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Social Work, the Third Sector and Democratic Aspects in Welfare Provision: Cooperation between the City of Gothenburg and Non-Profit Organizations

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Abstract

The discussion of the third sector and its role in the provision of welfare has garnered remarkable attention over the last decade. The democratic potential of the third sector became a focal point in the debate; non-profit organizations are expected to communicate societal problems to political decision makers. They are important actors in welfare provision and social work. However, in each country, the third sector has grown out of a particular national history. For the Swedish case, the so-called “popular movements” played a significant role in the construction of the welfare state. New forms of collaboration between the public and the third sector were developed and debated in Sweden. It is a matter of particular interest to investigate innovative types of cooperation and their effects. The aim of this study is to identify different contributions of non-profit organizations regarding both social work and democracy. A particular focus is drawn to the cooperation between the third sector and the public service and how this affects the democratic contribution of non-profit organizations. With a critical approach power relations and organizational theories have been considered. The empirical body consists of qualitative data, compiled in a case study in Gothenburg, Sweden. The social economy department of the city provides financial and consultative support to non-profit organizations. Representatives from two of these organizations were interviewed, and additionally, interviews were carried out at the social economy department. The findings of the thesis reveal a trusting relationship between the organizations and the municipality; in a mutually beneficial way they are working together and learning from each other. Third sector social work functions a complement to the public service; they can provide service which the municipality cannot or is not willing to supply. However, non-profit organizations also adapt to requirements of the municipality and undergo a process of change. Besides the beneficial aspects the cooperation is also a balancing act. Non-profit organizations, obtaining support from the municipality, did not appear as radical organizations but rather, as flexible and creative contributors to welfare. It is conclusive from the analysis that non-profit organizations contribute to a progressive and deliberative practice in social work.

Key Words: Welfare, Democracy, Non-profit Organizations, Third Sector, Civil Society

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Chapter 1 – Introduction

Background

During the last century different forms of welfare provision have developed across Europe; alms and charity have, in many respects, been replaced by professional social service (cf. Petterson 2001, p. 13 ff). Social movements have been fighting for rights and social security and their implementation in social policy (cf. Roth 2005). Various types of organizations and institutions have been created to operate in the area of social work. Further, salaried social work and education has contributed to the professionalization of social work (cf. Sachße 2005, p. 672-673; cf. Petterson 2001, p. 63 ff). However, during the last twenty years the emergence and growth of the so-called third sector has again become a point of interest in practice and research. Located between state and market and integrated into civil society, the third sector has drawn attention to its development. Non-profit organizations (NPOs) can be identified as the main actor of the sector; their ties to state and market are more or less strong and vary from country to country and organization to organization (cf. Salamon 2001).

According to Salamon, one reason for the increasing interest in researching the third sector is the so called “crises of the state” (Salamon 2001, p. 29). Critique against the welfare state and its effectiveness has been mainly expressed by neoliberal scholars (cf. Hayek 2005). Programmes, such as New Public Management and Public-Private-Partnerships have been introduced in many European countries (cf. Trube 2001). However, the interest in the third sector is not necessarily originated from an economical angle; the potential of civil society and the chance of a process of democratisation can be found in many disquisitions about the sector (Anheier 2001; Wijkström 2001; Pestoff 2009). This latter perspective will be the point of departure to the thesis at hand.

Although, since the 1990s there has been increased interest in researching and supporting civil society and the third sector, still there are white spots of knowledge to be identified and analysed (cf. Salamon 2001, p. 30). The importance of a growing third sector has been described extensively in the beginning of the 2000s on a European level (cf. Priller and Zimmer 2001). Welfare is changing in the 21st century. Some scholars describe a welfare-mix (Pestoff 2009, p. 28 ff) other authors even mention a post-welfare arrangement (cf. Kessle and Otto, 2009) and the debate is ongoing. Politicians, regardless of their political orientations, have been elaborating on their awareness of civil society and the third sector and trying to use these concepts for their own purposes (cf. Trägårdh 2007).

It is just as much important to reflect about those developments from a social works perspective. What kind of risks and chances does this process contain? Can NPOs be understood as a critical contributor, providing a voice to their users or clients? Or do NPOs merely take over the work of the state? The Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project has drawn particular attention to the magnitude of the sector around the world. Different important findings and results of the study can be used for further research and will be presented in Chapter 2. The sector is growing and gaining importance (cf. Salamon 2001), but once the importance of the non-profit sector has been highlighted new questions arise.

Aims and Objectives

The aim of this study is to describe and analyse the relationship between NPOs and the municipality. The connection between third and public sector social work will be researched. It is the goal to depict elements of a progressive and democratic practice in the provision of welfare. First, the thesis will explore how the cooperation is organized in the city of Gothenburg, Sweden. The main characteristics will be carved out. The focal points are the value-based activities¹ of these NPOs and the support of the municipality. Second, a power perspective will be taken in order to analyse this cooperation. Different forms of influence and dependency will be considered. Third, the contributions of NPOs for the provision of welfare and social work will be investigated. In a fourth step, the democratizing function of NPOs will be analyzed. How do NPOs, anchored in civil society, contribute to a democratization of welfare? This work will research how this function develops and changes under cooperation with the municipality. The overall aim is to provide a contribution to the discourse of the implementation of third sector social work and to highlight successful and challenging aspects. A case study of two NPOs active in the city of Gothenburg and cooperating with the municipality will serve as the empirical base of the study.

Research questions

The underlying research questions for this study are the following:

- 1) How is the cooperation between the public sector and the third sector organized and institutionalized?
- 2) How does this affect the democratizing functions of NPOs?
- 3) In what ways does the political function of “giving voice to the users” contribute to a democratization of welfare through NPOs?

Definitions

The point of departure outlined above already included three central terms of the research, civil society, the third sector and non-profit organizations. In the following, these essential operative terms will be defined so that the particular point of view and important connotations are comprehensible for the reader. The presented terms are described from a particular theoretical angle according to which the analysis will be conducted. However, definitions are always debatable and criticized in one way or another.

Jürgen Habermas defines **civil society** in relation to societal problems and the public sphere. A central role is occupied by various types of organization that identify and communicate problems in society. Here the definition becomes connectable to the objective to the thesis. Habermas notion of civil society has an inherent deliberative and democratic connotation.

¹ A distinction between value-based activities and income-based activities will be made in the paragraph of “Context of the study”.

“Civil society is composed of those more or less spontaneously emergent associations, organizations, and movements that, attuned to how societal problems resonate in the private life spheres, distill and transmit such reactions in amplified form to the public sphere.” (Habermas 1998, p. 367)

Victor Pestoff introduces a notion of the **third sector** that is directly linked to civil society and as well connected to a social work perspective. His definition is characterized by ideas about complementation of welfare.

“The third sector is part of civil society in most advanced societies. It is separate from both the state and the market. [...] The social economy includes democratically run organizations and firms that produce socially necessary service not always provided by the state or market. [...] Thus, third sector and social economy provide a necessary complement to both public and private for-profit provision of basic welfare service.” (Pestoff 2009, p. 8)

In context of the Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project, Lester M. Salamon and Helmut K. Anheier introduced a broad definition of **non-profit organizations**. It is composed of five particular features. NPOs have to be: a) formally structured, b) organizationally independent from the state, c) not-for-profit, d) substantively administrated and e) to a certain extent driven by volunteers and not represented as a compelled association (Salamon and Anheier 1992, in: Priller and Zimmer 2001, p. 13). In addition, 12 different fields of occupation have been outlined, such as culture and recreation, environment, or religion, but here, the focus is directed to NPOs that are engaged in the area of social service (cf. Priller and Zimmer 2001, p. 14) and thus contribute to the provision of welfare. All other organizations, such as sports clubs or cultural associations are, more or less excluded from the thesis. To simplify matters, the term non-profit organization will be mainly replaced by its abbreviation “NPO”.

Context of the study

Civil society, the third sector, and NPOs are broadly discussed in politics and social science. In the present thesis a social works perspective will be taken; the organization and governance of welfare directly concerns the provision of social work (cf. Scherr 2001, p. 108). According to Walter Lorenz social work can be described as applied social policy (cf. Lorenz 2006), and this perception requires a reflection in the science of social work. Alteration in the provision of welfare inevitably has consequences for social work and requires a response from social work². Functions and tasks taken by NPOs need to be identified, described and analysed. Regarding NPOs as a potential and growing provider of Swedish welfare, their participation has to be accompanied by both support and critical observation. According to Wijkström, the Swedish third sector was characterized by the so-called “popular movements”; the current phase of integration and cooperation has been identified as the contract phase (Wijkström 2001, p. 92).

The objective of the present thesis is to study non-profit organizations that provide welfare. In a broader sense, welfare includes three key areas: education, health care, and social service (Wijkström 2001, p. 85). The focus, here is, more precisely, on NPOs that provide social service to different user groups and get financial and consultative support from the public service.

² In my diploma thesis I have argued that social work has to take actively part in the political discourse concerning the modeling of welfare. “The political potential of social work has to be directed into productive channels.” (Rölver 2008, p. 104)

In the Swedish system and also in other countries, NPOs sell service to the public service as well as provide their own unconditional service. This thesis focuses on unconditional service rather than the social services bought by the public service. The objective is organizations that obtain both financial and consultative support from the municipality. The financial support is distributed in form of a *selective allowance*. The city of Gothenburg grants these funds for the whole package of activities and services developed by the NPOs; this includes, for instance, the maintenance of the premises and the support of particular projects. Additionally many third sector organizations also obtain consultative support regarding strategic questions or the development of associational life and organizational training for members. In the Swedish context, the unconditional social service of NPOs is referred to as “ideella verksamhet”, but for the remainder of this report the term value-based activities will be employed. These value-based activities of NPOs have been deemed as important contributions to welfare and democracy in general (cf. Wijkström 2001, Pestoff 2009). The service that is sold to the municipality will be referred to as income-based activity. Many of those organizations do both sell services to the municipality and provide unconditional service. In a way, the value-based activities are also intertwined with the income-based activities; this is in particular the case for the two organizations studied in the present thesis.

It is important to study how NPOs function and the methods through which the third sector is able to contribute to the democratic development of welfare and society. It is the endeavour of this thesis to highlight important contributions of third sector social work that are distinguishable from the bureaucracy-led public service and the competition-based private sector (cf. Pestoff 2009, p. 29; cf. Trägårdh 2007, p. 13). The additional value produced by NPOs will be emphasised and scrutinized. It is the intention of the thesis to research how the collaboration between NPOs and the municipality affects the democratic function of NPOs; the question of power relationships will be raised. The viewpoint and the main level of reflection are on the sociological meso-level which is mainly concerned with organizations and their activities. However, macro aspects such as a democratic conception of welfare and micro aspects such as methods in the user contact will be considered as well.

The aim of the present thesis is not to provide final answers to the complex issue of civil society and welfare production or how NPOs should collaborate with the authorities. Rather, it is to follow interesting tracks, to discover patterns, to compare findings with theoretical disquisitions, and thus contribute to the scientific discourse. In line with the Swedish welfare model, social service will *not* be regarded as a commodity traded on the market. The principle of de-commodification will be regarded as a democratic aspect of welfare as described by Esping-Andersen (cf. Esping-Andersen 2006). However, new challenges have been described and the contributions of new actors shall be highlighted.

Central challenges

NPOs are deeply rooted in the history of social work. From charity organizations to the labour movement, social issues have been brought up by various organizations in various actions (cf. Petterson 2001, p. 23 ff; cf. Wijkström 2001, p. 78 ff). However, since the 1990s, third-sector organizations have experienced a renaissance. In many disquisitions this renaissance is linked with globalisation, neoliberal political agendas, or market and state failure (Anheier 2001; Onyx et al. 2009; Pestoff 2009). The current references to the third sector and its organizations might as well be

described as a trend in social science (cf. Trägårdh 2007, p. 21). From a social work perspective this might rather be remarkable since third sector social work occurs like a golden thread in the history of welfare production; however, different from regime to regime (cf. Wijkström 2001, p. 92). Nevertheless, this contribution, for the first time, has been broadly described and analysed by the Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project. The challenge of the present thesis is not primarily a crisis of the welfare state but rather the location of the third sector and NPOs in relation to government and public service. How can NPOs fulfil their function of making the people's voice heard under new forms of social governance?

New ideas for the provision of welfare, such as new public management and public private partnership, have been developed and implemented in many European countries, primarily, in order to overcome economic challenges (Tranvik and Selle 2007, p. 207 ff; Pestoff 2009, p. 7-8; Olk, Otto and Backhaus-Maul 2003 p. XXXIII). According to Vamstad, "the Swedish welfare state is experiencing a growing democratic deficit, which is a challenge that is not usually addressed as openly as the economic challenge" (Vamstad 2007, p. 13). Victor Pestoff has currently compiled three main challenges to the Swedish welfare state that lead to a democratic dilemma: first, low-quality public welfare service, second, low citizen participation in political life, and third, high costs in producing a universal welfare service (Pestoff 2009, p. 5). Pestoff further emphasizes the importance of power and influence in regard of the presented challenges; citizens, public employees and service users have a lack of power and influence regarding a progressive change in welfare distribution (Pestoff 2009, p. 6). This indeed is a democratic challenge. Accordingly, the question is how NPOs can contribute to make a difference, how they can secure the de-commodification of social service, fulfilment of social rights and addition of pluralism. How can they contribute to a revitalization of democracy? These questions require a critical view of NPO's contribution to welfare and the power balance between the public and the third sector. Pestoff regards the involvement of NPOs into welfare provision as the beginning of overcoming these democratic dilemmas (Pestoff 2009, p. 6).

By the end of the 1990s new hope had arisen from the discourse of the third sector. Embedded into civil society the sector could produce relief for various challenges. Across Europe, scientists and politicians have shown growing interest in the third sector (Trägårdh 2007). According to Salamon, market and state alone had not proven they could manage social challenges (Salamon 2001, p.30). On the other hand, the third-sector organizations had shown great promise in regard to modernizing welfare provision (Priller and Zimmer 2001, p.11). NPOs are ascribed a capability to manage questions of integration and socialization in pluralistic and post-industrial societies (Priller and Zimmer 2001, p.11). The third sector has been described as a significant element for supporting civil society and democracy (Priller and Zimmer 2001 p.7). According to the Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project, organizations in the third sector can be described as amplifier to the citizens' sorrows and needs. They fulfil controlling functions in regard of public authorities and by providing help in exigencies they perform a significant contribution to societal integration. (Salamon 2001, p.56) In other words, at the beginning of the new millennium the description and evolvement of the third sector carried great expectations.

However, third-sector organizations are facing challenges as well. According to Salamon, a lot of NPOs have developed a huge bureaucratic apparatus and many develop towards commercial enterprises. Third-sector organizations are challenged by the risk of losing contact to the grassroots. Their identity is questioned in a twofold way, regarding commercialization and bureaucratization. (Salamon 2001, p. 54)

Further critique has been evoked over the past decade. As Munck puts it, “[t]he price of professionalization and of even just ‘being heard’ has meant that many civil society organizations have ceased being agents of progressive social change and rather, can be seen to serve the ‘human face’ of neoliberal globalization” (Munck 2006, p. 328).

From a Swedish perspective, Wijkström asks critically in 2001, if non-profit organizations have, in the meantime, become a supplier of the state, instead of pushing social and political debate (Wijkström 2001, p. 96). Although, NPOs and the third sector have been described as a remedy to challenges in welfare provision, new questions have arisen. Great expectations and disenchantment go hand in hand. After the inventory survey of the Johns Hopkins University and its discussion, the discourse and research has become more specific. Various aspects are being discussed and researched after the detailed description and a widely shared appreciation of the sector.

Aside from expectations and critiques, debate is ongoing and new forms of involving the third sector into welfare production are constantly being implemented. New types of cooperation between the public and the third sector have developed in many countries across Europe as well as in Sweden (cf. Anheier 2001, p. 53 ff). An important aspect is how this relation between the two sectors is negotiated. In the city of Gothenburg the political will to cooperate with the third sector has been formulated and political initiatives have been taken. In Sweden, the current relationship between public and third sector has been characterized as “contract-phase”; NPOs are described as being partners with the public authorities (Wijkström 2001, p. 94; Jeppsson Grassman and Svedberg 2007, p. 130 ff). Hence, new forms of governing social welfare have been implemented. Power relations between the two sectors need to be analyzed in order to understand the structure of governance and the process of decision making.

One function ascribed to third sector organizations is citizen involvement and contribution to a process of democratization. NPOs serve as an amplifier for citizens needs and make them heard; exemplarily the Swedish popular movements can be mentioned. However, under an institutionalized collaboration with public authorities the exercise of this function might change. From a historical perspective it can already be said that the relation between third-sector organizations and the public service has undergone extensive change (cf. Wijkström 2001, p. 92). Here, the effect of an institutionalized collaboration with the NPOs on the transmission of citizens needs will be studied and evaluated. Further, newly developed forms of making citizens voices heard shall be explored. The input and the output of this cooperation will be researched in a critical way.

Keeping in mind the aforementioned expectations and disenchantments regarding the third sector it can surely be described as a balancing act. A case study of third sector initiatives in the city of Gothenburg/Sweden and its cooperation with the public sector shall be given as a clarifying example and a source of qualitative findings. The collaboration between the two sectors addresses issues of the democratization of social service and power relationships. It shall be asked if and how the third sector is capable of fulfilling its ascribed functions adequately under changing working conditions and with an institutionalized cooperation with the public service.

Chapter 2 - The discourse of third sector social work in the scientific community

Various research projects and theoretical assumptions have been made about the third sector. In the introduction to the thesis it has been already referred to a few of those studies. In the second chapter, the discourse of the third sector and NPOs will be conducted in a structured way. Important findings and connections to the present thesis will be outlined.

The Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project

The Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project can be regarded as a milestone in empirical research and systematic analysis of the third sector. For the first time an international comparable database has been collected. Two research phases have been carried out in the 1990s. The quantitative data has been acquired from more than 20 different countries around the world (Priller and Zimmer 2001, p. 12). A standardized definition of NPOs³ has been used and 12 different areas of activities have been considered.

Priller and Zimmer summarise the main findings of the research project in six different statements: The third sector is an considerable economic factor and still growing; The sector is an important motor for employment; Small countries in Western Europe carry worldwide the largest third sector; The structure of employment of the third sector is mainly dominated by welfare (education, health and social service); The revenues of the sector are mainly generated by own economical income and public funds; The sectors' embedment in civil society is gaining importance. (Priller and Zimmer 2001, p. 16-17)

Beyond these main findings further aspects of particular interest for the present thesis shall be outlined. Firstly, there is no connection between welfare statism and the size of the sector (Salamon 2001, p. 34). A country with a universal welfare state can still carry a huge third sector. There is a connection between the size of the sector and the wealth of a country, and there is a connection between the importance of the sector and the respective needs of the society (Salamon 2001, p. 33). From this perspective, Western Europe carries the world's largest sector. In Europe most employees work in the area of welfare, education, health care, and social services. However, the area of culture and recreation is also important, but mainly dominated by voluntary workers. Within the present thesis the focus is dedicated to the area of welfare.

