

Department of Social Policy

The third sector and the policy process in Spain

Teresa Montagut

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Number 2

Third Sector European Policy Working Papers

General introduction to TSEP Working Paper series

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

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

The sample includes:

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

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The third sector and the policy process in Spain

Third Sector European Policy Working Paper 2

Teresa Montagut

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Executive Summary

'Social Action NGO' policy community as a recent development

Voluntary organisations, constituted as a third sector of 'social action', are currently rising to prominence as a social welfare domain policy actor in Spain. More than half of the organisations that exist today were founded after 1986; only 16% were created prior to 1975, when Franco's authoritarian regime was still in place. This process has gained momentum especially since 1997, by which time democracy had strengthened. Their collective recognition as a *horizontal policy community* is even more recent. The first attempt to organize these new entities had begun with the establishment of *Plataforma de Promoción del Voluntariado* (Platform for Volunteer Promotion) in 1986. But visibility as policy actors really only came to fruition after 1999, when the Platform of Social Action NGOs (PSANGO) and the State Council of Social Action NGOs were established. These organisations now co-exist alongside, and interact with, wider structures oriented towards the *social economy*, which have also come to prominence in public policy.

To a significant extent, the 'social action' third sector has developed as a non-state extension of welfare services, and is funded by public money. Platforms and networks have consolidated in this context, but the reach of the associated coalitions has still been limited thus far. Importantly, large numbers of small voluntary organisations in the social welfare domain have not developed links with these structures.

While the third sector horizontal community is present at the Spanish state level, the strongest cross cutting links have developed sub-nationally at regional and city levels. This is associated with the decentralized arrangements for handling social welfare policy via seventeen Autonomous Regions (*Comunidades Autónomas*), as underpinned in the Spanish Constitution.

Historical background: The shadow of delayed welfare system consolidation

Spain was one of the last countries in Western Europe to establish a modern welfare state. The 1978 Spanish Constitution shaped a state committed to systematic public responsibility for social welfare. This created the conditions for civil society to act as a legitimate player in the world of policy and politics. In the favourable climate associated with democratic consolidation, the third sector was increasingly taking a greater official role in social welfare policies.

However, Spain's civil society has long been seen as fragile and has not been well organized internally. For some years, the level of fragmentation, commitment to different constituencies and competition for subsidies between associations has made it difficult for policy oriented coalitions to earn recognition. In fact, the public sector has itself had an indirect political role in this process. Funding programs from public bodies have been the driving forces for the growth and development of NGOs, including their more recent attempts to organise themselves into networks or platforms. The existing high levels of dependency on public sources are now seen as a problem by many in this community, who aspire to diversify their income sources.

Key explanatory factors: between an authoritarian legacy and enabling European opportunities

No single variable can explain the contemporary structure of Spain's third sector, or its recent transformation. Social change is the consequence of the interaction between the various structures making it up - economic, political and social - and transformations in the relationships, rules, functions and roles of those various structures. Thus, a study of the internal parameters, external impacts and the beliefs or values of the different players involved has been used to understand the

processes of configuring the sector as a policy actor in Spain. Two factors are particularly emphasised. First, the forty years of dictatorship, which prevented any organisation of civil society outside Franco's regime, could help explain the relative dependence on the public sector. Second, the influence of the European Community has been strong recently. With democracy recovering, many citizens and their political representatives shared the aspiration for Spain to be linked with developments in the European Union. Spanish society - including civil society and the associated third sector - have thus been very permeable to policies and guidelines from the EU-level.

The paper concludes that the third sector in Spain is essentially oriented towards the development of appropriate governance and the fostering of social inclusion. This interest is linked to a strong desire to increasing the capacity of the sector to carry out social welfare activities. An important strand of this welfare activity has involved an aspiration to achieve concrete results in social inclusion and employment creation. This builds on claims that the sector has already demonstrated its ability to contribute to in particular employment growth.

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Foreword

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Jeremy Kendall
PSSRU and CCS
London School of Economics
June 2005

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The third sector and the policy process in Spain

Teresa Montagut

CONTENTS

1. Introduction.....	1
2. Twentieth Century historical development	5
3. Definitions and typologies: a contested terrain	10
4. Third sector specific horizontal policy architecture: key facets.....	15
5. Review of current horizontal policy agenda content and priorities.....	18
6. Packaging and Implementation of the agenda	21
7. Towards an understanding of aspects of the third sector’s national situation	24
8. Conclusion	35
References.....	37
Appendix 1: Working Glossary	40
Appendix 2:	
Basic descriptive information on third sector horizontal policy actors	45

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Teresa Montagut

1. Introduction

Spain's formally organized civil society has historically been characterized by relative underdevelopment, and voluntary organisations have been taking shape more visibly as political players in their own right only in the last few years. Although there are a small number of voluntary entities with deep historical roots, the rapid growth and development of non-profit organisations in the social welfare domain did not come to policy prominence until the 1980s and 1990s. The networks representing these organisations, and constituting to what is now becoming recognizable as horizontal community, has only achieved political salience at the onset of the 21st century.

The new political significance of associations - and their growth - helps to explain academic interest in the sector in the 1990s (Casado, 1992; García Roca, 1993; Montagut, 1994; Sarasa, 1995; Rodríguez Cabrero and Montserrat, 1996; Subirats, 1999; Rodriguez Cabrero, 2003; Pérez Díaz and López Novo, 2003). However, as research is at an incipient stage there is still no consensus on the best way to define the sector, either on its designation or on its delimitation. As will be seen later on, the words '*non-profit*', '*voluntary work*' and '*third sector*' are used to define this sector. Sometimes the concepts '*third sector*' and '*social economy*' are also used interchangeably.

The chart in the Box 1 summarizes the third sector definitions used by different sources. As we will see each study identifies its own universe of 'third sector entities'. There is not yet a common understanding about the third sector, nor concerning its limits, neither regarding the entities that should be included in the definition. Thus, different studies cannot be easily compared.

Box 1: Definitions on third sector according to different national and regional studies

STUDY	SUBSTANTIVE DEFINITION ABOUT THIRD SECTOR
1. <i>'The Social Third Sector in Spain'</i>	Non-state, non-market and non-profit organisations, that make use of the volunteers' contributions from their members but also of their professional contribution. They are institutions that offer social attention to groups with special needs, to complement the attention given by the state and the private market. Social activities refer only to collectives in the area of social exclusion (no health, education, culture or sports).
2. <i>'The Voluntary Organisations for Social Action in Spain'</i>	Volunteer organisations for social action with multiple objectives. They vary in their orientation to the needs of the groups within which they work. They could be altruist (universal solidarity), mutualist (particular solidarity) or mixed.
3. <i>'The Non profit Sector in Spain'</i>	This study uses the Johns Hopkins Third Sector definition: entities: i) formally organised; ii) private, separated from the state; iii) institutional self control capacity in relation with their own activities; iv) no benefits sharing between their owners or managers; v) marked level or voluntary participation.
4. <i>'Employment and Voluntary work in Social Action NGOs in Spain'</i>	Non-profit sector, in charge of goods and services delivery, that carries out activities directed towards the elderly, handicapped, young, drug-dependant, people with AIDS and HIV, women, children and the family, immigrants, refugees, prisoners and gypsies. Also includes activities for the promotion of volunteering.
5. <i>'The Volunteering Organisations in Spain'</i>	Non-profit volunteers organisations. (The study doesn't include any other definition.)
6. <i>'White Book of Civic-Social Third Sector in Catalonia'</i>	Civic-social third sector. Private non-profit organisations, whose main objective is 'people promotion, reducing social and economical inequalities and the fight against exclusion'.
7. <i>'The Social Action Non-profit Sector in the Basque Country'</i>	Social action non profit sector. Private non-profit entities whose main objective is to reduce inequalities and to avoid social exclusion. Their beneficiaries are disadvantaged or vulnerable social groups. Also includes activities for the promotion and assistance of volunteers.

Sources:

1. Pérez-Díaz, Víctor y López Novo, Joaquín (2003) *El Tercer Sector Social en España*, Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales;
2. Rodríguez Cabrero, Gregorio, coord. (2003) *Las entidades voluntarias de acción social en España. Informe General*, Fundación Foessa, Caritas Española;
3. Ruiz Olabuénaga, José (1996) *El sector no lucrativo en España*, Fundación BBV, The John Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project;
4. Fundación Tomillo (2000) *Empleo y trabajo voluntario den las ONG de acción social*, Ministerio del Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales;
5. Plataforma de Promoción del Voluntariado (1997) *Las Organizaciones del Voluntariado en España*, Documentos de Trabajo 10;
6. Vidal, Pau, dir. (2003) *Llibre blanc del tercer sector civico-social*, Generalitat de Catalunya;
7. Ruiz Olabuénaga, José (2002) *El sector no lucrativo de acción social: datos generales y situación en la comunidad autónoma del País Vasco*.

According to these definitions, the following chart (Box 2) summarizes the scope and findings of several recent attempts to quantify Spain's third sector. As can be seen, there are major differences in terms of scale and scope depending on the study.

Box 2: An overview of the Spanish non-profit sector according to various studies

STUDY	N° OF ENTITIES	N° OF WORKERS		RESOURCES		
		Paid workers	Volunteers	Public Income (%)	Other Income (%)	Economic Volume
1. <i>'The Social Third Sector in Spain'</i>	Associations: 25,447 Foundations: 2,657 Religious entities: 267 Saving banks: 47 Total: 28,418 org.	78,029 (a)	338,411 (a)	51% in associations 30.2% in foundations	No information	5,640 million € in 1999
2. <i>'The Voluntary Organisations for Social Action in Spain'</i>	8,300 associations 1,700 foundations Total: 10,000 org.	No information	No information	53.22% (57.2% in associations 39.3% in foundations)	46.78% (private incomes: 39.6%; commercial activities: 2.85% and patrimonial outputs: 4.33%)	3,946 million € in 2000
3. <i>'The Non profit Sector in Spain'</i>	Foundations: 5,698 Associations: 174,916 Co-operatives: 7,822 Mutual benefits: 400 Educational centres: 6,392 Sport clubs: 58,085, Saving banks: 50 Hospitals: 144 Total: 253,507 org.	475,179 (b)	253,599 (b)	25.2% (c)	Service delivery: 38.5% Private contributions: 36.3% (c)	4,095,236 million pesetas in 1995 (c)
4. <i>'Employment and Voluntary work in Social Action NGOs in Spain'</i>	11,043 organisations	215,000 (b)	235,000 (b)	Grants: 53%	Associates quotas and private contributions: 25% Service delivery: 15%	No information
5. <i>'The Volunteering Organisations in Spain'</i>	646 organisations	11,471	272,000	56% of NGOs received more than 50% of their total incomes from public sources	38% received more than 50% of their total incomes from private sources.	No information

(a) Includes additional categories: 'conscientious objectors' (19,448) and religious workers (1,480).

