. When it comes to the aspect of growth in the city, Boverket (2009) has published guidelines for comprehensive planning stating the stimulation of economic growth as one of the major favours of a good comprehensive plan.

While not every aspect of work can be integrated into planning, municipality planning is unquestionably related to the labour market for its current and prospective inhabitants. As previously mentioned the establishment of working places and companies is highly present in Swedish municipal planning of today. This makes it plausible that planning would be affected by a shift from growth focus.

The connection between industrialization and urbanization is well-known. For example, during the days of industrialization in Sweden, workers flowed towards whatever place wage-employment was to be found, and Sápmi was colonized for mining and forestry. Today, the flow is less clear. Yet it has even been argued that cities function primarily as labour markets, and that implementing such a view is the key to its welfare and development (Bertau, 2014).

At the same time, the local community has been a central point for many growth-critical explorers of alternative solutions for work, jobs and income, both among utopian socialists and the grass-roots activists of the 'transition' movement and among academics (see e.g. Hornborg, 2011; Gibson-Graham et al., 2013). Although a Swedish municipality is primarily an administrative unit under the nation, it also contains more or less elements of community. It should also be noted that the

Swedish word for the municipality and the Marxist “commune” is the same.

In the connection of these aspects lies a possibility of the municipality to play an important part in the organization of future labour and income practice.

1.2 Purpose and research questions

The **purpose** of the study is to suggest and discuss possible criteria for socio-economic sustainability regarding jobs and income that could be understood and concretized in municipal planning when economic growth is not a given premise.

The **research questions** asked in order to obtain this purpose are:

- What are some suggestions and examples of arrangement of various forms of work and income, alternative to the dominating form of wage-paid production and consumption?
- Where lies the focus regarding jobs and income in municipal planning today?
- What could constitute socio-economic sustainability regarding jobs and income beyond GDP growth, and how can this be operationalized in a municipality?

1.3 Analytical framework and methods

This thesis takes a starting point in Katie Raworth's (2012) model of a “doughnut economy” (Figure 1), which is a way of visualizing an “environmentally safe and socially just space for humanity to thrive in /.../ [T]he space in which inclusive and sustainable economic development takes place” (p. 4). It is well accepted that the human race is rapidly facing climate change and resource depletion without providing for all humans' material and social needs. The doughnut can then be a tool for envisioning a functioning future society, where a “foundation” of human needs are met without breaking the “ceiling” of ecological boundaries.

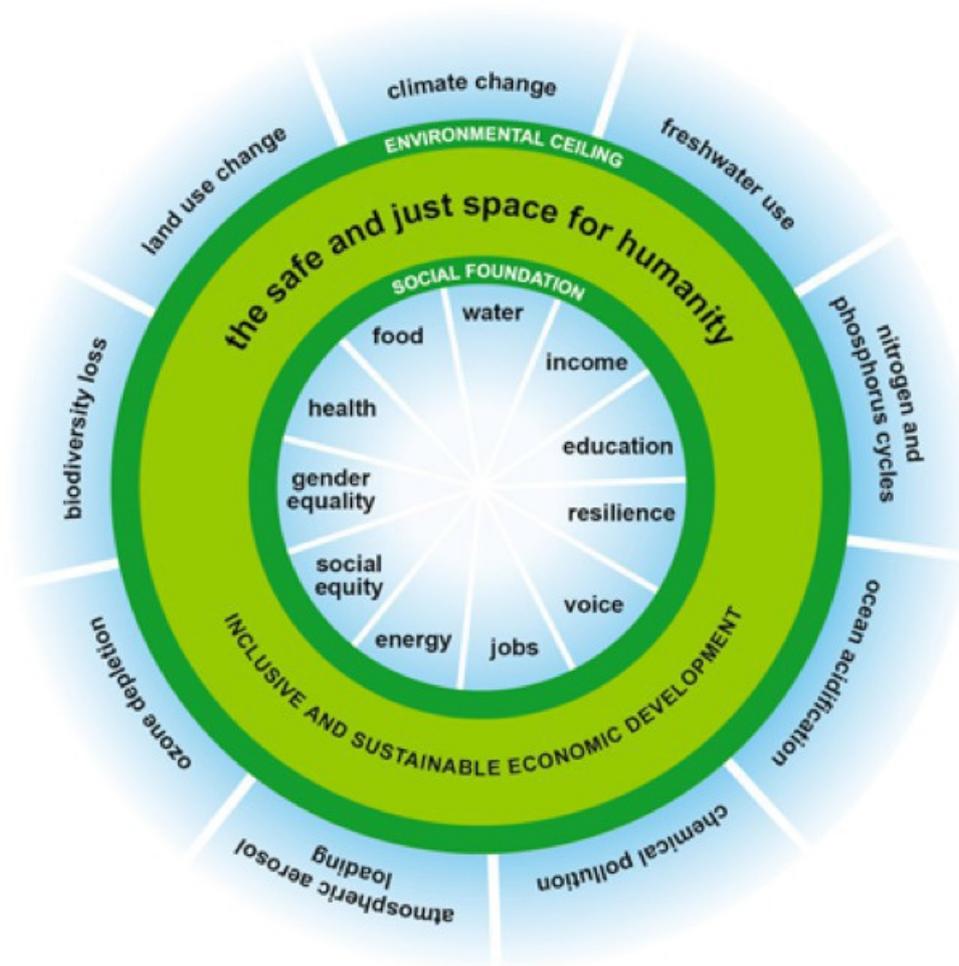


Figure 1: Doughnut economy. Source: Raworth, 2012.

To take e.g. the example of *income* (see figure 1), this is the traditional measurement of poverty. But a quantified poverty limit for income has been argued to be possibly insufficient for describing poverty (see e.g. Maxwell, 1999) set in relation to a current global economy, or, if one formulates it in a possible future, calculations of future economics. As so little is known about how future societies will be like, e.g. how a zero-growth economy would work, it might come to look very different for such calculations. But if the intent is to investigate if, and possibly how, such societies could fit into the doughnut, it could be relevant to qualify its foundation and imagine its operationalization.

In order to gain knowledge of perspectives on jobs, income and work outside the already established, growth-oriented way of planning in respect to the labour market, I conducted a literature review on some current alternative perspectives. The starting point for this was degrowth

literature already related to the research projects, and seeing how jobs and income had been handled there. Reoccurring themes were labour-time changes, basic income, and informal economy and local currency. This motivated further reading on those themes. Most of the occurring discussions were framed by formally similar political arrangements as today (e.g. nation states), with Marxist perspectives or as part of a revised capitalism. Knowing from private explorations that there were relevant discussions of jobs, income and money to be found within anarchism, anarcho-syndicalism and libertarian socialism, I also sought out such perspectives for complementation.

Next I analysed current and proposed comprehensive plans and other planning-related documents from three municipalities: Botkyrka, Övertorneå and Norrköping. In Norrköping, the documents concerning the latter also included the combined comprehensive plan for both Norrköping and Linköping (see Table 1).

As a starting point for choosing what municipalities to examine, I looked to what municipalities were involved in the *Beyond GDP Growth* research project and had a high probability of needing to handle the labour market in their planning (i.e., struggling with unemployment and/or economic changes). Involved municipalities other than Botkyrka and Norrköping are Sollentuna and Kungsbacka.

Botkyrka was chosen first because I, due to previous projects with the municipality as well as private experiences, already had some knowledge of it and its proposed new comprehensive plan, especially the “creativity goal” (more on that below). Drawing from those previous experiences I imagined that Botkyrka could hold various thoughts regarding planning and different (economic) activities. Botkyrka is located next to Sweden's capital city, which is a factor that influences its labour market. Because this specific situation was similar for Sollentuna, also close to Stockholm, Sollentuna was excluded and Norrköping and Kungsbacka became possible candidates.

Eventually Norrköping was chosen for its background of being a former industrial city trying to find new solutions and identities after the relocation of the industrial factories that were long its main employers, and because I beforehand knew of their university campus in the old industrial buildings, which hinted at a labour- and income perspective for the physical planning. Kungsbacka also has the similarity to Botkyrka of being part of a large city region (in this case Gothenburg), which made it less interesting for comparison. I also wanted to look at a municipality with radically different prerequisites; one that was clearly not a big city, neither could aspire to be one or be part of one, and that had a declining and aging population in contrast to Botkyrka's young, diverse and

growing population and Norrköping, which aspires to be more of a big city. This was fulfilled by Övertorneå, which is not an official participant of the project, but has previously expressed an interest in it.

TABLE 1	Planning-related documents	Interviewee
Botkyrka	Currently effective comprehensive plan (2002) Proposed new comprehensive plan (2014) Sustainability documents	Lars Olson – L.O. Head of planning department
Norrköping	Currently effective comprehensive plan Regional plan together with Linköping Labour market measure resources online Sustainability program	Linda Apelgren – L.A. Responsible for comprehensive plan
Övertorneå	Currently effective comprehensive plan (2004) Proposed new comprehensive plan (2013)	Roland Kemppainen – R.K. Deputy Major

In order to see some aspects that were or were not included in the plans, I created an analysis framework as a starting point (see appendix). This was done using Sanne (2007) and Jackson (2009), chosen for their degrowth macroeconomic perspectives on jobs. Although they use different words and sometimes show different views on the subjects, the points that they lifted often overlap. Seemingly relevant aspects were collected to a table. This was then used to dissect the comprehensive plans to see what aspects were considered and how, but also what were not – several of the initially listed aspects were not considered at all. But there were also other aspects that were visible in the comprehensive plans but among the original pick of aspects, and had to be added afterwards.

Interviews with representatives from the planning authorities (see Table 1) of the three municipalities gave further insight to the perspectives on wage-labour in different parts of the municipal planning, and what lies behind some of the decisions for the planning of the physical environment. The interviews were conducted using methods for qualitative, semi-structured interviews according to Trost (2010) with a simple interview guide (see appendix). The interviewees were contacted in different ways: the contact with Olson and Apelgren was established via e-mail, while that with Kemppainen was on the phone, as this was the contact information I had been given by the person I had first reached at the municipality. However, after this initial contact on the phone, Kemppainen was, like the others, e-mailed a description of the project and what themes we would discuss.

