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Successful Public Policy: Lessons From the Nordic Countries

Editors:

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Introduction

There is a generalized narrative of 'high performance' and 'good government' around public policy and public administration in the Nordic Countries, reflected in notions such as the 'Nordic' or 'Scandinavian' Model of welfare states and industrial relations, the Nordic region as a stable high-trust part of the world. It is also reflected in the iconisation by international media and think-tanks of high profile policy successes such as 'Finnish schools', 'Scandinavian parental leave schemes', and 'Norway's pension fund

The celebration of governance in the Nordic region emanates in no small measure from international institutions such as the OECD, highlighting policies such as social investment, enabling parents to combine work and family life (Kvist, 2015), and the European Union, underscoring the value of the flexicurity model for labour market policy (Viebrock and Clasen, 2009). International scholars, especially from the US, have been fascinated by the capability of small states, especially the Nordic countries, to be fully integrated in the global political economy, while maintaining high levels of social cohesion, growth and well-being (Cox, 2004; Martin, 2013).

The Nordic countries have also been routinely portrayed as the world's happiest, and in terms of governance and economic growth, even as 'the Next Supermodel' (by *The Economist*). Moreover, much of such praise comes from high-level performance statistics and bird's eye perspectives on Nordic political institutions, policy styles and administrative traditions (Castles and Obinger, 2008; Painter and Peters, 2010). Other scholars, often from within the region, have been much more guarded and have had a keener eye for nation-specific historical trajectories and institutional arrangements (Simola et al., 2017) and cross-country differences and variations in performance over time (Kauto et al., 1990; Stephens, 1996) as well as in other policy domains such as housing and urban development (Nordic Council of Ministers, 2005), education (Dovemark et al. 2018), and environmental policy.

The Nordics have been widely lauded for the remarkable consistency and resilience of their equality-enhancing universalistic social policies and their activating labor market policies across three decades of economic turbulence (Kvist and Greve, 2011; Barth et al, 2014; Dølvik et al., 2015). In spite of this, the Nordic polities were unable to dodge the tidal waves of political volatility, populism, polarisation and radicalization that have rolled across Europe in the past two decades (Fladmoe, 2012; Jungar and Jupskås, 2014). Likewise, despite their consistently high scores on good government, happiness, better life and a range of other global indexes, the Nordic countries have not been spared their share of wicked problems such as environmental degradation, disengaged youths, violent gangs, people smuggling, hate crimes, home-grown terrorist attacks, and transboundary conundrums such as the global financial crisis of 2008-9 (which hit Iceland particularly hard) and the Covid19 pandemic. In these policy domains and in response to these common challenges, there is little evidence of a 'Nordic model or even regional coordination in the way the various Nordic governments

operate (e.g. Laegreid and Rykkja, 2018; Kotajoki, 2018) - though each in their own way displayed agile and effective responses to the financial crisis, for example (Dølvik et al, 2015).

In addition, research has suggested that since the 1990's the corporatist policy style, characterized by consensual democratic governance and a strong and active presence of interest groups in policy formulation and implementation, that was long entrenched in the region has been subject to growing pressure. Some studies (e.g. Christiansen and Rommetvedt, 2002; Lindvall and Sebring, 2006; Christiansen et al., 2010; Svalfors, 2016) report a gradual shift in the Scandinavian policy-making style in the direction of more informal interaction between the state and organized interests, more ad-hoc lobbying and advocacy, heightened conflict, and the growing importance of new policy actors such as policy professionals, think tanks, and other producers of policy ideas.

Notwithstanding these caveats, there is little room for doubt that students of good government and successful public policy have much material to work with in Northern Europe. It is all the more surprising therefore, that as yet there are only few in-depth, granular, case-studies of some of the most remarkable policy achievements within the Nordic countries (cf Scott, 2014; Øvald et al, 2019; Sörensen and Torfing, 2019). In fact, detailed academic case studies of public policy successes have been comparatively rare worldwide. This has started to change very recently (McConnell, 2010, 2017 and forthcoming; Compton & 't Hart, 2019; Luetjens, Mintrom & 't Hart, 2019; de la Porte et al., forthcoming), as scholars begin to recognize the importance of not just counting but understanding government's positive accomplishments at a time when public disenchantment with government, politics and democracy is spreading like wildfire and seeping through in social trust, social media dynamics, political attitudes and electoral behaviour.

Contributing to this emerging wave of 'positive' public governance scholarship, the aims of this book are to see, describe, acknowledge, and promote learning from past and present instances of highly effective and highly valued public policymaking in Finland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway and Iceland. This book project is embedded in a broader project led by 't Hart exploring policy successes globally and regionally. It is envisaged as a companion volume to OUP's 2019 offering *Great Policy Successes* (Compton and 't Hart, 2019) and to a concurrent volume project on policy successes in Canada that is also being submitted to OUP. Bringing together 21 tightly organised case studies of successful public policies from 5 Nordic countries, this volume provides rich material for teasing out comparisons within and across countries and sectors, also to reflect on the myths and realities of the 'Nordic model'.

Rationale and design of the volume

Through public policies, governments have enormous potential to shape the lives of their citizens. Actions taken at any given time can affect both present conditions and future trajectories. Much is at stake when new public policies are forged or when established ones are reformed and it behoves governments to learn from past experiences and both avoid earlier errors and well as emulate past successes.

To a certain extent, the academic policy literature has lagged behind these developments. In the 1970s scholars produced classic accounts of public policy, now ensconced in the canon of academic research worldwide and academic curricula in universities everywhere, but which

focussed attention on policy failures rather than successes. Among two best-known works from this foundational set of policy studies in the US, for example, are Pressman and Wildavsky's *Implementation* and Peter Hall's *Great Planning Disasters*, which showcased and explored public policy failures. These studies showed that although having seized a much more prominent role in public life following World War II, Western governments had internal complexities which combined with the vagaries of democratic political decision to often thwart their ambitions.

Somewhat unintentionally, generations of public policy and public administration students were steeped in such pessimistic diagnoses from these and waves of similar studies which followed them (Butler et al, 1994; 't Hart and Bovens, 1996; Gray and 't Hart, 1998) and the 2010s (Allern and Pollack, 2012; Crewe and King, 2013; Light, 2014; Schuck, 2014; Opperman and Spencer, 2016). Although this did provide a firm analytical grounding of the institutional, behavioural, political, and media dynamics contributing to the occurrence, framing, and escalation of public policy failure, it largely ignored or downplayed policy success.

This discourse has been quite influential. Day in, day out, media reports and social media discussions about alleged government failures continue exacerbate this negative frame, with significant implications for public perceptions and appreciation of government institutions. Though significant, however, the story of endemic government failure ignores the fact that in the Nordic countries perhaps even more frequently and consistently than in other parts of the world, public projects, programs and services have often performed well, sometimes exceptionally well, and sometimes for decades on end (see Bovens, 't Hart and Peters, 2001; Goderie, 2015; Roberts, 2018), generating as well as benefitting from high levels of generalised public trust (Rothstein and Oslaner, 2005; Rothstein, 2013).

And yet, to date most academic students of public policy have had little to say about 'how the sausages are made' in the genesis and evolution of instances where governmental steering efforts have been remarkably effective, generate benefits to all, remain popular and have stood the test of time. The net impact of the lack of focus on this 'up side' of government is that the current generation of students and young scholars in public policy and governance cannot properly 'see' and recall, let alone recognise and explain successful policies and programs in their own countries.

This book is designed to help to turn that tide. It aims to help reset agendas for teaching, research and dialogue on public policy performance both within and beyond the five countries of the Nordic region by systematically examining outstanding cases of policy success, providing a foil to those who focus only upon errors and mistakes. It offers a series of close-up, in-depth case study accounts of the genesis and evolution of stand-out public policy achievements, across a range of jurisdictions, sectors, issues and time periods. By constructing these case narratives while systematically engaging with the conceptual, methodological and analytical challenges of researching and debating success public policy, we hope to inspire a generation of teachers and researchers in policy analysis. What our field needs is a more balanced focus on both the 'light' and the 'dark' sides of the performance of our political and public sector institutions.

In this volume, we will adopt as our working definition the description of a successful public policy used by 't Hart and his colleagues in the prior volumes, which asserts that a policy can be regarded as a success to the extent that it: demonstrably achieves highly valued social

outcomes and a broad base of public and political support for these achievements and the associated processes and costs; and manages to sustain this performance for a considerable period of time even in the face of changing circumstances.