Both in the USA and in Western Europe a growing market-orientation of the sector can be observed (Salamon 2001, p. 49). According to Salamon, in industrialized countries NPOs develop towards commercial enterprises. Further, many organizations have created a highly bureaucratic apparatus of organization, which makes them more similar to the public service. These two developments carry along a decrease of credibility; the contact to the grassroots level is impeded (Salamon 2001, p. 54). Nevertheless, Salamon states that the research project could show the importance of the third sector, when it comes to giving voice to the people and the members. Further, NPOs exert a controlling function over governments and contribute to social integration by the provision of social

³ The definition is introduced in Chapter 1

assistance. To show the societal function of the sector in a broad perspective and to appreciate this is the concern of the Johns-Hopkins-Project (Salamon 2001, p. 56).

The third sector in Europe

According to Anheier, the third sector in Europe gained enormous importance in political and economical regard (Anheier 2001, p. 57). In all European countries tremendous transformation processes can be observed in society; the role of the family, the function of associations, and the establishment of the churches are changing (Anheier 2001, p. 57). The phenomenon of globalisation and its impact on society has been described by various authors (Beck, 1997; Giddens 1997, p. 62 ff.). Structural change is also accompanied by a change of welfare and its provision. NPOs are more often being taken into consideration (cf. Pestoff 2009, p. 28). Priller and Zimmer state that the sector can play an important role in the process of handling individualisation and pluralisation in post-industrial societies (Priller and Zimmer 2001, p. 11). Additionally, the third sector is regarded as a guarantor for further democratisation and European integration (Anheier 2001, p. 72-73).

For Europe, Anheier outlines three empirical findings at the beginning of the 2000s; (a) the sector is expanding worldwide and has, for several years, provided an above-average growth in employment, (b) the market is advancing, (c) the social embedment of the third sector does not keep pace with its economical development (Anheier 2001, p. 58 ff.).

However, alongside these similarities, it is important to underline that the sector is characterised by national particularities (Salamon 2001, p. 32-33). Different regimes have generated different constellations of the third sector. Anheier presents five different concepts of the third sector for the area of Europe. Firstly, "Economie Sociale" in France, public enterprises and cooperatives are in focus, but civil society is rather neglected; secondly, "Associalism" in Italy, it can be understood as a countervailing power to state and church, situated on a local level and conceived as an instrument of civil society including aspects of a cooperative system; thirdly, "Charity" in Great Britain is based on the idea of care and the civic duty to individual responsibility and obligation; fourthly, the "Folkrörelse" in Sweden, the aim was a cooperation between the state and the "popular movement" (folkrörelserna) in order to implement welfare measures and programmes; and finally, the German model of "subsidiarity" involving family and voluntary welfare agencies (Anheier 2001, p. 63). These models, however, are rather historical prototypes which have changed over time.

Further, Anheier emphasises that the five concepts are a result of the industrial society and developed along the "social question". It has been criticised that the third sector's organization is still in line with the industrial age and thus not adequate for post-industrial societies in Europe (Anheier 2001, p. 64). Therefore it is important to research the organization and the societal functions of NPOs today. Is the form of organization still capable to fulfil this task today? What kind of new forms of organizations and cooperation are developing?

The third sector in Sweden

In the international discourse the role of civil society and NPOs in Sweden has often been underestimated; the third sector was described as relatively small and dependent on the state (Wijkström 2001, p. 77). According to a social democratic welfare model, the state is mainly

supposed to take care of welfare provision (cf. Esping-Andersen 2006, p. 169). Against this, a historical perspective can show that the Swedish popular movements played a constitutive role in the development of the Swedish welfare state (cf. Jeppson Grassman and Svedberg 2007). They functioned as a mediator between the citizens and the state (Wijkström 2001, p. 79). However, Svedberg and Vamstad point out that civil society scarcely has been debated in Sweden and further, its discussion is ideologically charged. Nevertheless, interest in Swedish civil society is growing in the scientific community (cf. Svedberg and Vamstad 2006, p. 233).

The Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project could highlight the important features of the Swedish third sector and remove the distorted picture by empirical results. Indeed, the quantity of employees in the sector is, with ca. 27 percent, relatively low (Wijkström 2001, p. 91). On the other hand Sweden has the highest number of volunteers in Europe, who are, for the most part, engaged in culture and recreation. About three quarters of the work in the sector is provided by volunteers (Wijkström 2001, p. 85). The main field of commitment and voluntary engagement is the area of cultural and recreation activities, such as sport clubs or cultural associations (Wijkström 2001, p. 84). As a whole, the third sector in Sweden is relatively independent from public funds (Wijkström 2001, p. 89). The activities of NPOs in the key areas of welfare, such as education, health care and social service, are relatively low in comparison to other countries. However, again in line with other western European counties, third sector activities in these key areas of welfare are mainly funded by the state (Wijkström 2001, p. 90).

For a deeper understanding of the Swedish welfare state and, the role of NPOs, and the third sector, a brief look into Swedish history is helpful. Wijkström presents a categorisation of different historical developments in the relation between the third sector and the government.

Table 1.1: Development of the relationship between NPOs and the state in Sweden (Source: Wijkström, 2001 p. 92)

Year	Description of relation	Institutional form of the sector
1850	Cooperation	Welfare Organization (Charity)
1890	Conflict	Popular Movements
1940	Consensus	Popular Movements
1970	Corporatism	Popular Movements
1990	Contract	Cooperatives, etc.

In the middle of the 19th century the “on trust based mutual dependence” between the third sector and the state lead to a consensus based relation (Wijkström 2001, p. 79). The principle of consensus became a main device of the implicit “social contract” guiding the relation between different actors in Swedish society.⁴ A significant role in the third sector has been taken by the “Folkrörelserna” (Popular Movement); their main task has been described as to negotiate between the citizens, the state and other actors in Swedish society (Wijkström 2001, p. 79). The historical overview can show a system of reciprocity between state and NPOs in Sweden. In the middle of the 18th century, the relation was characterized by a cooperation between the bourgeoisie, their charity organization and the state representatives. At the end of the century the relation turned into conflict, the popular

⁴ An important historical event in Sweden was the “Saltjöbadsavtal” 1938, a compromise between the labour unions and the federation of employers (Eurofound 2010).

movement became the driving force in third sector; their activities can be described as a response to the industrialisation and class war. The efforts of the popular movements were to a certain extent successful and they gained attention and influence in policy and politics. In the middle of the 1940s the relations turned into a phase of consensus. A division of work between the popular movements and the state contributed to the erection of the Swedish welfare state. About 30 years later the relation between the popular movements and the state was very close and interweaved, the organized interest gained excessive influence in political decisions. This phase was identified as corporatism. In the 1990s another shift towards a culture of contract was observed. Traditional welfare services such as youth welfare or education were opened for non-profit actors. The main premise was “complementation, not replacement”. (Wijkström 2001, p. 92-94)

However, the debate about the involvement of civil society and third sector organizations into welfare provision in Sweden was a contested issue. But today, according to Lars Trägårdh, the idea of civil society has established itself as an important concept (Trägårdh 2007, p. 9). The concept of civil society first appeared on the political agenda in the early 1990s; businessmen and the conservative party used it as critique against the social democratic welfare state (Trägårdh 2007, p. 14). A debate in Swedish newspapers started and a conservative think tank known as the Timbro Institute became the “institutional incubator” to neoliberal ideas, civil society and the inclusion of the market for provision of welfare (Trägårdh 2007, p. 15). This development created a counter reaction on the political left. Although, the issue of civil society early in the beginning of the 1980s was already part of a critical leftist discourse, criticising centralist power, it took a while until it became a recognized issue for the socialists (Trägårdh 2007, p. 18). The left was divided, some actors close to the labour movement and the syndicalist wing were supporters, and others regarded it as “dangerously romantic” because the poor, according to their perspective, would need a strong and protecting state (Trägårdh 2007, p. 18). Some actors developed ideas of “självförvaltning” (self-administration/ autonomy), supporting associations and cooperatives, but their success in changing the social democratic mainstream was limited (Trägårdh 2007, p. 19). However, issues of empowerment and decentralized democracy became part of the leftist discourse (Trägårdh 2007, p. 20). For the social democratic welfare state it became apparent that citizens were treated as clients and often felt disempowered in relation to the state (Trägårdh 2007, p. 21). The financial and economic crisis of the early 1990s in Sweden contributed to the discourse of civil society, and more generally, a debate about changes in the Swedish welfare model.

The Swedish third sector differs, to a great extent, from other industrial countries (Wijkström 2001, p. 78). Esping-Andersen has classified the Swedish welfare practice as a social-democratic model (Esping-Andersen 2006, p. 169). The principle of universalism and the de-commodification of Welfare are the two main principles of the social-democratic model. Ideally, every citizen shall enjoy the same social rights (Esping-Andersen 2006, p. 168). The debate about the involvement of other actors thus touches issues of a discourse about universalism versus particularism (cf. Ellison 2006). Wijkström wonders if the long-lasting neglect of third sector social work in Sweden had a negative impact on societal development; but, he concludes that such speculations are difficult (Wijkström 2001, p. 92). Vamstad describes the past (1980s) of Swedish welfare provision as being, to a large extent, produced by public services. For the present (2007) he still notes a domination by public service providers; however, he sees the inclusion of NPOs for small-scale provision of welfare (Vamstad 2007, p. 8). All in all Vamstad pinpoints that the Swedish welfare state has not undergone significant change, despite the recent opening towards service diversity (Vamstad 2007, p. 15). Nevertheless the

third sector is not yet formally included into Swedish welfare production (Vamstad 2007, p. 16). According to Wijkström it is difficult to say how the relation is going to develop (Wijkström 2001, p. 94). Social service in Sweden still is de-commoditized; not at least because of a *path dependency* (cf. Palier 2006, p. 362). Some authors, however, regard the acknowledgement of the third sectors' importance as a response to government and market failure (Pestoff 2009, p. 29). A discussion about welfare and democracy has been initiated.

It is an ongoing debate, throughout Europe and Sweden, how third sector social work can contribute to a more democratically anchored provision of welfare. Some authors regard the embedding of NPOs into civil society as an auspicious point of departure (cf. Clemens 2006, p. 207). An important aspect for a more democratic output in welfare provision is the relation between government and NPOs; this will be a main part of the research conducted in the thesis at hand. In Sweden and elsewhere the government sets the rules and requirements for the engagement of NPOs; third sector organizations carry out government policy (Amnå 2007, p. 176). According to Amnå the historical connection between state, market and third sector are under renegotiation; it is important to reconsider the role of NPOs, such as associations or the popular movement, and traditional beliefs need to be "demystified" (Amnå 2007, p. 178).

"Modern secular processes of institutional change affecting associations and society in general call for intellectual and political reassessment. This applies to both the general ideological and the financial support that local governments and the state provide to associational life on the assumption that it strengthens democracy" (Amnå 2007, p. 178).

In the Swedish scientific community, the concept of civil society was regarded sceptically at first. Today, not only is it seen as useful and legitimate concept, it has acquired a "most fashionable' status" (Trägårdh 2007, p. 21). It plays an important role in the discourse about revitalizing democracy and welfare in particular (cf. Pestoff 2009).

Government-Nonprofit relations

Steven Rathgeb Smith and Kirsten A. Grønbjerg have discussed different theoretical perspectives in order to study government-nonprofit relation. They highlight that government-nonprofit relations are important on different levels.

"The links between governments and the nonprofit sector are evident across several dimensions – in the legal framework under which nonprofits operate, in the role they play in the delivery of a wide range of value service, and in the efforts they make to influence the agenda for government action" (Smith and Grønbjerg 2006, p. 221).

Smith and Grønbjerg suggest a division into three possible perspectives: a demand/supply model, a civil society/social movement model, and a regime/neo-institutional model. In the following, the three models and their subcategories will be presented and the main aspects for the thesis will be extracted.

The demand/supply model suggests that NPOs meet needs that are not fulfilled by the government or the market; they absorb government failure and market failure. From a democratic perspective this is interesting because they meet not only the demands of the majority but especially those of powerless and marginalized groups. They fill a niche and they can test new methodological approaches more easy. According to this model, NPOs can be described as a main source of social innovation. Further, Smith and Grønbjerg introduce a perspective of transaction; from this angle,

NPOs provide a service that governments want to use for their own purposes. However, it is not only the public service facing failure; NPOs are also confronted with challenges, namely, amateurism, particularism, and paternalism. From this perspective a transaction between different public and third sector actors is required. But it is not easy to point out the costs and the benefits of such a transaction. During the last twenty years the development of the relation between NPOs and the public service has expanded and gone beyond contracts and financial support. Nevertheless, Smith and Grønbjerg point out that on one hand NPOs are vested in legitimacy by cooperating with the municipality, but on the other hand they lose room to manoeuvre because their management is required to follow law and administrative rules. This confronts NPOs with a dilemma; mission and purpose against capacity and sustainability. The relation between government and NPOs appear under this perspective as a mixture of competition and complementarity. (Smith and Grønbjerg 2006, p. 223-229)

The second perspective is the civil society/social movement model. Smith and Grønbjerg argue that the third sector, from a civil society perspective, is an epitome of particular values that are significant to democracy and good governance. NPOs are connected to empowerment and government is connected to a threat to innovation and pluralism. According to Smith and Grønbjerg the relation between government and NPOs from a civil society perspective is not of a partnership but of immanent tension subverting local initiatives and responsibility.⁵ Other authors, taking a civil society perspective, would see a relation of conflict but additionally communication and exchange is regarded as a tool for progress. NPOs are regarded as a discursive and innovative corrective for the public sector (cf. Habermas 1996, p. 367; cf. Trägårdh 2007, p. 10). NPOs are demanding policy change; this perspective would be missing in market models. Further, Smith and Grønbjerg draw particular attention to the creation of social capital. Firstly, voluntary organizations can remind government of transparency and accountability and hence improve the quality and effectiveness of public service. Secondly, they produce an alternative form of service, additionally to public service. Thirdly, engagement in NPOs strengthens civic participation and involvement in public debates. Further, the social movement approach is particularly focused on NPOs seeking social change. They have a “deliberately conflictual relationship with governments” (Smith and Grønbjerg 2006, p. 231); their purpose is changing government policy. Private concerns are transformed into public issues. (Smith and Grønbjerg 2006, p. 229-233)

The third perspective is the regime and neo-institutional model. The regime model suggests a comparison between different countries. One significant point of departure is welfare regimes as classified by Esping-Anders and introduced in Chapter 3 of this thesis. For the social democratic model, which currently prevails in Sweden, the de-commodification of social service and the universal access is typical and a relatively small third sector was described. Smith and Grønbjerg, as other authors (cf. Wijkström 2001, p. 77; Trägårdh 2007, p. 24), emphasize critically that the Swedish third sector, however, is not small as often expected but rather huge and vivid, especially when it comes to culture and recreation. The regime model is focused on historical or contextual features that contributed to a particular evolution of the third sector in a particular country as indicated above for the third sector in Europe. Beside Esping-Andersen’s class based distinction the role of state-church relations has been emphasized. The neo-institutional perspective, however, considers

⁵ It shall be noted that Smith and Grønbjerg derive their argument regarding the civil society approach mainly from examples from the United States of America. As it was presented, the relation between NPOs and the public service can differ in different regimes and as well as a civil society perspective.

government as the central actor; the institutional environment shapes the third sector. The development of NPOs depends to a huge extent on the legal, political, and institutional framework.⁶ The institutional perspective is focused on mutual dependency and synergism in third- public sector relations. The creation of a fruitful environment and governmental contribution to the growing third sector, for instance, must be considered. What becomes apparent is that while NPOs try to shape social policy, governments try to shape NPOs. “The neo-institutional approach suggests that we need to pay heed to *which* specific institutions play a critical role in altering the environment for producing or consuming a public good – and *how* those processes operate” (Smith and Grønbjerg 2006, p. 236). NPOs depend, to a huge extent, on governmental support, and it is unlikely that they could uphold the same quality of service without this support. The role of the state becomes extraordinarily problematic; on the one hand, the government provides public goods, and on the other hand they set the rules for provision of welfare. The NPOs need to get support and the public service has to provide an accountable system. According to Smith and Grønbjerg, complementarity and embeddedness are central ideas to a neo-institutional approach. The concept of synergism is thus crucial to institutional perspectives. However, it is not always clear what is public and what is private. (Smith and Grønbjerg 2006, p. 233-237)

⁶ Organizational theory will be introduced in chapter 3 and highlight the importance of the environment to NPOs.

Chapter 3 - Theoretical considerations

In the current chapter different theoretical perspectives shall be presented and related to the case study to follow. In various ways these theories can be connected to the scientific debate about the third sector outlined in Chapter 2. For discussion and analysis different theoretical approaches are conceivable. Based on the research question, adequate theories were selected. In general a critical approach was chosen. First, theories about welfare and welfare mix will be debated. Second, an insight into organizational theory will be given. Thirdly, reasoning about power relations will follow. In the fourth step issues of democracy and civil society will be discussed.

Welfare Theories

A brief introduction to welfare theory shall help to localize the present disquisition. Gøsta Esping-Andersen has established the analytical model of the three worlds of welfare capitalism (Esping-Andersen 2006). The analysis is inter alia based on the different arrangements between state, market and family. He describes the liberal welfare state as a regime that is defined by means-tested assistance, modest universal transfers, or modest social insurance plans. The access to welfare is regularly limited to basic needs and often has a stigmatizing character. The market is clearly integrated into the provision of welfare and social rights play only a marginalized role. Typical examples are the United States of America and Australia. The corporatist welfare state has been identified as the second type. It is based on a conservative ideology maintaining rights in relation to class and status, therefore, redistribution is hardly practiced. But the corporatist model is not based on market distribution; rather state and family fulfil the main tasks. Further, the church maintains an important role in regard of conservative values. Germany and Austria can be regarded as prominent examples. The third regime type is the so-called social democratic welfare state; it is based on universalism and de-commodification of social rights. The aim is to provide a high standard of welfare equally for all citizens. Most tasks regarding welfare are taken over by the state, the market is excluded. Welfare is not regarded as a good that is traded on the market. Typical examples are Denmark and Sweden. (Esping-Andersen 2006, p. 167-169)

As described above, within different welfare regimes, the state, market, and family have different roles. To this triangle conception of the welfare mix, Pestoff fourthly adds the importance of NPOs. Further, he states that the arrangement of the welfare mix is changing; NPOs are obtaining a growing role in welfare provision. The importance of NPOs has often been neglected, not only in social democratic welfare states. "In postindustrial societies, where people live both better and longer, neither the market nor the state can fulfill all the needs of its citizens" (Pestoff 2009, p. 28). One reason for the inclusion of third sector social work is, according to Pestoff, market failure and government failure. (Pestoff 2009, p. 28-29)

Organizational Theory

Organizational theory is useful for understanding the dynamics in both public service organization and NPOs. The focus of the thesis is mainly directed towards NPOs and the administrative department of social economy.