(b) Full time equivalents.

(c) Includes value of volunteer time.

Sources:

1. Pérez-Díaz, Víctor y López Novo, Joaquín (2003) *El Tercer Sector Social en España*, Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales;
2. Rodríguez Cabrero, Gregorio, coord. (2003) *Las entidades voluntarias de acción social en España. Informe General*, Fundación Foessa, Caritas Española;
3. Ruiz Olabuénaga, José (2000) *El sector no lucrativo en España*, Fundación BBV, The Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project;
4. Fundación Tomillo (2000) *Empleo y trabajo voluntario den las ONG de acción social*, Ministerio del Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales;
5. Plataforma de Promoción del Voluntariado (1997) *Las Organizaciones del Voluntariado en España*, Documentos de Trabajo 10

The key moments in the development of a horizontal third sector community in Spain are related to the creation of several third level organisations (umbrellas) that have helped shape the sector's policy presence. The Platform of Social Action NGOs (PSANGO), and the State Council of Social Action NGOs, has begun bringing together representatives from third sector organisations, the academic world and the administration. The roles and contributions of these bodies will be discussed in more detail in what follows.

This paper will also show that the significance of voluntary associations in the political arena is closely connected to the more general development of the social welfare domain. What is more, reflecting Spanish policy actors' long established tendency to emphasize the European character of social welfare issues, the debate in this country has tended to link the third sector's development with common objectives defined at the European level on governance, social inclusion and employment creation.

This working paper seeks to contribute to knowledge of Spain's third sector through an analytic exploration of the genesis and dynamics of this sector as a recognizable policy player. Most third sector studies, such as those to which we referred in Boxes 1 and 2, are descriptive. They help us estimate the human and economic resources of the third sector entities and recognize their organisational structures. Although it is necessary to have a clear picture of these dimensions, it is also important to try to understand the drivers behind the emergence of the specialist policy institutions to which we have referred. As the sector's salience has increased in political and social debates, an emerging policy community has been growing potential to shape the policy environment for these organisations.

The paper proceeds as follows, combining analysis of secondary sources with primary data gathered in interviews in eight parts. In section 2 there is a description of the historical context throughout the 20th century that allows understanding of the situation today as a result of paths taken in the past, among other variables. In the section 3, the aim is to analyze the typologies and definitions employed to describe the socio-economic sector. Section 4 provides an explanation of the key points in the third sector's horizontal structure. Sections 5 and 6 introduce the priorities and contents of the current political agenda, and progress on their implementation, respectively. Section 7 is the analytic heart of the paper linking the aspects discussed in sections 2 to 6 to explain the internal logic of third sector development in Spain. Finally, section 8 offers some conclusions.

2. Twentieth Century historical development

Historical origins

Spain's civil society has long been seen as a fragile and lacking organisation. The identification and recognition of a differentiated 'third sector' was not to emerge until the mid 1980s, when a significant number of associations were set up to deliver welfare services. However, in earlier periods the sector had been *de facto* active, and this section starts with a brief review of this background.

The Catholic Church had historically been the central provider of social welfare. During the 19th century a whole range of religious orders and congregations were set up to take care, especially, of 'the poor and the needy', because of the *Holy See Agreement* signed in 1851 by the Government of Spain and the Vatican. Thus, civil society's voluntary work was channelled through Catholic institutions with religious values, and justified in terms of what would now be referred to as serving those most obviously excluded from society.¹

Through the 19th and most of the 20th century attention to social needs has fluctuated between the Catholic Church and the public sector. When the state did not cover the needs of the poor Catholic organisations provided 'charity'. However, in times of democratic government (1904-1921; 1931-1936) the public administration implemented policies, especially at local level, which responded to an agenda expressed in terms of social responsibility and social rights (Sarasa, 1995; Montagut 2000). This was closely bound up with wider social and political twists and turns, with attempts to build a national welfare architecture undermined by oscillation between military authoritarianism and democracy.

For forty years (between 1936 and 1975) Franco's dictatorship hindered the sustained involvement of civil society in economic, political and social structures. This was to have a negative impact on the political organisation and role of civil society in the subsequent period. More generally, this period was marked by a state with no personal or collective freedoms and, thus, in which civil society played no role as such. Franco's dictatorship may be understood as containing two phases: the first, (from 1939 to 1950) was characterized by an autarchy. Social policies that had been implemented in the modernization period at the beginning of the century were repealed. Social welfare was entrusted, once again, to religious orders in the form of beneficence and charity (losing the concept of social

¹ For broader discussion of this period see Consejo General de Colegios Oficiales de Diplomados en Trabajo Social y Asistencia Social (1986: 89-227)

rights). The second phase (from 1950 to 1975) was characterised by openness to economic influences from the other countries which also had an impact in certain political matters. In the mid fifties, the basis for Spain's Social Security was approved. This represented the health and pensions system covering illness or retirement. However, initially, the system presented a number of restrictions. Following the Bismarkian model, this was not a universal system but a whole range of benefits for workers - initially just for a specific segment of workers - based on their contributions. We can also find two periods during the dictatorship in the role of the Catholic Church. Even if, in the first moments, the Church supported General Franco's military uprising, in the second phase, a branch of the Catholic Church supported the movements and struggles for the recovery of democratic freedoms.

In the 1940s, two institutions were set up that are still important today: Caritas and ONCE. Caritas remained prominent in social welfare, even under Franco's authoritarian settlement. The characteristics of those institutions, together with the longer-established Red Cross, throughout this period are as follows:

- Caritas was founded in 1942 to coordinate the charity action of the Church, and resulted in the emergence of Spanish Catholic Action (*Acción Católica Española*). General Franco had confidence in the Catholic Church to take ahead the 'social reform' that he claimed was his aim. Until the sixties, the concordance between the state and the Church was remarkable. In that sense, Caritas' work must be considered in its first years as only barely falling under 'independent' charitable action. After 1955, Caritas managed 'American Social Help', and associated with this development, it became more professionalised. At this point a new phase began in which Caritas picked up the goal of generating social action beyond traditional charity, which consolidated a social service system for the community, with a significant number of voluntary workers (Gutierrez Resa, 1993).
- ONCE was created in 1938 by Home Office's decree (during the civil war). It was configured as an entity controlled, protected and inspected by the public administration, through the Superior Council of Blind People. All blind people in Spain had to associate themselves to ONCE with the aim of 'mutual help and to solve their specific problems'. Its transformation into an independent organisation was associated with the democratic settlement, with the organisation given a new democratic structure and made autonomous in 1978. In 1988 the ONCE foundation was constituted, receiving 3% of total earnings of ticket lottery's sale for cooperation and the social integration of handicapped people (Lorenzo García, 1993).

- The Red Cross (Cruz Roja) had been founded in 1864, at the same time as in other European countries, according to the Geneva Convention, with the purpose of taking care of people wounded in war. This military focus prevailed throughout almost all of the dictatorship. It was not until democracy's initial stages that the Red Cross became an organisation working for social protection and assistance, searching and supplementing the voluntary collaboration from individuals and institutions (Cabra de Luna, 1993).

The most important events from dictatorship to the present day are summarised in the following box (Box 3).

Box 3: Relation between Spanish political system and social welfare

Period	Overall social welfare domain policies	Third sector involvements
From 1936 until 1977 (Dictatorship period)	No consolidated welfare system	- Charity - Self-help organisations - Red Cross + Caritas + ONCE
From 1977 to late 1980's (Transition and democracy consolidation period)	Public sector prominence	- Social Action NGOs begin to develop alongside the state and established welfare associations
1990s to present day (post-transition Democratic period)	Public / private co-ordination	- Beginning of the third sector as horizontal community

A modern welfare system - in the sense of a democratically legitimised system with commitment and responsibility to cover people's social needs - was initiated in the transition that followed the end of the Franco era. Spain was thus one of the last countries in Western Europe to move towards a 'welfare state'. The new Spanish Constitution underpinned a state committed to systematic responsibility for social policy and social welfare. As a late starter, Spain was only just beginning to build its welfare state in a historical period when other European countries had already consolidated their systems - and by some accounts, had already developed into a situation of welfare state 'crisis'. This was a period in which an international economic crisis threatened governments' ability to satisfy certain growing social needs. Other problems that had to be faced during that period were the increasing mistrust of the population in the efficiency of the protective states and the serious financial problems for public budgets.

In Spain, changes in social policies were now taking place at a rapid rate as the country was seeking to move from welfare design to attempts at implementation and consolidation much faster than in

other parts of Europe. The third sector, was increasingly given prominence as this process unfolded, with the specific nature of the relationship co-evolving according to the maturity of the state itself. For the first time, third sector organisations other than the three which had functioned under Franco came to prominence. They competed especially with existing organisations that were related, or belonged, to the Catholic Church (especially Caritas) in the provision of social services. The first third sector policies can be understood as an attempt to promote voluntary entities *supporting* the state in the field of social welfare. While the protective state was still being *created*, Spain implemented policies that modified the political structure of programmes and services that were still incomplete. In fact, the system was being reformed even before it was totally constituted. This was difficult for the third sector to the extent it involved an unstable policy environment. At the same time, it presented an opportunity for those organisations positioned to contribute on social welfare: the state was coming to depend upon them to help it find a pathway to rapid reform. Box 4 presents the evolution of the public welfare system.

Box 4: Post-Franco evolution of the public welfare system

1977	Democratic era initiated
1980	Constitution of democratic local governments starts involving the construction of a welfare system at local level.
1985	Some non-profit entities promoted by the local public authorities for these to contribute to service delivery.
1988	National subsidy programme for Social Action NGOs created*
1998 onwards	Third sector horizontal policy community explicitly shaped by formal institutions (PSANGO, State council etc), as well as horizontal networks at local and regional level.

* According to the Law on Personal Income Tax, each citizen can choose to allocate 0.52% of their Personal Income Tax to the Catholic Church or 'other activities with social purposes'. This is discussed in section 7.2 below.

Policy actors sought to navigate their way in a turbulent climate not only by internal co-operation (between the state and third sector), but they also looked abroad for reference points and ideas. EU institutions, and the influence of other culturally similar countries, played an important role in welfare redesign - both overall, and to a certain degree, specifically in relation to the third sector itself. Moreover, with the coming of democracy, a civil society revival was associated with an increasingly active political role for the third sector. These two ingredients came together in the creation of non-profit entities that were able to co-manage social welfare (Montagut, 2000) and were also implicated in the appearance of new 'private-public' collaborations (Giner, 1995).

