

# **The Role of Civil Society.**

*The Case of Sweden in International Comparison*

**Paper prepared for and presented at**

**The 1<sup>st</sup> International Korean Studies Workshop on:**

**“Civil Society & Consolidating Democracy in Comparative Perspective”**

May 21-22, 2004

Allen Hall/ New Millennium Hall

Yonsei University

By  
Filip Wijkström,  
Associate Professor

The Stockholm School of Economics  
Box 6501, SE-113 83 Stockholm, SWEDEN  
([filip.wijkstrom@hhs.se](mailto:filip.wijkstrom@hhs.se))

# The Role of Civil Society.

## *The Case of Sweden in International Comparison*

By  
Filip Wijkström,  
Associate Professor

The Stockholm School of Economics  
Box 6501, SE-113 83 Stockholm, SWEDEN  
([filip.wijkstrom@hhs.se](mailto:filip.wijkstrom@hhs.se))

### **Abstract**

Civil society organizations are found in all possible parts of Swedish society, conducting a multitude of different tasks, involving all types of people in a rainbow-like organizational plethora. We can understand civil society development as a number of waves of interpretations of problems and new needs in society – and the particular social movements and other organizational solutions developed to meet these problems and needs. It is argued that the different traditions found in these waves are replacing each other in a slow process as the dominant – but not only – civil society tradition in a country. In this paper, this process is recognized as an important factor in deciding how a country's civil society is shaped. In three tables, the situation of civil society in Sweden is compared to the situation in other countries. The resulting picture of a rather extreme end position for civil society organizations in Sweden is used as a background to discuss the future, particularly in relation to the state sphere and that of industry and trade.

**Keywords:** Sweden, civil society, nonprofit sector, popular movement, foundation

## 1. Points of Departure: On Spheres and Sectors in Society

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 organizations 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' organizations, structures that are central to the third, voluntary or nonprofit sector. The second point of view directs attention to individual and group behavior, whatever its institutional context, which is informed by voluntary principles of meaning and commitment.“

(van Til (1988), p 91, italics added)

This is still today 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).

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 organizational sectors. For similar 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 organizational *sector*, which brings together only the formal organizations found in the sphere. In the state

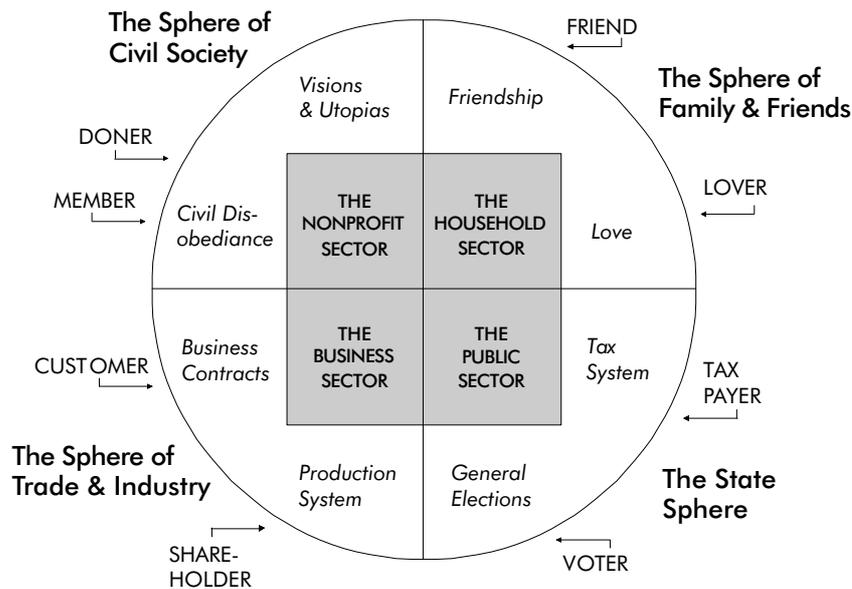
sphere we will find a public sector, where for example governmental agencies and public hospitals will be placed. But we will in this state sphere also find both the national tax system and the electoral system set up around a general (parliament) election, although these systems are more extensive and go beyond any single organization. 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. 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 organizations 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 organizations, but the movements are often constructed to be wider and to go beyond a simple organizational understanding. In this domain in society, we will also find the different value systems and visions in which many social movement organizations, as well as voluntary and nonprofit organizations, are embedded. But here are also social practices like voluntary work or civil disobedience placed, activities not necessarily carried out within the framework of a formal organization. Through our different civil society roles as for example members, donors, activists or elected representatives of the organizations, we relate in many different ways to civil society and its organizations.

This way to analytically divide society into different spheres and sectors does not recognize any separate sphere or domain (in our way to use the concepts) for organizations sometimes understood to belong to the arts, the academia or the press. Neither is fields like sports or international aid given a domain of their own in the model. A newspaper company listed on the stock exchange is considered a business actor, while a state-run and state-financed opera house will be placed in the public sector (state domain). And a voluntary theatre group, a sports association or a nonprofit humanitarian aid organization (NGO) will in this model all be found in the nonprofit sector, and therefore also in the sphere of civil society

(Wijkström and Lundström 2002). This is of course a simplified and ideal-typical model of society, in much based on an institutional approach. In other models, the organizations, individuals and relations in society are sorted in other ways. This is one way of societal sense-making that gives considerable room for voluntary, nonprofit and social movement organizations and the social processes in civil society. At the same time, it is important to note that existing – „real-life“ – organizations sometime feature institutional attributes from different ideal-typical domains, and that the main focus of a particular organization over time very well can shift from one sphere to another. The ideal-typical nonprofit sector will, however, in this paper be approximated by organizations 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 organizations found in society.

**Figure 1. A conceptual model of society**



### 1.1. Civil Society: An Organizational Domain

In short, the over-arching role in society associated with civil society and its organizations in this paper is the dual one of *tradition and change*. In their sheer existence as well as in their programmes and

activities, these organizations can interchangeably be seen as the carriers of change and development on the one hand, and on the other hand as the preservers of stability and tradition in society. This is true not only with reference to their content but also their organizational solutions. In this sense, civil society and its organizations can be understood as a dynamic organizational domain in society, which is also the basic idea developed in a later section in the paper, where the various types and history of different civil society organizations found in Sweden briefly are discussed.

In Sweden, the strong popular movements are often 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 an alternative approach, civil society and its organizations are instead viewed as a playground or hothouse for values and ideologies. The organizations then tend to function more as a battle ground for debates and conflicts. In the tension that occurs in the borderland between tradition and change, this sphere in society then is the primary arena for *social tension and conflict*. Often, organizations in civil society have also been understood as either *providing voice*, 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).

