

A LITERATURE REVIEW ON

SWEDISH ACADEMIC & PUBLIC CIVIL SOCIETY DEBATE

IN THE PERIOD 1995-2005

WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON CITIZENSHIP & CIVIC PARTICIPATION

FIRST DRAFT, WORK IN PROGRESS, PLEASE DO NOT QUOTE

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INTRODUCTION

The limited aim of this report is to provide a preliminary platform for further comprehensive and integrated analytical work in three major fields of the social sciences: *civil society*, *citizenship* and *civic participation*. The literature covered in the review will highlight the general trends and themes in the academic discourse as well as the public debate in Sweden during, roughly, the ten-year-period 1995-2005. In the report, we will also present some of the more recent quantitative data available on these three topics.

Since the literature and on-going debates in each of these single fields however are voluminous, expanding rapidly and difficult to cover even for one of these fields, we have consciously delimited ourselves and the literature chosen for the report by using the over-arching idea of a civil society as the framework in which to view, understand and analyse the other two topics (which is also in line with the overall conceptual and analytical frame of the CINEFOGO project, in which this review and report is a part). The debate and literature on citizenship as well as on civic participation (and, in a similar vein, also the related debate and literature on social capital) are thus framed, seen and reported through a civil society lens.

A first necessary step is therefore to identify and provide a very short outline and brief summary of some of the main strands found in the Swedish literature dealing with a “civil society” appearing in the period 1995-2005. The contemporary and worldwide scholarly literature and debate on civil society and related domain concepts (e.g., social economy, third, nonprofit, voluntary or charity sector, or other ways to describe this societal domain) is no doubt vast and also growing rapidly already as we speak. There are a number of conflicting agendas and ways to understand and describe this sphere or domain in society, but the limited ambition of this report does not lend itself to a full-fledged analysis of this conceptual and intellectual maze.

We will here instead organise our report along one main avenue (of several possible) used to position and understand the civil society concept in a wider societal context. We take our departure in an institutional domain understanding of the concept (mainly organisational)¹, as described in some detail in section 3 of this review. We also introduce four dimensions (or levels) in which we argue it is useful to understand and discuss civil society, its organisations and their roles in society; none of these dimensions necessary excluding each other. This approach also provides us with a structure around which to organise our report. Civil society can thus – in the literature and debate analysed – arguably be seen as:

- (i) An **arena** for people’s participation and expression of values and identity;
- (ii) a **channel** for the communities of voice and interest in society (*regulation*);
- (iii) a **vehicle** for the production and provision of societal services, and/or,
- (iv) a **funnel** for people to harness resources and energy for issues & causes.

¹ See, e.g., Cohen and Arato (1992) for an interesting way to understand various forms of organisations outside of the state (public sector) structures as well as separate from business and family structures, as the main or central institutional arrangements in civil society.

1. “FROM POPULAR MOVEMENTS TO CIVIL SOCIETY”²

1.1 Civil Society Research in Sweden 1995-2005

The actual term “civil society” has explicitly and actively been used by actors in the Swedish academic community (for example in the titles of their publications) with some continuity since the early 1990s, although some of them have viewed the concept as too “adventurous” (“äventyrligt”) to use and instead chosen the concept “voluntary” to indicate this societal sphere of practice (Blennberger in SOU 1993a).³

The period of interest for this review and report is 1995-2005, and a few authors of monographies and editors of anthologies in Swedish have been using the “civil society” term for their book titles during these years, which is at least one indicator of the spread and influence of the concept (see, for example, Micheletti 1994; Trägårdh (ed) 1995; Zetterberg 1996; Wijkström 1998; Amnå (ed) 1999; Rothstein 2000; Hansson and Wijkström 2001; Wijkström and Lundström 2002; Boussard 2004; Thörn 2005; Amnå (ed) 2005; Wijkström and Einarsson 2006; Reuter 2006). In a number of other publications, civil society or similar/related concepts have further been used and discussed during this “second civil society era” in Swedish contemporary social sciences (e.g., SOU (ed) 1993a; Amnå (ed) 1995; Lundström and Wijkström 1995; Wijkström and Johnstad (eds) 2000; Westlund (ed) 2001; Westerdahl 2001, Ahrne and Papkostas 2002; Thörn 2002; Bäck and Möller 2003; Wijkström and Einarsson 2006).⁴

In 1994, a special issue of the Swedish academic journal *Sociologisk Forskning* (*Sociological Research*) was – based on the plenary lectures held at the annual meeting of The Swedish Sociological Association (*Sveriges Sociologförbund*) in 1994 – devoted to the question whether the civil society concept could be useful as an analytical tool in modern sociology. The overall impression of the contributions of these writers can be described as either uninterested in, or outspokenly negative, toward the concept and its analytical potential. One of the few positive voices at the meeting was that of Hans Zetterberg (see also below) and in a later response to the overall rejection of the concept, also Lidskog (1995) presented a more positive understanding of the concept in a mild critique of his colleagues almost categorical refusal, where he argued that some of them might actually have misunderstood the complex political and ideological backgrounds of the concept and that they too quickly associated it with the neo-liberal agenda only, thus illustrating the same kind of conceptual reluctance as for example Blennberger, as noted earlier. But since then, during the following twelve years, almost nothing seems to have happened in Swedish sociology neither in terms of further analytical use or development of the concept, nor in any more empirical applications. Instead, the earlier critique is repeated from time to time and two influential authors like Ahrne and Papakostas (2002:42) in 2002 for example argue that: “Through the division of ‘society’ into different spheres the relations that exist between organisations from different spheres will be lost or are diminished” (our translation). This is, in many ways, similar to the very reluctant reception that the

² The title of this section refers to a recent essay by Lars Trägårdh (2006) in which he analyses the conceptual development of the civil society terminology and its use in the (party) political arena during the 1990s (see also Orjuela 2005).

³ Later on in the review, we will follow up this discussion with a section dealing with the “sibling concept” social economy and its usage in Sweden, in a way representing an alternative way to a domain, sphere or sector construct.

⁴ This is not an exhaustive listing of all the publications on civil society (or similar concepts) by Swedish authors. Single book chapters in anthologies (e.g., Ahrne 1998; Trägårdh 2000; Wijkström 2004a) or articles in journals (e.g., Lidskog 1995; Wijkström 1997; Sjöstrand 2000; Lundström and Svedberg 2003) have, for example, deliberately been excluded from the review given the limitations in scope and resources for the review. Further have books and other publications dealing

civil society concept has received in Swedish political science during the same period, existing only at the very margins of the discipline and its main streams (see, e.g., Micheletti 1994; SOU 1999; Amnå 2005).

An earlier “modern” usage of the concept is the interesting launch of the concept by two Swedish Marxists already in 1980 (Arvidsson och Berntson 1980); an attempt that failed to spark any further academic interest in the issue, at least at that time. The re-launch of the concept in the early 1990s was led by the conservative and market-friendly think-tank Timbro – through its institute *The City University* – and had a greater impact, especially in the political debate. And once again (ten years later) the same writer duo that appeared in 1980 now entered the scene with a new book, under new ideological banners but with the very same subject – “*Det civila samhället*” (“The Civil Society”) – (Arvidsson och Berntson et al 1990). The intellectual and academic leader of the research project “*Socialstaten*” was professor Hans Zetterberg, and a number of other publications came out of the project at *The City University* (e.g., Zetterberg 1992; Arvidsson, Berntson and Dencik 1994; Zetterberg 1996; Zetterberg and Ljungberg 1997; see also Arvidsson 1996). Together with the early books of this project and a number of more debate-oriented newspaper articles and essays, this was enough to provoke a counter-strike by columnists and writers on the left during 1992 and 1993 (e.g., Antman 1993), as well as by engaged and concerned scholars (as argued above). This was also one of the few periods in Swedish modern history in which the Social-Democratic party lost their power in government and a right-wing coalition had seized power through the national elections (1991-1994). The civil society and its voluntary and nonprofit organisations were cherished by the new regime, and a number of initiatives were launched to study and improve the conditions for these organisations and to encourage their involvement in an extended service delivery.

If we return to the scholarly publications during 1995-2005 addressing civil society or similar sphere or domain concepts, it is important to note that all but a few of the separate chapters found in the “civil society” anthologies do not address the concept (or this domain in society) specifically. Rather, this and other similar domain or sphere concepts (e.g., social economy) are used as a very vague umbrella framework on anthology level to include a number of more disparate contributions. In this way, “civil society” – its content, borders, extension, history etc – is implicitly constructed by the composition of the anthology provided by the editor. The definition of the concept is thus provided in much of a “performative” fashion, where the actual use of the concept to cover and embrace a number of issues, themes or social phenomena (while excluding others) more or less *is* by itself its definition. In the reviewed wider literature, we can find chapters and contributions on as diverse and disparate subjects as Swedish local and regional development, nonprofit and voluntary efforts in Swedish care and welfare, new social cooperatives, the recent spread of CSR (corporate social responsibility) practice in business and society, citizens participation, global social movements, memberships in associations, the historical development of philanthropy, study circles and adult education, voluntary and informal work, foundations, social entrepreneurship, IKEA, nonprofit sector strategy and management, virtues and moral issues, the development of the Swedish welfare state and welfare politics, established cooperative enterprises, to name but a few.

There is a certain amount of overlap between the various academic publications and several authors appear in more than one anthology, which both indicates the limited reach of and academic interest in the debate and the smallness of the community taking part in the development of the concept. An interesting and relevant line of

literature and thinking on civil society in Sweden that has existed so to say "outside" of the more general academic debate is the field of international aid and development. In close cooperation with the Swedish National Development Agency (SIDA), a number of researchers have been writing on and actively using the civil society concept in their analysis during the period 1995-2005, but this stream of research has for some reason not really connected to the other – more discursive and maybe even political – main stream (see e.g., Hadenius and Uggla 1995; Uggla 2004; Boussard 2004; SIDA 2004). Possibly, the relatively close links and relations to the international academic community that exist in the field of international aid and development, and the warm embracing the civil society concept has received in this particular academic environment and also practice, can be understood as the explanation of the relative ease with which the concept has found its way into this line of research and these researchers apparent neglect of the national Swedish debate and controversy.

In a very short and rough attempt to picture the content of the collected Swedish civil society literature in the period 1995-2005, a few dominant strands or emerging themes are visible. Firstly, a number of texts are using the history of ideas and sometimes ancient "civil society" references as an intellectual framework against which to position the Swedish situation and/or the political or academic debate. In this line of reasoning a couple of scholarly giants in 19th and early 20th century sociology and political science are also brought into the dialogue. Early illustrative and prominent such contributions in the Swedish literature reviewed here are Arvidsson, Berntson and Dencik (1994); Dahlkvist (1995) and Lidskog (1995), and more recent contributions include Amnå (2005) and Trägårdh (2006). Typical classic references brought up and used in these contributions are Hobbes (e.g., *Leviathan*, 1651), Locke (e.g., *Two Treatises on Government*, 1690); Adam Smith (e.g., *Wealth of Nations*, 1776), but also Aristotle is sometimes brought into the arguments. The original work of Hegel and Tönnies as well as Gramsci and Marx are also referred to in these texts.

In a second strand (often mixed with references to the texts of these earlier writers) also the arguments and work of more recent actors found ("the modern classics" in the academic international civil society discourse). Emerging as part of the international "civil society revival" in the end of the last millennium are references such as Cohen and Arato (1992); Keane (1988); Ehrenberg (1999); Habermas (1987); Perez-Diaz (1992) and Wolfe (1989) and these texts and authors are of course discussed and referred to also in many of the Swedish contributions.

Although still fairly limited, an important theme emerging out of one line of the Swedish contributions dealing with the two types of references mentioned above is one where we can notice attempts to define and discuss what to include (or exclude) in a contemporary (late 20th, early 21st century) Swedish understanding and usage of the civil society concept. The "border issue" is at the forefront in this discussion, i.e., whether for example the economic sphere (sometimes called "the market") should be included or excluded in the civil society concept, or if the "small private worlds" of family and friends are to be seen as encompassed in our understanding of civil society or not. Clear is, however, that most contributions seem to agree in that the state and governmental sphere should be understood as outside of civil society. Contributions engaged in this dialogue are Zetterberg (1992; 1995), Dahlkvist (1995), Micheletti (1994), Wijkström (1998), Wijkström and Lundström (2002). An important line of contributors in the Swedish academic debate have been critical or outright negative to the civil

society concept and seriously questioned the importance, relevance and use of it in analytical and scholarly work (see, e.g., Ahnre 1994; Brante 1994; Dahlkvist 1995; Rothstein 1995; or, more recently, Ahnre and Papakostas 2002). Naturally, these contributors have devoted limited energy and space in their texts for further development of the civil society concept.

