

Welfare collaboration in Norway

Something old, something new, something borrowed, something to pursue?



Hilde Svrljuga Sætre

Thesis for the degree of Philosophiae Doctor (PhD)
University of Bergen, Norway
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Scientific environment

While writing this thesis I have worked as a Ph.D. candidate at the Department of Business Administration, The Faculty of Business Administration and Social Sciences, Western Norway University of Applied Sciences. Since my primary institutional affiliation is the Department of Administration and Organization Theory, The Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Bergen, I have also partaken in the Ph.D. seminars at the Department.

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Stavanger, January 2023.

Hilde Svrljuga Sætre

Abstract in English

In recent years, modern welfare states have faced growing demands for public sector innovation. These growing demands can be seen as a response to a rise in citizen's expectations, new societal and policy challenges and dire fiscal constraints. These issues typically transcend the borders of traditional policy domains and pose complex challenges in policymaking as well as in service delivery, and cannot be solved by standard modes of operating. Thus, innovation in the public sector is believed to increase the productivity, problem-solving capacity and service improvement in the public sector. As a result, new forms of multi-actor collaboration between different sectors, organizations and levels have emerged as global ideas for how to innovate the public sector and at the same time manage the complexity of these issues, and their popularity has risen to local, national, and transnational policy agendas. This thesis investigates the how new forms of collaboration are adapted in the policy field of welfare provision and further analyzes how historical, cultural, and institutional factors within modern welfare states might affect this process. The thesis offers an in-depth understanding of what actors are involved in the adaptation process, and further emphasizes the complexity of them. It also offers a comprehensive understanding of how antecedents of modern welfare states might affect this process. From a threefold approach, this thesis explores (1) how policymakers adapt new forms of collaborations by way of policymaking; (2) how new forms of collaboration are adapted in the policy field of welfare provision; and (3) how new forms of collaboration are adapted in local public sector organizations. The selected new forms of collaboration are social enterprise and a collaborative innovation project, and the focus is on how these new ways of collaborating are adapted in the Nordic model represented by the study context of Norway. I study these research question from three analytical levels, namely the *policy*, *field* and *applied level*. I use a neo-institutionalist approach emphasizing contextual features of the Nordic context, its legacies of cooperation and statism, its reform trends as well as how different actors at the three analytical levels adapt these new ways of collaborating. Path dependences and gradual institutional changes are also central concepts which is used to

understand and explain how global ideas are shaped by different contexts.

Furthermore, I draw on scholarly literature on welfare state regimes, political-administrative systems, reform trends, as well as literature on social enterprise and collaborative innovation. The articles use material from interviews with top-level politicians, social entrepreneurs, and staff members, as well as civil servants in public sector organizations.

The thesis includes three articles, which presents the adaptation of global ideas. The first article investigates how policymakers understand social enterprise and their relation to existing welfare services, and, how these understandings shape the policymakers' policies for social enterprise. It further explores reasons given by policymakers at the national level in Norway for their reluctance to develop policies dedicated to promoting social enterprise and to understand why and how social enterprise policy vary between countries. The empirical material for the article consists of interviews with Norwegian top-level policymakers. A main finding is that policy inaction impedes recognition of social enterprise as different from other private, commercial, or voluntary organizations as well as their ability to compete for tenders. Social enterprise is therefore likely pressured to conform to the existing institutional framework of welfare provision. The case illustrates that the legacy of statism has a strong foothold in the Nordic context, namely that due to a large, universal welfare state, the room for ideal welfare production is likely to remain limited.

The second article studies how social enterprises respond to institutional complexity, and what structural and strategic organizational responses they internalize when externally engaging with multiple logics and demands. The article presents a case study of how five Norwegian social enterprises. The material consists of interviews of social entrepreneurs and staff members. The findings show that the external environment primarily holds a public-sector logic that imposes demands on social enterprises. Blended hybrids experience more inconvenience with demands from this "*at-play* external logic". Structural hybrids manage to attract a broader funding base since they use different compartments to apply for different funding posts and contracts. Through this approach, they are ensured entry to and legitimacy in the

field, and the findings suggest that structural hybrids can be a pragmatic social-enterprise configuration in the Nordic context due to the prominent role of the public sector. The article illustrates that the adaptation of social enterprise is based on path dependence, and the dominant presence of the public sector is found to characterize these processes suggesting that this form of collaboration may be difficult to conceptualize and adapt in a highly institutionalized context.

The third article is based on a joined-up government collaboration defined as a collaborative innovation project and asks what the nature of potential challenges in public sector innovation projects are. The article is based on interview data from two collaborating public sector organizations. The new forms of collaboration between two public sector organizations appears to be easier to adapt than social enterprise, yet the collaborative innovation project still experience tensions. A main finding suggests that despite sharing an overarching goal of the collaboration, tensions may still arise. Four central tensions were identified that threatened the entire initiative. The tensions were related to *why* the project was realized, *how* it should be realized, for *whom* the project was for, and *whose* project it was. While the findings indicate a will to adapt new forms of collaboration, the enforcement of administrative silos from previous governance paradigms are still not erased. Thus, adaptation can be difficult also between local public sector organization.

Overall, the thesis finds that adaptation of global ideas in modern welfare states are complex processes. They occur at different levels and by different actors. The thesis identifies that the adaptation may occur at a policy, field and applied level. It also shows how antecedents of modern welfare states shape the adaptation of global ideas. More specifically, the layering of previous reforms, path-dependent trajectories and historical legacies play important roles in the adaptation of global ideas.

Abstract in Norwegian

I de senere år har innovasjon i offentlig sektor fått økt oppmerksomhet både på nasjonale så vel som internasjonale dagsordener. Den økte oppmerksomheten kan knyttes til økende samfunnsmessige, økonomiske og politiske utfordringer som dagens velferdsstater står overfor – utfordringer som krysser ulike sektorer, politikkområder og aktører. Innovasjon i offentlig sektor blir ofte presentert som en strategi for å bøte på disse store, komplekse utfordringene, hvor nye former for samarbeid på tvers av sektorer, organisasjoner, administrative nivåer og aktører presenteres som en global og moderne idé som anses å være en forløsning på slike problemer. Til tross for det økte behovet for å modernisere offentlig sektor ved å øke dens produktivitet og kvalitet, eksisterer det imidlertid store kunnskapshull om hvordan stater fanger opp og tilpasser slike globale ideer. Denne avhandlingen undersøker hvordan moderne velferdsstater oversetter (tilpasser) globale ideer, operasjonalisert som nye former for samarbeid, innenfor velferdssektoren. Avhandlingen undersøker hvordan historiske, kulturelle og institusjonelle egenskaper ved velferdsmodeller påvirker denne oversettelsen. På så måte bidrar denne avhandlingen med en dyptgående forståelse av hvilke aktører som er involvert i den komplekse oversettelsesprosessen av globale ideer samt hvordan ulike egenskaper tilhørende ulike velferdsstatsmodeller kan påvirke slike prosesser.

Den overordnede problemstillingen i avhandlingen er hvordan globale ideer oversettes av moderne velferdsstater og hvordan velferdsstatsmodeller kan påvirke denne prosessen. Tre forskningsspørsmål tilhørende tre analytiske nivåer er også reist, nemlig (1) hvordan politikere oversetter nye former for samarbeid gjennom politikkutvikling (2) hvordan nye former for samarbeid oversettes i det institusjonelle feltet og (3) hvordan nye former for samarbeid oversettes av lokale offentlige organisasjoner. Avhandlingen undersøker to ulike former for samarbeid, nemlig sosiale entreprenører og samarbeidsdrevne innovasjon i den Nordiske velferdsmodellen, representert av den norske velferdsstat. De tre analytiske nivåene anvendt i denne avhandlingen er politikk, felt og anvendt nivå. Avhandlingen baserer seg på en neo-institusjonell teoretisk tilnærming og fokuserer særlig på kontekstuelle

egenskaper ved den nordiske modellen, dens kulturarv, reformtrender og politikk samt hvordan ulike aktører på de tre analytiske nivåene oversetter disse nye formene for samarbeid. Stiavhengighet og gradvis, institusjonell endring anvendes også som nøkkelkonsepter for å forstå og forklare hvordan oversettelsen av globale ideer påvirkes av konteksten som mottar dem. Litteratur om velferdsstatsregimer, politisk-administrative systemer og reformer anvendes også for å forstå og forklare datamaterialet.

Avhandlingen består av tre artikler. Den reiste problemstillingen i artikkel én er hvordan politikere forstår sosiale entreprenører og hvilket forhold de har til det eksisterende velferdssystemet i Norge, samt hvordan denne forståelsen former politikernes ønsker for politikktutvikling rettet mot sosiale entreprenører. Videre analyserer artikkelen politikernes argumenter for ikke å utvikle politikk for sosiale entreprenører. Datamaterialet består av intervjudata med norske toppolitikere. Et hovedfunn er at til tross for retorisk, politisk støtte til sosiale entreprenører, ønsker ikke politikerne å utvikle politikk for dem. Dette vil trolig føre til at sosiale entreprenører ikke vil kunne skille seg fra øvrige private aktører. I tillegg må de forholde seg til eksisterende systemer på lik linje med andre private aktører ved å delta i offentlige anbud eller inngå partnerskap med offentlig sektor. Mot denne bakgrunnen vil sosiale entreprenører med stor sannsynlighet måtte innrette seg etter eksisterende systemer og vil derfor trolig ikke bli oversatt til et eget fenomen. Casestudien illustrerer at den norske kulturarven med en stor og robust stat fremdeles spiller en stor og viktig rolle der rommet ideell velferdsproduksjon tilsynelatende vil forbli lite.

Artikkel to undersøker hvordan sosiale entreprenører responderer på institusjonell kompleksitet og hvilke strukturelle og strategiske tilnærminger de internaliserer i møte med flere institusjonelle logikker og krav. Artikkelen er en casestudie av hvordan fem norske sosiale entreprenører håndterer institusjonell kompleksitet, og baserer seg på intervjuer av gründere og medarbeidere i de fem sosiale entreprenørene. Resultatet viser at hovedlogikken i det institusjonelle feltet sosiale entreprenører opererer i anvender en offentlig sektor logikk. Denne logikken må alle sosiale entreprenører forholde seg til. Imidlertid viser det seg at sosiale entreprenører

strukturert som klassiske hybride organisasjoner (blended hybrids) opplever større vanskeligheter når feltet stiller spesifikke krav til dem som motstrider den sosiale entreprenørens mål og virke. Derimot opplever sosiale entreprenører strukturert som strukturelle hybride organisasjoner færre hindre ettersom de består av to separate enheter og kan inndele ulike logikker, krav og mål i de ulike enhetene. På så måte oppnår disse organisasjonene både tilgang til og legitimitet i feltet. Derfor tyder det på at sosiale entreprenører strukturert som strukturelle hybride organisasjoner er den mest pragmatiske konfigurasjonen for sosiale entreprenører i Norge på grunn av den dominante rollen offentlig sektor har i Norden. Artikkelen viser også hvordan oversettelsen av sosiale entreprenører påvirkes av stivhengighet og hvordan det kan være vanskelig å danne seg en forestilling av sosiale entreprenører om som noe annet enn vanlige private aktører i en slik høyinstitusjonalisert kontekst.

Artikkel tre tar utgangspunkt i et samarbeidsdrevet innovasjonsprosjekt mellom to offentlige organisasjoner. Casestudien undersøker hvorfor utfordringer i slike samarbeid kan oppstå. Artikkelen baserer seg på intervjuer av relevante aktører i det samarbeidsdrevne innovasjonsprosjektet. Funnene viser at det tilsynelatende er enklere å oversette slike former for samarbeid sammenlignet med sosiale entreprenører. Funnene indikerer imidlertid at det kan oppstå spenninger mellom nye former for samarbeid også mellom offentlige organisasjoner. Et av hovedfunnene viser at selv om samarbeidspartnerne deler det overordnede målet for samarbeidet, kan spenninger oppstå. Artikkelen identifiserer fire spenningsmomenter relatert til *hvorfor* prosjektet ble igangsatt, *hvordan* det skulle realiseres, *hvem* prosjektet var for og *hvem* prosjektet tilhørte. Funnene viser til at administrative siloer fra tidligere reformer ikke viskes vekk av nye globale ideer, men at de sameksisterer og påvirker oversettelsesprosessen.

Denne avhandlingen viser at oversettelsen av globale ideer i moderne velferdsstater er en kompleks prosess som foregår på ulike nivåer og av ulike aktører. Avhandlingen demonstrerer hvordan historiske, institusjonelle og kulturelle egenskaper ved moderne velferdsstater påvirker oversettelsen av globale ideer. Mer spesifikt, påvirker tidligere reformparadigmer, tidligere veivalg og kulturarv oversettelsen av de globale ideene.

List of Publications

Sætre, H. S. & Hauge, H. A. (*Accepted*): “Policy-making for social enterprise in a social democratic welfare state: Exploring the consequences of institutional trajectories and political controversies”. Accepted November 2022.

Sætre, H. S. (2022): “How hybrid organizations respond to institutional complexity: The case of Norway”, *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11266-022-00514-2>

Sætre, H. S. & Munkejord, M.C. (2021): ‘We don’t feel like we are part of the project’: An analysis of tensions in the development and implementation of a public-sector innovation project in Norway”, *Nordic Journal of Social Research*, Vol. 12(1): 201-220.

Appendix:

- Interview guide for Article 1 (in Norwegian)
- Interview guide for Article 2 (in Norwegian)
- Interview guide for Article 3 (Adult Education Center) (in Norwegian)
- Interview guide for Article 3 (Refugee Integration Office) (in Norwegian)
- Feedback on data management plan from the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (in Norwegian) for the three articles

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1. Introduction

Organizations are driven by global ideas developed through social and cultural processes that are diffused around the world. These global ideas have potentially major impact on nation states: on their organizational fields, sectors, policies, and even single institutions (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Organizations conform to “rationalized myths” in society concerning the appropriate way of organizing (Boxenbaum & Jonsson, 2008: 78). These myths emerge as solutions and once they are believed to be the appropriate solution to a perceived issue, they become rationalized. In recent years, modern welfare states have faced a growing demand for the public sector to become more innovative (Bornis, 2001). This growing demand can be viewed as a response to a rise in citizens’ expectations, dire fiscal constraints, and new societal and policy challenges. Such perceived issues typically transcend the borders of traditional policy domains and pose highly ambiguous and intricate challenges in policy planning, development, and implementation, as well as in service delivery (Christensen et al., 2019). Since these issues cannot be solved by standard modes of operating or by increasing funding of existing mechanism, there is a realization that innovation in the public sector can lead to increased productivity, problem-solving capacity, and service improvement (Koppenjan & Klijn, 2004). As a result, new forms of multi-actor collaboration between different sectors, levels and organizations have emerged as global ideas for how to innovate the public sector as well as to cope with the complexity of these issues. The popularity of new forms of multi-actor collaboration as reform strategies have increasingly been mentioned on policy agendas, not only at local and national levels, but also at a transnational level (European Commission 2010a; 2011; 2013; OECD 2010; 2012). Despite the growing popularity, several questions remain unexamined, amongst others, questions related to the adaptation of public sector innovation (Balfour & Demircioglu 2017; Torfing & Triantafyllou, 2016). In this thesis, I focus primarily on the *adaptation* of global ideas. I understand *adaptation* as the process after which an individual, organization

or other decision-making unit takes in or starts using a global idea as their own and starts adapting the global idea to fit the new situation, the new purpose or to suit the decision-making unit's own needs (Boxenbaum & Jonsson 2008; Boglin et al. 2011). Against this background, this thesis investigates how new forms of collaboration in the policy field of welfare provision are adapted into a new context, and how historical, cultural, and institutional antecedents or factors might affect this process. The thesis' research problem is:

How are global ideas adapted by modern welfare states? How might welfare state models affect the adaptation?

Through three analytical levels, this thesis further addresses the following research questions:

- 1) How are policymakers adapting new forms of collaboration by way of policymaking?
- 2) How are new forms of collaboration adapted in the policy field of welfare provision?
- 3) How are new forms of collaboration adapted in local public sector organizations?

Public sector innovation is in this thesis viewed as new forms of collaboration. More specifically, the "newness" of these forms of collaboration is understood as the development of a new idea that disrupt established knowledge and habitual practices that previously dominated the solution context (Osborne & Brown, 2011). In other words, they entail changes that transform the manner, practices and methods in which things are usually done. Therefore, innovation does not necessarily imply invention, but can also entail identifying, translating, and adjusting new ideas and solutions from other organizations, policy fields and even countries (Sørensen & Torfing, 2012) to a completely new context. Hence, the attention is in this thesis focused on the context in which the solutions are implemented. Changes and developments in the public sector and its services have widely been understood and conceptualized following paradigmatic changes and developments in policy, research, and practices in the public sector (Langergaard, 2011), commonly known as changes in "governance

paradigms” (Hartley, 2005). These are global ideas, methods and practices of how political-administrative systems should be organized (*ibid.*). Over the past three to four decades, there have been two major paradigm waves around the world that have affected how contemporary welfare states organize their political-administrative systems: New Public Management (NPM) introduced in the early 1980s and New Public Governance, which emerged in the late 1990s. The aim of the NPG paradigm is to cope with some of the fragmented government apparatuses from previous reforms and transform the public sector to an *arena for co-creation* (Alford 2009; Bovaird & Loffler 2012). To achieve this, the public sector should facilitate and participate in a constructive collaboration with affected and relevant actors (Torfing, Sørensen & Røiseland, 2019).

Accordingly, new forms of collaboration have emerged and been diffused around the world. In this thesis, I study *social enterprise* and *collaborative innovation* as new forms of collaboration to demonstrate how global ideas are adapted in modern welfare states. Both phenomena can be considered excellent examples of new forms of collaboration as they transcend sectoral boundaries constructing arenas for collaboration. The motivation for studying the two phenomena is rooted in the fact that both stimulate new cross-sectoral actions between partners holding different institutional logics contributing with different resources in arranging welfare services (Vickers et al. 2017) on the one hand. Yet, on the other, they may also pose as highly ambiguous for the modern welfare state as they can create tensions among actors, organizations, sectors, and institutions. I am particularly interested in understanding the meeting between global ideas and new contexts, and how global ideas might impact nation states’ political-administrative systems, organizational fields, policies, and institutions, but also, how the historical and cultural developments and traditions of the new context can affect the global idea (Røvik, 2014). Considering this, the process of adaptation appears as a complex interaction between administrative systems, historical reform choices, and perception of what is an appropriate way of organizing, and it is natural to assume that historical, cultural, and institutional factors of the national context matter and take part in shaping the idea. The extent to which welfare states have taken consistent actions toward such new forms of collaboration

varies (see e.g., Defourny & Nyssens 2010; Borzaga et al. 2020), therefore, this thesis seeks, amongst other, to contribute to the literature on adaptation of global ideas as well as the existing variations in the adaptation of them among modern welfare states.

Identifying convergences and divergences in how Western democracies adapt global ideas have been a common exercise in political science in the past decades (e.g. Kettl 2005; Hughes 2003). Yet, “Western democracies” includes sizable welfare states and should therefore not be considered *one* universal model, but rather limited to particular kinds of models (Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2011: 19). The design of administrative reforms mirrors the historical, political, and societal roles of public administration and internal culture (Peters & Pierre, 1988), and features of the existing political-administrative regimes are both likely to influence the choices of reform strategy and the implementation of them (Pollitt & Bouckaert 2011: 73). One set of typologies that facilitates the investigation of the institutional origins and the consequences they may have on modern welfare states’ change capacity are those of Esping Andersen’s (1990) seminal work on welfare state regimes, which has been a great milestone in welfare state research. The presupposition is that the characteristics of welfare state regimes (a context bounded by time and space) matter for the reform paths and change capacity of a nation state. Since welfare state models powerfully shape the conditions of political systems, welfare provision and public innovation, the imprint of the national context becomes significant and suggests that countries may adapt both converging and diverging practices.

I investigate the research problem of how modern welfare states adapt global ideas and how welfare states models might affect the adaptation in the study context of the Nordic welfare model. The reason for this, is because inherent in this model lie two competing legacies both of which are likely to affect how these new forms of collaborations are adapted in the policy field of welfare provision. On the one hand, the Nordic countries have a legacy of cooperation between public and voluntary organizations concerning the production of welfare, which existed long before the establishment and heydays of the welfare states. This legacy suggests that there may already exist willingness and ability in the Nordic countries to (re-)adapt to collaborative efforts. As such, we can understand collaboration as “something old”.

Hence, it would be somewhat paradoxical should the re-entry of collaborative strategies prove to be difficult. On the other hand, the Nordic welfare model has a legacy of statism, where the state took over for most of the multi-actor cooperation and the provision of welfare in the post-war years. Indeed, the Nordic countries are still characterized as “state friendly” and still have large public sectors with less reliance on private and voluntary efforts in providing welfare compared to other European countries (Selle et al., 2018). This may suggest that there is a lack of pressure or willingness to adapt these new forms of collaboration in the policy field of welfare provision. Additionally, the introduction of new forms of collaboration in a policy field where the public sector acts as *the* primary service provider might create certain tensions or confusions. In other words, policymakers, public organizations, and civil servants might fight to avoid the re-entry of a collaborative welfare state. Thus, collaboration can also be understood both as “something borrowed” and “something new”. Finally, then, the question is whether new ways of collaboration is “something to pursue”? Against this background, the study context of the Nordic model provides for an interesting backdrop to explore how modern welfare states adapt global ideas and how welfare state models might affect this process as the trajectory in this context remains open and contested.

1.1 Delimitation and operationalization of the research questions

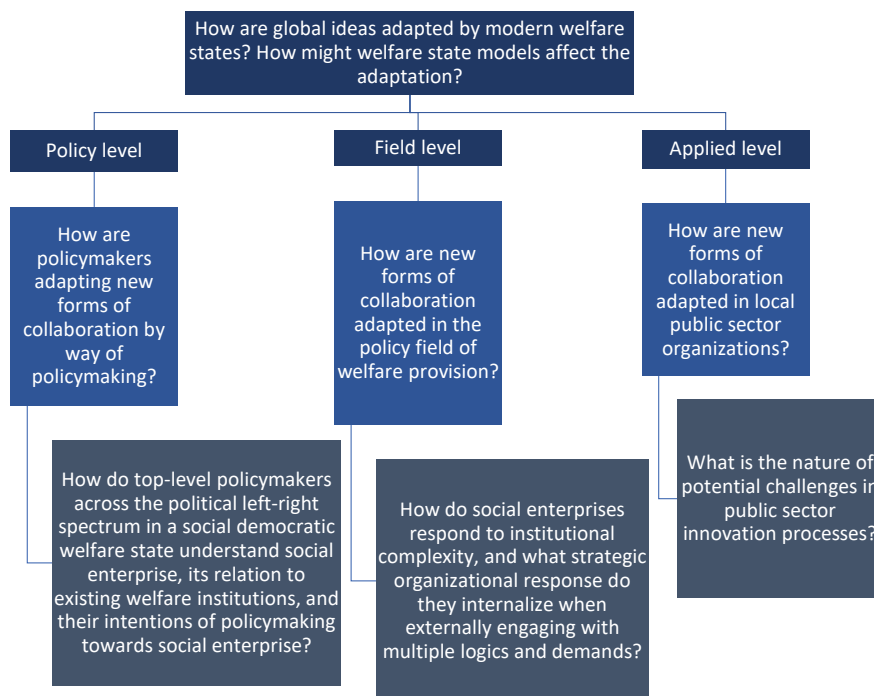
This thesis will answer the research problem and research questions through a threefold approach and comprises three articles that studies the adaptation of global ideas and how welfare state models might affect the global idea. Yet, before operationalizing the overarching research problem, a delimitation of the scope of this thesis is necessary.

First, the “newness” concerning the adaptation of new forms of collaborations should not be interpreted to occur only in the public sector in the legal terms as a public realm separated from the private and third sector. Rather, they should here be understood in terms of “a collective effort to produce and deliver public value that is

authorized and sponsored by federal, state, provincial or local government” (Hartely et al., 2013). Second, the “newness” should not be interpreted *sensu stricto* as an invention. Instead, it includes ways of organizing collaboration that deviates from the status quo. Finally, to encompass that new forms of collaboration may occur in different economic sectors, organizations and at different administrative levels, I am employing a complementary analytical approach (Rones, 1997: 89) that studies the adaptation of new forms of collaboration from three analytical levels, namely from a *policy*, *field* and an *applied level*. The added value of using this analytical strategy is first to understand the complexity of the process of adapting global ideas. Second, it allows us to investigate the different actors (politicians, organizations, and civil servants) that participate in and shape adaptation process.

The three points of departure share a common presupposition that the institutional trajectories within different welfare state models may impact, shape, enable or disable new forms of collaboration, characterizing the change capacity of modern welfare states. Thus, in meeting with national contexts, new ideas, i.e., new forms of collaboration, are prone to encounter moments of tension. In other words, tensions – whether related to individuals, organizations, traditions, or ideologies – seem to be inevitable in the adaptation process (Hartley et al., 2013). Hence, the encounter between new ideas and national contexts becomes key in understanding how welfare state models might affect the global idea. Below, I present the research problem, the three analytical levels, the main research questions, and, finally, the articles’ research questions.

Figure 1: Research problem



When unified through the complementary analytical approach, what these three levels of analysis offer is an in-depth understanding of what actors are involved in the adaptation of global ideas and it highlights at what different levels the adaptation of global ideas may occur. More specifically, the approach offers a comprehensive understanding of the complexity of adapting new ideas in new contexts, and how cultural, historical, and institutional factors of a nation state might affect this process. In the following, I present the thesis' three research articles where I further justify the motivation for studying *social enterprise* at the policy and field level, as well as *collaborative innovation* at the applied level, before introducing the structure of the thesis.

1.2 The articles

At the policy level, the first article studies how Norwegian policymakers adapt *social enterprise* into policy. In this thesis, a *policy* is understood as a course of action or inaction rather than specific decisions (Heclø, 1972: 85), where the collection of

(in)actions informs us about the adaptation trajectory of the idea within the new context.

In scholarly literature, it is well-acknowledged that initiation, development, and consolidation of social enterprise demand support from a multi-faceted ecosystem including frameworks and incentive structures that combine legal, financial, social as well as business dimensions (Andersen, Gawell & Spear, 2016: 8). Several countries have developed policies for social enterprise, e.g., formal registries, legal organizational forms, reservations in public procurements and tax deduction, yet what type of policy developed has been proved to be highly dependent on context (Defourny & Nyssens). Nonetheless, policy in terms of a *legal form* is typically aimed at strengthening the social enterprise ecosystem. In the Nordic countries, the development of the social enterprise ecosystem is still in progress (Andersen, Gawell & Spear, 2016:8). It has been suggested that there is certain ambiguity regarding the course of direction that social enterprise will take in Norway (Enjolras et al. 2021), and, from a policy perspective, policymakers represent *one* group of actors that can exert influence over this course. Scholars have argued that a social enterprise policy is important since the innovations that they produce are subsidized by public authorities to a larger degree than by commercial markets (Defourny et al. 2021). As social enterprises are highly dependent on national and local policies, they may be considered vulnerable, therefore, a policy may not only strengthen their ecosystem, but also their independence of the state (Borzaga et al., 2020). Moreover, policy in terms of *legal form* can give social enterprises a legal identity while at the same time enhance their political and economic possibility conditions facilitating the institutionalization of them. Conversely, one may expect that the absence of a legal form can make it difficult for these organizations to be recognized as something different from traditional types of welfare providers. I study policymaking for social enterprises as political acknowledgement and legal form is identified as vital for consolidating their ecosystem and, hence, their institutionalization (e.g., European Commission 2020; Defourny & Nyssens 2021).

In Norway, a prototype of the Nordic model, the market-turn in welfare provision constitutes one of the main areas of conflict between parties on the left-right political

spectrum. In policy papers (e.g. St. Meld. 30; KMD 2017), Norwegian policymaker promote cross-sectoral collaboration by stimulating new organizational recipes such as social enterprise. In political discourse social enterprise has been advocated both as an instrument for privatising the public sector, but also for initiating innovation to reform welfare services (Enjolras et al., 2021). Departing from this political rhetoric, the article investigates how Norwegian policymakers understand social enterprise, its relation to existing welfare structures, and their intentions of policymaking towards social enterprise as a new form for collaboration. The article is titled “Exploring how institutional trajectories and political controversies influence policymaking for SE: The case of Norway.” In the article we employ historical institutionalism, path-dependence coupled with translation theory as the overarching theoretical framework for the analysis. The article is co-authored by Hans Abraham Hauge and was accepted by the Social Enterprise Journal in November of 2022.

In the second article “How hybrid organizations respond to institutional complexity: The case of Norway” is a study at the field level. The second article also departs from the same political rhetoric as mentioned above, i.e., to stimulate new forms of collaboration and enhance the problem-solving capacity in the public sector by institutionalizing cross-sectoral collaboration and coordination (e.g., St. Meld. 30). At the field level, I analyze how social enterprise, as a subset of hybrid organizations, is adapted into the Norwegian organizational landscape by exploring what demands the institutional environment impose on social enterprise, and what structural and strategic organizational responses they internalize when engaging with multiple demands. The reason for studying how the institutional environment meets with social enterprise combining both social and commercial mechanisms is threefold: First, I find the focus on the adaptation of social enterprise in a new institutional environment highly relevant as social enterprises mainly engage in the delivery of welfare services, and thus must relate to the surrounding institutional environment. Second, it is important to understand the way in which the institutional environment meets with this incipient idea as I expect that the institutional environment will be fundamental for shaping the ecosystem and possibility conditions for social enterprise in Norway. Finally, this focus may also help explain the reason for why social

enterprise still is an incipient phenomenon in Norway. Therefore, I find it important to understand how the institutional environment meets with social enterprise as a phenomenon, and, in turn, how social enterprise manage the demands imposed by the institutional environment. The choice for studying social enterprise as hybrid organizations has been a pragmatic one, as theories of hybridity, institutional complexity and organizational responses have allowed me to understand what tensions social enterprise as a phenomenon impose on a highly institutionalized field; what tensions emerge during the adaptation process; and how these tensions are being coped with. The choice is also motivated in extant literature (see e.g., Pache and Santos 2014; Mair et al. 2015; Perkmann et al. 2019), as my contribution allows for a basis of comparison between different welfare state models in future research on how hybrid organization respond to institutional complexity.

The article discusses whether the Nordic model with a large public sector may crowd out the hybridity and collaborative efforts of social enterprise and answers the questions of whether the Nordic welfare model incites a specific configuration of social enterprise due to its institutional framework. I employ theories of historical institutionalism as well as theories of structural and strategic organizational responses to external demands. The article is authored by Hilde Svrljuga Sætre and was published in *Voluntas International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations* on August 1, 2022.

The final article at the applied level is titled “‘We don’t feel like we are part of the project’: An analysis of tensions in the development and implementation of a public-sector innovation project in Norway”. The article draws upon a “joined-up government” collaboration between two public sector organizations in “Seaside” municipality. The study is an *in-situ* analysis of the development and implementation of a collaborative innovation project concerning the introduction program for women refugees in the given municipality. The article is focused on a collaborative innovation project between two public sector organizations that have entered a new form of collaboration to organize and implement the new introduction program. Collaborative perspectives have typically explored drivers of innovation (Sørensen & Torfing, 2011b), where some perspectives portray collaboration as harmonious

implying positive outcomes. The motivation behind this study is the scholarly argument that collaborative innovation discourse has overlooked the individual actors' significance and the importance of new viewpoints to further understand how some actors, but not others, manage to adapt ideas into new practices in a new context (Meijer, 2013).

From an applied-level perspective, the article analyzes the nature of potential challenges in collaborative innovation projects and couples Røvik's (2007) concept of the "capable translator" with the actor-network strand of translation theory, as well as institutional logics as its theoretical frameworks. The article was published in the *Nordic Journal of Social Research* in 2021, and is co-authored by Prof. Mai Camilla Munkejord.

Below, I present the overview of the articles including the research questions, objectives, cases and methods of analysis.

Table 1: Overview of the articles

Research problem	How are global ideas adapted by modern welfare states? How might welfare state models affect the adaptation?
Research questions	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. How are policymakers adapting new forms of collaboration by way of policymaking? 2. How are new forms of collaboration adapted in the policy field of welfare provision? 3. How are new forms of collaboration adapted in local public sector organizations?
Articles' research questions	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. [Policy] How do top-level policymakers across the political left-right spectrum in a social democratic welfare state understand social enterprise, its relation to existing welfare institutions, and their intentions of policymaking towards social enterprise? 2. [Field] How do social enterprises respond to institutional complexity, and what strategic organizational response do they internalize when externally engaging with multiple logics and demands? 3. [Applied] What is the nature of potential challenges facing public-sector innovation processes?
Objective	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. [Policy] Analyze how policymakers adapt new forms of collaboration through policymaking. 2. [Field] Explore how new organizational recipes promoting collaboration are adapted in the organizational field. 3. [Applied] Analyze how new forms of collaborations are adapted by civil servants in public sector organizations. Identify possible tensions that may arise when fostering new ways of organizing collaboration in the Nordic model.
Case	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. [Policy] Top-level policymakers' adaptation of social enterprise as a policy object. 2. [Field] Five social enterprises' responses to institutional complexity. 3. [Applied] The development and implementation collaborative innovation project between two public sector organizations.