Finally, without excluding any of the perspectives and associated roles discussed above, civil society can also be seen as a *reserve for utopias*, a free zone or a sanctuary in society where alternative solutions, methods and models are allowed to establish, grow and be tested. In civil society according to this perspective, people organize around alternative visions and safeguard identities and practices not at the moment in line with the dominating or politically most correct ones in the views of surrounding society. In this way a breathing-space is created for people, ideas, perspectives and activities that otherwise would have difficulties in establishing their social practices or even their existence. It could be to establish an environment free from alcohol and other drugs, to create a religious congregation, to conduct therapeutic work based in alternative thinking or to set up study circles focused on odd themes and ideas (Wijkström 1998; Hansson and Wijkström 2001; Söderholm and Wijkström 2002; Wijkström and Lundström 2002).

## 2. The case of Sweden

Today, Sweden is among the wealthier countries in the world, in per-capita terms, but earlier in history, Sweden was a rather poor country. A heavy toll was taken on the population due to an extensive emigration to North America in the second part of the 19th century. As a country, Sweden has always had natural resources such as iron ore, timber and water energy. These natural resources, and the capacity to process them in the country instead of exporting them as raw material, made a difference and the country's earlier situation changed during the age of industrialization. Sweden was able to carry out the shift from an agrarian to an industrial economy in relatively short time and under peaceful conditions. Instead, the country has now developed into a small but rather successful industrial, and underway also trading, nation in the northern part of Europe. Later on, the country also developed into a strong welfare state with extensive civil rights and what is often understood as a highly developed democracy. Sweden has further been independent as a country for a relatively long period of time, and the country and its population have also been lucky enough to stay out of all major wars and violent conflicts for the last couple of centuries. These more general historical factors are of importance to understand the growth and development of Swedish civil society organizations. However, the role, composition and position of this organizational sphere or domain in Swedish society has been changing over time. To understand these changes a couple of more specific historical developments must be brought to the fore.

### *2.1. From Reformation, via Unitarianism to Pluralism*

The first of four historical notes briefly discussed here goes back even further, to a period before the developments discussed above. It deals with the Reformation and the following process during the 16th century to create and institutionalise a unitarian Swedish Lutheran protestant state church. This process is important to understand the later development of an organizational sphere in society separate both from state and business sectors. First of all this is important because, through the Reformation in the 1520s, in one move all the property of the Catholic Church was confiscated by the King (Gustav Vasa). This was also a move in which all existing religious, social and charitable institutions of the Catholic Church was transferred to the Swedish Crown – important seeds later to become part and parcel of the emerging nation state and the even later on emerging welfare system. The new national church (established in

1527), and the religious unity that was established through this arrangement, was also of paramount importance to keep the young Swedish nation state together and intact.

Secondly, through the decision at the end of this long institutional process, when a religious monopoly is granted the new national church (in 1593), the only existing major independent force found outside of the nation state and its institutions is forced to leave the country. The Catholic Church and a number of its associated religious fraternities and monastic orders – e.g., the Franciscans and the Blackfriars – had been working in Sweden at least since the 12th century, but must now flee the new regime.

The [Catholic] church came to the Nordic countries and Sweden with one monk – Ansgar – and from that time and onwards, we are continuously meeting people from monasteries – although often without names – in the Swedish medieval history, up until the day in the year 1596 when the last nuns from Vadstena Monastery were sent into exile over the sea to the Birgittinian monastery in Gdansk [Poland], where they were granted asylum.<sup>1</sup>

(Härdelin (1998), p 222)

The extended Reformation in Sweden led to a situation that is somewhat different compared to many other European countries. In several other countries, the Catholic Church and its institutions in education, social welfare or health care are today often taking an active part in society. Not until the 1990s, following an increased Catholic immigration to Sweden, has the Catholic Church now returned in some force to Sweden, installing a bishop for the first time in the Swedish capital, Stockholm.

After the formal separation of the Church of Sweden from the Swedish State carried out in 2000, the Pope has also, for the first time ever, invited and met with the Archbishop of the Church of Sweden to discuss issues of common interest. During the last two decades of the 20th century, not only various Christian churches but also organizations based in a number of other religions, for example Muslim congregations, have enlarged and enriched Swedish religious life. This expanding religious pluralism, and the following emergence of new organizations, will have implications for the future development of the entire civil society in Sweden.

---

<sup>1</sup> “Kyrkan kom till Norden och Sverige med en munk – Ansgar – och klosterpersoner möter oss sedan oupphörligt – fast ofta namnlösa i den svenska medeltidshistorien, ända till den dag år 1596 då de sista nunnorna från Vadstena kloster sändes i landsflykt över havet till det birgittinska klostret i Gdansk, där de fick en fristad.” (the author’s translation)

## 2.2. *“A social-democratic welfare state regime”*

Together with the other Nordic and Scandinavian countries in Northern Europe, Sweden has often been understood and used as the archetypical example of a “social-democratic welfare state regime”. In this paper, this concept is used as it is presented and discussed in the path-breaking work of Gøsta Esping-Andersen (1990) in his now already classic analysis of three systems of what he calls “welfare capitalism”. As a result of this regime, the situation of the Swedish civil society and its organizations might serve as an interesting and maybe alternative intellectual framework in which to address a number of crucial issues associated with civil society debate and research.

The main difference of this so-called „social-democratic“ regime, as compared to the „liberal“ welfare state regimes (e.g., found in the US, Australia, and Canada) or the „corporatist“ welfare state regimes (e.g., found in Germany, Austria, and France) is that principles of universalism and de-commodification of social rights, through general and standardized government welfare programmes have been extensive. And these programmes have been extended not only to the working classes, but also to the new middle classes. The welfare state would thus, it is argued, promote an equality in terms of highest standards, not an equality in terms of minimal needs. In Esping-Andersen’s own words, this „implied, first, that services and benefits be upgraded to levels commensurate with even the most discriminating tastes of the new middle classes; and, second, that equality be furnished by guaranteeing workers full participation in the quality of rights enjoyed by the better-off“ (ibid., p. 27).

Although the work of Esping-Andersen and others is an interesting theoretical framework in which to discuss different countries civil society arrangements, it is important to note the almost complete absence of exactly these organizations in these theories. This is obvious in the negligence of these organisations in most of the earlier general welfare state literature, and the In the theoretical models obtained for developed welfare states (see e.g. (Esping-Andersen 1990). It is fairly safe to argue that what we here call civil society organisations (sprung out of various nonprofit, voluntary, charity or social movement arrangements in different countries) seem to have had a much more important function in the development of the welfare state system in many countries than what have previously been understood. This is true not the least for the situation in Sweden (Lundström and Wijkström 1997). What impact this negligence has had on previous theoretical models of society being used, and thus on our ability to understand what is happening, is of course difficult to say. But even a very sketchy historical overview

over the relations between organized civil society and government or state in Sweden indicates an important (two-way) impact.