Of course, like ‘failure’, success is not a matter of indisputable fact. We can monetize or otherwise standardize costs and benefits of policy processes and outcomes, we can set time frames and construct comparators across time and space to document our assessments. But there are also the lived realities and situated perceptions (‘where you stand depends on where you sit’) of different actors and stakeholders to be taken into account. Also, helicopter (e.g. ‘net benefits to society’) and granular (‘inequitable distribution of costs and benefits to different groups in society’) vantage points may lead to stark differences in assessment and interpretation of policies and programs.

Labelling a policy or an agency as successful depends on which stakeholders are involved, the positions they take, and the political environment. Public perceptions, political support, program legitimacy, and institutional reputations all come into play in shaping whether a new government initiative or entity is considered successful or not. As McConnell, Grealy, and Lea (forthcoming) remind us, case studies of policy outcomes should go beyond ascertaining whether a particular program successful from the point of view of the government that undertook it; they should also probe the extent to key actors within and outside government have been successful in shaping the program and reaping its benefits. In that sense, all policies and programs harbor particular configurations of success and failure depending on which and whose vantage points one uses in assessment.

Questions thus abound for each case study author. For example:

- Successful in what regard, for whom, at which point in time, relative to what benchmark?
- Successful in actually ‘doing better’ to achieve public purposes, or primarily in making the public ‘feel better’ through more effective framing and dramaturgy?
- How do luck (context, zeitgeist, chance events, crises) or skill (political and public service craftsmanship in design, timing, political management, public relations) each play their part, and how do they affect one another?

In structuring the case study narratives and analyses, we provide case authors with a framework adapted from Compton and ‘t Hart (2019) and Luetjens et al. (2019) that requires them to attend to a number of factors and employ certain analytical perspectives in designing and reporting their case studies (see Table 1). Two assumptions underpin it, building on Bovens and ‘t Hart (1996) and McConnell (2010).

First, it presupposes that balanced policy evaluation requires a multi-dimensional, multi-perspectivist, multi-criteria approach to assessment.

Second, and inspired by Sabatier’s (1988) now classic Advocacy Coalition Framework, it presumes that the success or failure of a public policy program or project cannot be properly assessed unless one looks at its evolution and impact across a decade or more from its inception.

Table 1: Dimensions of Policy Success: A Map for Case Assessment

Programmatic success:	Process success:	Political success:
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Purposeful and valued action	Thoughtful and effective policy making practices	Many winners, firm support and reputational benefits
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A well-developed <i>public value proposition</i> and <i>theory of change</i> underpin the policy • <i>Achievement</i> of (or, considerable momentum towards) the policy's intended and/or of other <i>beneficial social outcomes</i> • The pleasure and pain resulting from the policy are <i>distributed fairly</i> across the field of institutional and community stakeholders 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The design process ensures carefully considered <i>choice of policy instruments appropriate to context</i> and in a manner that is perceived to be correct and fair • The policymaking process offers reasonable opportunities for <i>different stakeholders to exercise influence</i> and <i>different forms of expertise</i> to be heard, as well as for <i>innovative practices and solutions</i> to be attempted before key policy choices are made • The policy-making process results in <i>adequate levels of funding, realistic timelines, and administrative capacity</i> • The delivery process effectively and adaptively deploys (mix of) policy instrument(s) to <i>achieve intended outcomes with acceptable costs</i>, and with limited unintended negative consequences 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A wide array of stakeholders feel they have been able to advance their interests through the process and/or outcomes of the policy • The policy enjoys relatively high levels of social, political and administrative support • Being associated with the policy <i>enhances the reputations</i> of the actors driving it (both inside and outside government).
<p>Success over time: Consolidation and endurance</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>High levels of programmatic, process, and political efficacy are maintained</i> over time • Stable or growing <i>strength of social, political and administrative coalitions favoring continuation</i> of the policy over time • Emerging narratives about the policy's success <i>confer legitimacy on the broader political system</i> 		

Case selection and outline

Methodologically, the volume proposed here follows in the footsteps of the classics noted earlier; the works of Hall and Pressman and Wildavsky in that it presents a series of up-close, case studies of (in this instance, successful) public policymaking - in the Nordic countries. The cases have been carefully chosen, after canvassing dozens of public policy experts and former officials, including through discussions and calls for topics and authors. Public policy experts were asked to identify cases they considered exemplary examples of successful public policy and were provided with the definition of what constituted a successful policy and shown the lists of cases from Compton & 't Hart (2019) and Luetjens, Mintrom & 't Hart (2019).

Following this process, the editorial team compiled a long list of well over a hundred suggestions for cases. The case selection process that ensued was first of all geared to picking

policies which at face value (in the opinion of the experts we consulted) seemed to clearly ‘make the cut’ in terms of the four sets of success criteria specified in Table 1. Secondly, on the consolidation and endurance dimension of assessment in particular, we sought to get variation between: cases where public policies persisted seemingly effortlessly over long periods of time; policies which were considered successes but nevertheless were contested, frayed, and required significant adjustments over time; and cases where seemingly successful policies were nevertheless terminated over time. Third, we sought to include cases from different policy areas, to enable comparisons across different policy problems and subsystems. Finally, we had to find experts on these topics willing to author a chapter.

In all, we believe we have a salient mix of examples of successful public policy in the Nordic countries over the past few decades. Each in their own right offers powerful empirical stories about governments getting things right most of the time, and the authors will analyze how this happened. As such, each case study presents an instance of actors, institutions and processes of public policymaking coalescing to positive effect that can be dissected and debated in classrooms. From an analytical perspective, the suite of cases presented will allow policy researchers multiple lines of comparative, pattern-finding and process-tracing inquiry.

The final selection of cases and authors -- and thus the chapter outline of the volume -- looks as follows (note: *abstracts and author bios can be found in Appendixes A and B*):

Chapter 1 - Introduction: Studying Policy Successes in the Nordic countries
Caroline de la Porte, Jaakko Kauko, Daniel Nohrstedt, Paul ‘t Hart, Bent Sofus Tranøy

Chapter 2 - The Nordic Model: Policy Success or Branding Success?
Bent Sofus Tranøy

Denmark (editor: Caroline de la Porte)

Chapter 3 - Success through innovation and partnerships: The Danish Unemployment Insurance Reform of 2017
Jon Kvist

Chapter 4 - Early childhood education and care: A Danish social investment success
Trine P. Larsen and Caroline de la Porte

Chapter 5 - Cancer treatment: A Danish health policy success?
Peter Triantafillou

Chapter 6 - The success of Danish wind energy innovation policy: Combining visionary politics and pragmatic policy making
Rinie van Est

Chapter 7 - Organic Food Policy in Denmark: Successfully Promoting Green Consumption
Carsten Daugbjerg & Yonatan Schwartzman

Norway (editor: Bent Sofus Tranøy)

Chapter 8 - Gender quotas: ending male dominance in corporate boardrooms
Mari Teigen

Chapter 9 - Making Norwegians read local: State support for Norwegian literature and literary institutions
Fredrik Engelstad

Chapter 10 - Student financing and social equity in Norway
Jostein Askim

Chapter 11 - Vision Zero: Norway's successful struggle against traffic deaths
Ketil Raknes

Chapter 12 - The Norwegian Pension Fund: hitting two flies in one stroke
Camilla Bakken Øvald and Bent Sofus Tranøy

Sweden (editor: Daniel Nohrstedt)

Chapter 13 - Sweden's policy of neutrality – a flexible success story
Douglas Brommesson

Chapter 14 - Gender equal parental leave use in Sweden: the success of the 'daddy quota'
Ann-Zofie Duvander

Chapter 15 - The Swedish Child Vaccination Program
Paula Blomqvist

Chapter 16 - From Coincidence to Cornerstone: The Swedish Tax on Carbon Dioxide
Åsa Knaggård & Roger Hildingsson

Chapter 17 - Reforming budgetary institutions: The case of Sweden 1992-1997
Andreas Bergh

Finland (editor: Jaakko Kauko)

Chapter 18 - The Finnish model of Conscription: Organizing National Defence in a Modern Nordic Welfare State
Jarkko Kosonen, Juha Mälkki

Chapter 19 - Housing First: A success story of the Finnish homelessness policy?
Kirsi Juhila & Suvi Raitakari

