

Department of Social Policy

The third sector and policy processes in Sweden: A centralised horizontal third sector policy community under strain

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General introduction to TSEP Working Paper series

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This paper is part of the **TSEP Working Paper series**, and is based upon work conducted by the authors within the Third Sector European Policy (TSEP) network. The primary, overarching objective of the network is to describe and analyse the trajectory of 'horizontal' (industry cross-cutting) European policy towards the 'third sector', understood as a 'multi-level process' (see Appendix for a Glossary of terms).

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Individual members of the network share an expertise on the third sector in their countries, but come from diverse disciplinary backgrounds (including political science, sociology, and policy studies). Countries included are the Czech Republic, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Italy, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and the UK. The sample includes:

- Major geographical regions of the EU/larger as well as smaller countries
- Different types of national constitutional structures and welfare systems
- 7 established Member States, one new Member, and Switzerland

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Executive Summary

Introduction: popular movement heritage supplemented with welfare services focus

The third sector, and the organisations within it, are said to fill a great number of fundamental roles in Swedish society. During the last 100 years the popular mass movement as an organisational form and as concept - combining 'voice' and 'social capital roles' have been central to the Swedish understanding of the sector and its activities. However, a new research tradition since the mid-1980s has also come to focus on the growing importance of the third sector organisations in providing mainstream services within what can be viewed as the core domains of the welfare state - a focus which among other things has affected how politicians and public sector officials view the sector.

The 1990s as the beginning of a formative era for cross cutting policy

The Swedish policy making situation in the beginning of the 1990s was characterized by 'no third sector horizontal community'. Policy making was mainly concentrated in vertical fields, apart from an historical and taken-for-granted belief in involving popular mass movements in policy making. However, Sweden saw an 'emerging third sector community' during the latter part of the 1990s and in the beginning of the 2000s. Policy making in vertical fields has been supplemented by the development of horizontal institutions, formalizing parts of popular mass movements as well as organisations labelled as part of the social economy. During the 1990s, financial crises for both state and municipalities meant the ideological discussion became much more pragmatic and the overwhelming theme was the search for alternatives in solving welfare problems. In the process of outsourcing services from the public sector the third sector grew to some extent, but the private sector was a greater beneficiary.

Horizontal emergence: New structures and the new climate of pragmatism

Efforts at horizontal community building were associated with these developments, in the sense that the third sector itself began during the 1990s to view itself as sector with common goals and politics, which had not been the case before and today we can start to see the results of the third sectors joint efforts.

There are several important reasons for these developments. In terms of stable parameters, it is important to underscore the importance of the organisation of the Swedish welfare state and the existence of parallel, yet separate, discourses on how to view and construct the third sector in the government. In terms of external shocks and system events, the foremost factor explaining the situation is what is sometimes referred to as the welfare state crisis, and the subsequent changes in the third sector itself as well as in motivational beliefs among key stakeholders in society. The beliefs of the policy actors are different but also convergent. From both right wing and left wing parties, the third sector is seen as a legitimate alternative to public and private provision. For the left wing the third sector is not as bad as private for-profit companies in the welfare field. For its part, the right wing argues that there is a need for alternatives to the state in general and that non-profit could be one option. Both left and right wing parties were in favour of voluntary work.

During the 1990s state and municipality financial crises the ideological discussion became much more pragmatic and the need for alternatives was overwhelming. In the process of outsourcing the public sector the third sector grew some but even much more the private sector. A somewhat surprising factor is the possibility that academic researchers have contributed towards the construction and establishment of the notion of the third sector in Sweden. Finally, in terms of motivational beliefs, it is important to consider changes in the relationship between local

municipalities as the main provider and social service and care (due to economic crisis the legitimacy has been questioned) and the third sector, as well as changes in how political parties view the third sector, and the sector's opposition to legal and other limits on their freedom of action. However, it is important to emphasize that no single factor can explain the situation in Sweden alone. Rather a number of factors, as outlined above, have come together to both promote and work against the establishment of an emerging third sector community.

That said it is important not focus purely on welfare services any analysis of the third sector in Sweden. From an international perspective, Swedish third sector activities in the area of social welfare are still small, although of crucial importance mainly in certain niches and vulnerable groups. But the build up of evidence and argument in relation to the social welfare domain has not superseded the place of popular mass movements in wider debates about governance which overlap with, but are not reducible to, discussions of welfare delivery. In this way, the third sector's role as a proud carrier of ideologies - as well as a pragmatic means to provide a range of services - continues to be prominent in the Swedish debate.

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Foreword

While studies of the third sector as an economic and social actor, and their significance within particular fields of policy has grown significantly in recent years, their links to broader policy processes are poorly understood. This paper is part of an effort to fill that gap, and is one in a series which seek to build our understanding of the nature of the third sector's relationship to the European policy process.

Putting together 'European public policy process' and the 'third sector' suggests an extraordinarily wide range of potential subject matter. This paper, however, has a very particular focus. It feeds into the wider process of knowledge building by developing an analysis of the relationship defined in three ways which limit its scope, but at the same time, which is assumed will ultimately be important in helping us understand the broader European landscape.

First, its primary explanandum is the *national* situation, looking at the position in just one of the nine countries in the TSEP network. The sub-national and supra-national levels feature here only to the extent they allow us to understand the national position. Later papers attend specifically to other levels and their interactions *per se*, but it is assumed that a deeper knowledge of national policy landscapes is a prerequisite to understanding how policy evolves at other levels.

Second, it attends to the third sector using the collective noun or nouns that dominate, or are most prominent in this country's own actually existing policy community or communities. This is important because language and terminology are themselves part of the policy process, providing symbols for mobilisation, as well as being bound up with resource allocation (see the first working paper in this series).

Third, here and throughout the TSEP network's research endeavours, we are interested in 'horizontal third sector-specific policy'. By this, we mean policies and practices that shape the environment of these organisations by virtue of their non-market, non-state arrangements for ownership and control, and which are not limited to their situation in a particular 'industry' or 'vertical field'. (The general meaning of these and other terms used to guide our research can be found in a glossary appendix at the end of this paper.)

In approaching this particular, but important dimension of the third sector policy process, we have taken additional decisions regarding the disciplinary and topical scope of our inquiry, which are reflected directly in the structure of this paper. Being politically and culturally embedded, national third sector policies are heavily influenced by historical conditions, so we need to at least sketch this formative background. The country's arrangements for building and consolidating its social welfare system have been central to this story. Indeed, our Working Papers show that often - but not always - it is third sector policy actors in and around the social welfare domain who occupy most of the (theoretically available) space for horizontal policy institution building. The papers also explore how three key problems, shared across Europe and linked to the social welfare domain in different ways, play into and are processed by, this component of the policy space: social exclusion, unemployment and (more broadly) governance

Furthermore, while we have noted that language is indeed at the heart of policy development, it is also important to be aware that rhetoric in this sphere of policy is often regarded as particularly prone to emptiness (Kendall, 2003). We have therefore sought to explicate not only the character of the policy discourse, but also to assess the significance of the associated institution building efforts. Wherever possible, the papers seek to point to the relationship between agenda setting and concrete implementation, and refer to the extent of economic and political investment in the process.

Most importantly, throughout the research, we have been guided not only by a desire to explicate *what* is happening, but also a wish to explicitly ask and move towards answering - the *why* question. Each paper seeks therefore to move from a descriptive stock-take of the national policy landscape to a synthesis of the factors which seem to have been particularly important in generating this situation.

In so doing, we have been guided by insights from the more general policy analytic literature. This has been cross disciplinary exploratory research in a new field, so it has not been possible to pre-determine too specifically the range of influences. But we have been aware that some of the most apparently successful efforts at policy process theorising in recent years have sought to judiciously combine structure and agency (Parsons, 1995; Sabatier, 1999). We therefore have sought to consider the potential and actual role of

- relatively stable institutional factors, such as broad constitutional design, and deeply embedded aspects of welfare system architecture;
- ‘external’ shocks and changes to these systems, associated with shifts in societal values, or unanticipated social movements; and
- the role of policy entrepreneurship, in particular the ‘internal’ role of third sector specialists - inside the sector itself, the State, and as part of the broader policy community - as catalysts, individually or collectively, of policy evolution. What beliefs, values and motivations have characterised those actors who have had proximate responsibility for shaping policy, and how have they been constrained or enabled by the structures that they inhabit?

The evidence base for this paper is two-fold. First, the paper builds on the expertise of the authors in research on the third sector for their own countries, including their familiarity with the national scholarly literature. Second, primary evidence was collected. As the TSEP network started countries presented descriptions characterising the *policy* activities and salience of the sector in their national case. The main data points for these reports were bi-lateral meetings with policy actors – including leaders from third sector bodies, policy makers within the public sector, or academics and other experts. Potentially relevant sources were identified using country-level Partner’s familiarity with the general third sector policy community or networks in their country, and by ‘snowballing’ from actors identified in earlier meetings. Relevant events and fora were also attended and observed. Meetings were used to access documentary sources, in addition to those available publicly, and websites belonging both to third sector organisations and groupings and to administrative units in government that had some responsibility for working with the sector were also investigated. The balance between these different sources varied according to the specific national situation: where third sector umbrella groups or government units with a special focus on relationships with the sector were in existence, these formed the focus of research. Elsewhere, Partners were guided by the emergent and more informal activities of third sector actors, especially as they connected to key policy issues (including in relation to the shared European problems of unemployment, social inclusion and governance). Initial reports were produced in May 2003 and circulated, discussed and reviewed in an iterative process over the following two year period.

These are first and tentative efforts to move towards more systematic accounts of third sectors’ places in policy processes, but we hope they will provide a platform in the years to come.

Jeremy Kendall
PSSRU and CCS
London School of Economics
23 June 2005

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CONTENTS

1. Introduction.....	1
2. Twentieth century historical development	4
3. Definitions and typologies: a contested terrain	8
4. Third sector specific horizontal policy architecture	12
5. Review of current horizontal policy agenda	15
6. Review of implementation	18
7. Towards an understanding of the national situation.....	20
8. Conclusion	26
References.....	28
Appendix 1: Working Glossary	29
Appendix 2: Policy Actors.....	34

The third sector and policy processes in Sweden

Lars-Erik Olsson, Marie Nordfeldt, Ola Larsson and Jeremy Kendall

1. Introduction

This working paper presents a general outline of horizontal¹ third sector public policy in Sweden, using the preliminary results from a European research network on Third Sector European Policy. The aim of the paper is to discuss horizontal policy-making and institutions developed for, and applied to, the third sector in Sweden, particularly those related to the social welfare domain.

