



WORK INTEGRATION SOCIAL ENTERPRISES IN DENMARK

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Introduction – Social Enterprises in Europe and Denmark

When the word "social enterprise" is used in Denmark, it first of all relates to the discourse on active labour market policy and the ambition of making especially SMEs (small and medium enterprises) more socially responsible in matter of integration of unemployed persons into the labour market. "Social enterprise" as a concept is just about to enter Danish discourses on social cohesion and it only partially reflects the making of a Danish sector of social economy. There are several indicators of Denmark lagging behind the other European countries as regards the current interest and policy-making efforts concerning the issues of social economy and social enterprises.

In Sweden, for example, social economy, social enterprises and social capital have been on the policy agenda since the mid-1990s. The "proof" of such a Swedish interest in understanding social economy as a combination of social, democratic and participative entrepreneurship and economic activities both on the part of public authorities and of organized civil society are numerous.¹ The Swedish approach to the social economy and social entrepreneurship is quite similar to the terminology also used by the European Commission in the area of "European Union Policies". The European Commission highlights the fact that the policy of the EU regarding enterprise within the social economy consists of efforts aimed at enlarging a third sector besides market and state. Enterprises in the social economy are separate from the market economy since "their primary purpose is not to obtain a return of capital. They are, by nature, part of a stakeholder economy, whose enterprises are created by and for those with common needs, and accountable to those they are meant to serve".

Social enterprises are distinct from the private for-profit sector since they are established for and by those in need, and they are also distinct from the state sphere since they are based on "voluntary participation, membership and commitment".² In his message to the First European Social Economy Conference in Central and Eastern Europe, EU-Commissioner for Enterprise and the Information Society Erkki Lijlanen stressed that the social economy in Europe represents 10% of the entire GDP, and as such must be considered to "play a full part in our market economy, and has done so for over a century", and in his speech to the European Co-operative Convention in Brussels in February 2002, the President of the European Commission Romano Prodi talked about the role of co-operatives, which form an important part of European

¹ There is a Swedish minister for social economy, and the Swedish government has formulated a strategy for combining voluntary associations to the aspirations of social economy. There are linkages and lines of communication between the co-operative movement and new social enterprises, and several Swedish organisations are expressing a strategic approach to international conferences and the importance of networking on the international level. These are but a few examples of the way various influential actors approach the subject of social entrepreneurship.

² <http://europa.eu.int/comm/enterprise/entrepreneurship/coop/introduction.htm>.

social economy. Mr. Prodi stressed that co-operatives not only are a clear "demonstration that the spirit of solidarity, which is at the root, in no way clashes with an entrepreneurial outlook"; co-operatives also constitute an integral part of the European economy, since they "employ 2.3 million people in the European Union alone" (Prodi, DN: Speech/02/66). What makes co-operatives so special to the President of the EU is that they combine an entrepreneurial orientation with the added value caused by their identity as being "schools of participation and active citizenship". This input, Mr. Prodi notes, is imperative to make European institutions function in the future, since "participation is at the very heart of our European values and we cannot remain passive in face of its decline".

It could be claimed that the fact of not being public is one of the specificities of the social economy; however, the study of Danish social enterprises indicates that such organisations are today - just like non-profits historically - dependent on solid relations to various levels of public authorities. This seems to be characteristic of European non-profits, especially when they are compared with the American non-profit sector. Helmuth Anheier and Lester Salamon (1994) already distinguished between two different models of social service provision in Europe and the USA, leading to two different systems of non-profit contribution to welfare provision. The general characteristic of European social systems is welfare as a right and comprehensive state responsibility, whereas the American tradition is more individualistic. Carlo Borzaga has stressed how these differences have "brought with them two different models for non-profit organisations" (2003: 51): the US non-profit sector is closer to the commercial sector, while in Europe the prevailing perception is that the non-profit sector is supplementary to the public sector.

In Denmark, however, "social enterprise" is more often used as metaphor for those parts of the Danish labour market policy and social policy aimed at increasing the social responsibility of "normal" private enterprises and rarely as a concept for combined social/participatory and economic activities within the social economy. Several reasons account for the lack of interest among powerful institutional actors for understanding and enhancing the impact of the social economy and social enterprises:

1. One reason is due to the lack of a legal framework for social co-operatives. Such a framework would allow enterprises within the social economy to expand their base of production while simultaneously being able to develop their identity as value-driven and participatory organisations. However, this situation is not limited to Denmark: "in most European countries the legal forms suitable for organising non-profit activities are still inadequate".³
2. Another reason for the lack of interest in social enterprises and the social economy could be that the language used to talk about the social economy and social enterprises is also used in a different framework – namely when analyzing the impact of civil society-based organisations both on democracy and the provision of welfare services.
3. A third reason could be found in a widespread disbelief and even hostility towards the combination of "social" and "economy", especially from people within the social sector, because they consider "social enterprise" and "social capital" as being oxymoron. It is often considered that the social economy consists of elements that cannot be combined fruitfully, that it is based upon elements that

³ Borzaga, 2003, p. 55.

belong to entirely different and even straightforward antagonistic spheres of society.⁴

4. Finally some more traditional Scandinavian welfare state analysts could argue that social enterprises may very well have a function in less advanced welfare economies in Central and Eastern Europe, but that, with the level of welfare accessed in the Northern countries, they are hardly of any significant importance.

In spite of this lack of interest in the vocabulary and study of the social economy the main ingredients and rationales of social enterprises, as they have been identified by the EMES Network, have played a *substantial* and maybe even crucial role both in the historic formation of the Danish welfare state and in more recent processes of welfare state modernization. The institutionalisation of Work Integration Social Enterprises (WISEs) and their relation to public policies are falling in two main periods, and are currently entering a third period. Especially the co-operative movements founded in the first period have had immense impact on Danish society.

The first period: Farmers' and workers' co-operatives

The first period starts in the middle of the Nineteenth Century with the workers' and farmers' co-operative movements as two distinct and most influential actors. The ideological inspiration of respectively the "socialist workers' movement" and the "Grundtvigian movement" is to be seen in the way Social-Democratic politicians on the one hand and social-liberal politicians on the other have been thinking about both old and new types of social enterprises.

The *farmers' co-operative movement* was of central importance for the protection and facilitation of farmers' economic interests. But the farmers' co-operative movement did not only serve the economic interests of farmers, it also served their cultural, educational, and political interests, since it was directly linked to a social movement with major, possibly crucial, influence on the making of modern Danish society: Grundtvigianism and the Danish Folk High Schools Movement (*Højskolebevægelsen*). Even today, more than 130 years after his death, Nicolaj Frederik Severin Grundtvig (1783-1872), a priest, poet of numerous hymns and poems, bishop, politician, educational rebel, philosopher and member of the Danish "constitutional assembly" is still an influential actor in Danish politics, and crucial in understanding the distinction between the farmers' and the workers' co-operative movements.

Already around 1850, the peasant-farmers movement was deeply influenced by Grundtvig's thoughts of building a "school for the life" where people from all classes and cultures of Danish society should meet to forge their common identity. To day the notion of "life-long learning" and the connection between learning and production is closely related to Grundtvig's original philosophy. Grundtvig is the father of the Danish Folk High Schools, the first of which was founded in 1844. In the three years between 1866 and 1869 the Folk High School Movement experienced its largest period of growth with 44 new schools established around the country. In 2004 there are 82 Folk High Schools in Denmark and about 400 in the five Nordic countries.

⁴ The world is full of oxymorons. "Peace force", "Working party" and "Pretty ugly" are but a few while one of the most famous "oxymorons" is Andy Warhol who once stated: "I am a deeply superficial person".

Folk High Schools are independent schools for adult learning but without formal examinations. Historically this model of integrated social, practical and cultural learning is often referred to as the "Nordic Folk High School Tradition", a tradition with major impact on the history of social enterprises in the first period.

Grundtvig had a vision of creating a School for Life as opposed to "the school for death", a way of learning he thought was exercised by the traditional grammar schools. The aim of the Folk High School was enlightenment through "the spoken word". Enlightenment was shaped in close collaboration between teachers and farmer-students. The enlightenment project aimed at broadening the goals of citizenship and integration to all classes of society. One aspect was to provide education and enlightenment to farmer-students in order to facilitate their participation in politics on the local as well as the national level. Another was to work for their economic interests with the formation of co-operatives as a way of gaining control over the conditions that affected the farmers' life.

The farmers' co-operative movement was deeply influenced by Grundtvig who offered an integrated world view consisting of cultural, political and economic elements: the Folk High Schools served as the necessary generator of trust and social capital that were pre-conditions for the economic collaboration in co-operatives and politics. Grundtvig's philosophy and the Danish Folk High Schools have also had some international impact outside the Nordic countries. A significant example is the Highlander Folk School, as far away as the Apalachian Mountains, Tennessee, USA. Highlander was founded in 1932 by the influential educator and activist Myles Horton who, in his search for inspiration for his own idea of an institution combining adult education with the building of co-operatives and social movements, turned to the Danish experience. Horton even claimed the relation between the folk high schools and the co-operative movement to be causal: "The cooperative movement in Denmark was a direct outgrowth of the folk schools".⁵

Recently members of the Danish parliament were asked about their own experiences with the Danish Folk High School Movement; several of them claimed that they had personal experiences with that movement, and party leaders from both the Liberal party, the Social-liberal party and the Social Democrats claimed that Grundtvig's impact on Danish culture and politics was still a cornerstone in Danish politics.

However, another co-operative movement, namely the workers' movement, must be understood independently from the philosophy of Grundtvig.