Chapter 20 - Gender quotas for Finnish local government: Success by coincidence
Anne Maria Holli

Chapter 21 - The Finnish baby box: from health innovation to social policy symbol
Karoliina Koskenvuo & Ella Näsi

Chapter 22 - Evaluation of quality in comprehensive schools: success by stealth?
Jaakko Kauko, Hannele Pitkänen, Janne Varjo

Iceland (editor: Paul 't Hart)

Chapter 23 - Economic recovery from financial meltdown (2010-2020)
Bent Sofus Tranøy

Chapter 24 - Learning From Policy Successes up North: National, Sectoral and Regional
Patterns

Caroline de la Porte, Jaakko Kauko, Daniel Nohrstedt, Paul 't Hart, Bent Sofus Tranøy

Common structure and focusing questions for case study chapters

To increase the book's accessibility and use for teaching purposes and to facilitate thematic comparisons across cases *we ask case authors to address the following analytical questions* derived from the above framework, and broadly use the following section structure and word limits in crafting their case studies:

A policy success? (2000 words)

1. What is this case about and why is this policy (or program, project) included in this volume? What, in other words, is its fundamental 'claim to success' in terms of the definition and the four assessment dimensions of Table 1 above?
2. What if any 'counternarratives' to the success assessment have been offered? If so by whom, and how are these to be interpreted in the ongoing politics of the policy and polity in question ?

Contexts, challenges, agents (2000 words)

3. What social, political, and institutional contexts are relevant to understand the framing, design and execution of the policy? What history, fault lines, alliances and opportunities played into the origins and evolution of the policy in which the policy (program, project, initiative) was developed?
4. What specific challenges was the policy seeking to tackle, what if any specific aims did it seek to achieve? For which -and whose - problems was the policy a solution?
5. Which actors were principally involved in the policy process, and which were most affected by its enactment and implementation?
6. Who were the policy's main advocates, entrepreneurs and stewards? What drove them to take up these roles? How did they raise and maintain support for the policy?
7. Which actors were opposed to it, skeptical about it, or trying to get it amended or terminated? What tactics did these actors/coalitions use?

Design and choice (2000 words)

8. How did the policy design process – the progression from ambitions and ideas to plans and instruments – unfold? What role did evidence/analyses play in this process? What if any innovative practices were employed and to what effect?
9. How did the political decision-making process leading up to its adoption – the progression from proposals (bills, proposals) to commitments (laws, budgets) – unfold?
10. In this constellation of actors, interests, design practices, political moves and countermoves, when and how did a supporting coalition that helped carry the policy forward come into being?

Delivery and endurance (1500 words)

11. How did the implementation process unfold, and how did it shape the eventual reception and impact of the policy?
12. How did the political and public support for the policy evolve over time unfold? To what extent did the original coalition driving its adoption remain intact (or expand/contract)?
13. Did the policy's key components (goals, objectives, instruments, delivery mechanisms) remain intact over time? If not, what level of change (or abandonment) ensued, and how did it come about (see Howlett and Cashore, 2009 for a usable framework)?

Analysis and conclusions (1000 words)

14. To what extent can this case be seen as emblematic (or atypical) of national, 'Nordic' or sectoral policy regimes?
15. What unique factors may limit how broadly the lessons from this case can be applied (in terms of political, social, or economic context, or policy domain, etc.)?

Maximum chapter length: 8500 words(including figures and tables, exclusive maximum 500-word reference lists)

Target market

This edited volume is expected to be of high interest to students of public policy and public management, as well as practitioners working in all levels of government. The primary market comprises university students and public-sector practitioners in the Nordic region. We expect the book or parts of the book will be adopted across undergraduate and graduate programs in political science, public policy and public administration in Finland, Sweden, Denmark, Norway and Iceland. The market extends to professional and executive education programs for five national and numerous regional and local government bodies, and more than a dozen public policy and public administration programs across the region. In addition, given the high profile of 'the Nordics' as high-performing countries in international benchmarking exercises and public governance scholarship more generally, we also expect there to be a significant uptake of the volume across and beyond Europe.

Timeline

Chapter authors have been asked to meet the following deadlines, to ensure completion of the volume by the end of 2021 and publication in mid 2022:

- a. First drafts of case study chapters: 8 March 2021
- b. Authors workshop: 15-16 March 2021
- c. Second drafts: 17 May 2021
- d. Editing process, fine-tuning correspondence with authors, ms production completed: 1 October 2021
- e. Ms off to publisher: November 2021; publication Summer/Autumn 2022

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Appendix A. Chapter outlines

Chapter 1

Introduction: Studying Policy Successes in the Nordic countries

Caroline de la Porte, Jaakko Kauko, Daniel Nohrstedt, Paul 't Hart, Bent Sofus Tranøy

This chapter will set the context for the volume. It will be an expanded version of the main body of the book proposal presented above.

Chapter 2

The Nordic Model: Policy Success or Branding Success?

Bent Sofus Tranøy

There is a long tradition in both the social sciences and popular discourse of lifting forward one “supermodel” at a time (Schwartz and Tranøy 2019). In the post war era, this history takes us from American Fordism in the 50s and French Indicative planning in the 60s, via the Japanese developmental state and German inflation fighting in the 70s through to NICs in the 80s, American labour market performance in the 90s and Danish flexicurity in the noughties. Since the start of this millennium, celebration of the “Nordic Model” has dominated the discourse on supermodels. The Nordic Model is thus a success *both as a brand* (unequivocally) *and – perhaps - in terms of actual governance performance* (more debatable but see the introductory chapter above).

In this chapter we describe the discursive context in which any research on ‘policy succes’ in and of countries such as the five covered in the volume will land - the construct of the Nordic Model. In particular, we bring the reader ‘up to speed’ with three key strands of writing about it. Firstly, political economy approaches explore the inner workings of the posited model. These highlight the complementarities between institutions producing relative equality, trust and economic efficiency and competitiveness. Examples range from how free health care and mass education is a social investment that produces a higher quality labour force and reduces burdens on business, to how welfare state expansion and family policies have increased female participation in the labour force, thus increasing both production and productivity (through talent pool effects) and the tax base. Another example is how institutionally facilitated wage compression speeds up creative destruction of sunset industries, while active labour market policies facilitate the transfer of manpower from sunset to sunrise. These studies are theoretically important because they challenge the face of the neoclassical truism that “there is no such thing as a free lunch”. At the same time, they have political appeal beyond the nordic world because they represent a plausible argument for “a third way” of pursuing redistributive ambitions while not impeding economic growth.

Secondly, there is the critical argument that neoliberalization has changed the Nordic Model so much that we can no longer speak of *a* model. A core issue is thus whether the model(s) can still be successful in the sense that it/they can continue to deliver on the promise to combine equality and efficiency. Some critics even claim that the Nordic Model has never really worked and because it is too paternalistic. They highlight social indicators where the Nordics are not performing that well, such as suicide rates or gendered labour markets.

Thirdly, there is a literature that focuses on the Nordic Model as a brand, emphasizing the social construction and successful travel of the concept, more than the inner working of the model as such.

The chapter will conclude by highlighting how each of these strands of theorizing and arguing about the Nordic model will likely respond to a book of 21 ‘success cases’ of public policy across five ‘Nordic’ countries.

Chapter 3

Success through innovation and partnerships: The Danish Unemployment Insurance Reform of 2017

Jon Kvist

In 2015, the Danish government asked a Commission (Dagpengekommisionen) of experts and the social partners to propose a new unemployment insurance system. The background was unacceptable high numbers of people losing benefits caused by a 2010 reform reducing the maximum benefit period from 4 to 2 years. Against expectations, the economic crisis persisted and social protection was failing, thereby risking to undermine the security element of the Danish Flexicurity Model.

Programmatic success was achieved by the new system providing better social protection and better chances of re-entering work than the old system without costing more, increasing unemployment or decreasing employment. Quickly, the Commission sat down to propose a modern unemployment insurance system found that the unemployed were rarely rational nor acting in their own self-interest as assumed in traditional legal and neoclassical economic theories. Therefore, the Commission proposed more flexible re-entitlement rules. Hence, the new system is based on an easy-to-remember 1:2 principle (one hour of work gives the right to two hours of benefit, with a maximum of one year). It also includes an innovative use of waiting days (placed every three months and avoidable through limited work). The personalized Employment Account gives unemployed up-to-date actionable information about the extra benefit period earned through work and the number of hours required to avoid the coming waiting period. In addition, to better cover new employment forms the distinction between self-employed and wage earners was left behind. Work measured by income from employment, self-employment and both became the basis for entitlement. Adopting behavioral insights and adjusting to a changing labour market increased both effectiveness and equality.