Method of analysis (Thematic analysis)	Preliminary analyses	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. [Policy] Establishing reasons and relevance for adapting social enterprise into policy. Identifying tensions between policymakers' reasoning of this new organizational recipe. 2. [Field] Identifying demands from the organizational landscape and what internal tensions the social enterprises embody when meeting with these demands. 3. [Applied] Identifying issues that the collaborating actors agreed upon and issues that caused tensions during the collaboration.
	Concluding analyses	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. [Policy] Identifying themes conforming to or deviating from the two social enterprise models found in the Nordic context. Addressing how policymakers understand social enterprise along the left-right wing divide. 2. [Field] Classifying competing demands, then classifying how blended and structural hybrid organizations (social enterprises) respond to these demands. Exploring whether demands from the organizational landscape incite a specific configuration of social enterprise. 3. [Applied] Identify and explore tensions among the collaborating actors related to <i>why</i> the innovation was realized, <i>how</i> such innovation should be operationalized, <i>for whom</i> the innovation was targeted, and <i>whose</i> innovation project it was.

The aim of the thesis is to contribute to the scholarly discourse on how modern welfare states adapt global ideas. As the processes of adaptation might differ depending on context; this thesis also contributes to highlighting variations among contexts in light of specific welfare state models. Therefore, this thesis might inspire future studies of different welfare state regimes to explore what significances welfare state models might have on global ideas.

1.3 Structure of the thesis

This thesis consists of six chapters, followed by the three articles. The first chapter (above) has covered the aim of the study, the research questions, and the overview of the three articles. The second chapter presents a literature review of public sector innovation understood in terms of collaboration, followed by a clarification of concepts. The third chapter then considers the study context. The fourth chapter presents the overall theoretical framework for the thesis and articles. The fifth chapter discusses operationalization for the research design, followed by a presentation of the methodological choices and methods, including case selection, and data for the three studies. In the final chapter, the main findings of the articles are summarized, and the thesis' contribution and implications are discussed.

2. Literature review

Innovation has traditionally been studied in the private sector, yet, throughout the last decade, public sector innovation has gained increasingly interest. Indeed, we are witnessing a growing recognition that innovation is taking place in the public sector as a response to address wicked problems (Bornis 2001). In this section, I will review relevant literature on how modern welfare states adapt new ideas, practices and methods forming the basis for how change can be studied. I address governance paradigms, public sector innovation, translation of public sector innovation as well as terminology on new ways of organizing collaboration, more specifically *collaborative innovation*, and *social enterprise*. The aim of this section is to inform and position the upcoming discussions in relation to the extant scholarly literature.

A caveat is here necessary as the objective of this thesis is not to analyze innovations *per se*, nor investigate the efficiency or democratic aspects of collaborations either. Rather, the aim is to understand and explain how global ideas operationalized as new forms of collaborations are adapted by the new context, and how context-dependent features affect the adaptation. The chosen forms of collaboration studied in this thesis are that of *social enterprise* and *collaborative innovation* shaped as a joined-up government project. However, I find it valuable to reflect on the concepts of governance paradigms, public sector innovation and different “co-terminologies” and understand how they may relate to the present study as these concepts often are intertwined.

Since change, governance paradigms and public sector innovation can all be considered interdisciplinary research fields (de Vries, Tummers & Bekkers 2018), I have focused on the parts of the literature that demonstrate different perspectives of how to understand and conceptualize how modern welfare state adapt global ideas, such as public sector innovation and collaboration, as well as perspectives on how historical and institutional factors within welfare states affect this adaptation process. Furthermore, I also briefly direct attention to different new forms of collaboration and “co-terminologies” that have emerged in the wake of the NPG wave, which is followed by a discussion of the two phenomena under investigation, namely *social*

enterprise, and *collaborative innovation*. Since the “co-terminology” as well as social innovation and social enterprise are considered “magic concepts” that often are used interchangeably with public sector innovation and collaboration, I seek to define and delimit these phenomena to avoid any concept stretching. I have primarily used *relevance* as the selection criterion for the review (Maxwell, 2006), and I found the literature through the databases Oria and Google Scholar, as well as manual searches in reference lists of relevant books and articles.

2.1 Governance paradigms and public sector innovation

Public sector innovation has been related to governance paradigms (e.g., Hartley, 2005). The three governance paradigms, i.e., Traditional Public Administration (TPA) (1945-1980), New Public Management (1980-1995) and New Public Governance (1995-to date), all emerged in the post-war period. None of these paradigms cancel each other out, but rather co-exist in layers. One central feature of each governance paradigm is how they relate to the concept of innovation. Hartley (2005) developed a categorization of how and the degree to which innovation can occur in the public sector. First, the TPA, also known as Classical Public Bureaucracy, focused on policy implementation (Sannerstedt, 2013) and large-scale changes initiated by politicians aiming to develop new policy frameworks and changes in legislation. From a TPA perspective, the public sector is depicted as a legal authority that – through democratic sovereignty and public sector ethos – can exercise power over citizens by regulating their behavior and collect their taxes, prescribe mandatory activities and administered legal entitlements to benefits and services (Torfing et al. 2019). “Innovation” as a concept was not widely used to describe developments within the public sector in the early post-war years. And, while the public sector was a legal authority, citizens were portrayed as receivers of public services, and disempowered subjects highly dependent on the state (Torfing et al. 2019). For this reason, political actors functioning as legislators held the main responsibility to support full-scale changes (Eggers & Singh, 2009). Although disagreements of whether innovations within this paradigm occurred, scholars

nonetheless suggest that they were initiated top-down, through large, national policy commitments (Hartley, 2005). Consequently, political executives were portrayed as having an entrepreneurial role as these actors advanced new ideas as part of constitutional routines and ordered implementations of new policies (Eggers & Singh, 2009).

The turn to NPM in the 1980s consolidated the idea that public sector organizations should continuously develop and renew itself. It was during this period that the term and practice of “innovation” became vitalized in the public sector (Langegaard, 2021). The role of the public sector changed from being a legal authority to a service provider (Osborne & Gaebler, 1992), and the aim was to increase the efficiency and efficacy of service production and provision in the public sector. Indeed, NPM strengthened innovation in the public sector by at least two means. First, the establishment of quasi-markets in the public sector with the aim to enhance innovation through competition and user orientation. The enforcement of competition for public contracts between public, private and third sector organizations challenged both public and private actors to “do more with less”, and even transform the content and way of delivering the services (Sørensen, 2012). Additionally, public and private actors are not only competing for contracts, but also for customers, since contracting out means free choice of service providers. This shift led to an increased user-orientation where the end-users could to a larger degree than before impact the service content and delivery (Torfing et al., 2019). Second, NPM also celebrates managerialism based on management techniques from the private sector aiming to make public administrators more responsive to citizens. The idea is that strong leadership makes the public sector more efficient and lead to more innovation in the public sector (Sørensen & Torfing, 2012). This new system, i.e. “the politics of self-governance” (Sørensen & Triantafillou, 2009) opens room for local experimentation and service development. NPM reforms have been credited for clearing away traditional bureaucratic constraints, and has rapidly been associated with several benefits in terms of greater emphasis on public leadership, goal steering and results (Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2011)

Finally, innovation is also related to the NPG paradigm. Here, innovation goes beyond the economic efficiency perspective of NPM and focuses more strongly on collaboration, inter-organizational networks, and co-production (Sørensen & Torfing 2011b). In fact, NPG is believed to compensate for some of the deficiencies of hierarchies and failures of competitive markets (e.g., bureaucratic silos and narrow-minded professionals) (Sørensen & Torfing, 2011a). The aim is to transform the public sector to become an arena for co-creation, where public sector organizations and their professionals must work together across organizational and institutional boundaries and make room for the experiences, resources and ideas of the users, citizens, civil society organizations (CSOs) and private firms (*ibid.*). I.e., the public sector should become an innovate (pro)active participant and co-creator in cross-sectoral collaborations with different institutions and private actors. Compared with both TPA and NPM, here, the third sector is given a more prominent role as it has more independence and autonomy in these innovation processes (Røiseland & Vabo, 2012). Additionally, innovation may occur both at a governmental and a local level where bottom-up initiatives have a greater leeway (*ibid.*), where the goal is that interactions between third sector organizations and public officials will enable collaborative innovation (Hartley, et al., 2013). To successfully implement such forms of collaboration, bureaucrats must enable trust-based environments between relevant actors that contribute to the service production. Citizens are no longer consumers, rather, they are co-producers and can influence the design, creation, production, and delivery of public services (Røiseland & Vabo, 2012). In the following, I turn to research topic of public sector innovation.

2.2 Public sector innovation

De Vries, Bekkers & Tummers (2016) conducted a systematic review of 181 articles from 90 different journals on public sector innovation. I include their work here, because this review provides an overview of research on public sector innovation, what methodological approaches and theoretical frameworks have been used as well as the main findings within this field.

Methodologically, more than half of these studies employed qualitative methods, i.e. semi-structured interviews and focus groups, whereas mixed-methods and quantitative studies were less common. With regards to theoretical frameworks employed, the authors find a lack of clear theoretical underpinning. Of most concern to the authors is that “innovation” often is weakly conceptualized. Indeed, most of the articles did not provide a definition of innovation, and in instances where innovation was defined, it was in quite general terms, and most were based on Rogers’ definition of innovation as “an idea, practice, or object that is perceived as new by an individual or other unit of adoption” (2003: 12). The review indicates that the empiricism has been largely unsuccessful in identifying and explaining what transpires after the innovation is initiated, which can be explained by the clear emphasis on the innovation process or the adoption of an innovation rather than the impacts of the innovation.

The authors identify different analytical levels in the 181 studies: The largest group focused on innovation occurring at the local level, followed by central government and health care. A scarce number of articles were conducted in the welfare or education sectors’ subsectors. Further, while theoretical underpinnings lack, types of innovations were often more specified: The most prominent is “process innovation” followed by “product or service innovation”. “Governance innovation” and “conceptual innovation” were the least studied. The authors suggest that the literature emphasizes towards intra-organizational process innovation, which has been linked to changes in governance paradigms mentioned in the subsection above. This indicates that the aim and scope of the present thesis is positioned within the largest identified research trend within the field of public sector innovation, both with regards to intra-sectoral collaboration and governance paradigms.

One of their central findings are the five categories of antecedents that in literature have been found to be highly influential in explaining public sector innovation: Antecedents are dependent on the specific study context and analytical levels and are found to either function as a driver or barrier for public sector innovation. The five main categories identified are antecedents at the *environmental level*, the *organizational level*, the *individual level*, and *level of the innovation process*.

Antecedents at the *environmental level* are linked to the specific context in which an organization operates, supporting the notion that innovations are locally embedded, and that the creation of the innovation will be affected by different demands and pressures from different, yet closely related environments (Bekkers et al., 2013). Such antecedents include political and public demands, inter-organizational relationships, and competition with other organizations. *Organizational-level* antecedents include structural and cultural features of an organization, e.g., leadership, incentives, conflicts, and organizational structures. Antecedents at the *innovation level* covers the characteristics of innovations, e.g., ease of use, compatibility and trialability. Antecedents at the *individual level* are linked to creative individual entrepreneur and entail employee autonomy, professionalism, organizational position, commitment, and shared perspectives, here agents are found to have an important role in enabling innovation at the organizational level (e.g., through leadership). Finally, antecedents at the *level of innovation process* are linked to the diffusion and adoption stages of the innovation process. Antecedents at the environmental, organizational, and individual levels overlap with this level. Moreover, the studies have typically employed a neo-institutional perspective expecting that historical and institutional trajectories of welfare models affect the innovation. Since the present thesis focuses on the adaptation of global ideas operationalized as new forms of collaboration, and since the analytical approach is based on a threefold approach, we might expect to find similar antecedents that either drives or hinders the adaptation process. We may also expect to find overlapping antecedents at the three analytical levels. The review points to the use of neo-institutionalist theories as fruitful approaches to study public sector innovation, which further substantiates the use of the theoretical framework in the present study.

2.3 Diffusion and adoption of public sector innovation

Of relevance for this thesis is also the meta-synthesis of literature concerning the diffusion and adoption of public sector innovation by de Vries, Bekkers and Tummers (2018). Diffusion and adoption have been widely acknowledged and

studied by researchers (e.g., Berry & Berry 1990; Hartley 2016), yet a prevalent shortcoming in the literature is that although the topics are addressed in different public administration subfields, the researchers have their own discussions and conceptualization. The subfields included in the meta-synthesis are *public management*, *public policy* and *e-government* and it includes 55 research articles. The authors of the synthesis define diffusion of innovation according to Rogers: diffusion is “a process in which an innovation is communicated through certain channels over long time among the members of a social system”. The adoption of an innovation is understood as “the processes through which an individual (or other decision-making unit) passes from first knowledge of an innovation to the formation of an attitude toward the innovation, to a decision to adopt or reject, to implementation and use of the new idea, and to confirmation of this decision” (Rogers 2003, p. 20).

Theoretically, studies from the different subfields rarely refer to the same core publications, save that of Rogers (2003). On rare occasions, the different public administration subfields, refer to the work on neo-institutionalism (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Reform paradigms are commonly used in all subfields to guide the research, again with Rogers’ (2003) theory of diffusion and adoption being the most cited. The subfield of public policy has been guided by models examining the influence of other nearby governments or actors with similar problems, while public management scholars primarily draw on reform paradigms. E-government research commonly features technology acceptance models. The present thesis most clearly positions itself within the public administration field

Antecedents are also found to be relevant in studies on the diffusion and adoption of public sector innovation and are linked to the five levels mentioned in section 2.2. above. Most of the studies identify organizational and environmental level. At the latter level, participants, or relevant stakeholders (citizens or civil servants) have been found to successfully foster innovation diffusion and adoption. So is also the importance of collaborative networks, which are depicted as facilitators of co-creation of new and promising solutions and forge joint ownership of ideas. Additionally, competition is frequently mentioned across all subfields as an antecedent as it is viewed as a crucial element in ensuring innovation. Finally,

“effective leadership” is also an important antecedent, where enthusiasm is viewed as a driving force of the process of cultural changes within and across public organizations (de Vries et al., 2018). Concerning the final two levels of antecedents (innovation and individual), the authors find that antecedents of personal characteristics, i.e. enthusiasm or the charisma of the entrepreneur involved is primarily rooted in the government literature.

Lastly, the meta-synthesis identifies different levels of analysis: Public management and public policy scholars often depart from a macro-institutional environment of public organizations referring to reform movements such as NPM and NPG. Aspects of the micro, or individual focus in the diffusion and adoption processes are predominantly addressed by e-government scholars. The authors discuss and conclude that a broader perspective of diffusion and adoption should be considered an advantage when adopting a macro-institutional approach, as this approach allows for a particular emphasis on the reason diffusions and adoptions related to the environment that public organizations are part of. Since the role of the individual actor or entrepreneur often is ignored in such macro approaches, the authors propose that theoretical approaches combining different analytical levels are ideal in future research as all theories have their own strengths and weaknesses. Although excluding the process of diffusion, this thesis builds on the research proposition to combine different analytical levels combining not only the typical macro-institutional environment (governance paradigms) of public organizations found in public management research, but also the role of actors involved in the adaptation processes.

2.4 Clarification of concepts

With a new public administration paradigm, comes new concepts, fashionable ideas and buzzwords that seek to capture the narratives, promises and ways of organizing (Røiseland & Lo, 2019). Practices that mobilize knowledge, resources and experiences as well as ideas of a plurality of public and private actors in the creation of public services have in recent years been on the rise (Horne & Shirley 2009; OECD 2012). At the local level, local governments seek to involve citizens actively

in providing public welfare services and solving wicked problems. At the regional level, regional authorities aim to co-create planning and transport solutions with private stakeholders, while at the national level, national governments forge networks of private and public actors that produce and monitor regulatory policies and standards (Torfing, Sørensen & Røiseland, 2019). Finally, at the transnational level, organizations, such as the European Union, support regional partnership with the objective to stimulate growth and employment in rural areas (Torfing, Sørensen & Røiseland, 2019). In certain countries, such endeavors have only recently been referred to as “co-creation”, “co-production”, “social innovation” or “collaborative innovation”, yet the empirical phenomena are by no means new. Indeed, in some countries we can find long traditions of citizens, CSOs and public authorities collaborating and co-creating solutions to well-known problems (*ibid.*).

In the extant literature, several concepts are used to depict multi-actor collaboration. Indeed, in scholarly literature this family of concepts, including the study objects in this thesis, are often related, and are sometimes even used interchangeably (Gebauer, Johnson & Enquist, 2010). This family of concepts, including the co-terminology, social innovation, and social enterprise, entail some type of multi-actor collaboration where private, public, and civil society actors contribute with different resources, knowledge, and competences in designing, implementing and/or delivering services. These concepts emphasize different aspects of the multi-actor collaboration process. There is indeed a wealth of literature on these phenomena (see e.g., Lusch & Vargo, 2006; Parks et al., 1991; 1999; Ostrom, 1996; Torfing, et al., 2019; Pestoff, 2009; Voorberg et al., 2015; Brandsen & Pestoff 2006; Verschuere, Brandsen & Pestoff 2012; Hartley 2014; Sinclair et al. 2018; Brozaga & Bodini, 2012) but due to the scope of this thesis, I am restricted from entering any in-depth conceptual discourses on them. Thus, due to concerns of the thesis’ research scope, I do not empirically investigate these concepts any further, In the following, I present a more in-depth understanding of the two study object in focus in this thesis, namely *collaborative innovation* and *social enterprise*.

2.4.1 Collaborative innovation

A seminal meta-analysis of scientific studies of private and public innovation reveals that innovation most often is a result of interaction between actors from different levels and organizations (Damanpour, 1991). Since the early 2000s, there has been a scholarly quest to understand how public managers and different stakeholders can realize the innovative potential of collaboration as collaboration between public and private actors in different kinds of networks has a huge potential for public sector innovation (Eggers & Singh 2009; Ansell & Torfing 2014). We can understand these collaborative networks as “institutionalized patterns between public and private actors that have chosen to collaborate in finding solutions to a perceived social problem” (Torfing, 2016: 61). Such collaborations can entail the coordination of cross-sectoral and cross-organizational action. They can also entail the construction of an arena for collaboration by establishing appropriate and favorable institutional conditions for diverse actors that together produce public services, and they may even entail the establishment of new types of organizations that enhances or facilitates collaborative innovation (*ibid.*).

Within the concept of collaborative innovation, lies an unspoken tension as it can allude to both *efficiency* on the one hand, and *democracy* on the other. Different research traditions have consequently focused on both: the concept has been developed by a rationale from the private sector where the outcome or goal of collaborative innovation concerns economic efficiency, and it has also been developed by a rationale from the third sector stimulating democracy, active citizenship and the improvement of quality in public services (Eimhjellen & Loga 2017; Krogstrup & Brix 2019). This duality relates to the desire to implement collaborative processes where the production and delivery of welfare services is carried out not only by public sector organizations, but in *collaboration* with private actors, e.g., citizens, with the aim to increase the efficiency and productivity of public services. At the same time, it also relates to a genuine interest in consolidating democracy through collaboration by mobilizing different actors or to collect ideas and knowledge from any relevant actor (Bommert, 2010). Interestingly, both rationales of collaborative innovation have become arguments in policy debates.

Furthermore, when delimited for research purposes, collaborative innovation has commonly been defined as “the process through which two or more actors engage in a constructive management of differences in order to define common problems and develop joint solutions based on provisional agreements that may coexist with disagreement and dissent” (Hartley et al. 2013) – a definition that permits researchers to review what type of actors that participate in said processes, their possibility conditions in the collaborative environment, what underlying institutional factors (or antecedents) that drive or hinder these processes, and possible tensions among participants related to e.g. ideas, logics, working methods and goals. In other words, the concept allows us to study tensions at all three analytical levels: between policymakers, institutional referents as well as actors in collaborative innovation processes. Additionally, the “two or more actors” that engage in collaborative innovation processes can be *public actors*, i.e., public managers, frontline staff or politicians, and *private actors*, such as voluntary groups of citizens, service users, CSOs, social enterprises and private corporations (Torfing et al., 2019). The goal of the collaboration is to produce public value which include visions, plans, policies, strategies, regulatory frameworks or services. The goals of the collaborative innovation process are reached through continuous improvements or innovative changes that transform the understanding of the social issue which should lead to new ways of solving it. This may only happen when the collaborating partners share knowledge, resources, and competences. Nevertheless, the joint solutions are often based on provisional agreements, and tensions or dissidence related to the collaborative arena itself or among the collaborating participants may naturally rise (Torfing, 2016).

2.4.2 Social enterprise

Social enterprise has recently received attention within entrepreneurship theory. Discussion of the phenomenon, largely found in Western academic circles, began in the 1980s as a response to two theoretical needs. First, to conceptualize a new and emerging form of economic activity, which arose during two economic crises; and second, to combine and theoretically perspectivize these ventures (Defourny &

Nyssens 2009: 73). Broadly defined, social enterprise is the use of nongovernmental, market-based approaches to address social challenges and needs (Kerlin, 2006).

In relation to public sector innovation, an emphasis has been put on the role of social enterprise as a device to cater for solutions to tackle social and economic challenges (Leadbetter, 2007), and to provide better solutions in production, processes, organizations, and communication to meet citizens' demands (Westall, 2008). Indeed, the diffusion of the promising practices of social enterprise has led to differences in how to define the phenomenon, and definitions have been elaborated in both Europe and the U.S. (Defourny & Nyssens, 2010). Consequently, there lacks an unanimity and precision about what social enterprise really entails, and due to contextual and institutional factors, separate definitions, policies, and organizational forms of social enterprise exist. I.e., the understanding and handling of social enterprise largely depend on a given context's existing institutional and cultural logics.

Within the research field of social enterprise, neo-institutionalism has been widely used, and previous studies have also explored the institutional determinants of social enterprise policy and organizational development (see e.g., Kerlin 2013; Coskun et al. 2019; Defourny & Nyssens, 2021). Yet, while conceptualizing the content of social enterprise has been one of the main exercises in the literature, no formal definition exists. Some tie this unanimity to the hybridity of social enterprise, i.e., they operate at the intersection of the public, private and third sector, combining social, commercial, and non-profit strategies. In other words, they collaborate with and incorporate features of all three economic sectors. Social enterprise can therefore be understood as "hybrid organizations" (Billis 2010; Tracy et al. 2011). On the other hand, the unanimity has been tied to national features within the context in which social enterprise is adapted (Nicholls 2006; Kerlin 2006; Kerlin 2013; Defourny & Nyssens 2010; Coskun et al. 2019), where two approaches have become apparent in literature, a liberal Anglo-Saxon, and a European approach. While bridges between the two approaches have been built (e.g., Steyaert & Hjort 2006), what has been considered at stake beyond these conceptual debates are the "place and role of social enterprise within the overall economy and its interaction with the market, civil society and public bodies" (Defourny & Nyssens, 2010).

The liberal Anglo-Saxon approach has a distinct focus on the “enterprise” aspect for the sake of revenue generation than in the European counterpart (Kerlin, 2006), and in literature the approach consists of two schools. The first school refers to the use of commercial activities leading to revenue-generation by nonprofit organizations working merely in support of their mission (Kerlin 2006). Although these activities date back to community and religious groups organizing bazaars to supplement voluntary donation, the term spurred during the specific events of the late 1970s and 1980s. The Great Society and the huge funds that invested in welfare programs launched by the federal government in the 1960s were channeled through nonprofits which resulted in a sudden expansion of both new and existing nonprofits (Defourny & Nyssens, 2010). However, as a response to the economic downturn in the 1970s, the federal government made welfare retrenchments and cutbacks – also in the funding of a flourishing nonprofit sector. Consequently, nonprofits expanded their economic activities and seized the term social enterprise to fill a significant gap left by the government cutbacks (*ibid.*). The second school is tied to the organization Ashoka founded in 1980. Still in existence today, the organization searches for and supports individuals with groundbreaking ideas for social change. As opposed to the first school focusing on social enterprises as a nonprofit entity yet with an economic activity, here the individual, referred to as a public entrepreneur able to bring about social innovation seizes the focus (Defourny & Nyssens, 2010). Within this approach, social enterprise comprises several profit-oriented businesses created for solving social problems. They are registered as nonprofits, yet with a prominent focus on revenue generation (Kerlin, 2006). Social enterprises are primarily supported by private organizations providing not only financial support, but also training, research, consulting services and education. From the liberal Anglo-Saxon perspective, social enterprises tend to collaborate more with the private sector to deliver public value.

Many Western-European countries have entertained strong traditions with third-sector organizations long before the Second World War. Such traditions blossomed during the post-war period, first as initiatives to combat poverty problems, initiatives primarily based on Christian charitable traditions, and second as a quest to enhance democracy through social movements addressing challenges in society by way of

advocacy and service provision (Defourny & Nyssens, 2010). Yet, the economic downturn in the late 1970s and early 1980s posed the question of how far the third sector could assist in meeting the challenges that the nation states faced at the time. A consequence common to many European countries, was the persistence of structural unemployment, the need to reduce state budget deficits, and a need for more active integration policies (*ibid.*). Nonetheless the way these emerging challenges were met, varied according to the specificities of the European welfare state models (Defourny & Nyssens, 2010). Social enterprise in Europe, more specifically in Southern Europe, has been characterized as forming part of the “social economy” where social benefits deriving from the activities of social enterprises constitute the main driving force. While social enterprise presents a new organizational recipe or a “new form of collaboration”, their main organizational forms are typically those of cooperatives, associations, foundations, and mutual organizations (Kerlin, 2006). Although the first wave of European social enterprises emerged without any specific public support, yet the institutional environment for strategic support were developed during the 1990s, and now much more tied to the government and to the support from the EU, as opposed to the transatlantic experience (Kerlin, 2006). These developments also included new legislation and coordination of policy work by specific public units and programs. The Italian Parliament was the first European national institution to adapt a law creating a legal form for “social cooperatives”, followed by neighboring countries introducing legal forms reflecting the entrepreneurial approach of social enterprise during the second part of the 1990s (Defourny & Nyssens, 2009).

The two dominant social enterprise models identified in the Western hemisphere, and especially in Western Europe, are likely to affect the adaptation of social enterprise in the Nordic countries, therefore, the adaptation of social enterprise in Norway represents a good case in point to study how global ideas travel and how they are adapted in a new context. Indeed, in the Nordic countries, scholars have already identified two organizational models with ideological roots in the voluntary and commercial sectors inspired by the two dominant approaches of social enterprise (Andersen, Gawell & Spear, 2016). And, while Norway’s neighboring countries seemingly have chosen their development paths (e.g. Sweden has marketized several

welfare services and provided commercial opportunities to social enterprise and other private actors, while Denmark has emphasized its public sector contribution to social innovation), it appears that there still is an ambiguity with regards to the course of action for social enterprises in Norway (Enjolras et al. 2021) where both policymakers as well as the institutional environment can exert influence over which of these directions social enterprise, will take in the future in Norway.

To explore how social enterprise is adapted in Norway, I have chosen two investigative strategies: First, I investigate policymaking for social enterprise, where *policy* is understood as a collection of (in)actions directed towards social enterprises. By analyzing what type of (in)actions Norwegian policymakers adopt may provide valuable insight into the specific meaning of social enterprise vis-à-vis other welfare providers. It can also show how social enterprise is institutionalized in this novel context. Second, I analyze how institutional determinants influence social enterprises' opportunities to pursue their objectives. By exploring what demands the institutional environment exert onto Norwegian social enterprises, and how they respond to these demands, the thesis will also generate information about how and what institutional determinants shape, or rather, *adapt* social enterprise into this new context. While these are only two investigative strategies to study the adaptation of social enterprise in Norway, they nonetheless provides us with relevant knowledge of how new ways of collaborations are institutionalized in the Nordic countries.

As mentioned, exploring institutional determinants in social enterprise research is not a novel exercise. Major comparative research projects have analyzed convergences and divergences between countries. For example, since 2013, the *International Comparative Social Enterprise Models* project (ICSEM) has documented and analyzed the diversity in social enterprise models and eco-systems in 55 countries (Defourny & Nyssens, 2021). The extent to which governments have developed specific policies promoting social enterprise varies considerably. Yet, in instances where such policies have been developed, they typically aim at strengthening the "eco-systems" of social enterprise, e.g., by establishing a designated legal form, access to funding, markets and networks, fiscal arrangements, and educational and public support (Borzaga et al., 2020). Particularly relevant to Western Europe, a

synthesis of the research has highlighted the importance of social enterprise policies not least because the innovations that social enterprises produce are subsidized by public authorities to a larger degree than by commercial markets (Defourny Nyssens & Adam, 2021). Since social enterprises are highly dependent on national and local policies, they are vulnerable, and studies (e.g., Borzaga et al., 2020) argue that policies should be developed specifically to strengthen the social-enterprise ecosystems which, consequently, may lead to their independence of the state.

Furthermore, the *Micro-Institutional Social Enterprise framework* (MISE) has analyzed how formal and informal institutions at the national level affect the occurrence of social enterprise (Kerlin 2013; Monroe-White et al. 2015; Kerlin 2017; Coskun et al. 2019). What makes Norway an interesting study context beyond the need of improved understanding of how a country pertaining to the Nordic model relates to social enterprise and their opportunity structures, is that Norway deviates from what could be expected from research on effects of country-level institutions on social enterprise. Indeed, the results from the MISE study using a macro-institutional social enterprise framework, indicate that countries that spend more on public welfare, countries that have more voluntary involvement in civil society, and that are more individualistic rather than collectivistic in cultural orientations, are more likely to have a large social enterprise sector (Coskun et al., 2019). In this regard, Norway diverges from these expectations, and this thesis may therefore also contribute to understanding *why*, as well as to inform future comparative research on social enterprise.

Based on this literature review and clarification of the concepts employed here, this thesis is positioned within the broader research field of the adaptation of global ideas, reforms, and public sector innovation. The thesis demonstrates how ideas travel from different contexts, and how they are incorporated and adapted to fit a new. As such, since context-dependent features may align with or deviate from the travelling idea, the thesis further shows how global ideas can be shaped by antecedents. Thus, the thesis also explores not only context-dependent antecedents related to the Nordic model, but also specifically related to the policy, field, and applied levels. Finally, the thesis furthers the scholarly discourse on adaptation of multi-actor collaboration

within the policy field of welfare provision by investigating collaborative innovation and how this is manifested in the Nordic context and contributes with the theoretical and empirical implications regarding social enterprise as a subset of hybrid organizations.

Against this background, we are now armed with an understanding of different concepts and forms of collaborations as well as which research fields and topics this thesis relates to. In the next section, I present the study context for this thesis.

3. Study context: The Nordic Model

The Nordic countries share both history and a strong similarity concerning e.g., public management and the constellation of the welfare mix (Knutsen, 2017). The term “Nordic model” is a well-established welfare model in political science and is characterized by features such as a larger element of state participation; a higher degree of financing through taxes; and structural centralization and homogeneity (Selle, 1993). The model also promotes a strong state, collectivity, and non-economic values (Christensen, 2003). Compared to other modern welfare states, the majority of the population is covered by social security and welfare schemes (Kuhnle, 1991). The Nordic countries pertain to what Esping-Andersen (1990) termed the “social democratic welfare regime” which emphasizes the de-commodification entailing the arrangements that are a matter of rights. In other words, individuals are not dependent upon the market to survive. Indeed, this model yields the highest welfare expenditures in Europe and thus stands out due to its large public sector, a universal welfare state, and high levels of social and economic equality. The model is considered consensus-oriented, and the political culture is characterized by shared values and high support for the welfare state (Lijphart, 2012). However, the Nordic countries also have elements of the corporatist state supporting the integrated participation of interest groups in governmental processes. Additionally, these countries have strong tradition of coordination and collective action (Olsen 1983).

The Nordic countries’ democracies and economies are considered efficient and successful. They are even viewed as “model states” regarding government reform (Greve, Læg Reid & Rykkja, 2016a). Furthermore, the Nordic countries share similarities in reform profile: With the turn to NPM in the 1980s, they began institutionalizing government bodies with the mandate to conduct administrative policy (Læg Reid, 2001). This strategy allowed questions of administrative reform and change to be dealt with more systematically. It also allowed expertise on administrative policy to grow (Bjurstrøm & Christensen, 2017: 161). Yet, while in support of the NPM reforms, the Nordic countries have nevertheless embarked on a less radical reform path (Læg Reid 2001), which in practical terms have meant that

their governments have prioritized management by objectives and internal management reforms rather than the more radical approaches of downsizing and privatization, both of which have been popular in the liberal reform countries (e.g. the United Kingdom) (Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2011). Due to this less radical reform path, the Nordic countries have often been portrayed as “reluctant reformers” or “laggards” (Olsen & Peters, 1996). This nickname can partly be explained by the features of NPM reforms seemingly running counter to many of the characteristics of a state-friendly context with a universal welfare states as NPM promotes a fragmented state model (Olsen, 1988) and a neo-liberal ideology which often is coupled with apolitical views that conjures up an image of a leaner, service-oriented state, or a so-called “rolled back state” (Christensen & Lægheid, 2001). The NPM reform-content has also emphasized cost-efficiency, favoring ideas of market strategies, increased structural fragmentation and the provision of services to consumers (Bjurstrøm & Christensen, 2017: 160). The Nordic countries have traditionally cultivated a strong state tradition being more inclined to a centralized government and a large public sector, which contrasts such features. This reform trend points to the previously mentioned legacy of statism suggesting that the value system of a public sector with an extensive role of providing universal services to its citizen is so engrained in the welfare-state tradition, that despite global ideas of gradual increases in market solutions to public welfare, there is still a widespread political consensus in preserving the states’ responsibility of welfare provision. Naturally, we might have expected a rather heated political debate about the market-inspired ideology of NPM, especially in such a traditionally “state friendly” context. But parties across the political left-right-wing spectrum in the Nordic countries seem to support the NPM reforms – apart from certain disagreement concerning the degree of privatization and outsourcing (Tranvik & Selle, 2007: 223). NPM reforms are still thriving although modified, revised and redefined in an ongoing process of pragmatic and hybrid adaptation (Bjurstrøm & Christensen, 2017: 169).