The interview with Lars Olson took place in the planning office of Botkyrka municipality, while Linda Apelgren and Roland Kemppainen were interviewed by telephone due to the spatial distance. The interview with Apelgren was the shortest at about 45 minutes, the interview with Kemppainen took about 50 minutes, and the interview with Olson about 1 hour 10 minutes. I had met Olson on two previous occasions, in connection to the previously mentioned earlier project concerning the proposed new comprehensive plan for Botkyrka. This fact and that the interview with Olson was conducted eye to eye may have been the reason that it was slightly longer; while it was undoubtedly a formal meeting it did not hold the stress of talking to a stranger on the phone.

The municipal perspectives were the main source for the actual development of the criteria. I looked for what sustainability objectives for jobs and income (as I understood them) were brought up in the municipalities to see what it was that the growth was actually supposed to bring, rather than just growth itself. With the help of the analytical framework I identified some job-related objectives of the plans and synthesized these with the literature to formulate criteria for socio-economic sustainability regarding jobs and income, and their possible implementations in municipal planning. Doing this rather than for example going via already existing evaluation methods for socio-economic sustainability was motivated by the need to look beyond officially recognized definitions of jobs and income. I also wanted to already from the start connect them tightly to and see how they come into the context of municipal and/or regional planning, especially in Sweden. This will be further discussed in chapter 3.

In the upstart point of my study I also conducted unstructured interviews with the researchers Christer Sanne and Ann Bergman. While these interviews were not used concretely in the results, they helped for navigating the question and for formulating the criteria.

I am responsible for all translations from Swedish to English.

1.4 Some terms and definitions

To as Raworth (2012) use the word *jobs* in the social foundation of the doughnut is different from using the word *work*. What actually constitutes work, its meaning, worth, essence and consequences, has been widely debated since many years, especially within the tradition of Marx and Marxism, feminist economic theory, and socialist and Marxist feminism. This, however, is not the place for such a discussion. To keep it simple, work is often defined as something one does *because it is needed*, and can either have or not have a (monetary) exchange value (Gibson-Graham

et al, 2013; Standing, 2011). While the productive labour of industries, offices, and farming tend to be paid, the so-called reproductive domestic labour that enables productive labour, traditionally mainly carried out by women, tends to be unpaid (Gibson-Graham, 2006).

This being said, during the analysis of the comprehensive plans the word “work” was found to be used in a way that implied that it would mean the same as a job. A job can be explained as a “paid position of regular employment”, “a task or piece of work, especially one that is paid” or “a responsibility or duty” (Oxford Dictionaries, 2014a), or as a “group of homogenous tasks related by similarity of functions” and “synonymous with a role and [including] the physical and social aspects of a work environment” (Business Dictionary, 2014). The hint Raworth (2012) gives of what jobs actually are is given in the example of what it looks like when it is below the point of human deprivation: “labour force not employed in decent work” (p. 10).

In this thesis, the word “job” is used to signify a temporary or long term employment of work paid in money as a salary or wage. However, during the analysis of the comprehensive plans and related documents, the word “work” was found to be used more or less synonymously with “job(s)”. As this thesis uses a lot of formulations from such documents, to simplify the reading I have used the word similarly so that “work” signifies work paid in money, unless otherwise stated.

A dictionary explanation of *income* is as “money received, especially on regular basis, for work or through investments” (Oxford Dictionaries, 2014b), although the possibility of income as the profit of investments might come to change under the premise of zero GDP growth, as economic growth is the basic premise for such profit-making (Malmaeus, 2011). As for income as something that should be received in exchange of labour, although this is the prominent understanding of it, it is also an idea that has been challenged within the fields of academics and politics. This will be further explained later on.

The word *socio-economic* could be described as “relating to or concerned with the interaction of social and economic factors” (Oxford Dictionaries, 2014c). SASE, The Society for the Advancement of Socio-Economics, states that “[as] an emerging meta-discipline, socio-economics begins with the assumption that economics is not a self-contained system, but is embedded in society, polity, and culture” (SASE, 2013). When investigating differences among people of different social groups, Statistics Sweden (SCB) uses what they refer to as a socio-economic classification system to “illuminate the hierarchic structure in a society, based on an individual's position on the labour market, which is considered significantly important for welfare distribution

and life chances” (SCB, 2014). To choose the combination of the social and the economic into socio-economic also becomes a reminder that economics are not a force of nature, but a social construction, tightly linked to its social context. To borrow the words of Diana Kendall (2006), “economy is the *social institution* that ensures the maintenance of society through the production, distribution, and consumption of goods and services” (p. 394, italics added).

Something should be said about the notion of *sustainability*. In its perhaps most well-known discourse, sustainability is a word that tries to encompass and combine social, economic and ecological factors. Furthermore, the original meaning of the word suggests a state of being able to sustain: to maintain a status without corrupting or breaking. As has been lifted by many before me (see e.g. Orrskog & Bradley, 2006), the concept has come to be increasingly vague and contested, not least in Swedish planning. This thesis is an attempt to formulate one understanding of the concept in relation to jobs and income, without falling back on the common solution of continued growth. With this said, the idea of a society where social and economic patterns are *static* is neither believable, nor necessarily desirable. I agree with Orrskog & Bradley (2006) that the consensus-presenting sustainability discourse must be complemented with enhancing social justice, and with Mouffe (1999) that conflict and pluralism must be part of a democratic society. Further on, I believe that this will be a source of continuous changes of human societies. Accordingly, to seek an idea of what socio-economic sustainability could mean is not a claim that it would actually sustain forever. It is, however, a way to formulate a picture of a world where all humans can live good lives without depleting the natural resources.

2. Results

2.1 *Some alternative approaches to jobs and income*

The writer Nina Björk contemplates in her book from 2012 how current Swedish mainstream discourse is blind for other ways of living and working than producing and consuming: “We have of course survived without wage-labour. We have been self-reliant, we have traded necessities with each other, we have been bond servants and worked for someone else in exchange for food and shelter. We could think of even more other ways: citizen wage, piecework contracts with pay in food, services or items, common ownership of what is necessary to produce what we need, democratic decisions on what work is needed and then sharing those tasks, and so forth. Wage-labour as the organizing foundation for survival is a historically relatively late invention” (pp. 41-

42). This section briefly covers findings of suggestions for alternative arrangements of various forms of work and income than the dominating discourse of wage-paid production and consumption.

2.1.1 Jobs and other work

Work time

The arrangement of work time has been discussed for more than a century. In industrial times, one of the main themes of these discussions has been the increased production per human work unit that comes with technical development and increased automation of work. This means that the production volume has to increase in order to maintain the demand for labour. Karl Marx, who called this phenomenon *overproduction*, and Karl Maynard Keynes, who called it *underconsumption*, expected this to eventually lead to decreased work hours for all. While the regular wage-labour day has gone from 12 to 8 since this was formulated in the 1800's, this is not proportional to the manifold increases of productivity, and is not the primary way to deal with economic crises. Instead, the problem has primarily been solved through continuously increasing consumption (Malmaeus, 2011; Sanne, 2007). Among others André Gorz (1983; 1997) has argued that this has led to a situation where there is not and cannot be enough work to employ everyone who can and wants to work, and that the idea of letting some people working full-time while other do not work at all is ethically unacceptable. And when not enough of the produced wares (or services) are consumed, we get an economic crisis. This leads to higher unemployment, which leads to less circulation of monetary resources, which leads back to low consumption (Malmaeus, 2011).

Gibson-Graham et al (2013) has argued that the successful struggle for eight hour work days – eight hours of work, eight hours of leisure, eight hours of sleep – of the early 1900's was based on a work division where these eight hour productive work days were made possible through other people's reproductive work: cooking, cleaning, childcare et cetera. Typically, the productive work was carried out by men and the reproductive work by women. Today, women are to a higher extent involved in the productive work sphere, but still tend to hold the main responsibility for the reproductive work, resulting in a high work burden.

Shorter regular wage-labour time can be politically motivated by better work-life balance, increased flexibility of work hours for workers and better health, but also as a solution to the overproduction problem. One example of this being practiced on a large scale is a deal made by the

Swedish worker's union IF Metall, who made a short-term deal of shorter work days during the economic crisis of 2009 and has since agreed to open up for local agreements on shorter labour hours and smaller wages during economic crisis on national, global or local/private level (Fröven, 2013).

Connecting the overproduction/under-consumption problem to the straining of the planetary boundaries, Sanne (2007) also propose that a reform for shorter regular work time should be coupled with a proportional wage cut and will lead to increased employment rates. A shorter work-day would then lead to more free time, while the smaller wages is hoped to lead to decreased consumption, which is argued to be essential to save energy and natural resources, or to adapt to an energy- and/or resource deployment crisis. Gibson-Graham have in some of their work gone into the topic of large-scale transitions, but also, e.g. together with others in *Take Back the Economy* (Gibson-Graham et al, 2013) lifted forth that this is possible to do in a small scale on one's own, by changing one's own life through down-scaling – working less, receiving less money and consuming less, but in exchange for more spare-time and possibilities to do work oneself finds more meaningful.

However, not all advocates of shorter regular wage-labour time believes that it would reduce production, or that it should be coupled with decreased wages. On the contrary, shorter work days have been argued to increase production, as people are expected to work more effectively during shorter work days, as they are alert and well-rested (Jackson, 2009). In the beginning of April 2014 the municipality of Gothenburg announced that they, following an initiative from the Swedish Left Wing Party, would try out a six hours work days with maintained wages for their employees within the elder care sector. While the main arguments was the well-being of the employees, the expected decreased sickness rate and thus expected increased production rate was also used to motivate the experiment (Orre, 2014).

Malmaeus (2011) supports the idea of a shorter regular work day as part of a degrowth transition, but also points out that the replacement of human labour force with machinery has this far required an unsustainably high use of energy from fossil fuels. Thus, a coming decreased use of fossil fuels would likely come to change the prerequisites for production, possibly leading back to a **higher required human labour input**.

Rather than simply decreasing the normative work day, Gorz (1983; 1997; 1999) argues for a re-evaluation of people being either completely inactive (unemployment) or fully employed. Instead

he wants the ability for everyone to **choose one's own time distribution** to be a new basic freedom; that everyone that so wishes should be able to gradually free themselves from a life dedicated to wage-labour. With this, as possibly with shorter work hour norms, there would be a new balance between wage-labour that does not take more than a part of a person's time, and on the other hand activities of one's own choice, that will be the main part of one's life – self-activities (Gorz, 1999). Wage-labour would be conditioned by one's other activities rather than, as today, the other way around. While the easiest way to think about this would perhaps be to see work re-distributed over a week or a month, Gorz (1983; 1997) also proposes that it could be flexible over a person's whole life, so that one could pause their wage-labour for a longer time with a maintained income, in order to use their time for other activities. In Sweden under the Social-Democrat Persson administration, on the initiative of the Swedish Green Party, this was partially practiced 2005-2007 as the so-called “free year”. This allowed a person who had been employed for at least two years to take time off work for between three months and a year, while someone unemployed substituted for them.