“In democratic polities, voters or citizens may be understood as the principals, elected officials and public bureaucrats as agents. In systems of service provision, however, those officials and bureaucrats take the role of principle contracting out to nonprofit and for-profit entities that deliver service.” (Clemens 2006, p. 215)

For the research project it is essential to understand the structure and the working processes in organizations. According to Anthony Giddens, “[a]n organization is a large grouping of people, structured on impersonal lines and set up to achieve specific objectives; [...]” (Giddens 1997, p. 284).

Max Weber was one of the first sociologists to study modern organizations systematically. For Weber, organizations are a means to coordinate the activities of human beings in a stable manner across time and space (cf. Giddens 1997, p. 286). According to Giddens, organizations play a much more significant role in our lives than they have ever before in history (Giddens 1997, p. 285). One significant hallmark of organizations is their written rules for functioning. Weber described organizations as explicitly hierarchical with a centralized power in the top (cf. Giddens 1997, p. 286). Bureaucracy can be regarded as a central term in Weber’s body of work. He views bureaucratic authority as a significant way of coping with the administrative requirements in complex social systems in modern times (Giddens 1997, p. 287). The authority generated by bureaucracy is, according to Weber, rationally determined and based on rules and legally binding documents (Hatch 2006, p. 31). “For Weber detected a clash as well as a connection between modern organizations and democracy that he believed had far-reaching consequences for social life” (Giddens 1997, p. 286). This perception is of interest for the detection of a democratic deficit in welfare provision and the research of ways to overcome the challenge.

Human service organizations

According to Mary Jo Hatch, organizational theories are interrelated with other theories and disciplines; there is not only one single theory to sum up and explain the inherent complexity of organizations (Hatch 2006, p. 5). In the present thesis therefore the focus is on so-called *human service organizations*. They are engaged in the protection and maintenance of the people’s well-being (Hasenfeld 2010, p.10). Hasenfeld outlines a problematical constellation.

“[H]uman service organizations are viewed as symbols of the caring society, a manifestation of the society to the welfare and wellbeing of the citizens. At the same time, these organizations are often seen as overly bureaucratic and rigid, obtrusive and controlling and inefficient and wasteful” (Hasenfeld 2010, p.10).

The dichotomy of support and control is an important factor for the study. Firstly, the additional value produced by NPOs will be researched according to this dichotomy. Secondly, the relation between those NPOs and the municipality will be examined in regard of support and control. Further, Giddens emphasizes a central problem. “Organisations often have the effect of taking things out of our own hands and putting them under the control of officials or experts over whom we have little influence” (Giddens 1997, p. 285). It is interesting to research if a non-profit actor can produce relief from these challenges through participation of their members. This perspective will be a critical guideline for the reflexion on how different organizations provide welfare.

Hasenfeld emphasises the importance of the environment to human service organizations. He states that the political and institutional environment of human service organizations has undergone significant change. Hasenfeld identifies a shift from social protection to individual responsibility (Hasenfeld 2010, p. 2). Additionally, for the case of Sweden, a shift from giving voice to the people to being service provider was observed (Wijkström and Lundström 2002, in: Amnå 2007, p. 175). Therefore, it is interesting to research which of the ascribed functions the NPOs are still practicing and what kind of changes the environment causes.

Isomorphism

Hatch also signifies the importance of environment to organizations. This approach was introduced to organizational theory in the 1950s by an extension of system theory (Hatch 2006, p. 77). "Using system theory, modernists established the idea that organizations are open to their environments [...]" (Hatch 2006, p. 77). Environmental contingency theory emphasises the importance of the environment; one focus was on uncertainty. Rate of change and complexity were two categories of environmental uncertainty. A response to challenges from the environment has been identified by the concept of requisite variety and *isomorphism*. Requisite variety is a concept of system theory. It states that a system (e.g. an organization) in order to deal with another system needs the same or greater complexity (Hatch 2006, p. 80). "In organizational terms this means that successful organizations map perceived environmental complexity with their internal structures and management systems, thus creating isomorphism" (Hatch 2006, p. 80). Isomorphism literally means in "the same form". In other words, organizations adapt to their environment by taking on the same form. Again, according to system theory, the environment of a system is everything out side of the system itself (Berghaus 2003, p. 40). However, the guiding differentiation of system theory is the *difference* between system and environment (Berghaus 2003, p. 41). Thus it is interesting to find out how similar two organizations can become while still having a clear distinctive system-environment border. In the case study, the public service clearly belongs to the environment of the NPOs, albeit an important aspect of the environment. The theory of *isomorphism* will be applied in order to understand the implications of a process of cooperation.

Functionalism

The theory of functionalism was originally developed by Emil Durkheim; he described functional analysis as a key aspect of sociological theorizing and research (Giddens 1997, p. 561). "To study the *function* of a social practice or institution is to analyse the contribution which that practice or institution makes to the continuation of the society as a whole" (Giddens 1997, p. 561). According to Giddens this approach was first used by anthropologist and later taken up by Talcott Parson and Robert K. Merton. The analysis of the function of a "social item" will give exposure to the role it plays in the ongoing existence of a society (Giddens 1997, p. 561). Consistent with Giddens, the theory of functionalism can provide an approach to studying NPOs by directing the focus to their contribution to society as a whole; this means to discover their functions.

A constructive distinction between manifest functions and latent functions has been made by Merton (Giddens 1997, p. 562). "Manifest functions are those known to, and intended by, the participants in a specific type of social activity. Latent functions are consequences of that activity of

which participants are unaware" (Giddens 1997, p. 562). This distinction is of particular interest in the thesis at hand. It can provide comprehension for the awareness about a function fulfilled by a NPO. It is of interest to discover and describe those latent functions and their relevance thus making them accessible for theory and practice. Discussing functionalism critically, it shall be said that functional analysis might have, as stated by Giddens, tendencies to attribute features to organizations or societies which they do not have (Giddens 1997, p. 562). This might be the case when assumptions regarding individuals are projected on a societal level. According to Giddens, functionalist often attribute "needs" and "purposes" to society, and these concepts are only applicable on the level of human beings (Giddens 1997, p. 562-563). However, for the analysis of NPOs that are cooperating with the public service and that are ascribed a democratizing function, functionalism is an adequate approach to research and to highlight some contributions of NPOs.

Power Theories

Power is a key term to critical organizational studies (Hasenfeld 2010 p. 46). From a critical angle power is regarded as domination; social, political and economical structures determine power relations (Hatch 2006, p. 265). In the endeavour to highlight and implement an emancipatory practice power relations are of particular interest. Further, power in general is an issue of sociology. Giddens defines power as "the ability of individuals or groups to make their own interests or concerns count, even when others resist" (Giddens 1997, p. 338). Dahl has defined power as a relation between 'A' and 'B'; "A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do" (Dahl 1957, in: Hatch 2006, p. 254). A more critical perspective on power can be used for the thesis at hand. The radical conception of power considers even manipulation and not intended execution of power. Steven Lukes distinguishes between three faces of power (Lukes 2005). He emphasises that power is not only executed against the will of someone; it can be executed even if someone is consciously willing to do what another person is demanding. This act can be contrary to the real interests of the person (Lukes 2005, p. 28). In other words, he or she has been manipulated (Lukes 2005, p. 27). A simple example is the influence of advertisements on consumers' will. Secondly, intention is not necessary for the execution of power; one person can unconsciously exercise power over another person (Digeser 1992, p. 983); conflict is not necessary (Lukes 2005, p. 28). This can be, for instance, the case in employment relationships. The owner of capital is perhaps not interested in harming his/her employees' real interest, but by doing so in an unintended way power is also executed. Manipulation and the unintended exertion of power are two important features to be analyzed in the process of cooperation. They are probably not that obvious at first glance but remain important subjects for exposition in a critical analysis.

Further, it is important to consider different sources of power. According to Hatch, power derives from formal authority, personal characteristics, expertise, for instance, knowledge and skills, further, threat or the use of force, control of central resources, such as budgets, raw materials or technology. Additionally, the ability to apply normative sanctions and access to different opportunities are sources of power (Hatch 2006, p. 254).

According to Habermas, modern societies are dominated by institutions that are governed by scientific, administrative, and technical experts; a technical efficient way based on rationality is the means to reach the goal (cf. Hatch 2006, p. 268-269). The modern organizations described by Weber generate their power and domination by expertise and professionalism. These technical discourses

hide power differentials because they are framed as technical problems that are best resolved by experts and managers rather than as political issues that need the input of users or social workers (cf. Hasenfeld 2010, p. 47). Such a technological ideology occupies our daily life and disregards ethical and moral aspects of the subjects and social development (Hatch 2006, p. 269). This corresponds with Hasenfeld's attribution to human service organizations as bearers of value systems. In this way alternative forms of organization might be able to function in a more democratic way. These democratic elements can become, on the output side, additionally valuable to both the users and welfare in general. Habermas describes a way to encompass the instrumental rationality by the use of communicative rationality.

On the other hand, power is of particular interest for studying the relation between the municipalities and the NPOs. Here, the application of a radical concept of power can be useful in order to show manipulating influence and unintended exertion of power. The theory of isomorphism is connectable to this conception of power (cf. Hatch 2006, p. 80). From a critical perspective its goal is to create communication and decision-making processes by allowing the participation of all stakeholders' interests (Hatch 2006, p. 266).

Additionally Hirschman suggest exit and voice as two means to overcome exposure to power. He connects the exit strategies to an economic approach and the voice strategies to a political approach (Hirschman 1970, p. 15). In this sense exit is the way to disrupt a specific contact or relation, for instance to stop buying a product. Voice, however, is more of making claims and demanding things through making one's voice heard. It would not only be to stop buying a product but to make people aware about assumable wrongs. As an example, one would not just stop to buy fish sticks but also claim that overfishing has to be stopped. Hirschman states that the two categories do not only apply to commercial firms but also to associations or NPOs engaging for their users (cf. Hirschman 1970, p. 3).

Democratic theories

Democracy is a form of governance that tries to meet the requirements of common interest that would otherwise be neglected (Weale 2007, p. 77). The term democracy has its roots in the Greek word *demokratia* which consists of the two parts, *demos* (people) and *kratos* (rule). The basic meaning of democracy is thus a political concept in which the people and not monarchs or clergymen rule (Giddens 1997, p. 340). However, there is certainly not one overreaching concept of democracy; diverse perceptions and interpretation of the idea have been discussed. Hence, different forms of democracy have been developed. One clear distinction can be made between direct and representative democracy (Meyer 2003, p. 75). Direct democracy means that every citizen is, to a great extent, able to take part in the political decision making; one is direct able to take part in the process, for instance, in a plenary assembly of all citizens (Meyer 2003, p. 76/77). Representative democracy is based on the principle of representation. The citizens vote, in periodic intervals, representatives into the decision-making body (e.g. the parliament). Decisions are made after consultation and they have a binding character (Meyer 2003, p. 78). For the representative conception of democracy two main views can be distinguished a liberal concept and a republican concept. The liberal view regards democratic processes as compromises among different interests (Habermas 1996, p. 296). The point of reference is not the political opinion-formation, but the constitutional framework for an economic society; it shall grant a non-political common good and

allow individual freedom (Habermas 1996, p. 298). The republican view, in contrast, is based on the democratic self-determination; it acts on a culturally established background, a socially integrated prior understanding (Habermas 1996, p. 296). Society is regarded as a political society (Habermas 1996, p. 297). The political opinion-formation has the function of constituting society as a political community (Habermas 1996, p. 300).

Internal and external democratic dynamics

Democracy is, on a broad, national, or even international level an accepted form of governance. Different forums of representation and negotiations, such as parliaments or the European Union, follow more or less democratic proceedings. Alexis de Tocqueville regarded associations as schools of democracy in the early 19th century (cf. Pestoff 2009, p. 8). For NPOs democracy can play different roles; one can distinguish between external and internal democratic dynamics (Amnå 2007, p. 174; Onyx, et al. 2009, p. 44). To start with, associational life provides its members with competences like learning to express themselves, to formulate critique, to find appropriate arguments, and to make decisions. In this way associations are kind of “training centre” for democracy (Amnå 2007, p. 174). This function describes the internal democratic dynamics. The second dynamic aims to provide “alternative political agendas”. Amnå describes this external function as the organization’s “ability to make their voices heard and their potential to exert direct or indirect political influence” (Amnå 2007, p. 174). These claims are directed towards the actual decision makers - the politicians. The members or the target group of an organization can direct their needs against the decision makers. The external democratic function can take on various forms, such as advocacy or lobbying. Further, Brodtkin regards influencing policy as manifest functions of human service organizations, such as NPOs engaged in the field of social service (Brodtkin 2010, p. 61). Policy advocacy can be described as “any attempt to influence the decision of any institutional elite on behalf of a collective interest” (Jenkin 1987, in: Mosley 2010, p. 505). These external dynamics correspond with deliberative aspects of democracy. Onyx et al. argue that advocacy, carried out by NPOs, can contribute to a deliberative democracy; contestation and deliberation encourage the exploration of different ideas (Onyx, et al. 2009, p. 44). This deliberative practice is supported by the internal and external democratic dynamics.

Advocacy

For the case that NPOs obtain governmental support Onyx et al. present two different perceptions of advocacy. On one hand, they state that NPOs would desist from biting the hand that feeds them, while on the other hand, they mention that public support allows access to resources enabling NPOs to advocate. The latter perspective leads to *advocacy with gloves* – a non-confrontational approach. One can distinguish between a radical and an institutional form of advocacy (Onyx, et al. 2009, p. 43). Further distinctions have been made by Mosley. She distinguishes between legislative lobbying and administrative lobbying. Legislative lobbying is aimed to change legislation; specific parts of the law shall be changed. Administrative lobbying is directed towards government administrators. For example, an NPO engaged in care for homeless people will meet the responding public service and it is rather concerned with regulations (Mosley 2010, p. 508). The second categorization is about case advocacy and policy advocacy. Mosley emphasizes that case advocacy is done according to the particular interest of individuals or families; it does not aim to change social policy in general but to

help the individuals. Policy advocacy, however, is done on the behalf of a larger collective interest, such as lobbying for higher governmental funds for NPOs. It is one form of advocacy among others (Mosley 2010, p. 508-509). Onyx et al. distinguish between advocacy and lobbying; advocacy is the active espousal of a position and lobbying is the attempt to influence the decision makers (Onyx, et al. 2009, p. 46). Other authors, however, regard advocacy as an overreaching term (Mosley et al. 2009, p. 506-507). In the thesis at hand these activities are clearly connected to the external democratic dynamics. Additionally, they match with elements of deliberative democracy. Onyx et al. underline that a more institutionalized form of advocacy aims to meet the government at eye level; they try to gain the trust of the government (Onyx et al. 2009, p. 53).

Deliberative democracy

As described above, there is not only one single conception of democracy and how it should be exerted. In the present thesis the normative conception of democracy derives from deliberative conceptions of democracy. According to Albert Weale there is a need for public reasoning and citizen's involvement in order to find practicable answers that allow a peaceful solution to conflicts about public affairs (Weale 2007, p. 77). From this point of view, Weale states further, the problems of politics are problems of deliberation. The concept of deliberative democracy is regarded as one possible answer to challenges of representative democracy and the appeal for participation. Gutmann and Thompson regard the justification of decisions made by citizens and their representatives as the most important feature of deliberative democracy; they call it the reasoning requirement (Gutmann and Thomson, 2004, p. 3). There are different conceptions of deliberative democracy. One overreaching feature is to base political decisions on reasonable arguments that lead to general agreement (Weale 2007, p. 78).

Habermas has contributed to the development of a discursive theory of democracy, combining elements of the liberal and the republican conception of democracy. The normative connotation of this concept is stronger than those of the liberal concept but weaker than those of the republican concept. The political *opinion- and will-formation* obtains a central position without neglecting the constitution as secondary. The constitutional principles are regarded as a guideline of how to achieve the requirements of the political *opinion and will-formation*. (Habermas 1996, p. 298)

"According to discourse theory, the success of deliberative politics depends not on a collectively acting citizenry but on the institutionalization of the corresponding procedure and conditions of communication, as well as on the interplay of institutionalized deliberative processes with informally developed public opinions" (Habermas 1996, p. 298).

Public opinion can be transferred into *communicative power* by deliberative democratic procedures; it does not rule but it can direct the administrative power in a certain direction (Habermas 1998, p. 300). Civil society and third sector organizations, such as NPOs, obtain in this process a central role; they transmit societal problems to the *public sphere* (Habermas 1996, p. 367). This public influence is transferred into *communicative power*, when it enters into parliamentary debate, and accordingly, into legitimate lawmaking (Habermas 1996, p. 371).

According to Habermas, this conception has consequences for the comprehension of legitimacy and popular sovereignty (Habermas 1996, p. 299). The republican concept is based on the sovereign citizenry and their will-formation, whereas the liberal model is based on the constitution. The discourse theory of democracy suggests a political public sphere as an arena for identification and

treatment of societal problems; in this complex process popular sovereignty becomes anonymous but in order to turn into *communicative generated power* (Habermas 1996, p. 301).

“Strictly speaking, this power springs from the interactions among legally institutionalized will-formation and culturally mobilized publics. The latter, for their part, find a basis in the associations of a civil society quite distinct from both state and economy alike.” (Habermas 1996, p. 301)

Further, Habermas regards this process as a source of political legitimacy. Democratic *opinion- and will-formation* contributes to the rationalization of decisions by the administration that is bound to law and statute (Habermas 1996, p. 300).

“*Rationalization* means more than mere legitimation but less than the constitution of power. The power available to the administration alters its aggregate condition as long as it remains tied in with a democratic opinion- and will-formation that does not just monitor the exercise of political power *ex post facto* but more or less programs it as well” (Habermas 1996, p. 300)

But as stated earlier, it is only the political system that acts and makes decisions; however, bound to the *public sphere* and the transmitted societal problems (Habermas 1996, p. 300). Habermas thus describes the engagement of citizens and their communication with each other as a source of legitimacy to the political decisions (Habermas 1996, p. 371).