Into the 1990s, the move to consolidating a third sector horizontal policy community - with the formal institutional recognition as the most obvious manifestation - was linked to *freeing* the public sector from some of its political responsibilities. The influence of 'neo-liberal' discourse in Europe was an important reference point for this development. This emphasised the limitations of state-dominated welfare states, and was a line of argument that appealed ideologically to the then incumbent Conservative administration (this was in power at that moment when formal institutional recognition was set in place). However, we should underline that such recent 'neo-liberal' policies have fed into the existing mix of policies. They clearly build on a legacy of policy relationships, which in turn bear the imprint of longer term historical forces.

Links with the EU and the three European problems

The specific European problems of governance, social exclusion and lack of employment had not really been recognised by Franco's dictatorship. But with democracy, these were to be seen as central elements of social policy. They have continued to be recognised as key issues by actors in the horizontal policy community, as we will underline in later sections. Box 5 presents the definitions of these three problems which are most widely used in the Spanish policy discourse, and which can be compared with the more general formulation utilised by the TSEP network (Appendix 1). The sections below will demonstrate in more detail how they are currently specifically linked to the third sector.

Box 5: Definitions of the three ‘European problems’ in the Spanish policy discourse

Governance	<p>A new form of democratic government, within which are included the networks of civil society and multilevel governments, as well as the appearance of new technological realities, globalization, and cultural pluralism.</p> <p>Governance refers to the institutional capabilities of leadership, social participation; coordination and cooperation, prevention and conflict management, information access and useful knowledge.</p>
Social exclusion	<p>Exclusion is a process that affects, in diverse ways, individuals and vulnerable groups. This implies fractures in the social network.</p>
Employment creation	<p>Unemployment has been a perennial political problem in Spain, and the issue is routinely connected with social exclusion. For example, in Spain’s National Action Plans in recent years, one finds labour orientation mechanisms; active financial support for insertion; public subsidies (national and regional) to companies who create jobs for individuals at risk of social exclusion, direct subsidies to employment local initiatives; and training.</p>

The interweaving of a European dimension, the third sector and key priorities of social policy reflected the particular trajectory of policy development in Spain that we have tried to highlight. These problems and the concern to find solutions co-evolved with the process of social policy development and the formalisation of third sector horizontal policy in the welfare domain.

3. Definitions and typologies: a contested terrain

To date, in Spain there is still no consensus when it comes to terminological usage. Although there are a number of advances in the matter (Giner and Montagut, 2004) social changes precedes research and when new social phenomena arise the conceptual system to classify them is still lacking. The term ‘third sector’ *per se* was used for the first time in Spain in the 1990s in connection with the voluntary sector in the social welfare domain, following the approach of scholars from other countries, in particular Levitt (1973) and Ascoli (1987) (see also Montagut, 1994).

Major discrepancies now arise between two general views when it comes to delineating the composition of the third sector. Some use a solely economic approach, and therefore that which is neither the state nor purely capitalist enterprise is included in the third sector. For others, this area is

also linked to voluntary work and social welfare. In the first case, the *third sector* is synonymous with *social economy*. In the second case, although the third sector *is part of* social economy, it occupies a differentiated area as it is related to the voluntary sector linked to social welfare. There is greater consensus within other categories when it comes to usage.

In spite of this lack of unanimity in terms of concepts, when reviewing the literature and the studies published it seems that progress is being made towards the more standardised use of the following terms:

- **NGO** is the name generally used by the organisations that work in voluntary activities and with volunteers. The government also prefers it. Originally this expression referred to Third World Development and Cooperation Organisations but it has been extended to the domestic scene. Nevertheless, there are other common expressions such as '**non-profit organisations**' or '**voluntary organisations**'.
- **The third sector or voluntary sector** is used to represent the set of organisations - essentially, associations - that offer and manage services and channel citizens' voluntary action. More precisely, **social action third sector** is usually used to refer to the voluntary organisations that work in and around social welfare services. Basic social care tends to lie at the heart of these activities, but this concept should not be seen as operational purely within this vertical field. The 'social action' orientation is understood more broadly, and the organisations are also involved in the delivery of welfare more generally. To a significant degree, meeting the needs of socially excluded people - whether practiced through social care, health, or training services - is central to their concerns.
- All these organisations are understood as belonging to **civil society**. Civil society is a term commonly employed to emphasise the relational aspect of organisations, stressing how they connect with citizens. It can include not only voluntary or third sector organisations in the social welfare domain, but also every other mode of putting together particular or collective aims, for example relating to leisure, culture and certain social struggles (Giner, 1996).
- **Social economy** is used to refer to economic activity that shares the values of (a) democratic organisation, (b) horizontal organisation, and (c) profit sharing, regardless of legal form. The most important organisations economically are co-operatives, but also emphasised under this

formulation are the contributions of workers' societies, associations, foundations, mutual benefit societies, social insertion companies and special centres of employment. Its umbrella bodies emphasise the role of the sector as employer and internal democracy (CEPES, 2002). Within social economy, two further sectors are sometimes differentiated: the market social economy and the non-market social economy (CIRIEC España, 2002). Empirically, this second subcategory tends to coincide with associations, and is typically understood as overlapping with the 'social action NGOs' definition.

- **Social market economy** defines economic activity carried out by social economy companies and thus the production of goods and services to be sold on the market by democratically organised companies.
- **Non-market social economy** defines the economic activity of social economy companies that is not aimed at the market, but rather is mainly linked to programmes that favour social and labour inclusion.

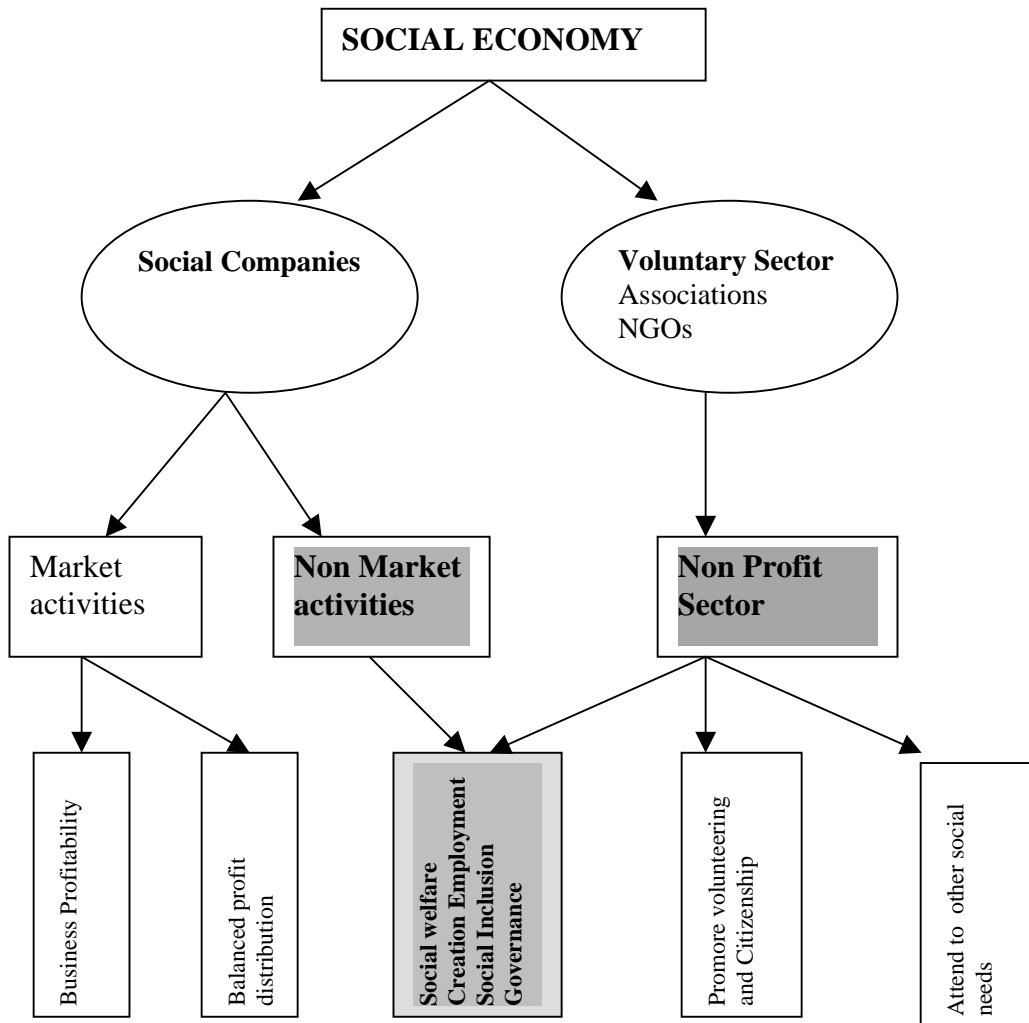
In Spain, social economy is also defined as 'another way of doing business'. On this account what makes social economy companies different to all other companies is their social dimension. The values that govern this way of doing business are the concept of democracy as the guiding principle, the primacy of individuals over capital and that of collective interests over individual interests. Hence, all social economy companies claim to be firmly committed to social cohesion, social responsibility and solidarity towards the environment in which they operate (CEPES, 2004: 96).

In most social economy studies, the term *third sector* is used as synonymous with *social economy*. This leads to confusion as, although it has the same meaning in economic terms, most activities by co-operatives (and others legal forms included in social economy) are directed to the production and sale of goods. They do rely on volunteers but they do not aim to collaborate with the public sector in the social welfare domain, and their activities do not depend on public administration, as with the social action NGOs. On the other hand, there is some agreement (though not complete) that the third sector is part of the social economy. Thus, probably the best summary of the Spanish understanding is that while social action NGO economic activity tends to be seen as part of the social economy not all social economy entities are understood as part of the social action NGO world.

There is some debate as to whether the third sector, in its social action NGO sense, and the social economy share the same objectives. Claimed common interests include the concern for a distinctive fiscal identity or regime, and the permanent desire to have a stronger voice in debates with traditional capitalist enterprises. According to some groups, it is better not to make any fine distinction between both terms because a bigger agglomeration will be stronger. However, others argue that *Social Economy* and *Third Sector* are two different things and it is better to have only limited cooperation on specific issues. The Spanish Business Confederation for the Social Economy (CEPES), the representative organisation of social economy, takes the first view. PSANGO (the social action NGO umbrella) believes that it is more useful to conceptualise two different sectors and that third sector economic activity is only one part of what they represent. In the Ministry of Work and Social Affairs, the social economy and the third sector are managed separately; each one has its own Department.

The following scheme (Figure 1) offers one way of representing of the scope and relevance of sectors. It seeks to show how the space they share is linked to social welfare and the creation of employment, governance and the fight against social exclusion.

Figure 1: A representation of the relationship between Social Economy and Third Sector in Spain



Note: this is a stylised simplification. Please see text for discussion of the contestedness of definitions.