Since the NPG reform wave from the 1990s onwards, the reform trends have demonstrated that the Nordic countries are more inclined to increasingly adopt radical measures. This change in reform profile, may perhaps more appropriately

characterize the Nordic countries as “in betweeners” or “modernizers” (Christensen & Læg Reid 2012; Greve & Ejserbo 2016b). The reasons for *why* NPG reforms have been adopted more radically than those of NPM can be linked to six cultural features (Bjurstrøm & Christensen, 2017): First, democratic values have dominated the political landscape (and still do) rather than concerns of efficiency. Second, social responsibility and protecting the welfare state from the adverse effects of NPM have been a clear focus within all five countries, which may explain why these countries were among the first in Europe to institutionalize NPG measures. Additionally, the Nordic countries have continued to employ these measures extensively over the past two decades in combination with those of NPM. Third, the Nordic countries have tended to favor rule-centeredness over goal-orientation. Fourth, these countries have traditionally preferred egalitarian and collective values, and been less preoccupied with individualism, competition, and the market, which are fundamental for the NPM reforms. Fifth, professional expertise in the public sector is highly encouraged over politicization of the civil service. Finally, due to the historical and lengthy corporatist past, i.e., giving private actors an opportunity to work with government to promote collective values and special interest, the Nordic countries are more likely to welcome the role of interest groups in the reform processes (Bjurstrøm & Christensen, 2017: 169). In view of this, NPG reforms seemingly runs in favor of the corporatist tradition and the legacy of cooperation found in these countries, supporting the notion that this legacy still persists and thrives to date.

The two competing legacies inherent in the Nordic model are expected to affect how global ideas are adapted. On the one hand, the legacy of statism and the characteristic of a large public sector functioning as the main provider of universal welfare (a feature that still receives high public support) will likely affect how new forms of collaboration are adapted to fit this welfare model. We might expect that the willingness and need for adopting and adapting such practices is low: The social problems that new forms of collaboration are intended to address might already be addressed by the universal welfare state, and these new forms of collaborations may be superfluous and thus co-opted into existing structures for private actors competing for contracts. On the other hand, the Nordic countries have elements of the corporatist

state supporting the integrated participation of interest groups in governmental processes and with a strong tradition of coordination and collective action (Olsen 1983; Pedersen & Kuhnle 2017) pointing to the model's legacy of cooperation. Indeed, this legacy might explain why the Nordic countries have been inclined to adopt more radical reform measures, therefore we might expect that this legacy function as a driver for the adaptation of new forms of collaboration between public, private and third sector organizations, as well as civil society. At the same time, recent studies have discovered that the corporatist element in the Nordic countries is in decline, which may indicate difficulties in re-organizing welfare provision from universal and publicly delivered services to collaborative welfare provision (e.g., Rommetvedt, 2017: 174-7). Against this background, there are sound grounds for expecting that either or both of the two legacies will affect the adaptation of new forms of collaboration.

In the next section I present the study context of Norway.

3.1 Norway

Norway is considered a prototype of Esping-Andersen's (1990) social democratic welfare regime and is also included in the well-established Nordic model (Bjurstrøm & Christensen 2017). Similar to the description above, the cooperation between public and voluntary agencies in delivering welfare is long-lived in Norway, underscoring the legacy of cooperation. Indeed, strong bonds have existed between the public sector and voluntary organizations, where mutual cooperation between the two was effective before the establishment and the heydays of the modern Norwegian welfare state (Kuhnle & Selle, 1992). A particular feature of the modern Norwegian welfare state is its relatively stable set of relationships between the public, private and third sector in provision of public welfare. Yet, due to the expansion of the welfare state, unrolling the social security system, fostering a robust state philosophy and the fact that the state largely produces welfare, now the room for ideal welfare production is rather small (Selle et al., 2018). This development emphasizes the legacy of statism. In the following, I present three reform periods and their institutional

trajectories taken by Norway. Importantly, these trajectories have developed and shaped the modern Norwegian welfare state – developments that, first, inform us about how other global ideas have been adapted, and second, developments that might shape the adaptation of new forms of collaboration.

3.1.1 Reform profile

First, from the 1950s to World War I, membership-based voluntary organizations contributed significantly to the establishment, organization, and further development of public welfare (Loga, 2018). During this time, local authorities provided limited support to associations, and voluntary organizations acted as pioneers in the field, making problems visible and initiating institutional arrangements that often were implemented as part of the public-sector realm. It is during this period that the cooperation between voluntary actors and public agencies bloomed. However, in the post-war period until the early 1980s, a strong expansion of the public welfare occurred, referred to as *communalism*, as the public sector overtook most of the institutions and services that previously had been run by the third sector (Seip 1991; Selle & Øymyr 1995). Nonetheless, local governments still played a role as a “welfare pioneer”. As a matter of fact, the modern Norwegian welfare state is a product of what is termed the “welfare triangle”¹ (Seip, 1991: 24) entailing collaboration between the state, local municipalities, and private actors. Within this group of private actors, we find organizations in the for-profit private market, voluntary organizations, and more informal actors, such as families, friends, and the local community (Seip, 1991: 21). Yet, during the development of the welfare state, especially within the labor movement, private welfare production was portrayed as undesirable as it could savor ideas of charity. The process of incorporating services and matters from the private to the public was viewed as an important mission which today is viewed as one of the most prominent characteristics of the Nordic model. Thus, ever since the early 1970s, the expansion of public welfare services accompanied by national legislation regarding the duties and responsibilities of local

¹ *Velferdstrekanten* (Seip, 1991: 24).

government coupled with a greater dependence on central government grants (Tranvik & Selle, 200: 220), constrained the space left for service provision by nonprofits. Noteworthy, the process and state initiatives were supported by most voluntary organizations (Selle et al., 2018).

Second, from 1980s onwards is most commonly associated with the introduction and spread of NPM reforms leading to outsourcing of various types of welfare services, and a growth in market actors competing for public assignments with the established nonprofit welfare providers. Despite this, no major NPM reforms were implemented, pointing to the label of being a “reluctant reformer” (Christensen et al., 2013). Still, while Norway has previously been given this label (Olsen & Peters, 1996) – mainly due to the lack of environmental pressure for reform, a non-compatible cultural tradition and political turbulence caused by a series of subsequent minority governments making it difficult to implement NPM reforms – Norway has nonetheless embarked on a gradual reform path involving certain structural devolutions of state-owned companies and agencies (Christensen & Læg Reid, 2008). Commercial welfare production has made its entry into the Norwegian welfare field through the implementation of NPM measures. Indeed, we are now witnessing a significant ideological change where market-sector solutions are increasingly making themselves relevant in all areas of society (Selle et al., 2018). Further, a type of “contract culture” has gained footing in the Norwegian public administration creating challenges for smaller welfare producers since such contracts often emphasize competition, cost-efficiency, and short-term durability (Selle et al., 2018). Although the NPM reforms altered the way in which the public sector was organized, it did not disrupt the state-dominated welfare model. In fact, NPM functioned as a set of additional values, which became implemented in the state-dominated context. The legacy of statism seemingly resisted some of the major NPM reform. Hence, the promise that lies in multi-actor collaboration might also be challenged by the dominant state philosophy that persists to date and with continued high popular support.

Finally, from the early 2000s, a period of intensive reform started, most of which were advocated by NPG elements (Christensen & Læg Reid, 2007b). At the local level

a shift toward a “joined-up government” (Pollitt 2003; Christensen & Læg Reid 2007b) occurred, where a practice with both cross-sectoral cooperation and coordination involving public and private actors have become facilitated (Christensen et al., 2013). While the Norwegian parties represented in Parliament have tended not to disagree significantly about the overall direction of the different reforms, some conflicts and tensions have emerged, yet mostly of a symbolic nature (Bjurstrøm & Christensen, 2017: 166). Hence, we might, on the other hand, expect to find increased trends toward NPG-oriented measures, including the strategies of collaboration rather than competition.

Over the past three decades the Norwegian reform profile can be depicted as an “incremental sector-based strategy” (Læg Reid, 2001). Although the previous climate of reform in Norway has been *reluctant*, the driving force behind the pragmatic changes in reform climate has been the combined efforts of various sectors, ministries, agencies and state-owned enterprises rather than the efforts of a single political or administrative body, policy entrepreneur or general governmental platforms (Bjurstrøm & Christensen, 2017: 166). The early reforms implemented in Norway have mostly been inspired by NPM measures, whereas the reforms implemented more recently have been more hybrid in nature and, in part, NPG-oriented.

3.1.2 The economy of the Norwegian welfare State

The Norwegian economy is considered well adaptable with its moderate to strong economic expansion. The development and growth of high-tech petroleum is an example of this (SSB 2019), and the country has gone from being “averagely rich” among the OECD countries in the 1970s, to becoming one of the richest in 2018 (*ibid.*). Noteworthy, neither the Oil Crisis of the 1970s nor the Financial Crisis of 2007-08 affected the Norwegian economy particularly hard as it did the rest of Europe, and even its neighboring countries. For instance, in Sweden and Finland, the 2007 Financial Crisis led to a considerable withdrawal of the welfare state (Selle et al. 2018). Considering the responses to such ‘exogenous shocks’ in Scandinavia and Europe, the Norwegian welfare provision and economy has remained stable, and the

need for support from private actors in service delivery has, comparatively speaking, not been particularly high. In view of this, there might be a limited need to adapt new global ideas of collaboration.

As with welfare states elsewhere, Norway has also received considerable moral, ideological, bureaucratic, and economic criticism, despite being an attractive and successful model (Kuhnle & Kildal, 2018: 15). According to the 2017 Perspective Report (Meld. St. 29 (2016-2017)) issued by the Norwegian Government, the Norwegian Pension Fund will not continue to grow at the same rate as before. Rather, it is expected to decrease, as the oil-market prices are, and will continue to be, at a historical low. Furthermore, the Norwegian demography is changing, not least in terms of gradual yet steady increase in the aged population, resulting in a demographic imbalance in the population. Additionally, there exists an underlying uncertainty of how many immigrants that are arriving and will continue to arrive in Norway. The concern is not that Norway receives people willing to live and work in Norway. Rather, the concern is that there are barriers regarding the process of integration hindering them in contributing to the income account of the Norwegian welfare state (Hatland, 2018: 281). In policy papers, the government has called for innovation in e.g., introduction programs through collaborations with social enterprises (Ministry of Education & Research, 2019).

Traditional administrative structures are being challenged by new demands, user-needs, and preferences. Indeed, the economic challenges that the welfare politics face today is what captures the most attention in public debates in Norway: While there is a consensus among the political parties to preserve the Norwegian welfare model, the Government is particularly focused on finding resolute strategies aiming to protect the economy of the welfare state (Hatland, 2018: 287). Thus, political debates have spurred regarding how to activate, mobilize, and develop a renewed public-third sector relationship (Selle et al., 2018). An increased political focus has been directed toward public sector innovation and new “buzzwords”, including collaborative innovation and social enterprise (Meld. St. 30; KMD 2017; Ministry of Education & Research 2019). There is political consensus on improving the possibility conditions for non-profit and not-for-profit organizations which may re-enforce the public-third

sector relationships. At the same time discussions of privatizing welfare has also come to the fore (Herning, 2015). Indeed, this issue constitutes one of the main areas of conflict between parties on the left-right political spectrum in Norway. Where the political left highlights public ownership and public employees as means to secure equal access to services of high quality to all citizens, the political right emphasizes privatization and marketization to secure the economic sustainability of the welfare state. The conflict is not so much about “either or”. Rather, it is about “how much” public versus private contributions should exist, with the issue of profit generating most disagreement. This conflict is manifested in the heated “welfare profiteer debate” (Herning, 2015), fueled by examples of commercial organizations generating substantial profit from the welfare services they sell. While the political left considers this issue a serious moral question, the political right asserts that possibilities for profit is a necessary incentive to maintain the economic sustainability of the welfare state and to foster innovation. The skepticism toward the market turn is also related to labor legislation. The organized labor movement has been an important development for securing labor rights in the Nordic countries. The aim has been to raise the standard of living for workers while at the same time to protect their interests (Bull, 1976) and is rooted on left-wing politics about the protection of workers from being exploited by the capitalist system (Gjerde, 2019). In this light, we might expect that the skepticism towards commercial actors may affect the adaptation of new forms of collaborations in ways that excludes certain actors from participating. Despite these tensions, collaboration has in policy papers nonetheless been tied to public sector innovation.

3.1.3 Public sector innovation

To date, no formal course of action has been taken regarding public sector innovation in Norway. Yet, in 2020, the Government issued a White Paper called “Innovation in the Public Sector (Meld. St. 30). In the White Paper, the Government developed three principles for promoting innovation in the public sector, namely (1) public servants and the public sector must create a scope of action that incentivizes innovation; (2) leaders must develop a culture and relevant competences for innovation, and (3) public organizations must search for new forms to collaborate (St. Meld. 30). Even

though the third principle emphasizes new ways of collaborating, only two chapters in the White Paper are devoted to the discussion of collaborative innovation, though from two somewhat diverging notions, namely democracy and efficiency, separately. Measures for enhancing democracy is related to the third sector and to terminology such as co-creation (*samskaping*) of public services together with voluntary organizations, citizens, or the given target groups. Enhancing efficiency, on the other hand, is tied to solving wicked problems, and public sector organizations are encouraged to develop more innovation through new forms of collaboration, in which the private sector is a central partner. To exploit the innovative potential of the private sector, the public sector should collaborate by creating new enterprises and incentivizing the important innovative momentum from startups, such as social enterprises (Meld. St. 30).

Policy documents seeking to facilitate and enhance collaboration between public, private and third sector actors has been issued, e.g., an instruction book for how the public sector can collaborate with social enterprises instruction book (KMD 2017). The aim is to inspire elected representatives, administrative workers, street-level bureaucrats, and state-owned enterprises to see the possibilities in collaborating with social enterprises. One reason for why the instruction book was published must be viewed in relation to the phenomenon's incipience and to the lack of a formal definition, certification system or organizational form for social enterprise in Norway. These organizations must adapt to the existing institutional landscape highlighting the variety of legal frameworks they can relate to, which can make social enterprise difficult to conceptualize by public sector organizations. Another reason for the need of this instruction book is that social enterprises face challenges in making visible their social mission and disassociating themselves from for-profit enterprises due to the "welfare profiteer debate".

On these grounds, we again find that the legacy of statism blossoms in tandem with the legacy of cooperation. Important to underscore is that the legacy of cooperation is first and foremost oriented towards civil society, and the market element still is controversial as seen in the existing welfare profiteer debate.

4. Theoretical framework

Neo-institutionalism and the subfield of historical institutionalism have been the overall framework for the analyses in this thesis. In this chapter, I discuss the understanding of how global ideas are diffused, adopted, and adapted, as well as theories to conceptually understand these processes. While the diffusion and adaptation of global ideas can be viewed as part of a connected and continuous process, the focus of this thesis is the *process of adaptation* at the three analytical levels. The underlying presupposition is that the new context may shape the process as well as the global ideas. Furthermore, the adaptation of global ideas also entails change. I therefore consider institutional change and the related concept of path dependence, since a historical institutionalism presupposes that institutions develop along path-dependent trajectories. Armed with this theoretical framework, I will be able to explain and conceptualize the overarching research problem as well as the research questions in this thesis. Within this overall framework, the three individual articles then present more specialized theoretical approaches in line with their research questions and designs.

4.1 The spread of global ideas

Organizations, whether public or private, are driven by global ideas developed through social and cultural processes that are diffused around the world (Christensen, 2012), which have potentially major impacts in nation states creating isomorphy (Di Maggio & Powell, 1983). Organizations do not only adapt to technical pressures. They also adapt to societal expectations as organizations are highly dependent on legitimacy. They therefore conform to “rationalized myths” in society about what constitutes an appropriate way of organizing (Boxenbaum & Jonsson, 2008: 78). These myths emerge as solutions to widely perceived problems and once they are believed to be *the* appropriate solution to the given problem, they become rationalized (Boxenbaum & Jonsson, 2008: 78). As increasingly more organizations conform to these myths, they become more deeply institutionalized (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). Institutional isomorphism is thus consolidated by the processes that

further the diffusion of ideas, practices and prescribed organizational structures among organizations (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983).

In their seminal article on institutional change, DiMaggio and Powell (1983) outline three isomorphic pressures that lead organizations to become increasingly more similar. *Coercive pressures* which result from demands of the state or other large actors to adopt specific structures, practices or working methods to avoid facing any sanctions; *mimetic pressures* which arise primarily from uncertainty, i.e. that organizations imitate other organizations that are perceived to be successful; and *normative pressures*, which are based on what is considered a moral duty, often associated with professionals as they hold values of what is “proper” within their field (Boxenbaum & Jonsson, 2008: 81). This theoretical entrance point is fruitful in understanding why and how change occurs in modern welfare states and how ideas and practices of governance paradigms are adapted. As such, public sector innovation as new forms of collaboration can be viewed as “rationalized myths” of appropriate ways to organize the public sector and to address and manage societal issues in the field of welfare.

Following this theoretical perspective, it is natural to assume that features of the national context matter for how an idea is adapted, which demonstrate the change capacity of the given national context. While countries may adapt similar practices, understandings and policies, the imprint of the national context is still significant and suggests that they will change in distinct ways. The Nordic welfare-state model is characterized by universal welfare and a consensual democracy model with corporatist features negotiations with many involved actors (Lijphart, 2012). The Nordic model has furthermore emphasized the de-commodification entailing arrangements that are a matter of right, i.e., individuals are not dependent upon the market to survive (Esping-Andersen, 1990). Welfare-state regimes as a theoretical framework have been highly influential in research on social policy and in explaining variations in reform trends and is also relevant for the present thesis.

4.2 The adaptation of ideas

Seminal studies have explored the diffusion and translation of public administration reform (see eg. Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2011). Indeed, these reforms are good examples of how the interpretation of a fashionable idea occurs differently in different contexts, and the process of translating these fashionable ideas will consequently vary. Public sector reforms can also be seen as political responses to societal needs, and the response processes of governments can include imitation, subordination, fashion following, or sometimes all of the above (Czarniawska & Jorges, 1996: 17).

Translation theory undoubtedly signals a vibrant and growing research field, especially within the studies of organization and public administration (Wæraas & Nielsen, 2015). Fruitful for the present study are the theoretical assumptions that “to set something in a new place is to construct it anew” (Czarniawska & Sevón, 2005: 8), and the diffusion in time and space of an idea is presumed to be brought about by people, each acting in different manners (Scheuer & Scheuer, 2008: 111). Whether an idea is successfully diffused and implemented, depends on the number of humans and objects that become associated with the idea and start acting on behalf of it during the processes of translation (*ibid.*). Thus, by studying the adaptation of global ideas in modern welfare states at three analytical levels, I will be able to explore the complexity of institutionalizing new ideas, what actors, organizations and institutions that become associated with the idea and act on behalf of it or against it, and what policy issues they touch upon.

Of interest is not a linguistic interpretation of an idea, rather it is the idea-spreading, traditionally discussed in terms of “diffusion” where ideas travel from one context and are culturally hybridized or appropriated into another context, by the process of translation, which can be understood as “the spread in time and space of anything [...where] people may act in different ways, letting [it] drop, modifying it, deflecting it, betraying it, adding to it, or appropriating it” (Latour, 1996: 267). Thus, translation becomes an attractive concept to employ when seeking to understand change as it comprises “what exists and what is created; the relationship between human and ideas, ideas and objects and human and objects” (Czarniawska & Joerges, 1996: 24).

The spread of promising practices to other organizations, jurisdictions and contexts, and the translation of them, is particularly important for the public sector and a significant element of public sector innovation (Hartley, 2005). Additionally, the ongoing process of globalization is also a factor that both spurs and facilitates the discussion and circulation of innovations. We can thus find strong resemblances between which fashionable ideas, models or practices are institutionalized, especially in Western democracies. Yet, despite the resemblances, the institutionalization of them may vary because when they are applied in a setting different from that of the prototype, the time- and space-bounded features are excluded as specific prerequisites are omitted (Sahlin-Andersson, 1996: 86). In other words, the prototype is dis-embedded, i.e., decoupled or distanced from the time and space in which it originates. So, when an idea is adopted into a new context, it is contextualized or re-embedded, to fit this new context (Sahlin-Andersson, 1996: 86). When exploring contextual variations, it is important to study the institutional framework of the new context. Accordingly, the examination of structural trajectories of political systems and structural design of specialization and coordination measures is an important exercise when seeking to understand how and why variations among countries that have adopted the same global ideas exist, especially since public goals can be achieved through different structures (Gulick, 1937).

4.2.1 Translation of ideas

Translation theory in organizational studies originates from the sociology of translation found in actor-network theories (Wæraas & Nielsen, 2015). It was developed by the French sociologists Michel Callon (1986) and Bruno Latour (1986, 1987), but has been further developed by Scandinavian institutionalists. While there traditionally is little reference across the two translation perspectives (see Wæraas & Nielsen, 2015), I argue that combining the two perspectives will enrich the analyses of how global ideas are adapted. It will also allow us to study the plethora of actors and features (politicians, ideologies, organizations, existing structures as well as individuals) that are involved in the translation, or adaptation, of new global ideas.

The primary focus of the actor-network perspective on translation, is that the process of translation occurs in a setting that has diverging or conflicting meanings or interests. As the perspective might suggest, this understanding of the translation process is more actor-oriented than the Scandinavian institutionalist perspective and involves the mobilization of a network of actors supporting a given object or claim. In other words, actors rely on different discursive techniques, tactics, maneuvers or even tricks to convince other actors to embrace a specific point of view (Callon 1986; Latour 1986).

The Scandinavian institutionalist perspective is portrayed as one of the promising new directions of institutional thinking (Clegg, 2010). Scandinavian institutionalists emphasize the circulation of ideas and practices (Djelic & Sahlin-Andersson, 2006), and, compared to the actor-network stance, its primary focus is on the context in which the idea or innovation is diffused as well as the receiving context, in which it is adopted. Indeed, the notion of translation is understood in terms of the “transference of organizational ideas” (Røvik, 2007: 247). In his seminal work, Røvik (2007) suggests that there are different reasons for why organizational ideas are translated. As an example, global ideas, e.g., quality management or management by objectives, can increase an organization’s self-perception of being a relevant, timely and modern. Furthermore, the terms *de-contextualization* and *contextualization* can help us explain and conceptualize the spread of ideas from one context or organization to another (Røvik 2007: 261). De-contextualization entails that a practice within an organization is extracted from its original environment and then modified in order to be exported to other organizations. In other words, practices are translated to ideas. When the modified practice is introduced in a new organizational context, it is *contextualized*. It travels to a new and complex context where the ideas are translated to practice. Here, ideas and practices are understood to travel across social levels, going from being an abstract idea to objects with real existence (i.e., ideas are transformed to objects), or they become enacted practices (ideas are transformed to actions) (Wæraas & Nielsen, 2015). Thus, the main characteristic of this theoretical stance is its conception of translation as a change process that leads to modification both when the construct is diffused, and when it is adopted. Indeed, Wæraas and Nielsen (2015) have found that

most studies employing this perspective focus on how individual organizations bring, adopt and adapt largely conceptual ideas.

Yet, while both the actor-network and the Scandinavian institutionalist theoretical approaches have somewhat different starting points, focusing on different aspects of the translation processes, both stances may nevertheless benefit from each other and should be viewed as complementary approaches. Scandinavian institutionalists prioritize the source and recipient context, the actor-network perspective explains the processes in which objects are transformed into ideas and prepared for diffusion and institutionalization (Wæraas & Nielsen, 2015). Against this background, the actor-network approach can benefit from including a more context-dependent analytical focus, which may strengthen and even provide a more integrated understanding of the process of translation. On the other hand, the Scandinavian approach emphasizes the translation rules and practices, and therefore does neither prioritize individual actors, nor power relations, asymmetries or struggles among the actors involved, which can be a fruitful understanding of how translations are picked up and facilitated by actors in the given process.

In this respect, I argue that the actor-network perspective and Scandinavian institutionalist approach should be viewed as complementary perspectives trying to say something about the same phenomenon, namely how an object changes from one state to another within and across organizational settings (Wæraas & Nielsen 2015).

4.3 Institutional change

From the discussions above, we know that to understand how an idea or innovation is translated, we must, at least in part, pay attention to the receiving context and its institutional design. A central concept in historical institutionalism is path dependence, which in a broad sense can be understood as “what [has] happened at an earlier point in time, will affect the possible outcomes of a sequence of events occurring at a later point in time” (Sewell, 1996: 262-3). This definition asserts that “history matters” (Pierce, 2000). More narrowly, path dependence can also be understood as “once a country or region has started down a track, the costs of reversal

are very high. There will be other choice points, but the entrenchments of certain institutional arrangements obstruct an easy reversal of the initial choice...” (Levi 1997: 28). Common to both definitions is that path dependence entails that specific directions made during the framing, decision and implementation of policies will shape further developments by creating patterns and institutional stability. Within this tradition, much of the scholarly literature has focused on equilibrium and stability (Peters, Pierre & King, 2005: 1275). Change is consequently understood as rare events caused by conflicts and external shocks, which often have been studied in terms of “punctuated equilibrium” (Krasner, 1984) and critical junctures (Collier & Collier, 1991), which similarly emphasize the importance of temporality. This research tradition has been criticized for its narrow understanding of stability and rare shocks, as well as for insufficient explanations of change. Critics therefore suggest that instead, changes take place incrementally and in less dramatic ways (e.g., Streeck & Thelen, 2005).

New models have thus sought to improve the understanding of change, suggesting that it happens more gradually. Indeed, gradual institutional change highlights internal drivers and incremental development (e.g. Mahoney & Thelen 2010; Streeck & Thelen 2005) and departs from the notion that gradual developments also can lead to profound changes in the long terms (Hacker, 2005). I expect that the adaptation of new global ideas will be characterized – at least to some degree – by path-dependence and gradual institutional change. Yet, specific to the Nordic context, the question that remains is whether the change will be marked by the path of cooperation, or the path of statism.

4.4 The receiving context, its institutional fields and institutional logics

The adaptation of global ideas, whether at the policy, field or applied level, entails change. Thus, it is imperative to focus on the receiving context of global ideas and how the receiving context manages tensions between established rules and practices on the one hand, and the travelling idea on the other. To further understand the

receiving context, the Nordic model represented by the Norwegian welfare state, I finally direct attention to the receiving context and its institutional fields and logics. Institutional logics are fruitful to employ as it enables us to understand how and why sector and organizational boundaries exist as well as by which logic they operate. Since the studied new forms of collaborations entails crossing these boundaries, we might also expect a rendezvous between different logics.

Institutional logics are overarching rules and norms shaping the values and goals of an institutional field (Friedland & Alford, 1991), and are considered the “standard mode of operating” making behaviors predictable within the institutional field (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008). Billis (2010) has developed a template for the categories of public, private and nonprofit organizations that clarifies and predicts behaviors. Public-sector organizations are characterized by the principles of public benefit and collective choice. They are owned by the state and the citizens and are resourced through taxation. Private-sector organizations are guided by market forces to maximize on financial return. They generate revenue from sales and fees, are owned by shareholders, and their governance structures are dependent on size of share ownership. Private-sector organizations are market by the so-called “market logic”, characterized by profit, competition, and commercial relationships (Alford and Friedland, 1985, pp. 200-262). It further promotes responsive and efficient public-service delivery (Nicholls, 2010). Finally, nonprofit organizations are owned by their members, and they generate revenue from donations and membership fees. Their goals are often tied to social and environmental causes, and their governance structure consists of private election of representatives, in combination with employees and volunteers (Doherty et al., 2014). The logic of non-profit organizations is the social welfare logic (alternatively called community logic and social mission logic) and emphasizes public service, solidarity, altruism and social objectives. The social welfare logic promotes social service provision, collective action, empowerment and addresses pressing societal issues such as poverty and health (Woodside, 2016).

Regarding the study context of this thesis, I expect that institutional logics to some degree will impact the process of adaptation studied in the present thesis, whether it

be different logics among policymakers, within the organizational field of welfare provision or between two public sector organizations. Additionally, seeing that the public sector has a large and prominent role in the Nordic model, and due to the clear sector lines and division of labor between the three economic sectors in the Nordic countries, it may be difficult not only to make room for new forms of collaboration that crosses sector and organizational lines, but also to understand the hybridity in combining different institutional logics. In the final section of this chapter, I present the thesis' research design and further contextualize and operationalize the research articles.

5. Design, methods and data

This chapter illustrates the nature of the relationship between the theoretical and empirical research in this thesis. The chapter consists of five sections. First, it starts with a presentation of the research design followed by an account of case study design before it continues with an operationalization of key concepts and a discussion of the case selections. The next section proceeds to consider the data, which consists of semi-structured interviews with relevant actors. The chapter ends with a section on analytical strategies for the thesis, a discussion of validity consideration as well as opportunities for generalization before a concluding discussion on research limitations.

5.1 Exploratory case study

Both the research design for the thesis as well as the articles are built on a case-study approach. While many academic attempts to clarify the meaning of “case study” exist, it has, according to John Gerring (2004: 342) lead to a “definitional morass”, where each time someone attempts to clear up the mess of definition it just gets worse (Flyvbjerg, 2011). A universal definition of a “case” in case studies is “an instance of a class of events” (George & Bennett 2005: 17). Here, the “instance” can mean individual unit or a bounded system (Flyvbjerg 2011; Stake 2008). Indeed, the crucial factor in defining a study as a case study is the selection of the case(s) as well as setting its boundaries. The term “class of events” refers to a phenomenon of interest such as how global ideas are adapted by modern welfare states.

Moreover, a case study is a rich empirical depiction of isolated examples of a phenomenon, often based on different sources (Yin, 2014). The research design and research problems are often developed non-linearly (Richards, 2015), thus, designing an inquiry in the natural environment of the study object(s) are rarely developed in advance, rather they emerge, develop, and unfold (Lincoln & Guba, 1985: 225). This approach has been purposeful to employ since it allows for an adaptive research design, which can be modified as the researcher gains more insight about the cases,

what data material to analyse and even the phenomenon of interest (Yin, 2018: 63). This flexibility has been vital for the research process as is elaborated in section 5.1.1 and 5.1.3, below. Indeed, the flexibility that a case-study approach offers has been important for the development of the research design of this thesis and can be described as a two-step process. I first began studying new forms of collaborations in specific types of welfare services. However, I became quickly aware that this approach was too narrow since there is no coherent strategy for municipalities or service providers to adapt new forms of collaboration. This realization led me to expand the research design and approach the adaptation of new forms of collaboration from a threefold analytical approach. I then studied policy documents, political platforms, and national guidelines for fostering and institutionalizing new forms of collaboration and identified a strong rhetoric for increasing such practices. Specifically, the rhetoric concerned making room for social enterprise and collaborative innovation processes often defined as “co-creation” (samskapning). This led me to formulate articles 1 and 2, i.e., on policy development and social enterprises’ encounter with the institutional environment. At the same time, I was contacted by researchers from an R&D project studying the development and implementation of a collaborative innovation project of a new Introduction Program for Refugees which had established a social enterprise as one of its innovations. I was invited in to conduct research on the development and operation of the social enterprise and how it worked as a vehicle for integration (both related to language skills and work), which fit neatly in the research design. This research process demonstrates the flexibility and opportunities for this type of case-study approach and shows how the thesis developed from a narrow starting point into a broader threefold study.

5.1.1 Case selection

A case study can consist of one or more cases, depending on the research question and the overarching aim of the study. One case can be relevant for providing rich depictions of a phenomenon, while several cases can provide a more solid base for theory development (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007). The research problems raised in this thesis are formulated broadly and concern how modern welfare states adapt global ideas. This was in part a pragmatic choice due to the incipience of social

enterprise and collaborative innovation in the Nordic context, and because of challenges related to the third article (see section 5.1.3). Nevertheless, to obtain in-depth knowledge about the process of adapting global ideas, three different sub-cases were selected exploring the research questions from different analytical levels.

Below, I present the case selections at the three analytical levels.