“But public influence is transformed into communicative power only after it passes through the filters of the institutionalized procedures of democratic opinion- and will-formation and enters through parliamentary debates into legitimate lawmaking. [...] Not influence *per se*, but influence transformed into communicative power legitimates political decisions.” (Habermas 1996, p. 371)

This perspective is of particular interest when it comes to the engagement of NPOs in the process of welfare provision and the aforementioned democratic deficit in welfare provision. Habermas ascribes associations (NPOs) a significant role in civil society - they transmit social problems to the public sphere (Habermas 1998, p. 367) and thus support the critical function of the public sphere in general (Habermas 1998, p. 369). Weale names a number of those deliberative instruments, such as the representation of various interests in the decision making process, public consultation on policy plans, transparency in regard of processes, and arguments leading to decisions (Weale 2007, p. 78).

Nick Ellison operationalizes the concept of deliberation for social policy and welfare. He distinguishes between three levels of governance and two types of decision making on the first and the third level. The first level is the one of the central democratic institutions; it is concerned with decisions regarding communicative behaviour as well as general rules for the process of further decisions and the division of resources. The second level is composed of the local authorities obtaining an administrative role rather than a decision-making one. The third level is described as a range of ‘social policy communities’; they are supposed to make substantive decisions about which proposal to follow and how to distribute the resources. (Ellison 2006, p. 422-423) These elaborations are vague and need to meet “reality” in a critical way. Nevertheless, there are a number of connecting factors with other theoretical assumptions. Organizational theory suggests that it is important to recognize that human service organizations have a critical role in policy environment and even enact policies through their own discretionary actions. Further, these organizations are “conveyers and enactors of moral systems” (Hasenfeld 2010, p. 2).

One concluding theoretical assumption regarding democratic theories can highlight the productivity of deliberative projects for democracy. This is supported by Pestoff’s demand for a reconsideration

and revitalization of democratic aspects in welfare. In a way, Habermas bridges the divide between a liberal and a republican concept of democracy through the development of a discourse theory of democracy. In a similar way, a deliberative perspective can help to overcome the antagonism between universalism and particularism in welfare.

“By privileging particularist engagement at the level of decentralized policy debate and formulation, but in the prevailing context of a centralized politics of presence in which all agreements about principle are open to negotiate and change, the universalist-particularist paradigm collapses” (Ellison 2006, p. 424).

Further, Ellison states that universal principles of communication and social justice remain and give shape to the universal process (Ellison 2006, p. 425). How this concept of welfare can function in the practice is difficult to say in a final way, rather, what shall be explored is how far the involvement of NPOs in welfare production can contribute to a more deliberative conception of welfare. Elements of deliberation thus shall be explored and analysed.

Chapter 4 – Methodology

The present thesis discusses and analyses the production of welfare by non-profit organizations and their collaboration with the public sector. The thesis is divided into two parts. First, the current perspectives on the democratization of welfare through third sector social work are discussed and adequate theories for the analysis are introduced. Second, an empirical base a case study is presented in order to provide qualitative data as and thus a profound and comprehensive insight into the field. Through the research process, I recorded general assumptions, interesting questions, and important findings in a research diary. The diary has been useful for structuring future processes, and has helped foster creative ideas and encouraged reflection about the research project. The methodological approach of the present thesis is on one hand framed by Critical Theory and on the other hand based on abduction and elements of Grounded Theory. Eligible theory and qualitative interviews are to provide the basis for discussion and analysis.

Initiation of research

The initiation of the research project conducted and presented in this thesis derives from my studies of a master's programme at the University of Gothenburg, Sweden, analytically described as a universal welfare state, is characterized by a strong state which can broadly rely on its citizen's confidence in the welfare model (cf. Svedberg and Vamstad 2006, p. 238). However, civil society played an important role in the construction and establishment of the welfare state and, probably not expected, NPOs are still a vivid contributor. My studies in Gothenburg made it possible to study the Swedish welfare state in various ways. Further, different interesting projects of third sector social work have been discussed in courses of the master's programme. The constellation of a universal welfare state and a vivid civil society has captured my interests. The main focus is dedicated to the NPOs contribution to a more deliberative and democratic conception of welfare. From an international perspective this is of particular interest. Elementary changes in societies across Europe have been mentioned in the introduction to the thesis. It is the goal of the thesis to highlight some interesting developments in the often appreciated universal and social democratic model of welfare being practised in Sweden. The primary question has been if and how NPOs can contribute to a progressive process of alteration in welfare that appears all across Europe. Specifically, are NPOs capable of contributing to a revitalization of democratic welfare provision, and thus renewing universal welfare, addressing particular needs and upholding the de-commodification of social service? The input and the output side are binding my interest. The case of the social economy department in Gothenburg seemed to be a promising project in order to study the integration of NPOs into welfare provision. The research project was started out on a review of the literature and continued in form explorative interviews.

Normative, empirical and constructivist implications

A first perspective on the conduction of research shall be made by considering the normative, empirical and constructive theories (cf. Lundquist 2001, p. 32). The theoretical angles help to fulfil the scientific requirement of intersubjectivity (Lundqvist, 2001, p. 31). Empirical considerations are required in order to describe phenomena as they are, where normative theory is important for

making conclusions about how things ought to be, finally constructive considerations provide us with comprehension about what can be done (Baaz 2009, p. 30). According to Mikael Baaz, these three analytical categories overlap each other in reality (Baaz 2009, p. 30).

The normative perspective is especially important when it comes to discussing issues of democracy and welfare. A purely empirical derivation of democracy is, according to Habermas, not possible and requires a normative comprehension (cf. Habermas 1996, p. 295-296). Vamstad points out that high level of participation in democracy are considered as better than a low participation. Further, he emphasizes that the choice of including third sector organizations into the provision of welfare is a normative decision. (Vamstad 2007, p. 58) Nevertheless, empirical references are necessary in order to support the results and allow sustainable arguments for a certain analyses (Vamstad 2007, p 60). As it is explained by Vamstad, these three perspectives are interconnected.

“In other words, it is relevant to speak of what should be done and not only what can be done, but one cannot draw conclusions about what can be done simply on the basis of an idea of what should be done. There must be some sort of empirical finding to support such conclusions.” (Vamstad, 2007, p. 61)

In the present thesis all three aspects are included. The results will have an empirical implication, describing and understanding the current process of collaboration between the third and public sector. It will have normative implications that will assess how the governance of welfare ought look, based as well on the empirical findings, and it will include additionally constructivist consideration, providing exposure for what is possible to achieve.

Grounded theory and Abduction

The methodological approach follows distinctive elements of Grounded Theory. Theoretical conclusions will thus be made in relation to the case study and the acquired qualitative data. However, they will be adjusted with the current theoretical discourse. “Any contest between insights and existing theory becomes a comparative analysis that delimits the boundaries of existing theory while generating a more general one” (Glaser and Strauss 1967, p. 255). As aimed by grounded theory, theoretical considerations will have a middle range, taking a concrete case into account and connecting the gained knowledge with existing theory (cf. Alheit 1999, p. 16). Therefore, grounded theory follows an approach of abduction. Charles Sanders Peirce has described *abduction* as a process where things are put in a relation to each other (Peirce, 1991 in: Alheit, 1999, p. 8). This approach goes beyond the classical epistemological approaches of *induction* and *deduction*. Grounded Theory is thus based on a “planned flexibility” (Alheit, 1999, p. 7). The aim of Grounded Theory is to generate new theories from data and to illustrate them with distinctive examples of data (Glaser and Strauss 1967, p. 5).

During the research process of the present thesis, several theoretical assumptions have been made in the beginning, whereas other followed during the collection of data. Empirical data has been collected in an open, explorative way. “In grounded theory, the process of data collection runs alongside that of analysis and becomes gradually more focused as the project progresses” (Gilbert 2008, p. 84). Both sources of knowledge have been put in relation to each other in order to gain “new” findings. However, because of a small qualitative data collection by the case study, the results are difficult to generalize, and therefore earlier research has been used in order to back up the findings. Nevertheless, the starting point in the research process has been the acquired data,

followed by a comparison of the findings with other research projects. Putting theory and data into a relation with each other enabled patterns to be carved out and theories drawn from the interview material. This has been a flexible process guided by awareness regarding data and theory, accompanied by steady adjustment of the research concepts (cf. Weischer 2007, p. 103 ff).

This means reading data with theory in mind and reading theory with data in mind, which during the research process has been a productive and fruitful procedure. Induction and Deduction are not regarded as opposites but as complements, leading to the process that has been described as abduction. However, the grounded theory approach has not been applied in an orthodox way, rather, the particular elements mentioned above have been assembled in a productive way. A vivid connection and comparison of theory and empiricism has been at the core of the conducted research process (cf. Alheit 1999, p. 2).

Critical approach

The general approach chosen in the thesis at hand is a critical one. Along with critical theory is the goal of this research to depict emancipative and democratic elements and their development in third sector social work. "It is the aim to extract this ambition in an analytical way and to confront it with reality (Meyer 2003, p. 27)." The focus is directed towards social work practiced in NPOs, and their contribution to a more democratic and deliberative practice will be highlighted, researched and scrutinized critically. "Critical social work is rather directed to a theoretical effort to get involved with the in spheres of activities significant states of problems that allow designing an altered praxis" (Scherr 2006, p. 171)(Present author's translation). It is the objective of this thesis to research the practice of social work in Gothenburg, and specifically the involvement and support of NPOs contributing to the provision of welfare in the city. It aims to take a critical look on the cooperation between the municipality and the third sector, or rather the social economy department and the two NPOs. The cooperation will be explored according to its democratic practice on both the input and the output side (cf. Pestoff 2009, p. 10). In this way, the thesis will emphasise different aspects of democratic welfare and how it is realized in cooperation with the public service and the civil society. It will show the democratic potential for social work that can contribute to a democratic practice in welfare provision. From a critical perspective, organizations are generally regarded as instruments of domination; conflicts are often resolved by hegemony and the use of power (Hasenfeld 2010, p. 46). Social work in many contexts has become a form of governance, with a power to define who is entitled to obtain support (cf. Kunstreich 2005, p. 1093). Social work possesses a double mandate: support and control. This creates a paradoxical constitution of social work; on the one hand social work is obliged to the state, on the other, to the users' best interests (cf. Gängler 2005, p. 783). "The central goal of critical theory in organizational studies is to create societies and workplaces that are free from domination and where all members have equal opportunities to contribute to the production of systems that meet human needs and lead to the progressive development of all" (Hasenfeld 2010, p. 46). Progress in that sense is understood as emancipation and the construction of democratic structures (cf. Hatch 2006, p. 166). Against this background, Foucault's definition of critique as "the art of not to being insomuch governed" (Foucault 1992, p. 12)(Present author's translation) can be helpful in order to depict elements of a critical practice in social work. This perception of critique allows reflections for social work and its conditions of dependence and it allows reflections about making the users more independent.

The Material: Theories and Data

As described in the introduction to this chapter, the thesis considers both theoretical reflexions and qualitative empirical data. Both epistemological sources are supposed to meet each other according to the approach of *abduction* and thus contribute to further findings. Additionally, the results shall help to highlight a progressive and emancipative practice along with Critical Theory. Here, the selection of theory and the choice of a case study including appropriate methods will be explained and clarified.

The theories

In order to localize the present thesis in the scientific discourse different research projects have been presented in the second chapter of the thesis. The focus has been on Europe and specifically on Sweden. Additionally theoretical assumptions about the government-NPO relations have been outlined. This allows a comprehensive link to the empirical case study in the thesis. In Chapter 3, four theoretical perspectives have been presented and processed for their application in the analytical part of the thesis. Welfare theories, organizational theories, theories of democracy and power theories have been introduced and important aspects for the analysis have been exposed. Further, the chosen theories give indication about important factors for considerations in the analytical chapter. Generally, the four theories pave the way for empirical, normative and constructive considerations.

Qualitative research

As mentioned previously, the empirical part of the thesis is composed of qualitative data. A main feature of qualitative research is to create a description and analysis without numerical or statistical scores (Gilbert 2008, p. 35). The aim of the present thesis is not to count how many organizations are engaged in a democratic practice of welfare and to enumerate their approaches. Rather, it is to identify the quality of this cooperation and how this affects the democratizing function of NPOs. "Qualitative data often makes it easier to follow causes and effects [...]" (Gilbert 2008, p. 35). These considerations have led to the choice of qualitative research methods.

The case study

The empirical core of the thesis at hand is the case study. "Usually there is no attempt to select a random or representative sample of cases. Instead, the cases are ones that are interesting for their own sake, or sometimes are exceptional in some way [...]" (Gilbert 2008, p. 36). Two NPOs engaged in value-based activities, operating in the city of Gothenburg and cooperating with the social economy department, were chosen. This qualitative case study will not provide broad generalizations but in combination with other research projects it will be possible to draw conclusions.

The case of the social economy department and the institutionalized cooperation between the municipality and the NPOs in town presented a suitable scenario through which the democratic contributions of third sector social work could be studied. This cooperation in a way is a very exceptional case in Sweden. The two particular organizations were chosen due to a variety of reasons. They do not represent the whole spectrum of NPOs cooperating with the municipality of

Gothenburg, but they are characteristic for two different types of organizations as they provide a different form of social service. As it will be shown, one organization is mainly based on the life experience of its members, whereas the other organization employs professionally educated staff. One organization is operating in town for more than 50 years, the other is quite newly founded, etc. However, they do have similarities. Through comparison, it might be possible to show important aspects of their contribution to welfare in general, and further, to highlight significant features of their cooperation affecting democratic function. Once again, the two NPOs have been chosen according to their interesting backgrounds and their differences, but they are not representative for all NPOs within Gothenburg. According to Gilbert qualitative case studies based on a cross-sectional collection of data are appropriate for studies of organizations (Gilbert 2008, p. 37).

The qualitative expert interviews

For the conduct of a qualitative case study expert interviews were chosen. In order to study the quality and effects of the cooperation it is important to consider the different viewpoints of the staff members involved. In the beginning of the research process two explorative interviews were carried out in order to explore the field and to specify the research area. These explorative interviews have further contributed to the establishment of productive contacts for the upcoming research process. Even though my mother tongue is German, I decided to conduct all the interviews not in English, but in Swedish. The main reason is that the interviewees should feel comfortable and express themselves in a natural way. Additionally, all interviews were carried out at the interviewee's workplace in order to have a familiar and relaxed atmosphere. The duration of the interviews varied between 30 and 85 minutes.

The process of planning and conducting the qualitative interviews follows the outline in Kvale's "Seven Stage of an Interview Inquiry" (cf. Kvale and Brinkmann 2009, p. 102). The process of thematizing has been composed of a literature review and explorative interviews. The design of the interviews was semi-structured. Semi-structured interviews allow a flexible handling of the conduct; they allowed adaptations to the particular situation and enabled a pursuit of interesting tracks (cf. Gilbert 2008, p. 246-247). The interview guide has thus outlined specific topics to be covered and included possible questions (cf. Kvale and Brinkmann 2009, p. 130). However, the assembled interview guide was adapted to the interview flow rather than strictly followed. The interviewees were given space to express their perceptions. The main areas to cover were, besides the organizational background, functions, power relationships and democracy.

According to the aforementioned elements of grounded theory, a variety of adaptations have been made during the process of data enquiry. For instance, the former area of 'professionalization' in the interview guide has been changed to 'function' in order to focus the research process. A mutual reflection between theory and data enable the consideration of further theoretical perspectives after first complying with intermediate results.

Additionally, observations were made during the interviews and while visiting the organizations. These observations are not part of the analysis but they were used for getting an impression of the organization. They served the general understanding. For the duration of the interview process each organization has been visited several times.

After the two explorative interviews ten further interviews were carried out. Of these ten interviews six have been explicitly used for the analysis of the thesis. All four additional interviews did not deviate noteworthy from the six main interviews, and they primary corroborated the content of the others. One interview at Stadsmission had no adequate recording because of technical problems with the recorder. Two interviews at KRIS were done with staff members that were working on a different level; they were not specifically involved with the tasks considered in the interview guide. Those excluded interviews could provide no further information and they were not of additional value for the analysis. No elements of contradiction were found, they rather verified the content of the other interviews. However, they contributed to a general understanding of the case.

All interviews were recorded. After this process they were structured and fragmented into different passages and an apparent structure was carved out. Important aspects were highlighted and compared with the other interviews, similar perceptions and different viewpoints became visible. Finally, three interviews have been transcribed fully and a further three interviews had their most important passages transcribed. Due to my limited Swedish writings skills, I have asked for help for the process of transcription. A Swedish colleague with professional background in social work carried out the transcription for the interviews applied in the present thesis. The quotations from the interviews, applied in the thesis, were translated from Swedish to English by the present author.

The transcribed interviews are the empirical body of the thesis. In combination with the theoretical concepts, these interviews represent the raw material of the analysis. For the process of analysis the transcribed interviews were read several times. First, patterns were carved out and both congruent viewpoints and different opinions were compiled. Contributions of NPOs to the provision of welfare were clustered, compared among the organizations, and verified with earlier research. Further literature was taken into consideration after the first analytical readings of the interviews. Analytical points of reference, such as 'democracy' and 'power', were supplemented by new analytical categories, for instance, 'legitimacy' and 'support and control'. The use of a research diary made it possible to note intermediate results during the process of analysis. In combination with literature the analysis of the data allowed theoretical assumptions to be made.

For the verification of the acquired data some reflections have been made. First of all, the decision to carry out the interviews in Swedish may have some implications for validity of the data, because my mother tongue is not Swedish. However, conducting them in Swedish enabled the interviewees to express themselves normally, since it was assumed that using the English language would enforce restrictions on the interviewees. The actual performance of the first explorative interviews dismantled scepticism against the language. Additionally, it has to be acknowledged that there is a risk of being biased while conducting interviews (cf. Gilbert 2008, p. 260). Especially, my German origin makes me view the Swedish conception of welfare from an intercultural perspective (cf. Gilbert 2008, p. 262). However, this intercultural perspective was rather experienced as being enriching and directing the focus on issues that are otherwise not that strongly debated.

The interpretation of qualitative data is subjective by nature, but the expert's depictions, analogous explanations, and similar patterns in the material support the reliability of the conclusions. The reliability of the research findings is connected to intersubjectivity (cf. Kvale and Brinkmann 2009, p. 245). The interviewee's familiarity with the issues of the study were varied, however, those six interviewees explicitly used in the study could demonstrate sufficient competence in regard to the relevant issues. Some answers and viewpoints were already quite analytical. Nevertheless, a

longitudinal study would be capable of analyzing the process of change under cooperation more adequately. Challenges for generalizing the gathered data have already been indicated (cf. Gilbert p. 35 ff). The interviewees have described their own perceptions and opinions.

In combination with earlier research and different theories concluding remarks about the findings were possible. In terms of validity it can be said that the application of elements of grounded theory and abduction have considerably contributed to the findings of the thesis (cf. Kvale and Brinkmann 2009, p. 246). Some results particularly corresponded with earlier research.