The third sector, and the organisations within it, are said to fill a great number of fundamental roles in Swedish society. Researchers and officials have traditionally emphasized the third sector's role in the production of a 'voice' or ideology for different socio-economic classes, interests or vulnerable groups, as well as its role as creator or facilitator of 'social capital' (Lundström and Svedberg, 2003). However, a new research tradition since the mid-1980s has also come to focus on the growing importance of the third sector organisations in providing mainstream services within what can be viewed as the core domains of the welfare state (Lundström and Wijkström, 1997; Wijkström and Lundström, 2002), a focus which among other things has affected how politicians and public sector officials view the sector. Though it is important to stress that for a long period in Sweden there has been a close interaction between the state and the third sector, including for example the establishment of 'Folkrörelseheten' and 'Delegationen för folkrörelseforskning' in 1975, we would argue that there has recently been growing political and social recognition of the sector, relating to its advocacy role (for example promoting members' interests, lobbying, propaganda making, demonstration and as creator of ideology) and its contribution as a service provider. This relates to the sector's activities in traditional vertical fields and also, increasingly, as an emerging third sector horizontal community (Nordfeldt, Olsson, and Larsson, 2005).

Part of this growing recognition can of course be attributed to the third sector's key characteristics in terms of resources and inputs, but also in the claims made for its social and political productivity, achievements and social consequences. In 1992, more than 100,000 employees and 32 million members of close to 180,000 third sector organisations in Sweden were able to assemble operating expenditures close to 60 billion Swedish kronor, approximately four percent of the Swedish GDP for

¹ Whereby policies or concepts are related to either the entire third sector or which cut cross some but not all vertical fields (as represented in the International Classification of Nonprofit Organizations).

that year. In addition, approximately 480 million hours of voluntary work were provided (more than 50 percent of the population volunteers at least once a year: Lundström and Svedberg, 2003). Another key characteristic of the sector in Sweden is the high level of formal membership. On average every citizen has four formal memberships in third sector organisations. Finally, the Swedish sector is self-financed to a large degree through money earned from member dues and fees, second hand sales or entrance fees (Lundström and Wijkström, 1997). As much as 60 percent of its income comes from the organisations' own/independent activities, while only 29 percent comes from different government sources (average for the total sector). There are also various ways in which the sector is part of national policy processes, especially as part of governmental commissions and referral considerations and consultations on various topics such as social exclusion, social welfare, and employment. Finally, the third sector is growing in size due to changes in the political environment. The process of outsourcing public sector activities has benefited the private sector above all, but has also created opportunities for the third sector (Trydegård, 2001). The Prime Minister and the Minister of Social Affairs have both recently spoken of the need for a non-profit alternative (Wijkström and Lundström, 2002). Third sector organisations therefore have come to recognize that they have a joint interest in structuring their relationships with the public sector, as well as the private sector. One of the most recent examples is FAMNA, an interest or umbrella grouping for third sector organisations working in the field of social welfare and healthcare, which was founded in October 2004. Third sector organisations have also become more active in the public policy process, in the development of legislation and through lobbying for instance in Folkrörelseforum. There is also some evidence of new types of organisations emerging in the field of advocacy (Wijkström and Lundström, 2002).

One way of understanding the third sector's significance for current public policy in Sweden, which is also the focus of this working paper, is to analyse the sector's role in and around the social welfare domain, particularly in relation to governance, social exclusion and employment policy. In Sweden, third sector organisations have an important role as advocates or lobbyists, as well as in sports, culture and recreation, though in comparison with other European countries they have had a relatively weak position in the fields that comprise the core domains of the welfare state: health care, social services, and education (Lundström and Wijkström, 1997). In Table 1 we have used Lundström and Wijkström (1997) and their conceptual model of nonprofit service or 'voice production' (advocacy) to map the field.

Table 1: Ideal types of non-profit service or voice production

	Member	Government	Society
Service	Member service	Welfare production	Society production
Examples	Access to a golf course	Adult education	Third World relief work
Voice	Member interest	Propaganda	Meaning/ideology
Examples	Lobbying for lower taxes	Non-smoking campaign	Demonstration of solidarity

Source: Lundström and Wijkström (1997: 258)

Despite this heterogeneity, as Lundström (1996) has shown, cooperation between the state and the sector seems to be a distinctive feature of Swedish history, even during periods of government takeover of third sector activities. As a result, one cannot understand the evolution of either the state or the third sector without positioning these developments in the context of social welfare issues more generally. In addition, recent data seems to indicate a growing recognition of the third sector's potential contributions to the core domains of the welfare state in Sweden (Lundström and Svedberg, 2003). These contributions come from new organisations focusing directly on service delivery as well as more established organisations that have recently changed or extended their core activities. To shed light on these emerging aspects of the third sector, and to allow comparisons with other European states, this study will focus particularly on third sector horizontal policies in Sweden in relation to the social welfare domain.

This working paper adds value to the conventional wisdom on third sector issues in Sweden in several ways. Descriptions of sector-specific legal forms, statuses and support structures are increasingly available, but these tend to present such infrastructure as *fait accompli*, with little to say about the underlying motives, resources or agendas of those involved in their design and maintenance. Moreover, even though a number of scholars have tried to generalize about the roles the third sector plays in addressing certain national (societal) problems, these studies have tended to be static, assuming both historically inherited societal traditions of organizing and the preferences of certain policy groups. The account presented in this paper, therefore, gives weight to the genesis and consolidation of a third sector specific horizontal policy community, an area that is previously little researched. Although most policy activity by Swedish third sector actors is not played out in horizontal policy communities or coalitions, the evolution of these few examples of horizontality is an important area for analysis in order to understand recent challenges to the so-called Swedish third sector model.

2. Twentieth century historical development

Since the 1930s third sector organisations such as the popular mass movements, interest organisations and associations have been seen primarily in a governance perspective, as schools for democracy and citizenship and as instruments for political mobilisation (see for example SOU, 1987: 33), as well as being held to share responsibility for developing and carrying out employment policies with the state. This is the traditional view of the third sector in Sweden: we can call it the popular mass movement 'marinade'.

The third sector in Sweden played a significant role in the growth of the welfare state (Lundström, 1996). In this context, researchers and historians have identified four turning points. These include the establishment of charities in Sweden during the nineteenth century; the emergence of a discourse around social policy at the turn of the twentieth century; the post-war establishment of the modern welfare state; and contemporary interest in third sector organisations' potential to provide services and mobilize a voluntary workforce (which some scholars attribute to the crisis of the welfare state). The historical overview of developments in the sector's position in Sweden in this paper will focus on the two most recent moments, particularly in terms of governance, employment and social exclusion.

As a welfare state, Sweden is very young (Lundström and Wijkström, 1997). The 1930s could be considered to be the period in which the ideological breakthrough of the modern welfare state occurred. Until then, Sweden had a rather liberalist and weak social insurance system. The turning point came with the depression and a parliamentary alliance between the Social Democratic Party and the Agrarian Party, which laid the foundation for an active policy of state intervention. The same period also marked a turning point for the organisation of the labour market. Important agreements were reached between the labour unions and associations of employers, and formed the basis of the 'Swedish model'. However, it was not until after the Second World War that key features of the modern welfare state were implemented, institutionalising social insurance and other support systems.

For the organisations in the third sector, a rising standard of living and the above-mentioned reforms made a large part of their activities unnecessary, particularly in terms of social welfare provision established in the beginning of the twentieth century. In later years third sector organisations continued to render important contributions in services such as social care (including care for older people), health and education. However, in the early 1940s a state committee was set up to investigate domestic assistance, leading to the introduction of state subsidies to local municipalities and state takeovers. Interestingly, there was little opposition to this from third sector organisations

active in domestic assistance and these groups were themselves strong proponents of state takeover (Lundström and Wijkström, 1997).

The justification given by the state for the takeovers was that activities in the social welfare domain were of such great importance that they should be guaranteed by the state rather than by third sector organisations. Another claim was that the quality of the services could be better controlled and standardized in the public sector. It seems that third sector organisations often acted as instigators for this expansion of government involvement. There was overwhelming public support for the reforms and an established tradition of friendly integration and cooperation between the public and the third sector. Even so, after the so-called 'friendly takeover', the third sector continued to be responsible for important work. This included, for example, providing welfare and support services for and with homeless people, battered women, children in need, HIV/AIDS victims. The work of third sector organisations was thus increasingly marginalised over time, in a process best characterized as 'takeover', it has continued to be important in the labour market and in these left over categories of welfare provision, where third sector organisations have continued to play an important role, even when the political regime has not been in favour (Lundström and Svedberg, 2003).

In addition even this pattern of limited state takeover was limited to the core social welfare domain. In general the Swedish population is pro-State, yet the mass movement tradition is also strong and mass member movements are not often involved in service production. Two and a half million Swedes are members of social welfare organisations and 20 percent are active in this field (Lundström and Svedberg, 2003). Seventy percent of the income in these organisations comes from public sector subsidies (Lundström and Wijkström, 1997). In areas not included in the core areas of the welfare state arrangements, for example sports and adult education, the welfare state actually initiated and encouraged third sector activities. One explanation for this situation is that there is path-dependence effect leading to a strong historically grounded division of labour.

Table 2: Summary of third sector history, development and relations with the State

Before modern period (before 1800)	The emergence of a third sector 1800-1850	Industrialisation and popular mass movements 1850-1920	Welfare state 1930-1990	Contemporary period
In the area of health care, diminishing role for the Lutheran Church rooted in the Reformation	Transitional phase between old and new society	Urbanisation and emigration, new groups of poor. Social policies liberalist	Ideological breakthrough for the modern welfare state in the 1930s. Universal welfare state, social insurance system are compulsory	No comprehensive policy towards the third sector, policies are reviewed and re-evaluated
Close link between the Lutheran church and state	Extension of municipal responsibility in poor relief	The free churches, temperance movement and labour movement, all inspired by movements abroad	Alliance between Social Democratic party and the Agrarian Party, including strong state intervention	The review is related to Sweden's economic problem regarding welfare politics. The social democratic hegemony was broken between 1976-1982 and 1991-1994
Local organization of poor relief in cooperation with the Lutheran Church	Charities and societies, exclusive organisations working in poor relief and care. Christian charities	Mass movements struggled for a democratic society	Agreements between labour unions, employers associations and state, the so-called Swedish model, and the spirit of compromise	Much policy making is carried out at the local municipality level
	Charities and State worked together, and no clear boundaries	The concept of mass movements was used in sports movements, farmers, culture, cooperatives, women's liberation etc.	Avant-garde role for third sector organisations in the area of social domestic assistance and old age care and State takeover	Overall positive attitude towards the third sector and third sector organisations seen as alternatives
		State regulations were liberalised, for instance in the field of religion	Social democratic regime and growth of popular mass movements, partnership	Social Democrats are split in their view of third sector, one party defending the public sector and another the role of alternatives
		Labour movement negative towards charities, but charities played an important role in poor relief	State subsidies became institutionalised	The role of the third sector accelerated in 1990s due to the economic crises
		Emerging of social political discourse and struggle for universal and equal suffrage	New movements in the 1970s, for instance, women's movement, environmental movements, client organisations	New roles and forms of cooperation between state and third sector. Projects, contracts, earned income.
		Professionalisation in the area of social service up to 1910 and up to 1930 stagnation	In the area of social service core domain was taken over	More third sector organisations in welfare core domain
			In the 1970s a neo-liberalist critic against the welfare state and in the 1980s a leftist critic, stating the massive role of the welfare state	Less advocacy work and more service.