4. Third sector specific horizontal policy architecture: key facets

As mentioned in section 2, the third sector as a horizontal policy community based around the ‘social action NGO’ construct has only begun the process of institutional consolidation relatively recently. Today, it can be said that horizontal organisations and structures seeking to represent the third sector are being developed, and the sector has begun to operate as an actor in the worlds of policy and politics in its own right. Some of the strongest horizontal links have been developed at the level of governance below the Spanish State. This is linked to the decentralised political structures that are in place in this country under the present Constitution. Passed in 1978 with the consensus of all political forces, this determined that the seventeen Autonomous Regions (*Comunidades Autónomas*) and municipalities² should assume responsibility for social services. In reality, this means that there are laws, policies and stakeholders developing and acting at the sub-territorial level. Responsibility for social services and voluntary action is essentially decentralised and public administration at every level can in theory implement public policies aimed at the third sector.³

The analysis of reports, documents and information obtained from TSEP interviews allows one to state that, at the national level, Spain’s third sector is involved in a process of institutionalisation and recognition building.⁴ There are a number of regular opportunities for encounters between the various organisations by sector, as well as between these and political representatives. The main bodies involved in this horizontal national community are as follows: the PSANGO, the State Council for Social Action NGOs and EAPN Spain (the Spanish branch of the European Anti-Poverty Network) and, in some respects, CEPES, the Spanish Business Confederation for the Social Economy. Appendix 2 describes the members and development of these bodies in more detail: here we simply sketch their most basic formal characteristics.

² Municipalities (local councils) with more than 20,000 inhabitants or the aggregation of different smaller municipalities.

³ See the Report of first workshop hosted by TSEP in Barcelona January 2004 for the Autonomous Region of Catalonia case (TSEP Policy Workshop I, 2004).

⁴ A total of 48 interviews were conducted (between January 2003 and December 2004) face to face or by telephone with different actors involved either in policy design or implementation; or in relation to specific ‘European policy cases’ which are also being researched within the research network (see Kendall, 2005). The people met ranged across key actors in the third sector itself, including infrastructure bodies and other voluntary organisations, mainstream civil servants, third sector actors seconded into the public sector, and researchers.

The Platform of Social Action NGO (PSANGO)

From 1998 onwards, following a government proposal, third sector groups and actors from the public administration (especially the Ministry of Work and Social Affairs) started to collaborate in a more formal and visible way than in previous years, when relationships had been more informal and *ad hoc*. In 1999, the *Congreso de los Diputados* (Chamber of Deputies) supported a motion to reform the third sector. As part of the government's intention to open up dialogue with the most important social action NGOs, it initiated the process of bringing together a representative body: a platform that assembles an important section of existing voluntary organisations of social action, and that now claims to act in the name of the whole sector. It is composed of sixteen federations and the state's own networks (see Appendix 2).

The scope of this arrangement is quite narrowly focused. While wider than any one vertical policy field, it does have one particular field, social care, at its heart, but also includes health and allied fields within the social welfare domain. But it does not extend beyond this domain to embrace culture and recreation or environmental groups, for example.

The State Council of Social Action NGOs (2001)

This body was set up by a governmental decree that defines its functions, its composition and the basic issues related to its operation. The Council aims to promote participation and co-operation of associations in the development of social welfare policies within the Ministry of Work and Social Affairs. While PSANGO conceives of itself as the third sector representative (despite the role of the government in its foundation), the Council is seen by those involved as a meeting point between the sector, broadly understood, and the public administration. In principle, it therefore works to a considerably wider frame of reference than PSANGO. The State Council of Social Action NGOs also has a broader identity than the Platform in the sense that it includes not only organisations from within the sector, but also those with a stake in it but are not directly part of it. Thus, its members include PSANGO, and other voluntary organisations, but also several representatives from the public administration (from across Departments of State), and scholars⁵. Thus, PSANGO is itself

⁵ Article 3 of the Council constitution states that at the suggestion of the government or the NGOs, 'experts' could be named members of the State Council, acting, in this case, with voice but without voting rights. At the same time, they can be incorporated in the working groups and commissions.

just one of the twenty-two organisations that constitute the Council. (At the same time, some organisations that take part in PSANGO are also present in the Council individually.)

The Spanish EAPN (European Anti Poverty Network) (2004)

To the extent the link with European problems is given prominence, it is also necessary to account for the Spanish Anti-Poverty Network. After several attempts encouraged by European institutions during the 1990's, the Spanish EAPN was formed in January 2004, on the initiative of regional organisations. The network has until now focussed on its internal organisation and the elaboration of a Strategic Plan. Its objectives are: to promote and strengthen the efficacy of the actions devoted to eliminate poverty and prevent social exclusion; to raise awareness of these problems; to give more autonomy to persons that live in situations of poverty or social exclusion (empowerment); and to constitute a pressure group that can act for and with these people.

Spanish Business Confederation for the Social Economy (CEPES) (1992)

The social economy sector has a somewhat separate formal architecture, and claims to have 'strong and constructive' relationships with public administration institutions. CEPES is an independent, professional, confederate and intersectorial organisation operating throughout the country. It was formed to co-ordinate, represent, manage, develop and promote the interests of its members. CEPES is composed of twenty-three confederations.

CEPES has perhaps embraced the European dimension of social economy policy more than any other single institutional policy actor in Spain. One part of this agenda has been its involvement in the Spanish Economic and Social Council⁶, which is explicitly modelled on the EU level EESC. It has promoted efforts to have a greater presence in Europe (working through members of the European Parliament, and the Committee of the Regions, etc), and portrays itself as an active member of bodies linking the national and European levels. It has created a Euro-Mediterranean network, integrating Italy, Greece, France, Portugal and Spain, and claims to be influential in the EU-level Permanent European Confederation of Co-operatives, Mutual Benefit Societies, Foundations and Associations

⁶ The objectives of Spanish Economic and Social Council (established in 1991) are to ensure the participation of the 'socio-economic partners' in social and economic life, reaffirming their role in the development of a social democratic state under the rule of law. It draws up an annual report on the socio-economic and employment situation in Spain. There are three main groups with twenty members in each (and a President). Representatives of several categories form the Third Group. Associations of cooperatives and worker-owned companies, on behalf of the social economy, compose four of these categories. (These are members of CEPES.)

(CMAF-CEP). It has participated in the creation of legal basis to promote a European Programme of Social Economy. In 2003, CEPES and PSANGO signed a collaboration agreement aimed at promoting positive discrimination and social measures in favour of the most vulnerable groups.

5. Review of current horizontal policy agenda content and priorities

Topical items on the third sector agenda

The third sector policy community, as reflected in the patterns of institutionalisation referred to in section 4, has clearly become interested in achieving recognition for the third sector's policy efforts and in structuring the connection between the public sector and the third sector. This interest is now reflected not just in these specialist institutions, but in debates within Spain's broader political institutions. The 'third sector' concept has been part of policy discourse in parliamentary debates since the Sixth Legislature (1996-1999). For the first time since the establishment of democracy, a nation-wide reform of the Spanish third sector was proposed at this time. According to the PSANGO's President the process came to formal fruition due to the concurrence of three factors: (a) Governmental willingness (within the state, emphasising the particular significance of the President, the Ministry of Work and Social Affairs; and the Tax Agency), (b) Sector dialogue capacity and (c) Political and institutional consensus (TSEP Policy Workshop I, 2004).

The overarching objectives of this process have been built into a political consensus about the importance of the third sector, the necessity of reforming it and giving these organisations a relevant social role; the recognition of the functions that the third sector can develop, especially in relation to the provision of social welfare services and job creation (linking the sector firmly with two of the shared European problems); and agreement on the value of maintaining direct relations and dialogue with the third sector.

Table 1 illustrates the content of the proposals and topics associated with this initiative. (These topics were identified *a priori* as theoretically relevant categories to structure the research within the TSEP network.) The allocation is based on two sources. Firstly, the analysis of documents and information devoted to the sector⁷. Secondly, discussions with stakeholders. Referring to the topics identified, we observe the following priorities.

⁷ The following documents were analyzed: National Plans for Employment and for Social Inclusion; the Activity Report of the International Year Volunteering; the White Book of the Spanish Third Sector; the White

Table 1: Policy priorities of the third sector horizontal policy community

Topic	Documents & informs revised	Stakeholder interviews
1. General third sector political or social recognition, consciousness or status	4 (16%)	9 (15%)
2. Funding/infrastructure support (capital or revenue)	4 (16%)	14 (23.3%)
3. Human resources: management, training and related	2 (8%)	5 (8.3%)
4. Legal and fiscal (tax) structures and treatments	3 (12%)	4 (6.6%)
5. Support for volunteering, civic engagement, citizenship (particularly via the third sector)	6 (24%)	11 (18.3%)
6. General (horizontal) principles for third sector consultation in policy design	1 (4%)	10 (16.6%)
7. General (horizontal) principles for third sector involvement in policy implementation	2 (8%)	3 (5%)
8. General (horizontal) principles for third sector involvement in policy evaluation	2 (8%)	1 (1.75%)
9. Topics not classifiable under the above heads	1 (4%)	3 (5%)

In general, we observed that there is a shared policy discourse between the actors involved. That is, the substance of the concerns of NGOs and those in public administration is quite similar. In some cases, these topics have led to purposive policy action: legal structures (new laws relating to associations and volunteering); social recognition of the sector (creation of the State Council of NGOs); and support for volunteering (Plans for Volunteering). The main topic treated as ‘not classifiable’ is the very widely drawn debate about the transparency of these organisations. The Fundación Lealtad (an NGO created to strengthen people’s confidence in the sector and trust between those groups) established a proposition of *good practices and public accountability principles* and offers NGOs the possibility of being evaluated on these factors.⁸ It published a guide on this subject in 2003, which emphasizes weaknesses around accountability, ethics, results, the distance between NGO and society, volunteering participation and efficiency of services provided (Fundación Lealtad, 2003).

Book of Civic-Social third sector in Catalonia. The main documents published by the NGOs themselves and their web pages were also studied in detail (see websites listed in the references section).

⁸ According to Fundación Lealtad, to accomplish with transparency, the NGO has to follow nine principles: (1) Directory regulation and supervision, (2) Transparency and social objectives publicly, (3) Planning and evaluation activity, (4) Information and public image trustworthy, (5) Funding transparency, (6) Plural funding, (7) Accountability and control in the funds use, (8) Account report annually, and (9) Voluntary sector promotion.

Situating the topics: links with three European problems

The main actors have, therefore, focused on obtaining recognition, strengthening the organisational and economic capacity of the sector and structuring a set of relationships with the public administration to politically empower the third sector. Actors' orientation towards governance - in the Spanish and broader European senses - has been heavily geared towards increasing the capacity of the sector to carry out welfare activities. An important strand of this welfare activity involved an aspiration to achieve concrete results in social inclusion and employment creation. This policy thrust builds on claims that the sector has already demonstrated its ability to contribute to employment growth in particular⁹. The Fundación Tomillo (2000) has suggested that social action NGOs created some 60,000 jobs between 1995 and 2000, and more than 50,000 jobs have been created between 2000 and 2001. This employment creation has arisen from the dynamics of hundreds of organizations that have been able to carry out social welfare programmes and services - despite doing so in a rather unconnected way. Moreover, these efforts are specifically targeted at vulnerable groups. Almost all of these programmes and services are created to achieve the social inclusion of those suffering from social disadvantages and various forms of vulnerability. In this sense, one could argue that the third sector, in general, has significantly contributed to social inclusion.