Gorz (1999) also argues that a change of the urban form would be part of moving beyond wage-based society. For imagining societies with more “self-activity” rather than wage-based work, he looks to the Netherlands, where a big part of the male and female population are voluntarily working part-time with accordingly lower wages. His assumption is that this is related to the country's urban structures and density, and that other countries and cities that hope to encourage self-activities should take inspiration from Dutch urban planning. According to Gorz (1999), urban policy could “give a decisive boost to [the] ferment of varied self-activity” (p. 100) and become a lever for social change, through providing a “liveable life-world” (p. 101) of clearly laid-out polycentric urban areas, where each center offers open, accessible sites for various self-activities including self-provision.

Work critique

Roland Paulsen (2010) takes the work-critics further in his writings on how the Euro-American view on work has changed over the centuries, from seeing it as a humiliating punishment to proclaiming it to be a human right as well as a duty. While not presenting any clearly formulated alternative to this work society, he opposes the view of the technological land-winnings as a threat and instead suggests them to be a hope, and that we should step back from the belief in work and instead look for freedom – an idea that has been argued for a long time (see e.g. Paul Lafargue's classic *The Right to be Lazy* from 1883, which argues the freedom prospect of the machinery and

the revolutionary potential of laziness). Others, such as van Parijs (1995) have argued that while some people are of course free to work, it should also be **entirely possible to choose not to work** if one would rather spend one's time with something else, such as surfing. Kropotkin (1893) wrote that an “Anarchist-Communist society [is] a society that recognizes the absolute liberty of the individual /.../ and *makes use of no compulsion to drive men to work*” (p. 134, italics added).

In line with this thought lie the advocates of **total abolition of work** for everybody by making the necessary activities so pleasant that they instead become **play**. A by anarchists well-distributed and -cited work on the subject is Bob Black's essay *The Abolition of Work* from 1985, which is non-academic but draws on ideas by thinkers such as Paul Goodman, William Morris and the previously mentioned Peter Kropotkin. Black (1985) defines work as forced labour or compulsory production and instead advocates voluntary and free, but not necessarily unproductive, *play*, arguing that “we have to take what useful work remains and transform it into a pleasing variety of game-like and craft-like pastimes, indistinguishable from other pleasurable pastimes except that they happen to yield useful end-products.”

2.1.2 Income and providing for one's needs

Among alternatives to the previously mentioned mainstream understanding of income, one of the most prominent in academics is **basic income**, although its discussion has only during the last couple of years surfaced to public discussion in Sweden. Basic income can generally be explained as money received by each member of a society or community (usually proposed to be a nation state, which is hinted by the alternative name *citizen wage*) without measuring of neither accomplishments in return for it or individual need for it (van Parijs, 1992). Note the words *measuring* and *in return*; it says nothing about what unpaid work – e.g. housework or voluntary work – the basic income allows for, or might even be a way of reaching (Birnbbaum, 2013; Standing, 2011). According to Gorz (1984) some have complemented the thought of an unconditional basic income with a minimal number of hours, adjustable to technical land-winnings, of work hours during one's life, free for each and everyone to distribute according to their will. This would, coupled with a basic income, lead to increased “self-activities, which are self-organized, self-managed, voluntary and open to everyone” (Gorz, 1999, p. 100). While not part of the definition per se, normally the goal that promoters of basic income has for it is that it should be enough to live on (Birnbbaum, 2013). From liberals to socialists, there are numerous perspectives on why and how to carry out such a system (see e.g. Janson, 2003), but I will here do but a short expose of some of

them.

Standing (2011) proposes basic income as a way of providing security and stability for those who suffer the backsides of the global economy. He suggests basic income, or in his words “basic security”, as something that should be a right that comes with national citizenship, arguing that “[b]asic security is, first, having moderate, not extreme, uncertainty; second, knowing that if something went wrong there would be affordable and behaviourally acceptable ways of coping; and third, having affordable and behaviourally tolerable ways of recovering from a shock or hazard”.

Rather than a practical way of countering labour market insecurity and injustice, van Parijs (1995) sees an unconditional general income as the basic premise for what he refers to *real freedom for all* - “a matter of means, not only of rights /.../ not only the freedom to purchase or consume. It is the freedom to live as one might like to live” (p. 30). According to van Parijs (1995), real freedom means positive freedom: not only being prohibited from doing what one wants to, but also to have the means to do it. From this standpoint, it is of no matter whether people *should* work, but that they should have the right to work if they want to, a right argued to be easier to collect if those who do not want to work also do not have to. The basic income should then be distributed by “the society” with some kind of government, the same for all and enough to cover a person's basic physical needs. However, three categories of things should instead be distributed in kind: protection of formal freedom as in “[p]olice and courts, military or civil defense against external threats, adequate mechanisms for collective decision making at the various territorial level” (p. 42); things that he believes would have strong positive externalities on everybody's opportunities, such as education and infrastructure; and “items of which it is plausible to assume that no one in her right mind might not want to buy them out of her basic income were she given the whole of it in cash” such as “clean air through restrictions on pollution, the building, maintenance and cleaning of streets, or the availability of areas in which one can walk unthreatened by car traffic” (pp. 43-44).

Basic income has been criticized by among others Žižek (2009) who is strongly critical towards the entire capitalistic system and believes that basic income undermines more radical forces by simply slightly lessening the burden from capitalism. It has also been suggested that basic income would actually be strengthening the overproduction of today by leveraging the consumption levels as well as reducing the socio-economic problems caused by unemployment-induced poverty, and therefore escalating the “flexibility”, or insecurity, of work force (Paulsen, 2010). As has been pointed out by Paulsen (2010), basic income, were it to be introduced in the Swedish nation state of today, could easily become just a part of growth-oriented national politics and increase the consumption

levels and maintain overproduction while simultaneously decreasing the socio-economic problems caused by the overproduction-induced poverty, which would further distance us from leaving the overproduction order. This, if a zero- or degrowth alternative is wished for, would then be inadvisable.

Many participants of the degrowth movement have endorsed various forms of **local currencies** as an alternative or complement to the mainstream monetary economic system. Normally this is done with a favour of grass-roots initiatives over government policy-making, although there have also been some addressing of government-centered reforms of the monetary system (Dittmer, 2013). Among the latter is Alf Hornborg, who connects it to the idea of citizen wage and suggests that local currencies should be practiced by a nation state who distribute a basic income of local currency used specifically for locally produced goods to cover one's basic needs.

In Sweden, local currencies can be seen as for example the *daler* of Southern Dalarna, and the *Euronäs* of Höganäs. This far, they have been done on a grass-roots level, but in Norrköping the question of centrally administrated local currency was brought up by a local representative from the Swedish Green Party named Per Almgren. In 2012, Almgren submitted a motion to the municipality assembly suggesting a monthly basic income of equivalently 8000 SEK in a local currency for all Norrköping inhabitants, and that rent and food would be bought locally with this, while those who wanted could still have other types of work (Bergquist, 2012). A variation that connects freedom from money with the local income principle is the idea of instead **exchanging services** with one another. In Sweden, this is legal as long as it is also taxed for in money.

There is also the discussion of **unnecessary material abundance**. Many have pointed out that while basic material security is necessary for our well-being, beyond this point more money does not actually make us happier, but rather escalates the perceived need for material gain (Gibson-Graham et al, 2013; Greenham et al, 2010; Sanne, 2007). Gibson-Graham et al (2013) argue that increasing incomes will lead to increasing gaps, and consequentially will, in contrary to what is proposed by advocates of “sustainable growth”, lead to decreased well-being, and health-problems such as social isolation, depression, and alcohol and drug abuse. To help the transition from a job- and income-centered lifestyle they suggest that we “step back from the work treadmill and think about what we really need to survive well” (p. 18). As previously mentioned, they put forward *downshifTERS*: people, coming from a range of groups in society, who work less, earn less and “make a conscious choice to reduce their income but improve their quality of life” (p. 19).

While **poverty** was previously mainly defined by income levels at least in international policy discussions, the view has changed. The United Nations Human Development Report 1997 states that “poverty can mean more than a lack of what is necessary for material well-being. It can also mean the denial of opportunities and choices most basic to human development – to lead a strong, healthy, creative life and to enjoy a decent standard of living, freedom, dignity, self-esteem and the respect of others” (p. 14).

2.1.2.1 Ownership variations

There are also some, especially among anarcho-socialists and communists, who propose abandonment of the monetary system through a **no-money society** or living without money, through trading goods and services with one another or simply giving them away, rather than involving them in a typical economic system. This is already practiced in part through e.g. Internet services that connect people with different skills, and websites where one can advertise for things one wants to give away for free. For services, this can also be connected to time-banks and the like – similar to local currencies, but where the trade lies with money, and exchanging one hour of work with something for help with something else.

One could also suggest **distribution of resources in kind according to needs** or as a **free-for-all** society where ownership is restricted or completely abolished. This is especially common among anarchists and anarcho-socialists. One of the few academically published explicitly anarchist urban planners, Olympia Tvester (2009), writes that “Anarchy is the absence of ownership. Authority is the forced application of ownership” (p. 9) and describes an anarchist community where “[n]obody is [an authority]. You have the freedom to settle in one spot, or to live like the bird.” (p. 10)

A variation on the anarchist non-ownership vision lies within the anarcho-syndicalist labour tradition, which ultimately proposes that **producers should own the means of production cooperatively** and share the fruits of this production between themselves, or in a completely socialist society, that **means to production should be commonly owned and managed by the producers** who decide how to produce, while what should be produced can be decided either by a community/consumers or by the producers, or through agreement between them both (Lagerström, 1996). As such, it seeks to abolish the wage system, although not necessarily the entire idea of money. This is partially practiced today as worker cooperatives, where those who work within a business are also the ones who own it as well as the ones who manage it. Malmaeus (2011) has suggested the possibilities of working cooperations or democratically run companies as a more

common way of running a business in a zero-growth economy, as these often have other driving forces than economic profit. Schweickart (2010) has how those types of companies may grow in terms of higher production with a larger number of employees, they will have an unchanged income. Malmaeus (2011) also suggests public or common ownership to a larger extent. Perhaps this is then not so far from the anarcho-syndicalist vision.