Process success was in part achieved by including the influential social partners in the Commission with hands-on expertise and experts that carefully incorporated behavioral insights into policy analysis as this had gained new legitimacy now that several theorists of behavioral economics have won Nobel Prizes: Herbert Simon (1978), Daniel Kahneman (2002) and Richard Thaler (2017). The political success was evident from the start as the reform proposal was adopted by the government and main opposition party plus other political parties after three days of negotiations (with only two minor adjustments). Once the social partners in the Commission were behind the proposal, it was difficult for any political party to oppose it.

It is too early to assess whether the case will be successful over time, but the social partner involvement in the reform proposal and the broad alliance behind its adoption bode for some endurance.

Chapter 4

Early childhood education and care: A Danish social investment success

Trine P. Larsen and Caroline de la Porte

Denmark has a long tradition of public funded childcare and often figures often at the very top of international and even Nordic comparisons, when it comes to childcare provision especially for children under the age of 3 years. In 2020, around 65 per cent of children under the age of three attend formal childcare, often on a full-time basis. Although these numbers have increased in the last decades, figures have historically been high with up to 45 per cent of children under three years attending formal childcare in 1995, compared to 42 per cent in 1985.

Danish childcare is heavily subsidized, administrated by Danish municipalities and for a large part publicly provided, and thus, affordable for most parents. It is available for all age groups of children and covers childcare in public kinder gardens, nurseries, afterschool care, registered and public funded childminders. Most formal childcare is publicly provided, but in recent years there have been financial cutbacks, and recent regulatory changes have to some extent shifted the care responsibilities from the welfare state towards the family, where, in particular, private providers have gained a more prominent role within the area of formal childcare.

This chapter examines how the Danish childcare services for small children (under the age of 3) have evolved since the 1960s, where the Danish childcare started to expand and changed towards a social investment strategy. This social investment strategy emphasizes the pedagogical values of childcare institutions for children's development, and explicitly aims to reduce social inequality and to provide the necessary cognitive skills for children to be able to be socially mobile throughout their lives. Child-care is also valued, because it strengthens women's access to paid work. Through interviews with key actors that are triangulated with historical policy documents, parliamentary debates and position papers by key actors, we examine key reforms that have been pivotal for the development of Danish childcare for toddlers from the 1960s onwards, but with a more in-depth analysis from 1998 to 2020. We focus on more recent childcare reforms, such as the childcare guarantee introduced in 1998, the privatization of childcare throughout the new Millennium, the upper threshold for childcare fees implemented in 2006 and the more recent reform on introducing children ratio per adults, introduced in 2019.

We argue that the Danish childcare services have been a policy success in multiple areas. Importantly, there is widespread support among policy-makers, social partners and the general public, in particular parents. Indeed, Danish childcare has successfully served multiple purposes in that it has enabled Danish mothers to continue in paid work during periods of childrearing as well as reduced inequality by securing children the best start in life through high quality daycare provided by skilled staff, which focuses on the pedagogical aspects of childcare. However, we also see slight policy changes over the last sixty years, where the first three decades were dominated by developing and expanding the childcare sector for all age groups. From the late 1990s, we see a shift in policy, where financial

cutbacks and regulatory changes gradually shifted the care responsibilities towards the family and private providers, as well as pressurized the quality of childcare with fewer staff, more children and less time for the individual child, leading to demonstrations by Danish parents for improved quality of childcare. Yet, stakeholders (parents) insist on quality, leading to the political decision in 2019 to have a general quality control mechanisms of 3 children per adult in the child-care institutions for the 0-3 year olds.

Chaper 5

Cancer treatment: A Danish health policy success?

Peter Triantafillou

During the early 1990s, it became increasingly clear that cancer treatment in Denmark was lagging behind most other Western European countries. Epidemiological studies revealed that the morbidity of most cancer diseases was remarkably high in Denmark. While the medical community called for more attention to cancer treatment, it took the political system some time to respond coherently to this situation. Subsequently, a series ad hoc interventions, a political momentum had finally accumulated by the end of the decade resulting in a series of systematic cancer plans starting in 2000.

The first cancer plan focused on an epidemiological mapping of the prevalence of the various forms of cancer in Denmark compared to other Nordic countries. This mapping showed that Denmark was lagging significantly behind its Nordic neighbours. The plan also included measures to enhance treatment capacity. The second cancer plan from 2005 introduced the so-called 'pakkeforløb', a set of organizational packages improving treatment flow and reducing bottlenecks and waiting times covering the most common forms of cancer. These packages, which were rolled out nationally in 2007, represent the most important improvements in cancer treatment in Demark for decades. Cancer plan 3 from 2010 aimed at further improving treatment flows by focusing on the phases prior to and following diagnostics and hospital treatment. This included early tracking, rehabilitation and palliative care. Finally, the current Cancer plan 4 introduced in 2016 basically seeks to consolidate the former plans by strengthening prevention and improving diagnostics and treatment flows.

While it is still too early to assess the full impact of these plans, it is evident that Danish cancer treatment has improved importantly. From 2005 to 2014 survival rates for Danish cancer patients improved significantly, though the same study also revealed that Denmark is still trailing Australia, Canada and Norway.

To understand this massive improvement of Danish cancer treatment we have to look not only at the actions of shifting governments, but also to the Danish Regions responsible for cancer treatment and a particular interest organisation, namely Kræftens bekæmpelse (KB). KB has been characterized as the most powerful civil society organization in Denmark. It musters more than 400,000 members, almost 700 employees, and a turnover of 750 million Danish Kroner. Around 60 per cent of its budget is devoted to cancer research conducted either by funding other Danish oncologists or by KB's own research center which is staffed by highly qualified researchers. KB is able to present policy proposals based on cutting-edge scientific analyses of the cancer problem at both individual and population levels. These capacities have been systematically mobilized since the 1990s in a tireless campaign targeting the shifting Danish governments, with a view to improve cancer treatment. With an expertise that easily matches that of the Danish Health Authority and the Danish Regions,

which are responsible for the oncological treatment at Danish hospitals, KB has seemingly been very successful in its endeavor.

This chapter will first map the successful improvement in cancer treatment and health outcomes since the early 1990s. It will then explore the content of these interventions and analyze the political processes leading to their adoption and implementation. It will focus on the role of key political actors, such as the Danish health authority, the Danish Regions and Kræftens Bekæmpelse.

Chapter 6

The success of Danish wind energy innovation policy: Combining visionary politics and pragmatic policy making

Rinie van Est

Governmental support is crucial for the development and use of wind energy and its integration in the electricity system, landscape and society. The Danish government has actively encouraged the development of wind energy for more than half a century, and with demonstrable success in terms of industrial policy, energy policy and political and societal support. Today Danish manufacturers, like Vestas and Siemens Wind Power, have a substantial share in the global wind turbine market. Wind power produced 47% of Denmark's total electricity consumption in 2019, and the Danish electricity system is able to manage that large amount of intermittent renewable power. And although it is difficult to find good places for new wind turbines, there is considerable political and social support to expand wind power capacity over the coming decade.

This chapter aims to assess and then clarify some key elements of the success of the Danish wind energy innovation policy. Visionary politics will be identified as one of the key enablers of this long term success. As an integral part of the societal resistance against nuclear energy, an alternative vision of the future of energy was developed in 1976, in which energy saving and renewable energy played a dominant role. Elements of this so-called Alternative Energy Plan influenced the Danish energy policy from the early '80s. Only a decade later, startled by the upcoming debate on global warming, this alternative vision became decisive for the Danish energy policy. This, from an international perspective early and enduring political support for sustainable energy development ensured that Denmark did not opt for nuclear energy and already inhibited the development of new coal-fired power stations in the early 1990s. This visionary environmental politics also provided a perfect breeding ground for a successful long-term wind energy policy.