Another issue brought up in several of the contributions is the normative/political angle of the civil society concept versus a more analytical usage of the concept. It is, of course, impossible to completely separate these two approaches from each other, but the topic has been addressed in several of the texts, although any more definitive solutions are absent (Lidskog 1995; Wijkström 1998; 2001; Amnå 2005; Trägårdh 2006). Trägårdh (2006), for example, in a recent essay, approaches the civil society concept as more of a political tool (see also Svedberg, 1996; 2005). He places the concept at the centre of an ideological battle between left and right, as well as within and between the more state-centred social-democrats and other left-oriented politicians and writers (*statssocialister*) on the one hand, and those on the left of a more communitarian or popular-movement bend (*folkrörelsesocialister* or *folkrörelsedemokrater*) (Trägårdh 2006). This capacity to mobilise political energy among politicians and between the two traditional political blocks as well as between fractions within them, is also a quality noted by Erik Amnå (2005:17) as maybe one of the most interesting related the civil society concept and its more contemporary use in Sweden. Amnå also points to the fact that the civil society concept lays bare some of the tensions between market-liberals and social-conservatives – in the right-wing camp.

Finally, one important and over time emerging theme in the Swedish literature on civil society is the meeting point between more analytical discussions and the strong mapping tradition of the social sciences, as noted in Wijkström and Einarsson (2006). This strong and empirically-driven mapping tradition demands a development of analytical tools where individuals or organisations need to be classified or sorted into different types or categories (for example, Lundström and Wijkström 1997; Wijkström 1998; Wijkström and Lundström 2002; Wijkström and Einarsson 2004; Wijkström and Einarsson 2006). This approach also opens up for more of a multi-disciplinary dialogue, building bridges between academic disciplines.

However, in retrospect, the overall impact of the civil society concept and its discourse must be said to have been fairly weak in Swedish society (in academic work as well as political debate, see also section below on the usage of the civil society concept in the political arena) during the ten-year period 1995-2005, following upon the first serious bursts of interest and activity in the early 1990s. This might come as somewhat of a surprise, not the least considering the long time-period and the tremendous parallel international development taking place during this period, in terms of a huge expansion of scholarly literature and availability of relevant analytical work as well as the present degree of academic institutionalisation.

In a recent report published by the national Swedish Research Council (Vetenskapsrådet) on an evaluation of Swedish research on democracy, public sector administration and popular movements (*folkrörelser*), the authors add to this somewhat gloomy picture in their overall and summarizing comments. They note that the traditional popular movement research (see below) is clearly on the retreat and that these researchers neither are active at the national academic forefront nor in the international scientific debates and journals, with the interesting

exception of Swedish labour movement studies and research (*arbetarrörelsen*), which can still be said to be both well established and international in its outreach. They conclude, however, that much of the existing civil society research often is based on the efforts of individual researchers with fairly weak overall academic infrastructure and support (The Swedish Research Council 2005:13-16). This general conclusion is also drawn by another national body for research funding, The Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation (*Riksbankens Jubileumsfond*), where an initiative has been taken to create a special group (*områdesgrupp*) with a six-year mission to look into the existing academic infrastructure for civil society research (see Amnå 2005, for an overview of the work of the group at The Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation).

1.2 A shift in public policy: from “expression & voice” to “services & resources” (SOU etc)

Following this very brief summary of the civil society concept and its appearance in the Swedish academic arena in the period 1995-2005, we turn for a moment to the organisational field often understood to lay at the centre of the concept – voluntary and neighbourhood associations, social movements and other citizen organisations – and to the changes and shift of balance in the way to address these organisations that we can detect in the Swedish public policy (indicated in governmental reports, public agencies’ documents, etc) during the 1990s and into the 2000s. The civil society discussion and discourse thus spans and runs across and in-between several different arenas in Swedish society in the mid-1990s (academia, politics, media, the universe of nonprofit and voluntary organisations), and is later also picked up and integrated in the work of governmental committees and used in governmental reports, particularly in a number of publications produced by the latest Democracy Audit (SOU 2000), see also Amnå (2006) for an interesting comparison of the Swedish audit with those conducted in Norway and Denmark, but also in for example a public report dealing with the governmental support for women’s organisations (SOU 2004).

In Sweden, the strong popular movements (*folkrörelserna*) and their organisations have often been understood as the primary arenas for the population to express and channel voice and interest and to participate in society. The use of the civil society concept by the nonprofit, voluntary or social movement organisations themselves (legally often incorporated as associations or foundations) with which it is often associated was also limited in the mid-1990s, and in a study conducted in 1993/94 no more than 16 % of the more than 1200 responding larger organisations considered themselves part of civil society (Lundström and Wijkström 1995; 1997). Some 43 % of the organisations asked at that time considered themselves as a “popular movement organisation” (“*Vi är en folkrörelseorganisation*”), 41 % saw themselves as an interest organisation (“*Vi är en intresseorganisation*”), 38 % said they were part of the “ideell” sector in Sweden (“*Vi är del av den ideella sektorn i Sverige*”) – the term “ideell” referring to ideals and values but also to unpaid work or gifts – while only some 10 % considered themselves part of a Swedish voluntary sector (“*Vi är en del av frivilligsektorn i Sverige*”) and less than 5 % could associate their organisation with the idea of a “third sector” (“*Vi ingår i den svenska tredje sektorn*”) (Lundström and Wijkström 1995; 1997).

Over time, the popular movement concept has in Sweden come to be almost synonymous to the idea of formal organisations, and they have further often been portrayed as arenas for *harmony and consensus*, a process in

which the citizenship is supposed to become richer and to expand to cover ever more individuals in society, and the role of the associations are often described as one of fostering democratic principles and values in the population. Integration and socialisation, would be the relevant key concepts to analytically describe the core societal roles ascribed to the popular movement (organisations). This is also attributes often repeated and discussed in much of the traditional public and policy debate around the popular movements (*folkrörelserna*) and the associations (*föreningslivet*), especially in the post-war decades, with an absolute high-light in the huge „popular movement report“ (*folkrörelseutredningen*) and its three volumes being published in the late 1980s (SOU 1987). The way the topic was dealt with indicated no major differences from the way it was treated in the 1960s or 1970s. The label given to the work of the committee even was “The more we are together“ (*“Ju mer vi är tillsammans”*) and of course a silent allusion was made to the extension of the song: “... the happier we are“ is (Wijkström 1999). The three reports also reflect and repeat the very positive, “sacred-cow“ way in which these organisations have been understood and treated during the second half of the 20th century, which is a trait often associated also with much recent and international research on similar topics.

At the same time as this committee was launched, a very short and modest little report bearing the title: “Voluntary associations – an alternative to the public sector?“ (*“Frivilligorganisationer – ett alternativ till den offentliga sektorn?”*), was published by the ministry of finance (Ds Fi 1985). In all its simplicity, this latter report seems to herald the emergence of another approach in the public debate concerning the relations between government and the popular movements and Swedish nonprofit organisations, as well as opening up for a different or least alternative understanding of the role of these organisations in society (Lundström and Wijkström 1995). The following development in the 1990s and early 21 century can be understood as a “silent shift of language and balance” in the relations between government (on regional and national level, as well as on local (municipal) level) from one of expression and participation to a language of service provision and resources (Wijkström 1999).

This new policy approach has also found its way into field after field of Swedish civil society, in which nonprofit and voluntary organisations of course have been providing both care and social services and various forms of member-services in parallel to the public sector’s production and provision of welfare during the entire 20th century, as also shown over and over again in a line of new and challenging research (Lundström and Wijkström, 1997; Wijkström and Lundström 2002; Wijkström and Einarsson 2004; Johansson 2005).

We are able to discern two main tracks in this new approach, as have been argued earlier elsewhere (Wijkström 1999). First of all, we can detect a slightly tougher economic review and accounting practice for the evaluation of subsidies and different forms of economic support from government to nonprofit organisations. A harsher economic climate or situation for the popular movements and voluntary associations starting in the early 1990s but also running past the shift of the millennium, is signalled through public reports with titles such as: “Aims and results – new principles for [national] government support to the associations“, “The subsidies to the organisations“, “Win or lose – the popular movements’ lotteries and gambling in the future“, “Sports for all – mapping and analysis of the support for sports“, or “Governmental subsidies to associations – a mapping“ (SOU 1988; SOU 1992; SOU 1993b; Ds 1993; Statskontoret 1991, see also Statskontoret 2004).

At the same time, various ministries and public agencies have been financing and publishing reports and surveys such as: “Voluntary social work – mapping and research overview“, “Associations as entrepreneurs – possibilities, limitations and risks“, “What happened to the private alternatives?“, “In the interest of society? An economic study of the nonprofit sector“, “Compassion for hire? Eight researchers on nonprofit activities“, or “Welfare in cooperation: on the municipalities and the voluntary sector“ (SOU 1993a; Ds 1994; Ds 1995; Statskontoret 1995; Amnå 1995; Bring 1999). These studies and reports, on their part, bear message of an increased interest from national government as well as municipalities in popular movements and other nonprofit organisations – but now in their potential role as providers of traditional welfare services (see also SOU 2002; Kommunförbundet 1999).

The traditional popular movement approach is still in use in the governmental policy repertoire and a special “Popular Movement Unit” (*folkrörelseenheden*) has been established at the Ministry of Justice and a general policy field (*politikområde*) dealing with these issues was launched in 2001 with the over-arching aim that people shall have the best possible conditions to create and participate in different types of popular movements and associations. A new governmental committee has also been appointed as recently as October 2005, with the aim to look into the existing governmental popular movement policy (*folkrörelsepolitiken*) and the mission to deliver a proposal on the future direction, scope and design of this governmental policy (Dir. 2005:117, Government Decision, October 27, 2005).

What has not yet been dealt with in the public policy in the field is a number of tax-related issues. The popular movement committee mentioned above (Dir. 2005:117) is given the task to look into the various systems for governmental subsidies and grants and to deliver proposals on how to develop and improve these, but tax issues are specifically mentioned as outside the scope of the committee’s work. There was an earlier committee delivering a final and fairly extensive report on the situation in 1995 (SOU 1995), but the work and final recommendations of that committee were never really dealt with and the report was put to rest recently.

The latest development in this transformation of the Swedish welfare state is recent. Health care has been almost completely dominated by public sector hospitals. Only a very small portion of regular health care provided in Sweden has been provided outside of the public hospitals, and this has been one of the major political fights during the last couple of decades, where the right-wing and more conservative political parties want to open up also this field for more competition and alternative solutions, most often for-profit in the debate so far. The social-democratic party, and their support parties on the left and green side in politics, are less enthusiastic. Only recently have the nonprofit health-care providers got together and formed an interest organisation of their own, called FAMNA (which translates “TO EMBRACE”) not to be confused with the strong for-profit alternatives pushing for a de-regulation and the creation of a “health care market”. As another sign of this development can we see that Swedish government has set up a new governmental committee (delegation) with the aim to look into the conditions for “value-driven” (*idéburna*) organisations within the public health care and elderly care, and with the explicit ambition to improve these conditions, and to be finished in March 2008 (Dir 2006:42).

1.3 The Social Economy (or Third Sector) Debate in Sweden

An important change in the way to frame and understand civil society and its organisations in Sweden in the 1990s is the introduction of a new European Union administrative concept – *social economy*. Sometimes we also find the concept “Third Sector”, which in many cases seems to be similar to the social economy concept. In the definition of a social economy, as it was proposed by an inter-departmental working group appointed by the Swedish government, it is described as consisting of activities with primarily public aims, based on democratic values and as being organisationally separate from the public or government sector. The activities in question are mainly carried out by associations, cooperatives, foundations and similar organisations with public or member benefit – not private profit – as the main driving force (Ds 1998).

The public and scholarly debate on social economy in Europe seems to have been spinning around four major themes (see below), and much of this can also be seen to have found its way into the Swedish development. It is still fairly unclear and difficult to separate the public from the scholarly debate on social economy, in much the very same way it was difficult to discern the various voices (policy vs academic) in the early 1990s debates on civil society. A first and major difference, however, is that the Swedish debate on social economy has not included the high-pitched ideological voices and tensions of the debate on civil society, probably due to the fact that the concept has been fairly easy to integrate with the already existing understanding and grand narrative of the popular movements and their organisations as either a group of pre-welfare state avant-garde institutions, with the sole purpose to mobilise and spearhead the development of a (Social-democratic) welfare state, as argued by for example Trägårdh (2006). Or, in an alternative way to understand civil society and its organisations role in society, as existing in parallel, but only as some sort of support system, to the institutions of the modern welfare state, and thus not in any way threatening the state or public sector total dominance in areas such as education, health care and social services.

A second difference between how the two concepts has been received and integrated into the Swedish “civil society” language has to do with the fact that social economy has, so far, been the policy tool par excellence used by the European Union institutions to address civil society issues in Sweden and elsewhere in Europe (Wijkström and Johnstad eds. 2000, Ds 1998, see also Olsson, Nordfeldt and Larsson forthcoming). Through this policy vehicle and its focus on civil society organisations as the main inroad, European Union institutions have been able to reach far into individual countries and have an impact in their “softer” fields, such as education, cultural and leisure activities, “lighter” social services and forms of care (. This is conducted and administrated mainly through the various regional programs of the Union (e.g., The European Social Fund, “Växtkraft Mål 3”). Organisations in the “social economy” (voluntary associations, social cooperatives, foundations) are often prioritised in these programs but also very clearly supposed to “deliver” certain services, activities or “social goods” (see Lindberg 2006 for an illustrative example on how a traditional Swedish association in the classical temperance movement with the support of the European Social Fund has been able to expand their work, today including reception of refugees and labour market activities for immigrants).