The *workers' co-operative movement* is definitely also part of the historic precondition for the present social economy, but the workers' movement was far more reluctant towards co-operatives as an instrument for improving living standards. The reluctance, if not hostility, towards co-operatives lasted at least until 1898, when the Congress of the Social Democratic Party proclaimed "(..) the greatest caution in establishing co-operative enterprises and advices establishing such enterprises only after careful consideration. The congress declares that where conditions are not favourable, it is extremely dangerous to advance down that road" (DKF, 2003: 3).

⁵ Horton, 1998, p. 52.

A number of production co-operatives related to the workers' movement were established during the 1870s, but they all stopped their activities shortly after. The first lasting production co-operative, a bakery connected to the workers' movement, was established in 1884. Since then the workers' co-operative movement has been engaged in production and retail sale of inexpensive quality housing, and the establishment of workplaces for persons who have difficulties finding a job. At the end of the 1990s there were about 890 co-operative enterprises with 15,600 employees and an annual turnover of 345 million euros (24.2 billion DKK). The Danish Co-operative Union estimates that in 2000, 1.2 million citizens (out of a total population of about 5.5 million inhabitants) were living in co-operative housing: "To 20% of the population the co-operative movement is a concrete expression of the worker movement's policy that is present in their everyday-life. They know that without the housing co-operatives rents would be much higher" (DKF, 2003).

The second period: new social enterprises and public cross-sectoral social development programs

The second period of social enterprises is shaped by two political factors: first, the impact of numerous cross-sectoral development programmes aimed at facilitating bottom-up solutions to social problems, and secondly, the transition towards active welfare programmes, claimed by some experts to be a transition from welfare to workfare.

The cross-sectoral development programmes

Since the 1960s much social work previously related to the co-operative movements has been taken over by the public system. In many cases the "self-owning institutions" were organisations that remained formally private, but were now working in the context of an agreement making them in reality part of the public system.

But the second period really began in the late 1960s, with the emergence of a new type of social enterprises that were not related directly to neither of the two historic significant co-operative movements. Instead they were to a large extent heavily supported by public resources, if not even initialized with the direct support and commitment of actors from the public sector. The new type of enterprises more or less grew out of 1968 and the student "rebellion" but to some extent they also shared the "Grundtvigian" philosophy.⁶

Indeed, during this second period a variety of new social projects and initiatives have developed as local bottom-up activities, and Hegland (1992: 9 ff.) is even stressing a direct link between the Folk High School tradition, the bottom-up activities, and the comprehensive Social Development Program (1988-1992).

Indeed, since 1985 several pilot and action programs within the field of social policy and urban policy, on both national and European levels, have facilitated and expanded the establishment as well as the dissemination of social enterprises into a broad array of social service and community development areas. The biggest of these programs, the so-called "Social Development Program" (350 million DKK from 1988-1992, i.e.

⁶ Hegland, 1994.

about 47,050,000 euros) facilitated the development of many new social enterprises. The Minister of Social Affairs, who launched the program, used Grundtvig and the related Free School and Folk High School movements as a frame of reference for legitimizing the program: "*People cannot understand that we do not have a more explicitly formulated goal with the Social Development Program. They really cannot understand that we just say: it is free. It is similar to the Danish free-school system, where public authorities give money to parents who then establish schools themselves. When I speak about the Danish Social Development program abroad, people are often expressing astonishment that we dare doing it this way. That we believe so much in people that we almost dare to set up a cash box in the town square*" (Former Minister of Social Affairs, Aase Olesen, quoted from Hulgård, 1997).

The programs have occurred as a certain Danish way of experimenting with the social enterprise model and the role of third sector organisations in fighting social exclusion. The second period gained momentum in the mid-1980s, when this new type of social enterprises received attention from public authorities, now being part of an experimental turn in social policy.⁷

The transition towards active welfare programmes

The second period of social enterprises is also influenced by welfare state transition towards the so-called "active line", which has contributed to strengthening the link between active labour policies and the social enterprise model.

The 1994 labour market reform was a breakthrough in Danish labour market policy, both in contents and due to the adoption of new management structures. This reform was meant as a transition from *passive to active* labour market policy with the assistance of local and regional actors. The labour market reform of 1994 provided even more regional freedom and independent economic means that enabled the implementation of independent regional labour market strategies.⁸ A formerly rule-governed activation system was replaced by a more "need-oriented" approach. Where certain types of activation measures, before the reform of 1994, were offered at specific points in the individual's unemployment period, diverse activation offers can now be made at all points during unemployment according to the specific needs of the unemployed and of the labour market.

The basic feature of this form of activation is the elaboration of the personal "action plan", which operates as a "contract" between the unemployed and the AF (the employment service system). In order to encourage initiatives and increase motivation among unemployed to upgrade their skills, the right to a new unemployment period through activation was removed. Where activation was formerly used as a means to earn a renewed right to unemployment compensation, the activation process now offers only the possibility of education. After four years in the unemployment compensation system, the unemployed is now transferred to the municipal social system, where payments are lower. Besides making the system more flexible the aim of the reform was to combat long-term unemployment, by giving the most vulnerable

⁷ Hegland, 1994; Hulgård, 1997; Bengtsson and Hulgård, 2001.

⁸ Jørgensen, 2001.

to long-term unemployment an activation offer very early in their period of unemployment.⁹

Danish social enterprises, especially those offering a variety of work-integration projects, are actors in the "official" aim of changing passive systems into active ones, in both labour market policy and social policy. The employment service system (AF) is one of the main actors of this shift, but regional and local authorities, unemployment funds, educational institutions, private enterprises and social enterprises also play an essential role in the construction of personal "action plans", educational activities, job training and job rotation. Each unemployed person became entitled to a "personal plan" that forms the basis of activation measures (education, job-training, etc.). The plan is made in agreement with the public employment service. This new more active approach was combined with the following key changes: 1) the limitation of the duration of unemployment benefits (from 9 to 4 years), 2) the suppression of the possibility to retain unemployment insurance through participation in job training and 3) a tightening of the criteria for job availability, e.g. the widening of mobility.¹⁰

The social enterprises presented in this report are all "benefiting" from active labour market policy. Havneskolen, for example, one of the 13 social enterprises in the sample, has been constantly growing due to the changes caused by the latest phases of the labour market reform. As mentioned previously, the reform provides that organisations other than public can be used in the implementation of the so-called "active line". The new active labour market policy implies various actors; for example, 20% of the activities previously organized by the employment service system (AF) are now the responsibility of non-public organisations. The manager of Havneskolen considers himself as being a member of a network also consisting of staff from the AF: *"The employment service system is often considered to be one big mastodon. Our experience, however, is that the staff and local branches of the employment service system are very cooperative and supportive (...). The people we are serving are those who did not make it in the economic upturn. When we planned our 10th anniversary we couldn't make the list of those we had to invite to the celebration shorter than 350 persons. We have contact to those 350 persons, and it is a strong network. Without this network Havneskolen wouldn't exist."*

The third period: Towards a social economy?

Only two factors are separating the third period of social enterprises from the second:

1. Leaders of new social enterprises are beginning to consider their activities as being part of a European social economy, and
2. The Danish Co-operative Movement (related to the labour movement and the Social Democratic Party) is beginning to show an interest in the new social enterprises.

In the 1980s and to some extent also in the 1990s, the co-operative movement did not recognize the new social enterprises as being worth supporting. Somehow the situation at the end of the twentieth century was similar to 1898, when the Social

⁹ Ibid, 2001.

¹⁰ Ibid, 2001.

Democratic Party pleaded for the workers' organisations to be cautious about engaging with co-operatives. The social democratic hostility repeated itself, a hundred years later. Managers of social enterprises have reported, in the framework of this study, that the workers' co-operative movement was sceptical towards supporting and recognizing the new social enterprises from the second period engaged in social integration, work integration and the provision of social services. They were not regarded as relevant for the co-operative movement. This situation is gradually changing with the Co-operative Union of Denmark (*Det Kooperative Fællesforbund* or DKF) and other actors from the labour movement launching several initiatives to combine their own tradition with new social enterprises, NGOs and voluntary associations in the social economy.

The current period represents more of a change in discourse than a change in the structural situation of social enterprises, which remain first of all dependent on public resources and other types of support from the public sector. The "social economy" is gradually becoming a conceptual framework for understanding the impact of new social enterprises on the welfare state.

Most new social enterprises are launched by third sector and local voluntary initiatives. But as we shall see in the following sections, this study has proved that the connection to the public sector and the dependence on resources from the public sector is crucial for Danish social enterprises. Nevertheless, social enterprises are important contributors to the production of social services and to the promotion of a broad range of integrative activities - both integration into the labour market and integration into everyday life.

There is only little previous research using the social enterprise approach for studying social sector organisations that simultaneously work with goals of enhancing forms of social inclusion, work-related participatory democracy and goals of economic performance. In this report we shall try to picture the landscape of Danish social enterprises (SEs) in general, and WISEs in particular. We will conclude the present introduction by a presentation of the 13 WISEs that have been investigated with a combined use of questionnaires, qualitative interviews, field studies and available literature. In section one, we will present the results concerning stakeholders' involvement in WISEs. Section two is a discussion of WISEs as organisations serving multiple goals. In section three we shall examine the resource mix of Danish WISEs, and in section four we shall discuss the PERSE hypothesis that WISEs are organisations that generate and utilize social capital. Section five - the last section before the concluding section - is aimed at presenting a typology of social enterprises in Denmark, especially WISEs.

Presentation of the sample

Before presenting the 13 social enterprises in the Danish sample a few methodological statements are necessary. Whereas "social enterprise" is a broadly accepted term in Europe and the USA to designate a specific segment of non-profit organisations that "are more autonomous and entrepreneurial than traditional non-profit organisations"¹¹, the term "work-integration social enterprise" (WISE) simply covers *the perspective*

¹¹ Borzaga, 2003, p. 33.

we have used for the present study. *"One major sphere of activity where social enterprises are active is the training and absorption into employment of persons excluded from the labour market. These work-integration social enterprises have as a major objective to help poorly qualified unemployed people, who are at risk of permanent exclusion from the labour market, back into work and society in general through a productive activity"* (Marthe Nyssens, 2004).