The history of wind energy in Denmark is, however, non linear. It is characterized by successive periods of (relatively stable to hectic) development and crises. For example, at the beginning of 1982 the Danish home market almost halved, in the second half of the 1980s the California wind rush turned out to be both a heroic technological success as well as a devastating financial failure, in the early 1990s the Danish public opposed the development utility and private investor owned wind power developments, and in the early 2000s, it was feared that the newly elected right wing Rasmussen administration would largely stop its political support for wind energy.

This chapter aims to describe and analyze how the Danish policy so far succeeded to navigate such crises. Part of the answer lies in the fact that the governance of wind energy innovation

depends on a complex mix of political and societal support and environmental policy, energy policy, R&D policy, industrial policy, employment policy, financial and tax policy and spatial planning policy. The Danish wind energy story shows that a crisis or weakness in one area can be overcome by strengths in other areas. For example, when the many Danish wind turbine manufacturers went broke after the Danish wind boom, the existence of a basic home market, which was widely supported by the public, and the technical expertise built up in recent years, all helped to maintain the trust of entrepreneurs, financial institutions and the government in the future of wind energy.

Chapter 7

Organic Food Policy in Denmark: Successfully Promoting Green Consumption

Carsten Daugbjerg & Yonatan Schwartzman

Denmark is a frontrunner in developing and growing the organic farm and food sector, belonging to a group of four front-running countries also including Austria, Switzerland and Sweden. Organic consumption, measured as the share of the total food purchases, is the best indicator of organic food policy success since it resembles the degree of transition of the food market to demand more sustainable food. Since the late 1990s when comparable international sales data became available, Denmark has had the highest level of organic food sales. By 2018, Denmark was still leading with 11.5 percent of the food sold by retailers and online outlets being organic, followed by Switzerland with 9.9 percent. Sweden ranked third with 9.6 percent followed by Austria with 8.9 percent. Finland and Norway were well behind with 2.4 and 1.7 percent respectively. No data were recorded for Iceland (Willer et al., 2020, 68-69).

The Danish organic food policy has applied innovative policy measures and built governance arrangements, which makes it unique compared with other countries. We demonstrate that these two features of the policy has created the conditions for success. Firstly, the policy applies a wide range of policy instruments that affect both the supply and demand-side of the organic market. The relatively strong focus on demand-side policy measures has had a significant positive effect on consumption. Secondly, to implement the demand-side policy measures, the Danish government built collaborative governance arrangements with associations representing organic interests. States are not well equipped to create markets for organic produce. This requires organisation, skill and experience in marketing campaigns, and capacities to coordinate marketing activities with producers, processors and retailers. Organic industry associations had strong incentives to develop such capacities, but did not have the financial resources to do so. Through government subsidies for various marketing and product development activities, the organic industry associations, most notably Organic Denmark, were able to develop considerable capacities in organic marketing and market coordination. In this way, government objectives were linked with the market behaviour of producers, processors, distributors and retailers.

This chapter demonstrates that important preconditions for policy success is the ability to design innovative policies and to build policy capacity through collaborative governance arrangements.

Chapter 8

Gender quotas: ending male dominance in corporate boardrooms

Mari Teigen

The predominance of men in top-echelons of the largest corporations all over the world regularly attracts considerable attention. To address this problem and to promote change in the gendered structure of economic life, Norway introduced in 2003 gender quotas for corporate boards (CBQs), fully implemented in 2008. The main impetus for the move lay in the sharp contrast between Norway's general advances in gender equality and the seemingly immutable male dominance of its corporate boardrooms.

The CBQs regulation was first proposed as an extension of the regulation of gender balance in public boards, councils and committees in the Gender Equality Act, but was withdrawn during the legislative process. Following legal and political manoeuvres, the CBQs proposal landed into the Companies Act, albeit with some significant changes to the original proposal. Its scope was reduced from all Norwegian companies to a smaller number based on corporate form. At the same time, sanctions for non-compliance were much sharper than they would have been under the Gender Equality Act.

The direct aim of the CBQs was to achieve a gender balance (40-60 %) in the boards covered by the regulation. Its theory of change was that more women on the boards of companies covered under the legislation would also lead to better female representation on all company boards as well as in executive leadership positions. Moreover, it was expected that CBQs would improve companies' economic performance and lead to attitude change.

CBQs were successful in the sense that gender balance on boards was achieved at short notice and that the prevalence of male dominance in the business sector has been challenged and – to some extent – reduced (Teigen et al. 2019; Teigen and Karlsen 2019). Moreover, parallel regulations of CBQs have diffused to several European countries, i.e. France, Germany, Belgium, Spain and Austria and more – but only Iceland among the Nordic countries.

Chapter 9

Making Norwegians read local: State support for Norwegian literature and literary institutions

Fredrik Engelstad

Contemporary policies for state support of literature in Norway date back to the mid-1960s, when they developed in response to strongly felt worries about the future of Norwegian literature and the Norwegian language. Book sales were dwindling, and so was the quantity of new Norwegian fiction literature. The main policy instrument was the purchase by the state of a given number of copies of every fiction work written in Norwegian, which were then to be distributed free of charge to public libraries around the country. In addition, the state restricts price competition on books, thus protecting the earning models of local publishers and specialised book sellers.

Despite adjustments, the main architecture of the reform has remained stable since the late 1960s and it enjoys strong support in a broad authorizing environment. In addition to purely political agencies of Parliament and ministries, the system is anchored in a host of public agencies and peak bodies, as do similar systems of public support for theatre, the visual arts, and the news media.

Even though the Scandinavian countries are similar on a series of dimensions, in this field the state plays a much more active role in Norway than in Sweden and Denmark. Reasons for this difference may be found in the specific political history of Norway, specifically the role of its “poetocracy” in shaping its nation building, along with pressures to defend the minority language nynorsk. Though initiatives to develop literary policy came from various positions on the political spectrum, nevertheless, the strong role of the state bears the stamp of social democracy. The question arises, whether a strong state is compatible with liberal democracy. Given state subvention, is it in the long run possible to retain arm’s length distance to artistic creation? Such a system is obviously the object of conflict and pressures for changes, mainly from a libertarian or a populist position. The former holding that State support is unnecessary and counter productive to artistic quality; the latter claiming that taxpayers’ money should not support art works that people dislike and don’t understand. In both cases, some delicate issues of legitimacy are raised.

It is in this context, finally, that the quite complex question of how to evaluate the success of the support system will be discussed. In the national realm, relevant criteria may be number of books produced, sales, and the position of Norwegian fiction in relationship to other segments of the book market. International success may be measured by the number of translations and by the reception of Norwegian fiction abroad.

Chapter 10

Student financing and social equity in Norway

Jostein Askim

This proposed chapter will examine the success of Norway’s student financing policy, a policy that was initiated in 1947 and has been maintained ever since. The chapter will argue that the student financing policy can be considered a success not only because of its endurance, but also in programmatic terms: as intended, it has been a major contributor to social equity. Moreover, the policy has played an important role in taking Norway to the top ten of the world’s countries in terms of the share of the population with a higher education and to the top five in terms of social mobility and women participation in the work force. The policy has also been a political success in that it has enjoyed wide cross-party and stakeholders support, which in turn explains its remarkably longevity.

The context for the development of the student financing policy was the need to rebuild the country after World War 2, an economically depleted state and widespread poverty, and the growing political power of social democracy in Norway. By the 1960s, the post-war baby boom added another important contextual factor to the development of the policy: record numbers of youths.

The challenges the policy sought to tackle related to inequalities between the rich and the poor, between men and women, and between the urban and the rural population. Norway’s national unity government stated in June 1945 that: “Everyone must have access to a proper education, one suitable to their talents and skills, irrespective of their means and of where they live”. The policy represented a departure from past arrangements. From 1947 students could apply for funds from the state, without any form of security, although on a strict means-tested basis. The Labor Party was a main steward of the student financing policy, but compromises were formed with the parties on the right, thus securing cross-partisan support

for the scheme, a support that has been remarkably stable through seven decades, through shifts in government and in macro-economic circumstances.

The scheme has undergone several adaptations through the decades, changes that can be interpreted as steps made to maintain cross-partisan support. One example is the abandonment of means-testing in the 1970s, thus securing young people more independence from their parents and women more independence from their spouses. As a result, support for the scheme was expanded to the growing middle class; it was no longer an instrument benefiting only the poor. Another example is the introduction in the 1980s of a child support scheme for students, a change that alleviated concerns for declining birth rates due to women taking higher education and postponing having children. A third is the strengthening from the 2000s of performance-related repayment arrangements: a student's loan is transformed to a stipend on the condition that he/she completes exams and study programs. This alleviates a concern voiced by conservative politicians already in 1947: that taxpayers should not carry the burden of students living the easy life.