In the wider European academic debate on social economy, four major strands can be identified, and elements of these are also possible to discern in the Swedish (policy/scholarly) debate (see, for example, Olsson 1994; Westlund (ed) 2001; Wijkström and Johnstad (eds) 2000; Westerdahl 2001; Grut, Mattsson and Olsson, 1998; Lindberg 2006, Olsson, Nordfeldt and Larsson forthcoming) Four roles or functions often ascribed the social economy and its organisations in society are:

- Alternative welfare delivery systems (e.g. 6 and Vidal 1994),
- The creation of new jobs (e.g. Borzaga and Santuari 1998),
- The inclusion of marginalised groups, in society at large as well as on the labour market in particular (e.g. Spear, Defourny, Favreau and Laville 2001), and finally,
- the enhancement and development of democracy and civil society, e.g., in the role as schools for democracy (e.g. Ds 1998).

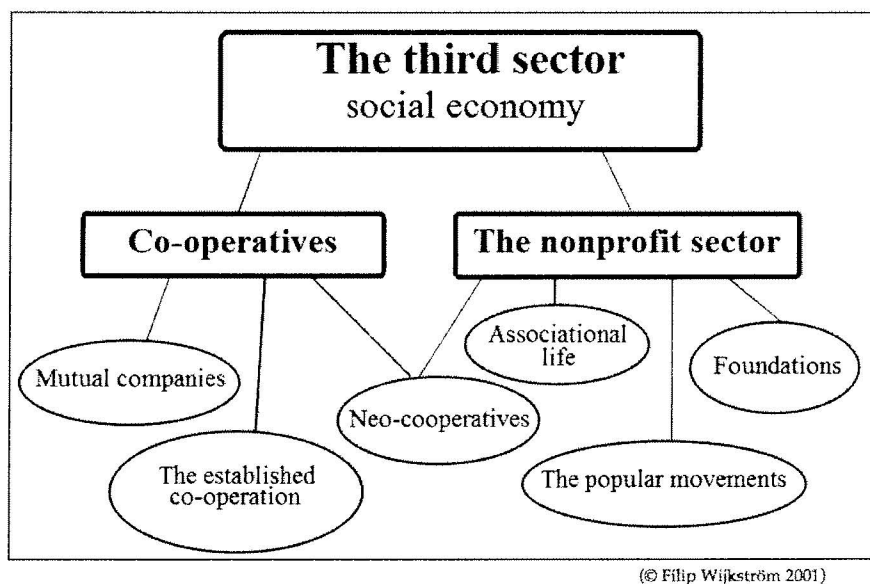
With the debate on social economy emerging in the European Union in the 1990s, there also seems to follow an almost taken-for-granted *reversed order of dialogue* between government and public sector institutions on the one hand and the organisations in the third sector or social economy on the other hand, if compared to the clear distance and sometimes even conflict or tension character of the relation between civil society and state in the civil society discourse. Instead of the organisations being seen as mediators between state or government and the citizens and their values, interests and ideologies, the civil society organisations today – in the social economy discourse – increasingly seem to be treated, in Europe as well as in Sweden as if they were the dedicated tools of government to be applied or used in various public sector programs or initiatives (Olsson, Nordfeldt and Larsson forthcoming).

Instead of advocacy, agenda setting, or policy formulation (at the core of the civil society concept) the new trade of the organisations according to this social economy tradition or approach as it has emerged in Sweden seems to be to implement public policies or to carry out main stream welfare services as operators of governmental contracts, as is already the situation in many other European countries. We thus seem to experience a kind of social renegotiation in the 1990s, a renegotiation in which the earlier silent contract in society – where the main role of the major Swedish nonprofits and voluntary organisations (the popular movements and their organisations) were understood to be the voice and express the values and interests of the citizens – or maybe function as the organisers (expressive arenas) of people's leisure and spare time – is being reformulated in very much a language of service provision.

One strong element of the social economy concept, and a third difference in comparison to the civil society concept, is the clear inclusion of various cooperative movement initiatives and organisations, embracing both the producing and retailing corporations of the earlier consumer and cooperative movements as well as the newer and smaller neo-cooperatives often found in the fields of care and social services (Stryjan and Wijkström 1996; Wijkström and Johnstad (eds) 2000; Hansson and Wijkström 2000; 2001).

Sweden has a strong cooperative tradition, visible both in the retail arena, where a large and powerful federation of consumer cooperatives historically has had a substantial influence, and the agricultural sector, where the farmers' own producer cooperative organisations have had, and still have, a similar strong position. The term „neo-cooperatives“ (*nykooperation*) designates a joint concept for a variety of young, often small-scale, mixed service cooperatives, or cooperative-like organisations, to be found in the field of welfare service provision. Neo-cooperatives can be kindergartens run by parent cooperatives, or a group of former drug abusers starting a rehabilitation centre based on self-help, mutuality and joint ownership. This type of organisation was among the most expansive groups in the Swedish nonprofit sector during the 1980s and early 1990s. These organisations have often been presented as an important answer to the growing inability of today's welfare state arrangements to deal with a number of crucial welfare problems. These neo-cooperatives are also in a way challenging the institutional borders between the different societal sphere used as a conceptual platform for this paper, as is also illustrated in the illustration below (see also Hansson and Wijkström 2001).

Figure 1: Analytical concepts



Not only neo-cooperative or small-scale mutual solutions will be found in a shifting “service” segment of the Swedish nonprofit sector. In this field, we can also see the expansion or transformation of older organisations from earlier periods. This can be foundations and societies in the field of social services or health care with their roots going back to the 19th century, but also more traditional popular movement organisations, for example in the temperance or handicap movement, adding a “social service” leg to an earlier strong “voice” or advocacy capacity. During the second half of the 1990s, the field of primary and secondary schools was opened up for other providers than public schools on municipal level. Not only nonprofit alternatives have entered the scene, but also some new for-profit schools have been started.

After this short tour into the “social economy” debate, and in an attempt to relate this line of debate and research to the civil society approach chosen as the main structure and vehicle for this review – the institutional and organisational approach, we propose a very simple tentative model or figure. The aim is to clarify how a number of related and relevant analytical concepts such as social economy (“*social ekonomi*”), nonprofit sector (“*ideell sektor*”), the popular movements (“*folkrörelserna*”), co-operatives (“*kooperationen*”) and neo-cooperatives (“*nykooperationen*”), associational life (“*föreningslivet*”) and foundations (“*stiftelseväsendet*”) have been used and applied in Sweden, how they might be understood to relate to each other and in what way they differ from each other.

3. POINTS OF DEPARTURE: DOMAINS & SECTORS

It must be noted that we for this review have delimited the sphere of civil society in a very wide sense to what takes place in a *domain of organised or institutionalized structures* such as various sorts of civic communities, different types of voluntary organisations and the numerous forms of social movements that is found in a society. We have further decided to separate the civil society sphere from both that of the family in a very broad sense (kinship, friendship, etc) and that of the corporate world, which distinguish our approach from a number of other possible ways to organise ones understanding of a society.

3.1 Two main approaches: Organisations or individuals

The research found in the amorphous academic field of voluntary action, nonprofit sector or civil society studies is not easily grasped by any one single conceptual framework or terminology. Two main points of departure may, however, be found in much of the relevant research in the field, as argued by Jon van Til already in 1988. His basic argument is that on the one hand, the field in focus “may be seen as the output of human organisations that are not directed primarily by the quest for monetary gain or conformance to legal mandate. And, on the other, it may be seen as individual or group activity not motivated primarily by biological imperative, economic gain, or authority and coercion” (van Til 1988). He concludes this observation in a thoughtful remark:

“The first point of view leads to a focus on institutional patterns within society, and particularly to the activity of nonprofit or citizens’ organisations, structures that are central to the third, voluntary or nonprofit sector. The second point of view directs attention to individual and group behaviour, whatever its institutional context, which is informed by voluntary principles of meaning and commitment.”

(van Til 1988, p 91)

This is, we argue, still a useful dividing line to understand the origins and interest behind much of the research today found under the new umbrella concept – “civil society“. In this paper, the first point of departure will be the one taken and used, one with its main focus on the “institutional patterns within society“.

Further, the range of contemporary literature – as well as the public and the academic debate – on civil society and related matters is today vast and of great diversity. As one influential and critical observer, John Ehrenberg, has argued in his historical analysis, the usage and understanding of civil society throughout European and Western history has also been shifting over time. From one period to another, the term has come to be filled with different contents and the concept assigned different roles in society, shifting from a two-polar, via a three-polar, to a four-polar model of society (Ehrenberg 1999).

3.2 Four domains and four sectors in society

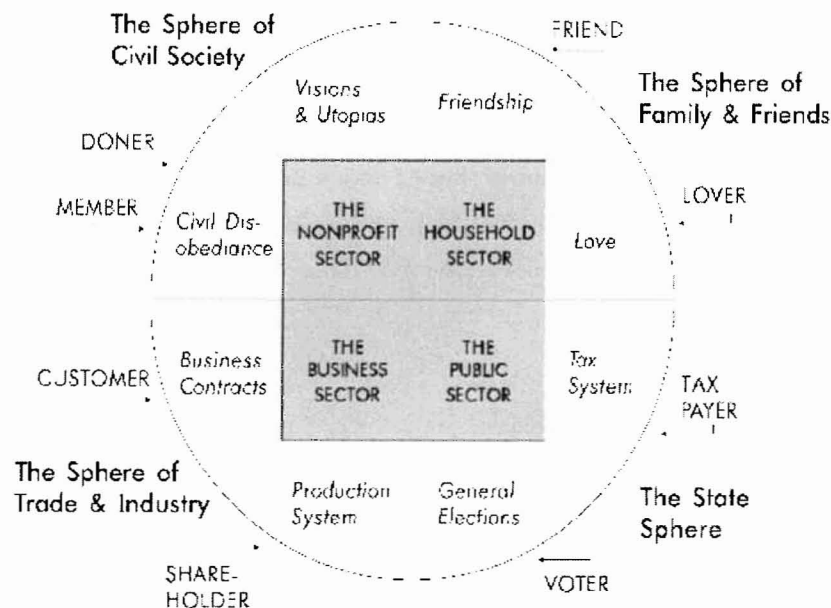
The approach taken in the present paper is described in a very simple and schematic ideal-typological conceptual model based on the idea of four different institutional spheres in society and related organisational sectors. For similar theoretical approaches found in the Swedish academic arena, see also (Sjöstrand 1985; Ahrne 1994; Zetterberg 1995; Sjöstrand 2000; Wijkström and Lundström 2002).

In the proposed ideal-typical model of society, the *sphere* (or domain) is constructed as wider than the organisational *sector*, which brings together only the formal organisations found in the sphere. In the state sphere we will find a public sector, where for example governmental agencies and public hospitals will be placed. But we will in this state sphere also find both the national tax system and the electoral system set up around a general (parliament) election, although these systems are more extensive and go beyond any single organisation. And in both of these systems we – in our role as citizens – can take an active part. In the sphere of trade and industry not only for-profit companies are found (the business sector), but also business contracts and larger production systems that go beyond and between single firms. While we, as men or women, on a more abstract level relates to the (nation) state as citizens, we are instead constructed as customers or maybe shareholders in relation to the companies found in the sphere of trade and industry according to this way to analytically structure our understanding of society. The household sector is situated within the larger sphere or domain of family and friends, in which we also find relations based on friendship and love, not necessarily bound by the household. As men and women we are related to each other in this sphere of society by a number of different roles that can be expressed in terms like mother, life partner, lover or friend.

In the sphere or domain of civil society we will, part from the different voluntary or nonprofit organisations today often placed here as ideal types, also find the processes or phenomena of the social movements. These movements sometimes include some of the civil society organisations, but the movements are often constructed to be wider and to go beyond a simple organisational understanding. In this domain in society, we will also find the different value systems and visions in which many social movement organisations, as well as voluntary and nonprofit organisations, are embedded. But here are also social practices like voluntary work or civil disobedience placed. Through our different civil society roles as for example members, donors, activists or elected representatives of the organisations, we relate in many different ways to civil society and its organisations.

This is one way of societal sense-making that gives considerable room for voluntary, nonprofit and social movement organisations and the social processes in civil society. At the same time, it is important to note that existing – “real-life” – organisations sometime feature institutional attributes from different ideal-typical domains, and that the main focus of a particular organisation over time very well can shift from one sphere to another. The ideal-typical nonprofit sector will, however, in this paper be approximated by organisations being organized or institutionalized as voluntary associations or public-good foundations found in many countries, thus operationalizing the conceptual model empirically by the “closest-by” group of organisations found in society.