2.2. Identified aspects of work in planning

2.2.1. Aspects identified using the framework

2.2.1.1. The necessity of providing services to the society

When Sanne (2007) writes about the necessity of work for providing necessary services for society, in the municipal planning the need of certain work competence for societal service (e.g. teachers and medical doctors) is often mixed up with the need of certain competence for the commercial industrial sector.

The need of workers who can provide certain services becomes especially apparent in Övertorneå, where the issue was one of the first to come up during the interview with R.K. He states the coming change-of-generation in the work force as one of the biggest coming challenges. According to R.K., about half of the working population will be entering retirement in the coming years – a number that is hard to match with the low number of young people, among which about 90 % leave town after graduation from upper secondary school. Among those who stay few have education to match the needs of the productive work-sector, as the Övertorneå youth that obtain higher education tend to prefer living elsewhere. This, he says, is strengthened by the fact that higher education is usually obtained elsewhere, and that many meet a significant other from other cities during their time at university – a significant other who also must find work and be willing to live in Övertorneå. One way of avoiding that possible inhabitants with higher education become established elsewhere is by not only offering high minimum wage for those employed within the municipality, but higher for those who have higher education. R.K. also mentions the possibility of distance studying for those who want higher education but do not necessarily want to move to obtain it.

These problems are also discussed in the proposed new comprehensive plan for Övertorneå. More specifically the proposed new comprehensive plan states a will to attract more people to working within the social sector, as well as treasuring and developing the competence of its current

workforce. Kemppainen also mentions it for the health care and education sector, respectively.

Similar issues were raised in the interview with L.A. of Norrköping municipality. While these were then mainly discussed in relation to the sought-after commercial industry (more on this below), L.A. also raised the problem of filling the positions of professions needed for basic community services. Among those was the case of urban planning. According to L.A., there are few urban and community planners from Östergötland, as there is no education for it locally; young people who grow up in Östergötland and are interested in becoming planners have to be motivated to go away to study – but also to come back. On the other hand it is hard to get people from other parts of the country to stay.

In Botkyrka, shortage of labour force with higher education was not mentioned. Instead, society's need of work force came up during a discussion of the comprehensive plan aim of “creativity” - L.O. mentions the type of work that “falls in-between the productive and re-productive worksector”. There is, he says, a void of people, as the needs do not lessen just because they are neither solved by the municipality or the economic system. He exemplifies using walking school buses as a need that lies close to, but not quite within, the public sector. According to L.O., there is a wish among many inhabitants for such common services that however cannot be covered by tax support, an “intermediate self-organization that the municipality wants to support”. However, he also says that this is harder in the current urban society. “There are a lot of things that people want done that is not solved by the economic system”, L.O. says, but raises the problem of who will do it. He mentions how the housing shortage and other housing problems were solved by mobilizing work force outside the clear boundaries of industry or the common. But “this does not happen today, since the workforce cannot be freed” even though less obvious commercial sectors such as the cultural sector do have the capability of thinking outside given frames – people “can organize sour dough hotels but not a functioning organization of relative support”.

During the interviews with especially Botkyrka and Övertorneå representatives, there was also another perspective of providing services to society that came up. This was the perspective of how it was hard to keep the presence of those types of services that people might want or need in their daily lives, when these are provided by companies and these companies have small hopes for their economic profit when the people they would cater to are few or have low income levels. L.O. mentioned the liquidation of the local commercial centre of Norsborg, an area where the average income is fairly low. According to Olson, since the centre's liquidation some time ago it has been hard to find a new investor willing to run the centre because the customers it would cater to mainly

consist of low-income earners and there are low hopes of being able to find customers outside the local area. Yet, there is a small but existent demand for simple services near one's home: to be able to pick up some groceries on one's way home, take some money out of an ATM or send a package with the mail. Currently the centre is run by a liquidator. According to Kemppainen, similar problems occur in Övertorneå, although there it is less about the average income level and more about the lack of customers, especially with the concurrence from Internet shopping for wares such as clothes etc.

2.2.1.2 Everybody's equal access to jobs

In my first version of the framework, this was simply put as "Full employment and everybody's equal access to jobs" relating to Sanne's (2007) notion that everyone who can and wants to should get to work, but as the work continued, it became clear that while the question of (more) equal access to work and getting more people into employment was frequently discussed, the goal was never explicitly stated to be full employment.

This question of equal access to work seem to have two levels:

- Inequalities between groups within a municipality, discussed primarily as integration
- Inequalities between municipalities or regions, discussed primarily as concurrence between municipalities.

During the interview with Botkyrka's L.O., he mentions the need of evening out the differences of access to work and thus income level between the Botkyrka inhabitants and other inhabitants in the Stockholm region, where the Stockholmer generally has a higher income. He describes the current labour market with how "the employers would rather want to get out of buying labour /.../ the number of jobs is decreasing and then people are pushed away from them. Then we have a small part of people who are considered suitable in the production society. [The employers] 'tailor' who can get the jobs, with network recruitment, with required qualifications and profiles. There is pushed back payed work". With a big part of the inhabitants belonging to groups that are frequently discriminated on the labour market, the municipality's need of providing its inhabitants with "assets for the future" in the form of education and work life experience.

The suggested new comprehensive plan also mentions expansion of the labour market to Stockholm: "The work market's size grows by the Botkyrka inhabitants gaining access to more work places and a bigger economy gains access to the competences of the Botkyrka inhabitants" (p. 23).

In the background part of the comprehensive plan for Norrköping, a graph shows what consulted Norrköping inhabitants have voted as the most important things for improving Norrköping. This graph shows a ranking of "more work opportunities" as the top improvement wished for, explained as "a good way to be able to provide for oneself" (p. 54).

For Övertorneå, one can see less of a group and structure perspective on jobs and work access in the comprehensive plan, except for as integration strategies for newcomers, where the plan is no different from the usual: to quickly learn Swedish and quickly get onto the labour market.

2.2.1.3 Working conditions

During the interview with L.A., she mentioned recent research on differences in health status between the inhabitants of Norrköping, traditionally an industrial city, and Linköping, which has traditionally been an engineering city. The study had shown the citizens of Norrköping to not only have a shorter life span, but even to be born with higher rates of stress hormones than the citizens of Linköping. L.A. explains: "[The people of Norrköping] have drudged in the industries for generations. [They] have lived hard lives. Even when [the hard industrial labour] stops, this contaminates through the generations. /.../ How can we change this? We don't know that, the processes are long There were really hard working environments for many decades, and people drank and smoke /.../ Traces of that remain."

The Norrköping comprehensive plan from 2002 states that "the demands for good work- and sparetime environments, clean air and nature is expected to increase as a consequence of worklife and industry changing towards increased flexibility and increased part spare time" (p. 112) and mentions in several places the importance of promoting more greenery close to people's working environments. According to the comprehensive plan this would have a positive impact on the working conditions both at work (as a window view) but also as part of physical exercise, health care and health programs for workers (p. 33).

2.2.1.4 (Economic) growth

While neither Jackson (2009) or Sanne (2007) argues for economic growth – quite the opposite, as known – it is an ever-present possible aspect of work and was thus brought into the framework for investigation. In the plans, this concept of growth has more than one aspect. In especially Norrköping, this "growth" seems to hold several meanings – economic growth, but also growth in size. On the other hand Övertorneå is trying to remain the same size and sees economic growth as

tool for this, and for Botkyrka economic growth is a question of justice and well-being for a seemingly growing population.

The common comprehensive plan for Norrköping and Linköping states that “the comprehensive plan strives for growth through more people's inclusion in a common work market” (p. 37). Under the subtitle “Integration increases the market” it also states that “increased integration between Linköping and Norrköping can be expected to encourage growth of population, economics and jobs” (p. 55) and that “the municipalities planning will have to be especially focused on being able to provide localizations that attract such industries that drives economic growth forwards and leads to increased employment” (p. 55). There is also a section explicitly named “Economic growth”, in which one can read that the two cities have “underachieved in growth in multiple aspects, among others incomes and entrepreneurship” (p. 69) and that the common comprehensive plan is a take on tackling this. One can here see a connection between growth and the aspect of equal access to work and letting everybody who wants to get into employment: Growth is presented as the key to this goal.

However, during the interview with L.O., he mentioned the double role of the municipality as well as other political institutions, where there is both a striving for lessened use of resources through consumption and for increased growth in order to provide ore people with jobs and get them out of their poverty, and especially with Botkyrka where people are generally poorer than in other parts of the Stockholm region.

2.2.1.5 Being part of society (and having influence)

Here, again, the original intention of the meaning was distorted when used. Being part of the society, which was one of the original objectives in the framework, indeed is a part of most of the plans' handling of the question of jobs: Having a job is connected to being part of society in planning documents of all the municipalities. However, when this is mentioned it is almost always together with a notion of *having influence and power* over one's own situation, especially in the various discussions about unemployment that occurred in the municipalities, both within labour market measures, interviews and planning documents. The aspect of inclusion is interwoven with the aspect of independence.

2.2.1.6 Creativity and satisfaction of using one's skills

Enabling people to be able to find a job they want seems to be a main factor when it comes to region-expansion, which is re-occurring in the plans.

In the common comprehensive plan for Norrköping and Linköping, integration of the two cities is motivated by that it would make the cities merge into a “common work market region” (p. 12) and gain their inhabitants access to a big urban region's collected supplies of different types of jobs and work places within a reasonable travel time – it would make it easier for citizens of both cities to “find a suitable job” (p. 3). In the section about “attractive living environments” and the subtitle “simple and rich everyday life” it is explained that a merge will lead to that “the chance of finding wished job, education or social affinities increases” (p. 52). The jobs are expected to increase not only in numbers, but also in diversity. While this does not explicitly state the importance of the above mentioned objective, it is interpretable as at least wanting to provide opportunities for the inhabitants to take jobs that they want.

On the other hand, upon closer examination of one of the labour market measurements of Övertorneå, where it is stated that one of the problem is that “many young people live in a dream world and expect that they will fulfil themselves through work, while instead work for the vast majority of workers is about provision” (Svenska ESF-rådet, 2012). While this is not part of the comprehensive planning per se, it is however part of the municipal labour plans.

2.2.2. Other identified aspects in planning

These aspects of jobs and income, connected to questions of socio-economic sustainability, were not originally places in the framework, but proved to be reoccurring themes in the planning-related material.