Chapter 11

Vision Zero: Norway's successful struggle against traffic deaths

Ketil Raknes

In 2018 more than 25000 people died on European roads. Traffic deaths is a major tragedy for the families of those involved, but it also diminishes productivity and economic growth. According to the World Bank a failure to invest in road safety could lead to a loss GDP-growth between 7 and 22% over a 24 year period. The EU is struggling to reach its goal of reducing the number of traffic deaths with 50 percent between 2010 and 2020 and the Commission recently moved the deadline to 2030. Norway is one of the few countries who have succeeded in a substantial reduction of traffic deaths.

The central feature of the Norwegian effort to reduce traffic deaths is Vision Zero which was adopted by the Storting in 2002. Vision Zero is a vision of a transport system in which no one is killed or severely injured. This policy has been implemented in an innovative cross-sectoral collaboration between Norwegian Public Roads Administration (NPRA), the police, the Norwegian Directorate of Health, the Norwegian Directorate of Education and Training, the county administrations, seven large city municipalities and the Norwegian Council for Road Safety. The strategy is based on 13 priority areas such as intoxication, speed, seat belts and securing children and progress on all areas are tracked by 136 follow-up measures.

Since 2010 the number of traffic deaths has been halved and 2019 was the first year ever where no children under the age of 16 died in traffic. Between 2015 and 2019 Norway has consistently been the safest European country to drive in both when measured as number of deaths per capita and per vehicle distance travelled. This chapter will assess the Norwegian efforts to reduce the number of traffic deaths in programmatic, process, political and endurance terms, as well as to account for why it has succeeded so well in all these respects.

Chapter 12

The Norwegian Pension Fund: hitting two flies in one stroke

Camilla Bakken Øvald and Bent Sofus Tranøy

The Norwegian Government Pension Fund Global (popularly known as the Petroleum Fund) is a resounding policy success in terms of producing socially desirable outcomes through a

carefully considered choice of policy instruments (a semi-flexible, rule based regime), based on a clear underlying theory of change (the economics of balancing welfare spending with competitiveness). The Norwegian state's ability to invest substantial amounts abroad combined with an ability to achieve sustained domestic growth compares favourably with other cases where governance structures have been exposed to large resource-driven income streams. Unlike Norway, other resource rich countries have squandered the opportunity to consolidate that wealth, experiencing corruption, poor governance and stagnant economic growth, a phenomenon that is referred to as 'the resource curse'.

This 30-year saga of successful macro-economic governance has another, somewhat shorter story of successful institutional innovation nested within it. Since 2004, the fund has been 'cleaned up' in terms of its investment portfolio. An external ethics council and an internal corporate governance unit have been put in place in order to ensure that considerations such as human rights and environmental concerns are integrated into the fund's investment strategy.

The guidelines and the accompanying structure were erected in response to widespread criticism and several scandals that came to light as the fund grew. News media and civil society organisations uncovered investments in companies whose business models were in stark contrast to official Norwegian government positions on important issues. The establishment of ethical guidelines can thus be deemed a success for the following reasons:

- They were crucial for the fund to maintain its legitimacy amongst a majority of the Norwegian electorate.
- The principles behind them, or more simply the investment choices they yield, have been copied by other institutional investors.
- They have contributed to moving the general debate on responsible investing forward, helping to open up a previously more closed field dominated by conventional finance theory
- They have contributed to socially desirable outcomes, i.e. through divesting from unsustainable industries such as palm oil production and beaching.

Chapter 13

Sweden's policy of neutrality – a flexible success story

Douglas Brommesson

Sweden's policy of neutrality stayed in place from around 1810 up until the end of the cold war and the Swedish membership in the European Union (EU) in 1995. Even after the membership in the EU Sweden has maintained a policy of military non-alignment and with regard to neutrality Sweden is today often described as a post-neutral country, maintaining values associated with neutrality. In the first part of this chapter the success story of the Swedish policy of neutrality is analysed. The policy is often described in terms of success since Sweden has stayed out of war for more than 200 years. It has been a policy with a clear objective: to stay out of great power conflicts and thus secure peace in Sweden. According to this narrative the programmatic success of the neutrality policy is hard to question.

Secondly, the process behind the programmatic success is analysed. Here the process success is regarded to be a more delicate issue, caught in a dilemma between public debate and secret deliberations regarding security issues. Nevertheless, the policy of neutrality has involved a flexible range of policy instruments (from active foreign aid to a strong national defence)

involving different stakeholders, active within different fields, and representing different instruments.

Thirdly, the chapter addresses the political success of Sweden's policy of neutrality, a success on several levels. At least after the end of WWII up until the end of the cold war, public support remained high and there was no serious opposition objecting to the policy. On the political level, the policy of neutrality represented a strong discursive order more or less impossible to break, even for parties that one could first suspect to be hesitant with regard to the policy. On the international level, Sweden's policy of neutrality strengthened the reputation of Sweden in terms of an exceptionally peaceful and internationalist-oriented state. Even today, with the membership in the EU and the official end of the policy of neutrality, there is a strong opposition in Sweden against any plans of a Swedish membership in NATO. The norms that once upheld the policy of neutrality seems to be still in play, which is an indicator of its endurance. This goes also for the Swedish security strategies; the Swedish security policy of today is often described in terms of autonomous and flexible, the same core strategies once associated with the policy of neutrality. The chapter concludes by arguing that the policy of neutrality seems to be alive and kicking, although officially declared dead.

Chapter 14

Gender equal parental leave use in Sweden: the success of the daddy quota

Ann-Zofie Duvander

The introduction of the Swedish parental leave in 1974 meant that also fathers for the first time had access to paid parental leave to take care for their newborn children. This right had been exclusive for mothers before but in a context where ideas of gender equality gained importance, and where mothers were needed on the labor market, it was possible to put forth a parental leave that was equally available to fathers and mothers. At the time it was debated to go even further and individualize the leave so that half the leave should be reserved for each parent. However, this was deemed too radical and indeed, very few fathers took up the right to leave in the coming years.

The question of how parents share the parental leave has been on the agenda throughout the decades and fathers' share of the leave increased only slowly up until the early 1990s. The radical reform of reserving one month to each parent, often referred to as the daddy quota reform then had a major impact on the gender equal sharing. There was a lot of debate and both public and political opinion expressed negative ideas on how this reform was an interference with family life and the freedom to organize the division of care and economic responsibility between parents.

Nevertheless, the reform had a major impact on leave division. Over night the share of fathers using the leave went from approximately 40 per cent to almost 80 per cent. Since the reform the question of gender equal leave division has continued to be on the agenda and often seen as a key factor for gender equality both in the homes and on the labor market. The opposition to the reserved month has not gained major support and the one month has been extended twice to today's three months reserved for each parent. Also, fathers' share of the leave has continued to increase and today a fair share of parents are sharing the leave more or less equally. The reform has also been the model for reforming parental leave into a gender equal system in many countries.

This chapter will assess the degree of success of this reform, review the history that led up to it and also consider how the reform produced further change.

Chapter 15

The Swedish Child Vaccination Program

Paula Blomqvist

This case-study describes the Swedish Child Vaccination Program, which is a national program aimed at vaccinating children against the ten most hazardous diseases. Vaccines are distributed on several occasions until the age of 12 and is administered by the Child Health Service Centers (CHSCs) (*Barnvårdscentraler*) and School Health Services. The level of uptake is high, 97%, despite the fact that vaccinations are voluntary. Studies confirm that parents have a high level of trust in the program and in the CHSC nurses that administer the first vaccination at the age of 18 months of age. As a result of the high vaccination uptake and the relatively long existence of the program which was created in 1974, most of the diseases against which the vaccines offer protection are under effective control in Sweden, with zero or very few cases in during recent years. This applies also to diseases like measles and rubella, which have become more common in Europe in the last decades. These positive effects on public health testify to the programmatic success of the vaccination program. The study will describe the origins and construction of the Child Vaccination Program, including a focus on the policy process and supporting political coalition, as well as its documented effects. Next, the study will also shed light on challenges to the program, including the spread of false information regarding adverse side-effects of vaccines and the lower levels of trust in the public health institutions in some religious and ethnic communities in Sweden. The chapter will end with a discussion regarding the determinants of policy success in this specific case and what lessons can be drawn from it. The discussion will highlight, in particular, the role of trust and the importance of policy instrument choice.