Another particular aspect of recognition is worth singling out: the most prominent social economy actor - CEPES - is primarily concerned with 'being recognised as interlocutor at the same level as business representative organisations and trade unions'. CEPES' agenda more generally has a strong economic accent focussing on employment policy involvements. It puts particular weight on opportunities for active involvement on policy design and collaboration with INEM (the Spanish National Employment Office) on the design, execution and control of employment and vocational training plans.

In terms of the wider social economy (i.e. market and non-market activities defined broader than social inclusion oriented employment programmes) a CIRIEC-España report claimed that, 'over the decade of the 1990s, jobs in the social economy grew by almost four times the rate of the economy as a whole. In the year 2000, total employment in the Spanish economy rose by 15% compared to employment in 1990, whereas employment in the social economy grew by 58% over the same period of time' (CIRIEC-España, 2002: 22). Beyond any other aims it may have, this great increase of employment is also one of the main goals of social economy groups in Spain.

⁹ See Box 2 for more detailed information about the scale of employment in the third sector.

6. Packaging and Implementation of the agenda

How has the issues referred to in the previous section been packaged, and what are the perceptions of those involved concerning the transition from design to implementation? With the constitution of PSANGO, contacts with the government were formalised and objectives were settled and agreed upon. The table below provides details about the most important proposals and their results as at June 2004.

Two important specific legislative reform packages and one ‘national plan’ are currently seen by the third sector umbrella bodies and the government to be of particular significance, and thus are worth noting separately in their own right.

First, as part of economic and tax law reform, the Law of Public Administration Contracts (1999), introduced a social clause of direct relevance to the sector. The initial proposal to introduce a social clause was made by PSANGO, although the motion was presented by the socialist party in Parliament, arguing the need ‘to include those groups or sectors that suffer labour and social exclusion problems’. The law establishes the next priority, ‘to have a preference, in public contracts, for the engagement with non-profit entities and with enterprises for work insertion of disabled people’. The text was passed without changes in September 1999, with the agreement of all political parties. According to a representative of PSANGO, this social clause is ‘quite light’, although it introduces the word ‘social’ into the Law of Public Contract for the first time.

Box 6: Reform proposals agreed between the government and PSANGO

Proposals for the third sector reform	Results
1. Elaboration of a Third Sector White Paper. The Direction Committee was constituted and the study was initiated. The idea was to publish the study during 2001.	The study was presented after considerable delay, in September 2003 and published in November 2003.
2. To impel a Social Action Strategic Plan pursuant to the White Paper.	Underway.
3. State Council of Social Action NGOs constitution.	3. In February 2001 a State Council of Social Action NGOs was founded. It is a government consultative body for public policies, with representatives from 22 organisations in the social field.
4. Measures for the third sector support. Reform of the 0.52% IRPF tax (Personal Income Tax) assignment system. Development of support measures for training, employment, new technologies, infrastructures, control systems, evaluation and financing.	4. The new Income Tax system separates and at the same time makes compatible, the Catholic Church's and the NGOs' allowances. It also establishes a minimal contribution of 19.000 million per year for the NGOs, during the following three years (from December 1999).
5. Legislative reforms in economical and fiscal matters. These reforms include the Law of Foundations revision (30/1994).	5. Introduction of the Social Clause in the Public Administration Contracts Law (1999). A new Law for Foundations (December, 2002)
6. Elaboration of a new Law governing Associations at state level.	6. A new Law for Associations (March, 2002)

A second key reform has been the 2002 Law of Associations. Replacing a 1964 Act on Associations, this was a very important law because it has adapted associational law to the new democratic Constitutional context. The previous law had allowed the government control over associations. (For example, to set up an association permission from the government was needed, and they had to follow rules laid down by Franco's regime.)

The third key reform from actors' perspectives has been the formulation and move to implement a National Plan in relation to Volunteering. In relation to this, support from the Ministry of Work and Social Affairs has been particularly significant. The strategic guidelines of the second National Plan for Volunteering seem to show a real desire to strengthen and support volunteering (see Box 7 below).

Box 7: The second National Plan for Volunteering 2001-2004

1. To promote and support those initiatives devoted to diffuse volunteering activities, recognition of volunteers and their social role.
2. Mass-media involvement in themes related to NGOs, volunteering and the values that social action represents.
3. Consolidate voluntary action throughout the educational field.
4. Support for the organisational and functional modernisation of the third sector.
5. Allocation of human and economic resources to NGOs.
6. To encourage the social involvement of (for-profit) enterprises.
7. To strengthen relations between NGOs.
8. Co-ordination between NGOs and public administration in order to offer public services.
9. Incorporation of NGO and public administration in tackling international issues.

In general, the third sector-specific specialist policy actors discussed in section 4 have reported satisfaction with having achieved recognition as a set of entities that are providing social welfare programmes. The presence of representatives of the sector is now required in policy debates. Today it can be said that the third sector is a political player and has a significant influence on the development of policies regarding the three main European concerns thematized here: governance, social inclusion and employment creation.

Achieving more influence in policymaking is perhaps to come from a longer process, but to attain this goal it seems likely that the sector must be more inclusive and representative internally. The sector still suffers from being sparsely structured, and having an extensive variety of interests. Likewise, links between PSANGO and other voluntary entities or real co-ordination between the third sector and the social economy are limited. Another aspect that has not been solved is the gap between the third sector organisations and the individual citizen. It would be hard to argue that third sector organisations are representative of citizens in general. This has been seen as a problem in the debates on the European Constitution where only some NGOs for Development participated (see Will et al, 2005). Those NGOs, that consider themselves 'representatives' of the citizen body, tend to categorise third sector organisations as distinct and linked to welfare services management rather than as focussed on participation and volunteering.

7. Towards an understanding of aspects of the third sector's national situation

Why has the sector developed in the direction summarised in the previous sections? While developing an account of the 'what' of third sector policy has been an important component of the TSEP research agenda, we have also aspired to begin to develop an answer to the 'why' question too. This section of the paper proceeds in two steps. First it recaps on the three basic background factors that, taken together, have been quite fundamental in enabling and constraining the overall possibilities for third sector policy development. These are (a) characteristics of Spain's civil society itself; (b) Spain's political system; and (c) the influence of European institutions. Against this backdrop, in the second part of the section, we re-frame our response directly using the common language and concepts developed in the TSEP network (see forward and Appendix 1).

7.1 Reprise: Three background ingredients

Spanish civil society

We have seen that Spanish civil society, like those of some other parts of southern Europe, has historically been characterised by its weak organisation. This fragility is parallel to the weakness of the state. Traditionally, there have been low levels of collective identification. In general terms, the country has not conceived of the public sphere as a space of collective responsibility and civil society has not had a strong and structured presence. It can be said that the fragility of the associative network is a consequence of excessive state dependence and poor organisation within civil society.

The political system context

Spain lived through a dictatorial regime for forty years. From 1936 to 1975, Franco's dictatorship established a political regime without civil and political liberties: political participation was forbidden and there was no freedom of association. It can be said that civil society was kidnapped during Franco's dictatorship. Up until the 1970s, it was difficult to constitute legal associations. The political fight for democracy was channelled by citizens through associations that were originally created to realise other aims. There was not a social welfare system. Spanish social policy followed Bismarck's Social Legislation model. A minimum workers' protection was recognised but it was linked to the labour market. During the dictatorship, some social policies were implemented but Spain did not have a well-developed welfare state: there was no recognition of citizenship rights (civil, political and

social); the state did not acknowledge a need for redistribution; social services were not proffered in exchange for taxes; income taxes and public expenses were insignificant; and the role of public sector as a protector didn't exist. Those organisations that collaborated with the administration to provide some social services were primarily contained in the three 'singular entities': Caritas, ONCE and Red Cross, and some more minor organisations that promoted the protection of their own members, mostly those for people with physical and mental handicaps (see section 2). Other existing organisations based on voluntary work did not have contact with the public sector.

Democracy was recovered with the legislative elections in 1977. After this, the modern Spanish welfare state began to take shape. At the end of the 1970s, at the same time as the economic crisis and the perceived 'crisis of the welfare state' at European level, Spain started to draw up its own protective state. The modernisation of the productive and political structures of the state on the one hand, and the opening up to the outside world, including Spain's accession to full membership of the EU on the other, both happened over a short period, in the context of an international economic recession. The state had to confront the increasing social demands at the same time as the new exigencies of the globalised economy. This conditioned the present limited coverage of the Spanish welfare state. It can be said that the Spanish welfare state was developed both slow and late in comparison with other European examples.

The influence of EU institutions

As underlined, the inclusion of Spain into the European Union was an important point of reference when creating social protection policies. Europe was a democratic reference point for both citizens and the newly elected political representatives. As a member of the EU, and even more so in recent years due to the Open Method of Co-ordination, there is a direct link between the policies launched in other more advanced welfare states and those proposed in Spain. This is seen as significant by those involved.

7.2 Drawing out specific ingredients: Stable parameters, shocks and policy entrepreneurship

The three elements reviewed in section 7.1 seem important in underpinning the developments reviewed at the broadest level. In the remainder of this section, we try to understand this trajectory using the policy analytic language of TSEP more directly. We first underline the 1980s origins of the pro-volunteering approach. We then consider key stable parameters in terms of the policy system and its

social welfare domain element, as well as the influence of shocks from outside this domain. Finally, there are a set of values and ideas that influence political and social activities, and which have been actively promoted by the relevant policy entrepreneurs.

Origins of pro-volunteerism policy

The point of departure should be the transitional phase, and then the build up of a mature democracy, as identified in section 2. From the beginning of democracy, from 1978 to the mid 1990s, there was a period of major growth in the numbers of NGOs in Spain. More than half of the organisations included in the survey *Las organizaciones de voluntariado en España* (Volunteer Organisations in Spain) were founded after 1986 (only 16% were created prior to 1975; Plataforma Promoción Voluntariado, 1997). These associations, however, initially tended to establish relationships based on *clientelism* with the local, regional or national public administrations. They did not claim a broader role or act in a co-ordinated or collective fashion. It could be said that they were not yet aware of their own potential to become full players in the welfare system.