A part of the Danish sample consists of organisations that can be labelled social enterprises but not really WISEs in the sense that, although they have developed qualification and integration schemes, they have not always done so through a productive activity. All SEs in the Danish sample are producing work-integration schemes sold to public authorities, but not all are coupling work integration to the production of goods and services by the participants. All in all, the Danish sample thus includes some borderline cases that must be understood as social enterprises but only to some extent as WISEs. Some of these cases initially started as production oriented WISEs, but gradually changed into SEs using training and education as their primary method for achieving work integration.

Why study stakeholder structure, multiple goals, resource mix and social capital in Danish social enterprises? Previous research undertaken by the EMES Network was aimed at understanding the emerging forms of social enterprises in Europe. In the framework of this previous research, we aimed at understanding the evolution of social enterprises and we tried to establish typologies of various forms of social enterprises related especially to the third sector. In connection to that study, two interrelated hypotheses - respectively about the resource mix and the multiple goals of SEs - were formulated:

1. Social enterprises are based on a resource mix structure with resources stemming from a variety of sources such as private customers, public sector organisations, private enterprises, and the third sector. Social enterprises are examples of organisations combining the different economic logics defined by K. Polanyi: the market, the redistribution and the reciprocity.
2. Social enterprises are usually serving a broad array of goals. As such, social enterprises are at the forefront of a societal trend in most European countries marked by its cross-organisational and cross-sectoral character. Social enterprises tend to blur up a number of frontiers between the three sectors constituting modern societies. This has been pinpointed forcefully by German political scientist Adalbert Evers: "The term 'social enterprise' seems to blur exactly those frontiers which have been deliberately constructed – between action for the public good and private action, between social action as non-profits and enterprises as private market organisations".¹²

The combination of the resource mix hypothesis and the multiple goal hypothesis indicates that we are dealing with organisations that are difficult to place within any traditional framework distinguishing between a private sector acting for private benefit, a public sector acting for the public good and a civil sector enhancing forms of solidarity. The PERSE study aimed to test these hypotheses.

¹² Evers, 2001, p. 296.

The results of the Danish part of the PERSE project indicate that, on the one hand, the public sector commitment is much larger and much more solid than the resource mix hypothesis suggest and, on the other hand, that social enterprises are significant examples of multiple goal organisations. The results will be discussed in details after the presentation of the 13 WISE.

Sydhavns-Compagniet is a community-oriented WISE located in the Kgs. Enghave part of Copenhagen. The main objective is to create networks and facilitate social integration. The organisation was established in the year 2000 as a partnership between Kristeligt Studenter Settlement (presented below) and the Ministry of Social Affairs in order to create alternative offers to citizens in a part of the city inhabited by many of the socially weakest groups in Copenhagen. The primary goal is to support and strengthen individuals, groups and the local community. The secondary goal is to upgrade the participants' more general skills and competencies in order for the individuals to create a better foundation for a good everyday life. The WISE runs various training and educational programmes, a second-hand shop, a small "community centre" and a number of cultural projects.

Kristeligt Studenter Settlement's primary objective is community building. The organisation is situated in an old working class neighbourhood of Copenhagen which, during the 1980s and 1990s, according to the manager and founder, had more or less shifted from a "working-class culture" to a "poverty culture". The goals concerning work integration are closely linked to the overall objectives of revitalizing the community at large. One of the main focuses of the organisation, especially during the past two decades, has been to create and provide alternative work environments and qualification schemes for a large range of socially and economically marginalized people and groups in the community. The organisation offers a variety of schemes introducing the participants to different work experiences and training programs, ranging from production, catering and commerce units to administrative work tasks within the organisation. The organisation is motivated by a very specific focus on creating schemes aimed at providing both individual and social empowerment – an approach which has been dubbed "the everyday life approach".

Underværket is a community and business orientated social enterprise situated in the town of Randers. The WISE was founded by a broad network of actors from the private, public and third sectors. The main purpose of the organisation is to develop an organisational infrastructure for small business, third sector organisations and socially orientated projects as a vehicle for work promotion and cultural and social integration. This task is connected to the creation of work integrating initiatives, production of goods and services, and the advocacy of specific community groups. Underværket is a framework supplying associations, small commercial enterprises, and social projects with institutional settings and physical space.

Kulturgyngen is an association situated in Aarhus, the second largest city in Denmark. Its main focus is to develop and produce work integration activities. Kulturgyngen is simultaneously a cultural activity centre and an enterprise run as an educational and job training project. The productive activities are carried out by three distinct branches: "Gyngen" is running a café, a restaurant, online catering and a stage for live music; "City Sleep-In" is running a Youth Hostel; and "Kultursats" is running an advertising agency. Kulturgyngen's goal is to create schemes and projects that

combine the work ethics of a "normal" business enterprise with the social and individual sensibility of a social organisation towards the participant's different personal and social problems. The purpose of the activities is to upgrade the individual participant's resources facilitating their entrance into the labour market.

Boruplund is a self-owning institution situated in the countryside of North Western Jutland. It was founded and is run by local farmers, one of whom is also politician in a nearby city council. Boruplund offers activation and training activities to immigrants and refugees who have no former experience with Danish as a language. The activities are usually related to the farming sector and to the "green" areas. Boruplund has currently (2004) no production facilities of its own.

Dynamoen is situated in Randers, a city of 62,000 inhabitants. Dynamoen was until 2002 a branch of the local NGO, Kulturkældereren. When this was closed an employee in the NGO bought Dynamoen and changed it into a private enterprise. Dynamoen is a centre for education and training especially aimed at developing the participants' entrepreneurial skills. One important aim is to utilize the participants' own ideas and wishes about self-employment.

Den Økologiske Have is an association promoting practical ecology. It is situated in the town of Odder, in the eastern part of Jutland, and was founded in 1991 by a local branch of Landsforeningen Praktisk Økologi (National Association for Practical Ecology). Den Økologiske Have is a large ecological garden open to visitors; it provides educational facilities related to the field of ecology and a "home service unit"¹³, and it will, in a near future, launch a commercial production facility of vegetables and plants. These activities are combined with the offering of counselling and occupational training of unemployed persons within the different units of the organisation, mainly within the field of ecological gardening and park maintenance.

Café Den Hvide Hest, situated in the city of Horsens, is a WISE running a café and a small catering business, while providing people experiencing psychological problems the opportunity to gain work experience and more general social qualifications, as a way of providing the individual participant with tools and capacities to either being integrated into the mainstream labour market or the facilitation of further qualification, both within and outside the organisation.

Havneskolen is located in the North Harbour area of Copenhagen, and was founded in 1993 by local branches of four trade unions in Copenhagen. The objective of this WISE is to offer educational programmes, all targeted at improving the participants' labour market situation. The organisation runs three main programs: "The Green Area", aimed at training participants in the field of gardening, "The Storehouse Training" and "The Medical Education", aimed at qualifying participants to work in the medical industry. All educational and training activities are praxis oriented. The main approach used by the organisation is to deliver training and education, as well as providing the participants with practical work experience in normal private enterprises by the use of internships.

¹³ "Home service" is covering a wide range of small business carrying out services for private persons especially within the fields of cleaning, gardening and other related branches.

Rabarberlandet in Copenhagen has as its primary objective to serve as a community centre. This WISE carries out different activities and provides counselling services closely tied to civic matters in the Nørrebro neighbourhood, where the WISE is situated. The objectives concerning work integration are secondary, but according to the manager of the organisation, work integration is becoming more central to the organisation's actions, due to the fact that one of the central overall socio-economical problems in the community is unemployment. The schemes offered by the organisation are based on the provision of qualification schemes, like computer qualifications and other educational programs, and the activation of long time unemployed people in various functions within different community development projects. The objective of work integration is to provide the participants with work experience and the chance for improving their integration into the labour market.

Fakse Vandrerhjem is a hostel providing all services connected to a modern professional hostel: restaurant, conferences and hostel. The enterprise offers work-integration programs to different groups of participants with mental and social disabilities. The organisation exposes the participants to the every day life of a professional work place, while simultaneously upgrading basic educational and social skills.

Broen is situated in south western Denmark. It is foremost a community project aimed at providing different activities for the local community at large. The WISE hosts a second-hand shop, a textile workshop and a café serving meals at very reasonable rates; it provides a large group of lonesome people in the community with a place to broaden their social networks. The overall objective of community building is combined with goals of work integration, pursued through hiring people on social assistance and unemployment benefits for different work tasks within the organisation. The participants are offered different job experiences, according to their own preferences and ability, under the supervision of staff members of the organisation. The organisation foremost operates as a way of starting an individual evaluation process on what measures to be used to reintegrate participants into the labour market or educational programs.

Hotellet is situated in the heart of Copenhagen, in the neighbourhood of Vesterbro. This WISE is a hotel offering recovering former drug addicts work experience and counselling. It was founded in 2001 as a public institution and as a partner between the organisation of Netværket (a self owning institution) and Copenhagen municipality. The main objective of the organisation is to provide the participants with a support structure in the form of stable social relations and networks, while they undergo a process of clarification of their individual resources and competencies. The goal of social and work integration is achieved through assigning the participants to different work functions within the professional operations of a hotel with 14 rooms and a café.

1. Stakeholders in Danish WISEs

The public sector and the third sector are absolutely dominating stakeholders in the 13 WISEs of the Danish sample; the private sector plays a less significant role.