Chapter 16

From Coincidence to Cornerstone: The Swedish Tax on Carbon Dioxide

Åsa Knaggård & Roger Hildingsson

The Swedish tax on carbon dioxide, introduced in 1991, was as one of the first in the world. Over the years, the tax has become the cornerstone of Swedish climate policy and attracted widespread support. The carbon tax is seen as a great success and has become deeply entrenched across the political divides in Sweden. Internationally, the tax is often cited as an example of how to effectively tackle climate change. However, its introduction was based on a number of coincidences.

After assessing the policy's success, this chapter will depict three processes made the introduction possible. The first was that the Social Democrats, as the ruling party, shifted position from opposing economic instrument for environmental protection to supporting them. The second process was growing environmental and climate awareness, resulting in the Swedish parliament for the first time imposing a limit on carbon emissions. The third process, key in enabling the tax, was a reform of the entire tax system. The carbon tax was included with the double objective of providing a new tax base for revenues (shifting from labor to product taxes) and of reducing carbon emissions, which made it possible to secure

support for the policy. The preparation process was cut short, due to the tax reform, which left little time to organize political opposition.

Without the coincidence of these processes, it is uncertain if the tax would ever be adopted. The policy design of the tax was also coincidental and based on rule of thumb judgements. As being one of the first cases, the policy appraisal was mainly informed by theoretical calculations by economists. The tax rate was, and still is, the highest across the world, which after its introduction raised concerns among energy-intensive industries and conservatives. This opposition was effectively placated by significantly differentiating the tax rate for industry. Despite this, the carbon tax turned out effective in incentivizing economic actors to change behavior and spurring low-carbon investments, e.g. in renewable energy and district heating, which contributed to significant emissions reductions. In response to this, the tax received acclaim for being an effective policy and attracted support among new constellations of interest.

As of the 2000's, there was a broad political consensus, legitimating the tax as the cornerstone of climate policy, which testify to both the endurance of the policy and the ability to build a supportive political coalition. Swedish governments of different political orientations have actively nurtured a narrative trumpeting the success of the carbon tax.

Chapter 17

Reforming budgetary institutions: The case of Sweden 1992-1997

Andreas Bergh

In 1993, Sweden had experienced three consecutive years of negative GDP-growth. The budget deficit exceeded 10 percent of GDP, public debt was high and increasing, and the currency had depreciated 20–30 percent in one year. In OECD, Sweden was one of the countries hit hardest by the economic crisis of the early 1990s. Starting in 2008, another financial crisis created global financial turmoil around the world. This time, Sweden was much less affected, and instead its response to it was praised internationally as role model for its handling of the crisis. Public debt increased only marginally and continued to decrease after the crisis. While Sweden in 1993 differed in many dimensions for Sweden in 2008, a crucial factor for public finances and public debt is the reform of Swedish budgetary institutions finalized in 1997. The reform can be seen as a case of policy making Swedish style, characterized by pragmatism and facilitated by experts and public commissions. It has been argued that the budget decision can be viewed as a prisoners' dilemma and that the budgetary reform in fact strengthened democracy in Sweden. While the reform of the budgetary institutions is a well-defined case-study on its own, it was also part of a much larger reform process of economic and welfare state policies in Sweden.

This chapter will summarize and complement existing accounts of how Sweden implemented and maintained rules that essentially constrained government spending, and discuss why these rules are still in place today, despite increasing criticism, also from academic economists. The chapter also discusses what the reform meant for Sweden's handling of the 2008 financial crisis and discusses the lessons for other countries – as well as for Sweden in the future. Hereby the analysis will shed light on the reform process through programmatic, process, and political dimensions and also present an assessment regarding its endurance through time.

Chapter 18

The Finnish model of Conscription: Organizing National Defence in a Modern Nordic Welfare State

Jarkko Kosonen, Juha Mälkki

This chapter aims to analyse the political and societal success perspectives of Finnish conscription as part of National defence and Comprehensive security framework. Several European countries have significantly reduced general conscription, developed it to be more selective, or transferred completely into a professional military system in the post-Cold War security environment. Therefore, it is interesting to discover, that current security environment have raised reconsiderations around conscription in many states.

Finnish conscription and conscript service is a political success. The current model receives widespread support in Finnish society, including among the whole age cohort of young men and volunteer women. We present a brief history review of Finnish conscription and mirror conscription system to the societal and political situation of modern Finnish democratic welfare state and its future.

The first model of the Finnish conscription took shape in 1878, when Finland was part of the Russian Empire. After independency in 1918, Finland formed armed forces that were relying heavily on conscription. Conscription was stated to be mandatory to all Finnish male citizens. Militia-based system was considered, but it was rejected. Although the minimum duration of the service has varied from almost two years to modern duration of six months, the foundations of the Finnish Conscription have remained through time (endurance success).

The role of the state has been significant in the history of conscription, and conscription has been argued to be a supporting process for the construction of the nation state in Finland, recruiting the soldiers to fight for the state as a part of their civic duty. Conscription incorporates the question about the power of the state, the nation, its rulers and the subjects, who make personal sacrifices for the state. Conscription has also played an important role in young men citizen in education, social cohesion and socialization into society.

Conscription has been closely related to the establishment of democracy in most of Western European countries. Three inter-linked political-societal processes have been discovered, in contemporary conscription discussions, that have affected the development of conscription in Europe: emergence of the national citizen as an organizing principle in politics, the formation of state policies of compulsory service in the line army based on national citizenship and the initial mobilization of the wide swath of the people for war by the state.

Chapter 19

Housing First – A success story of the Finnish homelessness policy?

Kirsi Juhila & Suvi Raitakari

Homelessness has declined remarkably in Finland during recent decades. According to statistics homelessness has decreased from around 18000 (1987) to 5000 (2019) homeless citizens, and long-term homelessness has been diminishing seven years in a row. Reducing homelessness has been a political target in the Government's homelessness programmes since 2007, and the current Government's aim is to halve homeless by 2023 and totally

remove it by 2027. The homelessness programmes have been strongly based on the Housing First model (later HF). HF has thus a governmentally protected status as a successful policy initiative in Finland. HF has also been adopted as an effective way to tackle homelessness in municipalities and grassroots level work among homeless citizens.

HF emphasises independent housing as a human right. The idea is to provide housing first, and then – if needed – offer voluntary-based treatment and support services for former homeless people. The origin of HF is often located in 1990's United States from where its idea 'travelled' to Europe, and has since, especially from the beginning of 2000's been internationally promoted in research and politics as a successful initiative in reducing wicked long-term homelessness. It is presented as a humane, consumer-choice based and cost-effective solution compared to the traditional Treatment First model that combines housing and treatment as one 'service package' with requirements to e.g. sobriety. Despite the rather unanimous celebration of HF, its comprehensive implementation is rare. As an exception, Finnish HF policy and practice are often recognised and presented successful in the international housing research literature and media.

This chapter studies how HF achieved the status of the most human and effective solution to long-term homelessness in Finland, and in what regard it can be defined as successful? Who were the key actors in promoting it? What facts and evidence were produced to make it convincing? How was it narrated and generated in time? How different stakeholders and claim-makers, such as politicians, public servants, researchers, welfare workers and homeless citizens, were positioned in it? How special Finnish adaptation of HF was created during this process, and how is it realised currently? In the end the limits of HF and the potential risks of hegemonic success stories in politics, research and practice are reflected.

Chapter 20

Gender quotas for Finnish local government: Success by coincidence

Anne Maria Holli

In gender equality policy worldwide, the implementation of gender quotas for municipal executive bodies in Finland is a story of almost unsurpassed success. Although women had for decades been elected to local councils in relatively high numbers, there persisted a strong vertical gender segregation in the executive branch. Moreover, municipal committees various policy branches were horizontally gender segregated. In addition, there were huge geographical differences between urban and rural municipalities and various provinces in women's democratic representation. With the introduction of local-level gender quotas, these problems became history with a single stroke. Since then there has been 23 years of continuous gender balance in the municipal executive bodies.