Source: Based on information from Lundström and Wijkström (1997).

It was in the 1990s, however, that social welfare reform assumed increasingly high policy salience. One reason for this was dissatisfaction with the ongoing evolution of the state dominated welfare system from across the political spectrum, sometimes referred to as the welfare state crisis. At this time, interest in the third sector in the social welfare domain really changed (ibid), with politicians and state officials increasingly looking to both the private and the third sectors for viable alternatives to state provision. The continuing privatisation of the public sector opened up opportunities for third sector organisations to initiate or increase their welfare and social service activities. The reasons for this, among other things, were the new philosophies of the right and left that began to show at the start of the 1970s and 1980s and the increasing pressure on the national budget caused by internationalisation, budget deficits and a limping Swedish economy.

The policy changes in the social area that came about at the end of the twentieth century have meant that the third sectors' potential ability to produce services and to mobilize a voluntary workforce in the areas of social welfare has gained particular importance and visibility. Interest in organisations whose work had previously been carried out with a low profile has grown, for example, within the field of social work. This renewed awareness of the third sector was especially true of the non socialist government that was in power until 1994, but the subsequent Social Democratic governments have continued the trend. At the current time, it seems that the Social Democratic government prefers third sector organisations as welfare providers to for-profit organisations, particularly in the field of health care (see for example governmental commissions such as SOU, 2000: 03, SOU, 2001: 52, SOU, 2002: 31, and SOU, 2003: 98).

These recent turning points in the history of the third sector and Sweden's welfare system can also be connected to the history of third sector specific policies in Sweden. Though there has been close interaction between the state and the third sector during the better part of the twentieth century, the development of horizontal third sector specific policies in areas other than the traditional popular mass movement areas (with their focus on membership association-based activities) were not evident until the early 1990s. It has really been since then that such activities have generated significant political recognition. However, it is important to emphasize that the build up in the domain of social welfare has not superseded popular mass movement building, as evidenced by the establishment of the government initiated Forum for Popular Mass Movements, for example. In an international perspective, Swedish third sector activities within the area of social welfare are still limited, being of crucial importance mainly in certain niches (Lundström and Svedberg, 2003).

3. Definitions and typologies: a contested terrain

As revealed by the historical developments in the twentieth century in relation to the third sector and the welfare state, the collective noun of the ‘popular mass movement’ has been, and still is, important for the Swedish understanding of the sector and its activities. By collective noun, we here refer to the language used by domestic actors to group organisations sectorally. However, at around the same time as the welfare state crisis in the 1990s and Sweden’s entry into the EU, new definitions and typologies started to exist alongside this one. The ideological debates started as early as the 1970s, but the peak came with the obvious financial difficulties of Sweden in the 1990s. At that time the discussion became focused on how to solve the problems of the public sector and the third sector was presented as an alternative, to which both right and left wing parties could agree. The third sector was seen as preferable to the private sector, though one faction of the Social Democratic Party continued to oppose this new pragmatic politics and could not accept any alternatives to public sector owned and driven services (this group was in favour of the concept of mass movements). Thus these new definitions and concepts not only challenged the predominant use of ‘popular mass movement’ to describe third sector organisations in Sweden, but also altered the ways in which state and third sector actors understood third sector activities in relation to fields such as governance, employment, and social exclusion. Based on the results from Nordfeldt, Olsson and Larsson (2005) we will therefore, in this section, briefly review the dominant definitions and typologies in Sweden used to refer to elements of the third sector and discuss how these relate to the domains of social welfare.

In Table 3 we present a summary of different concepts and terms used in the Swedish context, based on published Swedish material. These sources (scientific and other published material) refer to the holdings of about 200 Swedish libraries, mainly research libraries, with more than four million titles, compiled by the LIBRIS Department of the Royal Library in Sweden. Keywords or free text are used to search all searchable fields in the database; i.e. a keyword search is the same as a free text search. LIBRIS recommends the use of this kind of search to retrieve as much as possible about a certain topic or if you lack precise information about the title you are searching for.

Table 3: Collective nouns in published materials in Sweden

Year of publication	Popular mass movement	Social Economy	Interest organisation	Third sector	Civil Society	'Ideell' ² sector	Voluntary sector
Before 1990	66		8				
1990-1995	19	8	9	1	10	6	3
1996-2000	30	33	8	14		1	2
2001—	8	29	3	10	3	1	
Total	123	70	28	25	13	8	5

Source: [Http://websok.libris.kb.se](http://websok.libris.kb.se) (2003-11-27). Libris is the national library web search.

According to Table 3, the two most dominant collective nouns in the discourse on the third sector are 'popular mass movement' and 'social economy'. Social economy is a relatively new concept in Sweden and is often applied when defining and describing new types of cooperatives and regional development groups, particularly related to employment issues. Popular mass movement, on the other hand, is a more traditional concept, mainly used to describe organisational democratic processes in particular and activity on governance in general. It is important to note that the table does not present an empirical survey of actual usage among practitioners, politicians or state officials in Sweden, as it is only restricted to the incidence of each term in published Swedish materials. In the following text, we describe and define the three most dominant collective nouns in more detail and, where applicable, explore how they relate to practical activities on governance, employment and social exclusion.

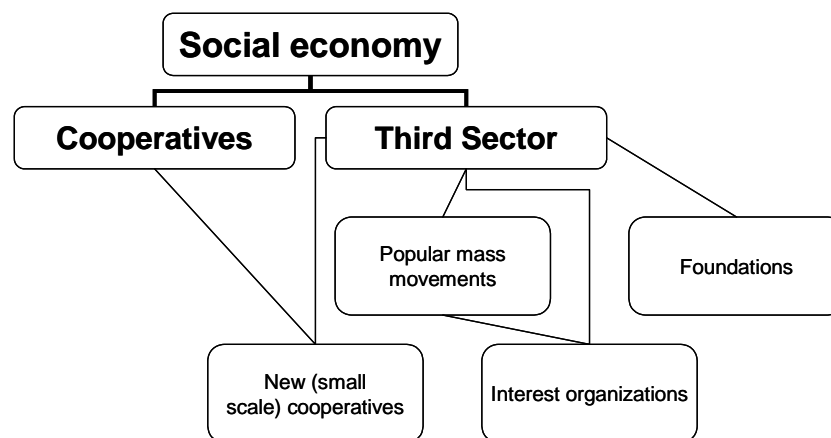
Popular mass movement is a term frequently used to describe a substantial part of the associations in the Swedish third sector, excluding certain parts of cultural, religious, recreational and charitable activity. The term emphasizes organisational features such as membership, voluntary activity and democratic organisational structures. In a narrow sense, the popular mass movements in Sweden are often divided into two groups. One is older and often associated with the powerful labour movement, which has had a special status among Swedish movements and in Swedish society. This older group usually consists of the labour movement, free churches and the temperance movement. The other group includes the 'new movements', such as those for women's liberation, environmental protection and peace. In a broader sense the term 'folk rörelse' often also includes consumer cooperatives, the sports movement and adult education institutes. Even traditional philanthropic associations such as the Red Cross and Save the Children call themselves popular mass movements.

² 'Ideell' could be translated as ideal, but is also used to refer to voluntary and unpaid work.

‘Social economy’ is sometimes used as a synonym for traditional Swedish terms such as the popular mass movement and the third sector. However, public authorities at central and regional/local levels, responsible for the administration of EU Structural Funds, use the term social economy to refer systematically to aspects of regional development policy, especially on employment issues, cooperative initiatives and the voluntary sector. The main criterion for membership in the social economy can be said to be that an organisation’s activities are based on principles of democracy and solidarity. However, the social economy is sometimes described as everything that is part of neither public nor private sectors (Social ekonomi, 1999). In the case of Sweden, one can therefore argue that the concept of a social economy is broader than that of the third sector, even though the latter includes the major part of the former.

Given that the third sector in Sweden is not primarily involved in traditional welfare service production, the promotion of interests, advocacy and representation of members are crucial activities in the third sector. The concept of the interest organisation overlaps with that of the popular mass movement but it focuses on another aspect of the organisation. Interest organisations range from different types of labour unions, temperance movement organisations, and former federations to organisations with a more limited number of members but often with demands or claims on society that are considered legitimate, such as organisations for disabled people or ethnic groups.

Figure 1: Collective nouns in Sweden: a structural perspective.



Developed from Wijkström and Lundström (2002).

In an adaptation to the Swedish context, Figure 1 graphically illustrates the different kinds of organisations and collective nouns that could be seen as part of Swedish discourse on the third sector. It is important to note, however, that the term social economy is not used in practice in Sweden as a dominant collective noun for all these organisations. Figure 1 should rather be seen as a theoretical construction, to organize the collective nouns presented in this paper. Moreover, even though Figure 1 seems to present a concise model, the boundaries are far from clear cut and uncontested. Though all three concepts presented above can be said to focus on certain aspects of the organisations within or constituting the sector itself, 'membership' tends to overlap among the organisations in the third sector. For example, even if popular mass movement can be said to exclude certain types of organisations, the broad sense of the term may elsewhere be almost all encompassing. As we have suggested, the noun social economy could, from a neo-cooperative perspective, be seen as including other dominant collective nouns, such as popular mass movement and civil society, while the concept of the interest organisation overlaps with that of the popular mass movement. For example, in Wijkström, Einarsson and Larsson (2004) an analysis is provided of the language used to describe organisations in the third sector in Sweden in the central government budget for the year of 2004. According to the report, more than 110 different collective nouns are applied and used in the 27 different areas of expenditure within the budget. For example, in the area of health care, social services, and education, it seems that the third sector is constructed mainly based on the function it is supposed to fulfil. The nouns applied differ depending on whether the organisation is viewed from a producer perspective (for example 'public service supplier'), from a target group perspective, or from an ownership and control perspective (for example 'cooperatives'), among other perspectives.