Ethical consideration

General ethical considerations for social research were considered in the thesis at hand (cf. Kvale and Brinkmann 2009, p. 62 ff). All interviews were carried out with informed consent (cf. Kvale and Brinkmann 2009, p. 70 ff), and all interviewees were informed beforehand about the implications of the research process. The interviewees voluntarily participated in the research project. The interviews were carried out under an agreement of confidentiality. No personal details of the respondents will be published beyond those of particular importance to the thesis. Further, all interviewees were anonymized and their names have been changed. The acquired data and information is only used for academic purposes.

The interviewees and their particular tasks in the organization

As indicated above, six interviews have been explicitly used for the analysis. From each of the two NPOs and the social economy department two interviews have been used. In order to gain deeper insight into the data the respondent's tasks and functions in the organization will be outlined below. The respondents' names have been anonymized. First names have been used in order to create an un-bureaucratic atmosphere. Their fictive names shall enable the reader to trace back ideas and perspectives to the particular person, their function and the organization.

Göteborgs Stadsmission

Two interviews from Stadsmission are being used for the analysis. Petter has a professional background in pedagogy and he is employed as a streetworker. In form of outreach work he is in direct contact with Stadsmission's users. His contact to the municipality is mainly on the level of social service. Torbjörn is working as a manager at the administration of Stadsmission. He is mostly charged with strategic questions and development. Accordingly, he is not usually in direct user contact but he is a main contact person for the municipality at Stadsmission.

KRIS – Kriminellas Revansch I Samhället

Two interviews conducted at KRIS are included in the thesis. Johan is employed at KRIS and he is working with a variety of tasks. On the one hand he is responsible for managerial tasks; on the other hand he is involved in daily activities with the members and users. Further, he is contact person for

the municipality. Jasmine is salaried and responsible for financial issues at KRIS and also involved in daily meetings with the members at KRIS. Additionally, together with Johan she is also engaged in contact with the municipality.

Social economy department

Two interviews are presented from the social economy department of the municipality. Erik and Helena fulfil the same functions at the social economy department. They maintain the contact with the NPOs and follow up their projects. It is their objective to give consultative support to the NPOs if required and they deal with application forms for selective allowances. Both have a professional background in social work.

Chapter 5 – The Case Study: Findings

In this chapter the case study will be presented. An overview of the two organizations and the social economy department of the municipality shall serve as introduction and orientation for the following analysis. The interviews will serve as the main sources used to describe the organization; further information on the website, the organizational statutes and negotiated covenants shall serve as references.

The social economy department

Organizational description

The “social ekonomi” (social economy) is a department of the “social resursförvaltning” (social administration) in the city of Gothenburg, it has been established in 2007 (Erik, p. 1). The superordinated social administration of the city of Gothenburg provides services to the city districts, and through its branch of the social economy, services to NPOs in town (Helena, p. 1). The NPOs obtaining support are mainly organized as associations, foundations or social cooperatives. The field of activity of the NPOS is divided into social service and services for people with disabilities (Helena, p. 1). The NPOs that are involved in the cooperation can look very different; they can range from only 20 members to several hundred strong and their needs are accordingly dissimilar (Helena, p. 3-4). All together, about 170 NPOs situated in Gothenburg get support of the social economy department. 90 of them belong to the area of social service (Helena, p. 3). Six employees are maintaining the contact to the Organizations; each one is assigned to about 30 organizations and serves as a contact person following up the collaborative process (Helena, p. 3). In 2010 about 80 million SEK will be distributed to the NPOs, about 41 million SEK of which will go to the social service sector (Helena, p. 3). The eligible organizations obtain, according to their assessed needs, both financial and consultative support. The social economy department is a pure administrative unit of the municipality. The decisions about allowances et cetera are all made by the politicians in the board (Helena, p. 8).

The cooperation between the municipality and NPOs is subjected to a guideline for support. This guideline, inter alia, states that the organizations shall have a local connection and direct their activities towards the citizens of Gothenburg. The organizations shall follow democratic principles and not discriminate. The activities shall be of a public good; the interest shall not collide with the legislation. Comprehensible goals for their activities shall be presented and methods evolved in order to follow up the results. (Social Resursförvaltning 2009, p.2-3) *“[...] [W]e have to do an assessment that it is in the social area [...] that it is sustainable, there should be a certain quality and it should respond to the needs in town”* (Helena, p. 5). One important feature is the organization’s statute. *“[...] [T]hen we take a look at it, at the paragraph that describes the purpose; in their statute it is written why they exist and we go into this when an association is coming to us for the first time, in order to see if they are in our area”* (Erik, p. 1).

Two main purposes of the organizations’ activities can be distinguished. The first type concerns activities that the municipality should or could do on their own. *“Either one sees that the municipality is not doing it or [...] doing it in a bad way and thus wants do it in another way [...]”* (Erik, p. 2-3). The

second type of organization regards its activity more as a complement and provides activities that are not expected to be done by the public sector. *“The municipality, the social service and the social worker work with drug abuse until certain extend then it stops [...] and then the third sector is taking over and goes in more with comradeship so to say”* (Erik, p. 3). The organizations that get support from the social economy department have started as a result of a social need in town (Erik, p. 2), but the purpose their activities serve are either filling a gap that has been left by the authorities or complementing to the municipality’s activities.

Regulations and the guideline of support

The municipality has expressed its commitment to the third sector. *“We are here as a resource for the associations”* (Erik, p. 1). One primary aim of the social economy department is to support NPOs in order to have alternative services that people can use; to enable social work in another form than the public service (Helena, p. 3). The guidelines for support of NPOs in the city of Gothenburg highlight important conceptions for the spirit and purpose of the cooperation:

“The municipality of Gothenburg shall enable a strong and rich associational life and develop support for the sector of social economy. [...] The organizations function as a voice strengthening democracy in society. [...] NPOs have experience and knowledge that is valuable for developing the municipalities own activities, while the administration has competences that can be useful in organization’s development. [...] The support of the municipality must not carry along a steering effect of the organizations and the collaboration must not direct towards the organizations integrity, initiative and self-determination.” (Social Resursförvaltning 2009, p. 1)(Present authors translation)

The main task of the social economy department is to support NPOs. This support is divided into two main parts: financial and consultative support. To obtain the allowances, NPOs must write an application annually which is followed up by the social economy and decided by a political board. The consultative support consists out of different trainings for NPO members, strategic work to develop the functioning of the NPOs further, and individual assistance in special situations. (Helena, p.2) The financial allowance is an administrative act; the application will be examined and thus denied or approved by the politicians in the board. The consultative support, however, is more diverse and dependent on the request of the NPOs. It ranges from technical questions about how to run an organization to developing issues and how to tackle them. Consultative support can also be important in critical situations like financial misappropriation or other organizational crises. The actual consultative support is orientated towards the needs of the organizations and these needs can be quite different (Helena, p. 4). Some organizations have frequent contact with the social economy department, whereas others do not (Helena, p. 4).

Inside of the social economy department one person is responsible for each NPO. The documentation is followed up, contact is made regularly and recent activities are discussed. The relationship between the social economy department and the NPOs is affected by both support and control. *“We support with the one hand and we control with the other”* (Erik, p. 1). Further, this relation has been compared with the dependence of an employee to his employer (Erik, p. 2). However, interpersonal relations and exchange has been described as an important means for the maintenance of the collaboration (Helena, p. 5). *“[...] if you create a trustful relationship where one can find a mutual confidence with an open dialogue then I think you can overcome this in a way”*

(Erik, p. 1-2). *“Well, that is an ideal situation I describe, but I think it corresponds very much to reality”* (Erik, p. 2). On the other hand, the NPOs demand support from the municipality and additional financing (Helena, p. 5). However, there is no regularly bounded approach or method that is used in the contact with the organizations (Helena, p. 6). Nevertheless, a variety of channels for the communication and exchange can be identified, and various forums have been established for dialogue with the NPOs.

Forms of consultative support and cooperation

Four main aspects that belong to the consultative support can be highlighted. *“It could be said that there are three main forums, the drug-abuser-council, the open dialogue meetings and the individual meetings with the associations and a fourth I will add, we even have education for the associations”* (Erik, p. 2). These four forums enable an exchange between each different actor: the local administration, the politicians, and the various NPOs. These four forums are also important when it comes to the inclusion of NPOs in the development of social issues in Gothenburg. Decision making, however, remains reserved to the politicians on the municipal boards (Erik, p. 2). But a form of dialogue and exchange has been established. One comment reflected in an interview summarizes the positive aspects of this cooperation. *“Just at one of the meetings that we had with the associations was one person that said, ‘it feels like before we had the municipality against us, and now it feels like we have the municipality with us’”* (Erik, p. 4).

As indicated previously, the social economy department is a purely administrative unit of the municipality and decisions about the allowances are made by the politicians on the municipal board (Helena, p. 8). The relations between the NPOs and the municipality have developed. Certainly some organizations are more dependent on the support of the social economy department than others. What becomes apparent are positive effects and a piecemeal satisfaction. However, the division of power in the relationship is not equal, even though some organizations are more dependent and need more support than others. The collaborative process and the contact between the social economy department and the NPOs have been ascribed a double function of control and support (Helena, p. 4; Erik, p. 1). The goal is to give support without getting involved in the governance of the NPO and its integrity, while maintaining that the financial support is carefully monitored and followed up by the social economy department. This interesting constellation will be taken up in the analysis and the discussion section.

Göteborgs Stadsmission – Streetwork division

Organizational description

“Göteborgs kyrkliga Stadsmission” (Gothenburg’s church city mission) is an independent organization founded in 1952. From the beginning the aim was to provide social service for the most vulnerable citizens in Gothenburg. The activities of Göteborgs Stadsmission are divided into two main occupational fields: the value-based activities, which are referred to as core-activity for meeting the needs of the vulnerable in the city and the income-based services that are sold to the municipality (Torbjörn, p. 1). About 400 people work for Göteborgs Stadsmission today, 80 per cent with income-

based service and 20 per cent with the core-activities (Torbjörn, p. 7). In the statutes of Göteborgs Stadsmission, their values and goals are described:

“The foundation [of Gothenburg’s church city mission] shall, in cooperation with the Swedish Church Assembly and others, carry out acts of love in the discipleship of Jesus Christ among the poor and the sick, the weak and the vulnerable, the young and the old.” (Göteborgs Stadsmission 1995)(Present author’s translations)

The financing of Göteborgs Stadsmission is based on different sources. For the value-based activities they obtain an allowance from the social economy department of the municipality. Further, this occupational field is financed by donations: monetary, heritages, clothes, etc. The income-based activities are self sufficient; placements are sold to the municipality and thus finance the maintenance. The generated revenues go back to the value-based activities (Torbjörn, p. 1). In comparison to the other income the allowance of the municipality is relatively low; the whole value-based activities cost each year about 40 million SEK, whereas only about 1.8 million SEK is received from the allowance of the municipality (Torbjörn, p. 2).

In the present thesis the focus is on value-based activities, the so called core-activities and more specifically, on Göteborgs Stadsmission’s “Fältarbete” – the streetwork division. The legal status is a foundation (Stadsmission Göteborg 1995). The staff consists of four salaried streetworkers; partly they have a professional background in social work, partly in diaconal education. The streetwork division provides support for homeless people in the city. A self description of Göteborgs Stadsmission’s streetwork outlines activities and aims.

“The city mission’s streetwork activity visits and meets people in urgent need of support and help. The aim of the activity is to be the society’s ‘first aid’ for homeless or in another ways socially abandoned human beings. [...] With the help of mobile units we procure meeting places directly in the area where the vulnerable stay.” (Stadsmission Göteborg 2009)(Present author’s translations)

The activities of the streetwork division are varied; it tries to meet the most vulnerable and to provide a low-threshold service. The approach is to built up a relationship and to create trust. By being present at meeting places and visiting the homeless people the idea is to create links and contact to social welfare secretary and the social authorities (Petter, p. 1). *“[...] [A]ll along we try to catch up and build relationships in order to, so to speak, get people back into the security system, because this is how you can get accommodation and what else it might be”* (Petter, p. 1). The goal is to let go the users when they manage to live on their own (Petter, p. 1).

Differences between Stadsmission’s streetwork and the public service

In comparison to the public service there are some characteristic features that especially apply to Stadsmission’s activities. The municipality of Gothenburg maintains as well a division of streetwork. One clear comment was, *“[w]ell, the interesting thing is that the municipality’s streetworkers actually do the same thing we do”* (Petter, p. 1). When it comes to competences and regulations, this is most likely the case; especially in regard to the income-based activities sold to the municipality, but also in the streetwork division (Torbjörn, p. 1).

Nevertheless, there are some characteristics that can highlight differences. First of all, Stadsmission is a Christian organization and thus value based; their values arise from the discipleship of Jesus Christ. Stadsmission's value-based activities *"have to be without conditions, one has to build up trust, and then the fellowship part that is often forgotten in the municipality. They think that one only has to put people in a flat and so it gets solved but people become lonely and the only network they have is people that hang out in town thus it is important to find other networks"* (Torbjörn, p. 5).

To continue, Stadsmission is not a public service, nor an official authority. *"Yes, we contribute because we can see things in a different way since we are no authority"* (Torbjörn, p. 6). Firstly, they do not have responsibility for the whole social service in town (Torbjörn, p. 6). The focus is on particular groups, especially the vulnerable. A low-threshold service is provided. Secondly, the users are received without a means-tested approach or an official registration (Petter, p. 2). A specific focus is to catch up those who have fallen through the security net. *"Yes it becomes very clear, because when people fall through the security system, when they do not manage to maintain their contact with the social worker, then we are there and link them to the authorities the whole time, so to say"* (Petter, p. 1). The provided service, even though it is in many ways comparable with the municipality's streetwork exhibits a qualitative difference. *"I believe that the users got a feeling that we are on their side"* (Petter, p. 2). According to the staff, some users of Stadsmission try to avoid contact with the authorities because of bad experiences.

Further, Stadsmission has a larger space to act, a kind of room to manoeuvre (Petter, p. 1). This becomes apparent when starting new projects. *"If it is like, we want to start a syringe-exchange programme or something else that is controversial so we can do it. We do not have to announce that beforehand or ask someone, we just do it in that case"* (Torbjörn, p. 2). This possibility is also based on alternative income that Stadsmission have at their disposal. The different financial sources, such as donation and income-based activities, provide another distinction from the public service. But Stadsmission is therefore also exposed to competition, other NPOs provide similar services (Torbjörn, p. 1). Additionally, Stadsmission's organization differs from the public administration; shorter ways for decision-making and direct communication are more likely, leadership and execution are fairly close (Helena, p. 9). One distinctive aspect is that Stadsmission is able to do things in another way; they create new activities and try to involve the municipality. It is important to find a *"win-win situation"* (Torbjörn, p. 5).

"[...] we have a project in Biskopsgården, a housing project that we call 'housing first', a model from Gothenburg as I say. People can take over the contract after two years and at that time they came directly to search from the social service that they need somewhere to live and it is vulnerable people and then applies the social service law and we have to solve this question. We can put them in a flat and then we invite them for support and help by paying bills at the end of every month; that is cheaper for the social services and the landlords and everybody wins in this concept. And first of all, the one that lives in the flat wins as well. Such solutions I would like to see more." (Torbjörn, p. 5)

Summing up, it can be stated that Stadsmission, to some extent, has a larger room to manoeuvre, to make own decisions and to put into practice new approaches. They are a well-known and well-established NPO in Gothenburg. They have, according to their self-perception, a good reputation among users and citizens in general. Social work has always some kind of double function, support and control of the users. It could perhaps be said that the pendulum between 'support' and 'control' turns more towards support at Stadsmission. However, one significant difference remains, the

question of legitimacy. The public service is legitimized by municipal elections. Stadsmission follows more of a grassroots approach. The issue of legitimacy and democracy will be discussed in detail in the analysis and discussion.

Democratic aspects

The activities of Stadsmission can also be examined from a democratic perspective. Some of the characteristic features support a democratic conception of welfare provision. Firstly, Stadsmission understands its core activity as a service for the most vulnerable citizens in Gothenburg. The methodological approach considers the individual and his/her needs; they gain an audience which they otherwise only would have in a more limited way. This includes also support regarding the contact of an individual user with the social service. He or she is reminded of important things or gets support for the application for an accommodation. Secondly, Stadsmission has contact not only on the operative level but also on the administrative and the decision level. In other words, strategic questions are elaborated upon, together with civil servants and politicians (Torbjörn, p. 8). It is Stadsmission's aim to consider the homeless people's needs when, for instance, new housing areas are built (Torbjörn, p. 8). For the levels of practical social work and management at Stadsmission the contacts required to make the users' needs being heard are different. *"Streetworkers work together with other streetworkers. They do not have that much contact with a higher level [...]. Then I have to sit in this group and talk and say what we can do and then I come back and talk about that for the streetworkers, in this way you have to continue working"* (Torbjörn, p. 3). Stadsmission has more a division of competences, but the support of the vulnerable is at the core of the activities.

Contact with the municipality

Göteborgs Stadsmission is an independent organization operating in the city of Gothenburg. With their work effort they provide a contribution to the welfare in town. Different activities are coordinated with the public sector. *"At first so you can never do everything on your own, it doesn't work. I mean, you have to work together so that it can turn out well. You cannot be an island as it were doing and working on your own, but you have to work together"* (Tobjörn, p. 2).

Stadsmission has established an exchange with the municipality of Gothenburg on different working levels, and they are in contact with various departments and services within the municipality. On the one hand, they have contact with the social services, the municipality's streetworkers and the emergency service in order to accompany their users in contact with these authorities (cf. Petter, p. 1). On the other hand there is an exchange with the social administration, social economy, and politicians for organizational development and the handling of strategic questions (cf. Torbjörn, p. 3, p. 8). The cooperation is a response to a variety of requirements. First, it is necessary to provide access to appropriate services for the individual user, such as drug addiction treatment or housing, and thus to reintegrate the vulnerable into the security system. Secondly, the cooperation with administration and politicians is a source of income, but it also allows for the development of collaborative social strategies, such as the consideration of homeless people in urban development, for instance, in the new district of 'Lindholmen '(Torbjörn p. 8). For a variety of reasons it is necessary to cooperate, for both the individual-level issues as well as structural and organizational issues. The

following comment regarding Stadsmission's involvement in social issues of Gothenburg may add clarification.

"[...] we can be involved and influence when new housing areas are build, what happens in town, what happens with poor EU-citizens that come in [...]? [...] It is important to find the right persons or groups. [...] Certainly we have been involved and asked and said what we think. And we are in progress. We continue and infiltrate us. We work quite hard with it. We have a big network among politicians and all along we thus try to lobby us in" (Torbjörn, p. 7-8).