In 1995, the Gender Equality Act was amended to include mandatory gender quotas of at least 40 percent of both genders in appointed public bodies such as state committees and advisory boards. The law also encompassed the executive bodies of the local government. Ten years later, a study found out that the compliance with gender quotas in municipal executive bodies was total, although the Quota Statute had not included any sanctions for that effect. The quotas moreover had started to transform local political practices and deputies' attitudes, with gender-balanced bodies increasingly being taken as the unquestioned norm also in areas outside of the quota appliance. Inversely, the quotas were much resented by a

faction of male deputies, mostly from centre and right-wing parties, as they felt that the quotas unjustly favoured ‘incompetent women’ over ‘competent men’.

The chapter investigates the factors contributing to this unprecedented success with quotas with the joint analytical framework of this volume. It shows that the quota success the local level did not come about by governmental design, careful planning or willingness of municipal authorities to promote gender equality in their midst but by sheer luck and a fortuitous configuration of contextual characteristics. Namely, the right-wing Aho government (1991-95) had not endorsed obligatory gender quotas, but they were added to the bill by chagrined women MPs during the legislative committee phase. As a result, there were no additional clauses for watering-down the implementation, but the wording of the statute was absolute. When, afterwards, the municipalities attempted to circumvent the quotas, they were hindered by existing legal framework of the Municipal Law and the Supreme Administrative Court’s strict interpretation of the paragraph during the ten years of attempts by municipalities to find legal loopholes for avoiding the quotas.

Chapter 21

The Finnish ‘baby box’: from health innovation to social policy symbol

Karoliina Koskenvuo & Ella Näsi

The Finnish baby box is a unique innovation that has gained international recognition and constant interest as a successful public policy promoting health and wellbeing. In Finland, the maternity grant, which can be obtained as a baby box (filled with baby clothes and care items) or a cash benefit, was at first intended for indigent mothers only (Maternity Grants Act in 1937). It has been a universal benefit since 1949 given to all expectant mothers, provided they attend antenatal care. Today, nearly all first-time mothers choose the baby box instead of the cash grant. As a universal benefit, the baby box has maintained its popularity among families with children and legitimacy within the society.

Today, Finland is known for one of the lowest infant mortality rates in the world. However, in the early 1900s, infant mortality was one of the highest in Europe and Finland was a poor agrarian society. Major public health challenges included e.g. low standards of living and general hygiene, and high mortality rates due to tuberculosis and other communicable diseases. Most Finns were not covered by a social security scheme. The history of the Finnish baby box is connected with many societal and political developments, which together have modified Finland into a modern welfare state.

The aim of this case analysis is to examine the baby box in the framework of different policy developments, political processes, discourses and zeitgeist in Finland, which first led to the introduction of the Maternity Grants Act and its amendments. The baby box has maintained its popularity and legitimacy e.g. in the perspective of universalism over time. Therefore, we will also analyse, which elements have made the Finnish baby box such an enduring and successful policy - the baby box has also been seen to promote Finland’s reputation as a society, which values children and families as well as equality.

Our approach acknowledges the different policies related to advancements in public health promotion, medicine and health care, hygiene, nutrition as well as wider societal advancements in the standard of living, level of education, social welfare provision, gender equality issues and family policy. As the Finnish baby box attracts continuous interest among

international policy makers, researchers and journalists, it is important to evaluate the Finnish baby box within the wider perspective of public policy and social security system developments.

Chapter 22

Evaluation of quality in comprehensive schools: success by stealth?

Jaakko Kauko, Hannele Pitkänen, Janne Varjo

While the global mainstream supports test-based accountability models, the Finnish education system runs counter to the global trend. Ensuring quality is highly decentralized and in the hands of the education providers and schools. There are no national standardized tests and instead only sample-based testing for development purposes is used. Only the main evaluation results are published making school rankings impossible. Previous research has noted these as silent features of a non-articulated Finnish education quality evaluation system in the comprehensive schools.

Evaluation of quality in Finnish comprehensive schools might qualify as a successful policy in terms of its shared legitimation. Overall, drawing on international rankings and public discourse, the quality is seen to be high and there is a general satisfaction with the outputs. It has also been offered as an international benchmark.

From a programmatic perspective, official evaluation criteria have only been articulated during the previous decade or so. Before studying it further, it is impossible to say whether or not we can see a clearly articulated programme. The process success is interesting given that the policy-making in this regard happens in the over 300 municipalities and is varied. We will analyse the research available on this. The political success is the most apparent one, where the policy, as uncoordinated as it is, is yet economical and teacher-friendly, which brings political kudos to the ones attached to it. For instance the national agency for evaluating quality in education has a good reputation and a strong position as a coordinating and supporting actor.

The current system developed in a specific historical context and has held a considerable path dependency even when facing with the trends of the international accountability-based testing policies. As we have pointed elsewhere, the durability is due to 1) the compartmentalization of international tests, 2) the fact that national coordination began to see a deregulated system as a necessity and virtue, and was long fragmented in different evaluation functions, and 3) the important role the local level has played historically in upholding and evaluating the quality of education.

Chapter 23

From ruin to recovery: Iceland's successful economic turnaround

Bent Sofus Tranøy

When it reached Iceland, the financial crisis of 2008 wrought one of the biggest banking collapses in history on this small, but economically successful island nation. The essence of the policy success discussed in this chapter is that a financial collapse, *did not*, unlike what was the case in Southern Europe, translate into a sustained crisis in the real economy.

This case of policy success is different relative to most other cases in this book, in that it obviously did not flow from a carefully evolved and duly *considered choice of policy instruments*. In acute crises such as Iceland's financial collapse, there is no time for this. But judging by its results the policy response was nevertheless *appropriate to context* and conducted in a manner that was *perceived to be correct and fair* by a majority of the Icelandic population. It is also, in hindsight at least, possible to discern an underlying *theory of change* that proved valid.

The situation which faced Iceland towards the end of 2008 was dramatic. Iceland's three main banks went bust more or less instantly. In total they had amassed balances corresponding to roughly 10 times the size of Iceland's GDP. Output contracted by 10 percent over 2 years, consumption fell by 22 percent and unemployment rose from 2.3 percent to almost eight despite a significant reversal of immigration flows. The state budget moved from plus 6 percent to a similarly sized deficit in 2011, while state debt rose from 28 percent of GDP to 130 percent.

By 2017 unemployment was back down under 3 percent, while 2017 GDP was 15 percent higher than its 2008 pre-crisis peak, almost as if the dramatic fall from 2008 to 2011 had not happened. This growth performance was on par with the US's, better than the 11 percent OECD average and much better than the Eurozone's 5 percent.

The main metrics by which we can evaluate Iceland's recovery are thus that it achieved a fast and robust recovery in terms of growth and employment. That this was achieved in a more equitable manner than what was the case in most other countries, and that this was done by way of procedures which enjoyed democratic legitimacy.

Broad economic recovery in a very small state where trends exogenous to the domestic economy and polity play an important role in shaping outcomes underscores the importance of reflecting upon the relationship between "luck" and "skill" in achieving policy success. The main causal factors at play in the Icelandic economic recovery are: control of one's own currency; the stance towards, and room for manoeuvre in, debt restructuring; labour market flexibility; and the design of austerity policy.

Chapter 24

Learning From Policy Successes up North: National, Sectoral and Regional Patterns

Caroline de la Porte, Jaakko Kauko, Daniel Nohrstedt, Paul 't Hart, Bent Sofus Tranøy

In this concluding chapter, we will conduct three types of comparisons to identify possible common concatenations of factors conducing to policy success. We will firstly look across cases within each of the five countries. Is there evidence of some form of national 'policy style' in how policymakers 'puzzled' and 'powered' - to paraphrase Hugh Hecló - their way through what were in most instances very different types of challenges set in very different sectoral arenas and shaped by (seemingly) distinct historical pathways. Secondly, and checking Bovens et al's (2001) findings and claims, we will examine clusters of cases in similar policy domains - e.g. social and family policy; economic and labour market policy, and environmental policy - to see whether sectoral rather than national traditions and styles have been shaping the policymaking patterns in those cases. Thirdly, we will return to the notion of the Nordic model as both a 'real governance' and a 'governance branding' success. Looking across all 21 cases, we will examine in what respects the emerging patterns of

policymaking lend support to the claims of a 'Nordic' style of governing representing not only a viable but close to a 'best-possible' way of navigating the challenges of contemporary public policymaking.

Appendix B. Editorial team and Authors bios

The editorial team

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