In Lundström and Wijkström (1997) the authors present results from a number of large questionnaire surveys, targeted at the various forms of non-profit associations and foundations in Sweden, are presented. Interestingly, none of the major concepts used in Sweden covered more than 50 percent of the organisations in the sector. They claim that before the introduction of the concept of social economy, most organisations in the third sector shaped their agendas and outlook based on the national state agenda, meaning a preference for the term popular mass movement (Lundström and Wijkström, 1997). With the introduction of the concept of social economy, older popular mass movements are now influenced by and reacting to policy issues on the European level. Yet, as discussed above, one can still detect nuanced variation in how the two concepts of popular mass movement and social economy are used and applied by the third sector itself. It seems that popular mass movement is still more often linked to the idea of democracy, while social economy is used more often to refer to issues of labour and enterprise. Social economy as a concept fits better with the idea of a new welfare mix and the outsourcing of the public sector. It has connotations of social entrepreneurship and the cooperative organisational form, which can deal with projects, contracts and

service delivery. A characteristic of the popular mass movement organisational form is extensive membership and very few employees. Popular mass movements, as mass member-organisations, are usually not very suitable to provide services, but have developed democratic structures dealing with their members' issues. These broad distinctions continue to inform research on membership, despite their deficiencies. In 1992 cooperatives seen as social economy were estimated to have around 15 % share of the total members of the sector, while most of the rest could be defined as members of as popular mass movement organisations (Wijkström and Lundström, 2002).

4. Third sector specific horizontal policy architecture

As stated in the introduction, even though one can define the Swedish case as an emergent third sector community, it is difficult to identify examples of horizontal 'third sector policy' in Sweden, where policies or concepts are enacted relating to the entire third sector (or more specifically to third sector activities in the social welfare domains of governance, employment and social exclusion). Like other countries, cross-sector activities are less easy to discern than the vertical policy processes going on at the same time, at multiple governmental levels and in different sub-fields of the third sector. However, we can identify some recent examples of ongoing horizontal institution building and attempts to initiate third sector specific politics:³

- Development of a new intergovernmental working group in the popular mass movement policy area in 2001;
- Introduction of a new political area, 'folkrörelsepolitik' (Popular mass movement politics), in the budgetary proposition for 2001;
- Between 1997 and 2000 a governmental commission on the issue of democracy was established. In the final report the third sector is recognized as both representing their members and the citizens of Sweden as well as a producer of welfare services;
- Organisation of the annual Forum for popular mass movements (Folkrörelseforum);
- Creation of a 'National committee for the social economy' in 1999;
- Evaluation of the work carried out by the government in the year of 2001 and 2002 regarding social economy issues;
- Establishment in 2001 of a permanent office for voluntary social work in the National Board of Health and Welfare, which is administrating funds for, among others, the disabled, organizing an annual conference and financing research;

³ For a more detailed description, see Nordfeldt, Olsson, and Larsson (2005).

- The appointment of a professor in 2002 in the field of civil society and social work; and
- FAMNA, an interest organisation for organisations for third sector organisations, working in the field of social and healthcare, established 2004.

In research on third sector specific horizontal policy events, actors and developments (Nordfeldt, Olsson, and Larsson, 2005), a number of earlier examples were also identified that can be related more specifically to the themes of employment and social exclusion. In addition to the cases cited above, these examples include the following:⁴

- The third sector initiated establishment of the National Forum for Voluntary Social Work in Sweden in 1993;
- The government decision to appoint a working committee in 1993 for the advancement of the voluntary sector as an complement to traditional welfare state activities;
- Since 2001 the National Board of Health and Welfare together with the National Forum for Voluntary Social Work in Sweden have arranged an annual national conference on third sector issues in general and social welfare issues in particular;
- A governmental commission in 2001 (SOU, 2001: 52) investigating the relationship between the state and the third sector in relation to the changing nature of the welfare state services;
- In the government budget proposal for 2002, social economy is declared to be a crucial aspect for development, among other things in relation to the labour market; and
- Financial support from the sector, for third sector research at both Stockholm School of Economics and at Ersta Sköndal University College since the mid 1990s.

Finally, significant intermediary bodies have been constructed from organisations across vertical policy fields and are currently participating in the process of developing and fostering third sector specific horizontal policies in Sweden:

- The Popular Mass Movement Council (Folkrörelserådet) which aims to stimulate and support local development, enhance communication between local action groups, coordinate the NGOs' rural work, act as a spokesman for local groups and influence public opinion and decision-makers;
- The National Forum for Voluntary Social Work in Sweden (Forum för frivilligt socialt arbete). The goal of this organisation is to gather third sector organisations active in the social welfare domain, identify common areas of interest and create a more comprehensive coalition of organizations;

⁴ Ibid.

- Non Profit Arena (Ideell Arena), was founded in 1998 by third sector organisations and works on leadership and organisation in the third sector;
- Cooperative Development in Sweden (Föreningen Kooperativ Utveckling i Sverige, FKU). The goal of this organisation is to support its members by functioning as a national network;
- A cross-ministerial working group was appointed by government to investigate the concept of social economy and its consequences during the period of 1997 to 1999;
- Forum for popular mass movements (Folkrörelseforum), initiated in 2002 as an emerging space for consultation and dialogue between the government and the organisations in the third sector.

These examples and actors are fairly recent events in the Swedish government's and the third sector's attempts to develop policies for the third sector. At the same time it is important to stress that, for a long period in Sweden, there has been a close interaction between public and third sector at different levels of society. For example, a unit named 'Folkrörelseenheten' (the Unit for the popular mass movement) was established as early as 1975. The government allocated funding for research on the popular mass movement in 1975 and set up 'Delegationen för folkrörelseforskning' (the Delegation for popular mass movement research). A number of governmental commissions have investigated the relations between the state and the organisations in the third sector, primarily the systems of public funding (for example SOU, 1979: 60; SOU, 1987: 33; SOU, 1993: 71; SOU, 1993: 82; and SOU, 1998: 38). One should therefore be cautious in interpreting of new initiatives as symbols of increasing levels of horizontality, as new forms of interaction and policy issues can also be seen as the natural development of a long series of systematic contacts.

Moreover, by only presenting a review of the substantive content of the relevant examples, events, statements and publications, the results will be biased towards horizontality and improvements for the third sector. One hypothesis is that ministries and other relevant policy actors in favour of the third sector will be more likely to organize conferences, events and to publish papers, among other things, i.e. to seek recognition, whereas policy actors opposed to the third sector will be less likely to develop policies in close cooperation with representatives from the third sector. Yet, one example of 'decreasing' horizontality is the proposed adjustment to EU laws on VAT. Third sector organisations were supposed to pay VAT, as other organisations, did but a new proposal suggests an exemption for third sector organisations working in the social field as well as organisations in sport and in the area of culture. Another example is the introduction of new ways of managing government support for members of the sector, which may pose as a threat to its identity and special circumstances, as they are now operating in the same arena as private companies and are even to some degree being 'commercialised' themselves. This idea is sometimes called New Public Management and introduces a much more private-sector style of managing third sector organisations vis-à-vis the public sector.

This new idea is not driven by any horizontal actor mentioned above. New Public Management has been an important idea in managing municipalities for some time and the idea has spread from internal municipal organisation to become a cornerstone of interaction with local third sector organisations. There are several reasons for a new pattern of contacts between the municipality and third sector. The most important reason as at the national state level, lies in the financial crises of the public sector. Nearly as important is a question of legitimacy for the local public sector (most social work and care are carried out at a municipality level and health care at regional level) in terms of size, efficiency and quality (Wijkström and Lundström, 2002). As a final comment, we also would like to emphasize the rather limited, but still significant, examples of horizontality related to the private sector in Sweden, not highlighted in this working paper.

5. Review of current horizontal policy agenda

The current agenda of third sector specific horizontal public policies in Sweden is mainly that of third sector political recognition through the establishment of conferences, events, and permanent committees and groups within the state apparatus and between the governmental organs and the third sector. To a lesser degree, the agenda also focuses on issues related to state support systems, the legal and fiscal structures surrounding the third sector and general principles for third sector consultation in policy design. Based on the research in Nordfeldt, Olsson, and Larsson (2005) we would argue that the current agenda does not include topics such as third sector involvement in policy implementation or policy evaluation. Wijkström and Lundström (2002) suggest that the 100-year tradition of consultation with the third sector was probably most vividly expressed during the 1960s and some scholars even consider that the model is no longer relevant. One reason could be that the popular mass movement has become old, with rather 'rigid' structures. But we also see new coalitions developing between organisations working with global and international missions. There has always been a close connection between the public sector and third sector: characterised as 'closeness and dependency' by Kuhnle and Selle (1992). In the past, the third sector has grown together with the expansion of the public sector, and this is probably still the case. However, there is no explicit political agenda for the sector; though all political parties express themselves in favour of it. Current political attention is centred on the reconstruction of the public sector and of outsourcing to the private sector (ibid). The third sector is a marginal issue.

The content and priorities of the agenda for third sector specific horizontal public policies mainly relate to the concepts of popular mass movement and social economy, the two dominant collective nouns in Swedish discourse. As we mentioned earlier, these concepts have evolved out of different

times and contexts. Popular mass movements are considered to be a part of the Swedish model, which has itself been institutionalised, for instance, when it comes to taxes and subsidies. In political science the tradition of the popular mass movement is still strong: one of their main concerns is auditing membership of popular mass movements and political parties as part of this tradition). Among politicians, public sector servants, the traditional popular mass movement's organisations themselves and scholars, the concept remains strongly related to Swedish democratic tradition. Definitions of a 'social economy' were introduced more than 100 years later and relate to new types of activities and structures in the Swedish context. This has had its strongest impact in the countryside and the parts of Sweden where structural funds are at work. Östersund - a city in the northern part of the country - has been the engine for changing the conceptual terrain. Yet social economy has not been a major research topic in Sweden, remaining a marginal subject within work on popular mass movements. Over the last decade there have been connections made between the two positions. For instance the sports movements (traditionally considered to be a part of the popular mass movements) have said that they are social economy. In spring 2005, the government hosted a conference dealing with social economy and democracy.

The third sector is still receiving most political and social recognition through the establishment of a new political area in popular mass movement politics and the Forum for popular mass movements. Moreover, the juridical aspects of the most common organisational form of the popular mass movements, the association, are currently being reviewed at the ministry of finance. Those organisations considered to make up the popular mass movements have been, in various degrees, invited to take part in consultations, both on policies concerning the third sector itself, and more general topics. An example of the former includes the working committee for the Forum for popular mass movements and of the latter includes the Popular Mass Movement Council's participation in structural fund programs on a regional level.