1.1. Legal form

The PERSE study has shown that the preferred legal form of WISEs in Europe is that of co-operative (Table 1).

Danish WISEs are similar to European social enterprises such as pictured by the PERSE study: European "work-integration social enterprises remain strongly embedded in the associative or co-operative world, despite their strong entrepreneurial component" (Davister et. al). The strong associative embeddedness is also the case in Denmark, however not in the organisational form of a co-operative.

Table 1: WISE legal forms in Europe

Legal form	Number	Proportion
Registered Association	40	26%
Co-operative	59	38%
Limited Company (Inc.)	14	9%
Public Limited Company (PLC)	12	8%
Other	30	19%
Total	155	100%

Number of WISEs = 155. Table based on answers to question A26.

Source: Davister, Defourny, Grégoire, 2004.

Most WISEs in the Danish sample were founded by local actors, often in close co-operation with third sector organisations. However, many Danish social enterprises experience troubles linked to the fact that, although they are formally autonomous, they are under pressure from public authorities, and the latter can often determine the objectives of the enterprise.¹⁴

Table 2 shows the legal forms chosen by Danish WISEs: 46% are "self-owning institutions", 15% are registered associations and 31% are foundations. The self-owning institutions in this study represent a wide spectrum of organisations, ranging from WISEs which are more or less integrated parts of the local public welfare system (such as the cultural and employment centre Den Hvide Hest, Folkehuset Broen and Hotellet) to organisations under little or practically no direct supervision from public authorities (Boruplund and Fakse Vandrerhjem, for example). Since there is no specific legislation for co-operatives in Denmark nor any legal definition of a co-operative, no enterprises in the sample are classified as co-operatives.

Table 2: Legal forms of WISEs in Denmark

Legal form	In %	Frequency
Registered Association	15 %	2
Foundation	31%	4
Limited Company (Inc.)	8%	1
Self-owning institution	46%	6
Total	100%	13

Analysis of the legal form of the organisations indicates that a public sector oriented legal form and a third sector oriented legal form (respectively the "self-owning institution" and the "foundation" legal forms) are the two favourite models for WISEs

¹⁴ Kristian Riis, 2003.

in Denmark, whereas legal forms connected to the for-profit private sector are rarely found.

The dominating legal form is thus that of self-owning institution. This term refers to a wide range of subcontracted cultural, environmental, educational and social organisations providing various public goods, especially within the field of welfare provision such as day care, work-integration, rehabilitation, kindergartens, nursery homes, hostels, emergency-centres, and provision of cheap meals, and within the private school sector. Riis (2003) estimated that there were 9,000 self-owning institutions in Denmark in the social area only. The strength of the ties between these organisations and national, regional and local public bodies varies from one organisation to another.

Although the findings of the project allow us to divide the Danish sample in two main categories of WISEs, the rather ambiguous category of self-owning institutions makes it hard to use this typology in the section on stakeholders.

Table 3: Classification of the WISEs of the sample according to their legal form and sector orientation

<u>Self-owning institutions (organisations linked to the public sector)</u>	<u>Foundations/associations (third sector)</u>	<u>Private enterprises (private sector)</u>
Underværket	Kristeligt Studenter Settlement	Dynamoen
Boruplund	Sydhavns-Compagniet	
Kultur- og beskæftigelses- centret Den Hvide Hest	Kulturgyngen	
Fakse Vandrerhjem	Den Økologiske Have	
Folkehuset Broen	Havneskolen	
Hotellet	Rabarberlandet	

As we shall discuss below, the data collected in the framework of the study clearly points in the direction of a continuous blurring of boundaries between public and third sector actors and institutional logics in the Danish sample. We shall now analyse the way in which the "legal typology" of public and third sector orientation relates to the stakeholder dynamics within the organisations.

Despite the fact that all WISEs in the Danish sample are single-stakeholder organisations when it comes to formal ownership, the concept of multi-stakeholder structure plays a significant role in internal and external dynamics of the organisations; many WISEs are multi-stakeholder organisations as far as their decision-making structure is concerned, for example. All WISEs in the sample have been established as a direct result of the co-operation between a multiplicity of local actors and often as a direct result of a long history of co-operation between these local actors engaged either specifically in the provision of work/social integration or in other related fields, such as community development.

1.2. Founding actors as an indicator of the stakeholder structure

The WISEs in the Danish sample were either founded by an association of citizens (58%), representatives from government (17%), or representatives of third sector organisations (17%). Actors from the private sector hardly played any role in the founding of Danish WISEs. Although 55 % of the organisations state that the most important actor in the founding of the organisation were citizens or groups of citizens, we strongly question this number. The interviews suggest that these "citizens" are actually often representatives and professionals from a wide range of local public and third sector organisations. Most WISEs are the products of intense networking between various local organisations, interest groups and public authorities.

Data concerning the relation between the legal forms and the founding members of the organisations clearly indicate that work-integration social enterprises in Denmark tend to blur the distinction between the public and the third sector. There is no significant difference between the founding stakeholders of the two dominating legal forms, i.e. self-owning institutions and foundations/associations, although WISEs classified as third sector oriented organisations (i.e. foundations and associations, see table 2) have a slight tendency to be more third sector and citizen oriented also in their founding process than organisations classified as self-owning institutions. According to the qualitative data, foundations and associations can be seen as a more direct result of networking activity among actors from the third sector or groups of citizens, whereas the establishment of the self-owning institutions in the sample was more dominated by the presences of actors from the public sector.

1.3. Composition of boards as an indicator of the multi-stakeholder structure

The legal ownership structure of the enterprises surveyed does not highlight their multi-stakeholder structure: from this point of view, all WISEs in the Danish sample are, as already mentioned, single-stakeholder organisations. However, analysis of the composition of the boards reveals that all types of stakeholders are represented. Table 4 shows the representation of the various categories of stakeholders in WISE boards.

Table 4: Presence of the various categories of stakeholders in the WISEs of the sample

Stakeholder categories	Present in % of cases
Private persons/consumers	23%
Volunteers	23%
Permanent staff	62%
Participants	31%
Private sector	38%
Public sector	62%
Third sector	46%
Other	23%

Table 5 analyses the repartition of the total number of board members among the various categories of stakeholders. From this perspective, the dominating groups of actors are those of representatives from the public (26%) and third sector (20%). The private sector (although it did not play a significant role in the founding of the WISEs in the sample) provides 14% of the board members. Another key feature is the

presence of internal actors in the form of members of the permanent staff in the boards (17%).

Table 5: The composition of boards

Members of boards	In %
Users/private Persons	6%
Volunteers	6%
Permanent staff	17%
Participants	6%
Representatives form the private sector	14%
Representatives form the public sector	26%
Representatives form the third sector	20%
Other	7%

1.4. The impact of stakeholders

Managers were asked to evaluate the impact of the different categories of stakeholders represented on the board; analysis of the data collected highlights that fact that the dynamics of Danish WISEs are heavily influenced by the relationship between the public and third sector. Table 6 shows the impact (as evaluated by the managers) of the different categories of stakeholders on the organisation, expressed in percentage of the "total impact".

Table 6: Stakeholder impact in boards

Members of boards	Impact in %
Users/private persons	3%
Volunteers	9%
Permanent staff	34%
Participants	9%
Representatives form the private sector	9%
Representatives form the public sector	16%
Representatives form the third sector	9%
Other	9%

The data strongly suggest that the most influential board members are to be found among the permanent staff members, but representatives from the public sector also have a significant impact. This result is underlined by the fact that 38% of the managers interviewed estimate that representatives from the public sector will become even more influential in the future.

When managers are asked to assess the impact of the various categories of stakeholders on the different activities of the organisations (work integration, production and political activities), a similar picture appears, as illustrated by table 7.

Table 7: Stakeholders' impact on activities

Members of boards	Impact on work integration activities in %	Impact on production activities in %	Impact on political activities
Users/private persons	0%	8%	0%
Volunteers	4%	12%	14%
Permanent staff	34%	44%	23%
Participants	18%	12%	5%
Private sector repr.	11%	8%	9%
Public sector repr.	14%	4%	27%
Third sector repr.	14%	8%	18%
Other	7%	9%	5%

Again data show permanent staff having a dominant position concerning work-integration and production activities, whereas representatives from both the public and the third sector play a prominent role as far as the political activities of the WISEs are concerned.

There is no generally accepted formal structure of participation in the decision-making processes in Danish WISEs. In one enterprise, participation in the decision-making is achieved through "briefings where we inform about participants' responsibilities and their possible benefits"; other enterprises have a more solid structure of participation in the decision-making process: "We have a program committee with 2-3 persons deciding a program for 2-3 months (...) The atmosphere is that we consider each other as partners." There is no clear connection between the ownership structure and the decision-making structure: the only privately owned enterprise is also an enterprise with one of the most participatory decision-making structure in planning the activities of the enterprise. In this case there is no "intrinsic" relation between the formal rules for decision-making within the board and the "real" decision-making power in the practice of the enterprise.

As shown in this section it is necessary to distinguish between formal ownership structure, formal rules for decision-making, and "real" decision-making power. Whereas formal ownership structure always tends to be single-stakeholder, the real decision-making power tends to be more blurred.

2. Multiple Goals

There is a widespread tendency among European WISEs to develop a multiple-goal structure.¹⁵ In previous studies carried out by the EMES Network social enterprises have been portrayed as organisations pursuing multiple goals and objectives. WISEs studied in the framework of the PERSE project are organisations that serve the three following main functions:

¹⁵ Davister et al., 2004.