However, the contact with the municipality is not only started from Stadsmission. The administration of the city and the politicians have an interest in Stadsmission's activities. It is as well politicians that come and ask for the situation of the homeless in town. Additionally, the social economy department takes contact in order to follow up the usage of the allowance. Moreover, users of the social service are occasionally linked to Stadsmission's division of streetwork for low-threshold social service (cf. Petter, p. 2). What becomes apparent is that cooperation is mutually desired, with different issues negotiated at various levels within the organizations. Both Stadsmission and the municipality are expecting to benefit from the exchange.

KRIS Göteborg

Organizational description

KRIS is an organization for people with a background in drug abuse and/or criminality, as stated in the statute of KRIS (KRIS 2009). The abbreviation KRIS stands for "Kriminellas Revansch i Samhället" (criminals' return into society). The organization was established in 1997 in Stockholm, and the local department in Gothenburg followed in 2000 (Jasmine, p.6). The organizational form is an association (KRIS 2009). Throughout Sweden they have about 5500 Members (Jasmine, p. 2). According to the local statute the aim of local associations, such as KRIS Göteborg is by formation of opinion to contribute to a drug free society. Activities directed towards society try contribute to a decrease in recruitment to drug abuse and criminality. Through comradeship and consultations, members shall obtain help in order to become responsible citizens. (KRIS 2009) The main principles of KRIS are, drug freeness, comradeship, solidarity and honesty (Johan, p. 1).

KRIS came into being as an initiative of ex-prisoners who wanted to start an association to help them stay drug free and away from criminality (Jasmine, p. 2). They were taking part in various self-help-groups, such as Alcoholic Anonymous, but "they had no place in society" (Johan, p. 1). Through this initiative an association has been created that has until today no other responding example in Sweden. *"There are definitely a lot of other associations, but there is no other that is this big, this good, and this well known"* (Jasmine, p. 8). KRIS Göteborg has about 225 members (Jasmine, p. 1). The employed staff consists out of six people at KRIS Göteborg. Both, the staff and the normal members at KRIS have a background in drug abuse and/or criminality. The description from the KRIS website summarizes their activities and aims.

"We try to be of assistance to discharged prisoners during their first period of freedom, trying to make life meaningful to them. The idea is that people who have experienced addiction, crime and correctional treatment and now live a life free from drugs and without criminal activities shall constitute the backbone of the association and support the most important member, namely he or she who has just been released from prison and is in need of positive back-up measures." (KRIS 2010)

The activities of KRIS Göteborg can be divided into two categories. First, value-based activities such as providing a meeting place and camaraderie (Johan, p. 1) and second the recently founded "Livstilhuset" - a placement in a group home for juveniles (Jasmine, p. 1). The focus of the present thesis is on the value-based activities of KRIS Göteborg. The main activities are visits to prison and those in custody, meetings at the cafe, and lecturing about experiences with drug abuse, criminality, and job training. (Johan, p. 1).

The general approach is based on comradeship. *"Then this about going to prison and helping other people and presenting oneself, 'because I can, you can'"* (Jasmine, p. 2). This camaraderie, based on one's own experience, is one of the most distinctive features provided by KRIS; it is an identification factor for new members. *"[...] [T]hey know that there are guys and girls that have this experience, they have been there and this is an identification factor that is very important in the beginning"* (Johan, p. 2). According to KRIS members it is hard to convey the hope and the feeling for those who have not gone through this (Johan, p. 2). This central approach is the cornerstone of KRIS activities. But this comradeship has been transformed into an organized approach through the formation of an association, its statute, training for the members, and the support of the municipality.

"In one way you buy some kind of structured fellowship, a weekday where you come in the morning, you take part in the activities, take care of the premises, lunch and such things and get a new fellowship, new people to spend time with" (Johan, p. 1).

The contact with users of KRIS can be quite different. Everybody who has got a background in criminality and is willing to stay drug free can become a member and is welcome to appear every day and follow a daily routine. *"We meet everybody with love and respect"* (Jasmine, p. 3). What has been notable in the interviews is that the time-factor plays an important role; it is not achieved to immediately get a permanent position in a company. *"We try it in another way"* (Johan, p. 4). *"[...] [H]ere they get to learn in their own rhythm, how you behave, that you come on time, call when you are sick and such things that are evident for us, but not for everybody"* (Jasmine, p. 3).

After some time, users have the possibility to take part in an internship or work training. Members can first obtain a representation allowance and then transition towards salaried employment (Jasmine, p. 3). For those who manage the whole way it is about 60 per cent who cope with the situation. On the other hand, a lot of members drop out much earlier (Jasmin, p. 3).

KRIS has to direct their activities as well towards generating income; *"[...] [H]ere in Gothenburg unfortunately it is a lot about getting the financing together. Small income sources create new activities."* (Johan, p. 1) The financing of KRIS is based on different pillars. First of all they get an allowance from the social economy department of the municipality. Secondly they get money from the correctional system and the employment agencies for visits in prison and for work training. The biggest source of income, however, is the correctional system (Jasmine, p. 2). Additionally money is earned by lecturing and by selling placements for juveniles to the public service (Jasmine, p. 2).

“Piece by piece we can maybe cut the allowances of the municipality and become self-sufficient, and this is really the goal” (Jasmine, p. 2).

Differences between KRIS and the public service

In comparison to the public social service there are some distinctive features that especially apply to KRIS’s activities. They have background in drug abuse and criminality, and hence this life experience in every staff member is a characteristic of KRIS.

“What is unique for KRIS is that everything that we have built up and created has been done by people with a background, without education, without school, from the institution, from the street with heavy drug abuse and such things in the back that have by staying sober and drug free created a sustainable activity.” (Johan, p. 2)

Thus, the cornerstone of KRIS’s activity is the background and experience in drug abuse and criminality, and its ability to provide a model for those who come from imprisonment (cf. Jasmine, p. 2). Further comradeship is a significant feature; a structured fellowship is offered. *“The difference is that I can be myself”* (Jasmine, p. 4). This comradeship consists of welcoming people with open arms and having a feeling for the process one is going through (cf. Jasmine, p. 3). Thus a place in society is created for those who have a background in drug abuse and criminality (cf. Johan, p. 1). The background of the staff creates a base for trust. *“And then I talked about my life, how it used to be and so on, and we became very good friends. We found a bond; then he called me several times and came here and so.”* (Johan, p. 2)

Camaraderie and trust are supported by the fact that KRIS Göteborg is neither a part of the public service, nor an official authority. Although the goal of staying drug free and away from criminality is comparable with the public service, their approach is different. They try to catch up people who come from prison and people who are engaged in criminality (Jasmine, p. 3). They invite people to take part in their *“structured fellowship”* (Johan, p. 1). In some way this comradeship provides comprehension, sympathy and an individual timeframe.

For the organization of KRIS Göteborg it can be said that there are short ways of communication and decisions are made close to the members. The premises are on one floor and every morning there is meeting for taking up important issues with all present members (cf. Jasmine, p. 1). It is about *“[...] [K]nocking on the door of the association and saying, ‘hej, can I come in, yes you are welcome, how do you want to have it, what do you want to do?’”* (Helena, p. 12)

Summing up, it can be stated that KRIS Göteborg provides a feeling of comprehension and camaraderie. *“We try it in another way”* (Johan, p. 4). The balance between proximity and distance is an important axis in social work. What has become apparent is that at KRIS Göteborg, the tendency is towards proximity. However as it is the case for Stadsmission, the question of legitimacy remains. The public service is legitimized by municipal elections. KRIS is built up on a grassroots approach to self help. The issue of legitimacy and democracy will be discussed in detail in the analysis and discussion section.

Democratic aspects

Some of the distinct features that characterize KRIS can also be regarded from a democratic angle. On the one hand, associational life makes the members familiar with democratic principles; the member's election to the board and participation in the activities are basic features. For KRIS it is especially interesting that the members who belong to a stigmatized group in society create their own space, their "place in society" (cf. Johan, p. 1). Through this grassroots approach participation and a reintegration in society to a certain extent becomes possible. On the other hand the members' voices are being heard through their presence on television and in newspapers. *"We try to be on TV [...]. We try to be seen and to do reasonable discussions and it starts to appear to be a good thing."* (Jasmine, p. 5) Moreover, the perception of the of KRIS's target group is a concern. *"[...] [W]e want to change the society's conception of those human beings that have a drug abuse problem. [...] Abuse is a harmful use even if you have a certain control about it."* (Johan, p. 4) A further aspect is the commitment for individual members that have difficulties in their contact to the authorities, for instance, in order to get a housing contract with the municipality (cf. Jasmine, p. 5). The contact with the social economy department and other public services allows the members to articulate their needs and demand appropriate support. Additionally, *"[...] during the last two years incredibly much has happen with good public relations and almost normal people today know who we are and that we do a good job."* (Jasmine, p. 4) KRIS Göteborg has established two fruitful connections to communicate the individual members' needs and to enable reintegration and participation by addressing the municipality and the society as a whole.

Contact with the municipality

KRIS Göteborg is an independent organization active in the city which provides a contribution to welfare in town. Contacts with several divisions of the public sector have been established. *"So that we take out the humility and say that we do not get any further. But together we get a bit further. I am very proud and very glad about the cooperation and the trust that has been created between KRIS Göteborg and the municipality [...]."* (Johan, p. 3)

On one side, contact exists with the correctional system, the social service, and employment agency (Johan, p. 4). On the other side, an exchange exists with the social administration, the department of social economy and different politicians. Different concerns require different points of contact. For the individual user and member at KRIS it can be important to get support while having contact with the authorities and the public sector. Firstly, this may be beneficial when it comes to a specific service the person might need, such as an application for job training at KRIS. Secondly, it is important to follow up the reintegration process of a member. *"[...] [I]f we do not manage to take care of somebody we do have the responsibility to say no, this is too difficult for us, we need psychologists, therapists, we need more than our network"* (Johan, p. 2-3). Further, the contact with politicians and the administration is needed for following the progress and development of KRIS, when it comes time to create a new activity or service. *"As soon as I hit upon something I do not really know how I should do it I call people in the municipality [...]"* (Johan, p. 3). Additionally, the allowance of the social economy department enables KRIS to implement their activities. The aim, though, is to become independent from those public funds and thus become self-sufficient (Jasmine, p. 2). One part of the contact between KRIS Göteborg and the municipality is to advocate on behalf of their users, to make progress on the level of the individual. An example shall serve as an illustration:

“Yes, we had one woman from Umeå. She was here in Gothenburg, first she was in prison, then she was accommodated in a women shelter and then she got our flat in Majorna; then it was the idea that she should live there for one and a half year and then get a flat from the municipality. She had a very good conduct. She was cooking the dinner, only negative drug tests. Everything was great. And then we went to the municipality and said, now we would like to have a municipal contract, she had a very good conduct, here are all the documents and they just said, she is not from the city of Gothenburg, it does not work. And then we succeeded by calling all the social service offices, we succeeded to find one that received us for a conversation anyway. And then we could present what we thought about it and then we could solve it. And that would not have worked like this if it was not KRIS.” (Jasmine, p. 5)

The contact between KRIS and the municipality is not only emanated from KRIS’s side. It is common, in fact, for politicians and civil servants make contact with the organization. The Swedish minister of justice, for example, has visited KRIS Göteborg on her own initiative (Jasmine, p. 5). Occasionally, social services make contact with KRIS as well in order to procure possible support for their users, for instance, a work training place (cf. Johan, p. 2). Further, the contact is quite open, and sometimes, the managers of the social administration just come around for a coffee when they have a meeting in the “folkets hus” (centre of the social democrats in Gothenburg) (Jasmine, p. 6). The social economy department follows up on these collaborative activities, as they are responsible for appropriate application of the allowance. KRIS and the municipality share conduct on various levels; their contact is based on mutual interest and has proven quite beneficial for both.

Comparing Stadsmission and KRIS

Both organizations are recognized NPOs cooperating with the public service in Gothenburg. However, their history and structure are distinguishable in many ways. As pointed out Stadsmission is a well established NPO, active in Gothenburg for more than 50 years, whereas KRIS has been founded only a decade ago. Moreover, Stadsmission is organized as a foundation and KRIS is an association. Both organizations have members, but Stadsmission to certain extent employs professional trained staff, such as social workers. At KRIS every employee has a background in criminality. As a whole Stadsmission is much bigger than KRIS and has about 400 staff members. However in the distinctive divisions of streetwork it has about the same amount of people employed as KRIS does it for its value-based activities. Additionally, the background of both organizations is different; Stadsmission is rooted in Christian values, whereas KRIS is built upon a self-help approach and common experience.

Even though both NPOs have clearly different characteristics there are some important things they have in common. Stadsmission and KRIS have achieved the trust of their users, partly because of they are not a government authority, and partly because of their background in Christian values and life experience. Both organizations split up their activities into two main areas: First, value-based activities among other sources financed by the selective allowance of the social economy department and second, selling places to the public service. As mentioned in the introduction, this thesis focuses on the value-based activities. However it is interweaved with the income-based activities.

Chapter 6 – Analysis

As presented in the organizational description there is a political will in the municipality of Gothenburg to cooperate with NPOs located in the city. These organizations utilize the financial and the consultative support in different ways and this cooperation is not a one-way process. The municipality and the NPOs have worked together to develop a guideline that regulates the public support for NPOs. (cf. Social Resursförvaltning 2009). The process of developing the guideline has been described as follows:

“This has given the possibility to be involved, to think, to resonate and to influence. And this process, I believe, most of the associations experienced as very positive. They got the possibility to have a dialogue, partly with us, the public servants, but also with the politicians in the board.” (Helena, p. 2)
“It is, of course, totally governed by the politicians because it is them that decided about these guidelines.” (Helena, p. 2)

The point of departure as indicated previously is the cooperation between the administrative department of social economy and NPOs active in the city of Gothenburg. The NPOs are regarded as a contributor to welfare in town and they are considered as a voice that strengthens democracy. Politicians appreciate this contribution. They have installed the administrative department of the social economy that executes both support and control. The clear commitment to the NPOs on one side faces an obvious imbalance in power on the other; the politicians make the decisions. Further, some organizations are more dependent on the municipality than other. NPOs need the contact to the municipality for different reasons; it is necessary to gain attention. However, different consequences of this very remarkable process shall be highlighted. It is interesting to explore the depth of this cooperation, and in how far it already can be described as a form of deliberative practice in welfare. First, the functions of the NPOs and their contribution to democracy will be analyzed. Second, aspects of legitimacy will be discussed. Third, cooperation and power relationships will be analyzed. Finally, a democratic analysis according to a deliberative practice and the explored challenges is outlined.

The contribution of NPOs and its functions

As presented in the description of the organizations, each of the two organizations are distinguished by a number of characteristic features. KRIS and Stadsmission contribute to the provision of welfare and its diversity in Gothenburg. KRIS’s approach is based on comradeship and life experience, and thus they provide additional welfare which does not belong to the municipal spectrum of social work. To be brief, they function as a complement to the public service. However, Stadsmission service is more similar to the public social service. Certainly some of their approaches are as well of a complementary nature, but mostly they provide similar service in slightly a different way; their values in Christianity are one important feature. Stadsmission is providing therefore a different approach, an alternative. This distinction between alternatives and complements underlines two different functions that complete the welfare production (cf. Clemens 2006, p. 214). “By supplementing the one policy option that government must choose, nonprofits thus help address a central problem of democracy – how to meet diverse needs” (James 1987, in: Smith and Grønby 2006, p. 224).

However, a functional approach can allow further assumptions and insights into the contribution of third sector social work. A distinction between manifest and latent functions has been made in Chapter 3. KRIS's and Stadsmission's value based activities follow a purpose that is outlined in the organizations' statutes. By fulfilling those tasks manifest functions are complied with. This also includes the above-mentioned distinction between complementation and alternative. Further intended functions have been outlined in Chapter 4. The exploration of latent function is of analytical interest; besides their intention, organizations can also serve a purpose of which they are not aware. In the following it is not intended to interpret the methods that are being used and the behaviour of certain staff members but rather it is to view the activities from a different angle. It is to observe intentional acts from another perspective and to assemble it according to the output that it has. This output, or effect, has not been intended consciously from the beginning of the act. Two main findings are to be presented, one version of latent function and another of manifest function.

First, both organizations have been created out of a need of the specific user group; it is their goal to help the target group. With the creation of an organization the users get more or less equipped with both help and voice. Thereby, it is strategic advantages that NPOs are independent from the public service, they are not accountable in the same way and they do not register their users officially. This is often appreciated by the users. This is part of the manifest function; members and users benefit from the support and the representation by the legal personality of the organization. According to Habermas NPOs are parts of civil society. They are actors in the public sphere and they transmit social problems to this *public sphere* to make people aware about them; they are amplifiers (cf. Habermas 1998, p. 367). Stressing the metaphor of an amplifier a bit further, NPOs even create feedback. What has become apparent in the case study is that it is not only the third sector organization that contacts the municipality on behalf of their users, but it is at the same time different units of the municipality contacting the NPOs. As mentioned in Chapter 5, this is the case when the social service is linking users further to Stadsmission or KRIS. This is also the case when local politicians or the Swedish minister of justice visits the organization. Thus NPOs are a contact point for politicians; they are a harbour for different concerns. Both the administration and the politicians are making contact with NPOs. Here we have a dialogue and not a cul-de-sac. This latent function of a feedback effect has not been intended from the very beginning, but it serves the organization's purpose and opens new possibilities. This interesting finding of the thesis is in line with neo-institutional theories that emphasize a mutual dependency and synergism in third sector public sector relations. In a way it can be estimated that politicians and administrators are willing to benefit from the room to manoeuvre that NPOs possess. Contested approaches can be tested by the third sector, before government gets involved. The municipality in a way borrows capacity from the NPOs (cf. Clemens 2006, p. 208). This perspective is a link to the following manifest functions.

Secondly, a significant manifest function shall be outlined. Certainly KRIS and Stadsmission provide some kind of additional value that has in this particular way not been fulfilled by the municipality. This is probably the main purpose for NPOs in a welfare state; they come into being because of a need that has been found (cf. Erik, p. 2-3). However, some particular ways these two organizations tackle the issue are especially noteworthy. On the first appearance comradeship and Christian values seem to be a common motive among NPOs. What becomes apparent on closer examination is that they try to implement new approaches by simply doing them. What has been shown is that KRIS and Stadsmission are equipped with a certain room to manoeuvre; they can do things even if they are controversial (cf. Torbjörn, p. 2). Thus, by "*doing things in another way*" a space exists to try new

things, new approaches (cf. Torbjörn p.5; Johan p. 4). This is supported by short ways of decision making. To summarize, NPOs have the necessary space at their disposal in order to test new concepts. This is the case for Stadsmission's project "housing first" (cf. Torbjörn, p. 5) and as well for KRIS "livstilhus" (Life-Style House) (cf. Jasmine, p. 2). Even if this analysis goes too far, but to a certain extent the NPOs take parts of an avant-garde. This is further underlined by the above-mentioned latent function of feedback; politicians and the administration are interested in the kind of approaches NPOs use. In line with what has been written by Clemens, NPOs have become a source for "innovation" and "experimentation" and further "policy models that may feed back into deliberation over future public programs" (Clemens 2006, p. 208).