The policy level

In policy documents, especially relating to public sector innovation and the sustainability of the Norwegian welfare state, cross-sectoral partnerships with social enterprise are highlighted as a desirable means to counter for wicked problems. In fact, social enterprise has become a “buzzword” among policymakers with a promise that social enterprise can address wicked problems in areas such as work integration of vulnerable groups, elderly care, and youth activities. In the process of forming the research design, I conducted and recorded preliminary interviews with actors, including different ministries, philanthropic organizations, and other network actors, in the field of social enterprise in Norway from all three economic sectors to gain insights into “what is going on here” (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2007). These preliminary interviews indicated that certain tensions among the understanding and framing of social enterprise and how the collaboration with these types of organizations should occur existed – especially among political parties and among those that fund and support these organizations. They also indicated that it was difficult for social enterprise to be accepted within the policy field of welfare provision. I thus turned to the international, scholarly discourse on policy development for social enterprise, which is highly debated in the literature. While some countries have developed policies in terms of legal form, formal registries, reservation in public procurements and tax deduction, the type of policy developed has been proved to be highly dependent on context (Defourny & Nyssens, 2010). On the other hand, introducing social enterprise policy does not necessarily imply an immediate adaptation of the concept nor an immediate improvement of their possibility conditions. Yet, and in line with extant research (see e.g., Andersen & Hulgård, 2016), my assumption is that recognition through policy in terms of a legal form may be particularly important for their opportunity structures due to the state’s

dominant role in providing and subsidizing welfare services. This is because social enterprise is considered an ambiguous idea for the universal welfare state potentially contributing to privatization and decreased state responsibility on the one hand, *or* alternatively establishing new arenas for solidarity and civic engagement on the other (Andersen & Hulgård, 2016). In the absence of a social enterprise policy, they may find it difficult to be recognized as something different than commercial and voluntary organizations, increasing isomorphic pressure and the risk of being co-opted into behaving like existing welfare service providers (Enjorlas et al. 2021). Additionally, municipalities may find it difficult to understand and engage with these organizations, not least since increasing state-control makes municipalities risk averse.

The selected case at the policy level is therefore policy development for social enterprise in the Nordic model represented by the study context of Norway. In carrying out this study, it was imperative to gather all political documents relevant for policy development as well as to contact and interview politicians with the power to develop and formulate policy for these organizations. First, relevant policy documents published by the Government since 2010 (when social enterprise was officially first mentioned in Parliament) were assessed and read. This gave a preliminary understanding of which parties had developed substantial conceptions, definitions, and roles for social enterprise. Surprisingly, this step yielded little information which highlighted the incipience of these types of organizations. Second, a list of relevant politicians or policymakers representing the nine largest political parties, most of which were members of parliament, was developed. Since not all political parties had expressed policy intentions, some politicians at the local or regional level within the party organization was also included in this list. From 2018 to 2020 the Norwegian policymakers were interviewed.

The field level

As mentioned above and based on the preliminary interviews with relevant actors in the field, it became evident that social enterprises had difficulties in entering the policy field of welfare provision. In light of the preliminary findings from the study for article 1, the question of how social enterprises adapt to the Norwegian

organizational field emerged as an interesting point of departure at the field level. Knowledge about hybrid organization in general and social enterprise in particular is still insufficient in the Nordic context, therefore conducting the first in-depth study of how social enterprise experience and respond to institutional complexity, i.e. multiple competing logics and demands, in the policy field of welfare provision yielded novel knowledge not only about different hybridization strategies for social enterprise, but also about the characteristics of how new forms of collaborations are established, adapted and when they are acknowledged as legitimate in this study context. To investigate how social enterprises manage institutional complexity, 12 social enterprises were contacted, yet due to a low response rate (partially rooted in the covid-19 pandemic), five Norwegian social enterprises were recruited to the sample.

The applied level

In summer of 2019, I was invited onto a research project conducting normative process research of the development and implementation of two new Introduction Programs for Refugees in “Seaside municipality”. I developed a project idea for the research group and was given complete insight into the Integration Program for Women Refugees and its social enterprise “International Cuisine”. Before deciding a research question and relevant case-study informants, I read a preliminary research report on the development of the innovation project and the “International Cuisine”, I attended a week-long workshop about the innovation project with all the actors involved participated. Here, I was able to discuss important issues related to the project and the social enterprise, as well as observe the *in-situ* development and planned implementation of it. Having the possibility to attend the workshop and to observe the relevant informants for this study, gave me a more profound understanding of relevant research questions as well as drivers and pitfalls in the projects, in other words, I became acquainted with the research setting by asking open-ended questions such as “what is going on here?” (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2007). While the initial focus of this case study was the social enterprise, this project nevertheless allowed me to study how public organizations adapt new forms of collaborations, i.e., a collaborative innovation project (a type of joined-up government) being case in point. While this is an apparent limitation, yet the case

nonetheless yielded fruitful insights identifying characteristics of the adaptation of global ideas at the applied level. However, a holistic contribution studying the adaptation of only *one* form of collaboration, i.e., social enterprise, would indeed provide a more integrated approach for studying the raised research problem and the threefold research questions.

Study period

I started working on my thesis in February 2018 and ended the data collection in the spring of 2021. The thesis has been delimited to this data-collection period, yet it is meant to study current characteristics of the adaptation of global ideas. The historical-institutionalist framework meant that it nonetheless was important to address background and contextual features, such as state legacies and reform trends. The contextualization of the historical background was important to broaden the scope of the thesis and improve the opportunities for analytical generalizations.

5.1.2 Operationalization of key concepts

A research design entails the plan that connects the raised research questions, the chosen theoretical framework, data, and findings in a given study (Yin, 2018: 26). This definition also entails an operationalization of the key concept for the study in light of the theoretical perspectives. In empirical studies, research designs are not always considered in detail (*ibid.*), yet an elucidation of how the key concepts relate to the theoretical perspectives can make the analysis and implications clearer. In the following, I operationalize the overarching research problem and raised questions for the three articles.

The research problem of this thesis is: How are global ideas adapted by modern welfare states? How might welfare state models affect the adaptation? To investigate this research problem, I have raised three research questions:

- 1) How are policymakers adapting new forms of collaboration by way of policymaking?
- 2) How are new forms of collaboration adapted in the policy field of welfare provision?

3) How are new forms of collaboration adapted in local public sector organizations?

As the research questions suggest, I have analyzed how new forms of collaborations are adapted into the Nordic welfare model at a policy, field, and applied level. Overall, the framework's emphasis on contextual features of the welfare model and path-dependent changes has led me to expect to find (at least) two possible trajectories characterizing the change capacity: First, the legacy of cooperation is expected to function as a driver for the adaptation process. Actors, organizations, or institutions promoting this legacy are therefore assumed to champion cross-organizational and cross-sectoral collaboration. As discussed above, this model is also an interesting study context as it has moved toward a more radical reform path concerning changes in governance reform. This move from a "reluctant reformer" to a "modernizer" suggests that there is a willingness and ability to reform. Also, since the examples of new forms of collaboration studied in this thesis, have been lifted higher than before on the political agenda to address wicked problems, suggests that there is a political desire to adapt these practices. Yet, on the other hand, the legacy of statism is assumed to function as a barrier for – or at least yield certain skepticism toward – the adaptation of new forms of collaboration. The role of the public sector as the primary service provider still enjoys strong popular support. Additionally, in political debates, there exist a skepticism toward private actors in the provision of welfare. Thus, since both "social enterprise" and "collaborative innovation" are rather incipient concepts in this context, actors, organizations, or institutions favoring this legacy are assumed to be skeptic toward making changes in the dominant role of the public sector as the main welfare provider. Since these two possible trajectories diverge from each other, I expect certain tensions to arise which will characterize the change capacity of the (Nordic) modern welfare state.

5.1.3 Operationalization

Both the contextualization and operationalization of the key concepts are imperative for a study's research design and measurement validity (Adcock & Collier 2001; Yin

2018). In the following, I revisit the research question for each of the individual articles and further specify the concepts and level of analysis pertinent to each article.

Article 1

The research purpose of article 1 is to explore how top-level policymakers across the political left-right spectrum in a social-democratic welfare state understand social enterprise, its relation to existing welfare institutions, and their intentions of policymaking toward social enterprise. Furthermore, the article seeks to understand why and how social enterprise policy vary between countries depending on the interplay between country-specific political controversies and institutional trajectories for provision of welfare. The article also explores the reasons given by policymakers at the national level in Norway for choosing inaction over action in policymaking towards social enterprise. Indeed, in Europe, three main ways to recognize social enterprise have been identified, one of which is recognizing social enterprise through a legal form. As such, it becomes interesting to study how Norwegian policymakers understand social enterprise as a phenomenon and vis-à-vis existing welfare arrangements, and if and whether they are willing to adopt a policy for such organizations.

Additionally, from a policymaking perspective, social enterprises can be considered ambiguous since they combine institutional logics similar to those of voluntary organizations, public organization and commercial organizations. In recent years, there has been a considerable interest in understanding what eco-systems social enterprises need in order to realize their objective as cross-sectoral collaborators (Borzaga et al., 2020), and especially in Europe, this has motivated social enterprise policy recommendations regarding legal organizational forms, fiscal arrangements, as well as access to markets, funding and networks. Adopting such recommendations is not a forgone conclusion, since the interests of social enterprises may indeed collide with the interests of the public, private and/or third sector. As such, social enterprise is a malleable concept (Teasdale, 2012) since the phenomenon can be translated to conform with several political ideologies and is thus a challenging phenomenon to delimit as a policy field. In the Nordic countries, social enterprise is incipient, yet the adaptation of the phenomenon is inspired both by the developments in corporatist

European states as well as the liberal countries (e.g. Great Britain and the U.S.). To date, the concept is understood as potentially ambiguous for the universal welfare state: On the one hand, it might lead to a dismantling of the welfare state, while on the other it can establish new arenas for collaboration, solidarity, and civic engagement (Andersen & Hulgård, 2016). Finally, there is also a notable tension concerning policymaking as well. Policymaking for social enterprises may create risks of reducing social enterprises to merely instruments for achieving certain priorities on the political agenda. While acknowledging that policymaking indeed goes beyond only the establishment of an organizational forms, as policy can also entail e.g., fiscal arrangements, new procurement processes and practices, we delimited our study to focus solely on policymaking in terms of a legal organizational form when seeking to explore how policymakers adapt new forms of collaboration. In absence of a policy in terms of an organizational form, social enterprises may find it difficult to establish a proper identity and be recognized as something different than either commercial or voluntary organizations, increasing isomorphic pressure and the risk of being co-opted into behaving like existing welfare providers (Enjolras et al., 2021). Finally, without a specific legal form, municipalities may find it difficult to understand and engage with these organizations, not least since increasing state control makes municipalities risk averse. Therefore, this point of entrance and the reason for selecting to study policymaking in terms of a legal organizational form rests on the assumption that recognition through policy is important to create sustainable ecosystems for these organizations to thrive. A caveat is, however, necessary. Although the focus of this article is to explore policymaking in terms of a legal organizational form in the novel study context of Norway, neither I, nor my co-author, assume that implementing a legal organizational form is a panacea for improving the social enterprise ecosystem.

While lacking a designated legal form for social enterprise in Norway, two models, nonetheless, seem to dominate the field; the entrepreneurial non-profit and the social venture models (Enjolras et al., 2021). The former is inspired by market-oriented approaches in the liberal countries, while the latter is inspired by the European social-economy tradition. Compared to many European countries, Norway does not have a

specific legal status for social enterprise and by studying how policymakers across the political left-right spectrum in Norway understand social enterprise, its relation to existing welfare institutions, and what their policymaking intentions are, we seek to find historical, ideological, and political institutional factors that help us explain their reluctance to develop a policy. Considering the heated political debate regarding private welfare provision in Norway, we expected that the social enterprise models identified in scholarly literature and present in Western Europe, would appeal differently to policymakers depending on their political position on the left-right spectrum for reasons that can be attributed to the institutional development and historic legacies in the Norwegian welfare state. We included top-level policymakers in the study to answer the research question. The theoretical framework's emphasis on path dependence and historical traditions made it important to link the responses from the policymakers both according to the three research questions or parameters *and* along the left-right wing divide.

Article 2

The point of departure for this article was to study how social enterprises, as a subset of hybrid organizations, adapt to the organizational field. Social enterprise is an organizational recipe that draw on at least two different sectoral logics or value systems (Doherty et al., 2014). As such, they pursue a dual mission: on the one hand, they pursue a social goal prescribed by what is called the “social-welfare logic”, while on the other, they seek to optimize their income strategies by following prescriptions of the “market logic” (Mair et al., 2015). While social enterprise has received growing recognition, yet little prior knowledge exists regarding how such organizations meet with and manage institutional complexity in the Nordic model, i.e., how they characterize, prioritize, and manage multiple logics (Greenwood et al., 2011). The extant research has demonstrated that tensions arise when external demands are internalized by such hybrid organizations and have shown that certain organizations manage to sustain multiple logics, some resort to one dominant logic, some organizations compartmentalize different institutional logics, some hybrids thrive, and some fail (Kraatz & Block, 2008). The article investigates how social enterprises respond to institutional complexity in Norway and what structural and

strategic organizational responses they internalize when externally engaging with multiple logics. To address the raised research questions, I included five social enterprises in my sample to study their responses to institutional complexity.

Because the value system of a strong state with an extensive role and responsibility in providing universal welfare is so engrained in the welfare-state traditions, there is still a widespread political consensus in Norway on preserving the role of the public sector as *the* welfare provider. Due to recent market trends in the policy field of welfare provision, a political debate labelled the “welfare profiteer debate” has reached a culminating point concerning how much profit is acceptable for commercial actors to extract from welfare provision. This debate has affected private organization to demonstrate distance to market motives. Since social enterprise is an organizational recipe that has been diffused from other countries and is now adopted and adapted into the Nordic context, social enterprise must adapt to a context with strongly entrenched trends and value systems of the public sector. Since the findings from article 1 shows that policymakers put social enterprises on an equal footing as other private actors that must adapt to the procurement system (status quo), I expected that the heated “welfare profiteer debate” coupled with the “state-friendliness” would make it difficult for social enterprise to act as a phenomenon in its own right, i.e. a driver of new forms of collaboration, and rather pressured to act similar to other private actors. It was therefore imperative to identify the competing demands which were related to the institutional fields and logics of the receiving context, which allowed me to study how each of the social enterprises in the sample responded to them. These responses were linked to theoretically informed structural and strategic organizational responses.

Article 3

The article asks what the nature of potential challenges that public-sector innovation processes face within the establishment of a new Introduction Program for Refugees. The public-sector innovation process studied in the article is defined as collaborative innovation project between two public sector organizations (also known as joined-up government) in “Seaside Municipality” in Western Norway. The two collaborating organizations were the Refugee Integration Office, responsible for work integration,

and the Adult Education Center, responsible for the Norwegian language teaching. The aim of this article was to explore the willingness and ability of public sector organizations to adapt new forms of collaboration. Since the two public sector organizations contributed with different resources and expertise in the project, an important analytical approach was to explore whether the two organizations each abided by different logics associated to their professions. We therefore expected the collaborating actors to have different project logics and goals for the collaboration. Present in the interviews were indeed tensions between different logics and understandings of the collaboration. We therefore operationalized the moments of tensions to *why* the project was realized, *how* it should be realized *for whom* the project was for and *whose* project it was. These moments coincided with the actor-network stance of translation theory, which was used to analyze and discuss these tensions.

A caveat concerning the third article is necessary. The initial objective of the article was to study how the social enterprise was adapted among the two public sector organizations. When the collaboration project applied for funding from different actors, the social enterprise was described to function as a catering firm where the participants were to combine their Norwegian teaching, while at the same time being employed and receiving work experience as chefs in the catering firm. In other words, the idea behind establishing a social enterprise was to use it as a vehicle or forum for teaching Norwegian language, receiving work experience, and for some, even having the ability to be employed and take over the operation of the social enterprise. But, when conducting the initial interviews, it became evident that the social enterprise was not operated in a fashion similar to what was described in the funding applications. Rather, it was merely used as a catering firm owned by the Refugee Integration Office where the participants could make and sell traditional meals from their home countries. It was also reported that little Norwegian was spoken during the sessions where the participants worked as chefs. Although the catering firm became quite popular in the local area, the research objective had to be revised. Nevertheless, what became evident in the interviews was that there indeed

were several tensions related specifically to the collaboration process and the adaptation of the idea into practice, which then became the focal point of the article.

5.2 The data

The data material collected and analyzed in this thesis includes semi-structured interviews (primary data). Additionally, the thesis builds on previous studies and literature on reform change, public sector innovation, diffusion and translation of social enterprise and collaborative innovation. This section presents and discusses the empirical data material, analytical strategies as well as questions of generalization. Before proceeding, it should be noted that three separated data collection processes were conducted for the three separate articles.

5.2.1 Interviews

Interviews are often employed in case studies because they allow us to ask questions about events and actors' understandings (Yin 2018: 119). Also, interviews provide us with opportunities to validate and supplement information from other data sources (*ibid.*). In addition to the three separate data collection processes, I also conducted preliminary interviews with relevant actors in the field, as mentioned above. These were not analyzed or coded, but informed the research process about which actor to contact and how to proceed.

Background interviews with relevant actors in the field

When I started the work on my thesis, I had little prior knowledge of public sector innovation, social enterprise and collaborative innovation. Therefore, and to explore these subjects more thoroughly, I contacted and interviewed all ministries that have conducted relevant work on public sector innovation in the policy field of welfare provision. I also interviewed the leader of the working group that formulated the White Paper on public sector innovation. In addition, I interviewed the major networks, funders, and facilitators of social enterprises. Together twelve interviews with relevant actors were conducted.

These interviews were merely used to inform me on “what was going on in the field” and focused on the justifications and understandings of public sector innovation, how the actors understood multi-actor collaborations, how and where they ought to occur, and whether collaboration between sectors is a desirable goal. It also informed me about what tensions exist in the policy field of welfare provision as well as among the different actors that participate and shape the adaptation process. None of these interviews were cited in the thesis or articles but were important for the framing of the research design as well as the study’s internal validity.

Background interviews with relevant actors in the field

The three articles build on semis-structured interviews with informants. Interviews were important for the research approach as it allows the use of multiple sources of evidence (Yin, 2018). It is also recommended when studying phenomena lacking a well-developed understanding (Yin, 2009). Additionally, they were purposeful for validating and supplementing information from extant literature. In all three data collection processes, the semi-structured interviews relied on a set of open-ended questions to guide the conversation among the researcher and the informants more loosely (Hesse-Bieber & Leavy, 2011: 102). Due to the incipience of the topic, this method immediately proved to be fruitful since it allows for a broader understanding of unknown or missing information in the studied cases that could not necessarily be captured or explained through e.g., a quantitative survey. Separate interview guides that included relevant topics and questions were developed. For each of the three studies, a purposive procedure was employed to recruit the relevant informants. Finally, all interviews (which were conducted in Norwegian) were transcribed verbatim, translated, analyzed thematically, and coded according to the themes capturing important aspects in the data which were related to the raised research questions. Additionally, these themes represented a level of patterned response among the data set. Listed in table 2 below are each of the research articles, their empirical units of analysis and method of data collection.

Table 2: Overview of units of analysis and data collection

Study	Empirical entity/unit of analysis	Method of data collection
Paper 1	Norwegian policymakers 13 policymakers representing nine parties at the Norwegian Parliament	Primary data: 13 semi-structured interviews (4 face-to-face, 9 by phone) Secondary data: policy documents, research reports.
Paper 2	5 Norwegian SEs	Primary data: 7 semi-structured interviews (5 social entrepreneurs, 2 general managers). Five semi-structured interviews were conducted over Zoom/Microsoft Teams due to Covid19, 2 were conducted face-to-face in Oslo. Secondary data: Annual reports from the 5 SEs, and their websites.
Paper 3	Employees at the Adult Center for Education & Refugee Integration Office in “Seaside Municipality”.	Primary data: Semi-structured interviews with three employees at the Refugee Integration Office, and four employees at the Adult Center for Education. Secondary data: Report on the development of the new Integration Program for Refugees in “Seaside municipality”.
Thesis		Data from all three papers: Semi-structured interviews N= 27.

The informants were recruited strategically based on the research questions for each individual article. Informants include policymakers, social entrepreneurs or actors employed in another function within the social enterprises as well as public employees. Each individual article presents further details on the recruitment and distribution of informants. The selection of informants was based on an aim for “information power” over “saturation” (Malterud, Siersma & Guassora, 2016), which entails strategic selection of informants, the use of theoretical prepositions, and in-depth interviews.

All interviews at the three analytical levels followed guides which were developed in line with the presupposition from the theoretical frameworks for the articles and the

contextual features of the Nordic context. Further, three separate interview guides were developed at each analytical level. Article 1 builds on interviews carried out by me from the fall of 2018 to the early spring of 2021 (13 interviews in total). In the same timeframe, I conducted seven interviews for article 2. For article 3, I conducted most of the interviews, save two which were conducted together with my co-author. The interview guides for all three articles are included in the appendix.

The interviews were conducted in Norwegian and recorded. Most of the informants were interviewed individually, except for two, one interview for article 2, where both a social entrepreneur and an employee were interviewed together, and for article 3, where my co-author and I conducted a follow-up interview with the project leader and the project coordinator. All interviews lasted from an hour to 90 minutes. Most of the interviews were conducted in person, but due to corona, some were also conducted over Microsoft Teams or Zoom. I transcribed all 27 interviews and translated them, as I believe it to be an advantage to be in “close touch” with the raw data. It also allowed me to be well-acquainted with the material. I could listen to everything that was said and detect potential connotations that would not necessarily be as obvious had I let someone else transcribe the interviews for me. Additionally, exhaustive notes were taken during the interviews, and a thorough summary was written after each interview was completed. The articles are written in English, and thus uses quotations translated to English. During the transcription and analysis, I, together with my co-authors considered common challenges related to interviews, i.e., possible “incorrect memories” and misunderstandings (Yin, 2018).

The interview material was analyzed separately for the three analytical levels. Since qualitative approaches are vastly diverse, nuanced, and complex (Holloway & Todres, 2003), a foundational method for qualitative analysis is important. Thematic analysis is a great tool to use for this exact reason. While the term “thematic analysis” and its application has been used rather widely, in this thesis, thematic analysis is understood as “a method for identifying, analyzing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). A benefit of this method of analysis is its systematic yet flexible nature (Charmaz, 2006: 2). Through its theoretical freedom, thematic analysis can be viewed as a flexible and useful tool, with the potentiality to

provide a rich and detailed account of complex data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Due to the lack of comprehensive knowledge about the adaptation of new forms of collaboration in the Nordic context, well-established definitions and theories are still under development. But, by not being wedded to a specific pre-existing theoretical framework, the thematic analysis approach emerged as fruitful in the examination of the rich qualitative data corpus that was collected for this thesis. Thematic analysis does not require any detailed theoretical and technological knowledge or approach; thus, it offers a more accessible form of analysis.

In practice, the analyses were conducted in stages. Based on Richards (2015), the interview data were coded *descriptively*, *thematically*, and *analytically*. Descriptive coding helped tying the political affiliation (*first article*); employment and organizational form (*second article*); and title of employment and role in the innovation project (*third article*) of the informants to the overarching topic of the research questions, and as well as tying informants to the context studies' time and space. *Thematic coding* enabled the process of connecting the interview statements (raw textual data) to themes. Here, it was necessary to identify and determine themes in the data. A theme captures important information in the data in relation to the research questions, as well as representing some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Additionally, the importance of a given theme is dependent on whether it can capture something of relevance and importance vis-à-vis the research question, rather than being dependent on quantifiable measures alone (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Finally, *analytical coding*, entails identifying and welcoming themes, ideas, information and perspectives that one previously has not necessarily paid particular attention to, or that emerge as interesting and important for the analysis. To determine where the information should be coded/placed, one should reflect upon the value the given statement, passage or information has for the project, and establish the answer from the reflection as a code in and of itself (Richards, 2015, pp. 113).

In article one, we coded the material along the juxtaposed two dominant models in the social enterprise field in Norway, namely the “entrepreneurial non-profit” and the “social venture” models. In our examination of the data, we established themes and

coded the interview data according to tentative parameters regarding the policymakers “definitions of social enterprise”, their potential “role in the welfare mix” as well as possible “policy measures”. However, new themes emerged in the data during the analysis, thus we became increasingly aware of the attention the informants attributed to market mechanisms when contemplating the future of social enterprise in Norway, as well as the reasons the informants stated for propagating policy action or inaction towards social enterprises. Also, patterns related to party affiliation along the left-right wing political spectrum also emerged, which informed the two dichotomies in our analytical framework and made it clear that the interesting variation was not among the political parties but rather, along the left-right wing divide. Based on this, our third coding iteration, the *analytical coding*, was theoretically informed.

In article two, after having classified the five social enterprises to legal form, sector affiliation and target group, I initiated the thematic coding. In the analysis, the first code that emerged was the experienced competing demands by the external environment, which informed the analysis of whether and the degree to which external demands affected the social enterprise. This step also enabled the identification of competing expectation, which was primarily related to funding. The identified conflicting demands were *legal form* of the organization, *criteria* for funding, what *activities* should be run by social enterprise, and *legitimate governance structure*. After having coded the passages in the interview transcripts emphasizing conflicts, I thereby coded the data by using the codes “external expectation”, “internal tension/disagreement”, and “response”. In this iteration, I gathered all expectations, all tensions/disagreements, and all responses in these three categories. The final iteration was theoretically informed. Here, I coded the responses along the structural responses i.e., “blended vs. structural hybrids” and strategic responses, i.e. “decoupling”, “compromise”, and “selective coupling”.

Finally, also the data in article three were coded in three successive steps. After having linked the informants to employment and role and function in the collaborative innovation project, my co-author and I met for a two-day analytical workshop. Here we identified the issues that the actors of the collaboration project

had agreed upon and issues that had caused tensions. We found that the informants agreed on the overarching goal of the Introduction Program for Refugees. However, we also found that the employees of the Refugee Integration Office and Adult Education Center entered the project with diverging expectations about how the new Introduction Program for Refugees should be developed. On the second day of the workshop, we employed a more theoretically informed analysis and coding. Here we identified tensions among the different actors involved in the project, and tied these to *why* the innovation was realized, *how* such innovation should be operationalized, *for whom* the innovation was targeting, and *whose* innovation project it was. During this final step Callon's moment of translation emerged as a fruitful analytical tool to understand and explain the findings.

I notified the Norwegian Centre for Research Data on the management plan for the interviews, which is attached in the appendix. This included partial anonymization of the informants, as well as a validation of direct quotations and background information that were used in the articles.

5.3 Validity considerations

Validity and reliability are central principles when securing the quality of research (Richards, 2015). Internal and external validity of the interpretation of the data as well as reliability are research principles that are controversial within qualitative research, and the discussions entail the degree to which these concepts are relevant, and how they perhaps may be translated to qualitative research (Bryman, 2016).

There exist different manners for how to assess the quality of qualitative research (see e.g. Silverman, 2013). Guba and Lincoln (1982) discuss how internal and external validity as well as reliability and objectivity can be translated to fit the needs and objectives of qualitative research. The objective of internal validity is to ensure that the data indeed is true; the objective of external validity is to secure that the findings are relatable in other contexts or to other informants; the aim of reliability is to ensure that the findings would be the same had the study been replicated with the same or a similar sample in the same or similar contexts. Finally, the aim of objectivity is to

ensure neutrality, i.e. that the findings are unaffected by the researcher's political views, personal interests or preconceived understandings. Guba and Lincoln (1982) thus present four different criteria for qualitative research aiming to serve the same purpose as the principles for quantitative research. These are *credibility*, *transferability*, *dependability* and *confirmability*. In the following, I discuss these concepts in light of the present study.

5.3.1 Credibility

Credibility refers to whether the findings coincide with the phenomena they represent. A central question is whether my interpretation of the empirical data is in accordance with the reality of my informants and other persons related to the study (Guba & Lincoln, 1982). Different ways exist when ensuring that the data are credible. First, elements strengthening the credibility of the thesis is that I have been able to interview (1) different policymakers from the same political party; (2) the social entrepreneurs and staff members, though only in some instances; and (3) follow-up interviews. These elements provided me with a foundation to identify specific features of their political views as well as striking features of the context. In instances where I was able to do follow-up interviews the informants was given time to process impressions and perceptions, which enhances the credibility of the findings. Second, I have discussed my interpretation of the empirical data with my supervisor, my co-authors, and, for the third article, the R&D project team, which allowed me to "test" and discuss my interpretations. Third, when interviewing the informants, I have strived to read up on their (1) political views and platforms, (2) background of the social entrepreneur, their annual reports as well as the external environment's policy, and (3) project related documents and information. Finally, the "raw data" from all interviews still exist as all interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim.

5.3.2 Transferability

Transferability entails that the experiences or principles from one case is transferrable to another. Certain controversies regarding the degree to which transferability is possible and whether it is useful for qualitative research exist. Flyvbjerg (2006)

argues that universal knowledge does not necessarily serve any purpose and argues, that context-dependent knowledge with proximity to real-life events is necessary to develop a nuanced perspective on reality. The thesis' findings are relevant for the adaptation of new forms of collaboration within the context of the Nordic model, represented by Norway. Furthermore, the transferability is strengthened by rich descriptions of the context (Guba & Lincoln, 1982) and when cases are selected strategically (Flyvbjerg, 2006). I have strived to describe the context and account for how different contextual features are connected to the adaptation processes.

5.3.3 Dependability

The question of the dependability of the findings can be tied to the question of whether the project appears to be conducted in a trustworthy and adequate manner (Thagaard 2013: 201). Dependability can be strengthened by way of method triangulation or by documenting all the steps in the research process to enable a revision or replication of the study (Guba & Lincoln, 1982). Method triangulation has not been employed in this thesis. The authors also encourage researchers to describe the research process in detail including all methodological steps and decisions as well as provide access to the raw data and how it has been interpreted. While having strived to be thorough and transparent throughout the entire research process, I have not meticulously accounted for each of the methodological steps as described by Guba and Lincoln (1982) beyond what has been presented in previous chapters and in the three articles.

5.3.4 Confirmability

Guba and Lincoln (1982) suggest that the commitment to objectivity should be placed on the data, not the researcher. In other words, it is not the researcher's own objectivity that has to be proven, but rather, that the researcher is conscious about his or her own preconceptions and possible self-interests. To ensure this all researchers must practice reflexivity, i.e., a process that uncovers underlying presuppositions or biases. I have practiced reflexivity by preparing field notes by writing down ideas and thoughts before and after each of the conducted interviews and meetings, and I have

especially been occupied with how my presupposition has or could have affected my encounter with the informants.

5.4 Generalizations

A common criticism of the case-study approach concerns generalizations. The criticism builds on the understanding of statistical representativeness and random sampling, which are relevant to experiment studies and surveys. Yet, case studies also aim for analytical generalization (Yin, 2018), which involves that case studies are “generalizable to theoretical propositions and not to populations or universes” (Yin, 2018: 20). Indeed, case studies can, through “contingent generalizations” contribute to theory development, which involves specification of mechanisms and conditions. Yet, another counterargument to this criticism is the possibility to make inferences based on findings (Yin, 2018: 38-9). Against this background, I consider the definition and delimitation of cases as important for generalizations.

In this thesis, I have employed an overall definition of the study context. I have also provided definitions of new forms of collaboration. These have become ubiquitous reform strategies in policy fields of welfare provision, so the adaptation in the Nordic context can inform future studies of other countries. Moreover, by employing welfare state literature in the thesis suggests that these features may have implications for the adaptation of new forms of collaboration in the policy field of welfare provision in other Nordic countries. Yet, using this literature will, however, require further operationalization to address the contextual features as well as the temporal aspects in the given context(s) of the study. For example, I would expect to find differences in the adaptation of new forms of collaboration in e.g., liberal, or conservative-corporatist states due to their context-specific trajectories.

The scope and focus of this thesis may be relevant beyond the field of welfare, i.e., the focus can provide opportunities for generalization to other policy fields and other forms of cross-sectoral and cross-organizational collaboration. In particular, the focus on policy development can be beneficial for future studies of policy development either of incipient phenomena or in other fields. Additionally, the study of how

hybrids manage institutional complexity can also inform future analyses in other contexts. Finally, identifying, and characterizing tensions in joined-up government, collaborative innovation projects can also be beneficial for studies with similar foci. However, since the selection of the study context (the Nordic model), the selected country (Norway) and even the operationalization of the process of adaptation, set some limits for generalization. Still, my research design for studying the adaptation of global ideas in modern welfare states, and how modern welfare states might affect this process, should nonetheless provide certain insights into adaptation processes of global ideas.

5.5 Discussion of research limitations

Certain research limitations should be pointed out. First, regarding the design of the thesis, the focus of the third article can be considered a limitation. Since only one article addresses the adaptation of collaborative innovation in the Nordic context, there is an imbalance in the devotion of studying both forms. However, the change has not weakened the contribution of the thesis as I have been able to study how new forms of collaborations are adapted by civil servants in public sector organizations and identify possible tensions that may arise when fostering new ways of organizing collaboration in the Nordic model. The necessary change of focus in the third article does not affect the overarching research problem, nor the raised research questions.

A second limitation concerns the sample size in each article. First, in article one, I was delimited from interviewing the Environmental Party (MDG) due to a lack of response. I tried for weeks to enroll party members to the study but did not get a response. To counter this limitation, a fruitful approach is conducting quantitative surveys where the sample size could have been broadened and diversified by also including a larger group of politicians in charge of the executive and relevant bureaucrats, however I abandoned the idea after having conducted the preliminary interviews which included some bureaucrats as I was informed that they were restricted from commenting on anything beyond what had already been published in existing policy documents. Second, in article two, only five social enterprises were

included, and seven informants interviewed. As this is quite a small sample, I could alternatively have contacted additional social enterprises. However, since there does not exist any formal list or register over existing Norwegian social enterprises, I found it difficult to find an approach that could broaden the sample size. Also, an important explanation for why broadening the sample size was not a simple task, was due to the covid-19 pandemic. Of the 12 social enterprises that was contacted, only five had the time to participate in the study. To compensate for this, I could have relied on further information, such as analyzing their activities, “clients”, owners, statutes, board composition and governance arrangements and internal policy documents, to better substantiate the institutional logics at play within these organizations. Finally, and with regards to sample size in the third article, a perspective that is missing from the third article that could have nuanced the results, is the perspective of the target group enrolled in the new Introduction Program. While this issue was discussed with the peer reviewers in the *Nordic Journal of Social Research*, my co-author and I decided to omit the focus of the women as we found it to be outside the article’s scope.