- Implementation of labour market programs
- Production of goods and services
- Political advocacy and lobbying

Similar to the overall picture of the PERSE study the notion of a multiple-goal structure is a very dominant feature amongst Danish work integrating social enterprises. All 13 organisations have a multiple-goal structure; they combine goals of social integration, work integration, individual and to some extent collective empowerment, production of goods and services, and lobbying.

Work integration and social integration are the prominent objectives among Danish WISEs, with 92% of the organisations surveyed viewing goals related to integration as their primary objective. Only 8 % cite the advocacy and lobbying goal as their primary objective, and none of the organisations has the production of goods and services as their primary objective. However this does not mean that the objective of production is absent. Table 8 gives an overview of how the managers rank the goals. As appears from table 8, the production and lobbying goals are clearly subordinate to goals concerning work-integration; the balance between the production and lobbying goals seems to be of a more unclear character.

Table 8: Goal structure of Danish WISEs

Goals	Ranked 1st	Ranked 2nd	Ranked 3rd
Work and social integration	92%	8%	0%
Production of goods and Service	0%	54%	46%
Advocacy and lobbying	8%	38%	54%

2.1. Work-integration

Work-integration schemes provided by work-integration social enterprises can roughly be divided between "occupational training" and "educational activities"; the dominating approach is to offer the participants occupational training. Activities offered by Danish WISEs are generally viewed by managers as alternatives to conventional and traditional state-initiated projects and methods: *"We have had participants who had been through nearly every scheme the local municipality had to offer - and who almost had given up the idea of finding a job - whom after joining us found a real job or went on to get further education"*. This quotation from one of the managers in the sample pinpoints a general understanding among leaders of Danish WISEs. Although the schemes vary from organisation to organisation, it is commonly acknowledged that their status as WISEs creates means to develop schemes which are very successful compared with the ones provided by state or local authorities.

2.2. Production activity

Production must be understood here in two ways: on the one hand, it can refer to the job offer or the specific kind of work-integration activity *sold by the WISE* to public authorities, and which can consist of various public goods such as counselling, education and training ("type 1"). In this case, the WISE is considered as a provider of services financed by public authorities. On the other hand, "production" can refer to

the *production* of goods and services *made by participants and staff* in the enterprise and sold to customers ("type 2"). While the first type of production is an important feature in all Danish cases, the production of goods and services can be found in 100% of the WISE. This type of production is considered as the second most important goal by 54% of managers, and as the third most important goal by 46 % of managers (see table 8). Table 9 gives an overview of the distribution of organisations according to their engagement in the two different types of production.

Table 9: Distribution of Danish WISEs according to their types of production

<u>Production type 1</u>	<u>Production type 1 and 2</u>
DK 03 Underværket	DK 01 Sydhavns-Compagniet
DK 05 Boruplund	DK 02 Kristeligt Studenter Settlement
DK 06 Dynamoen	DK 04 Kulturgyngen
DK 09 Havneskolen	DK 07 Den Økologiske Have
DK 10 Rababerlandet	DK 08 Café den Hvide hest
	DK 11 Fakse Vandrerhjem
	DK 12 Broen
	DK 13 Hotellet

Although table 9 seems to suggest a slight dominance (in terms of number of cases) of organisations engaged in both type 1 and type 2 production activities, there is a great diversity in the way in which the 8 WISEs of this category (second column of table 9) mix focus and balance between the two production types. A good illustration of this diversity is provided by the examples of Sydhavns-Compagniet and Kulturgyngen. In Sydhavns-Compagniet, the production of work and social integration services are by far the dominant production type, opposed to the small production of goods and services delivered mainly through the organisations' second-hand shop. Kulturgyngen is situated at the other end of the spectrum; this WISE is an example of the growing focus on the production of goods and service ("type 2") as opposed to a more strict focus on work integration.

When asked to evaluate the balance between their work and social integration activities (the production of public goods) and the production of goods and services, seven organisations of the sample state that the production of goods and services is subordinate to the objectives of work and social integration, five organisations view production of goods and services as being in balance with their objective of work integration, and only one organisation, the private enterprise Dynamoen, views production of services and goods as the dominant production type.

Although production of type 2 plays a minor role in most Danish WISEs in terms of income, it also carries a lot of symbolic value as a vital mean in the creation of effective and "meaningful" work-integration schemes and programs. The general organisational starting point, especially for WISEs intensively engaged in both production types, is to strive towards creating a *working climate as close as possible to that of a private enterprise*. The general underlying objective behind this approach is to motivate and cultivate the skills of the participants in a way that raises their capability to perform a normal job. The manager of Kulturgyngen expresses this view: *"We are not a normal enterprise, given the specificity of the participants in terms of abilities, but we try as hard as possible to create a sense of professionalism.*

One can say that our primary objective is the social dimension (work integration), but we try to do this work "behind the scenes"(...). Of course, this is a challenging task, but we find it mandatory that the work-integration process build on respect for the capabilities and resources of the individual participant".

2.3. Lobbying and advocacy

Lobbying and advocacy are practised in two ways by Danish WISEs: they are *lobbying* for the interests of the enterprise and *advocating* the interests of participants in job-training. These two types of lobbying are not identical.

Lobbying for the interests of the enterprise

Most enterprises are fully aware that lobbying is a necessity since their connection to politicians and public authorities is crucial for sustaining the activities and for the enterprise to scale up in the long run. Connections to politicians, in the form of formal and informal relationships through boards and networks, provide the enterprises with a voice in local and occasionally even national politics. Connections to local public authorities are necessary as a way of securing ways of receiving people in job-offer and training. Theory about social capital and network view such close contacts with local actors as what helps the enterprises in day to day activities, while contacts with local and national politicians help the enterprise move ahead.¹⁶

All enterprises are aware of the necessity of lobbying, especially in the local political arena; some are doing this better than others. The qualitative data show that there is a difference in the level of lobbying activity between organisations with strong formal ties with local public authorities, on the one hand, and more autonomous WISEs in the sample, on the other hand. This is a finding which seems to be in accordance with the typologies we have discussed in relation to legal forms in the sample. Third sector oriented organisations (foundations and associations) with no direct institutionalized ties, in the form of public servants in the boards or direct supervision exerted by public authorities, seem to be slightly more focused on a contentious development and consolidation of ties to actors from local public authorities on a day-to-day basis, and give more importance to lobbying (as in the case of Sydhavns-Compagniet Kristeligt Studenter Settlement, Kulturgynge, Den Økologiske Have, Havneskolen and Rababerlandet), whereas WISEs like Kultur- og beskæftigelsescentret "Café Den Hvide Hest", Hotellet and Fakse Vandrerhjem (classified as self-owning institutions), which operate with a higher level of institutionalized ties to the public sector, do not stress this lobbying activity in the same manner. The following statement by the manager of Kristeligt Studenter Settlement illustrates this: *"As opposed to other initiatives which are more closely related and/or even initiated by the municipality of Copenhagen, our status and autonomy forces us to use a lot of resources to facilitate our relationship with public servants (...) The competition on this field is strong, and we often have to compete with the municipalities' own projects (...) Our relations to local key politicians have a lot of impact, but the relationship with people at the level of administration is equally important, if not even more crucial".*

¹⁶ Briggs, 1998.

The following quotation from the manager of Kultur- og beskæftigelsescentret "Café Den Hvide Hest" also underlines the value of the institutionalized ties between the WISE and local and regional public authorities: "*Because of our status (legal form), we have a close relationship with multiple administrators through our connection to the regional network formed by Vejle county authorities within the field of psychiatry (...). The network helps the visibility of our organisation (...). [It is] by far our most important network because of the supervision that goes on, but also because of the relationships we build with top level officials from the administration.*"

Advocating the interests of the participants

Advocating the interests of the participants and promoting their collective and political empowerment are both about supporting and facilitating the participants' right to have a say not only in matters that affect their everyday life on day-to-day matters, but also in politics. The ways in which WISEs are advocating the interests of their participants are not following any particular system. The managers give different answers to the question about the ways in which the interests of participants are advocated. One can distinguish between micro-level, meso-level, and macro-level advocacy; these three levels are illustrated below by managers' answers.

Micro-level advocacy - training:

"Advocacy does not have a major direct impact, but rather an indirect impact, through talks, guidance and work aimed at make our participants self-reliable."

Meso-level advocacy – demonstration of a third way:

"To find new ways around social enterprise; to make it respectful to be partially employed and partially receiving public assistance, to make a third way more legitimate."

Macro-level advocacy – policy engagement:

"The general trend is that the NGO's importance as an advocacy organisation defending the interests of weak groups is neglected. Now the trend is to engage and talk about volunteers outside the context of advocacy and interest organisations".

Micro-level advocacy is closely related to individual empowerment. There is no specific goal of relating empowerment of the individual participant to larger socio-economic changes, or to reflect on how power structures influence the individual possibility for inclusion. *Meso-level* advocacy is aimed at showing through examples how the social enterprise model, based upon new balances between "traditional" employment and new forms of production subsidised by public authorities, is a third way between unemployment and full employment in the normal labour market. *Meso-level* advocacy is also related to "the everyday life approach", in which solidarity with the participants and respect for their everyday life are important features of the organisation. *Macro-level* advocacy is more related to the overall goal of relating the activities of the social enterprise to the ambition of building social movements in order to change the current power structures in direction of serving the interests of socially excluded groups. As indicated by the interviews, this concern is hardly playing any role, although it was the driving force in the first period of social enterprises, and maybe the reason why the organisations formed at that time obtained a lasting influence on the Danish welfare society.

3. Resource Mix Structure

Resource mix plays a role in all Danish WISEs, but in various degrees. As our distinction based on the production type indicates, some enterprises are more deeply engaged in the sales of goods and especially services than others. All WISEs in the Danish sample are highly dependent on subsidies from the public sector and the sale of activation and job-offer schemes to public authorities. However, there are varieties in the resource structure of Danish WISEs.