With a focus only on the major civil society institutional forms in Sweden for each of five periods, five dominating relational cultures between state and government on the one hand, and the organizations in civil society on the other, can be identified over the last 150 years. These cultures range from cooperation and conflict solutions, consensus and corporatism, to a culture of contracts and market solutions emerging in the final two decades of the 20th century (Wijkström 2004; Wijkström, Einarsson et al. 2004).

### *2.3. Closeness and „division of labour“*

Often, the institutional closeness and following arrangements between state and civil society organizations in Sweden has been recognized in the research (Lundström and Wijkström 1997; Wijkström and Lundström 2002). Other Scandinavian researchers, for example (Klausen and Selle 1995), have also described this relationship between the voluntary or nonprofit arrangements and the welfare state in Scandinavia as one of „trust-based mutual dependency“. This institutional closeness and „trust-based mutual dependency“ have probably been important factors in the emergence of a strong consensus relationship in Sweden also in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, and the development of a corporatist model, as discussed in more detail by for example Rothstein (Rothstein 1992) or Micheletti (1994).

This consensus relationship can be understood as an important part of the „social contract“ established between actors in different sectors or spheres in Swedish society, a contract that lead to a high degree of „division of labour“. Swedish business life and the large and multinational industrial corporations were, in this contract, understood to cater for export and import, as well as for for-profit commercial arrangements. This was understood to be done in market arrangement. The state, through political solutions and a extensive public sector on both central and more local governmental level, was supposed to take care of such areas as traditional health care, social services, and primary and university education, as well as the running of institutions for violence control, like the police and the national defence.

The role and responsibilities assigned the popular movements and other civil society organisations in this „social contract“ was three-fold. On the one hand, it was to function as organizers and amplifiers of people's voice, or as a mediator of interests between the citizens and the state or other interests. On the

other hand the role of these organizations was also to cater for the arrangement and provision of leisure or recreational activities for – and through – the population (i.e., sports). Furthermore, a role described as „schools for democracy“ has often also been associated with the popular movement organizations. In this development, the adult education system in Sweden (*folkbildningen*) – a system found outside and in parallel to both traditional primary education and the traditional university system – has been of utmost importance. This field has been left in the hands of educational associations and folk high schools, most often run by, or at least closely associated with the organizations of the major popular movements.

#### 2.4. *Two Dominant Civil Society Traditions*

The associations found in the popular movements (*folkrörelserna*), the mass organizations appearing for the first time in the second half of the 19th century, are today the most important civil society organisations found in Sweden. These organizations can be understood as having emerged – in a rough approximation – in a number of waves, which will be discussed in a later section. The importance of the popular movements is also well illustrated in the century-long history and development of Swedish civil society, as it is portrayed in earlier research as well as in the more public debate (see e.g. (Thörnberg 1943; Heckscher 1951; Lundkvist 1977). As a result of this dominance, the most common way in Sweden today to refer to civil society-related issues and organisations is through, or related to, the use of the popular movement (*folkrörelse*) concept. The key words of this popular movement tradition are open and active formal memberships, transparency in the operations and administration of the huge associations, a high degree of formal internal democracy and fairness, and a generous access to public policy making as well as public funding (Lundström and Wijkström 1997; Wijkström and Lundström 2002; Wijkström, Einarsson et al. 2004).

An alternative, and in Sweden earlier dominating, civil society tradition could be understood as the charity approach. The concept and idea of charity or anything charitable has today a very negative ring in Sweden and Swedish language, not the least in the dominating discourse found in the social policy debate. The previous charity arrangements in the social field was replaced during the course of the 20<sup>th</sup> century with a welfare state system based on extensive social or civil rights, as indicated above, much through the existence of a strong labour movement and a Social-Democratic party staying in power

during long periods of the century. The negative understanding of charity and charity-like arrangements is not only true with reference to historical conditions. The Swedish word used for charity (*välgörenhet*), or any combination of it, is almost never found in any positive or neutral public use in contemporary Sweden. In contrast to a British or an American practice, the Swedish use of the charity concept is rather narrow and refers exclusively to the field of social services directed at the most vulnerable groups in society. The concept does not embrace the fine arts or culture, education or health care, nor any other activities which – while contributing to the general public welfare, do not necessarily target the poor (Lundström and Wijkström 1997; Wijkström 1997; Wijkström and Lundström 2002).

In an attempt to line out the central attributes of the popular movement tradition, a high rate of formal member engagement is important not only for the internal identity and legitimacy of the associations in society but it is often also recognized in the historical role of the popular movements as *schools for democracy* and as *voice for disadvantaged groups* e.g., (Lundkvist 1977; Johansson 1980; Ambjörnsson 1988). The idea of the engagement of the population as formal members in associations is still understood to be a fundamental part of the overall democracy in Sweden. This civil engagement has also – since the 1980s – been considered an important element in the renewal of the Swedish welfare system. This general understanding has been repeated and supported over the years in a number of governmental reports.

These popular movement organizations have historically been supported economically with subsidies and grants from the government on both national and local level in the form of general, earlier almost non-restricted subsidies. An important part of these subsidies have traditionally been calculated on the basis of the number of formal members found in the organizations and, in an attempt to promote activity, the number of times these members meet and do whatever the organisation is supposed to do, e.g., scouting, politics, singing, helping, etc. An important form of support has also been provided by local government (municipalities) in kind, in the form of free-of-charge facilities for sports and other activities, to which the associations have had free access.

Many popular movement attributes are also repeatedly used and given meaning by the leaders in the organisations. This popular movement understanding represents something so embedded and well-institutionalised in Sweden that it often seems to be taken for granted, as if overall Swedish civil society thinking and practice would be more or less *marinated* in it. This “*popular movement marinade*” has been developed and upheld in a close collaboration between the popular movement organizations

themselves and a strong and friendly state apparatus. The term popular movement (*folkrörelse*) can, at different times, even *in itself* be understood as an arena for negotiating certain organizations and their activities into the power structures of the state and the following access to economic resources (Hvenmark and Wijkström 2004; Wijkström, Einarsson et al. 2004).