2.2.2.1 Connections between jobs & income and health & well-being

During the interview with L.O. of Botkyrka, he mentioned the strong connections between health problems and unemployment and low incomes- “Studies show that if you are poor, if you have low income, you generally have worse health. /.../ There are strong connections between bad health and low education, low income, low employment... if you want to break the pattern, having a work serves an extremely important function. As a municipality, you can only try to see to that your inhabitants can compete with others for the job, with their competence... /.../ When you don't have a

job, you get ill. And when you're ill, you cannot get a job.” This perspective can also be seen in Botkyrka's previously mentioned sustainability- and human rights goals, where human health is strongly connected to their socio-economic status, which includes income level and employment. The 2007 starting document for the municipality's work with human rights and sustainability presses the great health impact of a person's economic status on their health and states that “[p]eople with big economic hardships have to a higher extent than others a weak connection to the labour market, low health status and education, weak social networks and less opportunities to choose consumption patterns and life style” (p. 3). The same section also states negative effects of a parent's unemployment on their child's health, and that an opportunity of work and income for parents is important for evening out the possibilities for children. However, the health impacts of work is not only expressed as something visible on a personal level, but also on a larger societal scale where an overall dysfunctional labour market and society “impacts the belief in the future, which leads to stress and in turn has a negative impact on the mental health” (p. 9).

2.2.2.2 Preparing and attracting workforce

The aspect of providing prospective or existing companies with workforce was briefly mentioned in the sections on necessary services and de-materialized production, respectively. However, the context of attracting workforce and of providing the inhabitants with the right competence to make them suitable as workforce for the companies that the municipality strives to attract are also reoccurring variations on the same theme.

When it comes to changing from hard to soft industries, especially in Norrköping one can see an expressed will of readying the current population for this shift. As L.A. explains it, “the Norrköping inhabitants have a low study tradition, but the step is shorter with the university at home”; the city has recently established a university campus in the former industrial areas. The comprehensive plan also mentions the favourable consequences of the university campus in central Norrköping and how it has attracted more technically qualified companies to the region, which in turn is expected to increase the chance for students to get good internship and following jobs. There is also an aspect of making existing workers more available for prospective investors; the common comprehensive plan of Norrköping and Linköping suggests that the enlarged region and increased communications will provide enterprises with a “larger and more diverse” (p. 8) and “more varied and specialized” (p. 23) labour force. This, in turn, would draw enterprises to the region which would in turn have “a positive impact on employment” (p. 8). The region's currently established companies' and

enterprises' capacity of participating in the "competition for capital and educated work-force" (p. 11) is mentioned as another issue. But it is also stated that "the region needs work-force and the development is dependent on immigration [to the region]" (p. 54).

Except for providing the current inhabitants with education to match a change from hard to soft industries, there is also an aim of attracting suitable work-force to the municipalities. Under the subtitle of "Growth", the Norrköping comprehensive plan of 2002 connects the ability to attract work-force with good living environments - "attractive housing environments are emphasized, which is important for choice of work place and recruitment of work force" (p. 47). There is an explicit ambition to create living environments where "rebuildings and complementing new building can create new opportunities of adding new work places, culture- and recreation facilities and locals for small businesses and new types of housing so that the area becomes attractive for many different income groups" (p. 124).

In the interview with L.A., she mentioned the establishment of a new storage warehouse in Norrköping. Upon being asked what factors had contributed to this establishment, she mentioned a favourable central location of the city and good connections including an airport, but also how such big establishments no longer looks only to physical connections but also to their capability of recruiting workforce, or bringing workforce they already have.

In the section called "Education/Competence development" of the proposed new comprehensive plan for Övertorneå, it is stated that "a strong economy and public sector is dependent on the availability of a competent workforce /.../ [adult education institutions] are to carry out educations that cater to needs of qualified workforce that is strategically important for the municipality and region" (pp. 50-51). As previously mentioned the subject of a generation shift also came up in the interview. Then it was mainly in reference to the generation shift within health care and education sectors, but he also mentioned the need of other sectors. According to Kemppainen there is a great need of engineers for both the forest sector and the mining sector.

2.2.2.3 Premise for and consequence of sustainable development and resilience

In the common comprehensive plan for Norrköping and Linköping "growth and sustainable development" and "sustainable growth", and claims that this would require 30 000 more jobs than in 2009. In the Norrköping-Linköping common comprehensive plan, having a diverse work market is also suggested to be a key point when it comes to lessening work market vulnerability to how the

economy and state of the market can change in structure and intensity and of fluctuations in the economy, suggesting a strive for resilience. In the chapter “Long-term sustainable urban structure”, building for more work places is a reoccurring theme. Especially for Norrköping the development strategies are stated as requisits for “qualified work places including national institutions” (p. 26)

As previously mentioned, Botkyrka has developed guidelines for their work with sustainable development. The starting document for this work (Botkyrka, 2007) contains an explanation of the commonly used three sustainability dimensions of economic, ecological and social sustainability, and it is there also stated that “[m]any welfare- and growth factors influence /.../ each other. For example, people's opportunities for work and income are central for well-being” (p. 3) and then goes into previously mentioned connections between income levels, education and health. A couple of pages further into the document it is stated that the results of a sustainability-oriented development would be “economic growth, welfare improvements, better health and decreased use of resources” which are “all dependent on each other” (p. 4). It is clear that the dominating discourse of economically sustainable development meaning economical growth is prevalent here. However, as previously mentioned, there is also a knowledge of the complications of this.

In the interview with L.A. of Norrköping municipality planning department, the subject of sustainability issues in relation to jobs was brought up. One aspect that then came up was the one of localization and making sure to have “the right thing in the right place” so that there is no disturbance between e.g. housing quarters and heavier industrial areas. However, there was also the issue, so often mentioned, of having enough people in the region for being able to plan sustainably when it comes to adequate public transport systems and so forth.

2.2.2.4 Financing public welfare

This aspect was originally put up in the framework as a variant on Marx' idea of “the socially-necessary work” as the work necessary for providing material wealth enough to cover the community's needs and “socially produced wealth” as the wealth that the community distributes for its needs. However, in the context of the current economic system, we instead have private wealth and common wealth in the form of taxes. In either case, the connection between the private and the public economy is a re-occurring theme for discussions of jobs and income in the municipalities.

In the interview with L.O., the aspect of private income for the public tax fund was but briefly mentioned: “The municipal sector survives on taxes on work”. However, the issue of having to adjust municipal policy to the inhabitants' income level was raised in relation to the need of

renovations in some of the publicly owned housing – renovations that would lead to rent increases that the Botkyrka households would not be able to afford.

On the other hand, the interview with R.K. began with him telling about work-related planning strategies as looking to the needs of the citizens. This he meant included everything from elderly homes to sport facilities to increasing the employment in the welfare sector since “one pays taxes to get welfare”. In the Övertorneå comprehensive plan of 2004 as well as in the suggested new comprehensive plan, the high burden rate that comes with youth emigration and an aging population is stated as a main challenge for the municipality – a challenge that is in turn met with a goal of everybody's introduction to “society and work life” (p. 14). This is apparent even in the public infrastructure. The comprehensive plan of 2004 states that “[o]ther national service functions and production plans have reduced or stopped. Roads and other important functions have been given a lower maintenance. Higher costs for electricity, hot water and other infrastructure have resulted in increased stress on companies and households. Decreased money flux due to unemployment and emigration have had an impact on the municipal economy and other social functions” (p. 15). The costs of having a road network dimensioned and laid out for a society of different type and size was also mentioned by R.K.

In Övertorneå, as in many other communities in the sparsely populated Northern parts of Sweden, this leads to a strong focus on making people register as living in the municipality so that they also pay tax to it. R.K. told of how different municipalities have different strategies for making sure that people register as inhabitants: “If you lose people you lose income. The infrastructure doesn't hold, it takes too much from the inflowing money”. This becomes especially problematic when it comes to young, mobile people. Many of the Övertorneå youth go to study at the relatively close-by Luleå University of Technology, where they register as citizens instead of staying registered at for example their parents' house, according to R.K.. He also adds: “In Luleå, people are more or less forced to register there. They are offered free bus cards, and they get into the housing queue if they register there. But we offer blandishments, too. If you register as a citizen here, you get a free gym card.”

2.2.2.5 Alternative forms of work in municipal planning

The Övertorneå comprehensive plan of 2004 does not explicitly name and discuss work outside the norm. However it can be discerned in the description of the village Aapua, saying that the village school has been closed but that a local working collective cooperates around weaving and childcare.

In the proposed new comprehensive plans, there are also hints at wanting to provide an alternative to the consumerist society of which the dominating labour discourse is a part. The Övertorneå comprehensive plan of 2004 briefly discusses the reindeer herding of the region. However, although reindeer herding maintains a main work activity for many of the Sami people of Northern Sweden today, R.K. revealed during the interview that reindeer is in Övertorneå only performed as a form of recreation and tradition-keeping for members of the Sami community.

The Botkyrka comprehensive plan has a full chapter on *creativity* on different levels and *fulfilling one's dream*. This is not explicitly stated as necessarily meaning work, and during the interview with L.O. he said that work is only one aspect imagined in this. However, it does hint at trying to leave way for different forms of work than exclusively wage-labour (see the section on providing necessary services for the community above). In an earlier interview with several members of the Botkyrka planning department, they also exemplified by mentioning small-scale bike services or bakeries as possible usage for the creativity principle, which could also mean operating outside the system – if not outside the tax system, so at least outside the mainstream work market.

Among the labour market measures listed on Norrköping municipality's website is one called *Orangeriet 2*, which organizes long-term work co-operations. According to the website, the participants will there get an “opportunity to form and develop business ideas that can be carried out in a social work integrating corporate/cooperative. The project participants train for work at 100 % that takes its starting point in each individual's abilities, where self power and voluntariness are important corner stones in the business /.../ The purpose of the project is to create at least one socially work integrating company that lives on after the project time ends. In the company there is a room for employment for everyone who are prepared to create a surplus that makes this possible” (Norrköping, 2014).

2.3. Discussion of possible criteria: Socio-economic sustainability regarding jobs and income (beyond GDP growth)

With the help of the criteria and the planning analysis, I have developed four possible criteria for socio-economic sustainability regarding jobs and income: Here they are presented together with discussions of some possibilities for their implementation in a society beyond GDP growth.