Figure 2: Spheres and sectors



Source: Wijkström and Lundström (2002) or Wijkström and Einarsson (2006)

3.3 Civil Society: An Organisational Domain but with individuals

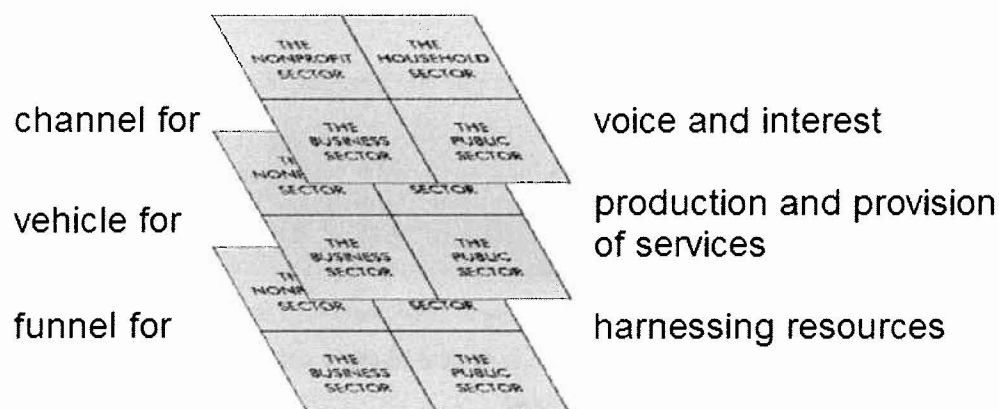
With this general idea of civil society as a domain of organised activities outside of the state and the public sector, but also separate from the family and the corporate (business) world, the role of the individual must be clarified. He or she is not primarily a citizen, in the more formal sense of the word, in his or her relation to these various organisations (unless we view these organisational structures only as a mediating framework, communicating or "transporting" the different dimensions, needs or interests of the individuals to other spheres or parts of national society, such as public agencies or for-profit companies). Instead, we take the analytic position that individuals can have different roles or relations to the civil society organisations in their own capacities (and through these of course also connect to a wider society).

The role that has been receiving most attention in the Swedish literature and debate of the popular movement tradition is an **expressional** role where the individual seeks self-fulfilment and ways of expressing their own values. In this way we can see the organisation as an arena for expression which is a function often asserted to civil society and its organisations.

The other three roles of individuals, and organisations as we soon will argue, can more be understood as a governance chain with the purpose of producing some kind of desirable outcome. One role is the traditional role of **political participation** of the individual. Through this, individuals and groups are able to express and act on various interests or values at the same time as it focus on the participative element where individuals through their activities and engagements direct and regulate the way society is developing. Another role for the individual in relation to the organisations that we have identified is the role to **provide resources** where the aim is to finance the organisations and their operations and through this also contribute to the resourcing of society (cf. the role as tax payers in relation to the state, government or public sector) and the third possible role of the individuals in relation to civil society organisations is that of **recipient, client or user of the services** produced and delivered by the organisations.

In a similar fashion we can see that civil society organisations can have the same roles in the society as the individual have in the organisation. The organisations in civil society have earlier, on an abstract level, been understood as either *providing voice* – as vehicles to coordinate people's or the interest of certain groups, for example trade unions or advocacy groups. Or they might be seen primarily as *service providers*, where they instead deliver different forms of welfare services (Lundström and Wijkström 1995; Lundström and Wijkström 1997; Wijkström and Lundström 2002). In line with this way of thinking, we can identify the extra roles of expression and of provision of resources (see, for example, Wijkström and Einarsson 2004; Wijkström and Einarsson 2006). We thus have four, sometimes overlapping but analytically different, basic types of relations of importance for an analysis of the role of individuals as well as organisations in relation to the society.

Figure 3: Analytical "levels" or "roles" for civil society



Civil society provides and arena for expression of values and self-fulfillment, they function as **channel of voices, vehicles for service provision** and **funnels for resource distribution**. In this model the individual step into different roles. As argued earlier the most common, or at least most visible in the literature, is the role of a person who wants to express him or herself and perform activities with the purpose of self-fulfillment. These kind of motives can also often be understood as reasons behind individuals shouldering the roles of political participation, and provider of resources. The role of client or user can like the previous roles have different dimensions. The individual can either be a passive recipient of help or actively be part of a self-help group, or something in-between.

4. AN ARENA FOR PARTICIPATION, EXPRESSION & VOICE

We start our exploration of later developments in Swedish civil society in the first two roles – civil society as an arena for participation and expression and as a channel for the voices and interests in society. In the traditional understanding of the popular mass movements and their role in Swedish society, they have mainly been seen as contributing to the Swedish democracy through roles as the *voice for disadvantaged groups* and as *schools of democracy*. When Robert Putnam (1993) brought the social capital debate to the fore through the book *Making democracy work* this was by many practitioners and politicians in the Swedish context “translated” or “interpreted” in the light of the already existing strong “schools of democracy”-rhetoric (Wijkström 1999).

4.1 Civic Participation in Sweden

The concept of civic participation is in Sweden mostly related to the understanding of the traditional popular movements and their role in society. When civil society participation is discussed or analysed, there is usually a reference to the development of formal memberships and the different activities mostly associated with this, i.e. the participation in regulatory activities within the organisation or in the wider society – making their voices heard. At the core of the popular movement tradition is the understanding of the “active” member. The idea of the “active” member is strong in the conceptualisation of the “good” member. The actual activities or character defining an active member seem to vary from organisation to organisation but there is however a narrow consensus in the respect that an elected representative in the organisation always seem to be considered an active member. Neither in the mainstream research literature or debate are the attributes that constitute an active member made especially clear or explicit. Members are more or less considered “active” if they themselves think that they are active..

In table 2 we can see the share of Swedish population engaged in civil society organisations and at which “intensity levels” different citizen groups are engaged. When measuring participation by self-reporting in population surveys the level of engagement in Sweden are in an international comparison high with more than nine out of ten adults having a formal membership in any association, 44 percent of the population stating to be active and more than one out of four serving as an elected representative of an association. The table however also demonstrates a trend of decreasing traditional participation in the Swedish associational life. Looking at membership and active members the decline is present in every examined social group and these decreases are statistical significant in almost all of the groups.

In spite of the high level of involvement in Swedish associational life and the general decline there are however patterns of who are engaged in different types of involvement. People in higher socio-economic strata’s are to a greater extent engaged in associational membership as well as activities than people with lower socioeconomic status. Salaried workers and people with high education hold in greater extent formal memberships than workers and people with low education. This pattern does not only hold when we look at active members and elected representatives instead of formal memberships, the pattern strengthens. This implies that it firstly is the more privileged groups that comes to civil society organisations and amongst them there is additional selection processes that further increases the probability that already privileged individuals become active or elected

representatives in the organisation.

Table 2: Organisational activity among different social groups over time

<u>Citizen group</u>	<u>Member</u>	<u>Active</u>	<u>Representative</u>
Men	91.5 -1.6*	48.3 -8.5*	30.3 -3.0*
Women	89.0 -1.7*	40.2 -6.5*	23.6 +0.5
Workers	91.0 -0.7	37.1 -4.7*	21.1 +0.3
Salaried employees	95.0 -0.1	51.9 -9.0*	34.9 -3.1*
Low education	81.0 -4.1*	33.3 -8.9*	17.2 -1.9
Moderate education	92.8 -1.8*	43.2 -8.5*	25.8 -2.6*
High education	95.0 -1.1	56.6 -7.8*	38.3 -1.5
Native Swedes	91.6 -1.1*	46.2 -6.9*	28.3 -0.9
Immigrants ⁵	84.6 -4.5	29.3 -13.6*	17.0 -4.7
Foreign citizens	68.6 -13.7	23.9 -11.1*	11.8 -4.2
<u>Total population</u>	<u>90.2 -1.7*</u>	<u>44.2 -7.5*</u>	<u>26.9 -1.2</u>

Share of the population that are members, are active or is an elected representative in any association. Present situation year 2000 and change since 1992 in percentage units. + implies an increase, - a decrease and * implies that the change is statistical significant. Source: Vogel and Amnå (2003a)

In table 3 we can see in which types of organisation this participation takes part. The organisational type that mobilises the largest share of the general population is sports organisations. Nearly one third of the Swedish population has memberships in sports organisations and seven percent of the population is elected representatives in at least one sports organisation. Another, in this perspective, important type of organisational field can be found in culture with amateur theatres and choirs which gather eleven percent of the Swedish population. When we turn our attention to organisations with more specific target groups the unions stands out with more than 80 percent of the working population as members. The senior citizens movement is another example of organisations successful in mobilising a large part of their target population. 42 percent of the population aged 64 to 84 year is members in some of these organisations. Table 2 illustrated declining membership ratios in the population and in every social group. Table 3 shows that this decrease not is valid or equally large in every type of organisation. Handicap, patient and senior citizens' organisations even tends to make more members.

⁵ Abroad born Swedish citizens with at least one parent that have or had foreign citizenship.

Table 3: Organisational activity in selected types of organisations

<u>Organisation type</u>	<u>Member</u>	<u>Representative</u>
Sports organisation	31.1 -1.7	6.7 -0.1
Culture organisation	11.0 -1.1	2.6 -0.1
Humanitarian organisation	8.2 -0.3	0.8 +0.2
Political party	7.3 -3.8*	1.8 0.0
Handicap and patient organisations	4.6 +0.7	0.5 0.0
Environment organisation	4.2 -4.2*	0.2 0.0
Independent churches	2.8 -1.0*	1.3 -0.1
Temperance organisation	1.1 -0.6*	0.2 -0.1
Other religious societies	1.0 -0.1	0.2 -0.1
Peace organisation	0.8 -0.3	0.1 0.0
Unions (of working population)	80.3 -3.3*	10.4 -1.0
Senior citizens organisation (of population 65-84 years old)	41.5 +2.1	4.8 -0.2
Immigrant organisation (of foreign citizens and immigrants)	6.0 -2.0	1.0 -0.1
Women organisation (of women)	1.9 -1.0*	0.7 -0.2
<u>All organisation types</u>	<u>90.2 -1.7*</u>	<u>26.9 -1.2</u>

Share of the population that is members or is elected representatives in different types of associations. Present situation year 2000 and change since 1992 in percentage units. + implies an increase, - a decrease and * implies that the change is statistical significant. Source: Vogel and Amnå (2003a)

Most investigations of the development in the number of memberships in Sweden have had the individual or the citizen as departure point. One of the weaknesses with this approach is the uncertainties of the total amount of memberships. The cause for this is that the methods used often divide the organisations in a number of groups and consequently reports one individual's membership in three sport associations as a single membership. Another problem with this kind of approach is that the individual may forget about memberships in organisation they rarely think about or organisations that they take for granted. A more reliable way of measuring memberships could be asking the organisations how many members they have or directly investigate their membership directories. This approach has of course its own shortcomings. It's not certain that the organisations have full control over who their members are or how many they really are. They could have outdated registers or the registers can even be deliberately manipulated if for instance government grants are calculated by the basis of the organisations amount of members. The approach has however been employed for instance by Wijkström (2001) in table 4 and it reveals a somewhat different picture than shown in table 3.

Table 4: Membership development in a selection of Swedish organisations 1985-1998

<u>Group of organisations</u>	<u>Memberships</u>	<u>Memberships</u>	<u>Memberships</u>	<u>Development</u>
	<u>(1000)</u>	<u>(1000)</u>	<u>(1000)</u>	
	<u>1985</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1985-98</u>
Traditional independent churches and temperance movement (30)	909	801	622	- 32 %
Sports (30)	3 892	4 522	4 139	+ 6 %
Culture and recreation (30)	3 006	3 178	2 913	- 3 %
Unions (30)	3 080	3 269	3 268	+ 6 %
Identity or interest (30)	1 181	1 406	1 428	+ 21 %
Economy or ownership (15)	4 548	5 553	6 250	+ 37 %
Public benefit (30)	906	1 363	1 160	+ 28 %
<u>TOTAL (195 organisations)</u>	<u>17 492</u>	<u>20 092</u>	<u>19 780</u>	<u>+ 13 %</u>

Number of examined organisations per group in parenthesis. Source: Wijkström (2001)

The time period and the categorization differ in table 3 and 4. It's despite of this striking how different the figures are. As an example, in the study of memberships on the individual level one of the results was that nearly two percent of the population had dropped out of the sports movement. The investigation on the organisational level instead concluded that membership in sports organisations had increased.