In a final observation, before we turn to next section and a couple of international comparisons, the basic principles of democracy associated with Swedish civil society, through the 20th century popular movement dominance, seem to be somewhat contradict to the emergence of a nonprofit sector in the United States, as earlier argued also in (Wijkström 1997; Wijkström 2004). According to Salamon, the US nonprofit sector was instead part of a different ideological project at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century; a project intended to separate out a private sector „sharply differentiated from the public sector and *free of its democratic constraints*“ (Salamon 1997) (p 286, italics added). In a similar spirit, public agencies can, according to U.S. economist Rose-Ackerman, very well provide a „guarantee to donors that their funds are not syphoned off as profits (...) but independent nonprofits, *less constrained by majoritarian claims*, can better reflect the desires of donors“ (Rose-Ackerman 1996) (s 724, italics added).

### 3. International comparisons

#### 3.1. *Three approaches in civil society research*

Before embarking upon any comparative exercises, it might be useful to notice that the wider civil society discourse – as it has been framed in the academic as well as public arenas during the 1990s and in the early 21st century – is not one single discourse. Instead, the debates and issues raised in these rather indicates a sort of Tower of Babel, where a large number of „languages“ or discourses are found and mixed. The discourses are influenced by the points of departure resting with each participant in the conversation, as noted in the very beginning of the paper, and these are based or grounded in the multitude of academic disciplines involved, as well as in the different national or cultural frameworks inherent with each of us taking part.

Civil society in itself has come to develop into a sort of catch-all concept, used by researchers found in a multitude of academic disciplines, working in all possible traditions and with a wide variety of interests and reasons for doing their research. In this text, the civil society concept is therefore instead used as an

umbrella in the way indicated in the beginning of the paper. But the international comparisons made in this section and the analysis of these, we might need to sort out some of the differences found in the different approaches taken or perspectives used.

A number of fundamental issues or questions concerning our society and its development lie within the civil society realm. A question like: „What is civil society and what is the role or function in society of the organizations and people’s activities found in this sphere or domain?“, lies at the heart of every reasonable attempt to conduct civil society research. But all attempts to answer this kind of question immediately become entangled in a number of alternative perspectives, some perhaps possible to combine, others not. An attempt will be made to tentatively group different perspectives in three main „approaches“, for similar attempts, see (Lyons 1996; Wijkström 1997; Lyons, Wijkström et al. 1998).

The first, and maybe also the best kept-together approach, is here called *the nonprofit approach*. This is an approach which draws heavily on academic disciplines like economics, law, and traditional business administration and management, and it focuses on large-scale nonprofit institutions, particularly charities and foundations, often engaged in traditional service delivery. It is most common in the United States and U.S.-influenced research, where the mental construction of a *nonprofit sector* is a key element (Hall 1992). But strong elements of this approach are also found in other Western English-speaking countries, sometimes embraced in the notion of a voluntary sector. In this approach the interest is focused on charitable or philanthropical activities and the large nonprofits that offer public welfare services like health care, social services, education but also elite artistic performances or high culture. There is an interest in nonprofit organizations as a special kind of firm, a firm whose objective function is other than that of profit-maximization. In this approach, people’s engagement is of interest in terms of volunteering or in the unpaid labor contributed, or as an act of philanthropy or altruism – a gift of time rather than of money. Volunteering is important because it is an additional resource for the nonprofit sector but also because it contributed to the whole economy.

A second civil society approach is here termed *the mutual approach*. It is today somewhat stronger in the academic debates and research traditions found in western and continental Europe. The theoretical home for this approach is today somewhat shattered and mixed, but it draws on thinking found in disciplines like political science and sociology, and strains of an earlier alternative tradition in economics – the social economy tradition – are also found. Rather than nonprofits that serve the public, these researchers are

interested in associations in which people organize to be able to meet shared needs and that serve their own members, often around issues related to their economic situation. Examples are self-help groups, different forms of cooperatives and other mutual arrangements, often in areas of economic importance for individuals and families, like housing, small-scale production and banking. Through the over-arching construction of a *social economy* (or maybe a third sector), the organizations and their members are given a domain of their own in society, and mutuality is a keyword. A new group of organizations appearing on the social economy scene in Europe during the 1980s and the 1990s, are the neo-cooperatives or social cooperatives, where people join together around a common social issue or problem, like their own child care or rehabilitation of drug abuse, often in small-scale solutions, for a recent contribution to the discussion of this development in Sweden, see Hansson and Wijkström (2001). Other types of organizations found in this research is those found in the various cooperative movements, organizing for example consumers or people of small means joining together in small-scale bank or insurance solutions or organizations for the tenants or the trade unions. This even if these latter organizations and their members also are of interest for researchers taking the third approach.

The third approach – *the movement approach* – is somewhat different from the other two approaches, but is firmly grounded in the social movement tradition and other research found in sociology and political science. This approach draws also on theoretical developments in fields like anthropology and cultural studies. Those researchers who share its assumptions are interested in societal phenomena like social movements, citizens' participation, social cohesion and social capital, and the people in these organizations or movements are often constructed as activists, members or engaged citizens in the language of this approach. The organizations of interest in this line of research are ideally the ones of the social movements that employ no professional staff but instead organize people around their own ability to work together to address common problems. Much of the writing inspired by elements found in this approach circles around basic principles like civil or human rights, advocacy and social change.

In today's societies, the above suggested three main approaches to civil society and its organizations are often mixed. In combination with different historical, political and social factors, as discussed for Sweden earlier in the paper, different civil society patterns are thus shaped in different cultural contexts. Below, three attempts to identify this type of national differences through international comparisons are made.

### 3.2. *Members and volunteering*

The idea of membership is a crucial concept for understanding not only the discussed popular movement marinade and the Swedish civil society, but also Swedish society at large, as argued in the previous section. The importance of formal memberships in Swedish civil society is often illustrated in international comparisons, both in absolute numbers and in comparison to other industrial nations, where Sweden often turns up in top of the tables (Curtis, Grabb et al. 1992; Curtis, Baer et al. 2001). No more than one out of ten Swedes is further completely without formal memberships (SCB 1994; SCB 1996), and in other studies, Swedish associations have also been estimated to have more than 30 million memberships, which is many considering a total population of some nine millions (Wijkström 2001; Wijkström and Lundström 2002).

An important dimension of the membership construction in Sweden is the idea of the „active“ member; acting responsible for, and engaged in, his or her organisation without any pay. In Sweden, volunteering is traditionally viewed as a dimension (almost a duty) associated with the formal membership in an association, not primarily as a form of unremunerated employment. Neither is the tradition of viewing volunteering as an activity on its own, i.e., as disconnected from the idea of a formal membership, particularly strong. Volunteers in Swedish associations can thus be found among the associations' formal members to a much higher extent than in many other European countries. As an example, as many as 86 % of all persons volunteering in Sweden in 1994 were also members of the organisation they were volunteering for (Table 1).