In the few years since Sweden's entry into the EU, the concept of social economy has witnessed not only a rise but also, perhaps, a fall in popularity. At the turn of the century, the third sector was politically and socially recognized for their membership of and contributions to the social economy in Sweden in government proposals, budgets and through the establishment of working groups and national committees, in which representatives from the third sector were invited to take part in consultations over policy design. Moreover, the government also reviewed the financial support systems and the legal and fiscal structures for social economy organisations. However, at the time of writing, the concept of social economy has lost visibility in the public domain. Current examples of social economy as part of the third sector specific horizontal policy debate are provided by discussions about the role of the horizontal organisation 'Cooperative Development' and the

increased cooperation between the latter and the Swedish Business Development Agency. One possible explanation for the reduced salience of social economy in public discourse could be that the concept has moved from being a ‘buzzword’ to being part of the day-to-day policy discourse in various fields of government. As we mentioned earlier the concept social economy has been seen as a strange category in Sweden and the dominant noun popular mass movement has in that sense crowded out social economy. However social economy has become strong in some niches. It is especially common in relation to the creation of new workplaces in regions in need of governmental support. One could say there is a geographical and central - periphery divide here.

The current agenda and priorities of third sector specific horizontal public policies in Sweden are only to a limited degree ‘packaged’ in relation to this paper’s focus on the social welfare domains of governance, employment and social exclusion. The concept of popular mass movement is certainly linked to the democratic infrastructure of Swedish society. Popular mass movements are seen as schools of democracy (training people to work together in democratic ways and structures) and instruments for political mobilisation, but are also acknowledged for their contribution to governance in Sweden. Along similar lines, the concept of social economy is often used to stress aspects of regional development, foremost among which are promoting employment and establishing of new cooperatives. However, none of these concepts are frequently presented as solutions to problems defined out of the social welfare domain. Indeed, as shown by Wijkström, Einarsson, and Larsson (2004), popular mass movements and social economy are considered to be either marginal to or completely outside the area of social welfare. Instead, new types of nouns/concepts are proposed in the ‘third sector’ and ‘ideell sector’ to deal with policy questions and organisational matters. These two nouns are frequently linked to welfare production and policy-making. The new horizontal actors emerging from the third sector in the late 1990s use these two concepts in preference to the language of the social economy and popular mass movement. They often adopted the language proposed by such academic think tanks as the Stockholm School of Economics and Ersta Sköndal University College.

There are, however, additional examples of current third sector specific horizontal public policies that directly or indirectly focus on the social welfare domains of governance, employment and social exclusion. Besides examples related to popular mass movements and social economy, among the various initiatives, we can mention the establishment of a permanent office for voluntary social work at the National Board of Health and Welfare, the establishment of the National Forum for Voluntary Social Work and their jointly organized annual conference. The content and priorities of these third sector specific horizontal actors can be said to be not only improving political and social recognition, funding support systems and legal and fiscal structures for the sector, but also securing the active

participation of third sector organisations in primarily policy design in the areas of social welfare and social exclusion in particular. For example, in the National Action Plan against social exclusion, third sector organisations are seen as complementary but not supplementary to the public sector and efforts have been made towards making the division of labour between the state and the third sector clear and legible.

Another example of current third sector specific horizontal public policies (which to a lesser degree symbolize the underlying dynamics of the case of Sweden) is the role of governmental commissions. The appointment of governmental commissions is a method for preparing new laws and creating new policies and public programs. Depending on the issue at hand, representatives from the political parties and the organisations deemed to have a special interest and/or a special functional competence are appointed to the commission. Furthermore, at various stages, drafts of reports and proposed new laws and policies are sent out for review, comments and proposals to a large number of organisations that are viewed as having a stake in the process, a position called '*remiss*' in Swedish. The governmental commissions can therefore be said to serve as a key factor in a system of governance whose characteristics are deliberative political practices that involve a mix of civil servants, politicians, experts and representatives of relevant civil society organisations. As an institution, the typical commission is neither to be understood as a voluntary organisation, nor simply as a government agency, but as a location where the representatives of the state and civil society meet in order to co-govern (Trägårdh, 2005).

6. Review of implementation

This section comments on the extent to which the policies outlined in the previous section have actually been implemented. As stated in Nordfeldt, Olsson, and Larsson (2005) almost none of the examples of horizontal third sector specific policies identified here have led to policy follow-through and implementation. One obvious explanation for this is the fact that most examples of horizontality have been aimed at increasing the political and social recognition of the sector, reviewing the funding support systems and the legal and fiscal structures, as well as improving the sector's consultation in policy design, rather than involving the third sector in the implementation and evaluation of policies. Granted, reviewing the funding support systems and the legal and fiscal structures for the third sector, could in principal have led to new policies and implementation and evaluation of the same. However, these reviews have yet to lead to new public policies. For example, despite recurrent reviews of the funding support systems in the last 20 years, the overall review of public sector support to the third sector carried out by the Swedish Agency for Public Management in 2004 showed that Sweden still

lacked general guidelines for the management of grants to the third sector. We suggest that the third sector might be seen as a left-over category in the overall welfare system and that policy making and evaluation remain ad hoc and unsystematic. One could argue that there is a hidden agenda among politicians who are reluctant to regulate the third sector knowing that sector would probably become more of an influence on policy as a result. However it is much more likely that the third sector is simply of little interest because it makes up so small a part of welfare provision compared to the private sector and the large public sector. Recent debates on profit and hospitals are symptomatic of this, and reveal the extent to which politicians seem to divide the world in two, private and public. Therefore on the national level third sector politics is still improvised and only strongly expressed through the establishment of a permanent office for voluntary social work in the National Board of Health and Welfare. This office controls subsidies, but does not make policies towards the third sector in the welfare area. In the third sector this incrementalism is regarded as problematic and the establishment of FAMNA is a sign of a growing insight and investment in the need for cooperation and attempts to influence political decisions. FAMNA has, for instance, had a meeting with the minister responsible for health care and hospitals.

The traditional methods of involvement in the governmental policy processes (the Swedish model) have created a path dependency among the third sector organisations. During the last century the third sector has been continually involved in policy processes and though scholars claim that the cooperative model has started to diminish, it is still a part of the structure of government (Wijkström and Lundström, 2002). The third sector has had a much stronger tradition in advocacy than service production in the modern welfare state. New initiatives from the EU where the third sector is seen as a partner both in terms of providing 'voice' and services are strange birds in the Swedish context. Due to the specifically traditional roles of the sector, it lacks expertise in service provision (with a few exceptions). One case pointing in this direction is the development and implementation of EU-initiated National Action Plans against social exclusion and for employment (see Nordfeldt, Olsson, and Larsson, 2005). In regard to the plan against social exclusion, despite the formation of a permanent delegation involving representatives from the third sector (Delegationen för brukarinflytande i sociala utvecklingsfrågor), the involvement of the third sector has not led to national policy change or implementation other than the permanent inclusion of the sector in the process of writing the Plan. Subsequently, even though there has been a good deal of agreement among all parties when it comes to the national action plan, third sector stakeholders' specific hopes for lasting and radical reforms in the social domains have yet to be realized. In regard to the plan for employment, the social partners (that is, third sector organisations representing employees and employers) are seen by the government as having a central role in policies. However, these partners are still mainly engaged in consultations on policy design, rather than implementation and evaluation.

A few third sector organisations even claim that the national action plan is simply a summary of existing domestic policies ‘cut and pasted’ into a new document.

7. Towards an understanding of the national situation

In this section we will outline the key factors explaining the situation in which Sweden now finds itself, both in terms of the pattern of relevant events and institutions as well as the topical content of the agenda. The section discusses the most important features of policy and politics in Sweden, contributing to the cumulative picture of the third sector offered here.

To start with we would like to make a short summary. We have argued that there is a strong set of historical and contextual relationships between public and third sector, with closeness and dependency as a central theme. Since the introduction of the modern welfare state the third sector, in the area of welfare, has played a rather limited role when it comes to service production but a more vivid role in advocacy.

Stable parameters and degree of consensus

One relevant stable parameter, explaining the current situation in Sweden, is the organisation of the Swedish welfare state, with a tradition of a high degree of self-government at the regional and local level. As a result of the relationship between the centre and the periphery, the regional and local governments carry out most decisions and policy-making concerning the third sector. The national government can, of course, influence the relationship between the third and the public sector through legislation and the subsidy system, for example, but this is very uncommon in areas of relevance to the third sector. Moreover, the fact that third sector actors are to be found within a diverse set of fields and domains, and the recognition that many policy decisions regarding the third sector are taken on a local level, create a less fertile policy environment at the national level. A related matter is that the collective noun ‘social economy’ is today mainly used in relation to local and regional development in peripheral areas, whereas ‘popular mass movement’ is used in the centre as well as in the periphery (see Table 4), creating impulses against horizontality.

Table 4: The uneven geographical distribution of collective noun usage

	Social economy	Popular mass movement
Geographic centrality	Ad hoc, some interest in the government	Vital as tool for democracy and the understanding of the Swedish model
Geographic periphery	Important concept in regions with EU regional and governmental support	The basic model for municipality support

Another relevant stable parameter is the existence of parallel, yet separate discourses *within* each level of government. Wijkström, Einarsson and Larsson (2004) claim that the language used when describing the third sector - and therefore the way the government relates to and constructs it - differs among the different areas of expenditure. The authors argue that the relation between the government and organisations in the third sector, as described in the national budget for 2004, can be seen to be constructed based on three different perspectives: the organisations in the third sector are understood as either the focal point (as in sport), in the margins (as in education), or completely outside of the particular area of expenditure (as in taxes). Politics can be viewed as rhetoric and budget expenditure politics transformed into reality and action. In the national budget one could argue that sport is much more central than the area of taxes in relation to the third sector. Sport is the biggest niche in the third sector (Wijkström and Lundström, 2002). As the welfare domain has been an issue for the public sector until the 1990s, the politics and salience of third sector in this area are best described as marginal; neither a focal point, nor completely outside governmental relations.

External shocks/system events

A number of external events can also be said to explain the situation in Sweden. During the 1990s, Sweden witnessed dramatic cuts in the public welfare system, with politicians and state officials increasingly looking to the private and the third sectors for viable alternatives. This was especially the case for the private sector, and the outsourcing that occurred was a private sector discourse, both at a political level, and at a sector level (see Table 5). As we mentioned earlier, politicians divided welfare provision into a purchaser and provider system. Providers could be private and public organisations. The third sector was, at best, visible at the margins and then sometimes categorized as a private initiative. The continuing privatisation of the public sector also opened up opportunities for third sector organisations to initiate or increase their welfare and social service activities. Third sector organisations had to compete in the same way as private enterprises. During the 1990s employees in the private sector in the welfare domain increased by more than 150 % and by 2000 more than double the numbers were employed in the private sector than in the third sector. Even so, in 2000, 12 % of

total amount of employees in welfare production worked in the private and third sector put together, though this was nearly twice as many as in 1990 (Trydegård, 2001). During the same period, organisations in the third sector started to be more and more active in the core areas of welfare, i.e. what can be understood as welfare provision. However the political debate was mainly centred on welfare production in the public or private sector, as the main alternatives.