Something should be said about their connection to two other of Raworth's (2012) social foundation prerequisites, namely *equity* and, as a part of that, *gender equality*. With an understanding of socio-

economic sustainability of which equity and gender equality are a main component, these have to be present throughout any investigations of it. This includes the here formulated criteria. This means that the criteria fulfilling equality regarding gender, race and other equity issues, is taken as a given basic assumption for these criteria, although it is not elaborated on in detail here.

A: No-one is experiencing poverty

As mentioned in the introduction erasure of poverty is one of the main goals that in mainstream socio-economic sustainability discourse is expected to be solved at least in part through economic growth and following increased wage-labour (see e.g. FAO, WFP & IFAD, 2012; United Nations Development Program, 1997). While the subject of poverty might not often be openly and explicitly handled in municipality, the subject of poverty, and the necessity of working against it, did come up during the interview with L.O. of Botkyrka municipality. Then it was mentioned as something that leads to a political dilemma. One side of the problem is a need to restrict over-consumption, the other that it is hard to obtain personal satisfaction when one experiences oneself as poor. But even if this interview is the only time that the word “poverty” is spoken, it is also present in the planning documents, albeit in other words, or between the rows: as a need of providing more with jobs to live good lives, as low average incomes, and as the need to provide also for those who cannot work.

However, accepting poverty as a problem that needs consideration in socio-economic sustainability goals does not mean that it has to be solved in the same way as suggested in those contexts. If we first look to the older definition of poverty and take our starting point in income level, there are also the notions by Sanne (2007) and Greenham et al (2010) of how the connection between income and well-being only go on to a certain level. In the rich countries (such as Sweden), for all but the very poorest, this is instead driven by relative rather than absolute income. This is also connected with L.O.:s suggestion that perhaps the location of Botkyrka right next to Stockholm, the capital with a high position on the national income scale, contributed to the experience of poverty among the Botkyrka citizens. Taking this further, this should also mean that a lowered “high” level of material provision could contribute to a reduced experience of poverty.

But looking beyond income levels, we may instead try connecting the broader definition of freedom from poverty, which included *opportunities* of creativity, freedom, dignity and self-esteem, with the complementary perspectives on what these concepts mean. This brings out an opportunity of discussing other solutions to the poverty problem than putting more people in wage-labour. In fact, some of these even suggests that wage-labour becomes the opposite of freedom, dignity and

creativity, as soon as it is a necessity for one's material security. To have one's basic material needs fairly securely covered may mean that these other aspects of freedom from poverty become more important – that the satisfaction of one's needs for them becomes more central, and perhaps easier to experience.

In essence, this then boils down to:

Everybody's secured access to necessary services to an extent that serves not only to satisfy one's most basic physical needs, but also provides with enough to give possibilities for a fulfilling life.

A division of such access, so that nobody's experience of satisfaction is hindered by somebody else's access.

B: Provision of necessary services

An original aspect that I had set up to look for in the comprehensive plan was “the socially necessary labour as according to Marx” from Sanne (2007). It seems unlikely that such (rather complex) Marxist terms would be used in Swedish municipal planning of today, but while this specific term is not used, there still seems to be a strive for provision of socially necessary services.

In the current (GDP) economic system, all economic activity within the tax-paying sphere can be seen as contributing to the national economy, as they contribute with taxes. This is one of the basics of growth-centered national economy, as well as a common argument for the work-line politics. It is also part of the reason for what Sanne (2007) calls the “Jaanus face” of national politics, which on one hand warns us for the environmental risks of over-consumption and on the other hand continuously encourages consumption for the sake of national economics. However, as is lifted in some of the degrowth literature, the issue of how to provide necessary services also raises the question of *what* services that are actually necessary. E.g. the advertising industry becomes a highly necessary institution in a growth-based economy, as it ensures our continued contribution to the tax pot, but might not be producing anything that is by its own justice necessary for human well-being. This, instead, connects back to the suggested criterion A, and prompts us to see what those “enough material and non-material means” would be. A starting point for this could be to go back to Raworth's social foundation to see some of what at least we need: **resilient and equal services** that provides for **clean water, nutritious food, education, health care, voice and energy**. Raworth

(2014) later voiced that shelter should be added to the list, although I suggest it should be specified as **housing**.

The relevance of a criteria of provision of necessary services reveals itself both in literature on alternative economic organizations, where it is explicitly discussed, and in the analysis of the material that concerns municipal planning in relation to jobs and income. However, the same issues are discussed somewhat differently in the respective sources.

In the municipal planning, it is a question of financing public welfare and services, as well as of how to ensure that there are people with needed (by private or public companies) competence who are willing to provide it.

In the literature it of course differs depending on the original perspective of the text. But the question of how to organize public/common services – including, when relevant, basic income – is further complicated by questions of whether necessary services would be provided for in case people actually did not have to work for wages – would we really work anyway? - or how they should be paid for if we had a different monetary system. Such questions have to be considered in any scenario looking to explore society beyond BNP growth.

It is also a question of whom would be motivated to provide maintaining needed services. Even though degrowth literature contains some writers who believes in the possibilities of a steady-state capitalism (e.g. Brittan, 2002; Lawn, 2005), zero-growth does not offer the same potentials for big economic gains and profit from investments.

When it comes to operationalization, Malmaeus (2011) has pointed out that maintained service would require other driving forces than private profit, and has suggested the possibilities of cooperatively owned enterprises for this. If we do, in a zero-growth future, have a similar governmental organization and economic system, this could be an opportunity, either as producer-owned and -run cooperatives or as consumer-owned cooperatives run by the producers.

We could also, to a smaller or larger extent, move closer to or fully into a syndicalist or communalist vision of producer-operated cooperative factories, farms, and other businesses, providing services for a community (such as e.g. a municipality), where the citizens together with the producers own the factories and decide what should be produced. To connect back to the discussions on income, one could imagine this to be either distributed in kind or paid for with some type of money, which could be of a local currency. For this to also cover more complicated areas such as medical science, which might require highly specialist knowledge and technology, such a

system would however need to be complemented, possibly with money that could be used internationally.

The above mentioned could also be investigated both from the possibility of increased automatization as envisioned by e.g. Paulsen (2010), and from one of increased physical labour due to energy depletion, as suggested by Malmaeus (2011).

If one instead sees to informal economic systems, such as gift economy or trading services, it becomes problematic when these are discussed as a possibly more important part of the economic system than, as currently, just a bigger or smaller (legal or illegal) side-kick to mainstream taxed capitalism. Not least this is true in a “Swedish” context – e.g. Gibson-Graham (2003) are based in the USA and Australia, where public welfare is not as big as in Sweden, and therefore perhaps takes up a smaller part of the discussion of possible problems of the informal economy.

Drawing to a conclusion, we find that we need:

A division of resources, including labour, which' results are enough to satisfy criterion A.

C: Everybody's access to meaningful employment

This criteria has two obvious sides, both visible in literature as well as analysis of the comprehensive plans: the side of access to employment, and that of the employment actually being meaningful. As we will return to, the latter also means asking ourselves whatever “meaningful” means.

“Necessary and meaningful work” was originally listed as one of the framework aspects to look for, but if as suggested in the previous section all GDP-contributing work is necessary and meaningful in a growth economy, this in itself makes it meaningful (although as reoccurring in the literature, people's personal experience may say differently). In the municipal planning, we can see this as the ambition of creating jobs to get everybody into employment at the regular work market is. But without the goal of GDP growth, not all paid labour will be meaningful simply for its contribution to growth. A more personal satisfaction and experienced meaning of one's wage-labour could be interpreted from Botkyrka's notions of fulfilling dreams, and as one of the reasons for Norrköping's focus on expanding the work market not only in numbers but also in diversity. Increased employment rates and a bigger range of different jobs to “choose” from to find a “suitable” job come out as two of the main points of this expansion.

We could also recall how R.K. said that what job one could get was not the most important factor when moving to a new place, that it is listed after other aspects of life quality. From that perspective, it becomes relevant to go back to the various believers' in shorter work time ideas about sharing necessary work and make them but a small part in everybody's lives, providing more time for voluntary employments within projects of one's own choice. In Övertorneå, we also saw reindeer husbandry as an example of work being carried out less for money and more for the sake of interest and tradition.

As mentioned in section 2.1.1., Gorz (1983; 1997; 1999) argued that it was ethically unacceptable to see some people working full-time (and getting paid thereafter) while others do not work at all. "Fair distribution of work" was also originally listed among the framework aspects, but was eventually cut from the results section. This was motivated by the focus of this formulation lying in sharing "existing" labour so that nobody works too much or too little, while the focus of the planning rather was creating or attracting jobs and matching workforce, sometimes with an aspect of fairness present as e.g. integration. For Gorz (1999), everybody sharing responsibilities as well as being able to engage in their own "self-activities" was one of the major standpoints regarding his proposed transformation of society into a society beyond wage-labour and, as he called it, a "wage-based society" (ibid.). He also saw this as possible because he, among so many at so many times, expected and anticipated a coming increased automatization of work, shorter wage-labour time and with that an increased possibility for people to engage in their own, chosen activities, that they themselves found meaningful. This is also seen among work-critics, that suggest that minimizing the amount of "necessary" human labour to free time for everybody's own enjoyment is the key to well-being – or that such labour can never be fulfilling, unless it is play. We have also seen van Parijs (1998) and other speakers for basic income proposing the option of being able to choose not to work for somebody else, if it seems meaningless to oneself.

One could also think of another option, drawing to both the great amount of voluntary work that is carried out, not least by the down-scalers mentioned by Gibson-Graham et al (2013), and to all the unpaid reproductive labour throughout times. Especially the former, being of people's own choice, suggests that the meaning come from the sheer *necessity* of the work and satisfaction of seeing it done, which leads us back to the previous section. Perhaps it is here that the key lies to how to get necessary services: they will happen, because enough people will perceive it as meaningful to contribute to seeing to making them happen. That would mean that the thought of the satisfaction of our needs coming from "productive play" (Black, 1985) is not unthinkable after all.

To conclude the meaning of this criteria:

Nobody is without the opportunity of employment that they find meaningful and purposeful.

And either of these definitions:

a) Work feel overall meaningful and fulfilling to those who perform it

or

b) Work takes up little enough time to allow for indulgence in one's own areas of interest.

(D: Power over one's own situation and time)

As seen in the analysis of the municipal planning documents, the subject of having power over one's own situation is re-occurring when it comes to jobs and income. We saw that having a job is mentioned as an important key to feeling security and control over one's life.