The first attempt to organise these new entities began with the establishment of *Plataforma de Promoción del Voluntariado* (Platform for Volunteer Promotion) in 1986, encouraged by socialist politicians. The emergence of a new *democratic* life in Spain, demonstrated in several new areas of social policy, was also studied by some experts and academics (see the introduction), who contributed to knowledge of the third sector in Spain in this period. There were collaborations at several levels between academic experts who studied civil society and the third sector organisations from different levels of government.

Stable parameters

One must first clarify the concept of ‘stable parameters’ when discussing Spain’s political and economic context during the 1980s, because we have seen this was a formative period. Changes came into being with the end of the dictatorship, with the approval of Spain’s new Constitution in 1978 and the construction of a modern Spanish state that had just taken place. In any case, these factors can be understood as parameters that, once created, became a stable reference framework.

Public constitutional factors as stable parameters

Positively, the creation of non-profit organisations for social action was initially fostered by the public administration sub-nationally. Local governments were the first to encourage the creation of these organisations. Barcelona City Council pioneered policy in this field. In 1985, the Council began to decentralise the management of some social services (social care services), prompted by an increase in identified social needs and budgetary constraints. The Constitution puts social welfare policy in the hands of regional or local governments (in the case of larger cities). Given that there has not been significant national law in this area, it could be argued that there was no need to organise the third sector at national level. However, from the 1990s, and in the light of the dispersion and fragmentation of the sector, the Ministry of Work and Social Affairs fostered moves to ‘improve’ its organisation (TSEP Policy Workshop I, 2004).

If in the first democratic period (1980-1990) it was mainly the national government who promoted the development of NGOs, from 1990 the Ministry was certainly not a lone supporter. The autonomous regions, as well as other governmental levels, set up institutions to encourage citizen participation and volunteer work at a general level.

The legacy of fiscal reform as a stable parameter

Another key factor in understanding the development of the third sector community is the subsidy programme of NGOs for social action, which provides the sector with funding based on income tax receipts. While we have emphasised the role of the sub-national government above, this national scheme also needs to be taken into account. Not only has this shaped the sector through immediate financial relationships, but this mutual dependency in turn catalysed a wider formalisation of policy relations at the highest level. As we now outline, the initial step was taken by a government of the Left, but the forum developing out of this took shape under the Right wing administration that followed it. In this sense, it can be considered as part of a stable and continuous process, rather than as a Party Political shift.

In 1988, under the socialist government of Felipe Gonzalez, a key reform had been that in relation to the Law on Personal Income Tax. According to this law, each citizen could choose to allocate 0.52% of their Personal Income Tax to the Catholic Church or ‘other activities with social purposes’. The main aim was to promote volunteer work and to get civic organisations involved in the management

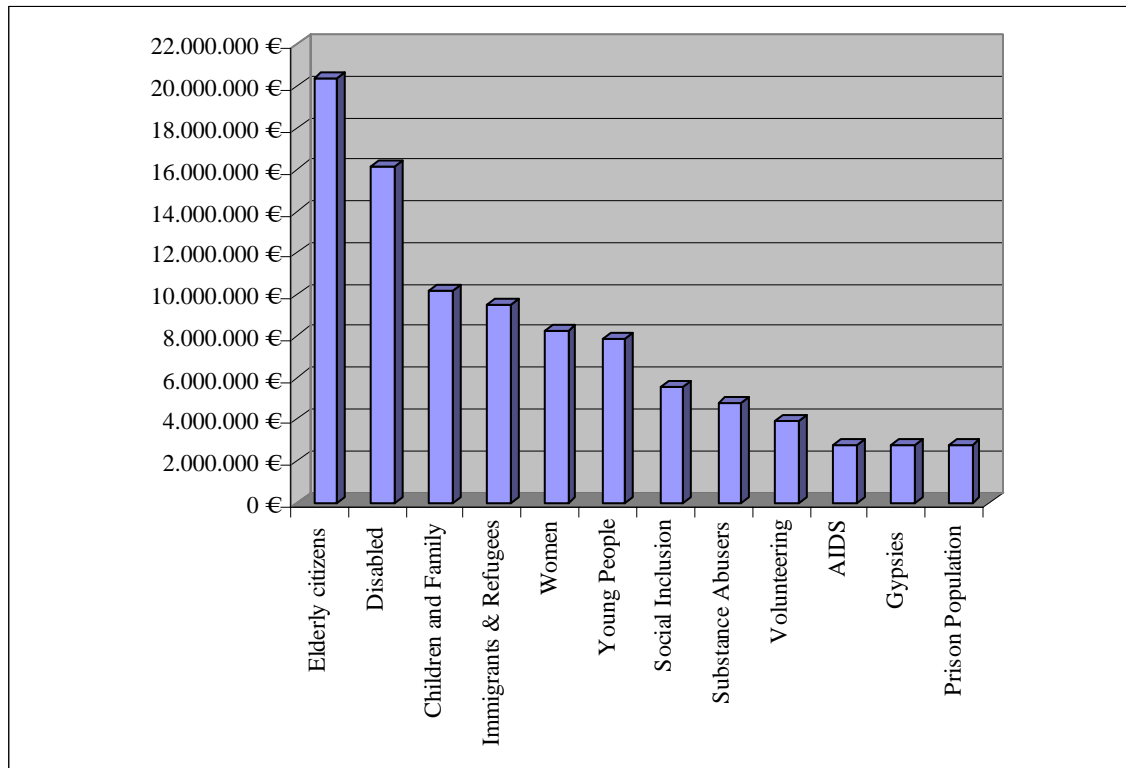
of welfare services. It promoted the development of non-profit organisations and the strengthening of citizenship and social responsibility. In total 80% of the amount obtained from this reform went to activities for domestic 'social action' while 20% went to development and international cooperation.

This law was extremely important for the visibility of the third sector and it was decisive in promoting and developing NGOs. The programme for the '0.52%' subsidy distribution is still an important resource for these groups. Since its creation, the amount of organisations receiving subsidies has increased progressively (in 2001, 114 million Euros were distributed to finance 852 programmes implemented by 331 associations or other groups; Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales, 2002).

As we have noted, the pursuant political measure, associated with the broadening beyond tax resource allocation issues fostering of a third sector coalition for social action, has been the move to promote dialogue with NGOs, sponsored by President Aznar (1996-2004).

In May 1998 the Spanish President asked the General Office for Social Issues to initiate contact with the main organisations - mainly from the second level (federations and coordinators) - that had received extra funding from the 0.52% programme. The objective was to meet and 'listen to the sector's concerns'. This measure was to be important in bringing together the PSANGO, as well as the Coordinadora de ONGs de Acción Social (Coordinating Board of NGOs for Social Action).

Box 8: Total amount of subsidies distributed among the different social groups in 2004



Source: Ministry of Work & Social Affairs

In toto, the overall consequences of these stable links has been the creation of a sector ‘protected’ by the public administration in two senses: as a sector encouraged by government; and as a sector economically dependent on the bodies of public administration. In some cases, it can be considered as complementary and even as a substitute for public and social services.

As we have seen, public funding is the most important financial resource for many NGOs. More than 50% of the income of the small and medium entities comes from public subventions or contracts. The bigger entities are better positioned to access other revenues such as donations or membership dues. This ‘dependency’ of many organisations on the public administration is perceived as a problem by the third sector community and is, at present, a topic of concern and debate.

External shocks / System events

Other factors outside these arrangements have had an impact on policy's composition too. Although it is not easy to weigh the contribution of each, some elements have had an impact both on political structures and on opinion structures.

Changes in socio-economic factors

Some changes in the global economic system, such as globalisation, and the political and social modernisation of Spain, together had a significant impact on the creation of the third sector community as they had increased demand for welfare. First, the unemployment phenomenon. The economic difficulties due to globalisation, among other factors, have resulted in an important increase of unemployment, especially among young people and women. Some in these groups have found a way to occupy their free time in volunteer work. Others have found a job after creating or being related to an NGO. The third sector (understood as an alternative to capitalist-type companies or public administration) has thus been able to create jobs (a role we emphasised earlier which social economy supporters in particular tend to stress). Second, more widely the socio-economic difficulties in the 1980s led to a significant increase in social needs. Precarious labour conditions and lack of employment were particularly difficult for vulnerable groups. At the same time, governments were pushed to reduce public spending and to decrease fiscal deficits. This increase of needs, at time of budgetary difficulties for states, created the conditions for the third sector to be seen as an instrument for social policy.

Changes in systemic governmental coalitions

We have emphasised a strand of continuity in relation to the sector's fiscal dependency with its origins under the Gonzalez administration. However, shifts in the Political Parties in office have generated at least rhetorical change too. Anzar's *Partido Popular* was elected in 1996, and this was associated with a shift in the content of the discourse used by government: the language was neo-liberal, and in this context there was more emphasis on encouragement of the third sector as an ally in downsizing, rather than developing, the welfare system. This agenda was prominently promoted by FAES, a conservative think-tank, before the *Partido Popular* lost power in the 2004 elections to the current Zapatero administration.

Yet although the rhetoric shifts with these Party Political exchanges of power, what is most striking has been the sense in which concrete policies have remained in place. Even if their ultimate aims may differ, both political parties now claim a general desire to strengthen the third sector, and, it is important not to exaggerate the extent of actual change in policy terms. We have already seen how fiscal law under a Socialist administration was retained, and also ended up catalysing other agenda items under its Conservative successor. But more generally, several of the laws mentioned earlier in this paper were promoted by one Party, and have later not been reversed, but left untouched or only amended, by its successors.

Policy decisions and impact from others sub-systems

The impact of EU institutions has been a theme recurring repeatedly in our analysis thus far, and in policy analytic language, this can perhaps be expressed as suggesting the relevance of spillover from that higher level sub-system. Becoming a member of the European Community has had a crucial impact for Spain's third sector, as it has meant the application and promotion of guidelines established by European organisations, especially under the Aznar administration. Activist networks bound up with the third sector sought new ways to use the idea of 'social Europe' to protect what they portray as the progressive gains associated with EU membership. At a very general level, public and private cooperation in social welfare has been one of the measures enacted and supported by EU organisations. The perceived salience of this European orientation has also been reflected in at least one of the very specific policy cases examined within the TSEP network - the National Action Plan process in relation to social exclusion, with its emphasis on NGO 'mobilisation'. The requirements of this method in Spain lead to a procedure whose detail and level of elaboration was not really paralleled in other countries (and, for this reason, was ultimately seen as a source of some frustration by the relevant organisations when it did not lead to significant policy outcomes; Brandsen et al, 2005).

It is not only the EU that has been relevant. Another supra-national policy examined in the TSEP network also seems to have had a significant influence on the Spanish third sector policy process: the promotion of the International Year of Volunteering (IYV) by the United Nations (UN). When the UN declared the IYV in 2001, the Sub-general Direction of Social Affairs, from the Spanish Ministry of Work and Social Affairs, took strategic responsibility. It promoted a Special Committee and organised follow up activities. The most significant NGOs were invited to participate in the Committee: Caritas, Red Cross, Spanish Association of Volunteering (AEVOL), PSANGO, the

Platform to Promote Volunteering (PPV), and the most important NGOs for Development (Manos Unidas, Firemen without Frontiers, Biodiversity Foundation). The meeting of the permanent Committee was attended by, inter alia, PSANGO's President and Medicos Mundi's Managing Director.