*Table 1: „Member Volunteers“ in eight European countries*

<b>Country</b>	<b>„Member Volunteers“</b>
Bulgaria	40%
Great Britain	47%
The Netherlands	57%
Slovakia	58%
Belgium (French-speaking)	58%
Republic of Ireland	60%
Germany	68%
Sweden	86%
<b><u>Average (unweighed)</u></b>	<b><u>60%</u></b>

Source: “A new civic Europe?” (Gaskin and Smith 1995)

Even the way in which this question is raised is odd, from a Swedish popular movement tradition. The volunteers in this European study were asked if they also had joined the organization they volunteered for as members (Gaskin and Smith 1995), (p. 33, 119). In line with the Swedish self-understanding the question would rather be constructed the other way around. The respondents would first be asked whether they were formal members in any organizations, then whether they also were *active* as members, i.e., did voluntary work, but the rather understood as a *dimension* of their formal membership.

### 3.3. *Civil society work force composition*

Another way to address the role and importance of peoples' engagement in civil society, inspired by thinking from the nonprofit approach, is to understand it as unpaid work and compare it to the sector's share of *paid employment* in a country. In table 2, the voluntary share of the nonprofit sector work force in a number of countries (twelve European and three others) is calculated based on data from the Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project. In this way, the variation in different work-force compositions in the nonprofit sector for a number of countries becomes visible.

Table 2: The work force composition in 15 countries

<u>Country</u>	<u>Voluntary Share</u>
Ireland (1995)	19%
Belgium (1995)	20%
Austria (1995)	20%
Japan (1995)	26%
Australia (1995)	32%
Spain (1995)	33%
The Netherlands (1995)	34%
The US (1995)	39%
Italy (1991)	40%
Germany (1995)	43%
Finland (1996)	49%
The UK (1995)	50%
France (1995)	50%
Norway (1997)	61%
Sweden (1992)	76%

Source: The Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project

The relatively large share of unpaid volunteer time in Sweden is striking, some 75 % of all the labour provided in the Swedish nonprofit sector was provided by volunteers, while countries like Ireland, Belgium, Austria or Japan represent countries with opposite situation, where the volunteer share of the nonprofit sector work force is only some 25 % or less. As we can see in the table, data from different years are used and due to the lack of up-dated and also reliable data, some extra caution should be applied when analysing and interpreting these numbers. Despite this, the material still indicates a great diversity in terms of nonprofit sector work force composition between different countries.

### 3.4. *Voice or service focus in civil society*

A third comparative table has been constructed to address the issue whether civil society (as defined in this paper) in a country mainly has a voice (advocacy) or service (welfare) focus. In table 3, data on the distribution of paid employment from the same fifteen countries has been used again, but this time to try to address the „voice/service“ balance in different countries' nonprofit sectors. In line with the argument in the beginning of this paper, these two roles or functions, voice or service provision, can be understood as standing central in many attempts to study and evaluate the civil society organizations in a country.

Table 3: The “voice/service” balance in 15 countries

<u>Country</u>	<u>„Voice/Service“ Ratio</u>
Ireland (1995)	2%
Belgium (1995)	3%
Netherlands (1995)	8%
France (1995)	10%
Germany (1995)	10%
Spain (1995)	10%
The US (1995)	11%
Austria (1995)	14%
Japan (1995)	14%
Australia (1995)	21%
Finland (1996)	30%
Italy (1991)	42%
The UK (1995)	58%
Norway (1997)	63%
Sweden (1992)	107%

Source: The Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project

For this table, „voice“ organizations have been operationalized as „civic & advocacy“ organizations, environmental groups, together with professional organizations and unions. „Service“ organizations are those primarily found in traditional welfare areas like health care, social services and education. In the table, the ratio between full-time equivalent (FTE) staff employed in „voice“ organizations and those employed in „service“ organizations is presented. Once again, some caution must be called upon because of the less than perfect data situation, but also since some organizations might in reality be found in both of these main categories and since certain organizations in, for example, a „service“ field might in reality carry out activities better understood as „voice“, and vice versa.

However, even stronger than in the previous table, Sweden (and the group of Scandinavian countries) comes out as an extreme case, where the „voice/service“ ratio are close to 1:1, indicating that the salaried work force found in the „voice“ segment of the nonprofit sector is equal in size to the paid FTE work force found in the welfare „service“ fields. Countries like Ireland, Belgium or the Netherlands stand out in the other end of the table, with less than one „voice“ organization employee found per ten nonprofit sector employees working in the „service“ fields. Thus, we can in the „voice/service“ balance or mix see a clear difference in the role assigned to civil society and the nonprofit sector in different countries.

### *3.5. International comparisons: concluding remarks*

From the three different international comparisons provided in this section, we can see that civil society and its organizations in Sweden, but also in the other Scandinavian countries, seem to differ quite remarkably in a number of interesting dimensions. As already noticed, the case of Sweden is found at the extreme end in all of these tables, which at least calls for some more in-depth comparative research or studies, focusing in closer on these particular issues or special dimensions.

In an attempt to conclude also this section with a more qualitative comparative reflection on the difference between the situation in Sweden and the other Scandinavian countries on the one hand, and the case of the United States, the research of Robert Putnam is brought in. Certainly remarks of a more anecdotal quality, but never the less of some interest, indicating a different civil society culture (maybe based in historical traditions) in the Scandinavian countries, is found in Putnam's writing. In his book on the social capital situation in the United States from 2000, „Bowling Alone“, he makes two reflections,

the first one in a context where he connects today's situation in the United States to the one found by Alexis de Tocqueville a couple of centuries earlier (Putnam 2000):

„Today, as 170 years ago, Americans are more likely to be involved in voluntary associations than are citizens of most other nations; only the small nations of northern Europe outrank us as joiners.“ (p. 48)

The other comment relates to the various origins, in terms of immigration background, of the population in the different states in the U.S. today, for which Putnam has collected data indicating differences between states in their level of social capital:

„Well-trod paths of migration helped establish regional and local patterns of social capital in contemporary America. [...] One surprisingly strong predictor of the degree of social capital in any state in the 1990s is, for example, the fraction of its population that is of Scandinavian stock.“ (p. 294)

These types of historical roots, as well as the role and position of civil society and its organizations in contemporary society of a certain country, are of course of paramount importance when discussing the future development of this domain in society, even if some of the influences driving these changes are global, or at least international, in character.