The average amount of monetary and non monetary resources per organisation in the Danish sample was in 2001 respectively of 5,339,791 DKK (711,972 euros) and 457,450 DKK (60,993 euros). The enterprise with the highest income is the "Kristeligt Studenter Settlement" foundation, whose total income amounts to 22.4 million DKK (2,900,000 euros) in monetary resources and nearly 2.7 million (403,000 euros) in non monetary resources. The lowest income is that of a self-owning institution, "Folkehuset Broen", which had, in 2001, a total income of 1.3 million DKK (174,711 euros) in monetary resources and 636,036 DDK (84,804 euros) in non monetary resources. Nine out of 13 WISEs in the Danish sample had a total income of less than 5 million DKK (672,051.33 euros) in the year 2001. Out of the 13 cases 4 had a loss between 50% and 1%, and 6 had a profit between 1% and 14%, and 2 of the organisations in the sample registered neither a profit nor a loss in 2001 (on this specific issue we only have the exact numbers from 12 of the 13 WISEs). Table 10 gives an overview of the total income of the organisations surveyed.

Table 10: Total income of the organisations surveyed in 2001

Organisation	Total income in millions DKK (EUR)	Profit/loss
Sydhavns-Compagniet	2.6 (349,671.89 €)	14 %
Kristeligt Studenter Settlement	25.1 (3,362,229.71 €)	- 1 %
Underværket	1.7 (228,629.79 €)	-18 %
Kulturgyngen	8.6 (1,156,336.79 €)	-2 %
Boruplund	2.4 (322,698.64 €)	0 %
Dynamoen	2.6 (349,573.80 €)	-50 %
Den Økologiske Have	2.6 (349,573.80 €)	0 %
Kultur- og Beskæftigelsescentret Den Hvide Hest	3.7 (497,445.81 €)	3 %
Havneskolen	10.8 (1,452,003.99 €)	-1 %
Rabarberlandet	3.8 (510,955.92 €)	1 %
Fakse Vandrerhjem	5.9 (793,326.29 €)	2 %
Folkehuset Broen	1.9 (255,477.96 €)	0 %
Hotellet	2 (268,957.97 €)	10 %

Seven of the 13 WISEs studied have experienced a slight increase in earnings throughout the last years, while the remaining 6 have experienced a period of stabilization of income. Most Danish WISEs have experienced a slight increase of resources coming from the public sector by securing a wide range of subsidies and contracts carrying out work-integration activities and other public services. However all WISEs consider their immediate financial future to be insecure. This is both due to changes in political representation at the local level and to changes in the structure of work-integration policies.

Although the financial situation of Danish WISEs might be very different from one case to another, as we have seen, a majority of them share the characteristic of relying on a mix of resources - incomes from the sale of services, from subsidies and from non-monetary contributions, such as voluntary work (although it seems to be very difficult for the managers of Danish WISEs to estimate the value of non-monetary resources).

The difference in income trends among Danish WISEs is first of all linked to the type of goods and services the WISE is selling. Three out of the thirteen WISEs are deeply engaged in the *hotel and restaurant sector* ("type 2" production activities). For these enterprises, the sale of goods and services to customers other than public sector ones is crucial, not only for symbolic reasons, but also in terms of cash flow and generation of financial resources. At the other end of the spectrum, there is a mix of enterprises deeply engaged in *local institutional capacity building* through their status as community work institutions and enterprises selling work integration to public authorities through *educational activities*. Some of these WISEs are only engaged in production activities of "type 1", whereas most enterprises mix type 1 and type 2 production activities. For these enterprises too, the production of goods and services plays an important role, but here rather in terms of being local community and empowerment projects with a say in the surrounding community.

The data collected on the resource mix of Danish WISEs shows that some are relying on a broader mix of resources than others, and that the specific composition of the resource mix of an enterprise might be important in terms of sustainability and development of the organisation. There is generally an explicit orientation amongst the organisations towards increasing the "mixed" character of their resources by emphasising the commercial aspects of their operations, and a willingness to develop new and alternative ways of funding. One of the main reasons behind this trend is the will to achieve a higher degree of economical independence from the public sector, and consequently a widening of the institutional space and autonomy of the WISE. The following quotation, from the manager of Hotellet, illustrates this trend: *"Although we have our limits, when one considers the resources we have to work with, the development of the business is sort of a way of gaining independence. (...).Our earnings give us creative space, make risk-taking possible and create legitimacy around our methods. Unconventional as they may seem they sort of pay off on a social level, but also at the cash register"*.

We shall, in the following sections, outline the resource mix situation of the 13 cases in the Danish sample, while trying to grasp the importance of the resource-mix dimension in Danish WISEs.

3.1. Resource channels

The study of Danish WISEs carried out in the framework of the PERSE project reveals a significant dominance of public funding, which represents 70% of the monetary resources of the WISEs of the sample. Moreover, institutional relations with public authorities have a dominating impact on the specific resource mix of the WISEs in the sample. Table 11 gives an overview of the resource structure of the Danish sample, distinguishing between private, public and third sector resources.

In ten of the 13 WISEs surveyed, contribution from the public sector constituted more than 50% of the organisations' resources (total monetary income), and 9 enterprises even received more than 60% of their total income through public funding. Third sector actors contributed only 7% of the resources in the sample. The most striking feature regarding the resource mix of Danish WISEs is thus the dominance of the public source of income.

Table 11: Monetary resource structure of Danish WISEs

Resource channel	Private sector (1)	Public sector (2)	Third sector (3)
Distribution of the total amount of resources	20%	70%	7%

1. Typical resources from the private sector are sales of goods, mainly within the fields of catering, hotel, and commerce.
2. Typical resources from the public sector are subsidies for and sales of work-integration services.
3. Typical resources from the third sector are donations and allowance of personnel.

Table 12 shows the resource mix of the organisations that, in 2001, derived most of their resources from the public sector, whilst table 13 provides the same analysis for WISEs whose main source of income is the private sector, and whose resources from the public sector represent less than 50% of total income.

Table 12: Resource structure of Danish WISEs with more than 50% of public sector funding

WISE	Resource channel		
	Private sector	Public sector	Third sector
Sydhavns-Compagniet	10%	90%	0%
Kristeligt Studenter Settlement	26%	63%	11%
Boruplund	32%	58%	11%
Dynamoen	0%	100%	0%
Kultur- og Beskæftigelsescentret Café Den Hvide Hest	14%	86%	0%
Havne Skolen	1%	98%	1%
Projekt Rabarberlandet	11%	83%	6%
Fakse Vandrerhjem	29%	71%	0%
Folkehuset Broen	18%	81%	0%
Hotellet	34%	64%	1%

Table 13: Resource structure of Danish WISEs with less than 50% of public sector funding

WISE	Resource channel		
	Private sector	Public sector	Third sector
Underværket	47%	7%	47%
Kulturgynge	53%	44%	3%
Den Økologiske Have	54%	47%	0%

The analysis of the resource structure of Danish WISEs reveals that the "mixed" character of resources is more marked in some enterprises than in others. The specific composition of the resource mix might be important in terms of sustaining and scaling up the social enterprise. It may be a strategic option, for some smaller WISEs that are

heavily dependent on the public sector (be it because they receive public subsidies or because they have contracts with local public authorities), to broaden their deals and contracts in order to develop their autonomy. This could be done by paying specific attention to production of type 2 - goods and services made by staff and participants and sold to customers on a contractual or individual basis. International research on social entrepreneurial initiatives (Austin et. Al. 2003) has shown that SEs that are one-dimensional in their resource structure are vulnerable when facing sudden changes in the environment. During the course of the present study, Folkehuset Broen was closed because the local municipality did not renew its contracts. Maybe there is something to be learned from the experiences and results obtained by such enterprises as Kulturgynge, Fakse Vandrerhjem, and Kristeligt Studenter Settlement; these enterprises are community oriented, and they have simultaneously succeeded in achieving sustainability and in scaling up by spreading and investing in activities related to both types of production.

3.2. Sales of goods and services

The sales of goods and services constitute 56 % of the monetary resources in the sample. Twenty-two percents come from the sales of goods and service to the private sector, 29% from the sales to the public sector (sales of work-integration services), and 5% from sales to the third sector. The main goods and services being sold are hotel and restaurants services (25%), public services (17%), education (16%), services to enterprises (15%) or to the public administration (15%), and processing industry (9%).

Table 14: The sales of goods and services of Danish WISEs

WISE	Private sector	Public sector	Third sector	% of total income
Sydhavns-Compagniet	1%	15%	0%	16%
Kristeligt Studenter Settlement	13%	11%	4%	28%
Underværket	48%	0%	48%	96%
Kulturgynge	51%	34%	0%	85%
Boruplund	4%	58%	0%	62%
Dynamoen	0%	100%	0%	100%
Den Økologiske Have	49%	46%	0%	95%
Kultur- og Beskæftigelsescentret Den Hvide Hest	14%	0%	0%	14%
Havneskolen	1%	74%	0%	75%
Rarbarerlandet	0%	0%	0%	0%
Fakse Vandrerhjem	30%	39%	0%	99%
Folkehuset Broen	14%	0%	0%	14%
Hotellet	25%	15%	10%	50%
% of total monetary income	21%	29%	5%	55%

Table 14 indicates that the dominating resource channel is the sales of services to the public sector (29%), although the sales of goods and services to the private sector likewise play a significant role (21%) in 5 out of the 13 cases (Underværket, Kulturgynge, Den Økologiske Have, Fakse Vandrerhjem and Hotellet). Sales of goods and services to the third sector seem to play a less important role for most organisations in the sample, with the exception of Underværket, where 48% of monetary resources come from rents paid by third sector organisations.