4.2 Civic Participation among "marginalized" groups

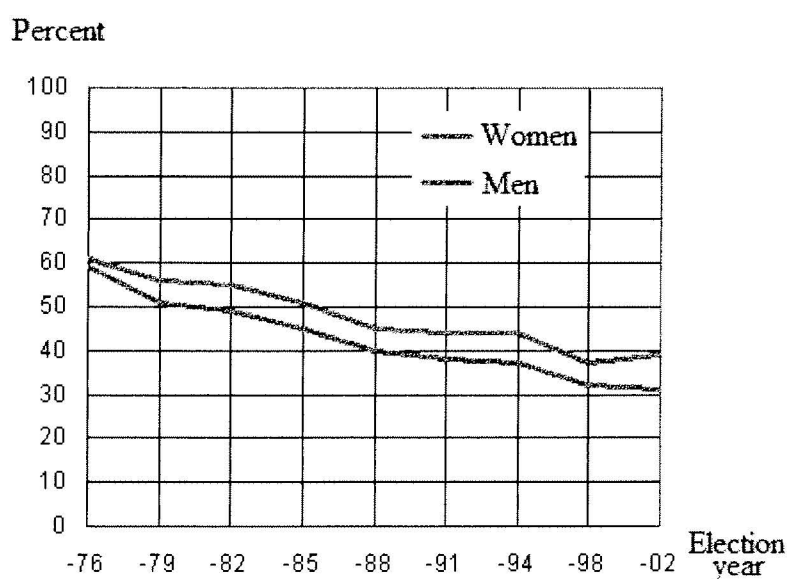
In this section we will focus on the citizenship groups that of various reasons could be seen as marginalized in Sweden. When civil society and the Swedish welfare state is in transformation, and the division of labour between different sectors in society is changing, marginalized groups become an interesting empirical field. The effects of the transformation may be seen most clearly with these groups, as they are found at "the margins" of society. Table 2 illustrated that individuals with less socio-economic resources are less prone to participate in civil society organisations. Here, we will give some further details about the participation of immigrants, women, and national ethnic minorities. There are, of course, research on other marginalized groups in Sweden, for example framed as homelessness (Nordfeldt 1999), various forms of self-help groups (Meuwisse 1997; Kurube 1998, Karlsson 2002; Hansson and Wijkström 2001) but this research is outside the scope of this literature review. In this chapter we try to focus on the available but relatively scarce quantitative data. In addition to this

there are of course many case studies, but an analysis and description of these would take this analysis too far, we only indicate these studies in a couple of relevant cases.

Since the concept of participation focus on the political dimension of citizenship, the probably most standardized and common measurement of participation is to which degree different groups participate in general elections for parliament and municipalities. Political parties are the only type of civil society organisation which citizens can vote for without being members of the organisation. We have been able to identify a number of studies with data on voting in national and municipal elections for immigrants and women. A second measurement of participation we will use is the group's inclination to be members of civil society organisations. A third measure, although not quantitative, is the possibility of a marginalized group to manifest its political ideas and visions through its own organisations.

Immigrants with a Swedish citizenship have the formal right to vote in national and county elections. A study by Statistics Sweden of the elections of 2002 reveals that 83 percent of the Swedish born citizens voted while 67 percent of foreign born citizens voted in national elections (SCB 2003). The participation rate is even lower, 61 percent among immigrants, under 45 years old. Immigrants without Swedish citizenship have also, since 1976, the right to can vote in the municipal council elections. To be eligible to this right the foreign citizen has to have been registered as living in Sweden for at least three years. We can see that the general trend in municipal election participation is downward for foreign citizens. The participation level in the elections has decreased substantially from 60 percent to 35 percent since the introduction of the new law in 1976.

Figure 4: Participation in municipal elections among foreign citizens 1976-2002



Source: Statistics Sweden

Another interesting finding in this study is that a higher percentage of foreign women than men have voted in all municipal elections since 1976. The only exception of this pattern can be found among the citizens from Bosnia-Herzegovina. Middle-aged women have the highest participation in voting and younger men have the lowest. Three factors seem to influence the level of participation in this formal/traditional sense. Married couples, people with higher income, and people who have lived for a longer period in Sweden in general have a higher participation in the election. These figures are further analyzed in table 5 where we are looking at participation rates for citizens from specific countries in the municipal elections 2002.

Table 5: Participation in Swedish Municipal Council Elections 2002, by Country of Citizenship

	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>All</u>
<u>Foreign citizens</u>	<u>31,2</u>	<u>38,8</u>	<u>35,1</u>
Bosnia-H.	32,9	30,8	31,8
Chile	44,4	48,6	46,3
Denmark	33,8	40,5	36,6
Finland	25,9	42,2	35,8
Iraq	26,9	36,0	31,0
Iran	29,7	30,0	29,8
Yugoslavia	13,3	19,1	15,8
Norway	36,8	40,2	38,5
Poland	17,4	28,2	25,2
Somalia	27,1	33,6	30,4
Great Britain	38,6	44,6	40,4
Turkey	29,3	40,4	35,0
Germany	46,9	47,5	47,2
USA	38,5	43,3	40,6
Other EU-countries	40,8	43,7	41,8
Others	24,0	34,8	29,9
<u>Swedish citizens⁶</u>	<u>81,5</u>	<u>82,8</u>	<u>82,1</u>

Source: Statistics Sweden

If we turn to the full population and national elections participation in terms of voting reveals very little difference between men and women (table 6). Women used to vote to a slightly higher degree but that difference

has disappeared for the parliamentary election of 2002. A more detailed analysis reveals that younger women have a higher voting participation than men in 2002. And for older women and men, it is rather the other way around (SCB 2003).

Table 6: Voting participation in the Riksdag (percent)

	<u>1994</u>	<u>1998</u>	<u>2002</u>
Men	86	82	81
Women	88	83	81

Source: Statistics Sweden

There are a number of important conclusions found in this review. The first conclusion is that there are a large difference in participation between Swedish citizens 82 percent and foreign citizens 35 percent in municipal elections (table 5). A second important conclusion is that women of both Swedish and foreign citizenship to a slightly higher degree participate in the elections. A third conclusion is that EU-citizens to a higher degree participate in elections compared to non-EU-citizens.

As we have already seen in table 2 immigrants and especially foreign citizens participates through formal memberships to a lesser extent than native Swedes. While 92 percent of the Swedes reported that they were members of at least one organisation, only 85 respectively 69 percent of immigrants and foreign citizens reported the same. This unbalance to the native Swedes advantage also holds true when investigating active memberships and who is elected representatives. Special interest groups for marginalized or minority groups mobilizes varying shares of their target population. We can once again turn our attention to table 3. Handicap and patient organisations of various kinds assemble five percent of the total population and other religious societies (other than Christian churches) gathers approximately one percent of the population. About two percent of the women are members in women organisations and six percent of the immigrants are members in immigrant's organisations. Of these examples senior citizens' organisations seem to be most "successful" in mobilizing their target group. 42 percent of the population aged 65 to 85 is members of some senior citizens' organisation.

There are five recognized national minority groups in Sweden; Sami, which are also an indigenous people, Sweden Finns, Tornedalingar, Romani, and Jews. We have not been able to find any quantitative data on any kind of civil society participation broken down by minority groups neither in general elections or in general civil society organisations. Instead we will discuss the role of their own civil society organisations for the two major national minority groups. The largest national minority group is the Sweden Finns with around 250 000 people, who speak Finnish daily. There are around 15 000 members in the National Association of Finns in Sweden. The associations focus is on minority-, voice- and cultural issues⁷. The Sweden Finns have a cooperation organisation for cooperation among other national organisations for Sweden Finns (Sverigefinlänarnas

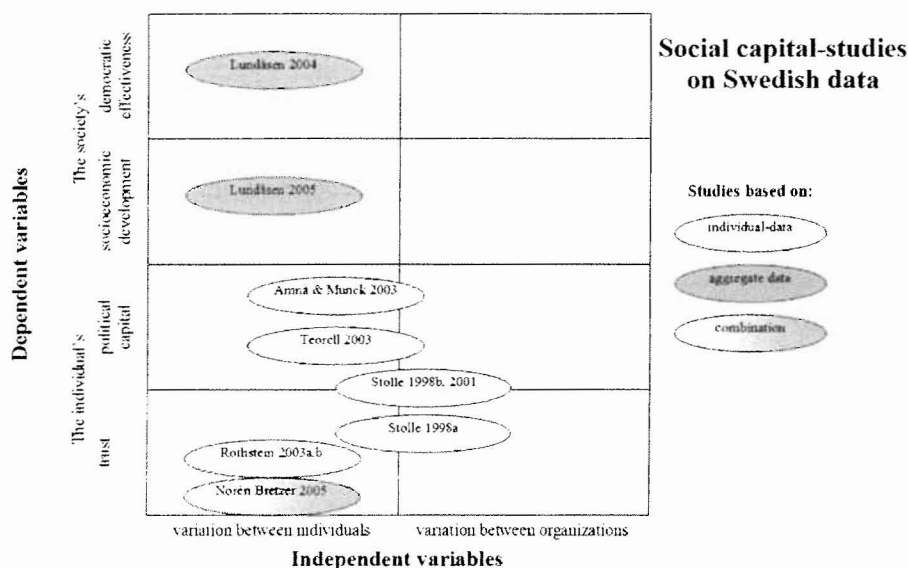
⁶ The data for Swedish citizens are for the municipal elections of 1998.

delegation). The about 40 000 to 60 000 Sami has an elected Sami Parliament since 1993, which acts like a government department for Sami-related affairs but also function like a member-based organisation for the Sami people. The main responsibilities of the parliament are Sami culture, language, education, and the traditional livelihood of Sami, reindeer herding. (Source: The Sami Parliament Webpage)

4.3 Social capital in Swedish

In a discussion of participation in the organized civil society it is almost impossible to ignore the theories and debate of social capital. In this section we will try to describe a selection of Swedish studies on the theme of social capital. We have chosen to delimit our review to larger correlation studies exploring the concept of social capital and will also retain our organisational focus in the description of these studies. Most of the studies conducted in Sweden have been focused on the alleged relationships between different factors constituting social capital and not on the relationship between on one hand a broader concept of social capital and on the other hand democracy and economical development in the society. The researchers have asked questions about if and how participating in different kind of networks really contributes to the individuals trust and political participation. This is exemplified by placing social capital related studies made on Swedish data in figure 5.

Figure 5: Social capital studies on Swedish data



The diagram primary divides the studies among two dimensions. Does the dependent variable attend to outcomes in the society or in the individual, and does the independent variables only include variations between the individuals in the population or does it also include variations between the organisations that the individuals are affiliated with? The shadings in the diagram also tells if the studies in question are based on individual micro-

⁷ The national Association of Finns in Sweden's annual report for 2005, page 1.

data or if it is based on aggregate data of different regions as in Putnam's study in Italy or municipalities as in Lundåsen (2004; 2005) studies and in one of the models tested by Norén Bretzer (2005).

Lundåsen (2004) investigated the links between the density of associations and the share of the population that voted in local elections in Swedish municipalities. The research hypothesis that higher associational density would lead to higher propensity to vote could not clearly be confirmed. The results suggested instead that socio-economic factors can influence both the strength and the sign of association density's influence on citizens' propensity to vote. Lundåsen (2005) takes this one step further and tests if the casual flows from socio-economic development, measured by average income, to social capital, measured by associational density, and the inverse are simultaneous. The results confirmed the hypothesis of simultaneous influence. The results further indicated that the relationship between socio-economic development and social capital is negative.

Rothstein (2003a; 2003b) and Norén Bretzer (2005) focused their attention differently and examined the outcome of social capital on individual trust. Rothstein (2003a; 2003b) investigated the impact of associational involvement and the effectiveness of various governmental institutions, on formation of trust. The result indicates that both of these factors indeed are related to trust. The associational involvement was by Rothstein however mostly explained due to self-selection mechanisms. Norén Bretzer (2005) continued this track and put the social capital theory and the theory of procedural fairness more or less against each other to see which of these theories was best suited to explain political trust in Sweden. The relevance of these theories was tested both on micro-level data and with aggregate data. Among the results is that the social capital theory is validated in terms of generalised trust while a high associational activity did not produce higher political trust. The result of the test of the hypothesis of procedural fairness indicates that people who believe that the courts are fair also have significant higher trust in the political system.

Amnå and Munck (2003) and Teorell (2003) examined the outcomes of social capital on individuals' political capital. Examples of indicators of political capital used in these studies are if a person has contacted politicians or government officials, if they have participated in a demonstration or signed a petition but also if they state that they are able to appeal against governmental decisions. In these two studies the authors also introduced and examined the hypothesis that different kind of organisations could have various impacts on their members. Teorell (2003) calculated individuals' dissimilarity from other members in the same organisational type on a number of social characteristics as sex, age, employment, and residence. Amnå and Munck (2003) structured the organisational types after how politically oriented they were and combined that measure with how active the individual was in the organisation. Teorell (2003) found that the dissimilarity with other members did not seem to affect the political capital of members when the number of memberships was taken in account while Amnå and Munck (2003) concluded that more political oriented organisations indeed had greater influence on their members' political capital than less political oriented organisations.

Stolle (1998a; 1998b; 2001) investigated both the organisational-hypothesis and the self-selection hypothesis in a more comprehensive way than the other studies referred here. Stolle's studies was based on cross-country data from Sweden and Germany (Stolle 1998a; 1998b) later supplemented with equivalent data from the United States (Stolle 2001). Among Stolle's main findings was that self-selection indeed had a large impact on both trust and political capital. That implies that its individuals with high trust that are most likely to join associations. The results implied nevertheless that there also seem to exist an effect of membership itself, concentrated to the

early phases of membership. Members who had only brief experiences of the organisations were less trusting than those who had longer experiences as members. Membership over longer times did however not have any added effects on the individual's trust. The test of the organisational-hypothesis indicated that different types of organisations foster various types of social capital. Members in all of the examined organisational types scored higher on all social capital-measures compared to non members but different types of organisation seemed to be various effective in inducing these kind of attitudes and behaviours in their members, e.g. political and community associations scored highest on political action while cultural and personal interest associations scored highest on generalized and political trust.