Table 5: Number of employees in the social welfare domain

	Public sector	Private sector	Third sector	Total
Number of employees 1990	Ca. 840000	Ca. 26000	Ca. 32000	Ca. 900000
Number of employees 2000	Ca. 780000	Ca. 72000	Ca. 29000	Ca. 880000

Source: Trydegård (2001).

Organisations who took advantage of new opportunities included new groups, such as women's rights or watch organisations, 'friskolor' (schools run by/driven by newly established third sector organisations), or cooperative day care centres managed by parents, as well as established groups, which now had changed or extended their core activities. One example of the latter is 'Synskadades Riksförening' (The Swedish Association of the Visually Impaired), which took over the breeding and education of dogs for visually impaired from the state in the 1990s. Another example of this trend was the transfer of responsibility for different sports facilities from local municipalities to sports organisations in the third sector. This development seems to shift the focus of the third sector as a whole in Sweden. Wijkström and Lundström (2002) describe this as a shift from organisation of interests to production of welfare and services.

The changing focus of third sector activity was accentuated from the late 1990s. The major example of this is the ongoing debate regarding health care and social services in Sweden. In 1999, the Minister of Health and Social Affairs, Lars Engqvist, publicly declared that 'nonprofits' should be seen as valuable alternative in the area of health care. This was underscored in 2001 when the Prime Minister Göran Persson spoke of the increased demand for non-profit companies in health care, education and social services. Also, a number of government inquiries were initiated in 2000 to deal with the temporary law implemented to prevent county councils in Sweden from handing over the operation of emergency hospitals to other actors (mainly private sector actors). FAMNA, an interest organisation for third sector groups working in the field of social and health care, has, since it started, visited the responsible minister in Social Affairs and made it clear that third sector organisations have

an alternative logic which should be respected. It has received support from the Prime Minister, who would like to see non profit hospitals in every county.

A related matter is the shape and content of the relationship between the public and the third sector. As evidenced by Wijkström, Einarsson, and Larsson (2004), it seems that public sector officials, at least as exemplified by the various funding systems, today view third sector organisations in a more instrumental and functional way than before. Key actors in the public sector seem to be more interested in the third sector's capacity to deliver and produce welfare services than in the sector's ability to represent interests and different groups of society. Researcher Åke Bergmark (1994) describes this trend with the words 'from contribution to compensation'. This trend coincides with New Public Management ideology and marks a sharp discontinuity in the relationship between public and third sector. Instead of subsidies to enable the organizations to survive in the general good, the trend is towards payment for expected contribution.

Finally, Wijkström and Lundström (2002) comment that academic think tanks have recently been influential in the formation of civil society in Sweden. They discuss the possibility that researchers like themselves might have contributed towards the construction and establishment of the notion of the third sector in Sweden, given that some of their publications have argued for the importance of constructing a separate 'ideell' sector in comparison with the sectors for public, private and family activity. Important publications in this context include the study of the voluntary social work (SOU, 1993: 82) and the Johns Hopkins studies of the non-profit sector in Sweden (Lundström and Wijkström, 1997). Another consequence of their research, is the government's interest in non-profit alternatives for primarily education and social and medical care; an interest that might be interpreted as the government's desire for political alternatives to for-profit companies as welfare providers when outsourcing certain parts of welfare (Trydegård, 2001).

Motivating beliefs

Of interest here are the recent changes in the relationship between the local municipalities and the third sector. The role of the third sector is becoming increasingly important for many municipalities, as evidenced by the Swedish Association of Local Authorities' (Svenska Kommunförbundet) report on the third sector 'Välfärd i samverkan - kommunerna, medborgarna och den frivilliga sektorn' (1999). In the report, the authors emphasize three reasons why the voluntary sector and the role of the voluntary organisations in welfare provision are of interest. The first reason is economic hardship at national public level and the need to reduce costs. Another reason stems from the attacks on the legitimacy of the public sector as a welfare provider in terms of the quality, scope and effectiveness

of services. Finally, changes in citizens' values, especially due to increasing individualism, are another possible explanation. From this evidence it seems that the interest of the municipalities in the third sector is shifting from the traditional areas of sports and culture to welfare and services. Since a lot of welfare service provision is carried out at the level of the municipality, local public politics are highly relevant. The problem is that there are nearly 300 municipalities and no joint political statement towards the third sector. In addition, relations with local public sectors at the municipality level are changing rather rapidly. Trydegård (2001) has shown how welfare production has been privatised (although most remains in the public sector) and some former public sector work is now also being done in the third sector. Bergmark (1994) argues that there was a new trend at the beginning of the 1990s, which he called a shift from subsidies to compensation. He identified a political shift at the local level where the local public sector increasingly involved the third sector in a more instrumental way, for instance in specific projects (Wijkström and Lundström, 2002). In due time, this may potentially change relationships at the national level from below.

Another factor to consider in Sweden is how political parties view the third sector. For most of the twentieth century, the Social Democratic Party has emphasized the third sector's importance in promoting democracy and mobilizing the citizens of Sweden (advocacy/voice) over the sector's role as a welfare producer (service). The dominant collective noun often used by the party has been popular mass movement, or social economy related to cooperative initiatives. This has been very important, because the Social Democratic Party were in government from the mid-1930s to the mid-1970s, sometimes in coalition with other parties, but most of the time by themselves. In this period the trade unions and the Social Democratic Party were often described as two equally important and mutually dependent parts of the labour movement. However, during the latter part of the twentieth century we can note two divergent trends within the Social Democratic Party itself. On the one hand, some parts of the Social Democratic Party emphasize the importance of mobilizing citizens, not only politically and in trade unions, but also increasingly in the production of welfare, as this symbolizes the public's interest in and support of the welfare state. Here the role of the third sector in welfare production is sometimes seen as a viable alternative to state involvement. Other parts of the party, on the other hand, resist all forms of privatisation of the welfare state, regardless of whether the state would be replaced by third sector organisations or private sector actors.

The other political parties in Sweden are also fairly positive in their views of the third sector, both as actors in the political arena and providers of welfare services. For example, the Left Party, which one would assume to be a most vigorous defender of the state's monopoly, today refers to the third sector in their policy program as a possible alternative to the public sector for service provisions (but also an alternative to the private sector). The Liberal Party underscores the role of the third sector in service

provision, especially in the area of social services. However, many political parties provide little or no room for the third sector in their policies. Third sector issues are still rarely mentioned by the Left Party and are almost totally ignored by the Green Party.

Wijkström and Lundström (2002) summarize why it has been difficult to identify horizontal policy building by the third sector in Sweden over the past 20 years in relation to political parties. They argue that there has been a somewhat surprising degree of consensus on how to relate to the third sector among the different political groupings. Policy issues relating to the sector have not normally been considered as politically important by the political parties or the government. This stems from the historical development of welfare in Sweden, because of the predominance of ‘state take over’ and because outsourcing has predominately been discussed as a political question regarding the private sector.

Looking to the beliefs of those active in the sector, the third sector’s own reluctance to accept new legislation has had important consequences for legal frameworks in Sweden. There is currently no legislation specifying the details of the most common third sector legal form, ‘ideell förening’ (‘ideell’ association), and there are no requirements for formal registration in order to give the association legal personality. The absence of the sector on the legal map in Sweden is interesting but can only be explored in a speculative way. One important difficulty in the drafting of legislation on ‘ideell’ associations is that existing associations are extremely varied in character. Another reason is probably that political parties and labour market organisations, which are normally organized as ‘ideell’ associations themselves, have resisted limits on their own freedom of action. One must realize that many third sector organisations in Sweden are of a lobbying nature, and thus, have a decisive impact on the legislative process in this field. Until now one could talk about reluctance in the third sector in general and especially in the area of welfare when it comes to regulation. The lack of regulation and thus of public control has therefore been a policy in itself and a sort of gentlemen’s agreement between the public and third sector. The dominant argument has been that nobody really gains from regulation, while the third sector has been seen as something good in itself. During the 1990s, the third sector and especially the umbrella organisations became worried that the lack of legal framework was meaning that they could not compete with the private sector and started to be active in the public debate. This concern was visible in relation to the recent case on VAT, in which umbrella organisations worked hard to convince the Ministry of Finance that third sector organisations needed an exemption.

8. Conclusion

A reason for recent government interest in the third sector, as identified by Wijkström and Lundström (2002), is that it is used more as a check on the ongoing commercialisation of activities in the public sector than as a viable alternative to public sector welfare provision. Lars Svedberg (1996) has labelled third sector organisations as ideological baseball bats, since they are used by different political sides to either defend or seek to dismantle the current organisation of the welfare state.

In the case of Sweden, one can argue that at the beginning of the 1990s there was no third sector horizontal community. Policy making occurred mainly in vertical fields, apart from an historical and taken-for-granted belief in involving popular mass movements. However, as evidenced by the previous sections of this working paper, it seems that policy-making in Sweden has moved on to see a kind of emerging third sector community since the latter part of the 1990s. In this context, policy-making in vertical fields has been supplemented by the development of horizontal institutions, formalizing parts of the popular mass movements as well as organisations labelled as part of the social economy.

There are several important reasons for these developments. In terms of stable parameters, we would like to underscore the importance of the organisation of the Swedish welfare state and the existence of parallel, yet separate, discourses on how to view and construct the third sector within government. In terms of external shocks and system events, the foremost factor explaining the situation is what is sometimes referred to as the welfare state crisis, and the subsequent changes in the third sector itself as well as in motivational beliefs among key stakeholders in society. Beliefs of policy actors are different but also convergent. In both right wing and left wing parties, the third sector is seen as a legitimate alternative to public and private provision. For the left wing, the third sector is not as bad as private for-profit companies in the welfare field. The right wing argues that there is a need for alternatives to the state in general and that non-profit groups could be one option. Both left and right wing parties are in favour of voluntary work. During the 1990s, financial crises at the national and municipal levels prompted the ideological discussion to become much more pragmatic and the need for alternatives was overwhelming. In the process of outsourcing the public sector the third sector increased a little, but the private sector benefited the most. A somewhat surprising factor is the possibility that academic researchers have contributed towards the construction and establishment of the notion of the third sector in Sweden. Finally, in terms of motivational beliefs, it is important to consider changes in the relationship between local municipalities as the main provider of social service and care and the third sector, as well as changes in how political parties view the third sector, and the sector's opposition to legal and other limits on their freedom of action. However, it is

important to emphasize that no single factor can explain the situation in Sweden alone. Rather a number of factors, as outlined above, have come together to both promote and work against the establishment of an emerging third sector community.