## 4. A complex and dynamic organizational fabric

Today, organizations from all of the popular movement waves, as well as Swedish societies and foundations that have survived from the earlier “era of the societies” briefly discussed below, are part of the organized Swedish civil society (Wijkström and Lundström 2002). These different generations of organizations create a complex and dynamic platform for Swedish civil society.

### 4.1. *Foundations and older societies*

As already discussed, the concept of charity has a very negative ring in Swedish and in Sweden. The practices associated with the charity approach were, to a large extent, replaced during the 20<sup>th</sup> century by a welfare state system based on extensive social or civil rights. As also mentioned earlier, the discourse and practice in which organized Swedish civil society today is embedded in is instead dominated by a very strong popular movement tradition. This is a tradition firmly rooted in the new mass organizations emerging in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, beginning to become institutionalized as the dominating civil society paradigm in Sweden in the decades around the Second World War. The charity discourse and practice

instead go back to earlier civil society traditions in Sweden, when it was carried and reproduced by another set of civil society actors.

Before the appearance of the larger mass organisations in Sweden (the popular movement organisations), entered the scene in the end of the 19th century, a type of smaller and more exclusive associations (the societies) existed, in Swedish often called *sällskap* or *associationer*. In these organizations, mainly people from the middle and upper classes were organized. Together with a large group of older Swedish foundations, these societies today form an interesting segment of civil society in the Nordic countries, but they have nevertheless remained surprisingly invisible in mainstream research as well as in the more public debate, at least in the second part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, see Jansson (1986) or Stenius (1987).

These societies and foundations were often established for the more narrow interests of the own group or class, but sometimes also for the benefit of less fortunate individuals in the lower classes, for example in the field of social care (Boalt and Bergryd 1974; Taussi Sjöberg and Vammen 1995). But also in other fields, organized around certain “issues”, were this type of organizations established, for example in the early social sciences and the “social issue” in the late 19th century (Wisselgren 2000). These organizations were almost entirely run and controlled by small groups of persons coming from the middle and upper classes. Men often dominated the power structures of the societies and foundations, although some middle-class women also took part in the actual work. Some of these societies and foundations are still around in the beginning of the 21st century while others have vanished from the public arena or been transformed into popular movement organizations (Wahlquist 1940; Blom and Lindroth 1995).

#### 4.2. *Waves of popular movements*

The mass movement organizations coming onto the scene after the “period of the societies and foundations”, are often understood as emerging in a number of waves. The first of the major popular movement waves can be traced back to the 1870s and 1880s. This wave contained the temperance movement, the earlier Protestant free-churches (*frikyrkorna*) and the labour movement (Thörnberg 1943; Heckscher 1951; Lundkvist 1977; Johansson 1980). Often, the later established trade unions are understood as a branch of the larger labour movement, and some researchers also include the consumer cooperative movement as another branch. The organisations of the first wave are often referred to as the

classical popular movements, and their specific way of internal organizing, as well as the methods used in addressing their issues in a wider societal context, more or less have functioned as the dominant role model also for the later waves of popular movements in Sweden during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The classical popular movement organisations are still powerful and wealthy actors in today's Swedish society, but some of them are today experiencing difficulties in addressing issues and in ways that seem to engage their existing membership, as well as attract new members.

In the 1930s and 1940s, a second wave of organizations expanded, or emerged, from a more modest position, their members being active mainly in two areas – leisure and more specific or single-issue focused interest mobilization. Among the later leisure or recreation-oriented organisations in the popular movement shape, the huge sports movement is today the most prominent in size with its approximately 3.5 million members. This is a group of organizations with their roots going well back before the shift of the century 1800/1900, but the real growth did not occur until they reorganized their earlier more society-like structures from previous periods, to the successful popular movement form of the new century. Large segments of the population are active also in the fields of culture (i.e., in choirs and amateur theatre groups) and outdoor recreation. Special interest organisations appearing or at least expanding at the same time were, for example, the organisations for disabled people and the tenants' movement.

Beginning in the 1960s, roughly, a third wave of popular movement organisations emerged – in the international literature often called „the new social movements“. Bringing together people to address or solve environment-related problems, the uneven power balance between women and men, or organizing themselves to deal with our propensity to make war, the peace and solidarity movements. Although international influences had been important also in both previous waves, this third wave seems to have developed very much in concord with, and under the influence of, similar international developments. The issues addressed are not always new, but via these new organisations the questions reached a much larger segment of the population than earlier and the activists have been able to connect to an international arena.

## 5. Current development and future challenges

Civil society and its organizations 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 organizational 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 organizational solutions and social movements associated with these problems and needs, replacing each other. 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 organizations of civil society, be the most important function or role 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 organizations 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 organizations in 1980s and 1990s, rest on a strong popular movement tradition. Many of these newer organizations 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 civil society initiatives and social movements, are important for the renewal and development of some of the more traditional popular movement organizations.

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

### *5.1. The death of the Swedish popular movements*

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 organizations 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.

As has been pointed out for example by Lundström and Svedberg (2003), the death of the traditional Swedish popular movement organizations 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 organizations actually have ceased to exist, this observation is probably correct; at least if you only consider them as single individual organizations or in relation to each other, and only if you look at the “outside” of the organizations 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 organizational 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*? Neither of these two questions will be answered in this final part of the paper, but only by reframing the question, I believe we will start observing new things.

## 5.2. *New “voice” organizations*

There is a number of new “voice” or advocacy type of organizations appearing on the Swedish scene during the 1980s and the 1990s. These organizations could for the sake of simplicity be divided into two groups. The first group can be framed as dealing with more “global issues”, for example human rights or environmental groups working mainly with their focus outside of Sweden. Many of these are often smaller in size than the more traditional organizations from the 1960s or earlier, and they also seem to be addressing more focused issues and organizing small groups of highly committed persons. The second group are a more “local” or inward looking type of organization, emerging in the 1980s and the 1990s. These are the late 20th century special-interest organizations, sometimes found in the field of health care, where highly specialized diagnoses are the common platform for small groups of people to come together instead of joining the older handicap organizations in the field, cover multiple forms of handicap and

diagnoses. In both of these types of organizations, their employed staff as well as their members tend to act in a very “professional” and well-informed mode, in the way they approach their problems and the specialists they need to consult in the public systems. At the same time, we can also trace a more action-oriented approach emerging out of some of the newer and more aggressive organizations, for example when it comes to disarmament actions, ecologically motivated sabotage or the fight for animal rights.