Internal and external democratic dynamics

Democracy is, as indicated in Chapter 3, a form of government that tries to meet the common interests (cf. Weal 2007, p. 77). NPOs have been described as actors in civil society and the third sector as *schools of democracy* (cf. Pestoff 2009, p. 8). For the cooperation between the municipality and the various NPOs, democracy is a factor on the input and on the output side. Accordingly, the social economy department requires their supported NPOs to have a democratic structure. Further, the third sector organizations are generally expected to contribute to democracy. Amnå distinguishes between external and internal democratic dynamics in associations (Amnå 2007, p. 174). This distinction can highlight some important features of the case study. Although, Amnå applies these categories primarily in the context of associations they can be helpful for the present analysis; KRIS is organized as an association, whereas Stadsmission's streetwork unit is part of a foundation. It is understandable that the first category of internal democratic dynamics mainly applies to those organizations that are based on the voluntary engagement of their members. It is the members that learn how to argue and make decisions and, this is especially the case for KRIS. The personal experience to be able to sway something and the experienced reintegration into society was an important factor for the staff members (cf. Jasmine, p. 8; Johan, p. 2). Further, the active and employed members learn different democratic skills such as voting procedures, writing applications, and presenting new activities to the municipality. This internal democratic dynamic can be regarded as a part of KRIS's integrative process. For Stadsmission this internal function applies only on a limited scale; not at the streetwork unit but in other divisions voluntary work is included. This can be regarded as an anchor for value-based voluntary activities. For Stadsmission's organizational identity this is indeed of importance. Recently, these internal democratic dynamics have been discussed and regarded as *social capital* contributing to democracy, the function of associations in the process of political socialization has been highlighted (cf. Clemens, 2006, p. 209).

The external democratic dynamics apply to both organizations. As indicated, KRIS and Stadsmission clearly direct particular activities against the municipality and politicians. However, the external democratic dynamics is only one important function among others. Neither KRIS nor Stadsmission are political organization per se. To make the users' voices and needs heard is one way to serve the organizations' purpose. The relation to the municipality has been described as a favourable one; both sides are willing to gain from the cooperation.

Smith and Grønberg have described government-NPOs relations according to a civil society approach as tense (cf. Smith and Grønberg 2006, p. 230). Nevertheless, in the case study the relation appeared to be more sort of a partnership, even though some social issues are perceived in a

different way. Accordingly, advocacy did not become visible in a radical face. Along with Onyx et al. it was rather non-confrontational – in a way *advocacy with gloves* (cf. Onyx et al. 2009, p. 43). For Stadsmission, for instance, it is rather the case to lobby themselves in, instead of fighting against the municipality (cf. Torbjörn, p. 8). Further, distinctions for the external democratic dynamic of advocacy and lobbying have been made in the theoretical chapter. For the difference between legislative and administrative lobbying, it can be said that the thesis at hand is mainly focused on the administrative level. It can be highlighted, that NPOs in different ways deliberate issues with the social economy department, such as to start a new project or to get involved in the city planning. Further, they were involved in the creation of the guideline for the support. Another categorization is about case advocacy and policy advocacy. Case advocacy very clearly was pointed out in the case study; both organizations represent clients' interests against the authorities. Policy advocacy, in contrast, is not that conspicuous in the case study, it is of a larger collective interest, but some aspects can be highlighted. Stadsmission and KRIS are in contact with politicians, they try to make their voices heard on more general issues in the different forums of communication, such as the drug-user council or the open dialogue meetings. Further contact to the media is a way to communicate and to put issues on the agenda and thus influence policy. What has become apparent is that neither Stadsmission nor KRIS practice advocacy or lobbying in a radical way. Nevertheless, the cooperation seems to be a vehicle for non-confrontational lobbying and advocacy. Interestingly, some lobbying is done through municipality created instruments, and the forums for discussion enable different mechanisms for making voices heard.

Legitimacy

For their value-based activities about 170 NPOs obtain support from the municipality in Gothenburg. As indicated previously, this support is divided into financial and consultative support. A third category shall be introduced, legitimacy. Beside the two other gains, legitimacy is not that obvious but this does not mean that it is less important. Organizations that are approved to obtain support from the municipality are in a way an accepted partner in welfare production. By this act the municipality recognizes the particular organization as a legitimate provider of welfare. This is the case for both Stadsmission and KRIS. This acknowledgement vests NPOs with legitimacy. Smith and Grønberg emphasize the importance of financial support.

“The receipt of government funding also brings nonprofits formally into the sphere of participating in the delivery of goods deemed important enough to warrant the expenditures of tax revenues. That, along with their enhanced management capacity, conveys considerable legitimacy on nonprofits.” (Smith and Grønberg 2006, p. 227)

At KRIS it has been pointed out clearly that they appreciate the cooperation (cf. Johan, p. 3). *“I think it is working fine, the more known we are the more social services call us and ask for help”* (Jasmine, p. 8). KRIS is practicing a form of structured comradeship; this has been noticed and acknowledged by the social service. Even though the social service does not practice comradeship as an approach themselves, they do link users in need further to KRIS. Hereby the social service regards comradeship as legitimate practice. In context of service provision it is the administration that conducts the contact to NPOs (cf. Clemens 2006, p. 215). For KRIS this is very important, because they are quite newly founded, whereas Stadsmission has existed for more than 50 years in Gothenburg. For them it is more about continuing the cooperation and to get involved with further issues. They represent Sweden in a committee for homelessness in Europe. *“Then you get also another power when one has*

such a mandate. It gets natural and one has advantages to have this mandate as organization, as Stadsmission. We get a higher status among the voluntary organizations in town with such a mandate.” (Torbjörn, p. 4)

In a universal and democratic welfare regime something is expected in return for collective good. From the starting point, the public sector does not exist for its own sake, but rather to serve the citizens, legitimized by democratic elections. The financial allowance and the consultative support are transformed into additional value in forms of alternative service and higher diversity. The legitimacy, however, is transferred back in the same form, serving the same purpose. Regarding a democratic welfare system, the elected politicians impart legitimacy to non-profit providers of welfare by their civil servants' acts. The other way around this democratic welfare system is backed up by civil society who legitimizes it through bottom-up proceedings the welfare system. According to Habermas, “[n]ot influence per se, but influence transformed into communicative power legitimates political decisions” (Habermas 1996, p. 371). On the level of the municipality and the actors involved some examples can clarify this relation. The above-mentioned cooperation regarding the guideline can serve as an example. Here the politicians invite NPOs to take part in a discourse and this *public influence* is transformed into *communicative power* by the acceptance of the commonly developed guidelines; keeping in mind that the actual decision has been made by the politicians. Then, along with Habermas the *communicative power* legitimates the decision itself. Further support has been found in the case study. Stadsmission is in contact with different politicians in Gothenburg and they try to get involved with strategic questions, such as city development. They are also participating in the open dialogue meetings arranged by the social economy department. Here they have the possibility to promote their own ideas and thus turn the *public influence* into *communicative power* by the acceptance and integration of their suggestions by politicians.

Power Relations

Even though third sector organizations have obtained a legitimate status, questions of power are not yet addressed. As mentioned in the introduction to the thesis, NPOs are regarded as an auspicious contributor to a more democratic welfare provision. But how do power relations in this institutionalized cooperation shape their roles?

As stated in Chapter 3, power can show different faces. The focus for the present analysis is dedicated to the radical face of power which consists of manipulation of the will and not intended influence. A manipulation of NPOs has not become apparent through the case study, but rather an unintended form of influence. As the theory of *isomorphism* suggests, the environment organizations operate in causes them to adapt to the complexity they meet. This has been observable for KRIS and Stadsmission. In a way, both NPOs expand their fields of activity and they have to meet the administrative requirements of the cooperation. Stadsmission and KRIS have been growing since they have been established and are still growing (cf. Torbjörn, p. 7; Jasmine, p. 8). These expansions appear mainly in the regard of income-based activities, but they also affect value-based activities. For KRIS the question of employing professionally educated staff has been brought up. This is not only a question of power and influence effects but also of core values that everybody working at KRIS should have a background in criminality or drug abuse. “As nonprofits become more dependent on external funding, they tend to become more bureaucratic and professionalized” (Smith and Lipsky 1993, in: Clemens 2006, p. 214). This tendency has been traceable at KRIS, “*here in Gothenburg*

unfortunately a lot is about getting the economy together” (Johan, p. 1). However, these effects of identity will be further emphasized below. In general, NPOs have to adapt to certain requirements in order to obtain the financial resources and consultative support.

It is important to consider different sources of power that can cause an imbalance of power in the relationship. Important sources of power have already been mentioned in Chapter 3 and, as indicated above, the resources possessed by the municipality are a significant source of power to the social economy department. Further, the municipality in a way provides expertise knowledge and skills to the NPOs in form of counselling and training programmes for staff of the NPOs (cf. Erik, p. 2). Additionally, as it will be shown below, the municipality can impose sanctions on NPOs that do not function in the expected or desired way. The imbalance of power is thus characterized by different access to power sources; the social economy department in a way is a gatekeeper to different resources and skills that the NPOs want to have at their disposal. Nevertheless, what becomes apparent is that not all NPOs depend on the municipality in the same way and to the same extent. For Stadsmission it can be said that they have a huge internal network of support, whereas KRIS needs the consultative support much more (cf. Johan p. 3). Below a specific focus will be directed towards the ambiguous power arrangement of support and control.

Support and control

Recognized NPOs formulate their goals in the statute of the organization. Both organizations Stadsmission and KRIS have a more or less concrete paragraph that describes the occupational field and the aims of the organization. By outlining their occupation and their goals they do apply for the allowance granted by the municipality (Erik, p. 1), given that they are operating in the area of social service and responding to a need in town. This can be regarded as the entrance ticket to support of the social economy department and a legitimation of their activities. The process of approval or denial was outlined as follows:

“But we can as well give a refusal, if one is applying for something different that does not belong to our area [...]. It has to be in the social area, it has to be support for people that need support [...]. Thus the target group has to be the right one and then it is what kind of activity one has, what kind of methods are to be applied in order to help this people.” (Helena, p. 6)

Accordingly, there is a threshold that authorizes municipal support for certain NPOs. In case the support is granted, the guidelines clearly state that this municipal support *“must not carry along a steering effect of the organization and the collaboration must not direct towards the organizations integrity, initiative and self-determination”* (Social Resursförvaltning 2009).

The preliminary selection of the NPOs carries at the same time a grant to self-determination in that sense there is a kind of comfortable and exclusive position to the NPOs. Nevertheless, the financial support can vary from year to year. The double function of support and control becomes apparent. *“[...] [W]e see that three years ago you did a very good job but, now you dropped off, nothing has happen during the last years that is why we reduce the allowance, we have got higher requirements”* (Erik, p. 2). Opposing this viewpoint, another perspective was raised in the interview. *“[...] maybe they change their regulations a bit in order to satisfy the municipality [...], I use to advise against that, I mean to adapted to the municipality’s rules and regulations; I say, no, I do not think you should do that, thus you decide on your own.”* (Erik, p. 2)

One response to this dichotomy of support and control was given in one of the interviews. Confidence, trust, and an open dialogue are regarded as a means to overcome the dichotomy (cf. Erik, p. 1-2). This perception is reflected in some comments of the cooperating NPOs: *"I am very proud and glad about the cooperation and the trust that has been created between KRIS Göteborg and the municipality"* (Johan, p. 3).

However, the relationship of dependence is not yet overcome and imbalance of power is apparent. The social economy department incorporates both support and control and they hold important resources for the NPOs. Of course there is the possibility to exit this cooperation, but there is also an accrued benefit involved, for both the NPOs and the municipality. Even if the support is not essential for the survival of all organizations, it is, however a source of financing and support that is appreciated by the NPOs. For KRIS it has been stated that they want to become self-sufficient (cf. Jasmine, p. 2). Nevertheless, it can be estimated that on the other hand they still are dependent on the consultative support. *"As soon as I hit upon something I do not really know how I should do it I call people in the municipality [...]"* (Johan, p. 3). Regarding Stadsmission it might be the other way around. The organizational structure is more sophisticated and they have internal support. *"We are more independent"* (Torbjörn, p. 3). However Stadsmission takes the financial support anyhow. In a way a fruitful organizational life needs public support.

As different scholars of neo-institutional theories have suggested a decrease in public support will go along with a decline in for NPOs (cf. Smith and Grønbjerg 2006, p. 236). In a more positive expression, Smith and Grønbjerg use an assumption of Polanyi that views the relation between the public and the third sector as interdependent and mutually reinforcing (Polanyi 1944, in: Smith and Grønbjerg 2006, p. 236). This has been a significant finding of the present thesis.

The process of collaboration serves both the NPOs and the municipality. On the two sides expectations can be highlighted. For Stadsmission it is a respectively small part of the income but as well a forum to discuss concerns regarding the development of Gothenburg (cf. Torbjörn, p. 8); for KRIS it is about the funds to maintain the premises (cf. Jasmine, p. 2) and to get a piece of advice if needed (cf. Johan, p. 3). For the municipality it is about supporting alternative service and new approaches (Helena, p. 3). One perspective on the collaboration thus is to regard it as a "win win situation", in order to develop something from which everybody benefits (cf. Torbjörn, p. 5). *"NPOs have experience and knowledge that is valuable for developing the municipalities' own activities, while the administration has competences that can be useful in organization's development"* (Social Resursförvaltning 2009, p. 1) (Present author's translation).

As stated in the introduction to this chapter, a remarkable constellation has been observed. Different factors that affect the cooperation have been highlighted. So far some obstacles and some supportive aspects have been highlighted. However, especially the establishment of a trusting relationship seems to contribute to a favourable climate in the cooperation, which has been actually expressed and appreciated from both sides.

Deliberative elements

The above-presented findings suggest themselves to be analyzed according to a deliberative practice in the cooperation and in welfare provision. What has become apparent is that a variety of communicative forums have been established and mutual interested and dependency has been carved out. Different voices get an arena in which they are communicated, debated and probably heard. This procedure also follows distinct rules, constituted in the guideline. It can be interpreted as a form of institutionalized *opinion- and will formation*. If these voices are now being heard and transferred into legitimate lawmaking or a change in administrative practice they turn into *communicative power*. In this way the institutionalized cooperation can be interpreted as a practice composed of a variety of deliberative elements.

However, critical issues must be mentioned. Even though communicative rules seem to have established in this cooperation, the relationship between different NPOs is still unclear. This relation has even been described bluntly as competition (cf. Torbjörn, p. 4). Further, forms and sizes of organizations and their access to resources are very different. However, this question regards another objective, the communication and networking among NPOs and the use of resources in civil society. The role of umbrella organizations is an important one that raises questions of power relationships among NPOs. These questions cannot be answered here and will require further research.

Further, the question remains, whether the discernible element of a deliberative practice grants protection against the abuse of power. Deliberative elements have been described as a means to overcome a democratic deficit in welfare provision. The cooperation raises new questions. KRIS and Stadsmission do not take a radical position against the municipality. The adaptation to the administrative rules carries along less critical standpoints. According to this perspective, the cooperation becomes, on one side, a remedy to democratic challenges, while on the other, it smoothes down critical contribution of NPOs. The cooperation appears to be a balancing act.

Democratic considerations - a balancing act

A critical examination of the case study suggests scrutinizing the cooperation. Through the process of analysis it has become apparent that the cooperation has both beneficial and challenging aspects. In order to find out how NPOs and the municipality manage this constellation the cooperation will be problematized and revisited in this section. The purpose is to highlight elements in practice that help to overcome the challenge of a balancing act. Successful traces of a democratic practice in the process of collaboration will be shown.

A balancing act for the municipality

The cooperation can be described as a balancing act for the municipality. On one hand, the participation and integration of NPOs into the production of welfare can serve as a revitalization of democracy. In a decentralized way, democratic organized NPOs work at a grassroots level. From the bottom-up the voices of the citizens are directed towards the administration and the decision makers. Additionally diverse service is provided to a pluralistic society. On the other hand the municipality gives away competences. Welfare is no longer the very own field of the state; the

politicians undermine their political competence of decision-making. This might then undermine the universal claim of a social democratic welfare state as well. In general, this can lead to *anti-statism* tendencies. (cf. Clemens 2006, p. 215) What becomes apparent is a tendency of “policy makes politics” (Clemens 2006, p. 216). This is a challenge for the municipality and democracy in general.

First of all, Ellison has presented ideas and elements of a more deliberative welfare production. As introduced in Chapter 3, he suggests that deliberative elements in welfare production can help to overcome the antagonism of universalism versus particularism. Universal principles of social rights and constituted ways to communicate are supposed to meet particular needs on a decentralized level. Along with discourse theory this shall grant a democratically-rooted practice of welfare and social work. These assumptions also meet with new requirements in welfare, such as the pluralisation of societies across Europe and an attested democratic deficit in welfare provision.

However, a reconnection to the empirical findings of the case study can help to highlight important aspects on the input and the output side of the cooperation. To start with, the cooperation per se can be interpreted as a deliberative practice. The politicians do not give up their principle to rule, but they include further perspective in a deliberative way. Different forums of discussion such as the drug abuser council and the open dialogue meetings have been created and democratic decisions are thus backed up by a broader, participatory community. The output, however, is not that apparent. A universal welfare state is expected to cover the welfare needs of its citizens in an equal way; this is democratically legitimized by the citizen as a voter. Now, when different actors are approved to participate in welfare provision the universal claim might be questioned. However, we see on the other hand that those actors such as KRIS or Stadsmission are mainly specialized on particular groups, often vulnerable and stigmatized people that are to a broad extent stigmatized and not heard from within society. In this way democratic principles are addressed as well. In other words, a significant challenge of democracy is tackled, namely, how to meet the needs of a minority (cf. Clemens 2006, p. 224). The municipality is creating a setting for those particular needs and they thus fulfil an important democratic requirement. This has been supported by the theory of transaction (cf. Smith and Grønbjerg 2006, p. 225 ff). The NPOs are invited to cooperate and the municipality indirectly complies a function that they otherwise would not fulfil. As carved out in the case study, NPOs are capable of providing a social service that the public service cannot produce in the same way. Thus the municipality has an interest to encourage, to support, and finally, to bind these capabilities. This, however, shapes as well the appearance of NPOs (cf. Smith and Grønbjerg 2006, p. 236). According to neo-institutional theory both sectors are mutual dependent and their cooperation can lead to synergy effects; this corresponds as well with the aim to create win-win situations (cf. Torbjörn, p. 5).