3.3. Subsidies from the public sector

Resources in the form of subsidies from the public sector is one of the most important resource channels in the sample. Subsidies from the public sector make up 39 % of the total monetary income amongst all 13 WISEs. All but one WISE (Dynamoen) receive resources in the form of public subsidies.

Table 15 gives an overview, for each WISE of the sample, of the percentage of its resources deriving from subsidies, as well as the distribution of these subsidies according to their origin within the public sector.

Table 15: Public subsidies and their origin (2001)

WISE	European level (1)	National level	Regional level	Local level	% of total monetary income
Sydhavns-Compagniet	0%	84%	0%	0%	84%
Kristeligt Studenter Settlement	0%	49%	0%	12%	63%
Underværket	2%	0%	0%	0%	2%
Kulturgyngen	0%	10%	0%	0%	10%
Boruplund	0%	39%	0%	0%	39%
Dynamoen	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Den Økologiske Have	0%	3%	0%	0%	3%
Kultur- og Beskæftigelsescentret Den Hvide Hest	0%	0%	84%	1%	85%
Havneskolen	0%	25%	0%	0%	25%
Rarbarberlandet	0%	49%	0%	40%	89%
Fakse Vandrerhjem	0%	0%	1%	0%	1%
Folkehuset Broen	0%	0%	0%	44%	44%
Hotellet	0%	0%	0%	50%	50%
Total in the sample	0.5%	52 %	18%	29.5	100%

(1) For several WISEs in the sample, 2001 is atypical: they received no subsidies from European Union programmes, whereas in previous years, they had relied much on subsidies from the EU.

Again the data show a great variety among WISEs. It is nevertheless possible to describe general trends. First of all, the figures indicate that 8 WISEs (namely Sydhavns-Compagniet, Kristeligt Studenter Settlement, Boruplund, Kultur- og Beskæftigelsescentret "Café Den Hvide Hest", Havneskolen, Rarbarberlandet, Folkehuset Broen and Hotellet) are highly dependent on public subsidies, whereas for 5 organisations (Underværket Kulturgyngen, Dynamoen, Den Økologiske Have and Fakse Vandrerhjem) public subsidies constitute 10% or less of the monetary resources. Secondly, the data show that the dominating resource channels are subsidies from the public sector on a national (52%), regional (18%) and local level (29.5%), whereas institutions on the European level only contribute 0.5 % of WISEs' resources. Thirdly, the table shows that none of the organisations in the sample receive resources from all four levels of the public sector, and only 3 WISEs (Kristeligt Studenter Settlement, Kultur- og Beskæftigelsescentret "Café Den Hvide Hest" and Rarbarberlandet) combines subsidies from more than one level of the public sector.

The main purposes for the allocation of public subsidies are labour market activities (41%), general activities (29%) and socio-political activities (30%). The dominating type of relationship between the WISE and its funding public sector actor is the "negotiated agreement" (56% of subsidies), whereas a relationship of "supervision" prevails for the remaining 44% of the allocated subsidies. The qualitative data suggest that *negotiation* of terms and contractual relations determining the allocation of

subsidies are more widely used on the regional and local level, whereas the use of supervision is more prevalent on the national and European levels.

3.4. Contributions and donations

Three percents of the total amount of monetary resources (all 13 WISEs) originate from donations and contributions from a wide range of actors in both the private and third sector; there are no resources of this kind coming from the public sector in the sample. The main donating bodies are actors from the third sector (foundations and associations), which represent 72% of contributions and donations, whilst the private sector (private persons and private companies) represent 28% of this category of resources. Six of the 13 WISEs did receive in 2001 monetary resources in the form of contributions and donations.

Table 16 shows, for the 6 WISEs receiving monetary contributions, the splitting of these according to the donator (private or third sector).

Table 16: Donations from the private and third sector

WISE	Private sector % of total income	Third sector % of total income	% of total income
Kristeligt Studenter Settlement	4%	9%	14%
Underværket	1%	0%	1%
Kulturgynge	1%	3%	4%
Den Økologiske Have	1%	1%	2%
Rarbarberlandet	0%	11%	11%
Folkehuset Broen	3%	0%	0%
Hotellet	0%	1%	1%

Table 16 shows that only 3 WISEs received resources from both the private and the third sector, whereas 4 depended on donations from one sector only. The percentage of donations and contributions in the total resources of the WISEs varied from 14% in the case of the Kristeligt Studenter Settlement to 1% in the case of Hotellet. The Kristeligt Studenter Settlement (14%) and Rarbarberlandet (11%) are the only cases in which resources in the form of donations and contributions can be seen as contributing a significant percentage of the organisation's overall income.

The qualitative data confirm this assumption. A majority of the interviewed managers express that donations and other resources of this type are seen more as a symbolic gesture than as a vital resource channel, although these extra resources often facilitates the realization of additional projects and activities. The following quotation from the manager of Hotellet expresses a general perception among the managers surveyed: *"It gives us a burst of self-confidence when we get this type of recognition [i.e. donations] from "outsiders". It is important because it shows our connection with the community, and as far as the money is concerned it often makes it possible to do the small things, like repainting the café or investing in some new equipment, just the small things. It helps to create visibility – we sometimes create a little event around these things (donations), and invite key actors. So it serves many small purposes."*

The main type of donations comes in the form of contributions given as charity (98%), whereas subscriptions or membership fees only constitute 2% of the total amount. The main purposes of donations are support of services and activities such as

socio-political activities (55%), labour market activities (26%), general activities (16%) and products and services (3%).

Donations are viewed as "a little extra" and none of the organisations of the sample has a specific strategy regarding this kind of resources, although some organisations (Kristeligt Studenter Settlement, Underværket, Kulturgynge and Hotellet) have had experiences with the development of continuous sponsorships from local enterprises and third sector organisations. The main barrier for developing donations and sponsorships into more stable resource channels seems to be the lack of resources, especially time, to develop relations to beneficiaries and donating bodies.

3.5. Non monetary resources

Non monetary resources constitute 12% of the total amount of resources in the sample. Non monetary resources are estimated to represent an average of 457,450 DKK (60,993 euros) for each organisation. The private sector contributes 62% of the non monetary resources, whilst the public sector represents 31% of the non monetary resources and the third sector, 7%. Non monetary resources are received in the form of voluntary work (mainly from the private sector), allowance of personnel (mainly from the public sector and third sector) and the donation of various goods.

In some organisations, such as Kristeligt Studenter Settlement, the role of voluntary work holds a profound historic and present value. Most organisations, however, have, like Hotellet, reported that they used little or no voluntary work. Neither did they keep accurate tracks of the various goods and informal contributions from external resource persons. It is therefore difficult to give an estimate of the market value of these resources.

Nevertheless, the qualitative data suggest that the different WISEs in the Danish sample *are in fact*, although to a varying extent, reliant on a broad mixture of non monetary resources, even though a monetary estimation was in some cases impossible to conduct (Kultur- og Beskæftigelsescentret Den Hvide Hest, Fakse Vandrerhjem, Hotellet). As we shall discuss below, non monetary resources constitute in reality a fairly large portion of the resource structure in a number organisations, and the contribution of non monetary resources goes beyond the level of a mere symbolic gesture from the surrounding local community.

Table 17: Part of allowance, indirect subsidies and voluntary work in the total resources

WISE	Allowance and indirect subsidies	Voluntary work	% of total resources
Sydhavns-Compagniet	0%	10%	10%
Kristeligt Studenter Settlement	0%	12%	12%
Underværket	0%	0%	0%
Kulturgynge	5%	1%	6%
Boruplund	21%	25%	46%
Dynamo	0%	1%	1%
Den Økologiske Have	1%	6%	7%
Kultur- og Beskæftigelsescentret Den Hvide Hest	0%	0%	0%
Havneskolen	0%	1%	1%
Rarbarberlandet	1%	18%	19%
Fakse Vandrerhjem	0%	0%	0%
Folkehuset Broen	46%	3%	49%
Hotellet	0%	0%	0%
Whole sample	4%	9%	13%

The Danish part of the PERSE project shows that the dominating non monetary resource channel is voluntary work, which constitutes 9% of the total income of WISEs in the sample, whereas resources in the form of indirect subsidies and allowances contribute 4% of the total amount of resources in the sample.

Table 17 gives an overview of the distribution of non monetary resources in each WISE according to their nature.¹⁷ It shows a large variety among the Danish WISEs of the sample. Only 9 of the 13 enterprises were able to estimate the flow of non monetary resources in their organisation. For Boruplund and Folkehuset Broen non monetary resources constitute a very important resource channel, estimated to represent more than 40% of their total funding. In the cases of Sydhavns-Compagniet, Kristeligt Studenter Settlement, Kulturgynge, Den Økologiske Have and Rarbarberlandet the non monetary resources account for more than 5% of the total amount of resources.

Non monetary resources play a less important role for Dynamo and Havneskolen, for which they represent only 1% of the total resources. The data also shows that the most widespread non monetary resource channel among all cases is voluntary work, whereas channels such as indirect subsidies and allowance are only found in four organisations (Boruplund, Den Økologiske Have, Rarbarberlandet and Folkehuset Broen).

The qualitative data furthermore indicate that the main motive for allocating non monetary resources and allowing personnel is mutual aid, whereas the motive is charity in the case voluntary work.