### *5.3. A shift of the “voice/service” balance or mix*

In the same time as we can see new organizations and forms of activism and advocacy develop in the “voice” segment of Swedish civil society, we can also observe a number of interesting organizations in the welfare service provision. First of all, 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 been a responsibility left with the public sector, arranged either on municipal, county or national (state) level. Since the mid-1980s, however, this situation has been challenged in a number of areas, and both commercial and nonprofit private alternatives have appeared on the arena, as analyzed by a number of observers (Lundström and Wijkström 1997; Blomqvist and Rothstein 2000; Pettersson 2001; Trydegård 2001). The scale has, however, been fairly marginal and the general understanding is that the public sector monopoly prevails.

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 organizations 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 organizations analyzed in her material, also a group of so-called “neo-cooperatives” are included (Trydegård 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 organizations 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 organizations, 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 organization was among the most expansive groups in the Swedish nonprofit sector during the 1980s and early 1990s. These organizations 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 spheres used as a conceptual platform for this paper (Hansson and Wijkström 2001).

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 organizations 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 organizations, 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.

The last development in this transformation of the Swedish welfare state is prepared as this paper is being written. 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 organization of their own not to be confused with the strong for-profit alternatives pushing for a de-regulation and the creation of a “health care market”.

#### *5.4. Changing relations to the state apparatus*

A 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. Instead of the organisations being seen as mediators between state or government and the citizens and their values, interests and ideologies, the organisations today increasingly seem to be treated, in Europe as well as in Sweden – and also act themselves – as if they were the dedicated tools for government or public sector programs or institutions (Johansson 2001). This 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 organizations in civil society, and not only the internal organization and processes of the state apparatus and the public sector as they were intended to (Wijkström, Einarsson et al. 2004).

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).

### *5.5. New roles for business and corporations*

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 organizations 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. We have, however, not yet seen the emergence of, and complications following, an increased competition between for-profits and nonprofits, as for example Salamon (1999) 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.

The expansion and increased attention of two other roles, in which civil society organizations can be described either as “Angels” or as “Raptors” in their relation to the large corporations and business groups, also seem to be of interest when trying to understand the changes in the borderland between civil society on the one hand and the “sphere of trade and industry” on the other. In the first situation, the nonprofits are understood to grant for-profit firms some kind of legitimacy and spread their “Angel Dust” over the operations of the corporations, for example by allowing the company – in exchange for money or other resources – to use the symbols or emblems of the nonprofits on the products. This can either be done in a traditional sponsor deal, but are now also increasingly used in the new CSR practice, where for example a company will let some of their employees work as “volunteers” for the nonprofit organization, while still paying their salary (Austin 2000; Wijkström 2004).

The other extreme found in this borderland between business and civil society is the “Raptor” solution, where civil society actors attack a company which they consider This could be done for example through boycotts, by a “name-and-shame” campaign where the company in question are given negative publicity or through right-out sabotage, as in the weapon, nuclear or fur industry. The challenge for the company is to protect its reputation and brand names and, as presented by one corporate consultant, the trick is to be able to “waltz with the raptors” and play a tune that soothes the aggressive little Raptor on the heels of the company (Peters 1999; Wijkström and Lundström 2002; Wijkström 2004).

## References

- 6, P. and J. Kendall (1997). The Contract Culture in Public Services. Studies from Britain, Europe and the USA. Aldershot, Arena, Ashgate Publishing.
- Ahrne, G. (1994). Social Organizations. Interaction inside, outside and between organizations. London, SAGE Publications.
- Ambjörnsson, R. (1988). Den skötsamme arbetaren: Idéer och ideal i ett norrländskt sågverksamhälle 1880-1930. Stockholm, Carlssons bokförlag.
- Austin, J. E. (2000). The Collaboration Challenge. How Nonprofits and Businesses Succeed Through Strategic Alliances. San Francisco, Jossey-Bass.
- Blom, K. A. and J. Lindroth (1995). Idrottens Historia. Från antikens arenor till modern massrörelse. Stockholm, SISU Idrottsböcker.
- Blomqvist, P. and B. Rothstein (2000). Välfärdsstatens nya ansikte. demokrati och marknadsreformer inom den offentliga sektorn. Stockholm, Agora.
- Boalt, G. and U. Bergryd (1974). Centralförbundet för socialt arbete. Ett kapitel svensk socialpolitik. Karlskrona, Axel Abrahamsons Boktryckeri AB.
- Curtis, J. E., D. E. Baer, et al. (2001). "Nations of joiners: Explaining Membership in Democratic Societies." American Sociological Review 66(December): 783-805.
- Curtis, J. E., E. G. Grabb, et al. (1992). "Voluntary Associations Membership in Fifteen Countries: A Comparative Analysis." American Sociological Review 57: 139-152.
- Ehrenberg, J. (1999). Civil Society. The critical history of an idea. New York, New York University Press.
- Eikaas, M. (2001). New Public Management og restruktureringen av de nordiske velferdsstatene. Endrede roller og relasjoner for de frivillige organisasjonene? Frivillighedens udfordringer – nordisk forskning om frivilligt arbejde og frivillige organisationer. L. S. Henriksen and B. Ibsen. Odense, Odense Universitetsforlag.
- Enjolras, B. (2001). Kommersialisering av frivillige organisasjoner. Frivillighedens udfordringer – nordisk forskning om frivilligt arbejde og frivillige organisationer. L. S. Henriksen and B. Ibsen. Odense, Odense Universitetsforlag.
- Esping-Andersen, G. (1990). The Three Worlds of welfare Capitalism. Cambridge (UK), Polity Press.
- Gaskin, K. and J. D. Smith (1995). A new civic Europe? A study of the extent and role of volunteering. London, The Volunteer Centre UK: 128.
- Hall, P. D. (1992). 'Inventing the nonprofit sector' and Other Essays on Philanthropy, Voluntarism, and Nonprofit Organizations. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Hansson, J.-H. and F. Wijkström (2001). Civilt samhälle, social ekonomi eller nonprofit? Fallet Basta Arbetskooperativ. Slutrapport från ett forskningsprojekt. Sköndalsinstitutets skriftserie. Stockholm, Sköndalsinstitutet.
- Heckscher, G. (1951). Staten och organisationerna. Stockholm, Kooperativa förbundet.
- Hvenmark, J. and F. Wijkström (2004). The popular mass movement marinade. ISTR, Toronto, Canada.
- Härdelin, A. (1998). Kloster och konvent i den tidiga medeltidens kyrka. Sveriges kyrkohistoria. Missionstid och tidig medeltid. B. Nilsson. Stockholm, Verbum: 222-227.
- Jansson, T. (1986). Adertonhundralets associationer. Uppsala, Uppsala universitet.
- Johansson, H. (1980). Folkrörelserna i Sverige. Stockholm, Sober.
- Johansson, S. (2001). Självständiga rörelser eller kommunala underleverantörer? Ideella organisationers roll i välfärdssystemet. Göteborg, CEFOS, Göteborgs universitet.
- Johansson, S. (2002). Sociala ideella organisationer – som kommunerna ser dem. Stockholm, Socialstyrelsen: 63.
- Klausen, K. K. and P. Selle, Eds. (1995). Frivillig organisering i Norden. Oslo, Tano Förlag.
- Lundkvist, S. (1977). Folkrörelserna i det svenska samhället 1850-1920. Stockholm, Sober.
- Lundström, T. and L. Svedberg (2003). "The Voluntary Sector in a Social Democratic Welfare State – The Case of Sweden." Journal of Social Politics 32: 217-238.
- Lundström, T. and F. Wijkström (1995). Från röst till service? Den svenska ideella sektorn i förändring. Sköndalsinstitutets skriftserie. Stockholm, Sköndalsinstitutet: 60.
- Lundström, T. and F. Wijkström (1997). The nonprofit sector in Sweden. Manchester, Manchester University Press.
- Lyons, M. (1996). Nonprofit Sector or Civil Society: Are They Competing Paradigms? CACOM Working Papers. Sydney, University of Technology.
- Lyons, M., F. Wijkström, et al. (1998). "Comparative studies of volunteering: What is being studied?" Voluntary Action Vol 1(1): 45-54.
- Micheletti, M. (1994). Det civila samhället och staten. Stockholm, Fritzes.
- Peters, G. (1999). Waltzing With the Raptors. A Practical Roadmap to protecting Your Company's Reputation. New York, John Wiley and Sons, Inc.
- Pettersson, L.-O. (2001). Från rivstart till stopplag. Privatiseringsvägen i välfärden 1979-2001. Stockholm, Agora.
- Putnam, R. D. (2000). Bowling Alone. The collapse and revival of American community. New York, Simon & Schuster.
- Rose-Ackerman, S. (1996). "Altruism, nonprofits, and economic theory." Journal of Economic Literature 34: 701-728.