6. Findings and discussion

This section presents the main findings from the three articles, which I will then discuss. From each analytical level, the articles address the complex process of how global ideas are adapted by modern welfare states, and how welfare state models might shape the process. The following research questions

- 1) How are policymakers adapting new forms of collaboration by way of policymaking?
- 2) How are new forms of collaboration adapted in the policy field of welfare provision?
- 3) How are new forms of collaboration adapted in local public sector organizations?

have been studied within the context of the Nordic model, represented by Norway as a prototype. The three analytical levels employed in this thesis are the *policy, field,* and *applied levels*.

6.1 Policy development and the consequence of institutional trajectories and political controversies

Article 1 studies how top-level policymakers in a social democratic welfare state understand social enterprise and its relation to existing welfare services and how these understandings shape policymaking for such organizations. The article highlights the contextual features of the study context, the Norwegian welfare state, and positions the discussion of policymaking within the questions of how to sustain the welfare state and the contested policy area of welfare provision in Norway. The article explores the reasons given by policymakers at the national level in Norway for their reluctance to develop policies dedicated to promoting social enterprise, which may inform is about why and how social enterprise policy vary between countries depending on the interplay between country-specific political controversies and institutional trajectories for provision of welfare. To study this, the article builds on a case study of policymakers representing the nine largest political parties in Norway, most of whom are members of Parliament. The policymakers were placed along the left-right-wing divide in Norwegian politics. The article is based on interviews.

A main finding in this article is that policy inaction impedes recognition of social enterprise as different from other private, commercial, or voluntary, organizations, as well as their ability to compete for tenders. Social enterprise is therefore likely to be adapted to conform to the existing institutional framework of welfare provision and placed on equal terms as private actors (both non-profit and commercial welfare providers). At the time being, the adaptation of social enterprise entails policy inaction. Status quo is highly likely to be maintained and social enterprise will likely be a rather marginal phenomenon in Norway. As such, their potentiality of functioning as a vehicle fostering new forms of collaboration is stripped down. The adaptation trajectory chosen here can be explained by at least two possible interpretations. First, the policymakers' understanding and adaptation of social enterprise can reflect path dependency as they take for granted that social enterprises should be incorporated into existing institutional arrangements in a purchaser-provider approach, using market mechanisms to obtain and maintain high quality of services at a low cost. An alternative interpretation of why policymakers prefer policy *inaction* rather than *action* to better their possibility conditions, can be explained by the fact that the social issues that social enterprises seek to address already are sufficiently addressed by other institutional arrangement – either by the universal welfare state or by other private actors competing for public tenders. While we find that the legacy of statism weighs higher than the legacy of cooperation, we also find that sector-blind market competition is prominent in this specific context. Indeed, it demonstrates that NPM has made itself relevant in the welfare sector and in how policymakers understand social enterprise and new forms of collaboration. Against this background, social enterprises stand at risk of being viewed as superfluous actors in the welfare mix, yet this question is too complicated to be coherently addressed here and should be explored in future research.

Another interesting finding relates to the left-right wing divide on the political spectrum. The policymakers' conceptualizations appear to be influenced by the market-oriented approach from the U.S. and U.K. demonstrated by the social venture model, and the social-economy approach from Southern-European countries, i.e., the entrepreneurial non-profit model. Since organizations in the private and third sector

already use approaches associated with the two, irrespective of party affiliation, the adaptation of social enterprise is clearly linked to the current system, and the policymakers are confident when presenting arguments for maintaining it. Yet, center-right wing policymakers relate social enterprise to commercial enterprises and argue that a social-enterprise policy might exclude certain actors or disincentivize innovation. Further, we find that left-wing policymakers prefer that social enterprises operate similar to voluntary organizations. And, while these informants express a desire to develop policy for social enterprise, it is not to strengthen their opportunity structures, but, rather, to ensure that they cannot exploit the system of public procurement and extract personal dividend, a skepticism that can be tied to the “welfare profiteer debate”. Since social enterprises employ commercial strategies in their operations, they might, as the extant research also indicates, struggle to promote their social mission in welfare field in the Nordic countries, at least in Norway. And, due to their hybridity, operating with social and commercial motives, it seems to be difficult to politically conceptualize these organizations as a phenomenon in its own right different from existing public, for-profit, and non-profit organizations. While there is a consensual political aim among the policymakers to enhance the possibility conditions for ideal, non-profit organizations in welfare provision, which points to a willingness to preserve the legacy of cooperation within this policy field, the contested and ambiguous question of privatization of welfare suggest that the legacy of statism has a stronger foothold at least related to welfare provision. Additionally, marked mechanisms also appears to have a footing in this context where such measures remain additional values within the strong state tradition.

Based on these findings, the article offers valuable insight in how policymakers adapt and politically conceptualize social enterprise in a highly institutionalized context. It demonstrates how global ideas are diffused around the world and adapted into a new context, and that the receiving context indeed matters for how the idea is adapted. The article emphasizes that the cultural and institutional characteristics as well as historical legacies of and policy issues in modern welfare states matter when ideas are adapted – they may even create tensions in the adaptation process. The article also shows that even though policymakers view social enterprise as a tool to enhance

innovation in the public sector, their understandings and adaptation are dependent on path-dependent trajectories, i.e., that specific decisions regarding previous policies shape further developments. Thus, the prominent state responsibility for funding universal welfare services using market competition as a mechanism to achieve efficiency is highly institutionalized in Norway and constitutes the conceptual frame that policymakers most likely find it difficult to think outside of.

6.2 Institutional complexity shaping the adaptation of global ideas

Article two proceeds to analyze the adaptation of social enterprise by the organizational landscape. The article studies the research question “how do Norwegian social enterprises as a subset of hybrid organizations internally manage contradictory demands when externally engaging with multiple logics”, i.e. how they meet with institutional complexity and how they respond to it. The article studies the structural and strategic organizational responses of five Norwegian social enterprises. The article utilizes interviews.

The article supports previous studies in that social enterprise indeed embodies two *in-use logics* as they pursue a dual mission: they seek to solve a social issue by means of commercial strategies. Yet rather than being driven by the need to maximize profits, their potential surpluses are reinvested in the enterprise or community. However, social enterprises operate within highly institutionalized fields, which create ambiguity regarding incentives and value dispositions within the social enterprises. These conflicting logics are *at play* logics. The article finds that the Norwegian context is a highly institutionalized one and identifies that the main *at play* logic is that of the public sector. Indeed, the most powerful institutional referents hold the public-sector logic, and these actors also hold the power to evaluate Norwegian social enterprises' legitimacy in the field. These public authorities still identify what social issues that needs to be addressed and define how to address them. For social enterprises to become accepted in the field, social enterprises must internalize aspects of the public-sector logic to be considered legitimate.

The article also reveals that the highly institutionalized study context indeed commands social enterprises, especially those with a dominant commercial *in-use* logic to behave similar to traditional ways of collaborating with non-public actors. Additionally, this demand seemingly creates tensions in the social enterprises' self-perception of being social *and* commercial actors. So, when social enterprises are met with conflicting logics, they are pressured to respond to them by enacting the *at play* logic. Yet, after enacting the public-sector logic, social enterprises may continue (to a certain degree) with commercial activities, yet still on the premises of public authorities. The adaptation of social enterprise at the field level supports notions from article one: the legacy of statism has a strong foothold which is shown in the strong *at play* public-sector logic. Furthermore, institutional referents at the field level understands collaboration with social enterprises similar to that of collaboration with other private welfare providers.

One of the main findings in this article relates to how blended and structural hybrids experience and strategically respond different to institutional complexity. The blended hybrids (alternatively hybrid organizations), i.e., organizations with one organizational entity embodying more than one institutional logic experience more inconvenience when faced with demands from the *at play* logic. This is especially the case for social enterprises with a dominant commercial logic. However, the structural hybrids, i.e., hybrids that operate with different logics in different compartments or subunits of the organization, managed to attract a broader funding base since they are able to receive subsidies from different public and private actors. In other words, they are found to use different compartments to apply for different funding posts and contracts. While this strategy has been observed prior, it is still an unusual approach, yet it ensures that neither *in-use* logics are compromised by *at play* demands. Through this approach, they are also ensured entry to and legitimacy in the field. While more substantial research is needed, this finding may suggest that structural hybrids can be a pragmatic social-enterprise configuration in the Nordic context due to the prominent role of the public sector.

These findings illustrate that the adaptation of social enterprise at the field level can be interpreted as being influenced by path dependence. The legacy of statism is found

to characterize the adaptation of social enterprise. Supporting the findings at the policy level, the hybridity of social enterprise seems to be difficult to conceptualize and adapt in a highly institutionalized context with clear sector lines and a clear division of labor between the economic sectors. The hybridity is seemingly crowded out by the dominant presence of the public sector. Institutional change (i.e., making room for these actors in the welfare mix as something different from public, private and third sector organizations) appears to be difficult. Social enterprises are therefore likely adapted into existing collaborative frameworks, also at the field level.

6.3 Adaptation of new forms of collaboration *within* the public sector

The final article is based on a joined-up government collaboration defined as a collaborative innovation project between two public sector organizations, i.e., the Refugee Integration Office and the Adult Education Center. The article asks: what is the nature of potential challenges in public sector innovation projects? The innovation project is a collaboration on the development and implementation of a new Introduction Program for Refugees in a municipality in Norway. The article is based on interviews.

In some of the extant literature, collaborative innovation is portrayed as harmonious and that collaboration *per se* implies a positive outcome. Indeed, in policy documents the Norwegian government has called for cross-sectoral and cross-organizational collaboration as well as innovation in the introduction programs. Here, collaboration is highlighted as a highly desirable strategy to enhance the efficiency and quality of welfare services. In the article, we argue that the collaboration literature and the promise that is put on collaboration overlooks individual actors' significance and role. We also argue the importance of developing perspectives that enable us to conceptualize how some actors, and not others, manage to adapt global ideas into new practices in specific contexts.

Due to the strong dominant role of the public sector as the main welfare provider, the creation of cross-organizational collaboration between two public sector

organizations appears easier than the adaptation of cross-sectoral collaboration promoted by social enterprises. This may be explained by the existing presence of joined-up government solutions and strategies in Norwegian municipalities and that social enterprise has been diffused from different contexts and only recently emerged in Norway. This new form of collaboration was supported by public authorities, i.e. IMDi and the County Administration, and was even funded by the Regional Research Council. Despite receiving all this attention and support, yet the adaptation of the new collaborative innovation project still experienced tension.

Our main findings suggest that despite sharing the overarching goal of the collaboration, tensions may still arise. We identified that throughout the development and implementation of the innovation project, four central tensions arose that seemed to threaten the entire initiative: First, the leader of the project employed at the Refugee Integration Office, did not manage to convey “why the project was developed” to all the relevant actors involved. Second, disagreement regarding the operationalization of the new pedagogical model existed and persisted over time. The Adult Education Center, which provided the language teaching services, experienced that the operationalization was too time-consuming and ill-suited for the mixed group of refugee participants in the program. Although they voiced their concerns, the project leader at the Refugee Integration Office did not listen. Third, dissidence arose regarding the target group. The project leader insisted that the new Introduction Program should be available for any refugee woman with an interest in cooking regardless of her proficiency in Norwegian and whether she was literate or not. This mix of participants was seen as problematic by the Norwegian teachers because it would either be too elementary for the women with higher education or too complicated for the illiterate women. Finally, disagreements regarding whose project the new introduction program was created tensions that affected the working climate between the two organizations. The Adult Education Center believed it to be a collaborative project between two equal, egalitarian partners, while the Refugee Integration Office saw the project as a hierarchical, client-supplier-relationship. Based on the interviews, we found that the two public sector organizations had diverging logics related to what being involved in a “collaboration project” entails.

Although joined-up government collaborations where collaborating public organizations contribute with different resources in arranging the service have become more popular to enhance efficiency and quality in welfare services in Norway, how they are institutionalized, however, still lacks comprehensive knowledge. This article demonstrates that the adaptation of a new form of collaboration, i.e., a collaborative innovation project, follows a path-dependent trajectory. The Refugee Integration Office and the Adult Education Center have long-standing traditions in collaborating on the Introduction Program for Refugees, where the former provides work-related courses and experiences, and contracts out the services of the latter, i.e., Norwegian language courses. Yet, while the idea for the project was to collaborate on the development and implementation of the new introduction program, the understanding of what collaboration entails was not formally addressed, and did not change for the Refugee Integration Office, which still conceived the Adult Education Center as supplier of services to *their* project. Thus, instead of adapting the project to a new form of collaboration, it was adapted to “how things usually are done”. Further, rather than portraying the two public sector organizations as equal partners, the Refugee Integration Office viewed the Adult Education Center as a service deliverer.

The findings indicate that although there is a will to adapt new forms of collaboration to address societal welfare issues, the enforcement of administrative silos from previous governance paradigms are still not erased. Additionally, the purchaser-provider mentality persists, even between public sector organizations. Combining different logic, even within the public sector as a service provider, still demonstrates difficulties in the adaptation of global ideas, i.e., new forms of collaboration.

6.4 Discussion

This thesis has studied global ideas are adapted by modern welfare states and how welfare state models affect this process. The selected forms of collaborations are those of social enterprise and collaborative innovation. In the final section, I discuss central findings from the articles in light of the overarching research problem and the

following research questions: (1) *policy level*: how policymakers adapt social enterprise into policy; (2) *field level*: how social enterprises are adapted in the organizational field; and (3) *applied level*: how collaborative innovation is adapted by actors from two public-sector organizations. I have aimed to contribute to the scholarly discourse on how global ideas are adapted by modern welfare states as well as to highlight variations among contexts in light of specific welfare state models in exploring how they might shape the adaptation.

The discussion is structured in three main parts. First, I discuss findings concerning the adaptation of travelling, global ideas and how they may lead to change. Next, I discuss how and why context matters when global ideas are sought adapted in new contexts. I then discuss what the findings from the three analytical levels tells us about the adaptation of global ideas in the Nordic context. Finally, I consider the research implications as well as opportunities for analytical generalization.

6.4.1 Travelling ideas and institutional change

As demonstrated by the extant research, governance paradigms are diffused around the world and adapted by different contexts. While new paradigms emerge, it does, however, not entail that they cancel out others. Indeed, imprints of previous paradigms are still relevant today and seem to affect how new global ideas are adapted into modern welfare states. The adaptation of public sector innovation, operationalized as new forms of collaboration, is consequently affected by paths taken in previous reforms that have contributed to shaping the structures of political-administrative systems of modern welfare states. Instead of radical and drastic changes when new global ideas emerge, what we here are witnessing is a slow and moderate, or incremental, change. Although the change does not occur through punctuated equilibrium, this does not mean that change does not occur at all. Indeed, gradual developments can lead to profound changes in the long terms.

Similar to the scholarly literature, antecedents are highly influential in explaining how global ideas are adopted and adapted. Antecedents can also provide crucial explanations as to why these changes are gradual. While this thesis has not followed one innovation process, yet we find antecedents related to the level of the innovation

process, a catchall level of relevant antecedents affecting how public sector innovations are adopted and adapted (de Vries et al., 2016). This level includes antecedents at the environmental, organizational, and individual levels. The threefold approach employed in this thesis, has identified such antecedents and clearly demonstrates how these shape the adaptation of both social enterprise and collaborative innovation. At the policy level, the thesis has identified political ideologies, policies and reform trends that shape how policymakers understand and adapt new forms of collaborations. At the field level, antecedents both at the environmental and organizational level are identified: political ideologies, policies, existing inter-organizational relationships as well as structural and cultural features of organizations appears to shape the adaptation. Finally, at the applied level, antecedents from all three levels can be identified, but more specifically, this level of analysis highlights antecedents at the individual level: It demonstrates how enthusiastic leadership in public organizations plays a prominent role in participating in and shaping the adaptation of new forms of collaborations. These fruitful insights underscore the importance of context.

6.4.2 Context matters

One of the thesis' main findings is that it might be difficult for modern welfare states to rethink the status quo due to historical and cultural developments and traditions. Public sector innovation understood in terms of new forms of collaboration has received political attention in Norway. Despite this attention, the findings here suggests that the adaptation of them are highly dependent on the historical legacies of the national context. In Norwegian policy documents there have been an increasing rhetoric about how to stimulate new forms of collaboration, yet the rhetoric seems to be stronger than what has been fostered and adapted in praxis to date.

We may link this to context and find *at least* two possible interpretations of why new forms of collaboration are likely to be adapted into the existing framework of welfare provision and policy in Norway. First, the actors that participate and shape how new forms of collaboration is adapted appear to take for granted that the collaborations should be adapted into existing institutional arrangements. This might entail that the

“translators” do not view the collaborations as sufficiently different from previous public-private collaboration (referring to the welfare triangle) and public-private partnership established through public procurements. We find that the adaptation of these new forms of collaboration follows along path-dependent trajectories, and that there still is strong popular support for preserving the strong state philosophy. While we cannot draw any firm conclusions, the legacy of statism seems to be favored rather than making the public sector an arena for co-creation. Noteworthy, the adaptation process is also influenced by market-inspired practices from previous NPM reforms, supporting the notion that governance paradigms indeed exist in layers. As such, at all three levels of analysis, it seems to be traces of a purchaser-provider understanding of multi-actor collaboration. This market-thinking was even identified in the collaboration between two public sector organizations.

A second possible interpretation is that due to the rather successful Nordic model, with a strong economy, there is no dire pressure to reform the public sector to an arena for co-creation. Additionally, while I cannot draw any firm conclusions, it appears that there is limited need for new forms of collaboration in this highly institutionalized welfare system, possibly because the issues that these new forms of collaborations seek to address are believed to be sufficiently and successfully addressed by other institutional arrangements – by the public sector, or by private actors operating on contracts for the public sector. Due to the institutional features of this welfare model, such new forms of collaborations can be interpreted to be superfluous in states with a strong public sector providing universal services to all its citizens. This again may indicate, though should be studied further in depth, that the global ideas of social enterprise and collaborative innovation will be adapted to fit existing structures for collaboration and possibly remain marginal.

6.4.3 The adaptation of global ideas: a complex process

Based on the discussions above, the adaptation of global ideas into modern welfare states are highly dependent on context, i.e., the welfare state model. This thesis has further shown that institutional change can occur gradually and along path-dependent trajectories. Moreover, thesis demonstrates that the adaptation of global ideas is a

rather complex process. By use of the threefold analytical approach, we can understand that this process not only occurs at a national (policy) level, but also in the organizational field and at a street-level. Furthermore, the approach has also enabled us to identify the different actors that participate in, become acquainted with, and shape the trajectory of the adaptation process. These are not only policymakers but also the institutional environment in the organizational field and even individuals participating in cross-organizational collaborative projects. The interpretation of fashionable ideas occurs differently in different context, and in meeting with new contexts the process of adapting them will consequently vary as seen in this thesis. *Some* of the actors that may influence the adaptation trajectory of global ideas in the novel, Nordic context represented by the case of Norway, has here been identified to be top-level policymakers, institutional referents embodying the public-sector logic as well as public civil servants. This again points to the important role of the public sector in the Nordic model and may also point to the fact that a large, dominant public sector crowds out any hybridity in these new forms of collaborations.

Another finding that the threefold approach has produced, is that while new forms of collaboration indeed have been portrayed in a harmonious manner, not only by the extant literature, but also in policy papers, the adaptation of them are filled with potential tensions between ideologies, logics and conceptualizations of how new ways of collaboration should occur. At the policy level, this thesis has identified tensions related first to the left-right wing political spectrum and ideologies. New forms of collaborations organized as social enterprise, enters the Norwegian context amidst a heated “welfare profiteer debate”. Yet, secondly, the travelling idea of social enterprise of both Anglo-Saxon and Southern-European origins, also creates tensions in this receiving context, as these market-inspired and social-economic approaches may be somewhat foreign to the Nordic countries (although not completely) as they carry with them understandings, ideologies and traditions that are not necessarily compatible with current institutional features within the Nordic model. At the field level, this thesis has shown that tensions between the global idea social enterprise inspired by two different origins, creates tensions when encountering the institutional referents that evaluate their field entrance and legitimacy. Hybridizing logics is not

compatible with the status quo of the institutional system, thus social enterprises are pressured to adhere to or enact the external public-sector logic and demands which other, private actor are also expected to follow. Finally, at the applied level, this thesis demonstrates that tensions may arise between the actors that daily participate and shape the adaptation of new forms of collaboration. While the neo-institutionalist approach traditionally applies a macro-perspective, this thesis has demonstrated with the inclusion of a micro, or rather, actor-specific perspective, that also individuals involved in adaptation processes have an important impact on how global ideas are adapted into modern welfare states.

6.4.4 Conclusion and implications

In this final section, I explicitly answer the overarching research problem based on the raised research questions and on the findings and discussions presented above. In the following, I also widen the perspective of this thesis and further discuss opportunities for analytical generalizations, beyond social enterprise and collaborative innovation in the Nordic context.

The raised research problem in this thesis is as follows:

How are global ideas adapted by modern welfare states? How might welfare state models affect the adaptation?

Based on the findings and discussions above, I provide the following explicit answer:

The adaptation of global ideas in new contexts (modern welfare states) is a complex process. The manner in which these global ideas are adapted occurs at different levels and by different actors: This thesis has identified that the adaptation may occur at a *policy level*, i.e., the adaptation of global ideas is shaped by policymakers who possesses the power to develop policies for these global ideas. The process may also occur at a *field level* where the institutional environment shapes how global ideas are adapted to fit the new context. Finally, at the *applied level*, the thesis has found that individuals within municipal public sector organizations also shape how global ideas are adapted. This demonstrates the complexity of such processes; it also illustrates that the outcome of the processes is in the hands of many actors and placed at different levels within modern welfare states.

This thesis also shows how welfare state models affect the adaptation of global ideas. Based on the Nordic welfare model, it illustrates how antecedents at the environmental, organizational, and individual level pertinent to this model shape global ideas. More specifically, the layering of previous reforms, path-dependent trajectories, the legacy of statism alongside market-inspired practices, ideologies, conflicting logics, and perception play important roles in the adaptation process. The global ideas studied in this thesis can be considered fashionable ideas based on “something old, something new, something borrowed”, questioning whether they are “something to pursue”. This thesis has demonstrated that the institutional factors, or antecedents, of the Nordic welfare model, have pressured the studied global ideas to conform to existing institutional structures, emphasizing that context matters. In other words, they will most likely not be viewed as something sufficiently different from previous public-private collaborations or public-private partnerships. Additionally, since there does not seem to be a dire pressure to reform the public sector to an arena for co-creation, if these global ideas, operationalized as new forms of collaboration, are pursued, they will likely be marginal.

Empirical and theoretical implications

With regards to empirical implication, this thesis has highlighted the difficulty in establishing policies for social enterprise in a context dominated by a large public sector with the primary responsibility for delivering and funding welfare services. This finding reiterates findings from previous studies. While both Southern-European and liberal countries have been forerunners in developing policies for social enterprises, the Nordic countries lag behind. Arguably, social enterprise policy may not be relevant, yet developing a policy may on the other hand be important for such organizations’ opportunity structures, especially due to the dominant role of the state in providing and funding welfare services, as in the study context. In the absence of a policy, social enterprises may find it difficult to be recognized as different from commercial and voluntary organizations, increasing isomorphic pressure and the risks of being co-opted into behaving like existing welfare service providers. Additionally, without policies clarifying their role, it may be difficult for municipalities in this state-friendly context, to understand and engage with them, not least because

increasing state control make municipalities risk-averse. This issue goes beyond the Norwegian context but is also relevant for the Nordic countries. Also, considering the cross-country scholarly literature on social enterprise, this study adds to the understanding of the relationship between public welfare, civil involvement, and an individualistic culture. While the MISE framework (see Kerlin 2013; 2017; Coskun et al. 2019) emphasizes how states shape civil involvement and economic development, the Norwegian (or Nordic) example shows how these phenomena can be intertwined.

Second, this thesis illustrates that hybrid organizations embodying hybrid logics experience and encounters multiple institutional logics. It directs important attention to what institutional complexity is generated in a highly institutionalized context with a strong state philosophy. Additionally, this thesis also contributes with knowledge of how hybrids respond to competing demands from the institutional environments. Echoing results from other studies (e.g., Pache & Santos 2014; Mair et al. 2015) the empirical implications of this thesis, might also go beyond that of the Nordic countries. Furthermore, it also contributes to the theorizing of structural hybrids by showing how hybrids can create organizational compartments in which their distinct *in-use* logics can prevail. While future research is needed, logic compartmentalization appears to be a pragmatic configuration of social enterprise in the Nordic countries due to the weighty role of the public sector.

Third, this thesis can inspire future studies of how new forms of collaborations are adapted in different welfare state models to further explore the argument in this thesis, i.e., that that historical, cultural, and institutional features of welfare state models affect the adaptation.

Of theoretical implications, this thesis indicates that the welfare regime models by Esping-Andersen (1990) still are relevant today. It therefore indicates that it can be purposeful to include welfare state regimes when studying how global ideas are adapted. As previously mentioned, welfare state regimes have been included in analyzing reform trends, public sector innovation and social enterprise, where they have been included to explain variations. Welfare state regimes have distinct implications for reforms, welfare services, division of labor between the three

economic sectors, which are highly relevant for studying how new forms of collaboration are adapted. Such research could benefit from incorporating such perspective, also in studies beyond the Nordic context.

Secondly, the combination of different perspectives of translation theory, i.e., the actor-network and the Scandinavian institutionalist approach, has proven to provide a holistic and comprehensive understanding of how global ideas are adapted. It also allows for an in-depth analysis of different levels. Indeed, when combining the actor-network approach, this thesis also demonstrates the important role of the individual in adapting global ideas. More specifically, the approach allowed for the identification of the enthusiastic leader (Magnussen, 2016) which appeared to be highly relevant for the applied level. While the actor-level in translation studies within public-administration research is scarce, research within this tradition can benefit from such an approach as both Scandinavian institutionalism and actor-network theory informs each other and provides a more comprehensive picture of what is occurring during the adaptation of global ideas.

Finally, this thesis contributes to theory development with the introduction of “logic dialects” within established institutional logics. It demonstrates that institutional logics can be considered ideal types, and that, as with languages where pronunciation nuances exist in different geographical areas, the logics identified in this thesis varies from the ideal types and should therefore not be interpreted *sensu stricto*, but instead as logic *dialects*, which are metaphors for the empirical representation of the ideal types that are contextually dependent on the constellation of different welfare state regimes. In other words, the theoretical contribution distinguishes between theoretical ideas and how they appear in praxis. This theoretical contribution could be beneficial not only for understanding logic dialects within the Nordic context, but also in cross-country comparisons on different logic dialects.

7. References

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8.0 Appendix

8.1 Intervjuguide - politikere

1. Jeg lurer på om du kan fortelle meg litt om hvordan og når du først ble kjent med begrepet «sosialt entreprenørskap»?
2. Hva er grunnen til at vi ser en økning av satsinger på sosialt entreprenørskap i dag?
3. Framskrivning/Perspektivmeldingen?
4. Anser du sosialt entreprenørskap som en strategi for innovasjon i offentlig sektor?
5. Hvordan definerer [partiet] sosialt entreprenørskap?
6. Oppfatter du dem *sosiale* eller *entreprenører*?
7. Tilhører de privat, offentlig eller frivillig sektor?
8. I ditt arbeid med sosialt entreprenørskap, mener du at det vil være nyttig å lage et formelt skille (som f.eks. et register, en organisasjonsform eller at de blir skjærmet i anbudsrunder) som skiller sosiale entreprenører fra kommersielle virksomheter?
9. Hvilke velferdsområder forbinder du sosialt entreprenørskap med?
10. Positive potensialer og utfordringer med sosiale entreprenører?
11. I partiprogrammet nevnes det at [partiet] ønsker å etablere et fond for sosiale entreprenører. Hvor kommer denne ideen fra, og er du under den oppfatning at dere kommer til å lykkes med den strategien?
12. Hvilke aktører i norsk kontekst er med på å drive frem sosialt entreprenørskap i Norge?
 - a. Politikere / Byråkrater / Investorer / Huber?
 - b. Hvordan vil du karakterisere den partipolitiske innsatsen på dette feltet?
13. Kun fire av partiene på Stortinget nevner sosialt entreprenørskap i sine partiprogram for perioden 2017-2021. hvorfor er det ikke et større engasjement rundt sosialt entreprenørskap?
14. Hvilke partier er mest frempå i arbeidet med sosialt entreprenørskap?
15. Opplever du at feltet utvikler seg fra bunnen og opp, eller fra toppen og ned?
16. Anser du sosialt entreprenørskapsfeltet som et samlet eller som et fragmentert felt?
 - a. Hvis fragmentert: hvordan?
17. Noen stridigheter mellom aktørene på feltet?
18. Er det noen spørsmål du føler at jeg har glemt? Noe du ønsker å legge til?
19. Dersom jeg skulle prate med noen andre, innenfor din organisasjon eller andre aktører på feltet, hvem skulle det ha vært?

8.2 Intervjuguide – sosiale entreprenører

Bolk 1

Når ble organisasjonen etablert?

Hvilken type organisasjon er dette?

Hva er organisasjonens formelle organisasjonsform?

Hva vil du si er organisasjonens hovedanliggende/-formål?

Hva er organisasjonens aktiviteter?

Hvor mange jobber i organisasjonen?

Hva vil det si for deg å være en sosial entreprenør?

Bolk 2

Hvorfor og hvordan har dere oppstått?

Hva er motivasjonen bak etableringen av denne organisasjonen?

Hvorfor fokuserer dere på integreringen av unge innvandrere?

Hva anser du som problematisk ved integreringspolitikken i Norge i dag?

Hvordan bidrar dere til inkluderingen/integreringen av sårbar ungdom?

Hva gjør dere annerledes fra offentlige integreringstilbud?

Hvilken offentlig etat retter organisasjonen seg mot?

Anser du arbeidet som denne organisasjonen gjør som innovativt? Hvis ja, hvordan?

Bolk 3

Hvilket nettverk er organisasjonen en del av?

Hvilke aktører vil du si at har vært essensielle for etableringen av denne organisasjonen?

Vil du si at organisasjonen er del av et slags ”økosystem” for sosiale entreprenører/sosial innovasjon? Hvis ja, hvilket? Hvem inngår i dette økosystemet?

Hvordan vil du kategorisere organisasjonens myndighetskontakt?

Hvem samarbeider dere med?

Opplever du at organisasjonen er avhengig av offentlige og private tilskuddsordninger?

Bolk 4**Hva/hvem finansierer organisasjonen?**

Er organisasjonen selvgivende eller baserer den seg på støtte?

Hvem mottar organisasjonen pengestøtte fra?

Med tanke på organisasjonens økonomi, har organisasjonen gått i pluss? Hvis ikke, når forventer dere å gå i pluss?

8.3 Intervjuguide: Utvalg 1 (kommuneansatte)

1. Før den alternative introduksjonsordningen ble etablert, hva vil du si at har vært de største strukturelle problemene i eksisterende introduksjonsordning i Meland kommune?
2. For å sette utviklingen av den alternative introduksjonsordningen i en kontekst, har det fra politisk hold vært uttrykt et ønske eller en strategi for å styrke denne ordningen?
3. Hva har vært din rolle i utviklingen av Kvinnesporet/Krydderdamene?
4. Når startet du arbeidet med Kvinnesporet?
5. Kan du gi meg din fremstilling av handlingsforløpet, fra ideen om utviklingen av en alternativ introduksjonsordning ble til, til gjennomføringen av kurset?
6. Er du av den oppfatning at politiske føringer har styrt utviklingsprosessen av den alternative introduksjonsordningen?
7. Hvem var initiativtakeren til utviklingen av en alternativ introduksjonsordning?
8. Hvem vil du si at har vært sentrale personer i utviklingen av denne ordningen?
9. Hvilke målsettinger har dere gjort dere for den alternative ordningen? Har det vært lett å følge disse? Eksisterer det ulike målsettinger blant de ulike samarbeidspartnerne?
10. Hva konkret var det som gjorde at utviklingen av den alternative introduksjonsordningen tok den formen den har i dag?
11. Har dere gjort noen endringer i ordningen underveis?
12. Hvordan startet samarbeidet mellom flyktningsstjenesten og voksenopplæringen?
13. Hvordan allierte dere dere med Voksenopplæringen og hvordan fikk dere Voksenopplæringen med på utviklingen av denne ordningen?
14. Har dette samarbeidet vært godt? Hvem har sørget for at samarbeidet har vedvart?
15. Har dere hatt noen utfordringer i samarbeidet?
16. Hvordan har ledelsen i NAV arbeidet med ordningen? Har du opplevd at NAV-ledelsen har vært positiv til utviklingen av den nye ordningen.
17. Har dere opplevd noen problemer i forbindelse med etableringen av den alternative introduksjonsordningen? Hvordan har disse problemene blitt forsøkt løst?
18. Har lokaliseringen av kontorene til flyktningsstjenesten (NAV) og voksenopplæringen hatt noe å si for samarbeidet og resultatet?
19. Hva vil du si har vært driverne for utviklingen?
20. Hva har vært de største hindrene dere har møtt på underveis?
21. Under møtet fortalte dere at to av lærerne sluttet. Hvorfor sluttet lærerne?
22. Opplever du at dere har hatt tilstrekkelige ressurser i utviklingen og gjennomføringen av ordningen? Hvor har disse ressursene kommet fra/hvor kommer de fra?
23. Har dere hatt nok tid til å utarbeide den nye ordningen?
24. Kan du peke ut sentrale suksessfaktorer (det være seg person eller hendelse) som har hatt en avgjørende betydning for selve ordningen?