A balancing act for the NPOs

A balancing act can be particularly observed for the NPOs. According to Habermas, *communicative power* is gained by *public influence* that has gone through the democratic procedure of decision making in a parliament, and accordingly the board of the municipality (cf. Habermas 1996, p. 371). For this reason it is obviously beneficial to be close to the authorities, as it is easier to make one's voice heard. On the other hand, the cooperation with the social economy department consists of support and control. There is a de facto imbalance in power and a risk of becoming dependent and influenced by the municipality. NPOs adapt to their environment and this often carries a less critical

attitude. It is a challenge for NPOs to keep the balance. As already stated in Chapter 1, a growing complexity of organizations and the “price of being heard” (cf. Munck 2006, p. 328) can have the consequence of losing claims for progressive social change. From a transaction perspective on public and third sector relations it is not easy to point out the costs and the benefits of such a transaction; in a way NPOs can face a dilemma between their mission and government expectations (cf. Smith and Grønbjerg 2006, p. 227). However, answers to this challenge are not sufficiently apparent from theoretical assumption. Here, an empirical perspective can help to deepen this discussion.

The contact with the municipality is an important way for NPOs to obtain financial support and to direct different concerns to the authorities. Stadsmission has been active for more than 50 year in the city of Gothenburg. Around the value-based activities of serving the vulnerable and homeless a variety of activities such as elderly care or family counselling have been created. This requires a sophisticated form of organization. Thus a bureaucratic apparatus has been built up and professionally educated staff has been employed. Even the value-based activities, such as the streetwork division, recruit their staff among social workers. Often there is not a big difference between the public service and the activities of Stadsmission. One clear expectation is that Stadsmission even becomes bigger in the future (cf. Torbjörn, p. 7). Accordingly, the question has been raised: “[...] *did we lose ourselves somewhere after this way*” (Torbjörn, p. 7)? The answer however is not yet clear; rather the importance to keep the question alive has been emphasized. Similar questions appear also at KRIS, even though the organizational development is not the same as Stadsmission’s. But after ten years in Gothenburg they become more and more of an established actor. They have extended their field of activities as well; the “livstilhus” (Life-Style House) has been founded and it has been discussed to employ educated staff but with a background in criminality. KRIS’s formation as an organization thus adapts to new requirements, they develop towards more complexity and are now discussing elements of professionalization. As for Stadsmission, the question of organizational change appears; “*maybe that we become more economized [...]*” (Jasmine, p. 8).

Some important tracks that show ways to deal with those issues have been observable in the case study. To start with, it is very interesting to see that this challenge of a balancing act meets great awareness. The NPOs and the municipality both very clearly emphasize the importance of independence of the third sector (cf. Erik, p. 1). This, however, can be interpreted as a productive and reflective ground for a complex cooperation with various implications. The actual conduct of the cooperation reveals elements to overcome these problems. First, the conception of the cooperation written down in the guidelines can be regarded as an attempt to manage a variety of challenges; the integrity and self-determination of NPOs has, in a way, become contractual. Secondly, an orientation on the organizations purpose described in the statutes has been stated. It has been depicted that this shall be the main point of departure and not the municipality’s requirements, even though they finally decide. Thirdly, a trusting relationship has been established between many NPOs and the staff of the social economy department, helping to overcome the tension between support and control. Fourthly, different forums have been created in order to promote open dialogue.

Additionally, it is important to recall that the selective allowance of the social economy department supports the value-based activities. It is not directed towards the income-based activities, such as long-time placement in a shelter. It is appreciation and support of non-profit activities per se. Not the particular service that is sold to the municipality gets support but the organization as a whole obtains the selective allowance. This support is an innovative element; it aims to strengthen the democratic purpose. A process of mutual benefits and even a reciprocal learning process are outlined in the

guidelines and have become visible in the case study. For the output side of the cooperation a snapshot in time can show at least some efforts to overcome the negative consequences of the cooperation.

Keeping the balance

From these critical remarks the interpretation of the cooperation as a deliberative practice becomes reasonable. The challenges are an immanent component of cooperation and they need to be addressed continuously. It is important to consider that NPOs always depend on funds, whether it is donors, income generated by second hand boutiques, or public financing. Donation and elite resources are likely to be vested in a paternalistic approach. "Government, by contrast, is ultimately subject to democratic control; the availability of government funding thus serves to democratize nonprofits" (Smith and Grønbjerg 2006, p. 226). This does not solve the whole problem of dependence, but the governments' funding is accrued by the democratic principle of taxation. Moreover, they also serve the NPOs as democratic legitimization and a conceded space to act. Additionally, the importance of trust has been emphasized from both sides. Trust helps to overcome some issues of the power imbalance. However, a critical remark is that the control aspect is not replaced but vested in a trusting relationship. It is thus important to reflect on the cooperation on both sides in a critical way so that it does not become exploited.

The normative conception of democracy presented in the thesis suggested such a construction involving many points of views. This is, however, not an easy process, but an ongoing negotiation. Both sides are willing to benefit from the cooperation, but awareness is required so that it will not turn out to be counterproductive. The cooperation is a process and not a static relation. Mutual inspiration requires ongoing reflection in order to keep its direction.

This snapshot in time could highlight important elements of a successful cooperation and present interesting efforts to overcome challenges. Nevertheless, it is important to follow further examples of an institutionalized cooperation between third sector organizations and governments. Especially an examination of the legislation could be useful for a more profound understanding of the Swedish case. Different levels besides the municipal level need to be researched.

Concluding remarks

The cooperation between NPOs and the municipality can be interpreted as a progressive practice of integrating various non-profit actors into the provision of welfare. Different challenges in welfare provision are addressed and the third sector is capable of producing a form of social service that is not covered by the public service. NPOs contribute greater diversity and turn often towards vulnerable groups. Further, NPOs communicate important societal problems to the administration and the politicians. It is clear from this study and literature in general that NPOs contribute to a revitalization of a democratic welfare system.

The case study in particular was focused on value-based activities of NPOs. Analytically, these activities are clearly distinguishable from the income-based activities. In line with the principle of de-commodification the municipality supports third sector organizations with a clear focus on democracy, outlined in the guideline. This is not a process of outsourcing but rather a way of supporting and binding the additional value produced by the NPOs. The cooperation can be interpreted as an institutionalized space for the support of democratic contributions of the third sector. In a mutually beneficial way the third and the public sector are learning from each other. In the analysis of the thesis it is theorized that the support of value-based activities is a form of progressive practice. A free space for democracy and a deliberative practice is created.

However, in practice, both occupational fields of NPOs: value-based activities and income-based activities are often interwoven. Economical reasons lead NPOs to income-based activities, often in form of selling services to the municipality. Consequently, the analytical division of value-based activities and income-based activities was not that obvious in the case study. Nevertheless, the engagement in both fields of occupation has not proven significantly challenging for the NPOs. Against the abolishment of value-based activities stands a clear commitment of both the third sector and the municipality.

Beyond the direct contribution to a more democratic conception of welfare, four main results of the thesis can be highlighted. To start with, it is not only the NPOs contacting the municipality on behalf of their users or on behalf of a broader collective interest. The municipality itself often approaches the third sector for different reasons. On different levels both public servants and politicians are in contact with NPOs. Accordingly, the cooperation is not a cul-de-sac but, rather, based on mutual interest. This leads to the second finding: the cooperation can be described as a cross-fertilizing process. The NPOs obtain financial and consultative support. They learn from the administrative and organizational skills of the municipality. The municipality is binding those services they cannot provide and they invite different actors in the third sector for discussions and exchange. Together, new projects are targeted and put into practice. Inspiration is given and taken in a reciprocal process. Thirdly, the NPOs play the role of an avant-garde; they try new approaches. NPOs possess flexibility and a room to manoeuvre that allows them to implement even contested approaches. The fourth main finding is about legitimacy. The municipality acknowledges the contributions of third sector organizations, supports them, and thus equips them with legitimacy. On the other side, NPOs supports this practice from the bottom-up. The voices of the users and members meet the municipality's approval. In a deliberative process they thus legitimize the municipality's practice.

These conclusions have been made in relation to the cooperation. Different channels of communication and exchange are integral components of this cooperation. Accordingly, the institutionalized cooperation functions as a facilitator for the inclusion of deliberative elements in welfare provision. In terms of this study, the cooperation has been described as a deliberative practice. Even though interesting outcomes of the cooperation were highlighted, challenges should not be neglected.

The metaphor of a balancing act was applied in the introduction and the analysis. NPOs face an obvious imbalance of power. The municipality holds a lot of resources and skills that organizations are willing to work for. Further the social economy department exerts support and control in the cooperation. It has been emphasized that organizations adapt to their environment; they tend to be more professional and less critical while obtaining municipal support. Neither of the two organizations described here has taken a radical position against the municipality.

In the analysis several different ways to overcome those challenges were carved out. Most importantly, both sides experience the cooperation as a trusting relationship. Further, the issues of organizational change are debated in both NPOs. The social economy department has shown great awareness of their influence. Their organizational integrity is constitutive part of the guideline for support.

It is hard to say how this cooperation will develop in the long run. Longitudinal studies are required to find appropriate answers. As theorized in the analysis, as a snapshot in time, the cooperation is facilitator for democratic practice.

For the Swedish debate about civil society and third sector social work, numerous aspects of the thesis can be of interest. First, the particular case of institutionalized cooperation has been a rich source for exploring the relation between NPOs and the administration. The broadly described constitution of this cooperation can serve as an inspiring practice for further projects to come. From a normative perspective the case is in line with the values of the Swedish welfare model. The value-based activities are clearly distinguishable from the for-profit service available in the market. On the other hand, issues of universalism have been challenged. In view of globalization and pluralization, however, the modernist conception of the Swedish welfare state is challenged. The practice of deliberative elements in welfare provision is, congruent with the thesis, a way to overcome imminent tendencies of economization of welfare. Even still, concepts of civil society have been used by neoliberal scholars, the approach presented here focuses on deliberative democracy. In line with various authors, third sector social work is expected to contribute to the revitalization of a democratic welfare conception. Sweden can perhaps reconnect to the rich tradition of the popular movement, however, it must adapt to today's challenges.

From an international perspective, the results of the thesis are contributive. Sweden is often presented as a model for universal welfare provision. However, structural changes and pluralization of societies are phenomena observed around the world and new forms of welfare provision are being developed. Here, the case of institutionalized cooperation between non-profit actors and the municipality is an example of progressive change. Some of the international expectations of the third sector, which were mentioned in Chapter 1, have been observed in the case study. However, challenges were discussed as well. An interesting result for an international perspective is certainly the important role of the government. If there is a will to cooperate, deliberative elements are

applicable and effective. In this respect, the Swedish case can probably again serve as an example. The case study, in many ways, shows a successful integration of NPOs in welfare provision. In contrast to outsourcing, the support of value-based activities facilitates a process of learning from each other and sustaining democratic elements in welfare provision. Maybe a decided recognition of civil society as a source of deliberative democracy, provided by further research projects, can contribute to overcome a neoliberal mainstream in handling social policy. From a social work perspective, the focus has to be on participation and democracy, not only on economical constraints. In this regard, the cooperation appears to be a successful example of a deliberative practice. In times of globalization an international perspective is indispensable.

For social work, studies of the third sector are important for various reasons. The establishment of the presented cooperation concerns social work directly. On one hand, such a practice requires reflections about professionalism and on the other hand it opens opportunities to act. The results of the thesis are rather about the latter aspect. Third sector social work is a platform for new progressive approaches. Assuming that governments are sceptical about an approach, NPOs provide the free space to implement progressive elements. Further, NPOs often allow much more participation than governmental organizations. Passive clients can become active users. In the present case study, elements of an alternative and progressive practice were readily observable. The municipality regards third sector social work as supportable. In accordance with critical theories of social work, it has been possible to highlight important elements of an alternative and progressive practice in social work. But, critically it has to be researched, how far the cooperation can go. It should not be the case that volunteers take over social work, but rather they should act complementarily whenever and wherever necessary. Nevertheless, it is important to emphasize that a lot of NPOs in Sweden are clearly committed to a professional practice; they employ professional educated staff and participate confidently in research projects.

Maybe, an aligned and inert Social Work needs exactly those flexible and fresh contributions of NPOs. Social Work does not (only) exist, to fulfil regulations, but to help people in various ways and to seek for social change. The involvement of NPOs is one fruitful way among others.

Further research in the area of third sector social work is necessary. In particular, the financial aspects as a reason for cooperation between the third and the public sector should be examined critically. Outsourcing, per se, cannot be the only reason for cooperation. Additionally, longitudinal studies of how NPOs change under collaboration are necessary. International comparisons of the exertion of value-based services can probably give further answers to the challenge of a democratic deficit in welfare provision within many European countries.

From different theoretical angles a progressive and deliberative practice of social work has become clear. A trusting relationship between the administration and the NPOs has been described from both sides. The municipality has taken a lot of effort to establish this cooperation and a clear commitment of politicians to deliberative elements in welfare provisions has been visible. However, an imbalance in the power relation and the exertion of support and control are apparent challenges with no simple solution. Under this framework NPOs are not radical groups fighting against the state but rather, an innovative and creative contributor to welfare provision.

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Stadsmission Göteborg

Torbjörn (2010): Personal interview, conducted by the present author, Gothenburg, 11-05-2010.

Petter (2010): Personal interview, conducted by the present author Gothenburg, 10-05-2010.

KRIS Göteborg

Johan (2010): Personal interview, conducted by the present author, Gothenburg, 17-05-2010.

Jasmine (2010): Personal interview, conducted by the present author, Gothenburg, 26-05-2010.

Appendix

Interview Guide: KRIS Göteborg and Stadsmission Göteborg

1) Introduction:

- Can you talk a bit about the organization? What are you doing?
- Can you describe a normal day at work?
- What is your “professional” background? And what is your job, what are you working with?
- Who else is working here with what kind of background?
- Can you describe the organizations’ structure? What kinds of branches do exist?
- What has been the initial idea to found KRIS/Stadsmission?
- Vision & Mission? What is the basis of KRIS/Stadsmission work?
- Financing (public funds & own means)
- How many are working on salary and how many are engaged voluntarily?
- Do you get internal education/training?
- What kind of support do you get from the organization? Supervision, etc.?
- What kind of support do you get from the municipality?

2) Function:

- What characterizes KRIS/Stadsmission? Is there something unique?
- Is it important for you to work for KRIS/Stadsmission and not for the municipality?
- Do you see a difference between KRIS and the municipality?
- Who is coming to KRIS/Stadsmission?
- How do you call your addressees? Client? Customer? User?
- How do you meet the user?
- How do you work with the users? Which methods do you apply?
- How do users view KRIS/Stadsmission?
- Do you think you can do something, the municipality cannot do?

3) Power

- What does KRIS/Stadsmission & municipality have in common, what makes a difference?
- In which areas do you work together?
- How does the municipality view and value your activities? (concrete)
- How dependent are you on the municipality’s funds?
- What does collaboration mean to you? What is important and where is it important?
- Does the actual process of collaboration respond to your (ideal) conception?
- Working together with the municipality; what do you gain, what do you lose?
- Do you exchange ideas? In what way? Regular meetings? – Examples?
- How would you describe KRIS’s/Stadsmission’s relationship to the municipality? How do you interact with each other? (Balance)
- Do you feel any obligations to the municipality?
- Does the collaboration have any effects on your daily work? In what way?
- Are you sometimes confronted with decisions of the municipalities you do not share or maybe criticize?
- Are there any (personal) ideas, you would like to put into practice, in regard of the collaboration and its outcomes?

4) Democratization:

- Do you think that KRIS/Stadsmission users perceive your activities differently than the ones of the municipality?
- What would be missing in Gothenburg, if the KRIS/Stadsmission would not exist?

- Do you have any activities that present KRIS's/Stadsmission's activities (verksamhet) to the people in Gothenburg? (Flyer, open day, etc.) – Examples?
- How important is it for KRIS/Stadsmission to make the user's needs being heard in Gothenburg and in society?
- What does participation mean to you in your daily work?
- Do you try to influence social policy? In order to change the conditions for ex-prisoners/homeless people?
- Does KRIS/Stadsmission represent the addressees' interests? When, Where & Why?
- In what ways do you try to contribute to the social development in Gothenburg?

Interview Guide: Social Economy Department

1) Introduction:

- Can you talk a bit about your department? What are you doing here?
- How are "Social Resoursförvaltning" and "Social Ekomin" organized? Can you describe the organizational structure?
- What are your central tasks?
- Vision and Mission?
- What kind of resources do you have? Financing?
- What is your professional background? Who else is working here?
- How did it start with the "Social Ekonomi" in Gothenburg? Whose idea was it?
- Why does the municipality want to work together with NPOs?
- How much political control is executed over the "Social Ekonomi"?

2) Collaboration:

- With whom do you work together? (Public & 3rd Sector)
- How do you work together? How is the collaboration organized? What is the basis of collaboration?
- What kind of support do you offer?
- With how many NPOs are you in contact? And how do you take new contact and develop it?
- Who is taking contact? The NPOs or the municipality?
- How do you evaluate your activities?

3) Power:

- How do you meet the NPOs?
- What kind of instruments or approaches do you use in the process of collaboration?
- How is the quality of contact? Do you work cooperatively or more hierarchal? Difference between different NPOs?
- Whom do you contact in an NPO on which level?
- What is important in a process of collaboration?
- What kind of projects do you support? What kind of projects do you not support? (And why?) Do you have sanctions?
- How do you handle feedback from the NPOs? (Do you get it?)
- Do you plan things together?
- Are NPOs integrated in some processes of decision making?
- Does the actual process of collaboration respond to your (ideal) conception?
- How are NPOs bound to the process of developing the collaboration further?
- What do you gain, what do you lose in a process of collaboration?

4) Function:

- What do you think are NPOs (Stadsmission & KRIS) able to do? What can they contribute to the provision of welfare in Gothenburg?
- What is a unique feature of NPOs (in the provision of welfare)?
- And what do they do in another way?
- What kind of role do NPOs play in the provision of welfare in the city of Gothenburg?
- Do NPOs contribute to the development of new methods in social work?
- Where do they have difficulties to fulfil tasks?
- What are main concerns of NPOs when they contact you?
- Do you contact NPOs for different concerns?
- In which areas would you like to see NPOs more active?

5) Democratization:

- Do you think that NPO-user perceive 3rd sector services differently than the ones of the municipality?
- How are the users represented by the NPOs?
- Do NPOs participate in the development of welfare on the municipal level and other social questions?
- In what ways do NPOs contribute to the social development in Gothenburg?
- How do NPOs contribute to democracy?
- Do the NPOs try to influence you in your decision?
- Do NPOs try to influence Social Policy in general?
- What would be missing in Gothenburg, if NPOs would not exist?