Coalitions, policy entrepreneurship and associated values

Who has been directly behind the development of the agendas and processes reviewed in this paper? And what values have they espoused? If we move from the broader patterns reviewed thus far to look at those taking a leading role in initiating and developing policy, actors within the State and the third sector emerge as central. In the 1980s, it was very clearly personnel within the Ministry of Work and Social Affairs, at Office and sub-Office level, who took an operational leading role in promoting volunteering and the associated NGOs. The incumbent politicians and the Platform for Volunteer Promotion relied heavily on bureaucrats to proceed. At this level, the personal ideas of governmental representatives were more important than political ideology in explaining patterns of support. Over time, high-level bureaucratic officials in public administration (or trustworthy experts or consultants appointed by these officials) took on increasingly important roles in the development of policies offering openings to the third sector. (In some cases, their work was developed during the term of office of the party that appointed them and continued even if there was a change in government. The power and influence of these officials could be as important as that of politicians themselves.) A particularly important role was played by the General Director for Social Action in the Ministry of Work and Social Affairs, who was appointed in September 1993 by the socialist government (PSOE) and remained in post until 2002 under the conservative government (PP), in power between 1996 and 2004. The team in this Ministry included a number of people who were in favour of volunteer work and co-management for social programmes (TSEP Policy Workshop I, 2004).

Of course, such growth of an voluntary activity would not have been possible without a positive response from civil society at large. The 'sudden desire' of Spanish people to collaborate in social and voluntary activities, although encouraged by institutions, was also due to a change in values within the population.

Citizens progressively shifted from being interested in political parties to being interested in non-party issues. During the dictatorship, the lack of freedom led to hopes being invested in political parties, which operated underground. With the coming of democracy and the first years of

government, distrust in the political system and in the general ability of political parties to produce changes increased. A similar change in values could be identified in most European countries (Inglehart, 1990), but in Spain it happened in a much shorter timeframe.

The policy actors mentioned within the State - and the third sector organisations themselves - certainly interpreted and promoted the building of many of the priorities outlined in this paper as consistent with these value shifts. Volunteering and participation were a way of expressing previously unrealised social potential amongst the population at large. But they were anxious not just to promote voluntarism in its own right or as an expression of value shifts: they also wanted to link it to more specific policy objectives, adhered to by the Government. Framed, as we have seen, heavily by the European context, the third sector was seen very clearly as an ally in strengthening the State's response to the familiar problems thematised in earlier sections of this paper: good governance, combating social exclusion, and unemployment. Box 9 tries to capture elements of this shared agenda, pointing to the priorities currently publicly espoused by the public administration and the third sector alike. While these are public, and partly rhetorical statements taken somewhat out of context - and so should therefore be treated with some caution - they are at least indicative of the common ground between the two sectors, as far as these problems are concerned.

Box 9: Common values and beliefs between stakeholders

POLICY ACTORS	GOVERNANCE	SOCIAL INCLUSION	EMPLOYMENT
<p>1.</p> <p>PLATFORM OF SOCIAL ACTION NGOs (PSANGO)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Social Responsibility. ▪ Social Cohesion ▪ Democratic Participation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Personal rehabilitation and social integration ▪ Encourage freedom and equality of people and social groups 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Collaboration with public companies. ▪ Professional formation and educative mechanisms for the employment. ▪ Work insertion of the marginalized groups
<p>2.</p> <p>STATE COUNCIL OF SOCIAL ACTION NGOS</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Democratic Participation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Participation in the development of public policies for social welfare 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Engagement with the European Strategy Employment. ▪ Work insertion of the marginalized groups
<p>3.</p> <p>SPANISH BUSINESS CONFEDERATION FOR THE SOCIAL ECONOMY (CEPES)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Social Cohesion ▪ Local Development ▪ Democratic Participation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Social Development ▪ Social Integration 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Collaboration between companies working on social insertion with the public administration
<p>4.</p> <p>PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION</p> <p>(Several levels of national and regional government)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Solidarity and Civil Participation ▪ Democratic Participation ▪ International Cooperation for Development. ▪ Respecting of Human Rights and fundamental freedoms ▪ Dialogue with social interlocutors ▪ Enhancing the Lisbon Objectives ▪ Public Responsibility, implication and co-responsibility 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Personal rehabilitation. ▪ Equality and Justice ▪ Strengthen the voluntary sector ▪ Social Cohesion and Inclusion ▪ Equality in opportunities and no-discrimination 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Employment stability ▪ Employment quality ▪ Training. ▪ Research and innovation ▪ Investment on human resources, technology and infrastructure. ▪ Women's work insertion. ▪ Engagement with the Employment European Strategy ▪ Work insertion of the marginalized groups

Sources:

1. Web Page PSANGO www.plataformaongs.org/AsiSomos/Historia_ESP.asp
2. Web Page National Council. www.plataformaongs.org/Grupos/HomeGrupos.asp
3. Web Page CEPES: www.cepes.es/index.cfm
4. Web Page NAPe 2004, Ministerio del Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales, <http://www.mtas.es/empleo/planemp/PNAEIngles.pdf>;
Web Page NAPsi Catalan Government: www.gentcat.net/benestar/pas/; Web Page NAPsi Castilla- La Mancha Government: www.jccm.es/social/prog.htm

8. Conclusion

Spain's third sector has recently begun to organise itself and create structures in order to represent itself as a horizontal political community. Although its progress is still developmental, and the balance struck between its service delivery and representative role has evolved somewhat unevenly, its influence as a policy player and its recognition by politicians has been confirmed in the research reported here.

The main pressures shaping this situation can be summarised as follows:

- The political and economic modernisation of Spain has had an impact on the changing values among citizens. These new values contribute to the recovery of citizen responsibility. The state has promoted volunteer work but without the interest of citizens this would not have been possible.
- The weakness and frailty of the social welfare system in Spain (built during a period of economic crisis) and European influence have combined to encourage NGO-led 'social action'.
- European guidelines and the links made between employment and social inclusion in official policy have contributed to enrich the objectives of the social economy and to the sector coming to define itself at least in part through its interest in social inclusion.
- The organisation of the third sector for social action has been indirectly promoted by the public administrations (national, local and regional).
- Funding programmes from public bodies have often been important drivers of the growth and development of NGOs.
- Sub-national variation in the sector's development is a key characteristic. There are very different situations at the various territorial levels.
- The concepts *Third Sector* and *Social Economy* now represent two different spheres - but with some common aspects - in Spain.

As analysed throughout the document, there is no single variable to explain the trajectory of Spain's third sector policy. Change is the consequence of the interaction between various structures - economic, political and social - and transformations in the relationships, rules, functions and roles of those various structures. Thus, a study of the internal parameters, the external impacts and the content of the beliefs or values of the different players involved has been used to understand the processes of

configuring the sector as a policy actor. These processes has resulted in the emergence of a horizontal structure (the third sector) that requires specific policies and that, at the same time, generates new dynamics that will build and re-build the political arena for social welfare in Spain and its relationship with the rest of Europe.

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Appendix 1: Working Glossary

Version of 23 June 2005

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Horizontal policy is synonymous with *cross cutting* policy. Note that there are ‘pure’ cases of horizontality, whereby policies or concepts are related to the entire third sector as defined in the relevant collective nouns. But we *also* include as ‘horizontal’ narrower-in-scope concepts or policies which cut across some but not all *vertical fields*. In particular, overarching social welfare regime policies and practices, social inclusion policies and community development policies can be considered in scope, even if not extending outside the *social welfare domain*, to the extent that they necessarily suggest, involve or imply, participation by the third sector and its stakeholders.¹

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

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

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

Open Method of Coordination is based on mutual agreement of policy objectives by Member States; the development of common guidelines, indicators, and targets; benchmarking of performance and exchange of good practices, formulation of national action plans; and peer review and joint monitoring of implementation in an iterative multi-year cycle. It increasingly supplements and even displaces the *Community Method*.

¹ Note that other writers use this term differently, often including *intra-vertical* policy field *multi-sector* initiatives as horizontal, while we do not consider *per se* as the core subject matter of our network. However, indirectly such policies may lead indirectly to our notion of horizontality, through spillover effects or *ex post* political construction of policy, as noted elsewhere.

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

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

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

Policy field is shorthand for *vertical policy field*.

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

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

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

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

Social welfare domain This corresponds to the ‘welfare state regime’ policy space. It is a ‘meso level’ concept nested within, and developmentally bound up with, the prevailing generic national political and public policy system, while being broader than a single *vertical field*. Within it are the family of ‘human services’ or ‘social [welfare] services’ whose vertical components include ICNPO groups 4 (‘personal’ social services, or social care, and income maintenance), group 6 (development and housing, including employment & training), part of group 7 (advocacy, to the extent it is geared towards social welfare; and excluding political parties); group 3 (health) and group 2 (education and research). Many of these services are (jointly) implicated in tackling *social exclusion*. Note that this formulation is not limited to ‘service provision’ in the sense of ownership and management of establishments (as with provision of care homes, social housing) but inclusive also of social welfare oriented activities in addition to/separate from direct services, including social welfare oriented self-help and community based activities, advocacy

(campaigning on social policy issues, and individual clients' rights etc), involvement in social welfare and social policy design, monitoring etc.

Specialist third sector-specific policy actors are the carriers of purposive *third sector specific policy* who claim to hold relevant expertise and knowledge. They may be full time specialist individuals or organisations, but such actors are often part time, fulfilling this role separately and/or in conjunction with other contributions to the policy system (particularly in the social welfare domain). They operate within and outside the State, forming relatively loosely coupled 'policy networks' and/or a more formally institutionalised and recognised 'policy community', or 'policy communities'. At a minimum they share a language involving third sector collective nouns (otherwise they cannot be specialists); they may nominally claim to share a core of values and beliefs in relation to the third sector, expressed in political rhetoric and/or the technical codified discourse associated with the relevant specialist policy instruments. The result can be the creation and perpetuation of a policy space jointly recognised by these experts as constituting the subject matter of third sector policy (using some collective noun) which is not reducible to the policy contents of any particular vertical field².