One way to summarize these Swedish studies of social capital and its components is to relate them to Robert Putnam's work that might represent be the most widespread theory of social capital. The major idea in his theory of social capital was that social networks, informal as well as formal, create reciprocity and trust which makes it easier to solve problems of public action such as the provision of various forms of public goods. Putnam (1993) used the density of voluntary associations as one indicator of regional social capital and showed the effects of different levels of association membership on democratic performance and economic development. Since then studies on the theme of social capital have mainly explored and tried to establish the hypothetical relationships between components embedded in Putnam's wide concept of social capital. In Sweden, studies on different data-levels and with various types of dependent as well as independent variables has been carried through covering different aspects of the social capital theory. Most of the studies concludes that socio-economic factors as education and income are positively correlated to trust and political capital. Involvement in association is also positively correlated to trust and political capital and it seems that different types of organisations contribute differently to the social capital outcome. There is however no consensus about how important the self-selection mechanism is.

4.4 Other indicators of Social capital

We have already showed the recent developments of social capital measured by formal memberships and in later chapters will also activity in the form of voluntary work in organisations be shown. This section will focus on concepts more loosely connected to formal organisations. Hence we will here discuss informal networks, norms of reciprocity, trust and political capital in various forms.

As we already has seen the Swedish participation in the form of membership and activity in organisations is high with more than nine out of ten adults having at least one formal membership. This share of the population having memberships and stating that they are active within organisations has declined in the last decade. Later in this section we will however see that this doesn't have to imply that the social capital is eroding – people tend to find new ways to engage themselves. A distinct pattern in the forms of participations we are discussing is that it is mostly people with higher socio-economic status that are participating.

It is evidently harder to find good indicators measuring levels of informal networks than it is to measure membership and involvement in formal organisations. We will present some figures about people's connections to their friends, neighbours and work colleagues as well as their involvement in informal work outside of the organisational life. Between 1992 and 2000 both men and women have stronger connections to their closest friends. At the same time the more distant network has weakened. People spend less free time with their friends,

work colleagues and neighbours (Amnå and Munck 2003). The other indicator of informal networks that we have chosen to present in is how often citizens helps others outside of the primary family and household without an organisation as mediator (table 7). Informal help between citizens has increased dramatically from less than one third of the population 1992 and 1998 to more than half of the population in 2005. Part of the explanation of this large difference could depend on changes in the measurement technique but it is according to Olsson, Jeppsson Grassman and Svedberg (2006) still very likely that more people is engaged in informal voluntary work in 2005 than earlier. 53 percent of the citizens who are engaged in informal help to people outside of the household states however that they are only helping their own relatives.

Table 7: Share of population doing informal voluntary work

	<u>1992</u>	<u>1998</u>	<u>2005</u>
Men	29 (9)	28 (11)	51 (9)
Women	27 (15)	31 (13)	54 (14)
Total	<u>28 (12)</u>	<u>30 (12)</u>	<u>52 (11)</u>

Percent of population age 16-74, number of hours per month in parenthesis. Source: Olsson, Jeppsson Grassman and Svedberg (2006).

Besides considering peoples actual actions we can use peoples attitudes and values as indicators on social capital. The citizens' attitude towards voluntary work having an intrinsic value, moral obligation and a value creating force have been strengthened between 1998 and 2005. About 60 percent of the adult population agrees with the statement that everybody has a moral obligation to participate in voluntary work some time in his or her life. At the same time about 85 percent agrees with the statement that engaging in voluntary works helps people to have an active role in a democratic society (Olsson, Jeppsson Grassman and Svedberg 2006).

As we have already demonstrated, voting in national elections and memberships in political parties has decreased in the Swedish population as a whole. There are no indications that individual socioeconomic factors seem to change that pattern. Table 8 demonstrates that the drop in memberships has been about equally large in different segments of the population with an exception for the groups of immigrants and foreign citizens where the drop in memberships has been slightly lower. We can however not see any decrease in the share of the population that has tried to influence decisions in political parties. A significant higher share of people has under the same period taken the courage to speak on meetings. In tables 9 and 10 we can see more figures indicating a trend away from traditional channels for political action toward a more individualistic approach to engagement. A larger proportion of the citizens assert that they are able to appeal public authorities' decisions themselves and say that they have participated in collective action like public demonstrations, signed petitions or contacted politicians or other public officials. The share of adult population that voted in the last election or discussed politics have decreased. Rothstein (2002) describes a trend where people are turning away from traditional channels for political participation, such as political parties and interest organisations, and are turning toward temporary and single-issue organisations mobilizing citizens for particular causes at the same time that the

notion of individual autonomy has gained popularity.

Table 8: Membership and activity in political parties

	<u>Membership in</u> <u>political party</u>	<u>Elected representative</u>
Men	8.1 -4.3*	2.2 +0.3
Women	6.6 -3.3*	1.4 -0.3
Workers	5.8 -3.6*	1.2 +0.3
Salaried employees	8.1 -3.8*	2.6 -0.4
Low education	7.1 -3.4*	1.1 -0.0
Moderate education	4.0 -4.3*	1.7 -0.0
High education	8.1 -3.6*	2.7 -0.2
Native Swedes	7.8 -4.0*	1.0 -0.0
Immigrants ⁸	3.5 -2.2	1.3 +0.7
Foreign citizens	1.8 -2.4	0.5 -0.2
<u>Total population</u>	<u>7.3 -3.8*</u>	<u>1.8 +0.0</u>

Share of the population that are members, are active or is an elected representative in any association. Present situation year 2000 and change since 1992 in percentage units. + implies an increase, - a decrease and * implies that the change is statistical significant. Source: Vogel and Amnå (2003b)

Table 9: Political capital and attempts to influence decisions

	<u>Tried to influence a decision</u> <u>in a political party</u>	<u>Spoken on a meeting</u>
Men	14.2 -0.2	58.9 +1.2
Women	10.0 +1.0	43.1 +2.8*
Workers	7.5 +1.2	37.3 +3.4*
Salaried employees	16.9 -0.6	66.2 +0.9
Low education	6.5 -1.3	31.2 -1.3
Moderate education	10.3 +1.2	48.2 +1.2
High education	20.4 -1.1	74.9 +0.2
Native Swedes	12.5 +0.4	52.7 +2.4*
Immigrants	8.2 -1.1	35.9 -5.0
Foreign citizens	8.5 +3.3	38.3 +4.1
<u>Total population</u>	<u>12.1 +0.4</u>	<u>50.9 +2.0*</u>

Share of the population that are members, are active or is an elected representative in any association. Present situation year 2000 and change since 1992 in percentage units. + implies an increase, - a decrease and * implies that

the change is statistical significant. Source: Vogel and Amnå (2003a)

Table 10: Changes in political capital and manifestations in percentage units 1992-2000

	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
able to appeal	2	4
collective action	4	5
discussed politics	-2	-2
voting	-1	-1

Source: Amnå and Munck (2003)

Trust can, as the other social capital concepts, be divided in different ways. Trust in other people could be measured as trust for the people a person knows or as trust for people in general. It is also common in the literature to use trust in the political system as an indicator for social capital. The level of trust for other people measured with the statement "In general you can trust other people" have been stable between 1996 and 2002 with mean values of 66 and 65 on a scale from 0 to 100 (Norén Bretzer 2005). According to Rothstein (2003) other measures of trust in other people have also display a remarkable stability in the period from 1990 to 2000.

Table 11 displays a number of indicators of the Swedish citizens' trust in the political system. Notably all of these indicators have increased between 1996 and 2002. Swedish citizens are more satisfied with the way the democracy works. They have also more trust in the way the government, the parliament and the political parties conducts its work. The smallest increases, but yet up four and five percentage units, are in the trust for politicians as a group and for the Government.

Table 11: Political trust

	<u>1996</u>	<u>2002</u>
<i>a</i> satisfied with the way the democracy works in Sweden	46	59
<i>b</i> trust in the way that the government (Regeringen) conducts its work	48	53
<i>b</i> trust in the way that the parliament (Riksdagen) conducts its work	42	52
<i>b</i> trust in the way that the political parties conducts its work	34	40
<i>c</i> trust in Swedish politicians (1998 and 2002)	38	42

Mean values with following values attached to the answer alternatives: *a* – Very satisfied (100), Fairly satisfied (67), Not particularly satisfied (33), Not at all satisfied (0). *b* – Very high trust (100), Fairly high trust (75), Neither high or low trust (50), Fairly low trust (25), Very low trust (0). *c* – Very high trust (100), Fairly high trust (67), Fairly low

⁸ Abroad born Swedish citizens with at least one parent that have or had foreign citizenship.

trust (33), Very low trust (0). Source Compiled from data in multiple diagrams (Norén Bretzer 2005)

5. VEHICLE FOR PROVISION & PRODUCTION OF SERVICES

The third role where we see civil society as a vehicle for provision and production of societal services reflects itself in the mirror image of the individual as client, user or recipient of these services. The role of civil society organisations as producers is as we earlier have discussed relative new in Swedish research and policy debate although the organisations have carried out these kinds of activities fundamentally from their emergence. There are no comprehensive studies of the number of clients or users of the services produced by civil service organisations. So far we have only found one quantitative study with one question addressing this. In 1998, Jeppsson Grassman and Svedberg asked if respondents had *received any help or support* from a non-profit organisation. This question focuses on clients or users receiving service without paying instead of buying a service. The result was that 12 percent of respondents between 16 and 74 years old received help or support. Of these around 8 percent received help from a socially oriented organisation and the rest received help from a union or another interest based organisation. (Jeppsson Grassman and Svedberg 1999) These numbers, of course, underestimate the number of individual's in Sweden with any type of client or user relationship towards civil society organisations.

Due to the lack of data of recipients of services, we will here present some data covering the producing side, i.e. measuring the output from organisations. The measurements used are the number of paid employees and total costs.

5.1 General studies of the amount of services produced by civil society

Quantitative studies of the users of civil society organisations' products and services are hard to find. There are naturally complications with trying to measure so diverse activities as in the civil society. How do we compare the output from a hospital with the output from a soccer club or a religious congregation? For that reason we will open this section of the paper with some examples of activity-specific statistics of a few civil society organisations from a user-side perspective. After that we will use the number of paid employees and the total costs of organisations as indicators of their output.

The Swedish sports movement organizes 3.4 millions members of which 2.4 millions are actively practices sports (Riksidrottsförbundet 2006). The ten large adult education organisations that are entitled state subsidies had under 2003 2.5 million participants in so called *study circles*. The Swedish National Council of Adult Education estimates that these 2.5 million participants consist of 1.5 to 2 million individuals since one person can take part of several study circles. Another form of adult education, which are uncommon outside of Sweden, are the 148 folk high schools of which 104 are operated by civil society organisations. (Folkbildningsrådet 2005) They receive state grants of 1.3 billion SEK. A folk high school is a school for adults with an alternative pedagogy compared to traditional universities. The aim is for the student to both learn new knowledge but also to grow as individuals. Some courses aim at achieving qualification for further university study. Within the scope of the Swedish regular school system there are possibilities to operate non-public primary and secondary non-public schools (*friskolor*) with rights to government subsidies. In the nine-year compulsory school the independent schools had 41 500 students in 2001 or 4 percent of all students in these grades (Skolverket 2001). These statistics is however not exclusively for non-profit organisations and about 30 percent of the independent

schools are run by joint-stock companies which most likely are for-profit organisations. A special governmental delegation has recently been appointed to investigate the future of “independent” (*fristående*) schools with the specific purpose to make sure that profits will not be possible to transfer from such a school to any kind of owners (Dir 2006:3). An extract from the Swedish national register of patients at The National Board of Health and Welfare (*Patientregistret vid Socialstyrelsen*) shows more than 7 000 patients received healthcare from non-profit organisations 2003, summing up to 94 000 care-days. This is 0.5 percent of the care-occasions and 1.1 percent of the care-days. This is also an understatement of the significance of non-profit organisations in Swedish healthcare since not all of these organisations have reported all of their activities to The National Board of Health and Welfare.

In table 12 we can see in which sub-sectors the paid employees are located and the development between 1992 and 2002. The sectors that with this measure have increased their production are social service, religion and culture and recreation while the sector for unions and business organisations have declined. This trend have been called “from voice to service” in Sweden (e.g. Lundström and Wijkström 1995, Wijkström and Einarsson 2006). Organisations primary producing service for the society as in the fields of social services, health and education as well as organisations primary producing service for their own members, e.g. the sports movement, increase their share of the total sector at the expense of traditional voice-making organisations as unions and advocacy organisations.

Table 12: Paid employees

	<u>Employees</u>	<u>Change since</u>
	<u>2002</u>	<u>1992</u>
Culture and recreation	39 700	+8 900
Education and research	22 500	+1 600
Health	4 500	+800
Social services	28 900	+15 000
Environment	2 100	-400
Development and housing	4 800	-1 100
Law, advocacy and politics	6 800	-700
Philanthropic intermed.	500	-400
International	2 000	-300
Religion	20 500	+14 400
Business and unions	12 100	-2 900
Not elsewhere classified	600	-400
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>145 000</u>	<u>+34 500</u>

Source: Wijkström and Einarsson (2006)

The trend is about the same when using the total expenditures as an indicator of service production, as seen in table 13. Culture and recreation together with business are the largest sub-sectors closely followed by social services.