8.4 Intervjuguide: Utvalg 2 (ansatte i Voksenopplæringen)

1. Før den alternative introduksjonsordningen ble etablert, hva vil du si at har vært de største strukturelle problemene i eksisterende introduksjonsordning i Meland kommune?
2. For å sette utviklingen av den alternative introduksjonsordningen i en kontekst, har det fra politisk hold vært uttrykt et ønske eller en strategi for å styrke denne ordningen?
3. Har det vært uttrykt et ønske blant ansatte i Voksenopplæringen at eksisterende introduksjonsordning bør arbeidsrettes?
4. Er du av den oppfatning at politiske føringer har styrt utviklingsprosessen av den alternative introduksjonsordningen?
5. Har det skjedd noen endringer i rapporteringen av deltakernes resultater til Kompetanse Norge?
6. Hvordan startet samarbeidet mellom flyktningstjenesten og voksenopplæringen?
7. Når og hvordan ble dere spurt om å bistå inn i utviklingen av den alternative introduksjonsordningen?
8. Kan du gi meg din fremstilling av handlingsforløpet, fra ideen om utviklingen av en alternativ introduksjonsordning ble til, hvordan du ble rekruttert og til gjennomføringen av kurset?
9. Hvem var initiativtakeren til utviklingen av en alternativ introduksjonsordning?
10. Hvem vil du si at har vært sentrale personer i utviklingen av denne ordningen?
11. Hva har vært din rolle i utviklingen av Kvinnesporet/Krydderdamene?
12. Når startet du med opplæring i arbeidsrettet norskundervisning for Kvinnesporet?
13. Hvordan ble du rekruttert (av egeninteresse, forespørsel eller obligatorisk)?
14. Hvor mange opplæringsmøter deltok du på før du startet undervisningen?
15. Hvilke målsettinger har dere gjort dere for den alternative ordningen? Har det vært lett å følge disse? Eksisterer det ulike målsettinger blant de ulike samarbeidspartnerne?
16. Har det vært utfordringer med å endre pedagogisk tilnærming i norskopplæringen? Hvis ja, hvilke(n)?
17. Kan du peke på noen positive faktorer eller hendelser i forbindelse med endringen av norskopplæringens tilnærming som har styrket enten din erfaring med eller utviklingen av den alternative introduksjonsordningen? (økt individuell kunnskap om pedagogikk, økt sammenheng mellom norskopplæring og arbeidserfaring etc.)
18. Hvilke utfordringer eller hendelser vil du si at har vært de vanskeligste for samarbeidet mellom Voksenopplæringen, NAV-ledelsen og Flyktningstjenesten?
19. Hvilke faktorer eller hendelser mener du at har vært svært gunstige for samarbeidet?

20. Har dette samarbeidet vært godt? Hvem har sørget for at samarbeidet har vedvart?
21. Hva konkret var det som gjorde at utviklingen av den alternative introduksjonsordningen tok den formen den har i dag?
22. Har dere gjort noen endringer i ordningen/undervisningen/norskoppleringen underveis for å tilpasse kurset for alle involverte?
23. Hvordan har ledelsen i NAV arbeidet med ordningen? Har du opplevd at NAV-ledelsen har vært positiv til utviklingen av den nye ordningen.
24. Har dere opplevd noen problemer i forbindelse med etableringen av den alternative introduksjonsordningen? Hvordan har disse problemene blitt forsøkt løst?
25. Har lokaliseringen av kontorene til flyktningstjenesten (NAV) og voksenopplæringen hatt noe å si for samarbeidet og resultatet?
26. Hva vil du si har vært driverne for utviklingen?
27. Hva har vært de største hindrene dere har møtt på underveis?
28. Under møtet fortalte dere at to av lærerne sluttet. Hvorfor sluttet lærerne?
29. Opplever du at dere har hatt tilstrekkelige ressurser i utviklingen og gjennomføringen av ordningen? Hvor har disse ressursene kommet fra/hvor kommer de fra?
30. Har dere hatt nok tid til å utarbeide den nye ordningen?
31. Kan du peke ut sentrale suksessfaktorer (det være seg person eller hendelse) som har hatt en avgjørende betydning for selve ordningen?

8.5 Information to research participants

Forespørsel om deltakelse i forskningsprosjekt

«Policy development for social entrepreneurship in Norway: Contextualization, institutionalization, and a strategy for public sector innovation?»

Dette er en forespørsel til deg om å delta i et forskningsprosjekt hvor formålet er å studere hvordan en policy for sosialt entreprenørskap utvikles i Norge (hvilke strategier, ambisjoner og tiltak) og hvordan begrepet forstås og institusjonaliseres i den norske kontekst (oversettelse, definisjon og ansvarsområde).

Bakgrunn og formål

Denne studien har som formål å analysere utviklingen av sosialt entreprenørskap som politikkfelt i Norge. Studien skal undersøke om det i dagens politikk er satt mål og ambisjoner for sosialt entreprenørskap i Norge, samt om det er utformet virkemidler for å stimulere feltet. Dette skal gjøres ved å undersøke om det eksisterer politisk vilje, tiltak og virkemidler nedfelt i offentlig dokumenter samt identifisere hvilke aktører som er involvert i utviklingen av feltet og hvilke aktører som kan karakteriseres som «hemmere» og «fremmere» av sosialt entreprenørskap i Norge. Studien har også som formål å analysere det politiske klima for utviklingen av sosial innovasjon og sosialt entreprenørskap som politikkfelt i Norge, samt å undersøke policy-diffusjoner fra andre land og overnasjonale juridiske rammer som legger føringer for utviklingen av feltet i Norge. I tillegg vil prosjektet presentere to lokale caser som på hver sin måte anvender sosialt entreprenørskap som strategi for innovasjon i offentlig sektor (hhv. en alternativ introduksjonsordning og utviklingen av en nabolagsinkubator). Hvordan sosialt entreprenørskap kommer til uttrykk i implementeringen av disse strategiene vil kunne peke på aktuelle områder der sosiale entreprenører gjør seg relevante i samarbeidsdrevne innovasjonsprosesser og som supplement til offentlige velferdstilbud.

Avhandlingen vil bestå av fire artikler og en kappe. Nedenfor presenterer jeg den overordnede problemstillingen:

How is social entrepreneurship conceptualized in a Scandinavian context and how is the concept expressed through policies as a viable strategy for public sector innovation?

Prosjektet har følgende underordnede forskningsspørsmål tilknyttet de fire artiklene:

1. Does there exist political aims and ambitions for social entrepreneurship in Norway? How are these translated into policy measures (public sector innovation, ideal supplement to welfare production or policy for voluntary sector).
2. Which actors are involved in the institutional content related formalization of social entrepreneurship in Norway? How do key actors in this field create and define the phenomenon?
3. What are the main drivers of the diffusion of the Unlimited model? How do institutional logics affect the adoption and adaptation of this model? How and why is social entrepreneurship as strategy found appropriate for achieving the objectives of the Unlimited model?
4. How do institutional logics affect the development of an alternative introduction program?

Hvem er ansvarlig for forskningsprosjektet?

Ansvarelig for forskningsprosjektet er doktorgradsstipendiat Hilde Svrljuga Sætre ved Institutt for økonomi og administrasjon ved Høgskulen på Vestlandet.

Forskningsprosjektet inngår i hennes doktorgradsavhandling. I tillegg har Sætre følgende veiledere, Prof. Jacob Aars ved Institutt for administrasjon- og organisasjonsvitenskap ved Universitetet i Bergen, og Prof. Jill Merete Loga ved Institutt for økonomi og administrasjon ved Høgskulen på Vestlandet.

Hvorfor får du spørsmål om å delta?

Studiens populasjon består av aktører som er eller har vært involvert i utviklingen av sosialt entreprenørskap som felt (det være seg på internasjonalt, nasjonalt, regionalt eller lokalt nivå). Studien består av fem typer utvalg. Leser du dette informasjonsskrivet faller du under ett av disse utvalgene. Skulle du være usikker på hvilket utvalg du tilhører, kontakt Hilde Svrljuga Sætre (hsse@hvl.no).

Utvalg – Politiske partier (representert på Stortinget) og politikere i departementene.

Dette utvalget er trukket strategisk basert på partipolitisk representasjon på Stortinget og respondentenes kjennskap til sosialt entreprenørskapsfeltet i Norge. Utvalget baserer seg også på hvilke departement som er del av den tverrdepartementale arbeidsgruppen som har ledet utredningen om sosialt entreprenørskap i Norge.

Politiske partier er åpenbare aktører å studere i policyutviklingsprosesser ettersom deres posisjon og rolle gjør det både mulig for dem å fatte politiske beslutninger samt å påvirke og sette saker på den politiske dagsordenen.

Hva innebærer det for deg å delta?

Deltakelse i denne studien innebærer å svare på spørsmål som relateres til utviklingen av og erfaringer fra sosialt entreprenørskapsfeltet i Norge. I de to lokale casestudiene vil deltakelse i studien innebære å svare på spørsmål relatert til a) utviklingen av og erfaringen med den alternative introduksjonsordningen, og b) utviklingen og implementeringen av Unlimited-modellen for nabolagsinkubatorer. Med respondentens samtykke vil doktorgradsstipendiat, Hilde Svrljuga Sætre, vil benytte seg av lydopptak ved hjelp av en innspillingsenhet. Skulle respondenten imidlertid velge å ikke gi sitt samtykke til dette, vil intervjuet foregå uten en innspillingsenhet. Doktorgradsstipendiaten vil da i stedet ta notater under intervjuet.

Deltakelse i denne studien innebærer å svare på spørsmål gjennom metoden seminstrukturerede dybdeintervju.

Dybdeintervjuene vil gjennomføres av Hilde Svrljuga Sætre og respondentene (én av gangen). Spørsmålene som stilles til respondenten omhandler erfaringer fra sosialt entreprenørskapsfeltet. Ved ditt samtykke vil Sætre benytte seg av en innspillingsenhet under intervjuet. Intervjuet vil deretter bli transkribert verbatim, og du vil kunne få innsyn i både transkripsjon og eventuelle sitater som publiseres i avhandlingen. Det er imidlertid viktig å understreke at intervjuene vil anonymiseres, og at din identitet ikke vil kunne gjenkjennes.

Det er frivillig å delta i dette prosjektet. Hvis du velger å delta, kan du når som helst trekke ditt samtykke tilbake uten å oppgi noen grunn. Alle opplysninger om deg vil da bli anonymisert. Det vil ikke ha noen negative konsekvenser for deg hvis du ikke vil delta, eller senere velger å trekke deg.

Ditt personvern – hvordan vi oppbevarer og bruker dine opplysninger

Jeg vil bare bruke opplysningene om deg til formålene jeg har fortalt om i dette skrevet. Jeg behandler opplysningene konfidensielt og i samsvar med personvernregelverket. Uavhengig av hvilket utvalg du tilhører vil alle personopplysningene dine bli behandlet konfidensielt. Ettersom andre personopplysninger enn de nevnt ovenfor er uinteressante for studiens formål, vil du bli gitt en kode som representerer dine besvarelser. Koden vil bli lagret på en liste for det respektive utvalget du inngår i.

Øvrige opplysninger som ikke inngår i prosjektets formål vil bli behandlet konfidensielt, og din identitet vil ikke kunne gjenkjennes i datamaterialet. Det er kun doktorgradsstipendiat Hilde Svrljuga Sætre som vil ha tilgang til denne informasjonen. Alle opplysninger vil bli beskyttet mot at uvedkommende får innsyn. Dette sikres ved at datamaterialet oppbevares på en personlig datamaskin. Tilgangen til datamaskinen er beskyttet med brukernavn og passord. Datamaskinen vil i tillegg stå i et låsbart rom til enhver tid.

Det er viktig og igjen presisere at **ingen** personlige opplysninger vil bli spurt om, eller publisert i avhandlingen.

Øvrige rettigheter som respondent

Dersom du skulle kunne identifiseres i datamaterialet har du rett til:

- Innsyn i hvilke opplysninger som er registrert om deg.
- Å få rettet personopplysninger om deg.
- Å få slettet personopplysninger om deg.
- Å få utlevert en kopi av dine personopplysninger (dataportabilitet), og
- Å sende klage til personvernombudet eller Datatilsynet om behandlingen av dine personopplysninger.

Hva skjer med opplysningene dine når vi avslutter forskningsprosjektet?

Prosjektet skal etter planen avsluttes i 2022. Dato for endelig anonymisering vil være dagen disputasen finner sted. Lydopptak vil også slettes etter at prosjektet er avsluttet.

Hva gir oss rett til å behandle personopplysninger om deg?

Studien behandler opplysninger om deg basert på ditt samtykke.

På oppdrag fra Høgskulen på Vestlandet har NSD – Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS vurdert at behandlingen av personopplysninger i dette prosjektet er i samsvar med personvernregelverket.

Hvor kan jeg finne ut mer?

Hvis du har spørsmål til studien, eller ønsker å benytte deg av dine rettigheter, ta kontakt med følgende personer:

Doktorgradsstipendiat og prosjektansvarlig
Hilde Svrljuga Sætre
Tlf.: 90511896

E-post: hsse@hvl.no

Hovedveileder

Jacob Aars (Universitetet i Bergen).

E-post: Jacob.Aars@uib.no

Personvernombud ved Høgskulen på Vestlandet
Trine Anikken Larsen
Tlf.: 55587682
E-post: personvernombud@hvl.no

8.6 Forespørsel om deltakelse i forskningsprosjekt

Translation of public sector innovation in the Nordic welfare state:
Exploring consequences of institutional trajectories

Bakgrunn og formål

Denne studien har som overordnet formål å undersøke hvordan innovasjon i offentlig institusjonaliseres i den norske velferdsstat tilhørende den såkalte ‘Nordiske modellen’. Mer spesifikt utforsker studien hvorvidt hybride innovasjonsstrategier blir oversatt i norsk kontekst og hvordan denne oversettelsen foregår. Casestudien du bes om å være en del av avdekker hvorvidt og hvordan sosiale virksomhetene får innpass som nye, legitime hybride organisasjoner i det norske organisasjonslandskapet og hvordan disse sosiale virksomhetene forholder seg til de større statlige og private aktører som eksempelvis Velferdsdirektoratet, private investorer og andre offentlige aktører, og i hvilken grad disse er med på å forme sosiale virksomheter eller ei. For å avdekke disse fenomenene kontakter jeg ulike sosiale virksomheter for å få dypere innsikt.

Avhandlingens overordnede problemstilling er

How is public sector innovation institutionalized Norway – a subset of the Nordic welfare model – and what, if any, consequences does the Nordic model have for the translation of these innovations?

Etterfulgt av den mer case-spesifikke problemstillingen:

How can, new actors providing innovative welfare solutions such as hybrid organizations survive in a highly structuralized organizational field, and what, if any consequences do the institutional trajectories of the Nordic model have for these new organizations?

Avhandlingen er artikkelabasert og har tre tilnæringer til den reiste problemstillingen:

1. Prosjektet innebærer å skaffe en oversikt over om hvorvidt det eksisterer politisk vilje til å modernisere/innovere den offentlige velferdsproduksjonen ved å åpne opp for hybride samskapingsaktører utover det tradisjonelle anbudssystemet, og hva denne eventuelle politiske viljen innebærer.

2. Videre vil avhandlingen undersøke hvordan nye hybride aktører med potensiale til å øke samskapingsambisjonen overleverer i et svært strukturert organisasjonsfelt og hvilke, om noen, konsekvenser den norske velferdsmix og konstellasjonen av den Nordiske velferdsstat kan ha for disse nye organisasjonstypene.
3. Ettersom det er en politisk ambisjon til å modernisere offentlig sektor gjennom tverr- og intersektorielle samarbeid, hvordan kan vi forstå slike prosesser om/når spenninger oppstår mellom de samarbeidene aktørene? Vitner dette om en stadig fragmentering av offentlige etater?

Jeg vil benytte meg av metodene semistrukturerte intervjuer og surveyundersøkelser. Avhandlingsprosjektets utvalg er som følger:

1. Sentrale politikere som representerer partiene på Stortinget.
2. Gründere eller medarbeidere i sosiale virksomheter.
3. Sentrale aktører i et samarbeidsdrevet innovasjonsprosjekt i offentlig sektor.

Utvalget trekkes strategisk basert på (1) politikernes kjennskap til fenomenet, hvorvidt de har uttalt seg om fenomenet og deres sentrale rolle i å påvirke politikutvikling på feltet. (2) Hvorvidt den sosiale virksomheten mottar støtte fra mer enn en institusjon (offentlig eller privat), hvorvidt den utfører mer enn én aktivitet i sitt virke, og at den har eksistert minst fem år. (3) Relevante samarbeidspartnere i det respektive prosjektet.

Hva innebærer deltakelse i studien?

Deltakelse i dette prosjektet innebærer å svare på spørsmål som relateres til hvordan den respektive sosiale virksomheten forholder seg til offentlige og private aktører som både tildeler økonomisk støtte og som fungerer som 'portvakter' på det organisatoriske feltet. Dette kan være seg aktører som Velferdsdirektoratet, kommuner, IMDi og private investorer som f.eks. Ferd, Sparebankstiftelsen etc. Videre vil det bli stilt spørsmål om organisasjonens virke, dens motivasjon og aktiviteter.

Med respondentens samtykke, vil doktorgradsstipendiaten benytte seg av lydopptak ved hjelp av en taleregistrator. Skulle respondenten imidlertid velge å ikke gi sitt samtykke til dette, vil intervjuet foregå uten taleregistrator, og doktorgradsstipendiaten vil ta notater under intervjuet.

Hva skjer med informasjonen om deg?

Alle personopplysninger vil bli behandlet konfidensielt. Det er kun doktorgradsstipendiat Hilde Svrljuga Sætre, og veileder Jacob Aars (UiB) som vil ha tilgang til denne informasjonen. Alle opplysninger vil bli beskyttet mot at uvedkommende får innsyn. Dette sikres ved datamaterialet oppbevares på en personlig datamaskin. Datamaskintilgangen er beskyttet med brukernavn og passord. I tillegg vil datamaskinen til enhver tid stå i et låsbart rom. Avhandlingsprosjektet skal etter planen ferdigstilles 1. juni 2022. Dato for endelig anonymisering vil være samme dagen. Lyddopptak vil slettes etter avhandlingen er levert og disputasen er gjennomført.

Respondentene vil muligens kunne gjenkjennes av hvilket yrke de har. Dersom respondenten ikke skulle gi sitt samtykke til dette, skal det – etter norsk lov – tas hensyn til, og informasjon som *kan* gjøre at respondenten gjenkjennes indirekte, vil anonymiseres og holdes skjult. Det er imidlertid viktig å understreke at ingen personlige opplysninger verken vil bli spurt om eller publisert i selve avhandlingen.

Frivillig deltakelse

Det er frivillig å delta som respondent i dette avhandlingsprosjektet, og du kan når som helst trekke ditt samtykke uten å oppgi noen grunn. Dersom du trekker ditt samtykke, vil alle opplysningene om deg og informasjonen du har oppgitt bli slettet umiddelbart.

Ikke nøl med å ta kontakt dersom du har ytterligere kommentarer til eller spørsmål

om prosjektet eller sikring av personopplysninger. Du kan kontakte

doktorgradsstipendiat, Hilde Svrljuga Sætre på hsse@hvl.no / +47 90511896

Samtykke

Jeg har blitt informert om avhandlingsprosjektet og hvordan personopplysninger skal ivaretas, og samtykker herved til å delta som respondent i prosjektet.

(Signatur, dato, sted)

Kontaktinformasjon

Hilde Svrljuga Sætre

Tlf.: +47 90511896

E-post: Hilde.Svrljuga.Setre@hvl.no / hsse@hvl.no

Adr.: Strandgaten 208

8.7 Forespørsel om deltakelse i forskningsprosjekt

«Implementering av alternativ introduksjonsordning i kommuner gjennom samarbeidsdrevet innovasjon og sosialt entreprenørskap»

Formål

Studiens formål er å undersøke hvordan nasjonale satsinger og strategier implementeres i praksis i lokale kontekster (Meland kommune). Dette forskningsprosjektet vil være et bidrag inn i FoU-prosjektet «Gründersporet: en ny introduksjonsordning for flyktninger som ønsker å starte egen virksomhet». Det vil også inngå som del av Hilde Svrljuga Sætres doktorgradsavhandling (prosjektnummer 60931). FoU-prosjektets overordnede problemstilling er: Hvordan kan arbeidsrettede introduksjonsordninger implementeres i kommuner gjennom samarbeidsdrevet innovasjon og sosialt entreprenørskap? Ved å ta i bruk vitenskapelige metoder som semistrukturerte dybdeintervjuer, vil jeg kunne oppnå innsikt i utviklingen av den alternative introduksjonsordningen samt en bred forståelse av faktorer som driver og faktorer som hemmer et slikt innovativt utviklingsprosjekt. Prosjektets overordnede problemstilling er:

Hvordan kan arbeidsrettede introduksjonsordninger implementeres i kommuner gjennom samarbeidsdrevet innovasjon og sosialt entreprenørskap?

Mer konkret, skal dette prosjektet svare på følgende underordnede problemstilling:

Hvordan påvirker institusjonelle logikker utviklingen av en alternativ introduksjonsordning i en norsk kommune?

Hvem er ansvarlig for forskningsprosjektet?

Ansvarelig for forskningsprosjektet er doktorgradsstipendiat Hilde Svrljuga Sætre og hennes medforfatter Mai Camilla Munkejord begge ved Institutt for økonomi og administrasjon ved Høgskulen på Vestlandet. Forskningsprosjektet vil først å fremst inngå som del av doktorgradsavhandlingen til førstnevnte, men vil kunne bidra med informasjon til FoU-prosjektet «Gründersporet» da stipendiat Sætre er tilknyttet dette prosjektet. Forskningsprosjektet vil kun bli brukt i avhandlingen til Sætre og som supplerende informasjon i nevnt FoU-prosjekt.

Hvorfor får du spørsmål om å delta?

Studiens populasjon består av personer som har bidratt i utviklingen av den nye alternative introduksjonsordningen «Kvinnesporet» i Meland kommune. Studien består av to typer utvalg. Leser du dette informasjonsskrivet faller du under ett av disse utvalgene. Skulle du være usikker på hvilket utvalg du tilhører, kontakt Hilde Svrljuga Sætre (hsse@hvl.no).

Utvalg 1 – Ansatte i kommunen (NAV, Flyktningsordningen).

Dette utvalget trukket strategisk basert på informantenes rolle i utviklingen av den alternative introduksjonsordningen. Trekningen er strategisk og basert på utvalgets åpenbare rolle i utviklingen av ordningen.

Utvalg 2 – Ansatte i voksenopplæringen.

Dette utvalget trekkes basert på informantenes rolle i utviklingen av en arbeidsrettet norskopplæring av deltakerne i Kvinnesporet. Lærerne som har vært med i opplæring og gjennomføring av arbeidsrettet norskopplæring vil derfor trekkes strategisk.

Hva innebærer det for deg å delta?

Deltakelse i denne studien innebærer å svare på spørsmål som relateres til utviklingen av og erfaringen med den alternative introduksjonsordningen «Kvinnesporet». Med respondentens samtykke vil doktorgradsstipendiat, Hilde Svrljuga Sætre, benytte seg av lydopptak ved hjelp av en innspillingsenhet. Skulle respondenten imidlertid velge å ikke gi sitt samtykke til dette, vil intervjuet foregå uten en innspillingsenhet. Doktorgradsstipendiat vil da i stedet ta i bruk notater under intervjuet.

Deltakelse i denne studien innebærer å svare på spørsmål gjennom metoden seminstrukturerte dybdeintervju.

Dybdeintervjuene vil gjennomføres av Hilde Svrljuga Sætre og respondentene (én av gangen). Spørsmålene som stilles til respondenten omhandler erfaringer fra utviklingen og samarbeidet med etableringen av en alternativ introduksjonsordning for flyktninger. Intervjuene vil vare i omtrent én time. Ved ditt samtykke vil Sætre benytte seg av en innspillingsenhet under intervjuet. Intervjuet vil deretter bli transkribert verbatim, og du vil kunne få innsyn i både transkripsjon og eventuelle

sitater som publiseres i avhandlingen. Det er imidlertid viktig å understreke at intervjuene vil anonymiseres, og at din identitet ikke vil kunne gjenkjennes.

Det er frivillig å delta i dette prosjektet. Hvis du velger å delta, kan du når som helst trekke ditt samtykke tilbake uten å oppgi noen grunn. Alle opplysninger om deg vil da bli anonymisert. Det vil ikke ha noen negative konsekvenser for deg hvis du ikke vil delta, eller senere velger å trekke deg.

Ditt personvern – hvordan vi oppbevarer og bruker dine opplysninger

Vi vil bare bruke opplysningene om deg til formålene vi har fortalt om i dette skrivet. Vi behandler opplysningene konfidensielt og i samsvar med personvernregelverket. Uavhengig av hvilket utvalg du tilhører vil alle personopplysningene dine bli behandlet konfidensielt. Ettersom andre personopplysninger utenom *stillingstittel* (flyktningkoordinator, prosjektkoordinator, leder NAV, leder voksenopplæring, norsklærer) og *ansettelsessted* (NAV, Voksenopplæringen, Flyktningstjenesten), er uinteressante for studiens formål, vil du bli gitt en kode som representerer dine besvarelser. Koden vil bli lagret på en liste for det respektive utvalget du inngår i.

Øvrige opplysninger som ikke inngår i prosjektets formål vil bli behandlet konfidensielt, og din identitet vil ikke kunne gjenkjennes i datamaterialet. Det er kun doktorgradsstipendiat Hilde Svrljuga Sætre samt prosjektgruppen som vil ha tilgang til denne informasjonen. Alle opplysninger vil bli beskyttet mot at uvedkommende får innsyn. Dette sikres ved at datamaterialet oppbevares på en personlig datamaskin. Tilgangen til datamaskinen er beskyttet med brukernavn og passord. Datamaskinen vil i tillegg stå i et låsbart rom til enhver tid.

Det er viktig og igjen presisere at ***ingen*** personlige opplysninger vil bli spurt om, eller publisert i avhandlingen.

Øvrige rettigheter som respondent

Dersom du skulle kunne identifiseres i datamaterialet har du rett til:

- Innsyn i hvilke opplysninger som er registrert om deg.
- Å få rettet personopplysninger om deg.
- Å få slettet personopplysninger om deg.
- Å få utlevert en kopi av dine personopplysninger (dataportabilitet), og
- Å sende klage til personvernombudet eller Datatilsynet om behandlingen av dine personopplysninger.

Hva skjer med opplysningene dine når vi avslutter forskningsprosjektet?

Prosjektet skal etter planen avsluttes i 2022. Dato for endelig anonymisering vil være dagen FoU-prosjektet avsluttes. Lydopptak vil også slettes etter at prosjektet er avsluttet.

Hva gir oss rett til å behandle personopplysninger om deg?

Studien behandler opplysninger om deg basert på ditt samtykke.

På oppdrag fra Høgskulen på Vestlandet har NSD – Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS vurdert at behandlingen av personopplysninger i dette prosjektet er i samsvar med personvernregelverket.

Hvor kan jeg finne ut mer?

Hvis du har spørsmål til studien, eller ønsker å benytte deg av dine rettigheter, ta kontakt med følgende personer:

Doktorgradsstipendiat og prosjektansvarlig

Hilde Svrljuga Sætre

Tlf.: 90511896

E-post: hsse@hvl.no

Prosjektansvarlig for FoU-prosjektet og medforfatter

Prof. Mai Camilla Munkejord

E-post: Mai.Camilla.Munkejord@hvl.no

Personvernombud ved Høgskulen på Vestlandet, **Trine Anikken Larsen**

Tlf.: 55587682

E-post: personvernombud@hvl.no



How Hybrid Organizations Respond to Institutional Complexity: The Case of Norway

Hilde Svrljuga Sætre¹

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Abstract In past decades, hybrid organizations and institutional complexity have received growing attention, yet questions remain about how hybrids manage institutional complexity in the Nordic welfare states. This article investigates how Norwegian social enterprises (SEs), a subset of hybrid organizations, internally manage contradictory demands when externally engaging with multiple logics. The data consists of interviews of leaders and staff members from five SEs, and the findings show that most institutional referents hold a public-sector logic which may crowd out the hybrid nature of SEs. Depending on the conflicting demands, SEs mix decoupling and selective coupling when responding to them. Some were also found to rely on the structural responses of organizational compartmentalization. Compared to the blended hybrids, the structural hybrids experience less internal tension when managing institutional complexity since logic compartmentalization allows the organizations to attend both to their *in-use* logic and *at-play* demands. The data yield compelling insights into how the Nordic welfare state may incite a specific configuration of SE where logic compartmentalization appears as a pragmatic choice.

Keywords Hybrid organizations · Social enterprise · Institutional logic · Welfare-state regimes

Introduction

In recent years, hybrid organizations have received growing research attention. Hybrids can be defined as “organizations that draw on at least two different sectoral paradigms, logics and value systems” (Doherty et al., 2014), thus by nature, they are arenas of contradiction. Hence, they do not fit neatly into the established categories of private, public and voluntary organizations (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Rather, they embody multiple institutional logics defined as historically dependent patterns of rules, beliefs, actions, identities, values and material practices and they operate in organizational environments that exert pluralistic and often contradictory demands (Kraatz & Block, 2008). Social enterprise (SE) can be considered a subset of hybrid organizations as they pursue a dual mission: Their activities typically embody a social-welfare logic and a commercial logic as they seek to address societal issues through entrepreneurship (Mair et al., 2015). SEs thus navigate distinct institutional logics and domains. Yet, rather than being driven only by the need to maximize profits for owners and stakeholders, SEs’ surpluses are mainly reinvested in the enterprise or the community in which they operate. The logic embodied in SEs can be considered *in-use* logic which is found in their operations, activities and the governance structure. These hybrid logics are embedded in the self-perception or identity of the organization. However, SEs operate within highly institutionalized environments which creates ambiguity regarding incentives and value dispositions within the SEs. These conflicting logics can be understood as logics *at play*, i.e. logics that are prescribed onto SEs by the institutional environment. Scholarly literature has emphasized that SEs are prone to encounter challenges in the external environment due to

✉ Hilde Svrljuga Sætre
Hilde.Svrljuga.Setre@hvl.no

¹ Department of Business Administration, Western Norway University of Applied Sciences, Bergen, Norway

their hybridity (Woodside, 2018). SEs are therefore a prime example for studying how hybrids experience and respond to highly institutional environments.

Institutional complexity as a framework has shown that challenges arise when external demands *at play* are internalized by a hybrid, affecting the perceptions, logic and value dispositions *in use* (Greenwood et al., 2011). Recent studies have identified different organizational responses hybrids internally employ when confronted by institutional complexity, showing that some manage to sustain multiple logics, some resort to one dominant logic, some compartmentalize logics, some hybrids thrive, and some even fail (e.g. Pache & Santos, 2013). While these studies have yielded fruitful knowledge, there still lacks knowledge on how hybrids manage institutional complexity in the rather novel study context of the Nordic welfare state.

Pertaining to the theoretically defined Nordic, or social-democratic, welfare regime (Esping-Andersen, 1990), Norway is characterized by a comprehensive public sector with an extensive responsibility for providing universal welfare to its citizens (Pedersen & Kuhnle, 2017: 221). Yet with the turn to New Public Management, certain market-inspired procedures e.g. municipalities contracting out certain services to private providers, have nonetheless manifested themselves. Still, the statist value system is highly engrained in the welfare-state tradition, therefore, despite the gradual increase in market solutions to public welfare since the 1980s, there is still a widespread political consensus in Norway on preserving the state's responsibility for welfare delivery. Yet, the increase of market-like practices has fostered a political debate labelled the "welfare-profiteer debate" which has reached its culminating point on how much profit (if any) is acceptable for commercial actors operating on public contracts to extract from providing welfare services. The debate pressures non-public organizations to demonstrate distance from market motives. Being an imported organizational form, SEs must therefore adapt to a context with strongly entrenched public-sector traditions amidst a debate fostering distrust in non-public welfare providers. Upholding the notion that SEs embody multiple *in-use* logics, they may have to adapt to additional logics *at play* prescribed by a cumbersome bureaucratic welfare system. Comparatively, the Nordic context is characterized by a highly institutional environment constituted by a strong universal welfare state with its policies on welfare provision, as well as by local authorities that are constrained by public procurement regulations when contracting out with private actors. What remains answered is how hybrids manage the institutional complexity found in the Nordic countries, and whether the Nordic model incites a specific configuration of SEs due to its welfare-state traditions. This article investigates how SEs respond to institutional complexity in Norway and

what structural and strategic organizational responses they internalize when externally engaging with multiple logics and demands. Methodically, this article employs rich qualitative interview data from five Norwegian SEs collected from 2018 to 2021.