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

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

Third sector [specific] policy is usually used either as shorthand for *horizontal* third sector policy; or to refer to the sum of horizontal cross cutting policies, policies which are partly horizontal and partly vertical. As used in this network, it is by definition concerned *only* with public policy that is horizontal to at least a certain extent. It thus can contain both 'deliberate' policy designed or constructed for the third sector, and policies which are more accidental, *ex post* constructed as third sector policies, and therefore seen as relevant by actors who style themselves as third sector stakeholders. Third sector specific policies are sustained by policy networks and/or policy communities, where the latter are characterised by specialisation, involving claims-making in relation to expertise. In these specialist networks and/or communities, the third sector is often - but not always - coupled to problems and issues associated with the social welfare domain,

² Policies may not be cross cutting *initially* if developed independently within vertical policy fields; but *become* cross cutting if *ex post* 'joined up' by significant policy actors coordinating across or (if powerful) able to authoritatively transcend vertical policy fields. These policies can then be viewed after, and only after, the formative, politically constructive event of 'joining up' by policy actors as jointly constituting a shared 'horizontal' policy; otherwise they are considered not to exist as 'horizontal', or only 'latent'.

particularly social exclusion and unemployment. The agendas of these policy networks or communities tend to include reference to the third sector's policy environment in terms of legal structures and wider governance arrangements; institutional processes for mediating third sector-public sector/State relations; arrangements for involvement across policy stages and policy modes; and the promotion of voluntarism, including volunteering.

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

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

Further Reading

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Appendix 2: Basic descriptive information on third sector horizontal policy actors

1. PLATAFORMA DE ONG DE ACCIÓN SOCIAL (PSANGO)

Platform of Social Action NGOS

Organisations in membership of the PSANGO

- Asociación Española Contra el Cancer (Spanish Association against Cancer)
- ANDE (Ecologist)
- ATIME (Association of Moroccan Immigrant)
- CARITAS
- CEAR (Help for Refugees Spanish Commission)
- COCEDER (Confederation of Rural Development Centres)
- COCEMFE (State Co-ordinator for Physical Disabled People)
- FEAPS (Spanish Confederation of Organisations for Intellectually Handicapped People)
- CNSE (National Confederation of Deaf)
- CRUZ ROJA ESPAÑOLA (Spanish Red Cross)
- FEDERACIÓN DE MUJERES PROGRESISTAS (Progressive Women)
- FEMUR (National Federation of Rural Women)
- FUNDACIÓN ESPLAI (Young people)
- ORDEN HOSPITALARIA SAN JUAN DE DIOS (Health Volunteering)
- FSG (Gipsy Secretary Foundation)
- MDM (Doctors of the World)
- ONCE (Spanish Organisation of Blind People)
- UDP (Democratic Union of Retired and Pensioners of Spain)
- UNAD (Spanish Union of Associations and Entities for the Assistance at Drug-dependent)
- UNION ROMANÍ (Gypsies).

Objectives:

The plan ratified by the 2003 General Assembly contains the following seven strategic lines:

- The social development as a strategic aim
- A statute for the social sector with the objective of 'Create Society': The strategic plan for the third sector of social action.
- The organisation of the social sector as an autonomous social space.
- To develop consciousness of social responsibility to improve the social credibility.
- The communication as a transversal axis for the entities performance and the promotion of the platform and the actions in benefit of the groups with disadvantages in the third sector.
- A new frame of funding to increase the political and economical autonomy.
- The organisational development of the platform.
- The figures indicated quantify approximately the volume of participation and the effect of the whole organisations in the platform.

Origin Year: 2000

Membership: 3.500.000

Volunteers: 400.000

Paid employees: 91.00

Users: 11.000.000

Website address:

<http://www.plataformaongs.org/>

2. *CONSEJO ESTATAL DE ONGs DE ACCION SOCIAL* *State Council of Social Action NGOs*

Composition of the State Council of Social Action NGOs

President: Minister of Work and Social Affairs

First Vice-president: General Secretary of Social Affairs

Second Vice-president: President of the Spanish Red Cross

- Representing the General Administration of the state

- Ministry of Work and Social Affairs

- Home Office

- Ministry of Health and Consumer

- Ministry of Economy and Public Finance

- Representing NGOs

- Spanish Red Cross

- Caritas Spain

- PSANGO

- Confederation Rural Development Centres

- Spanish Youth Organisation

- Platform for the Promotion of Volunteers

- Spanish Commission of Aid to the Refugees

- Platform of Childhood Organisations

- Democratic Union of Spanish Pensioners

- Federation of Elderly People Associations in the
Canary Islands

- Federation of Scouts Associations in Spain

- Spanish Committee of Handicapped

- Representatives

- Association of Immigrant Workers from Morocco
in Spain

- Spanish Confederation of Organisations for
Intellectually Handicapped People (FEAPS)

- State Co-ordinator for Physical Disabled People

- Spanish Union of Associations and Entities for the
attention of drug-dependants

- Universida

- Gypsy People Association (FSGG)

- Unión Romaní (Gypsy Association)

- Association of Family Unions

- National Federation of Rural Women

- Progressive Women Federation

Objectives:

- Strengthen the associative movement's participation and collaboration in the development of social action policies.
- The main goal is to promote participation of the membership in social welfare policies, linking to the Ministry of Work & Social Affairs..

Origin Year: 1999, by Royal Decree

It combines workshop groups on Financial Issues, Inclusion, Quality, Family, New Technologies and the Strategic Plan for Third Sector. 22 organisations have representation in the Council.

Funding

The earnings and funds of the Council come from the Ministry of Work and Social Affairs

Website address:

<http://www.mtas.es/SGAS/ServiciosSocDep/ONGyVoluntar/RelacAdmonONG/Consejo.htm>

3. EAPN – SPAIN

Organisations that compose EAPN – Spain

Regional Level (Autonomous Communities)

- European Net of Associations Against Poverty and Social Exclusion in Bizkaia, Basque Country
- Table of Third Sector Entities in Catalonia
- EAPN- Castilla La Mancha
- Aragon's Network of Social Entities for Inclusion
- Andalucía's Network of fight against Poverty and Social Exclusion
- Navarra's Network of fight against Poverty and Social Exclusion
- Madrid's Network of fight against Poverty and Social Exclusion
- European Net of fight against poverty and social exclusion in Canarias

National Level

- FSGG, Fundación Secretariado General Gitano (Gypsy People Association)
- RED CROSS Spain
- UNAD, Unión Española de Asociaciones y Entidades de Atención al Drogodependiente (Spanish Union of Associations and Entities for the attention of drug-dependants)
- FEAPS, Confederación Española de Organizaciones a favor de las Personas con Discapacidad Intelectual (Spanish Confederation of Organisations for Intellectually Handicapped People)
- CEAR, Comisión Española de Ayuda al Refugiado (Help for Refugees)
- CEPAIM, Consorcio de Entidades para la Acción Integral con Migrantes (Entities for the Integral Action with Immigrants)
- Asociación de Amigos del Movimiento Cuarto Mundo (Friends of the Fourth World)
- Federación de Mujeres Progresistas (Progressive Women)
- COCEDER, Confederación de Centros de Desarrollo Rural (Rural Development Centers)
- ACCEM
- COCEMFE, Coordinadora Estatal de Minusválidos Físicos de España (State Co-ordinator for Physical Disabled People)
- CARITAS Spain

Objectives:

- Encourage co-operation on the basis of the European Council of Lisbon (March 2000), that agreed on the need to take steps to make a decisive impact on the eradication of poverty by 2010.
- Combating social exclusion, based on an open method of co-ordination combining common objectives, National Action Plans and a programme presented by the Commission to in this field.
- Fight against social exclusion and poverty.

Origin Year: 2004

Membership:

The EAPN Spain is formed by networks from five of the *Comidades Autoónomas*: Andalusia, Castilla-La Mancha, Canarias, Navarra and Aragon.

Website address:

www.ongporlainclusion.org

4. CONFEDERACIÓN EMPRESARIAL ESPAÑOLA DE LA ECONOMÍA SOCIAL (CEPES)
Spanish Business Confederation of the Social Economy

The 21 confederate members in CEPES

- 6 Federations or Co-operative Confederations
- 1 Confederation representing Work Societies
- 1 Confederation representing mutual benefit societies
- 1 Confederation representing Foundations
- 6 Business Groups/organisations that are part of the social economy
- 2 National Organisations for Disabled People
- 1 Federation representing Social Insertion Entities
- 3 Regional and Autonomous Organisations

Objectives:

- To integrate all of the organisations representing the social economy, in order to reinforce their presence in the economy and their recognition as an Institution
- To represent Spanish social economy in a united manner, thus increasing its capacity for recognition at all levels and its ability to attain the goals that the social economy organisations cannot achieve individually.
- To take part in the drafting of regulations so that the values and the reality of the social economy are taken into account.
- To promote and co-ordinate efforts in order to obtain greater representation of the social economy in Europe.
- To promote the exchange of expertise with other countries.
- To work with the public authorities in order to develop projects that enable the achievement of better conditions for business owners and self-employed workers in social economy enterprises. Fostering the establishment of a legislative framework that considers the specific features of the social economy enterprises, and the creation of tax instruments supporting business initiatives in the sector of the social economy.

Origin Year: 1992

Website address:

<http://www.cep.es>

Third Sector European Policy Working Paper Series

The background and motivation for the network's research efforts is set out in the first TSEP Working Paper. After this, a first group of critically examines the third sector's policy environment at the national level; a second set explores how a small number of specially selected European policy cases are processed at both the national and EU level; in addition, the more general topics of 'services of general interest' and ESF sub-national policy implementation are an additional focus of ongoing research in some countries under TSEP auspices.

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* forthcoming

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Background to the Centre for Civil Society

The Centre for Civil Society (CCS) is a leading, international organisation for research, analysis, debate and learning about civil society. It is based within the Department of Social Policy at the London School of Economics.

Established initially as the Centre for Voluntary Organisation, the Centre has for over 20 years pioneered the study of the voluntary sector in the UK, development NGOs and civil society organisations throughout the world. The CCS is distinguished by its interdisciplinary and reflective approach to understanding whether and how civil society contributes to processes of social, political and policy change and continuity. Its core staff, research associates and visiting fellows cover a range of disciplines, including social policy, anthropology, political science, development studies, law, sociology, international relations and economics.

Objectives

Through research, teaching and policy analysis, the Centre adds to knowledge about the types, roles and contributions of civil society and social economic institutions in Britain, Europe and other parts of the world.

The Centre's four major objectives are to:

- Improve understanding of civil society and social economy institutions;
- Inform policy-making at local, regional, national and international levels;
- Provide academic and professional education; and
- Create a vibrant intellectual community for the study of civil society/the social economy.

Research

Research is one of the Centre's core activities. It maintains a highly active and diversified research programme, ranging from basic theoretical approaches and empirical work to organisational and policy studies to historical analysis. Many research projects are inter-disciplinary and comparative. Examples of current and planned research projects include:

- Mapping civil society;
- The culture of giving in Britain;
- The European Union and the voluntary sector;
- Civil society and value changes in Britain;
- History of housing associations;
- Foundations in Europe;
- Studying small, local organisations; and
- NGOs and development.

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