In the introduction to this paper, we argued that one way of understanding the third sector's significance for current public policy in Sweden is to interpret the sector's role in and around the social welfare domain, particularly in relation to governance, social exclusion and employment policy. We have shown that the historical development of the third sector and the welfare state can also be connected to an account of the processes by which third sector specific policies began to take shape in Sweden, and that these can also, to some degree, be said to be bound up with questions about wider social welfare systems and problems. However, it has really been since the 1990s and onwards that such activities have come together with a critical mass to generate significant political visibility and recognition for the sector. Moreover, the build up in the social welfare domain has not superseded the place of popular mass movements in debates about governance. In an international perspective, Swedish third sector activities in the area of social welfare are still small, being of crucial importance mainly in certain niches and vulnerable groups (Lundström and Svedberg, 2003).

To summarise our findings and arguments: the relationship between the third sector and the public sector can be described as one of closeness and dependence. The third sector has had a prosperous relationship with the growth of the public sector. Since beginning of the modern welfare state the political scene has been characterised by 'public sector take over' and that is something that the third sector has both agreed to and also promoted. Welfare provision is therefore limited in the third sector. The historic and contextual path dependency between the third and the public sector therefore creates a division of labour. During the financial crisis of the 1990s the private sector seems to have been in a better position to take over from former public sector organisations. This could have been a question of the ability to raise capital, but it could also have been a question of politics. Our main argument is that during the changes in the 1990s political actors did not seriously consider the third sector as an alternative and public debate was divided by support for either public or private sectors. Yet at this time, the third sector began for perhaps the first time to view itself as sector with common goals and politics and today we are starting to see the results of the joint efforts that followed.

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Appendix 1: Working Glossary

Version of 23 June 2005

Case refers to the TSEP unit of analysis in relation to public policy as a multi-level process: there are ‘closed cases’, being particular policy events/programmes chosen to capture a range of policy modes and stages in the policy process of relevance to the third sector in Europe; or ‘open cases’, which are more thematic and diffuse in character. The former include the European Statute of Association; Global grants for social capital; the Convention/Constitution; National Actions Plans for social exclusion and employment; and the United Nations Year of Volunteering; the latter include Services of General Interest; and the European Structural Funds and the third sector at the sub-national level.

Coalition refers to alliances of policy actors, who can be individuals or organisations, who come together to pursue shared values, concretely expressed in policy change or policy perpetuation goals. Understanding the functioning and roles of such coalitions in national, EU or multi-level contexts requires accounting for the nature of their values and goals; the economic, political and cultural resources they are able to mobilise, and the political opportunity structure within which they operate. In the TSEP network, research effort has been directed at describing and analysing coalitions formed and perpetuated by full or part time *specialist third sector-specific policy actors*

Collective noun refers to the language used by domestic or EU level actors to group organisations sectorally at a level higher than *vertical policy fields*, and involving some implicit or explicit reference to ownership and control not reducible to either the market or the state. In some countries the collective noun and associated expressions involves a relatively stable or dominant language supported by formal or informal institutions and practices, while in others there is a more open field, with competing concepts and formulations, often fluidly co-existing and interacting with one another. Examples in Europe at the EU and national levels of expressions sometimes used in this way (and sometimes also used in other ways) include associations, [social] [action] NGOs, non-profit sector, nonprofits, organised civil society, popular movements, social economy, social enterprise, solidarity economy, third system, voluntary [and community] sector.

Community method has been described by the Commission as ‘a procedure leading to decisions or Act, involving balanced participation [at the EU institutional level] between Council, the European Parliament and the Commission’. It was the ‘classical’ or ‘traditional’ method of processing EU policy in the second half of the twentieth century, but in the twenty-first is increasingly supplemented or displaced by the *Open Method of Co-Ordination* which rebalances control away from the EU institutional level, towards Member State level actors.

Cross-cutting is used as shorthand for third sector relevant cross-cutting, and refers to concepts/beliefs or policies/practices/actions which are not confined to within *vertical policy fields*, but which are (a) either held to be relevant or applied discretely but according to common principles within two or more vertical policy fields, especially in the social welfare domain; or (b) which are held to be relevant/applied as a matter of ‘generic’ policy. Policy development in relation to these processes typically involves *specialist third sector-specific policy actors* within and outside the State, forming relatively loosely coupled ‘policy networks’ and/or a more formally institutionalised and recognised ‘policy community’ nominally involving a core of shared values and beliefs expressed in political rhetoric and/or the technical codified discourse associated with specialist policy instruments. The result can be the creation and perpetuation of a policy space jointly recognised by these experts as constituting the subject matter of third sector policy (using some collective noun) which is not reducible to the policy contents of a particular vertical field.

Domain Used to specify the level of policy between vertical policy field and the macro system of policy and politics. In relation to the third sector, the domain which TSEP has demonstrated is of most (but not universal) relevance is the *social welfare domain*.

European problem set refers to the cluster of high salience European policy issues or problems with which the third sector has most consistently been linked by policy actors at European, national and sub-national levels. Included here are *governance*; *social exclusion*; and unemployment. Third sector organisations may be seen as ‘partners’ whose contributions can and should be mobilised as part of the process of problem management, or problem solving.

Governance has multiple and contested meanings; but at its broadest, it can be used to refer to institutionally ordered arrangements for shaping the processing of policy at the key stages of agenda setting, decision making, implementation and evaluation. It tends to be linked to steering or strategic - as opposed to tactical - processes; patterned as opposed to unstructured relationships and interactions; and to be associated with such values as accountability, transparency, and effectiveness. The ways in which the third sector is linked to governance varies significantly across contexts, but often considered in scope are issues both in relation to internal governance - the design and application of appropriate legal structures and micro-constitutional models in the light of third sector specificities such as voluntarism and non-profit-distribution; and issues in relation to external governance, including how the third sector can and should fit as an actor at each of the policy stages, wherein it is one policy actor amongst many.

Horizontal policy is synonymous with *cross cutting* policy. Note that there are ‘pure’ cases of horizontality, whereby policies or concepts are related to the entire third sector as defined in the relevant collective nouns. But we *also* include as ‘horizontal’ narrower-in-scope concepts or policies which cut across some but not all *vertical fields*. In particular, overarching social welfare regime policies and practices, social inclusion policies and community development policies can be considered in scope, even if not extending outside the *social welfare domain*, to the extent that they necessarily suggest, involve or imply, participation by the third sector and its stakeholders.⁵

Industry-specific policies that are relevant to a particular *vertical field* only.

Mainstreaming is shorthand for *public policy* mainstreaming and refers to a situation in which the mainstreamed policy issue or problem (here, the third sector) is not only supported by technical institutions, but has high political and social visibility, and is seen by systemically powerful actors as of high generic public policy salience.

Multi-level process refers to how the European, national and subnational levels of public policy are inter-related. The extent to which this constitutes third sector policies is examined in the TSEP network by policy *cases*. Note that this is not synonymous with multi-level *governance* - which is typically used as a framing concept to claim that substantive power is situated at more than one level. The extent to which multi-level processes involve a reconfiguration towards multi level governance is treated as an open question for research.

Open Method of Coordination is based on mutual agreement of policy objectives by Member States; the development of common guidelines, indicators, and targets; benchmarking of performance

⁵ Note that other writers use this term differently, often including *intra-vertical* policy field *multi-sector* initiatives as horizontal, while we do not consider *per se* as the core subject matter of our network. However, indirectly such policies may lead indirectly to our notion of horizontality, through spillover effects or *ex post* political construction of policy, as noted elsewhere.

and exchange of good practices, formulation of national action plans; and peer review and joint monitoring of implementation in an iterative multi-year cycle. It increasingly supplements and even displaces the *Community Method*.

Path dependency Refers to how historical policy decisions create a ‘policy legacy’, which can have long term consequences for the possibilities of current and future policies

Policy is used in TSEP as shorthand for *public policy*.

Policy entrepreneurship refers to actions taken either to deliberately change, or to deliberately protect, public policies - here, third sector specific policies. Such efforts typically involve the formation of *coalitions* between individuals or organisations, or both and are heavily constrained by national political opportunity structures. In the TSEP network, research effort has been directed at describing and analysing the entrepreneurship of full or part time *specialist third sector-specific policy actors*. Most horizontal third sector policy entrepreneurship takes place at the national level or below, but there are some individuals and organisations that specialise at the EU level, and some who operate on multiple levels.

Policy field is shorthand for *vertical policy field*.

Policy mode is a helpful way of recognising and analysing the different types of broad policy approaches that jointly constitute the highly complex EU public policy process. Examples of distinctive modes are the *community method* (relevant to the third sector in the European Statute of Association case) and the *open method of co-ordination* (relevant to the third sector in the case of National Action Plans for *social exclusion* and employment).

Policy learning refers to the impetus for policy change which occurs when actors adopt strategies, or various forms of policy belief, in the light of experience; or policy changes due to new information and analysis, generated by *policy entrepreneurs*, perhaps operating as part of *coalitions*.

Public policy comprises two elements. Unless otherwise qualified, ‘policy’ refers to intended courses of action which are explicitly and proactively articulated by actors with significant levels of political authority, and reflected in patterned policy discourse, events and institutions. If past policy decisions continue to be relevant because (due to *path dependency*) they shape current administration practices, resource allocation and the distribution of power, but they are *not* actively sustained and pushed as a categorical, proactive policy, they can be described as ‘latent’, that is implicit, policy. ‘Public’ refers to institutions and events involving ‘that dimension of human activity which is regarded as requiring governmental or social regulation or intervention, or at least common action’ (Parsons, 1995).

Social exclusion has been defined by the European commission as ‘referring to the multiple and changing factors resulting in people being excluded from the normal exchanges, practices and rights of modern society. Poverty is one of the most obvious factors, but social exclusion also refers to housing, education, health and access to services’.

Social welfare domain This corresponds to the ‘welfare state regime’ policy space. It is a ‘meso level’ concept nested within, and developmentally bound up with, the prevailing generic national political and public policy system, while being broader than a single *vertical field*. Within it are the family of ‘human services’ or ‘social [welfare] services’ whose vertical components include ICNPO groups 4 (‘personal’ social services, or social care, and income maintenance), group 6 (development and housing, including employment & training), part of group 7 (advocacy, to the extent it is geared towards social welfare; and excluding political parties); group 3 (health) and group 2 (education &

research). Many of these services are (jointly) implicated in tackling *social exclusion*. Note that this formulation is not limited to ‘service provision’ in the sense of ownership and management of establishments (as with provision of care homes, social housing) but inclusive also of social welfare oriented activities in addition to/separate from direct services, including social welfare oriented self-help and community based activities, advocacy (campaigning on social policy issues, and individual clients’ rights etc), involvement in social welfare and social policy design, monitoring etc.