Table 13: Total expenditures

	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Share of the</u>
	<u>(1 000 SEK)</u>	<u>sector (%)</u>
Culture and recreation	35 500	25
Education and research	15 300	11
Health	2 600	2
Social services	20 600	15
Environment	2 600	2
Development and housing	9 700	7
Law, advocacy and politics	8 200	6
Philanthropic intermed.	1 300	1
International activities	4 600	3
Religion	14 700	11
Business and unions	24 200	17
Not elsewhere classified	700	0
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>140 000</u>	<u>100</u>

Source: Wijkström and Einarsson (2006)

Another way of looking at the service production of civil society is to compare the number of employees in the civil society organisations with the business and the public sector. Trydegård (2001) compared these numbers from 1993 to 2000 for social service production including: child care, primary education, health and dental care, care of the elderly, disability care, and drug rehabilitation. The overall trend is that civil society organisations are increasing their share of the service production, from 2,2 percent to 3,2 percent. During the same period the business sector increased their share of the service production from 3,9 percent to 8,1 percent.

On a policy level there has been a debate on possible changes of the conditions for business and civil society organisations to produce services. In SOU 2003 such changes were discussed for production of health care.

5.2 Production of service towards marginalized groups

Many organisations provide generic services which are used by all categories of client or recipients. In the following text we focus on the services produced, which are specifically aimed at immigrant groups, women and national minorities and other marginalised groups. The following services will be described in this part: primary education, folk high schools, elderly care and other special needs.

Civil society organisations production of primary education

There are a large number of immigrant organisations in Sweden. The relatively large immigration organisations in Sweden have primarily been focused on cultural issues rather than political issues and are traditionally less active in participating in the distribution of the social service sector. (Songur 2001; Soysal 1994)

One field in which we also find civil society organisations that has attracted special focus from an integration perspective are primary and secondary schools. Sweden has had a tradition of having only public primary and secondary schools. Since the early 1990s, there are an increasing number of non-public primary schools (*friskolor*). Some of these schools are focused on the special needs of immigrant groups. The independent schools adapted towards immigrant groups are categorized as either faith-based or language/ethnic/international-based in the table below.

Table 14: Type of non-public primary schools

	<u>1994/1995</u>		<u>2003/2004</u>	
Faith-based	45	21%	67	12%
Language/Ethnic/Int	22	10%	36	6%
Special Pedagogy	83	38%	177	32%
National boarding school	3	1%	3	1%
General school	55	25%	215	38%
Specialized field of study	5	2%	29	5%
Other	4	2%	34	6%
<u>Total</u>	<u>217</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>561</u>	<u>100%</u>

Source: National Board of Education (Skolverket)

The table shows that immigrant organisations (including organisations for Sweden Finns) early on started up a number of independent schools and that they continue to start new schools although at a lower rate.

On a policy making level one debate regarding non-public schools concerns the level of freedom for these schools to teach knowledge and beliefs that are outside of the national education plan. This debate has focused on the religious non-public schools. The increasing number of non-public schools based on religious values (Either Islamic or Christian) has both seen as improving and hindering the immigrants integration in the Swedish society. (Gerle 1999)

Civil society organisations production of adult education

Some of the above mentioned folk high schools operated by civil society, aim their courses towards marginalized groups. Of the five recognized Swedish national minorities, two operates their own folk high schools. The National Organisation for Sweden Finns operated two folk high schools with Finnish speaking education towards Sweden Finns. The foundation Samiskt Utbildningscentrum is a folk high school for the Sami people. These folk high schools are seen as important vehicles for enhancing and preserving their minority cultures. The foundation Kvinnofolkhögskolan is a folk high school for women studying with a feministic perspective.

Also the Swedish folk high schools have been seen as a more general vehicle for integration of immigrants. Many folk high schools in Sweden have courses focusing on international, integration and solidarity themes. Andersson (1999) studies four folk high schools and he sees the potential for integration within the folk high schools.

Civil society organisations production of other service towards the elderly

There is a debate between immigration organisations, minority organisations and the representatives for the public sector on how to best produce care of the elderly. Civil society organisations see a role in providing elderly care towards elderly which have been born outside of Sweden. For many elderly, the culture and language of their childhood becomes more pronounced as their memory capacity starts to diminish. There were one Finnish speaking elderly care is produced by a civil society organisation at the turn of the century. (Socialstyrelsen 2001)

Dahlberg (2001) studied the variation of elderly care produced by voluntary organisations and local authorities in Sweden. She found no statistical evidence of voluntary organisations being a substitute for local authorities or as providing welfare pluralism. She did found evidence of voluntary organisations providing a complimentary function relative the local authorities.

Civil society organisations production of other service towards marginalized groups

A recent and very interesting example of civic society organisations with services specifically developed for and aimed at women are the about 160 women's shelters in Sweden. They work against men's violence towards women.

There are, of course, services produced aimed at other marginalized groups in Sweden, for example framed as homelessness (Nordfeldt 1999), disability groups (Meuwisse 1997; Karlsson 2002), health care patients (Carlsson 2005), crisis groups (Nieminene Kristoffersson 1998) and drug addiction (Kurube 1998; Hansson and Wijkström 2001; Hammare and Stenbacka 2003, Söderholm and Wijkström 2002), but this research is outside the scope of this literature and policy review.

6. FUNNEL FOR PEOPLE'S RESOURCES & ENERGY

The fourth and final role or dimension of civil society is that of a metaphorical funnel to harness resources and energy towards certain causes. In this perspective individuals use civil society and its organisations as some kind of mediator between a group of people and a certain task or mission. Resources, consisting of money and voluntary work, are being aggregated, transformed and distributed in ways impossible for an individual to accomplish single-handed. As already mentioned, this role has not received much attention in Sweden before 1990, but there is a growing interest in understanding this role from both researchers and policymakers in Sweden. With a civil society perspective the organisations are not restricted to collect resources from individuals. Valuable contributions can also come from other spheres and sectors in society. Government subsidy and tax relief together with donations from corporations is other sources of income and various forms of resources.

6.1 Provision of resources by civil society organisations

Voluntary work is a major resource to the organisations and there are three quantitative studies measuring the amount of voluntary work being done in civil society organisations. As we can see in table 15 the number of volunteers has increased totally and in the most types of organisations.

Table 15: Volunteers

	<u>Volunteers</u>	<u>Change since</u>
	<u>2005</u>	<u>1992</u>
Culture and recreation	2 450 000	+50 000
Education and research	-	-
Health	-	-
Social services	450 000	+50 000
Environment	< 50 000	-50 000
Development and housing	600 000	+200 000
Law, advocacy and politics	450 000	-50 000
Philanthropic intermed.	-	-
International	150 000	-100 000
Religion	400 000	+100 000
Business and unions	250 000	-150 000
Not elsewhere classified	450 000	+50 000
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>5 200 000</u>	<u>+150 000</u>

Volunteers in non-profit organisations structured by ICNPO adapted from another categorisation of organisations (hence the missing categories). The same person can be engaged in several types of organisations. Source: Olsson, Jeppsson Grassman and Svedberg (2006)

The share of the population that is engaged in voluntary work has however been remarkably stable as we can see in table 16. According to Olsson, Jeppsson Grassman and Svedberg (2006) the determinants of membership and membership activity are the same as for voluntary work. Individuals with high socio-economic status are overrepresented in voluntary work.

Table 16: Share of Swedish population doing voluntary work in organisations

	<u>1992</u>	<u>1998</u>	<u>2005</u>
Men	52 (14)	53 (15)	53 (14)
Women	44 (12)	50 (10)	49 (13)
<u>Total</u>	<u>48 (13)</u>	<u>52 (12)</u>	<u>51 (14)</u>

Percent of population age 16-74, number of hours per month in parenthesis. Source: Olsson, Jeppsson Grassman and Svedberg (2006)

In another study by Wijkström and Einarsson (2006), the value of this voluntary work was analyzed in terms of full-time equivalents (FTEs). In total these volunteers carry out about 351 000 FTEs. Table 17 illustrates the development over time and compares it with the amount of work the employed workforce executes. As we can see in the table the organisations resources measured both by paid work and volunteering has increased. Maybe the most notably change in a Swedish perspective is the amount of volunteering performed by others than members that has more than doubled between 1992 and 2002.

Table 17: Distribution of different types of work

	<u>Employees</u>	<u>Volunteering</u>		
	<u>(FTE)</u>	<u>(FTE)</u>	<u>of members</u>	<u>of others</u>
1992	90.000	294 000	253 000	41 000
1998	-	296 000	252 000	44 000
2002/2005	99 000	351 000	246 000	105 000

Measured in full-time equivalents (FTE). The last row in the table shows the amount of paid work in 2002 and volunteer labour in 2005. Source: Wijkström and Einarsson 2006

Table 18 shows the voluntary work 1992 measured with another method and categorization, hence the slight difference in the amount of total work. This table shows the distribution of voluntary work in organisations that fulfil different roles in society. Most of the voluntary work is carried out in organisations in the fields of culture

and recreation, law, advocacy and politics and business and unions. Looking back on table 15 where changes in the number of volunteers was presented we can expect that the fields with the largest increase in voluntary work is development and housing together with religion. The fields where we can expect the largest decrease is business and unions together with international activities.

Table 18: Distribution of voluntary work 1992

	<u>Voluntary work</u>	<u>Share</u>
	<u>1992 (FTE)</u>	<u>(%)</u>
Culture and recreation	134 600	44,5
Education and research	6 400	2,0
Health	200	0,0
Social services	14 200	4,5
Environment	5 800	2,0
Development and housing	9 800	3,5
Law, advocacy and politics	53 000	17,5
Philanthropic intermed.	0	0,0
International activities	5 600	2,0
Religion	26 400	9,0
Business and unions	40 600	13,5
Not elsewhere classified	5 200	1,5
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>300 100</u>	<u>100</u>

Source: Wijkström and Lundström (2002)

The individual's voluntary work is of different types in the organisation. The most common, with 70 percent of the volunteers, working role of the Swedish volunteer is either to sit in the *board of directors* or doing other kinds of *administrative tasks*. This category is also together with *other tasks* the types of work that have increased the most while *fundraising* has decreased the most. These figures are shown in table 19. The without comparison largest relative change is in the category "other" which indicates that the method developed to describe activities in the popular movement tradition may need to be revised.

Table 19: Nature of voluntary work

	<u>1992</u>	<u>1998</u>	<u>2005</u>
Education or leadership	24	21	23
Board of director / administration	58	56	70
Information / opinion	14	15	15
Fundraising	26	20	17
Direct aid contribution	12	12	14
Other	3	16	14

Share in percent of the voluntary workers that carried out different kind of tasks. An individual can perform several types of voluntary work. The sum of all types of voluntary work will, therefore, exceed 100%. Source: Olsson, Jeppsson Grassman and Svedberg (2006).

The other important way to provide resources for the organisation besides donation of one's own time and labour is to provide monetary resources. The distribution of the non-profit sector's income is presented in table 20. During the year 1992, 60 % of the organisations' income was earned. This includes both membership fees and services bought by citizens or private organisations. Another 11 percent of the sector's incomes came from private giving or sponsoring from individuals and other organisations, for instance from for-profit corporations.

Table 20: Share of revenues by major source

	<u>Share of sector</u> <u>income (%)</u>
Public	29
Earned	60
Giving	11
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>66 billion SEK</u>

Source: Wijkström and Lundström (2002)

Studies of the pattern of giving are however scarce in Sweden so it is hard to find any figures that can illustrate the development of donation over time. Studying data available at the website belonging to the Swedish Foundation for Fundraising Control (Stiftelsen för insamlingskontroll) we can see that the total revenues from donations have doubled between 1995 and 2004. The increase is from 2 147 million to 4 073 million SEK. (Stiftelsen för insamlingskontroll 2006).

for 2002 and 2004 we can see that the total revenues for the about 300 organisations that have reported both of these years has increased with 7 percent. Of these organisations half has increased their revenues and half has declining revenues (Stiftelsen för insamlingskontroll 2006).

One catastrophe which has strongly affected the Swedish people was the Tsunami disaster in South-East Asia. This has also had an effect on the Swedish individual donations towards aiding this region. The donations towards Tsunami-relief have surpassed one billion SEK according to the website of the Swedish Fundraising Council.

In the frame of economics Breman (2006) studied different aspects of giving from the individual's perspective. One of the contributions from her thesis was a test of the crowding out hypothesis, i.e. do government grants crowd out private donations? The underlying assumption behind this hypothesis is that a private giver might see his or her tax payments as a substitute for private donations to organisations receiving government grants. Results of this studie imply that the crowding out effect is fairly small or non-existent in Sweden.