On the other hand, the literature discusses negative impacts that one's job can have on other parts of one's power over one's own situation and time. As an example, this can be as insecurity on the work market (Standing, 2011), as loss of life quality due to a dysfunctional work-time balance (Gibson Graham et al, 2013) or because the line between one's personal and professional life is blurred because one feels a need to be constantly available for one's employer at the expense at one's family, while it is not possible the other way around (Bergman & Ivarsson, 2010) – although the latter does not have to be bad, if it is one's own choice (ibid.). We have also seen discussions of how wage-labour in itself is a threat to one's self-power (Black, 1985; Paulsen, 2010; Kropotkin, 1893) as well as more moderate standpoints of that being the case only if it is forced, and if one cannot oneself decide whether, or at least when and how much, to work (Gorz, 1999; van Parijs, 1995) – not an uncommon situation today.

Throughout the literature, one of the most commonly proposed solutions to the problem of lacking control over personal time is through provision of a basic income to secure one's needs, either for decreasing uncertainty (Standing, 2011) or for more or less making it possible to freely choose one's own employment (Gorz, 1999; van Parijs, 1995). As well as a matter of knowing that one can trust one's basic needs to be covered, power of one's own situation and time in relation to work could also mean that somebody who is employed in some type of work has influence over their working situation, and knows when they will have time off, when they will work and under what conditions. But how then can such a basic income be formed in a way that also permits movability and

migration, if that is what one would choose? There are still questions left.

A clear formulation of how to define, or for that matter measure, such influence evades me, and I have found it hard to pinpoint its meaning as a concise criterion. This is why its title is put in a parenthesis. But the theme of having power over one's own situation and time is reoccurring throughout both planning and literature and should be considered somehow, although a more concrete definition remains to be formulated.

3. Concluding discussion

3.1 Developing criteria

The sustainability concept is inherently cross-disciplinary, and this thesis tries to bridge several fields, mainly economy, political science, and urban planning. And e.g. a deep understanding of the question of work could constitute an entire academic career; so could the question of connections between work and urban form. To return to the original aim of this thesis – the criteria – the results are not as concrete as originally intended. One of the reasons for this was hesitation regarding the set-up of the prerequisites for the criteria. It is no news that knowledge is still sparse of how economics that consciously emit economic growth might actually work, which makes a strong motivation for the *Beyond GDP Growth* research project.

But there are also other questions that are relevant when discussing what is needed regarding work and provision, but might not soon be clearly answered: what “a good life” or for that case “a meaningful life” are, for example. Also, questioning the current “truth” of green capitalism may awake slumbering political discussions of how work and provision may be organized, opening up for discussion that looks beyond the wage-labour society. But this does not mean that we will reach a sure answer. This will likely be a struggle of not only power, but also views on what is just and good.

It is unavoidable that the criteria intersect, or even seem to be different sides to the same coin. At the same time, it is important to notice their differences. As an example, there is a difference between *providing* necessary services (criterion B) and *accessing* the what such necessary services produce (criterion A).

As previously mentioned, using literature on work, income and ownership in combination with identified aspects in the municipal planning was chosen as a method for development, as it provided

an opportunity to think outside, and investigate possible meanings, of established norms for the concepts and to place the thesis firmly in a Swedish planning context. Other possible methods for the developments could have included to start out with already existing criteria and measurements of similar subjects and see how these were formulated and how they could be re-formulated, using literature and planning investigations as input. An original idea was to use national goals for public health, gender equality etcetera, but these goals proved to be both clearly connected to economic growth and far away from the specific context of municipal planning. However, they could surely be interesting to investigate and re-evaluate from a perspective beyond GDP growth within another field than that of planning.

Due to their broad and international approach, the Millennium Development Goals of the United Nation would probably not have made a very useful starting point for this thesis. However, one of them, eradicating world poverty and starvation, did eventually at least in part find its way in in the form of criterion one, which deals with freedom from poverty and discusses what that could mean. Moving from goals to measurements, one measurement I could have used as a starting point is the Human Development Index (HDI). The HDI was developed by the United Nations Development Programme and is used as an alternative to GDP for measuring human development on a national scale. The HDI takes into account life expectancy, educational attainment and income, each with a set minimum and maximum (UNDP, 2014a), while the Inequality-adjusted Human Development Index (IHDI) also takes inequality into account, lowering the HDI score if the above mentioned qualities are unequally distributed (UNDP, 2014b). While the IHDI can be a powerful tool to show development and changes in these aspects of life quality and to discuss the effects of different national policies, it is still problematic. As an example, even though the HDI and IHDI takes into consideration the halt of human well-being after a certain income level, the “income” aspect still only takes officially registered or estimated incomes into consideration. This leaves out other resources and economic activities outside the current officially acknowledged economic system of the country in which they occur, like discussed in Chapter 2.1 above. Furthermore, while working conditions are probable to affect life expectancy, it does not say much about how employment or work is organized or how it is experienced by its participants.

Another example of such a measurement is the Happy Planet Index (HPI). The HPI was developed by the new economic foundation (nef) as an efficiency measure that ranks countries on how long and happy lives they produce per environmental unit, using life expectancy and collected statements of experienced well-being, divided by the ecological footprint (nef, 2014). It says nothing about

formal economic performance, and it could be interesting to see how a nation performs with HPI in relation to the suggested criteria, and what impact their implementation might have on the investigated country's HPI performance.

These criteria can provide a starting point for further investigations on the meaning of socio-economic sustainability and justice within the field of work and coming research on connections between urban form and work, now and in a society beyond growth, and should be complemented with continued research, and possibly even be broken down into quantifications under coming economic assumptions. With more time, it could also be useful to include a workshop with practising planners and researchers, or to interview people who are actively operating within alternative economies in the respective municipalities to see how they perceive the situation and imagine differences.

Further research on the subject would also do well to go deeper into questions of justice than I have done here. In my original approach to the subject, I intended to further connect it to equity and gender equality, but in the end it was left as a prerequisite for the suggested criteria. At the same time, e.g. criteria A lies close to a possible definition of equity.

3.2 Changing economies, the municipality, and the urban form

To return the starting point of this thesis: Is municipal planning really where we should discuss issues of jobs and income? That depends.

Although the municipality is self-governing according to the Swedish constitution, it is not an isolated unit; while municipalities may have different priorities, they are far from independent from the nation. The municipality is governed by national law, and influenced by regional, national and global conditions. This means that if, as Malmaeus (2011) suggests, Sweden is locked onto a growth track, so are its various municipalities. This is also true for planning politics. As seen throughout the planning-related documents, the connection between jobs and growth seem to remain solid – growth is a way to jobs is a way to income is a way to growth, meaning welfare and well-being for all. As part of the current economic system, this is hard to escape on a planning level. Even Övertorneå, which in its coming comprehensive plan explicitly take position against and presents itself as an alternative to the consumerist society, has to bend to the rules of the economy. With a prevailing national government system, whatever de- or zero-growth policies need to happen will have to be done on an international and national level as well as locally.

But there are also other possibilities. Gorz (1999) expressed a strong belief in the life-changing abilities of the structure of the urban fabric, and used Dutch cities as an example of how the urban shape could promote participation in other activities than production and consumption. And as mentioned in the introduction, urban areas of any size are inevitably shaped by what type of (economic) activities it has seen, whether it has been agrarian, industrial, religious, for transit or for trade. Explicitly exemplified by both Övertorneå and Norrköping, cities will also transform when the economic activities change: their physical structure and its use will change with the economic activity, and the physical structure can be changed to create or attract certain types of economic activity.

But while we have indeed seen that the physical urban structure is related to the activities in the city, it is unlikely that this would mean that it would be the same for all cities – especially that it would all look like similar to Amsterdam, as Gorz (1999) hinted. Rather, if locally particular economic activities becomes a bigger part of the economy as discussed by e.g. Gibson-Graham (2006), they might gradually come to shape the city according to their particular needs – something which is already seen in some urban areas with permanently declining formal economy.

Gibson-Graham (2003) have expressed the need of seeing non-capitalist economic activities in the economic terrain in order to leave behind the view on localities as economically dependent on global market forces, which proposes a necessity of recognition of these types of activities from the side of the municipalities. Not all who investigate zero growth are convinced that it will be the end of capitalism. But it is clear that economic profit can no longer be the main driving force of economic activity, which would greatly change the premises for capitalism (ibid.). If, as proposed in Norrköping, a variety of types of wage-jobs within the regular labour market can make it less vulnerable to changes in the (still growth-oriented) economic structure, a variety of types of economic activities and possibilities to work outside the mainstream paid sector could also prepare it for a zero-growth future. But even now, thinking about employment in other ways than as job creation can also be a way of catering to other economic activities. Because even though the municipal planning will probably have to continue catering to “the market” as long as it is locked onto the growth track, planning can choose to make affordable room also for those economic activities that perhaps do not clearly, not immediately, contribute to economic growth, but in other ways to people's well-being; maybe not clearly to “jobs” but all the more to the creativity and meaningful employment of the people involved.

Perhaps then ambitions such as the Botkyrka creativity goal, which aims at encouraging initiatives

to both activities and to the physical space, can be part of the municipal planning, and urban planners can provide with our knowledge on how to carry out these types of changes. While planning may have changed from a top-down perspective to one with high expectations on the power of “the market”, the parallel tendencies of citizen participation and emerging trends of insurgent planning could pave ground for an altogether new planning. Perhaps this could be through a slightly different organization, where we again ask what needs to be done rather than hoping for the market to do it. This is already seen in many cities with economic decline, where people have come to have small monetary resources in comparison to their time-resources: Berlin, Leipzig and Detroit are well-used examples of cities whose shapes have changed with economic decline. While these cities have suffered from such decline, they have also changed not only through urban decay but also with a forth-grow of urban gardening and non-profit meeting places.

Also, while much of the municipal planning is motivated with respect to commercial activity and jobs, that does not mean that the elements of planning that currently consider this would necessarily change with a less growth- and job-oriented type of politics. As an example, the fact that Boverket (2012) motivate the creation of a well-functioning urban structure by its capability of attracting new inhabitants and companies – something that is highly present in the comprehensive plans investigates in this thesis – does not mean that a well-functioning urban structure would not be necessary or desirable if attracting new companies were less important, or if fewer people commuted to jobs, or whatever could be the case in a society beyond GDP growth.