Specialist third sector-specific policy actors are the carriers of purposive *third sector specific policy* who claim to hold relevant expertise and knowledge. They may be full time specialist individuals or organisations, but such actors are often part time, fulfilling this role separately and/or in conjunction with other contributions to the policy system (particularly in the social welfare domain). They operate within and outside the State, forming relatively loosely coupled ‘policy networks’ and/or a more formally institutionalised and recognised ‘policy community’, or ‘policy communities’. At a minimum they share a language involving third sector collective nouns (otherwise they cannot be specialists); they may nominally claim to share a core of values and beliefs in relation to the third sector, expressed in political rhetoric and/or the technical codified discourse associated with the relevant specialist policy instruments. The result can be the creation and perpetuation of a policy space jointly recognised by these experts as constituting the subject matter of third sector policy (using some collective noun) which is not reducible to the policy contents of any particular vertical field⁶.

Spill over effects Policy effects and actions designed to apply in one domain or field which have consequences once adopted - and thus implicitly or explicitly, shape policies in other domains or fields.

Third sector at the highest level of generality refers to organisations situated between the market and the state in terms of ownership and control. TSEP needed more specificity to initiate research into this construct as an object of policy: It was therefore provisionally taken to include those organisations which are self-governing and constitutionally independent of the state; do not involve the distribution of profits to shareholders; and benefit to a significant degree from voluntarism. This was an initial orienting working definition of the third sector - but in application, this has had to be sensitive to national conditions, since our unit of analysis has been the actual existing horizontal policy community or communities with its associated constructs. In other words, the specific ‘indigenous’ conceptualisation (or conceptualisations) deployed in practice was a question to be determined empirically, not *a priori* imposed. By referring to more than one collective noun, and the relative salience of each from the perspective of policy network or community members, we are also able to reflect differences within countries, where boundary disputes and the contest between competing definitions is itself part of the policy process (since notions putting the accent on ‘civil society’, ‘voluntarism’, and ‘social economy’ for example, typically co-exist).

Third sector [specific] policy is usually used either as shorthand for *horizontal* third sector policy; or to refer to the sum of horizontal cross cutting policies, policies which are partly horizontal and partly vertical. As used in this network, it is by definition concerned *only* with public policy that is horizontal to at least a certain extent. It thus can contain both ‘deliberate’ policy designed or

⁶ Policies may not be cross cutting *initially* if developed independently within vertical policy fields; but *become* cross cutting if *ex post* ‘joined up’ by significant policy actors coordinating across or (if powerful) able to authoritatively transcend vertical policy fields. These policies can then be viewed after, and only after, the formative, politically constructive event of ‘joining up’ by policy actors as jointly constituting a shared ‘horizontal’ policy; otherwise they are considered not to exist as ‘horizontal’, or only ‘latent’.

constructed for the third sector, and policies which are more accidental, *ex post* constructed as third sector policies, and therefore seen as relevant by actors who style themselves as third sector stakeholders. Third sector specific policies are sustained by policy networks and/or policy communities, where the latter are characterised by specialisation, involving claims-making in relation to expertise. In these specialist networks and/or communities, the third sector is often - but not always - coupled to problems and issues associated with the social welfare domain, particularly social exclusion and unemployment. The agendas of these policy networks or communities tend to include reference to the third sector's policy environment in terms of legal structures and wider governance arrangements; institutional processes for mediating third sector-public sector/State relations; arrangements for involvement across policy stages and policy modes; and the promotion of voluntarism, including volunteering.

Third sector stakeholders include actors who consciously have a significant role in third sector policy. It includes third sector organisations themselves, but also other actors including politicians, public officials, academics, the media, trade unions and (for-profit) business.

Vertical policy field Policies that are developed and apply essentially *within* a particular field or domain: here, horizontal institutions may differentiate between organisations but in the background or incidentally, rather than as the focal point of policy activity. To define 'field' boundaries, we follow the standard industrial classification adapted to account for the specificities of the third sector, as represented in the International Classification of Nonprofit Organisations (ICNPO). Policies which relate to a particular Group or subgroup of the ICNPO are considered 'vertical'; while those which relate to two or more fields may be considered horizontal, either 'narrower' or 'broader' according to the range of fields in scope. Empirically in Europe, relevant policies are often (but not always) closely linked to the *social welfare domain*.

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Appendix 2: Policy Actors

Name of policy actor	The National Forum for Voluntary Social Work (Forum för frivilligt socialt arbete). - Umbrella organisation for third sector groups working in social work sphere in Sweden. Members of the Board are representatives from the member organisations.	'Co-operative development in Sweden' (Föreningen Kooperativ Utveckling I Sverige, FKU)	Non Profit Arena (IDEELL ARENA) - a permanent cooperation between third sector actors on issues related to knowledge and leadership within the third sector.
Year of origin	1993	1994	1998
Current membership	The National Forum has 29 ordinary members. The ordinary members are third sector social work organisations with the legal form of 'ideell' organisations, foundations or religious communities. The National Forum is also open for associated members (with no voting rights). Associated members can be municipalities or private enterprises, for example 3 municipalities are currently associated members.	FKU is a network of 25 local 'co-operative development centres' (LKU) throughout the country. Each LKU is a separate juridical unit with local and regional members – i.e. new and traditional co-operatives, local authorities, county councils. Total members of the LKUs in 2003 – 882.	In 2002 the number of members was 54, ranging from established organisations as the Swedish Sports Confederation, the Swedish Red Cross, and the Swedish Union of Tenants, to innovative youth organisations and local initiatives.
Financial resources: total budget, sources of income	Estimated (by authors) at less than 30.000 euro.	The LKUs are financed primarily by public funding from local, regional, national and EU sources, including projects and commission revenues. Total turnover (FKU) in 2003 was 7.2 million euro.	Estimated (by authors) at less than 30.000 euro.
Human resources no. of paid and unpaid employees	Paid employees: two - three project leaders.	Paid employees at LKUs in 2003: 87 persons (48 women/39 men).	Paid employees: two project leaders.
Balance of activities in 2002*:	Initiates leadership programs, seminars or informal meetings. The major theme of these activities is always to meet the needs that exist within the non-profit organisations regarding the development of knowledge and leadership.	The LKUs deal with local and regional development, users' participation, labour market and employment in connection to the EU structural funds' programmes. They are involved in regional committees and as organisers of projects.	Non Profit Arena cooperates with various actors to explore new ways of working to develop leadership. A leadership programme for the whole sector has been held four times.

Name of policy actor	The National Forum for Voluntary Social Work (Forum för frivilligt socialt arbete). Umbrella organisation for third sector groups working in social work sphere in Sweden. Members of the Board are representatives from the member organisations.	'Co-operative development in Sweden' (Föreningen Kooperativ Utveckling I Sverige, FKU)	Non Profit Arena (IDEELL ARENA) - a permanent cooperation between third sector actors on issues related to knowledge and leadership within the third sector.
Current policy priorities	The National Forum for Voluntary Social Work with social and welfare policies.	FKU works for the development of cooperative forms of enterprise, through changing public opinion, providing information, co-operation and exchange of contacts and experiences.	The goal of the network is to become a 'natural meeting-point where leaders from the third sector can hold strategic discussions and share experiences from practical organisational development.' IDEELL ARENA works according to four guiding principles: (1) the target group is leading executives and board members. (2) all activities should bring together leaders from the whole width of the sector. (3) researchers should participate in all activities. (4) an international outlook must be secured.
Current relations (2002 - 2004) with other horizontal third sector bodies	The National Forum has continuous contact with other umbrella organisations such as the Ideell Arena, FRII Frivilligorganisationernas Insamlingsråd (The voluntary organisations' fundraising council), LSU Landsrådet för Sveriges Ungdomsorganisationer (The Swedish Forum for Youth organisations) and NMU Nätverket mot social utslagning (The Swedish Network Against Social Exclusion).	FKU is a member of the Cooperative movements' negotiation body (Kooperationens Förhandlingsorganisation KFO), SCC Swedish Cooperative Center (Kooperativ utan Gränser) and CECOP European Confederation of Workers' Cooperatives, Social Cooperatives and Participative Enterprises.	IFL – Swedish Institute of Management.
Website address	www.socialforum.se	www.kooperativutveckling.org	www.ideellarena.se

Name of policy actor	The Popular Mass Movement Council (Folkrörelserådet). A third sector organisation. The board consists of representatives of member organisations and local development groups.	FAMNA. The Confederation of third sector organizations and private enterprises working in the field of health and welfare. (Riksorganisationen för vård och omsorg utan vinstsyfte.) - third sector actor.	The Permanent office for voluntary social work (SoFri) at the National Board of Health and Welfare, - state actor
Year of origin	1989	2004	2001
Current membership	The council has more than 4.000 local development groups and 52 associations as members. The members constitute a broad variety of organisations, i.e. farmers and consumers umbrella organisations, craft organisations, agricultural societies, unions, tourism organisations, Sami organisations etc.	Currently FAMNA have 14 members – the majority of members are third sector organisations working in the field of health and welfare. ‘Ideella’ associations and foundations.	
Financial resources: total budget in 2002*, sources of income in 2002	Information not available.	Income: Member fees. Total budget not available.	In the year 2001 the total amount administered to more than 100 different organisations came to close to 300 million SEK.
Human resources no of paid and unpaid employees	Information not available.	Information not available.	The Permanent office has seven paid employees.
Balance of activities in 2002*:	Information not available.	The background to FAMNA is a need expressed by third sector organisations in the field of health and welfare to make their work more visible and to have a clear representation in the ongoing discussions of the future models for health and social welfare supply. FAMNA has a clear advocacy role and the goal is to work for improved conditions for non-profit production of health and social welfare.	Administration of grants is the most important issue. Organises an annual conference, in cooperation with third sector umbrella organisations, on relations between the state and third sector in the social field. Initiating and financing third sector research, particularly in the social field.

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Current policy priorities	Stimulate and support local development, enhance communication between local action groups, coordinate the NGOs' rural work, act as a spokesman for local groups, and influence the public opinion and decision-makers.		The main task of the Permanent office is to increase the 'profile and develop the role and activities of The National Board of Health and Welfare in relation to voluntary work and third sector organisations activities in the society'.
Current relations (2002 – 2004) with other horizontal third sector bodies		FAMNA's aim is to work to represent the sector to central government bodies, central and local authorities, county councils and municipalities.	The Permanent office has close contacts with third sector umbrella organisations.
Website address	www.bygde.net	www.famna.org	www.socialstyrelsen.se/Om_Sos/organisation/Socialtjanst/Enheter/SoFri/

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