As already stated, the resources made available to the civil society organisations is also dependent on Swedish tax law. If the organisations can benefit from favourable tax laws, then more resources could be used toward the organisations goal, instead of financing governmental objectives. The different legal types of non-profit organisations in Sweden follow to some extent different tax rules. The foundations and voluntary organisations (*ideella föreningar*) can receive tax exemptions (*skattebefrielse*) or tax reduction (*skattelättnad*) if they adhere to four criterias. The criteria for membership based organisations are: they should have a benevolent (*allmännyttigt*) objective; the income of the organisations should be used to towards the objective; the operations of the organisations should aim towards the objective and the organisations should be open towards new members.

Two policy making debates will be adressed shortly in this report. One of the major debates of the tax regulation is the question of to which degree a non-profit organisation could receive tax excemption for commercial operations if the profits of these operations is, thereafter, used for the benevolent objectives. (SOU 1995) There is another tax related question that has been discussed by official policymakers. Currently there is no tax relief for people or corporations which donate money or resources to civil society organisations. The corporations can circumvent this by sponsoring the organisations and getting public relations benefits in return. This makes the costs of sponsoring tax deductible. For individuals there are no such possibility. In SOU (1993b) there was a suggestion for tax deductibility for individuals' donations up to 10 000 SEK to civil society organisations but the National Government preferred not to change the tax law.

6.2 Provision of resources by marginalized groups

After the general picture of provision of resources above, let us look at the provision of resources by marginalized groups at a little more depth. We have not found any quantitative data studies on the provision of economic resources by either immigration groups, divided by gender, or any other type of marginalized groups. There are, however, some data available on voluntary work among women.

A study of the year 1998 shows the percentage proportion of voluntary work among men and women in a quantitative study with 576 respondents. The study also analysed the voluntary work within the two major types

of organisations that people do voluntary work in; social organisations and athletics organisations. (Jeppsson Grassman 2004) The results are summarized in this table 21.

Table 21: Voluntary work by sex

<u>Type of work</u>	<u>Voluntary work</u>			<u>Social voluntary work</u>			<u>Voluntary work within athletics</u>		
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
Education	21	26	14	17	17	16	31	37	21
Board	29	33	24	30	40	22	25	29	19
Administration	36	33	38	37	34	39	38	34	46
Information	15	16	15	16	17	15	11	12	10
Helping others	12	11	14	17	15	19	12	12	11
Collecting funds	20	18	22	16	16	15	25	24	26
Other	16	16	17	11	10	12	16	13	20
<u>Number of respond.</u>	<u>576</u>	<u>312</u>	<u>264</u>	<u>237</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>137</u>	<u>207</u>	<u>137</u>	<u>70</u>

Source: Jeppsson Grassman (2004)

The study concludes that men are dominating in positions of power and influence and thereby the participation role, since they to a higher degree do voluntary work on boards and with education, while women are more involved in civic society as providers of resources, since their voluntary work to a higher degree take place in lower levels of the organisations. (Jeppsson Grassman 2004)

Women groups receive less governmental grants compared to youth organisations, voluntary defence organisations, and handicap organisations. (SOU 2004) The conclusions of the SOU is that governmental grants to national level women's organisations should be increased and that organisations should work towards equality between men and women as a requirement for governmental grants for all civic society organisations.

The lack of quantitative data by researchers does not mean that there is no provision of resources to civil society from other marginalized groups. One such specific type of resource is provided through the self-help groups. Such groups have different focuses like f. ex. alcoholic and drug rehabilitation, mental disability groups.

7. CONCLUDING REMARKS & FUTURE TRENDS (*TO BE DEVELOPED*)

In a very rough summary of the conceptual development leading up to the current usage of the civil society concept very much of the content of the research as well as the more ideological debate can be traced back to issues and tensions identified already during the influential “popular movement era” in Swedish social sciences. This tradition can, in a way, be seen as a early pendent to the development of the welfare state research tradition. It has also been argued that the two narratives “needed” each other and the almost parallel development of the popular movement tradition and research was necessary to support the growth and expansion of the research focusing on the welfare state and its institutions (see, e.g., Trägårdh 2006).

In the final summary of the earlier mentioned recent report by Swedish Research Council (2005), the authors also notes that the earlier so vivid research approach often described as „the popular movement research“ (*folkrörelseforskningen*) during the 1990s and the first years of the new millennium has dissolved ... (KOLLA)

In this final section of the paper, a number of more recent developments and issues that are considered of particular importance are introduced and discussed. New organisations are emerging in the civil society domain, at the same time are the important relations to the state and the public sector are changing and the role of business life and the corporations seem to shift and expand. It is difficult to disentangle the effects of these different processes from each other, to be able to say which process is driving the others, but it is fairly safe at this stage to say that they are affecting each other.

Civil society and its organisations are today found in all possible parts of Swedish society, conducting a multitude of different tasks, involving all types of people in a rainbow-like organisational plethora. We can understand Swedish civil society development as if consisting of a number of waves of interpretations of problems and new needs in society – and the organisational solutions and social movements associated with these problems and needs, replacing each other (see, for example, Jansson 1986; Wisselgren 2000; Wijkström and Einarsson 2004 or Wijkström and Einarsson 2006, for this kind of approach). At the same time, it is worth noticing, the “problems” and “solutions” of earlier periods remain in our everyday life and practice. This phenomenon can be understood as a form of “civil society’s memory. This “memory” maybe can, taken together with the energy for societal change embedded in the organisations of civil society, be the most important functions or roles for this sphere in society. In this way, the world of older societies and foundations developing during the 19th century can be understood as the platform or background against which the large popular movement organisations did develop from the end of the 19th century and the beginning of next. In this way, we can also understand how the new expressions and solutions carried by the new organisations in 1980s and 1990s, rest on a strong popular movement tradition. Many of these newer organisations are clearly affected by traditions and perspectives developed during popular movement era. At the same time, we can observe how elements from the even earlier era of the societies and the foundations, as well as inspiration from the more recent contemporary civil society initiatives and new social movements, are important for the renewal and development of some of the more traditional popular movement organisations.

As has been pointed out for example by Lundström and Svedberg (2003), the death of the traditional Swedish popular movement organisations has been proclaimed over and over again during the last couple of decades, according to these two observers without any visible results. Taking into account the fact that very few of these organisations actually have ceased to exist, this observation is probably correct; at least if you only consider them as single individual organisations or in relation to each other, and only if you look at the “outside” of the organisations in question, failing to notice their development within. Two questions of more interest and, in my opinion, also more relevance are instead: (a) how has the *relative importance* of traditional popular movement organisational solutions changed in Swedish civil society, i.e., in relation to other civil society solutions; and (b) in which ways and at what speed are these traditional popular movement organisations *changing from within*?

The civil society traditions of different periods seem to be replacing each other as the dominant tradition. At the same time it is important to see that earlier periods’ problems or organisational solutions do not disappear but rather exist in parallel to, or integrated in, newer organisations. As a result, the Swedish nonprofit sector is today a complex and dynamic organisational field, where an influx of new organisations of all different kinds is mixed with all-ready existing organisations under change or reformulation.

In the 1990s, two important trends affecting the civil society and its organisations in Sweden have been noted. The first has been called *from subsidies to contracts* (Bergmark 1994), and the idea is that Swedish government (local as well as national) during the early 1990s, seems to have changed some of the principles for the economic transfers to the nonprofit sector. The earlier practice of general, more or less unrestricted grants and subsidies to the organisations has been replaced by today’s contracts and more business-like and entrepreneurial solutions.

The other important trend has been labelled *from voice to service* by Lundström and Wijkström (1995) and is a shift in focus, from the *provision of voice* to the *production of services* (see also Wijkström and Einarsson 2006). Former voice or advocacy organisations seem to be moving into the field of service production, and many of the new organisations entering the arena during the 1990s have been almost entirely focused on delivering welfare services (Lundström and Wijkström 1995; Wijkström and Lundström 2002).

A shift of balance

The latest phase in the Swedish nonprofit sector story is the development of a public sector contract culture. Traditional welfare services, like childcare and education, earlier core fields of the Swedish welfare state, have for example been opened for private nonprofit and cooperative actors (Pettersson 2001; Trydegård 2001). It must be noted that with the exclusion of a couple of small niches, for example drug-addict rehabilitation, welfare provision in fields like health care, social services and education have for a long time been a responsibility left with the public sector, arranged either on municipal, county or national (state) level. During the mid-1980s and the early 1990s, local as well as national government have been engaged in an expanding contracting-out project, although seemingly not in any coordinated or orchestrated way. New types of actors have entered the scene, such as the small-scale neo-cooperatives discussed earlier, but also new social service associations and foundations describing themselves as “social entrepreneurs”. And some of the established popular movement actors turn into public sub-contractors, with more of a business-like approach.

In an interesting attempt to measure the nonprofit share in this development, Gunbritt Trydegård (2001) has made some initial calculations based on the limited data available. She finds, for example, that in three fields like childcare, primary and secondary education and elderly and handicap care, the share of the employees found in nonprofit organisations has grown twice as quick as the general development in these fields during the period 1993-2000. In all of these fields, the starting points were in the range of 1-4 % of total number of employees: in childcare (from 3.6 % of the employees in 1993 to 7.5 % in 2000), in education (1.1 % to 2.3 %), and from 1.8 % to 3.4 % in care and social service for the elderly and handicapped. In the nonprofit group of organisations analyzed in her material, also a group of so-called “neo-cooperatives” are included (Trydegård 2001, see also Wijkström and Einarsson 2006).

A reversed order of dialogue and New Public Management (NPM) language

A reversed order of dialogue, also more or less implicit within the social economy tradition imported from the wider European scene during the 1990s, seems to be combined, and interact, with a parallel and somewhat similar development based in the introduction of New Public Management (NPM) reforms into the public sector and emerging in Sweden from the mid-1980s and onwards. The NPM approaches also seem to affect the relations to the organisations in civil society, and not only the internal organisation and processes of the state apparatus and the public sector as they were intended to (Wijkström, Einarsson et al. 2004; Wijkström and Einarsson 2006).

Following the NPM initiatives, and an increased belief in competition and market-like arrangements even in traditional fields of welfare, like social services, health care and education, we can see an emergence of a contract culture. During the mid-1980s and the early 1990s, local as well as national government in Sweden have been engaged in an expanding contracting-out project, although seemingly not in any coordinated or orchestrated way. Traditional welfare services, like childcare and education, two earlier core fields of the Swedish welfare state, have for example been opened for private nonprofit and cooperative actors (Pettersson 2001; Trydegård 2001). New types of actors have entered the scene, such as the small-scale neo-cooperatives discussed earlier, but also new social service associations and foundations describing themselves as “social entrepreneurs”. And some of the established popular movement actors turn into public sub-contractors, with more of a business-like approach (Johansson 2001; Johansson 2002). A contract culture, embedded in the larger conceptual framework of market-like solutions and a mentality of competition, is now firmly established in several civil society fields in Sweden, although it is too early and too strong to call it the dominant model (Lundström and Wijkström 1995; Wijkström, Einarsson et al. 2004). This is a development observed earlier also in several other countries (Smith and Lipsky 1993; 6 and Kendall 1997; Eikaas 2001; Enjolras 2001).

This was in the beginning a slowly emerging process, without any obvious major political ambitions. These issues turned political hot stuff first in the early 1990s, when a program for nonprofit and voluntary initiatives was launched by the non-socialist government; a program that soon was to develop under the battle cry: „complement not substitute“. This is still an important element of the official policy, but it is becoming increasingly difficult to judge whether a certain activity or operation is a complement or a substitute, especially

if the long run is taken into consideration, as also discussed by Wijkström and Einarsson (forthcoming). During the very first years of the new millennium, the nonprofit form has also been discussed as an alternative in the field of health care in Sweden (SOU 2003).

A contract culture is now firmly established in several fields in Sweden, although it is too early and too strong to call it the dominant model in the sector–state relations. This is a development observed earlier also in many other countries (Smith and Lipsky 1993; 6 and Kendall 1997). We have, however, not yet seen the emergence of, and complications following, an increased competition between for-profits and nonprofits, as for example Salamon (1997) reports from the US scene regarding hospitals, or as Ryan (1999) discusses for social services in an article in the Harvard Business Review. The reason might be that traditional welfare services in Sweden still, in the early 21st century, basically are de-commodified and have not been commercialised on a market, thus not opening up for competition in these fields.

The developed described in the previous section, a reversed order of dialogue as well as an emerging contract culture following the NPM tradition, brings Swedish civil society organisations into a more market-like environment than earlier, where also for-profit actors are operating. In this way, also the relations in the borderland between the civil society sphere and that of trade and industry discussed earlier are changing. As one interesting example, it seems as if this relationship – at least partly – is giving new life and maybe meaning to the earlier shunned charity concept in a contemporary Swedish meaning in the very beginning of the 21st century. We have, however, not yet really seen the emergence of, and complications following, an increased competition between for-profits and nonprofits, as for example Salamon (1997) reports from the US scene regarding hospitals, or as Ryan (1999) discusses for social services in an article in the Harvard Business Review. The reason might be that traditional welfare services in Sweden – health and social care as well as education – in the early 21st century still basically are de-commodified and have not been commercialised on a market, thus not opened up for competition, which is now slowly changing.

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