- Rothstein, B. (1992). Den korporativa staten. Intresseorganisationer och statsförvaltning i svensk politik. Stockholm, Norstedts.
- Ryan, W. P. (1999). "The New Landscape for Nonprofits." Harvard Business Review **January-February**: 127-136.
- Salamon, L. (1997). The United States. Defining the nonprofit sector: A Cross-national Analysis. L. Salamon and H. K. Anheier. Manchester, Manchester University Press.
- Salamon, L. (1999). "The Nonprofit Sector at Cross-Roads: The Case of America." Voluntas **Vol 10**(1): 5-23.
- SCB (1994). Föreningslivet i Sverige – en statistisk belysning. Living Conditions. Stockholm, SCB (Statistics Sweden): 447.
- SCB (1996). Politiska resurser och aktiviteter 1978-1994. Levnadsförhållanden. Stockholm, SCB (Statistics Sweden): 489.
- Sjöstrand, S.-E. (1985). Samhällsorganisation. En ansats till en institutionell ekonomisk mikro teori. Lund, Doxa Ekonomi.
- Sjöstrand, S.-E. (2000). "The Organization of Nonprofit Activities." Voluntas **Vol 11**(3): 199-216.
- Smith, S. R. and M. Lipsky (1993). Nonprofits for Hire. The Welfare State in the Age of Contracting. Cambridge (Ma), Harvard University Press.
- Stenius, H. (1987). Frivilligt, jämlikt, samfällt. Föreningsväsendets utveckling i Finland. Helsingfors, Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland: 389.
- Söderholm, J. and F. Wijkström (2002). Offentlig sektor, näringsliv eller ideell regi. Hur påverkar valet av institutionell form vården av missbrukare? Stockholm, Socialstyrelsen.
- Taussi Sjöberg, M. and T. Vammen, Eds. (1995). På tröskeln till välfärden. Välgörenhetsformer och arenor i Norden 1800-1930. Stockholm, Carlssons.
- Thörnberg, E. H. (1943). Folkrorelser och samhällsliv i Sverige. Stockholm, Albert Bonniers Förlag.
- Trydegård, G.-B. (2001). Välfärdstjänster till salu – privatisering och alternativa driftformer under 1990-talet. Välfärdstjänster i omvandling. M. Szebehely. Stockholm, Socialdepartementet, Regeringskansliet: 338.
- van Til, J. (1988). Mapping The Third Sector. Voluntarism in a Changing Social Economy. New York, The Foundation Center.
- Wahlquist, V. (1940). Sveriges frivilliga skytterörelse under 80 år 1860-1930. Stockholm, Nordisk Rotogravyr.
- Wijkström, F. (1997). "The Swedish nonprofit sector in international comparison." Annals of Public and Cooperative Economics **Vol 68**(4): 625-663.
- Wijkström, F. (1998). Svarta änglar och vita dygder. Framtidens dygder. P. Aspers and E. Uddhammar. Stockholm, City University Press: 273-323.
- Wijkström, F. (2001). Socialt kapital och civilt samhälle i Norden. Frivillighetens utmaningar – nordisk forskning om frivilligt arbete og frivillige organisationer. L. S. Henriksen and B. Ibsen. Odense, Odense Universitetsforlag: 125-145.
- Wijkström, F. (2004). Changing Focus or Changing Role? The Swedish Nonprofit Sector in the New Millennium. Strategy Mix. Nonprofit Organizations. Vehicles for Social and Labour Market Integration. A. Zimmer and C. Stecker, Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers.
- Wijkström, F. (2004). Ett starkt civilt samhälle för mångfald och förnyelse. Ideella föreningar. J. Grahn. Stockholm, Öhrlings PWC.
- Wijkström, F., S. Einarsson, et al. (2004). Staten och det civila samhället. Idétraditioner och tankemodeller i den statliga bidragsgivningen till ideella organisationer. Stockholm, Socialstyrelsen: 100.
- Wijkström, F. and T. Lundström (2002). Den ideella sektorn. Organisationerna i det civila samhället. Stockholm, Sober Förlag.
- Wisselgren, P. (2000). Samhällets kartläggare. Stockholm, Brutus Östlings förlag Symposium.
- Zetterberg, H. (1995). Civila samhället, demokratin och välfärdsstaten. Civilt samhälle kontra offentlig sektor. L. Trägårdh. Stockholm, SNS Förlag.