This article offers valuable empirical and theoretical contributions when exploring how Norwegian hybrids experience and respond to institutional complexity and directs attention to the institutional complexity found in the Nordic countries. Second, it contributes to the theorizing of structural hybrids by demonstrating how hybrids can create organizational compartments in which their distinct *in-use* logic can prevail. Third, and in line with recent work (e.g. Perkmann et al., 2019), the article challenges the assumption that structural hybrids always consist of single-logic compartments, which, is a useful addition to current literature. Finally, it also contributes to theory building within the framework of institutional logics.

In the following, I review the theoretical framework, followed by a description of the research setting. Next, I outline the methodological choices and considerations. Finally, I present the main findings, followed by a discussion and a conclusion.

Theoretical Framework

Institutional logics are overarching rules and norms shaping the values and goals of an institutional field and make behavior predictable (Thornton et al., 2013). Conceptualized as ideal types, each institutional order distinguishes unique principles and practices that influence organizational behavior (*ibid.*). This framework is a fruitful analytical tool when seeking to understand how organizations (SEs) are influenced by their contexts (institutional environments). In a stylized form, "pure" organizations are aligned with one specific *in-use* logic (Mair et al., 2015). Commercial organizations embody a commercial logic offering services or goods to obtain a financial return to shareholders which are their major stakeholder groups while promoting efficient service delivery (Nicholls, 2010). Voluntary organizations embody a social-welfare logic, addressing wicked problems and prioritizing their beneficiaries, often disadvantaged groups in society, and are characterized by member ownership and revenue generation from donation and member fees (Woodside, 2018). Conversely, hybrids typically embody both in their operations. They address societal problems experienced by disadvantaged groups, while also relying on subsidies by focusing on income strategies (Mair et al., 2015). However, the representation of these ideal-type logics is conditioned by the contexts in which they emerge. As with languages, where the pronunciation of words may vary across

geographical locations, we may assume that there also exist different logic *dialects*, with nuanced characteristics. Therefore, SEs will unlikely embody pure social welfare and commercial logic at the same time, but instead *dialects* of them. These logic *dialects* will unlikely be equally fundamental; thus, depending on the aim, structure and goal of the SEs, they operate with two *in-use* logics, a *dominant logic*, while additional logics are *minority logics* (Durand & Jourdan, 2012). However, when faced with demands from actors with the power to evaluate their legitimacy in the field (i.e. institutional referents) that impose conflicting *at-play* logics, tension within the SEs may arise over the prioritizing of goals which can lead to mission drift (Doherty et al., 2014). Upholding the notion that SE is an imported idea that is adopted and adapted into the Nordic context, SEs are submitted to specific demands characteristic of the Nordic institutional environment which likely will affect the SEs prioritization of *in-use* logic.

Managing Institutional Complexity in Hybrids

The extant research has discovered that when hybrids encounter and manage competing logics *at play*, they select between structural and strategic organizational responses (Pache & Santos, 2013; Perkmann et al., 2019).

One type of response to competing logic can be found in the structure of the hybrid. *Blended hybrids* (alternatively hybrid organizations) represent a single entity embodying multiple *in-use* logic throughout the organizations (Greenwood et al., 2011). This structural solution enables hybrids to exploit different resources that are unattainable by “pure” organizations (Perkmann et al., 2019). Yet, the combination of two (or more) *in-use* logics might create internal tensions since satisfying institutional demands of one logic may require defying demands of another (Greenwood et al., 2011). It can provoke internal tensions among organizational members, create ambiguity in decision-making processes, and, externally, it can create challenges linked to their external legitimacy vis-à-vis institutional referents. *Structural hybrids* are hybrids where different “compartments” of the organization operate according to different logics (Kraatz & Block, 2008). Structural hybrids create structural compartments where the different subunits of the organization operate according to different principles (Perkmann et al., 2019). The compartmentalization enables them to address different audiences and/or deploy different methods. However, while alleviating certain challenges that blended hybrids face, this solution may trigger challenges in integrating the different compartments into the organization, running at risk of organizational fragmentation (Greenwood et al., 2011). While blended hybrids reap the organizational benefits

from only one of the sector-dependent legal structures, studies (e.g. Battilana & Dorado, 2010) have documented that SEs have been able to exploit the benefits of two sectors by compartmentalizing, i.e. establish two separate entities. As such, SEs may reconcile competing *at-play* logics with *in-use* logics by carrying out activities expected by institutional referents through one legal entity and another type of activity through the other. Empirically, blended hybrids are expected to experience more internal tensions in meeting with competing *at-play* logics, as institutional referents can push them to dispose of certain logics, compared to structural hybrids which may enact *at-play* logics and *in-use* logics through compartmentalization without receding any of them.

Decoupling, compromise and selective coupling have in the last decades been exposed as strategic responses in, and in analyses of, hybrids’ encounter with institutional complexity (Pache & Santos, 2013). *Decoupling* entails symbolically adhering to and endorsing practices prescribed by an external *at-play* logic, while at the same time conducting practices promoted by *in-use* logic. In practice, this means that organizations create and uphold a separation between symbolically adopted policies and their organizational behavior (Tilcsik, 2010). This strategy is often adapted to instances where demands prescribed by the external environment conflict with the *in-use* logic of the organization (Pache & Santos, 2013). Thus, hybrids symbolically adapt to these *at-play* demands, while continuing to carry out practices closer to the organizations’ missions. Empirically, decoupling is expected to be found in situations where SEs seek to gain access to grants, i.e. they may symbolically demonstrate compliance, yet in practice carry out activities as usual (Battilana & Dorado, 2010).

Compromise relates to the attempt to carry out demands from the logic *at play* in an altered form by finding acceptable balances between the external demand and the *in-use* logics (Oliver, 1991). Compromise entails actual change in behavior, yet the change balances *in-use* and *at-play* logic. Being a less documented strategy, compromise can indeed be a viable option for hybrids to cope with institutional complexity (Kraatz & Block, 2008). In this study, Norwegian SEs may adhere to external *at-play* demands by conforming to the minimum standard by creating a new behavior that merges elements of both types of logic.

Finally, when met with competing demands, SEs may adopt creative configurations of selected practices to meet external demands (Battilana & Dorado, 2010), *Selective coupling* resonates well with the concept of “cultural toolkits” (Swidler, 1986), i.e. responding to various types of contextual issues by employing different configurations to solve them. Such creative mixtures may have elements of symbolic and actual change and can therefore be

considered a “catchall” response as it includes a wide variety of actions. Hybrids can secure appraisal of both *in-use* and *at-play* logics as they have access to a broader repertoire of institutional templates, which they can combine. This is called the “Trojan horse” entailing process where so-called “illegitimate” actors adopt and enact the *at-play* logic in the field enabling them to gain acceptance for entering the field (Pache & Santos, 2013). Empirically, SEs considered illegitimate is expected to rely on selective coupling by carrying out activities demanded by the logic *at play* in the institutional environment simultaneously with their main activities and *in-use* logics.

We are now armed with theoretical concepts that help us understand how SEs manage institutional complexity. In the following, I present the study setting.

Study Setting

Norway is characterized by a large public sector providing universal services to its citizens. Despite a historically long-lived cooperation between the public and nonprofit sector in delivering welfare, commercial welfare production has made itself relevant in all areas of society (Selle et al., 2018). In the provision of welfare, there is a relatively stable set of relationships between the public, private and nonprofit sectors: This constellation is built upon a state that largely produces welfare services itself for buys them through procurement from other, private welfare producers. The relevance of the non-profit sector as a welfare provider has been diminished due to the extent of the public sector, and the slow but steady increase of market mechanisms (Selle et al., 2018). A highly sensitive political question is privatization of welfare. The political left champions public ownership to secure all citizens equal access to services, while the political right champions marketization and privatization to secure the welfare state’s economic sustainability. The question has manifested itself in the heated “welfare-profit debate” where examples of commercial welfare producers generating substantial profit have added fuel to the disagreement.

SE emerged in Norway in the early 2000s, and the number of SEs has steadily increased to approximately 300–400 (Eimhjellen & Loga, 2016; Kobro et al., 2017). Since there is no formal organizational form for SEs, they can choose between legal forms from the third and private sector. The extent to which the choice of legal organizational form is caused by ideological orientations or pragmatic adaptations to obtain funding is at present date unclear, but most likely the choice is pragmatic, i.e., they select legal forms based on the probability of attracting funding (Enjolras et al., 2021). The choice of legal form reflects the distribution of responsibilities, risk, taxation, as well as

legal rights and duties. It also decides the economic sector affiliation of the SE. In the nonprofit sector, SEs can use organizational forms such as voluntary organizations, associations and cooperatives. In the private sector, SEs can use organizational forms of privately-owned enterprises, e.g. LLCs and *ideal* LLCs. The latter form implies returning any potential profit to the organization, rather than to shareholders. Both LLCs and *ideal* LLCs are regulated under and abide by the same legislation. Yet, to become an *ideal* LLC, a legal requirement is that the organization declares no personal dividend in the organizational statutes allowing *ideal* LLCs to call themselves not-for-profit organizations.

Recent studies have suggested that SEs will be difficult to recognize as different from commercial and voluntary organizations as the division of labor between the three economic sectors already are well-established (Enjolras et al., 2021). Moreover, SEs have experienced the need to adapt to other institutional referents’ demands to gain funding (Hauge & Wasvik, 2016). A compelling example of this is the public grant allotted by one of the main institutional referents, the Norwegian Welfare Directorate (NWD), targeting SEs working with inclusion and poverty. This grant is premised on their label as non-profit or not-for-profit (e.g., voluntary organization, associations or *ideal* LLCs).

Data and Methods

In the following, I present the methodological choices in this study. A qualitative and exploratory design was used to answer the research question, as this approach is recommended when studying phenomena lacking a well-developed understanding (Yin, 2009). While there does not exist any formal organizational form or registry for SEs in Norway, a mapping of organizations self-identifying as SEs on their websites was conducted. The selection of informants was further based on SEs (1) receiving funding or support from more than one institutional referent; (2) carrying out more than one activity in their operation; (3) with an organizational lifespan of at least five years. This approach is similar to that of purposive sampling (Guest et al., 2017). Prior to the data collection, a dozen SEs were contacted, however, five SEs were recruited to the sample. The sample consists of seven informants. Two informants (staff and founder) were interviewed from SE 1 and 5. The founders of SE 2, 3 and 4 were interviewed once. Due to concerns for anonymity, their names have been omitted. Their governance arrangements are listed in the table below:

Organization	1	2	3	4	5
Structural solution	Structural hybrid	Structural hybrid	Blended hybrid	Blended hybrid	Blended hybrid
Legal form	Two legal entities: <i>association and ideal LLC</i>	Two legal entities: <i>association and ideal LLC</i>	<i>Ideal LLC</i>	<i>Ideal LLC</i>	<i>Voluntary organization</i>
Sector affiliation	Private and third sector	Private and third sector	Private sector	Private sector	Third sector
Governance arrangement	Same person as general manager and chairman of the board in both entities	Both entities share some of the same board members	General manager is kept separate from the board	General manager is also a board manager	Same person as general manager and chairman of the board
Main activity	Sale of products to the public and private sector to employ immigrants	Sale of platform primarily to the public sector to educate adolescents	Sale of courses for young dropouts to the public sector	Sale of products and services to the private and the public sector	Intersectoral collaboration with public sector organizations
Occupational origin of the social entrepreneur	Private sector	Third sector	Private sector	Public and private sector	Public sector

Limitations

The sample size of SEs in this study is small. During the study, attempts were made to include more SEs, but these refrained from participating due to e.g. covid-19. The sample size of informants is also small. Staff and board members could have informed the analysis about how staff experience institutional complexity within the organizations. However, most of these organizations are small and with few employees, thus the informants selected represent the most vital roles in the organizations. Therefore, while this article contributes to the SE literature, it is nonetheless hard to infer beyond these cases.

Data Analysis

A thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2019) was applied and carried out. First, an analysis was completed of each separate interview focusing on the experienced *at-play* demands. This informed the study of whether and the degree to which external demands affected the *in-use* logic of the SEs. Second, I identified the conflicting demands and structured them along the following categories: legitimate *legal form* of the organization, legitimate *governance structure, criteria* for funding, and what *activities* SEs should run. Finally, the responses to these demands were analyzed and classified according to the organizational responses. This step of the analysis also enabled a proper identification of the logic in effect. The analysis suggests that SEs naturally embody two *in-use* logics, while pressured to respond to one *at-play* logic. Equally to languages

where pronunciation nuances exist in different geographical areas, the logics identified vary from the theoretical ideal types and should therefore not be interpreted *stricto sensu*. Rather, they should be interpreted as logic *dialects*, a metaphor for the empirical representations of the ideal types that are contextually dependent.

The *in-use* logics identified relate to the commercial and social-welfare logics yet represented as *dialects* of them. In support of scholarly literature, the SEs embody two *in-use* logics, namely a *commercial* and a *social-welfare* logic. Yet, different from a “pure” commercial organization selling goods and services to consumers, SEs operating on the commercial logic *dialect* instead emphasize the search for and reliance on subsidies and public contracts. They are thus motivated to find income strategies and employ commercial-like procedures to obtain funding. They sell services and products, primarily through contracts with public authorities, and in few instances, to private enterprises. While they do not operate in a market similar to “pure” commercial organizations, they operate in a quasi-market competing for public contracts. The analysis illustrates that while the SEs may conceive themselves as commercial actors, the environmental pressures they encounter are not primarily competitive pressures. As such, whereas the SEs compete, they are submitted to institutional demands that do not usually characterize a pure commercial logic, hence the logic *dialect*.

The *social-welfare logic dialect* emphasizes cross-sectoral collaboration in the creation and production of welfare. The collaboration’s framework defines their impact area, which often is under the auspices of the public sector.

Altruistic actions, e.g. helping others in the local community, secure their legitimacy.

Finally, the identified logic *at play* relates to the public-sector logic dialect characteristic of the Nordic context. This logic dialect is governed by the political economy of the welfare sector. SEs are considered suppliers of cost-efficient services which are obtained through public procurements or other contracts. The political agenda determines the range and duration of the work manifested in the SEs' contracts with public authorities. Listed in Table 1 below are the logic dialects.

Findings

In the following, I present the findings of how the SEs manage institutional complexity based on their structural and strategic organizational responses. The main tensions between the SEs and the institutional referents relate to their *legal form*, *governance structure*, public authorities' *criteria for funding* and the SEs' *activity*.

All SEs experienced the *at-play* public-sector logic to exert conflicting demands and all internalized enactment to it. First, a pattern emerged between the selection of structural solutions: Structural hybrids were able to attend to their *in-use* logics, while also enact the external *at-play* logic due to logic compartmentalization. Blended hybrids, on the other hand, expressed more inconveniences when encountering *at-play* demands while seeking to adhere to their *in-use* logic. Second, all SEs were found to respond through decoupling and selective coupling. Compromise was not identified. Third, the data reveal that there is a strong field-level consensus regarding the appropriate way to operate: By adhering to the public-sector logic that most institutional referents hold. Since the institutional referents act as gatekeepers of public and private grants, SEs are therefore highly dependent on their acceptance as legitimate actors in the field.

Legal Form: Same Shit, Just New Wrapping

All but one organization expressed a change in legal status. SE 1 and 2 created two separate entities becoming structural hybrids. This structural response permits them to exploit the benefits of both legal organizational structures. SE 3 and 4 changed their legal status from LLCs to *ideal* LLCs, by declaring no personal dividend in their statutes. These four SEs operate with a dominant commercial-logic dialect, yet the *at-play* demands pressured them to enact the public-sector logic and, consequently, change their legal statuses. SE 5 operates with a dominant social-welfare logic dialect, and its general manager had been supervised by public authorities to organize as a voluntary

organization during its start-up phase and has remained a voluntary organization. Indeed, most schemes targeting SEs demand that they are listed in the Voluntary Registry implying that they must be non-profit or not-for-profit separating the organization from pure commercial motives. The founder of SE 4 explained the change in legal status due to external demands from NWD. While the founder publicly advocates for personal dividend, she does not believe it's possible due to demands from the external environment. SE 4 is registered in the private sector, and in meeting with *at-play* demands, she changed the status to an *ideal* LLC (decoupling), thus conforming to the external pressure. She shared this response with the founder of SE 3. However, both founders expressed that to secure the organizations' main functions and mission, they kept their organizations in the private sector. Thus, the external environment pressured both founders to create ideal LLCs with statutes prohibiting dividend. The founder of SE 4 explains:

Only a few months after creating the SE as an LLC, I realized that to obtain funding from the NWD my organization had to be registered in the Voluntary Registry, so I had to change the legal form from an LLC to an ideal LLC. I only did this to be eligible for this grant. However, the goal of my organization, the activity and our ideology has not changed. It's the same shit, just new wrapping (4).

As the informant underscores, this change is a symbolic adaptation to the demand from institutional referents that do not affect the organization internally. While both the SEs stressed the inconvenience of formally changing the legal status, SE 1 and 2 selected a different strategy for ensuring public funding.

In meeting the same demands from the *at-play* logic, SE 1 established an ideal LLC in addition to her association to secure the organization's main activity and sources of revenue. SE 2 created an association in addition to his ideal LLC for the same reason. This structural response enables them to uphold their main activities that enhance their sources of revenue in one compartment while enacting and adhering to *at-play* demands in another compartment. The following quote from the founder of SE 2 illustrates this strategy:

The main enterprise is registered as an association, but I must admit that this is an opportunistic decision. Initially, we wanted to establish an LLC and receive a tax ID number, but the fastest way to do this was by establishing an association. Also, we were aware that our main potential donors demanded a legal form compatible with the Voluntary Registry. But honestly, we do not operate as an association with members

Table 1 Logic dialects

	In use logic	In use logic	At play logic
Loeic dialect	Commercial logic	Social-welfare logic	Public-sector logic
Economic system	Private and public subsidies	Non-profit	Welfare capitalism: political economy of the welfare sector
Role of SE	Producer of innovative cost-efficient solutions competing against other suppliers	Partner for social innovation	Supplier on the quasi-market
Nature of work	Selling products/ services	Partner in new intersectoral forms of collaboration	Public procurement of short-termed tenders tailored to the public sector
Supplier of conditions	Entrepreneur and subsidy provider	Reach of the collaboration's framework	Social issues on the political agenda
Use of outputs	Increase size to reach a broader target group	Establish networks of new intersectoral forms of collaboration	Modernizing public welfare services to reach demands of the citizens
Evaluation of Legitimacy	Quality of services and public institutions procuring tenders	Altruistic action, helping others in need	Authority-based qualification of efficiency, responsiveness and quality of service
Reward	Economic sustainability, success in service production	Helping the local community, benevolence	Political legitimacy vis-à-vis public authorities

[...]. After having scaled up the enterprise, it was important for us also to create an ideal LLC so that we could carry out different activities, receive support from private investors, and commercialize our platform without having to fundamentally change anything internally in the organization (2).

This suggests that Norwegian hybrids can maneuver around competing demands by combining creative response mixes while continuing to run their activities as usual. The structural hybrids SE 1 and 2 expressed less inconvenience regarding the conflicting *at-play* demand due to the structural response of compartmentalization. As the informant expressed, it is vital for her to have the two compartments to ensure that the organization does not compromise its mission. She also stated that although the governance structure of Norwegian associations should be structured democratically, it is not, implying a symbolic compliance in the formal status, but not internalized in practice. Finally, among the informants, compartmentalization, was characterized as a less inconvenient strategy when met with the competing *at-play* public-sector demands.

Governance Structure: Challenging Perceptions of Traditional Voluntary Organizations?

Appropriate governance structure was also found to be a conflicting demand. The appropriate way for SEs to be organized is defined by institutional referents holding the public-sector logic, and interestingly, this demand was only experienced by SE 5, the voluntary organization operating

with a dominant social-welfare logic dialect. The founder of SE 5 is both the chairman of the board and the general manager of the organization. When applying for a funding scheme in Municipality X, an inquiry was launched against the founder due to what was labeled an “undemocratic governance structure”. A staff member expressed that the funding scheme does not require any specific type of organizational structure, nor has this question emerged in relation to the other SEs whose governance structures are similar:

[Municipality X] submitted a complaint against us since our governance structure is undemocratic. [The founder] is both chairman of the board and the general manager, and according to [X] it is not considered best practice. But [the founder] wants to secure her and her employees' salaries, right? She started the organization, she developed the project, she knows the product, therefore she should be the general manager. At the same time, she is the chairman of the board and wants to secure the strategy, concept and activity of the organization. [...]. It is not democratic, but this is an [SE] not a traditional voluntary organization (5).

The *at-play* public-sector demand imposed by Municipality X has created tension between the *in-use* logic in SE 5. The founder is now assessing whether to become an ideal LLC allowing her more freedom to structure the organization. Yet, she also wants to secure a productive cooperation and continue ongoing projects with public authorities. This is a compelling example of how institutional complexity can be difficult for hybrids to manage without compromising the organizations' own missions.

Interestingly, in the sample, only SE 3 has separated the general manager from the board of the organization. In the remainder SEs, their general managers are either the chairman or a board member. So, why has only SE 5 been subject to an inquiry? This question is too complicated to be coherently addressed here, but it is an important illustration of how and why the concept of SE can be difficult to adopt and adapt in a Nordic context with a large welfare state with a longstanding tradition of member-based voluntary organizations with few to no commercial motives. While historically such organizations have been vital in the establishment of the welfare state, they are rarely viewed as compatible with commercial-like motives.

Criteria for Funding

Another conflicting *at-play* demand relates to criteria for funding. Here, the SEs have had a unison response: satisfying symbolic concern. To receive public funding from most (public) funding schemes such as the NWD, the activity of an SE must include or activate voluntarism. All informants expressed having experienced pressure to incorporate voluntarism in their organizations. However, all, save SE 5, asserted that although it is an important factor separating SEs from “pure” commercial organizations, voluntarism is sometimes loosely defined in applications and often used only symbolically to obtain funding. One informant from a structural hybrid expressed:

There is not always much voluntarism to be found in the activities of SEs. I mean, we do have some voluntary actors in our enterprise, but my experience is that SEs must state that they have incorporated some type of voluntarism to receive public funding. To be honest, there is not much voluntarism in our operations. Our values are focused on helping our target group, not to ensure that we can arrange for a tea party with two volunteers each week (1).

While not faking compliance with the *at-play* public-sector demand, the informant suggests that SEs strategically include voluntarism in their operations to receive funding from institutional referents. Symbolically adhering to this demand may be considered a pragmatic choice when their practices and activities conflict with external, *at-play* demands. The other structural hybrid, SE 2, voiced the same concern and stated, “Voluntarism should not be a formal criterion as it does not define whether we do a good job, or not” (2). This indicates that SEs are conscious in their communication with institutional referents and use deliberate wording depending on funding criteria.

Next, jargon related to funding applications was also found to be a specific *at-play* demand resolved by the SEs through decoupling. Public funding schemes relate to

social issues on the political agenda, and public authorities want non-public actors to tailor tenders to or apply for project contracts on issues the public sector wants addressed. One social issue SEs are asked to address is integration. However, the data show that public funding schemes premised on SEs also define how this integration should be carried out. The blended hybrid, SE 5, working with integration, had its project proposal rejected by ‘Municipality X’ due to wrong terminology:

Two years ago, we wrote an application to a budget item named ‘Inclusion of Immigrants’. Apparently, we overused the word ‘integration’ in the application, and it was rejected. When we changed the word ‘integration’ to the word ‘inclusion’, we received the funding from the exact same budget item. In reality, neither the way we operated, nor the application changed. It really depends on what wording we use in the applications, as you can see, there are strings attached (5).

Again, decoupling emerges as a pragmatic response. Rather than altering the activity or operation in the application proposal, the strategic response was to alter how the application is written.

Activity: Counter-Productive Juggling

Finally, the SEs are also submitted to pressures from the *at-play* public-sector logic regarding specific activities. The SEs with the dominant *in-use* commercial logic dialect, incorporated combinations of commercial activities (i.e. sale of services and products) with project activities carried out for or in collaboration with public services. This supports the extant research suggesting that hybrids reconcile *in-use* and *at-play* logics by enacting a combination of activities drawn from different logics to secure funding and endorsement from a wider range of actors (Pache & Santos, 2010). Yet, this time-consuming juggling may also have detrimental effects such as mission drift, i.e. sacrificing *in use* organizational goals to fulfill demands *at play*. While none of the informants expressed having experienced mission drift, they all voiced how *at-play* demands could be detrimental to their SEs’ goals. This is especially the case when the SEs operating on a dominant commercial logic are forced to carry out short-termed projects for the public sector to secure endorsement and legitimacy in the field, while at the same time carrying out their main activity or working on acquiring long-termed contracts with public authorities. The blended hybrids 3 and 4, expressed that juggling activities contradictory to the SEs’ mission, yet vital for its survival and legitimacy, was exhausting. The founder of SE 3 stated that she had to carry out specific activities to secure funding while at the same

time highlighting the unpredictability of such assistance schemes:

The funding we receive from public assistance schemes demand a project activity. So, to gain access to funding, we must do these projects while at the same time carrying out our main work. We juggle different types of activities at once. Yet, these assistance schemes are unpredictable and their budgets are low. Additionally, we don't know if we will receive the same funding the next year. We are therefore afraid to hire people (3).

While juggling different activities was expressed as tedious and in conflict with the SE's main *in-use* objective, it also points to the uncertainty of these schemes. The informant further highlighted that these assistance schemes come with 'strings attached'. Still, they are vital for the SE's legitimacy vis-à-vis institutional referents. SE 4 underscored the same concerns:

We have done a couple of small 'stunts' which have been essential for the survival of the organization. Last summer we did a summer activity for [the target group], which an association gave us a small sum for, but it is not exactly business [...]. This goes to show that the SE ecosystem is fragmented and complex, and that it is difficult to get someone to fund our activities [...]. Yet, we are all completely dependent on writing these funding applications (4)

The blended hybrids 3 and 4 responded to these *at-play* demands by selective coupling, i.e. creatively combining activities demanded by referents with a public-sector logic with the SEs' main activities. Interestingly, the founder of the structural hybrid, SE 1, expressed having previously been dependent on adherence to this counter-productive juggling. But, since the organizational compartmentalization, the SE now has a sustainable economy due to its commercial platform anchored in the ideal LLC. The other structural hybrid also managed to scale up the SE's range due to its commercial strategies yet continued to be dependent on applying to assistance schemes. A staff member expressed her concern regarding detrimental effects of the dependence on funding schemes:

I believe that it is counter-productive to spend many hours each year writing funding applications. Of course, we do it, but we waste our time writing these applications, rather than focusing on our main objective. You know, the public funding schemes are short-term, and often for no more than a year at a time. It is quite exhaustive to apply because we must wait six months before we receive an answer (2).

The results show that the continuous sequence of writing and applying for funding to secure endorsement from a wide range of actors is imperative for Norwegian hybrids to survive. The data also suggest that when meeting *at-play* demands of the public-sector logic dialect, SEs are likely to tone down certain *in-use* objectives as legitimacy vis-à-vis institutional referents is vital. Interestingly, however, the structural hybrid, SE 1, managed to become independent of short-term projects. While more profound research is needed, a rising curiosity is whether compartmentalization is an optimal hybridization strategy in a context with a dominant public sector. Seemingly, SE 1 can secure mission compliance, adhere to external demands and gain legitimacy.

Figure 1 sums up the response patterns of the SEs. The SEs with a broken line represent the structural hybrids, and full circle, blended hybrids.

Discussion

This article seeks to contribute to the understanding of how hybrid organizations (SEs) respond to institutional complexity in a Nordic welfare state with a large public sector responsible for providing universal services to its citizens. The article attempts to explain how SEs adapt to the highly institutional environment constituted by the Nordic welfare model. More specifically, it studies how SEs adapt to conflicting demands from institutional referents and how this affects them. It also investigates whether the Nordic context incites a specific configuration of SEs. In doing so, the article explores the structural and strategic organizational responses SEs employ when externally engaging with external *at-play* logics. The study shows that the public-sector logic dialect is the dominant *at-play* logic in the institutional environment which the SEs must enact to gain funding and legitimacy in the field. This pressures SEs to defy their *in-use* commercial logic dialect.

Favoring the 'Toolkit Approach'

An important insight from this study is that SEs face conflicting *at-play* demands when applying for funding and when seeking to gain legitimacy in the field. Additionally, the SEs highlight that assistance schemes are their most vital sources of income. In the context of the Nordic model, the natural role of the public sector appears to be evaluating SEs' legitimacy through the distribution of schemes and contracts. Regardless of the consequences, it has for the *in-use* logics of the SEs, they must enact the *at-play* public-sector logic dialect. The data illustrates that the external environment commands SEs, especially operating with a dominant *in-use* commercial logic, to behave more like

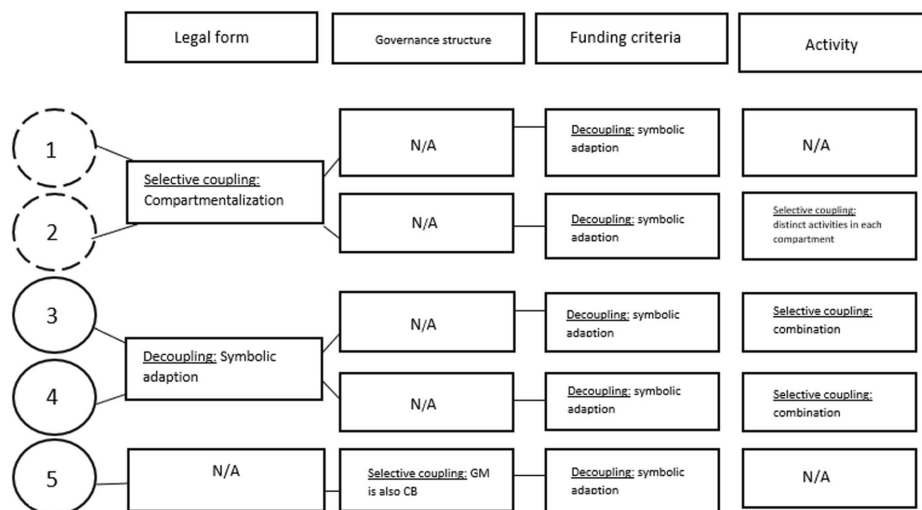


Fig. 1 Response patterns

non-profit organization, thus deviating from certain commercial strategies. This appears to create tensions in the SEs' self-perception of being social *and* commercial actors. While not completely abandoning their commercial strategies, they are pressured to emphasize their social mission. Nevertheless, although the highly institutionalized environment in Norway affects these SEs, the empiricism also demonstrates that the SEs can select different strategies to secure compliance with their *in-use* logic while also enacting *at-play* demands to gain legitimacy in the field. Since none of the SEs responded by seeking compromise, it might suggest that SEs' role in the welfare mix is not influential enough to negotiate or put pressure on the institutional referents. This finding reflects indeed a small and fragmented SE field in Norway, but it also highlights the dominance of the public sector as a welfare provider.

The interviews further revealed that the SEs respond to the *at-play* demands by mixing different structural and strategic organizational responses to the conflicting demands. This strategy resembles that of "cultural toolkits" (Tracey et al., 2011), i.e. employing different sets of configurations when met with different types of issues. Indeed, the hybridity of SEs can be favorable in that it secures them access to different institutional templates to solve the organizational tensions that they meet. This may help them create an organizational configuration combining elements of the *at-play* demands while adhering to *in-use* logic. Additionally, it may also help them obtain a wider support range. When mixing the strategic responses selective coupling and decoupling, the SEs do not blindly comply with the *at-play* demands. Rather, the informants reflect on

the contradictory demands prescribed by institutional referents and express contrafactual perceptions (sometimes even internal resistance) although, in the end, complying with the demands.

Toward a Nordic Configuration?

Another valuable insight is how the two types of SEs, blended and structural hybrids, experience and respond differently to institutional complexity. The blended hybrids expressed more inconvenience with the demands from the external logic. This is especially the case for the SEs operating with a dominant commercial-logic dialect. The informants from SE 1, 2, 3 and 4 stressed how vital it was for the organizations' survival to comply with the *at-play* demands of the public sector. SE 2 and 3, enacted practices demanded by the public-sector logic dialect despite the negative consequences it had for their operations. SEs are incipient organizations in Norway, and due to a culminating point of the welfare-profit debate, they may be looked at askance by the public sector. Adopting behaviors prescribed by the *at-play* public-sector logic dialect can give "illegitimate" actors legitimacy and acceptance for entering the field. As seen, however, this can also be experienced as troublesome since the SEs might have to deviate from *in-use* logic and value dispositions. Although none of the SEs experienced mission drift per se, the founders of SE 3 and 4 expressed how the organizational goals were negatively affected by conflicting *at-play* demands. As such, the institutional environment seems to crowd out the SEs hybridity as the dominant commercial-

logic dialect must be toned down, while their minority social-welfare logic dialect is considered legitimate and may prevail.