Some of the possibilities of the municipality are already being done, or suggested, as through the minimum wage policies of Övertorneå or the six hours work days of Gothenburg, and the actual proposal of a municipal basic income in local currency, even though the latter would probably not made Norrköping into the “winner of the competition” for companies it aims to be. In Övertorneå, the glimpses of a different order of labour show as formulations of a will to provide an alternative to consumerism, as small-scale work communities, as providing opportunities for reindeer husbandry even when this is not a big part of the local economy. It also becomes prevalent when Kemppainen explicitly states that jobs are not the most important thing: life quality, health and housing comes before the question of work. The Botkyrka “creativity” strategy, although or maybe partially with the help of it being less than clearly formulated or investigated yet, could hold the potential of being a reminder during decision making, of how wage-labour within capitalism is only “the tip of the iceberg” (Gibson-Graham et al, 2013) and what potential lies in other economic activity.

In the literature, we have also seen more radical interpretations of what a municipality could come

to mean and what role it could come to play in a different economy. While we should remember the distinction between a municipality and a community in the current society, we can still use the two to think about different possibilities for future organization of work, provision of services and ownership.

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5. Appendix

5.1 Interview guide for municipalities

How prioritized are jobs in the municipal planning?

How does that influence the planning?

What regarding jobs is important for the municipality? Where? Where can one find these priorities?

Are there any different views on jobs in the municipal planning? If so, what?

Do you think about sustainability issues for jobs? In that case, how?

In what part of planning can one find issues of jobs and income? Are they visible in comprehensive planning?

In your opinion, what political goals or dimensions are missing in planning?

Botkyrka: How does the "creativity" goal play into this? Can one look at it from a work perspective?

Övertorneå: Is the mentioned reindeer husbandry important for the municipality?

Norrköping: Why did you choose to establish the college campus in Norrköping? Has it changed the premises for work?

5.2 Original elements for the framework for analysis

- Providing necessary services (Sanne, 2007)
- Necessary and meaningful work (Sanne, 2007)
- Full employment, everybody's equal access to jobs (Jackson, 2009; Sanne, 2007)
- Fair distribution of work (Jackson, 2009; Sanne, 2007)
- Creativity, satisfaction of using one's skills (Sanne, 2007)
- Being part of society (Jackson, 2009)
- Community feeling through completing tasks together with others (Sanne, 2007)
- "The necessary work" as according to Marx – Everybody's needs are met, even those unable of labor (Jackson, 2009; Sanne, 2007)
- Decent working conditions (Jackson, 2009; Sanne, 2007)
- Dematerialized production (Jackson, 2009)
- Economic growth (Jackson, 2009; Sanne, 2007)

5.3 Framework for analysis with planning document excerpts in Swedish

	Norrköping	Botkyrka (citat genomgående från förslaget till ny översiktsplan)	Övertorneå (citat genomgående från gällande översiktsplan)
Necessity of providing services (Sanne, 2007)	<p>”En miljö som vi kan leva i och att vi kan försörja oss” (ÖP02, kap 1-3 p. 56)</p> <p>”För att få hållbarhet och väl fungerande samhällen är handeln en av hörnstenarna. Handeln är nödvändig för vår överlevnad” (ÖP02, kap 1-3 p. 59)</p> <p>”Syftet är att stötta utvecklingen på landsbygden och i kommunens mindre tätorter för att slå vakt om den befintliga servicen där” (ÖP02, kap 2-1 p.124)</p>	<p>”Vi har också ett allt större behov av att föra in stora mängder varor till storstadsregionens växande befolkning och näringslivets behov av att snabbt kunna transportera och hantera högvärdiga produkter ökar” (p.64)</p>	<p>”Bebyggelseområdena samverkar huvudsakligen med jordbruksområdena. Kommunen motsätter sig inte att ny bebyggelse uppförs i alla byar. De som väljer att bosätta sig i de minsta byarna måste dock räkna med att samhällsservicen är något sämre. Endast de större byarna har skolor, affärer och kommunala vaanläggningar. Skolskjutsar, hemtjänst och biblioteksbussar täcks inom hela kommunen.” (p.54)</p>
Necessary and meaningful work (Sanne, 2007)			
Full employment, everybody’s equal access to jobs (Jackson, 2009; Sanne, 2007)	<p>“Människor med olika utbildningsnivå och bakgrund får lättare att komma in på arbetsmarknaden I en region med en större och mer diversifierad arbetsmarknad än I en mindre” (Gemensam ÖP f Norrköping och Linköping, s.15)</p>	<p>“Botkyrkaborna har arbete” (p.16) som första utmaning.</p>	
Fair distribution of work (Jackson, 2009; Sanne, 2007)			
Creativity, satisfaction of using one’s skills (Sanne, 2007)	<p>(IMPLICIT THROUGHOUT ALL DISCUSSIONS OF CHANGING THE TYPE OF ECONOMY)</p> <p>“Möjlighet att utveckla privata och politiska visioner och ambitioner” (ÖP02 kap 2-1 p.100)</p> <p>“Chansen att finna önskat jobb ökar” (Gemensam ÖP för</p>	<p>“... möjlighet att nå sina drömmar på lika villkor” (p.17)</p> <p>“Som kommun vill vi ge nya och befintliga företag och andra aktörer möjlighet att förverkliga sina ideer, det vill säga vi vill ge utrymme för deras kreativitet.”</p>	<p>”Orsaken är att många flyttar till de större kommunerna eftersom dessa erbjuder en mer differentierad arbetsmarknad och ett bredare utbildningutbud.” (p.11)</p>

	Norrköping och Linköping, s.52)	(p.84) ”Som kommun vill vi ge nya och befintliga företag och andra aktörer möjlighet att förverkliga sina idéer, det vill säga vi vill ge utrymme för kreativitet. Vi vill att Botkyrka ska vara platsen för en betydande andel av regionens företagande och platsen för olika verksamheters spännande idéer.” (p.91)	
Being part of society (Jackson, 2009)	“Att vi kan försörja oss” som en del av “delaktighet så att tillräckligt många är med i samhället så att det inte försvagas av inre motsättningar och också tål yttre påfrestningar”, som en del av hållbarhet	“Alla, oavsett kön, socioekonomisk bakgrund och funktionsnedsättning, behöver ha tillgång (socialt och fysiskt) till storstadens och samhällets alla arenor – arbetsplatser, utbildning, institutioner. Det stärker den sociala sammanhållningen i regionen.” (p.59) “Tillit, samhörighet och hemkänsla” som något som stärks av arbete i Botkyrka (p.61)	
Community feeling through completing tasks together with others (Sanne, 2007)			
“The necessary work” according to Marx - Everybody’s needs are met, even those unable of labor (Jackson, 2009; Sanne, 2007)			”Den lokala infrastrukturen har fått vidkännas förluster främst genom den nästan helt nedlagda gränsbevakningen. Även andra statliga servicefunktioner och produktionsenheter har reducerats eller upphört. Vägar och andra viktiga funktioner har getts ett försämrat underhåll. Ökade kostnader för el, uppvärmning, vatten och annan

			<p>infrastruktur har gett ökade påfrestningar på företag och hushåll. Minskade lokala penningströmmar pga arbetslöshet och utflyttning har påverkat den kommunala ekonomin och övriga samhällsfunktioner. Bostadsmarknaden har förhållit sig relativt stabil och överskotts lägenheter har hittills kunnat avyttras utanför kommunen.” p.15</p> <p>”Kommunen stora problem är istället befolkningminskning. Underlaget för den kommunala servicen minskar och skatteintäkterna blir också mindre.” (p.121)</p>
Decent working conditions (Jackson, 2009; Sanne, 2007)			
Dematerialized production (Jackson, 2009)	<p>”Vi skall vara stolta över vår historia. ÖP skall stödja en utveckling från en tung industristad till en stad med mer kunskapsintensivt företagande.” (ÖP02, kap 1-2 p.7)</p> <p>”Kunskapsintensiva företag är centrala för Norrköping” (ÖP02, kap 1-3 p.48)</p> <p>”... en tidigare stor industristad som haft svårt att möta de förändringar som skett under de senaste tjugo åren och där arbetsmarknaden varit ensidig och otrygg” (ÖP02, kap 1-3 p. 55)</p> <p>”Etableringen av Campus Norrköping har gett kommunen och inte minst staden ett uppsving. Allt fler kunskapsbaserade och tekniskt kvalificerade företag väljer att etablera sig här” (ÖP02, kap 2-1 p.126)</p>		

	<p>”Städerna har som ambition att utveckla ett expanderande näringsliv inom storstadsbranscher, dvs branscher med många kunskapsintensiva och företagsnära tjänsteföretag” (Gemensam ÖP för Linköping och Norrköping, p.52)</p> <p>”Fler kommer att vara välutbildade och jobba i tjänsteföretag, med samtidskultur eller i olika besöksnäringar” (GÖP, p.71)</p>		
<p>Economic growth (Sanne, 2007)</p>	<p>”Ger planen förutsättningar som stimulerar till ekonomisk tillväxt och ekonomisk välfärd i kommunen? - Näringslivsstrukturen och tillgången till företagslokaliseringar i kommunen är god” (ÖP02, kap 1-3 p. 47)</p> <p>”Möjlighet att öka sysselsättning, tillväxt, gynna nya affärsidéer” (ÖP02, kap. 2-1, p.100)</p> <p>Ökning med 35 000 arbetsplatser som förutsättning för ekonomisk tillväxt (GÖP, p.55)</p>		<p>”Övertorneås ekonomi skall vara fortsatt stark och balanserad med god och effektiv hushållning av de samlade resurserna” p.16</p>
<p>Cultural heritage (Övertorneå, 2010)</p>			<p>”År 1917 förbjöds renskötelse nedanför lappmarksgränsen. Konflikterna mellan renskötelsen och jordbruket ansågs vara alltför stora. I Kalix och Torne älvdalar bedrevs dock renskötelse av ålder och tradition ända ner till kusten. Myndigheterna försökte stoppa denna sedvana men det misslyckades på grund av lokalt motstånd. I 1928 års renbeteslag legaliserades renskötelsen i dessa områden. Denna typ av renskötelse bedrivs på koncession och kallas därför koncessionsrenskötelse. För att få tillstånd att bedriva renskötelse krävs tillstånd av Länsstyrelsen. Det</p>

			<p>primära villkoret är att den sökande är renskötselberättigad enligt rennäringslagen, d.v.s av samisk börd . Koncession lämnas för en viss tid, högst 10 år vilket innebär att koncessionshavaren har rätt att inneha egna renar samt att ta hand om skötesrenar från markägare till jordbruksfastigheter i byarna.” (p.40)</p>
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