SE 5 with organizational ties to the third sector, expressed being pressured into mimicking the practices of the public sector to secure a productive cooperation and continued funding. Public authorities questioned the lack of democratic governance when the founder of SE 5 arranged the organization different from a traditional voluntary organization. This may indicate that institutional referents impose specific expectations on non-profit, voluntary organizations in Norway, as opposed to e.g. ideal LLCs. The case being that cross-sectoral collaborations are under the auspices of the public sector this may suggest that public authorities can demand more from SEs organized as voluntary organizations, like SE 5.

Finally, the structural hybrids, SE 1 and 2, managed to attract a broader funding base as both organizations receive subsidies from public and private actors. They use different compartments to apply for different funding and contracts. While this strategy has been observed prior (Battilana & Dorado, 2010), it is still quite unusual for hybrids, especially for organizations tied to the private sector to establish an additional organization tied to the third sector to access grants. However, by compartmentalizing distinct logics into different organizations pertaining to different economic sectors, this strategy ensures that neither *in-use* logics are compromised by external *at-play* demands. It can also enable them to become sustainable as SE 1 expressed. Finally, the SEs may ensure their legitimacy in the external environment by appealing to a variety of institutional referents. Thus, the question that remains is whether creating compartments is a pragmatic SE configuration in the Nordic context due to the prominent role of the public sector?

Contextual Implications

With a strong state and large public-welfare system, public authorities are responsible for identifying social issues that need to be addressed, defining how to address them, and evaluating which actors that may solve them. While this institutional environment may negatively affect the nature of hybrids, public authorities do constitute the most vital institutional referents that SEs depend on as public authorities are gatekeepers of important schemes and evaluators of their legitimacy in the field. Regarding the four conflicting demands (legal form, governance structure, criteria for funding and activity) all SEs have at some point enacted and responded to the *at-play* public-sector logic. However, in doing so, the *in-use* commercial-logic dialect, becomes subordinate in these instances, especially for the SEs with a dominant commercial-logic dialect. This

supports recent findings (Enjolras et al., 2021) suggesting that the hybrid nature of SEs may be crowded out by a strong state and well-established third and private sector organizations.

Furthermore, although a rather unusual strategy for SEs, logic compartmentalization may be a pragmatic solution, especially for SEs tied to the private sector. By compartmentalizing, SEs may avoid certain *at-play* demands prescribed by institutional referents. Also, compartmentalization may allow organizations to easier attend to their mission while at the same time adhere to external demands. Although this indication remains to be thoroughly investigated, this configuration of SEs could be relevant and advantageous in the Nordic context as structural hybrids may both broaden their sources of income, adhere to *in-use* and *at-play* logic and gain legitimacy in the field, all at the same time.

Conclusion

This article has explored how hybrids (SEs) respond to institutional complexity. It has also discussed whether the context of the Nordic welfare state incites a specific configuration of SEs. The article illustrates how the Nordic welfare state, with a large public sector responsible for providing universal welfare to its citizens, affects how SEs operate and engage with institutional referents. The public-sector logic *dialect* is identified as the prevailing *at-play* logic that all SEs respond to and enact by decoupling or selective coupling. The study context illustrates a highly institutionalized environment in which institutional referents operate with the *at-play* public-sector logic dialect. Additionally, they act as gatekeepers of funding schemes and evaluators of the SEs' legitimacy. Norwegian SEs are therefore highly dependent on their acceptance in the field. The data suggest that logic compartmentalization might be a pragmatic choice in the Nordic countries as it allows SEs to attend to the *in-use* logics, thus not risking mission drift, and adhere to external *at-play* demands. Yet, further research is needed before any firm conclusion can be drawn.

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“We don’t feel like we are part of the project”: An analysis of tensions in the development and implementation of a public sector innovation project in Norway

Hilde Svrljuga Sætre*

Department of Business Administration
Western Norway University of Applied Sciences
Email: Hilde.Svrljuga.Setre@hvl.no

*corresponding author

Mai Camilla Munkejord

Department of Business Administration
Western Norway University of Applied Sciences
Email: Mai.Camilla.Munkejord@hvl.no

Abstract

Some of the extant literature on collaborative public sector innovation seems to assume that collaboration per se implies a positive outcome. Recent research, however, has demonstrated that innovation processes may take different shapes and trajectories depending on, for example, the collaborating actors' diverging (or converging) perceptions of the given situation. In this article, we seek to contribute to understanding the nature of potential challenges in public sector innovation processes. We interviewed seven key actors involved in developing and implementing a new introduction programme for refugees in a municipality in Norway. The interviews explored how the innovation process evolved and how the different actors experienced their participation in the process. In this article, we use the classic four 'moments of translation' approach proposed by Callon (1986) to shed light on the main tensions that arose for the project team in the 18 months after the project was launched. These challenges related to why the innovation was realised, how such an innovation should be operationalised, for whom the innovation was targeted and whose innovation project the project was initially. In conclusion, we argue that to address the tensions that may arise in any collaborative project, innovation leaders must establish a 'structure for collaboration' that includes a space in which to acknowledge and potentially solve emerging challenges.

Keywords: Public service innovation, collaborative innovation, actor-network theory, social enterprise

Introduction

Collaborative perspectives have long been central in public sector innovation studies (Sørensen & Torfing, 2011). These studies have typically explored how collaboration across different perspectives, experiences, knowledge bases and competencies drives innovation (Sørensen & Torfing, 2011). Some of the extant literature on collaborative public sector innovation portrays collaboration as harmonious and appears to assume that collaboration per se implies a positive outcome. Contrary to this assumption, it has been argued that the collaborative innovation literature overlooks individual actors' significance and that new perspectives are needed to understand how some actors, but not others, manage to translate innovative visions into new practices in specific contexts (Meijer, 2014; Windrum, 2008). Drawing on translation theory, Røvik (2007) introduced the concept of the 'capable translator'. A capable translator is an actor with detailed knowledge of a new idea, of the context from which the idea is exported and of the context in which the idea seeks realisation. The 'capable translator' must possess specific personal traits, knowledge bases and skills that he or she employs to convince others of his or her understanding of the novel idea (Røvik, 2007). In applying translation approaches to public sector innovation processes, research has demonstrated that innovation processes may take different shapes and trajectories depending on the collaborating actors' diverging (or converging) perceptions of what the problem actually is and how it should best be solved (e.g., Gray & Ren, 2014; Magnussen, 2016; Myklebø, 2019).

In this article, we seek to further understand the nature of the potential challenges facing public sector innovation processes. Methodologically, we interviewed seven key actors involved in developing and implementing a new introduction programme for refugees in a municipality in Norway. The interviews explored how the innovation process evolved and how the different actors experienced their participation in it. The initiative was defined as a collaborative innovation project and obtained funding from the County Administration and Norwegian Directorate of Diversity and Integration (IMDi). In this article, we neither explore this new introduction programme's content nor the participants' experiences. Rather, using the classic four 'moments of translation' approach proposed by Callon (1986), we analyse the experiences

of the key actors involved in developing and implementing the programme to shed light on the main tensions that arose in the project team in the first 18 months after the project's launch. In particular, we discuss tensions related to *why* innovation was realised, *how* such innovation should be operationalised, *for whom* the innovation was targeted and *whose* innovation project the project was initially. In conclusion, we argue that to address the tensions that may arise in any collaborative project, it is crucial to establish a 'structure for collaboration' that includes a communicative space in which to acknowledge and potentially solve emerging challenges and oppositional views among the collaborating actors.

The remainder of this article proceeds as follows: first, the background and context for the new introduction programme under investigation are described. The theoretical framework is then outlined, as are the methodological choices and considerations. The main findings are presented next, followed by the discussion and concluding remarks.

Background and Context

For nearly 20 years, the introduction programme for refugees has been offered in Norway as an integrative initiative aimed at enabling refugees to quickly find work or enter education or training (Djuve & Kavli, 2015, 2018). According to the Introduction Act (2005), participants should be offered Norwegian language and social studies classes and on-the-job training or other working life preparations. Participation in the introduction programme is both a right and a duty for refugees, who receive an introduction benefit¹ while taking part in the programme. The introduction programme is offered in the municipality in which the refugee is settled and is a collaborative effort, normally between two public sector organisations: the Refugee Integration Office and the Adult Education Centre (Myklebø, 2019). The Refugee Integration Office generally assumes responsibility for refugees' working life preparations and overall learning ambitions during their participation in the introduction programme, while the Adult Education Centre is responsible for delivering Norwegian language and social studies classes. Due to disappointing introduction programme results in many parts of the country

¹ An income support payment

(e.g., Bredal & Orupabo, 2014; Djuve & Kavli, 2015; Kavli et al., 2007), various initiatives have been encouraged recently, including new introduction programmes, developed by the municipalities at the urging of the IMDi. In policy papers, the government has also called for innovation in the introduction programmes, especially for women with no formal qualifications, such as through social entrepreneurship (Ministry of Education and Research, 2019).

The project under scrutiny is being carried out in the 'Seaside Municipality', a medium-sized municipality of 25,000–40,000 inhabitants. The Head of this municipality's Refugee Integration Office and her colleagues remarked that the introduction programmes for refugees in the area had had disappointing results in terms of both participants' relatively low scores on the Norwegian exams and too few participants obtaining paid work after completing the programme. In 2018, the Head and the municipal business advisor contacted a group of researchers² to discuss how to address this problem. A decision was reached to apply for funding to develop and implement a new introduction programme for refugee women. This new introduction programme was to have two core principles: *empowerment*, to highlight the participants as 'competent and skilled persons', and *communicative language teaching*, to position linguistic interaction as both a means and a goal. To operationalise these principles, the project proposed establishing a social enterprise in which participants could learn language and work-related knowledge while practising a task in which they already had expertise: cooking.

Funding to run a pilot project was obtained from the IMDi and the County Administration. The main target group for the pilot project was refugee women with little or no formal qualifications and an interest in cooking. The leader of the Refugee Integration Office became the project leader for the pilot. In the fall of 2018, the project leader recruited a programme coordinator (a chef), two Norwegian language teachers and 10–12 participants, including both literate and illiterate refugee women. In January 2019, even before the new programme coordinator had started, the programme was launched by the project leader. Cooking took place within a public sector social enterprise established alongside the new introduction programme. This social enterprise's aim was to provide a training context for the introduction

² Researchers from the research institutions NORCE and Western Norway University of Applied Sciences.

programme participants and potentially a future workplace for some of them. Customers were made aware of the enterprise via social media marketing, and they supported it by ordering food for various occasions. During the first year of the pilot, the programme coordinator and the language teachers received some training from an invited Danish expert on how to implement a communicative teaching approach. At the time of writing this article, the pilot project had been running for two years.

The project was initiated by the project leader, who travelled to other municipalities for inspiration and learning, established contact with researchers, contributed to writing the applications and was formally listed as the project leader in these applications. However, the respective roles of the collaborating organisations and their employees were neither defined prior to nor during the implementation of the project. As will be illustrated in the analysis, this caused some challenges.

Theoretical Framework

Innovation refers to the development and implementation of novel ideas that deviate from established and habitual practices (Hartley et al., 2013; Osborne & Brown, 2011). Innovation is not only about inventing 'something new' but also about developing and implementing this 'new' element such that it becomes accepted in a given context (Fuglesang, 2010). While private sector innovation has long received scholarly attention, research on public sector innovation only emerged in the 1990s (Kattel et al., 2013). Public sector innovation can be defined as efforts or processes that enhance the capacity of public sector organisations to address social or societal problems, such as by improving the content or organisation of services (Damanpour & Schneider, 2009).

By applying a translation perspective to our analysis, we can explore how and why tensions emerge in the innovation process and how different key actors manage them. According to the actor-network approach (ANT), any diffusion of innovation depends on the mobilisation of support for an idea or practice in a network. This mobilisation is done by building relevant alliances to realise the innovation (Callon, 1986). However, conflicting interests may emerge, placing the realisation of the innovation at risk by impeding the 'capable translator' from creating necessary alliances. Thus, a 'capable translator' must possess some degree of power. However, this can foster power asymmetries, which may prevent certain actors from voicing their opinions or bringing new

ideas to the table (Torfing et al., 2009). As Torfing argues (2016, p. 133), entering 'a dialogue of the deaf' in which leaders cannot hear others' voices can be detrimental to the collaborative process.

To understand the tensions described by the key actors in the innovation project under investigation in this article and why they came about, we employ Callon's (1986) four 'moments of translation'. Callon's first phase is *problematization*, which refers to a 'translator' defining an observed social problem. The translator must convince others that his or her solution is the most appropriate for addressing the problem. It is important for the translator to establish a system of alliances and to render him or herself a natural facilitator within this system to continuously influence translation. The second phase, *interessement*, entails a set of actions by which the translator imposes his or her views on the actors involved in translation. To do so, the translator will seek to prevent others from defining the problem or the solution to the problem differently, such as by preventing competing definitions from being voiced (Callon, 1986). The third phase, *enrolment*, involves assigning roles to the collaborating partners in the translation process and ensuring their willingness to accept their roles when the translator's definition has become the prevailing definition for the initiative. The final phase, *mobilisation*, concerns the degree to which the collaborating actors play their roles as defined during *enrolment* and the degree to which innovation is carried out as defined during *problematization*, thereby making the innovation incontestable and credible (Callon, 1986). However, dissidence is prone to arise. While dissidence may in some instances spur unintended and innovative solutions, in other instances, as will be illustrated in this article, it may constitute a bottleneck.

Research Design and Methods

To answer our research questions, we used a qualitative design. We interviewed all relevant actors involved in developing and implementing the introduction programme in the 'Seaside Municipality', including the project owner, the project leader and the programme coordinator, who were all employed by the Refugee Integration Office, and the Norwegian language teachers and principal, who were employed by the Adult Education Centre (see Table 1). The interviews focused on the informants' experiences of their involvement in the project, focusing on aspects such as collaboration, tensions, roles and changes.

The data for this article were collected over a period of six months. The main source of data, in addition to reading project proposals, was in-depth interviews conducted with the key actors of this project. The interviews were conducted face-to-face in 'Seaside Municipality' in 2019 and via Zoom or Microsoft Teams in 2020 due to the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic. The recordings lasted from one to one-and-a-half hours. All interviews were transcribed verbatim. The interviewees' names and the name of the municipality and social enterprise have been anonymised.

Table 1 Professions and Functions of the Informants

Informant	Profession	Function
1	Director of Municipal Welfare Services	Project owner
2	Leader of Refugee Integration Services *	Project leader
3	Project coordinator*	Coordinator of cooking training, manager of the social enterprise, coordinator of the introduction programme
4	Principal of the Adult Education Centre	Leader of the teachers, mediator between the Adult Education Centre and Refugee Integration Office
5	Language teacher	Norwegian language teacher (chose to quit at an early stage)
6	Language teacher	Norwegian language teacher
7	Language teacher	Norwegian language teacher

** These informants were interviewed twice, first separately and then, some months later, together.*

Permissions and Ethical Considerations

We obtained permission to perform this study from the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (project number omitted). It should be noted that the second author assisted the project leader and her team in writing the applications for funding. While financial support to develop and implement the programme was obtained from IMDi and the County Administration, the municipality also received funding from the Regional Research Council to conduct a follow-up study of the first semester of developing and implementing this new introduction programme. The second author was part of the team undertaking that follow-up study and a co-author of the report resulting from this project. The report did not lead to any major changes to the development and implementation of the new introduction programme.

We applied a thematic analysis of the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006, 2019). After completing their initial analysis independently, the authors met for a two-day analysis workshop in spring 2020. On the first day of the workshop, we discussed the preliminary findings by identifying any issues that the actors of the collaboration project had agreed upon and any that had caused tensions. We found that all informants agreed on the overarching goal of the introduction programme, but that the employees of the Refugee Integration Office and Adult Education Centre entered the project with diverging expectations about how the new introduction programme should be developed. On the second day of the workshop, a more theoretically informed analysis was performed to identify tensions among the different actors involved in the project related to why innovation was realised, how such innovation should be operationalised, for whom the innovation was targeted, and whose innovation project the project was. Callon's moments of translation was found to be a fruitful analytical framework for understanding and explaining our findings.

Main Findings

Our findings suggest that the actors involved in the project shared the overarching goal of the new introduction programme; that is, supporting the participants to learn more Norwegian and eventually find paid work. Despite this agreement on the goal, throughout the development and implementation period, four central tensions arose that seemed to threaten the entire initiative. These tensions arose during the *problematization*, *interessement* and *enrolment*

phases identified by Callon (1986), potentially preventing advancement to the crucial *mobilisation* phase.

Problematization: Why Should We Do This Project in the First Place?

According to Callon (1986), *problematization* involves the translator observing a social problem and striving to gain support for his or her solution to the problem. The translator must reinforce the importance of translation and establish a network of alliances, becoming a natural facilitator in this network. The data show diverging perceptions of the problem among the employees at the Adult Education Centre and the employees at the Refugee Integration Office. That is, they differed in their understandings of why the innovation project had been developed. According to the Refugee Integration Office employees, the alternative introduction programme was launched in response to a 'crisis'. As the project owner, the Director of Municipal Welfare Services, said:

We faced a great challenge in including [refugees] in the labour market [...]. The [language] results were not that good either. [...] We were not that pleased with [the Adult Education Centre], and they [the Adult Education Centre] were probably not so pleased with us either. [...] We realised that things needed to be done differently [...] to not have an entire generation that would depend on welfare benefits. (1)

On the other hand, the Adult Education Centre employees, including the principal and the Norwegian language teachers, did not agree that there had been a 'crisis'. Nevertheless, they considered the new introduction programme 'valuable' and an 'important alternative' for the defined target group. This view is clearly expressed in the following quote:

I believe that [the new introduction programme] is important, especially for women with families [...] and with little or no education who are about to embark on a long educational journey [in Norway] and eventually get a permanent job. [...] It is important that there is an alternative introduction programme for them where they can carry out practical work while at the same time being trained not only in the Norwegian language. (4)

A possible explanation for these diverging perceptions was raised by the project leader, as expressed in the following quote:

I have always felt a strong commitment [to the project] myself, but have I been able to convey this commitment or ownership to the whole team? Why is everybody not as enthusiastic about the new introduction programme as I am?
(2)

The data suggest that over the first 14–16 months of the innovation project, the project leader struggled to establish a common understanding of *why* the innovation was being implemented. From the start, the Refugee Integration Office was strongly motivated to improve the existing introduction programme due to poor results. The solution, according to the project leader, was to develop a new introduction programme building on the participants' qualifications (empowerment) and a new pedagogical model (communicative language teaching) to be implemented in a social enterprise that would provide the opportunity for refugee women to prepare food for real customers. However, the Adult Education Centre employees did not perceive the situation in the same way. They felt the quality of the programmes already offered was good and that the steps being taken in the new introduction programme were not particularly 'innovative' because, they said, similar steps had already been attempted. Importantly, as the project leader herself suggested, the *why* of the project was not adequately conveyed to all actors involved in the implementation of the new introduction programme. According to the project leader, because she thought the need for this new initiative was 'obvious', she had initially taken for granted that the other actors involved would share her enthusiasm.

Interessement 1: How Can the Communicative Teaching Approach be Operationalised?

Callon (1986) characterised *interessement* as a set of actions by which the translator imposes his or her viewpoint on the actors that were united in the *problematization* phase. The second tension identified in the data relates to *how* communicative teaching was to be operationalised. This issue, according to our informants, was heavily debated during the first 18 months of implementation and involved professional disagreement between the employees of the Refugee Integration Office and the Adult Education Centre. The Refugee Integration Office employees, although they had no formal education in how to teach Norwegian as a foreign language, voiced the importance of following the conservative communicative teaching approach

proposed by the Danish expert³. The core idea was that language teaching should be directly related to cooking practices. The Norwegian language teachers were thus expected to teach the participants the language (e.g., words, phrases and grammar) for cooking (e.g., following and writing recipes) and for selling food to customers (e.g., taking and delivering orders). This represented a move away from traditional blackboard teaching using formal textbooks to a task-oriented 'learning-by-doing' approach.

From the perspective of the language teachers, this communicative teaching approach was too time consuming. They said they would prefer to use a textbook at least some of the time but that none of the existing textbooks were considered 'communicative enough' by the Danish expert. Therefore, the language teachers had to spend considerable time developing 'tasks' (i.e., communicative exercises that the participants would complete and then glue into their notebooks). A language teacher explained:

We have to prepare different tasks so that the participants can cut and glue them together in their notebooks. [The participants] are dead tired of it, right? They are tired of cutting and pasting instead of having a real book. (5)

Despite the strong reluctance on the part of the language teachers to follow the advice of the Danish expert, the issue of how they could practice the communicative approach in a meaningful way and ensure they had enough time to prepare their classes was, according to the language teachers, never really discussed between the Refugee Integration Office and the Adult Education Centre. Instead, for more than a year, the project leader and project owner remained determined that the 'pure' form of the communicative approach should be implemented. By the time of the follow-up interview in the spring of 2020, however, the project leader had begun to reconsider her position on this topic. She said:

From the very start, we were quite clear about the fact that we wanted to implement this [communicative teaching] method in the project. (...). This was mentioned in the project description. The training offered by the Danish expert was supposed to create the basis for how the Norwegian teaching was to be

³ An expert from the Roskilde University with prior experience with consulting on similar innovation projects.

done in this programme. As the project leader, I feel responsible for making sure that we do what we wrote in the project description and for executing the project in the best possible way. So, I think that we should give it [communicative teaching] a try. But there is this resistance from the language teachers. I feel that they have been reluctant to change, reluctant to try something new and make it work... (2)

In the same interview, the project leader reflected on her initial haste bringing in the communicative teaching approach without first carefully evaluating whether the Danish expert's version of the method would fit the introduction programme or discussing it with the language teachers:

Despite it being one of the most important things about this introduction programme, we had not really thought through how to do the communicative Norwegian teaching [...]. We knew very well that (teaching Norwegian) is not our profession, not our competency [...], but we really fell in love with the Danish expert. [...] However, we had not reflected on whether the language teachers would be allowed by him to use books. Actually, we did not know about that at all. (2)

Finally, the teachers' resistance was being taken into consideration by the project leader, and the whole project team could start to discuss how to operationalise the communicative approach in a way that better suited the teachers' experiences and needs.

It should be noted here that neither the principal of the Adult Education Centre nor the Norwegian language teachers were against communicative teaching. They were just concerned that the method conveyed by the Danish expert was too time consuming and that it was ill-suited for the mixed group of participants in this introduction programme. This leads us to another tension identified during the *interessement* phase.

Interessement 2: Who Should Be the Target Group for the New Introduction Programme?

From the start, the project leader argued that the new introduction programme should be available for any refugee woman with an interest in cooking, regardless of her proficiency in Norwegian language and regardless of whether or not she was literate (acquainted with the Latin alphabet). This mix of participants was seen as a problem by the Norwegian teachers because, according to them, their teaching would either be too elementary for the

women with the highest educational level or much too complicated for those who were illiterate. Worse, the teachers argued that with these broad inclusion criteria, any illiterate women would remain illiterate, as there would not be enough time to teach them the basics. The principal of the Adult Education Centre described this problem as follows:

I tried to explain this early on [...], but my objections were overruled: There should have been specific criteria for being eligible for the programme [...] But everyone can join, everyone from the highly skilled to the illiterate. You know, that is a strange lumping together. The language teachers found this too tough, right? Because there are [participants] who do not speak Norwegian at all and others who speak Norwegian quite well. Some are educated, while others have never touched a pencil! (4)

In line with this, one of the language teachers explained as follows:

When you put illiterate individuals who have not learned the alphabet [together with participants who are literate], then you deprive them of their rights, right? I feel that we are preventing some of the participants from excelling. I have tried to confront [the Refugee Integration Office] with this. Well, we all have [...] We found that the participants did not get what they were entitled to. That was our biggest frustration. (6)

Despite this feedback from the Adult Education Centre employees, the project leader, even in the second interview in spring 2020, insisted that it was crucial to continue to include illiterate and literate women in the same class:

Yes, we have faced resistance from the language teachers and even from the Danish expert and the researchers regarding whether we should include illiterate women in classes. However, to include illiterate women is important to us [the Refugee Integration Office], and we will not give up on this. (2)

This position on the part of the project leader made it difficult for the Adult Education Centre to contribute to redefining the *how* of the innovation project.

Enrolment: Whose Project Is It Anyway?

According to Callon (1986), *enrolment* entails the clear identification and assignment of a set of interdependent roles to actors who accept them. For the innovation project under scrutiny, this process was not completed.

Moreover, the project leader did not establish a common understanding of *whose* project the new introduction programme was: Was the project a joint

collaborative project between the Refugee Integration Office and the Adult Education Centre as equal partners (egalitarian) or was it solely a Refugee Integration Office project to which the Adult Education Centre should be happy to contribute (hierarchical)? This tension existed from the very beginning of the project. The principal of the Adult Education Centre explained:

So much was already developed before we were involved in this. That is not good. It would have been better to involve the Adult Education Centre from the very start [...] I mean, some of us have been in this game for quite some time, and we have a lot of experience from different projects, so had we been listened to from the very start, it would have facilitated implementation, and we could have taken ownership of the project, which would have been important.
(4)

This perception of the Adult Education Centre employees that they were not truly accepted by the Refugee Integration Office as equal partners in the project was echoed by the language teachers. Seemingly, all the involved Adult Education Centre employees had an egalitarian understanding of the collaboration project's structure. As one of them explained:

We, the teachers, don't feel like we are part of the project. We show up, we carry out our job, and then we leave again. If we had been invited to the project team at an earlier stage, it could have been different because then we could have developed this whole thing together. [...] It is so obvious that this is a 'Refugee Integration Office Project'. It is the Refugee Integration Office that owns it, and this is what will be written in the history books. (6)

These views were to a large extent confirmed by the project leader, as illustrated by the following quote:

The Adult Education Centre was invited on board at an early phase, but it is obvious that we (the Refugee Integration Office) were in the driver's seat. Like, we wrote the applications, we got the funding [...]. So, well, in that sense, we were never really equal partners, right? In a way, we were the ones leading the project. (2)

The project leader added that the project idea had been launched in her organisation and that, before sending the applications for funding, it was discussed several times whether to invite the Adult Education Centre to join as a partner. The project owner positioned the Refugee Integration Office as the lead partner in the project and stated that they could have chosen to

collaborate with another education centre. The Refugee Integration Office thus saw the project as hierarchically structured. They saw themselves as leading the project and considered the Adult Education Centre a client rather than an equal partner. The project owner said:

In a way, we were in a client–supplier relationship with them, and we could make specific demands regarding Norwegian education. We were never obliged to purchase [the teaching of Norwegian language] from them. (1)

As far as we can tell from our analysis of the interviews, the Adult Education Centre and the Refugee Integration Office had diverging logics related to what being involved in this 'collaboration project' entailed. Thus, the Refugee Integration Office viewed the collaboration process as hierarchical and positioned themselves as the main driver with *de facto* decision-making power. The Adult Education Centre, on the other hand, thought the collaboration project should have been egalitarian between 'equal partners' and tried to act accordingly.

Discussion

While extant research tends to cast collaboration as harmonious (i.e., that collaboration *per se* often leads to positive outcomes), as this article highlights, in addition to requiring engagement in collaboration and a shared overarching goal, innovation projects need all relevant actors to have a mutual understanding of the project logic; that is, whether collaboration should be hierarchical or egalitarian. Without this, tensions are likely to arise.

Callon (1986) characterises innovation processes as having four phases: *problematization*, *interessement*, *enrolment* and *mobilisation*. *Problematization* involves the translator defining a problem, proposing a solution and striving to create alliances in which she or he becomes the natural facilitator. In the project under scrutiny, according to the project leader, the problem was the poor results of the traditional introduction programme and the solution was to develop a new introduction programme building on the participants' qualifications (empowerment), a new pedagogical model (communicative teaching approach) and a social enterprise that could provide real-life work experience. The project leader recruited supporters within her own organisation, motivated a team of researchers to join the process, obtained funding to finance the pilot project from various sources and enrolled the Adult Education Centre to deliver the language component of the programme.

However, the project leader failed to ensure that the Adult Education Centre employees shared her understanding of what the problem was; that is, why the new introduction programme was necessary in the first place. Therefore, although the Adult Education Centre and the Refugee Integration Office shared a common understanding of the overarching goal of the new introduction programme, the Adult Education Centre did not agree with the problem as defined by the project leader.

Second, to succeed with *interessement*, the project leader had to convince the actors in the network of her viewpoints (Callon, 1986). However, while the project leader established her problematisation of *how* to realise the project, she did not invite the employees of the Adult Education Centre to voice their opinions. Thus, the Refugee Integration Office alone conducted the preplanning and application process, with few meetings organised between the project leader, programme coordinator and Norwegian language teachers in the first 18 months of the introduction programme. Consequently, there were a lack of opportunities for the implementing actors to discuss emerging issues, such as suitable criteria for participant selection and how to shape the teaching approach and programme content. No forum through which dissidence could be acknowledged and potentially solved was ever established. As a result of the lack of structures for collaboration, the Refugee Integration Office avoided critical input and reinforced a power imbalance. Thus, while it was well known that the Adult Education Centre teachers and principal had reservations about the teaching approach (the *how*) and target group (*for whom*), at no time over the course of this study were these issues openly discussed. The resulting situation was considered so challenging for the first set of language teachers that they decided to leave the project after one year. A new set of language teachers was subsequently recruited, but still no structure for collaboration was established. It was only later, with the intervention of the COVID-19 pandemic, that the disagreements between the Refugee Integration Office and Adult Education Centre began to be openly discussed in digital meetings.

Callon's (1986) *enrolment* phase refers to the assignment of defined and interdependent roles to actors of an innovation project. Importantly, these actors must also accept these roles. As our data suggest, however, enrolment was not truly carried out in the project under scrutiny. First, it was not specified whether the new introduction programme was an egalitarian collaboration project or a Refugee Integration Office-led project. In the applications, the

project was represented as a collaboration between two public sector organisations. In reality, however, the project was run predominantly as a Refugee Integration Office project. These challenges prevented the process from reaching the *mobilisation* phase.

A Lack of Structures for Collaboration

Our data demonstrate that the development and implementation of the new introduction programme lacked clear *structures for collaboration*. This may partly explain why the tensions presented and analysed in this article persisted over time. As suggested in the extant literature, structures for collaboration should be developed to enable the collaborating partners to agree on important issues, such as *why* the project is being implemented, what roles each actor plays, what knowledge and skills they can bring to the table and how to manage dissidence among the collaborating partners (Torfing, 2016). The role of the leader is crucial to address potential barriers and disagreements. As has been illustrated, if these are not addressed, they may foster challenges.

The lack of structures for collaboration and continued inattention to Adult Education Centre employees' concerns regarding the teaching approach and target-group composition (a mix of illiterate and literate participants in the same class) led to the withdrawal of the first two Norwegian language teachers from the project. Despite this, the project leader remained enthusiastic about the initial project ideas; however, for this project, being an 'enthusiastic leader' (Magnussen, 2016) was not enough to create and sustain a strong collaborative innovation environment.

As the project leader explained, her conviction that the *why, how, for whom* and *by whom* were 'obvious' meant she did not discuss these with the Adult Education Centre employees. In addition, the project owner talked about the Adult Education Centre as a 'service provider' that could be exchanged with another partner if necessary. The two public sector organisations involved in this innovation project thus held different project logics. The Refugee Integration Office regarded and implemented the project as a hierarchical collaboration, with them in the driver's seat. Conversely, the Adult Education Centre assumed they would be equal partners in the project with the Refugee Integration Office. According to our informants, these diverging understandings and their implications were never openly discussed. It should be noted, however, that the principal of the Adult Education Centre did not

initiate any meetings between the leader of the Refugee Integration Office and herself to address these issues.

We would like to note that we do not view Callon's theoretical model as the only relevant theoretical framework that can shed light on our data.

Additionally, we have not used his framework in a normative way (e.g., to suggest that following his model ensures success). Rather, Callon's perspectives have been used in this article as a useful tool to highlight the possible opportunities and pitfalls of the innovation project under scrutiny.

What Happened to the Social Enterprise?

The 'International Cuisine' social enterprise was one area on which all collaborating partners could agree. Its intentions were to empower participants by offering real-life experience, create value for the community by educating future workers for a local labour market and, ideally, reduce the share of refugees depending (entirely) on welfare benefits. While our data suggest the social enterprise operated primarily as a catering firm in which the participants prepared food while using their mother tongues or body language, all involved partners, including the participants, agreed that the social enterprise served as a meaningful arena for language and practice education.

Conclusion

This study highlights that although collaborative innovations are often portrayed as harmonious, sharing the overarching goal of an innovation project is not sufficient to prevent tensions from arising. The innovation project studied in this article included an 'International Cuisine' social enterprise. Although representing a form of organisational hybridity, the social enterprise was never a source of tension for the key actors of this project. However, as elaborated, a number of other tensions did emerge.

Our results indicate that it is important for the innovation process to openly discuss and agree on what 'collaboration' means in a project. Moreover, to realise an innovation project and deal with emerging tensions, it is crucial to address and clarify *why* innovation is being realised, *how* to operationalise such innovation, *for whom* the innovation is targeted and *whose* innovation project the project is. Additionally, it could be useful to conceptualise the innovation process as including the phases defined by Callon (1986); that is,

problematization, interestment and enrolment. Should disagreements arise, our findings highlight the importance of an engaged project leader who can create and implement clear structures for collaboration through which existing and potential tensions can be identified, discussed and overcome. Finally, it is important to include all relevant actors in important decisions, which here included the teaching approach to be used and the composition of the target group.

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