As stressed previously, the nature of the different non monetary resource channels does not seem to be institutionalised in most WISEs. But a majority of the managers (except in two WISEs, namely Folkehuset Broen and Hotellet) have, during the interviews, expressed a move towards a more strategic orientation in terms of

¹⁷ It was not possible to conduct those parts of the study in the case of Kultur- og Beskæftigelsescentret Den Hvide Hest, Fakse Vandrerhjem and Hotellet.

canalizing and implementing non monetary resources into their organisations, especially through incorporating voluntary work and making use of informal partnerships. This trend is highlighted by the manager of Den Økologiske Have: *"We have not been good at using this resource in the past, or at least we have underestimated its value. But when you force me to try to estimate both the amount of voluntary work and all the other small things (services and goods) we have received during the years, I guess it amounts up to a lot of money - which, if not vital for our immediate survival, gives us an extra capacity (...). The role of such resources goes beyond the level of encouragement and solidarity, and it is an area we must invest in, in the future"*.

3.6. Resource mix typology of Danish WISEs

Table 18 provides an outline of some main distinctions in the resource mix structure of the 13 WISEs. The typology is based on an interpretation of both quantitative and qualitative data collected through interviews and surveys.

The typology is first of all based on a cross-analysis of two criteria: on the one hand, a distinction is made between resources coming from the private, the public and the third sector; on the other hand, we have established a distinction between the sales of goods and services (A), resources in the form of monetary subsidies and contributions (B), and non monetary resources (C). These distinctions are made on the basis of the quantitative data from the resource mix section of the survey. Secondly, we have tried to check, for each WISE, whether the results so obtained were confirmed by the qualitative data, and to adjust the data about the resource channels when necessary.

When adjustments were made on the basis of the qualitative data, the letter indicating the resource channel is written in parenthesis. In other words, letters A, B and C without brackets are based upon the data provided by the surveys, while the letters in brackets are based upon an interpretation of the qualitative interviews. Last but not least, the last column of the table offers an evaluation of the dominating resource channels; this assessment is based on both quantitative and qualitative data.

Table 18: Typology of the resource mix structure of Danish WISEs

WISE	Private sector	Public sector	third sector	Dominating resource channels
Sydhavns-Compagniet	A, C	A, B, (C)	(C)	Public sector Subsidies from national level
Kristeligt Studenter Settlement	A, B, C	A, B	A, B, C	Subsidies and sales to the public sector
Underværket	A, B	A, B, C	A, (C)	Sales to the private and third sector
Kulturgynge	A, B, C	A, B	A, (C)	Sales of goods and services to the private and third sector
Boruplund	A, B, (C)	A, B	C	Sales to the public sector
Dynamo	C	A		Sales of services to the public sector
Den Økologiske Have	A, C	A, B, C	C	Sales of goods and services to the private sector
Kultur- og Beskæftigelsescentret Den Hvide Hest	A, (C)	A, B, (C)	(C)	Subsidies from the public sector
Havneskolen	A, C	A, B		Sales of services to the public sector
Rarbarberlandet	C	B	B, C	Sales and subsidies from the public sector
Fakse Vandrerhjem	A	A, B		Sales and subsidies from the public sector
Folkehuset Broen	A, B, C	B, C		Sales and subsidies from the public sector
Hotellet	A, B	A, B, C	A, B	Sales of goods and services to the private sector

Codes: A: Sales of goods and services, B: Monetary subsidies/contributions, C: Non monetary resources

4. Social capital

The PERSE project aimed at examining both how European WISEs mobilise social capital, and how social capital in return is having an impact on these enterprises. We worked with the assumption that WISEs both use and produce various forms of social capital. The impact of social capital in European social enterprises was addressed in all four questionnaires used in the PERSE project. In the questionnaire about the resource mix of WISEs, we tried to grasp the mixture of economic and non-economic resources; the latter included more specifically data on the impact of voluntary work delivered by private customers, workers when off duty, ordinary volunteers and voluntary administrators in the boards of WISEs. The purpose was to see how resources with an impact on the organisations fitted the framework provided by K. Polanyi on economic logics - the market, the redistribution and the reciprocity.

The aim of understanding the way in which social capital is used and produced by social enterprises was difficult to achieve since *most Danish WISEs tend to underestimate the impact of voluntary contributions and probably also of their networking strategies*. Unfortunately the tight time schedule structuring the PERSE study did not allow us to carry out a more thorough analysis of this important issue with a sufficient qualitative approach based on observations and informal conversations with participants and volunteers.

Nevertheless, the impact of social capital was addressed directly in the questionnaire about "Multiple goals and social capital". The results from this questionnaire will be presented briefly in this fourth section, especially by discussing the role of networking, and by relating to data collected within the entire methodological framework.

4.1. Networking as the creation of social capital

Networking has high priority in all 13 social enterprises. The main idea is to get as many partners and actors as possible involved. This idea is shared by all organisations. Some WISEs succeed better than others in realizing it. There is a widespread intention of involving a large number of local organisations and institutions in the work.

Initiatives created by the organisations are commonly a direct product of networking, drawing on both formal and informal connections involving a wide range of actors: "To maintain and also to further the development of the organisation can best be described as hustling, but in a positive sense. Hustle means going out there while trying to convince partners of your ideas and motives; some call it networking – I like to call it hustling – and of course this lobbying of ideas and specific values goes both ways". Such more informal relations are serving as channels for information about business opportunities and an overall access to knowledge about the local community and the needs of specific target groups. Informal relations also play a significant role for the organisations' visibility in local political contexts, with "gentlemen agreements" between different actors to promote each other whenever possible.

A majority of WISEs consider networking as a key issue in the development and consolidation of their organisations. Their ability to draw attention towards their activities is very important for their sustainability. Networking is becoming a very large part of the organisations' overall strategy. Social enterprises seek to constitute a local "networking arena", as expressed by the manager of Underværket: "Networking is the crucial strategy and by my experience I have learned that this goes way beyond the professional level to the existence of more personal and informal relations; these relations have to be maintained one way or another and we are very much aware of this".

Danish WISEs try to uphold and create an image of being open and outreaching towards surrounding organisational infrastructures. The manager of Kulturgynge illustrates this commonly found feature of WISEs: *"I think we are considered as a resource in the local grassroots milieu, most of all because we have been going strong at it for over a decade now but also because we put an emphasis on keeping it on an informal level. We try to get our business and network relations involved in our field of work by always inviting them to functions on both a formal and informal level within the organisation"*.

Although there is a strong emphasis on the value of networking, most organisations consider that this field is still insufficiently developed and strategic efforts should be done in this regard in the future. The dominating trend in Danish WISEs is that most local networking is characterised by its *ad hoc* basis and informal character, whereas formal networking has been done in the past, especially around the foundation and the

first years of operation. This is particularly true of the youngest WISEs in the sample; some older and more consolidated enterprises seem to be more outreaching and more connected through formal networks - some even serve as key actors on a local and regional level (for example, the Kristeligt Studenter Settlement, as an organisation, holds a prominent position in the creation of formal networks on both the local and national levels). One reason for neglecting formal networking on the local level is that it is time-consuming and therefore expensive. There has to be an immediate reason for making it worthwhile to form a formal network: "When you just participate for the sake of keeping the network alive, then I think your time could be much better spend doing other things, and by so reaching new "bumps" or tasks where the ties to a formal network with organised meetings form a resource for your organisation".

It has to be noticed that, whereas participation in networks plays a significant role, participation in and membership of umbrella organisations are rare.

4.2. Local community support as the creation of social capital

Six organisations have an explicit objective to support various groups in the local area. This is the case of Sydhavns-Compagniet, Kristeligt Studenter Settlement, Underværket, Kulturgynge, Rabarberlandet and Folkehuset Broen, all of them viewing their line of production to be closely knit to the needs of their local communities. Nevertheless it is our estimation that the other WISEs are also community oriented, although in more indirect terms.

Most WISEs view their own foundation as a unique mix of social and entrepreneurial objectives. They are actors in the making of a new institutional and organisational platform which can be used to create social and cultural interplay, a new business offering job opportunities and an overall commitment to integration in a very broad sense. The WISEs in the sample generally view their activities as having a positive external effect on the surrounding community. This orientation among Danish WISEs can be illustrated with the following statement by Underværket's manager: "We don't want to be looked at as yet another project solely focused on work integration. Our scope is broader. We tend to see the organisation as a platform for the whole town. What also matters is that the initiative of a different kind that goes on in these buildings motivates the community at large to cooperate and network. If somebody can create jobs or a new line of business along doing so, it is great. It is exactly this aspect of the project which emphasises the vital role of the organisation in the community".

Most organisations acknowledge the fact that ties to different interest groups within the community are important. Being in tune with the community and its needs in a broad sense is recognised as very valuable. Integration and connectedness to the surrounding network structure is widely viewed as a door opener to a wide range of new business possibilities and as a way of strengthening the organisations' impact at the local level.

4.3. Relations with public authorities and political parties

The connections between WISEs and various political and public institutions are usually rooted in the boards of the organisations. Having local politicians and administrators directly connected to the WISE is an important feature. In particular,

connections to powerful actors at both the administrative and political levels are seen as a facilitator of the vital access to local public institutions.

Numerous organisations are direct products of a tight relationship between local interest groups and representatives from local administrative and political bodies. Connections to this arena create access and visibility in the local political public sphere. Problems and successes of the organisations are closely monitored by the administrative and political levels of local public institutions. Some organisations have, due to drastic changes in the political landscape in the past years, had to renew old ties and create new ones. This is seen as a crucial factor for the ongoing political and administrative support of the organisations. One manager pinpoints this: "The evolution of the organisation is very much dependent on and influenced by the political level on both a local and national scale".

The use of networking and strategic allies among local public authorities is certainly one of the most essential challenges for the organisations: "It is necessary to continually promote oneself in the local political community, and keep advocating for the benefits and results of the organisation. Especially the political system has a very short-term memory, so the task is to show the innovative features of the organisation with a broad political appeal". This is often done by highlighting the social and cultural aspects of the WISE and their results: "You have to make your organisation indispensable by playing a central role in the dynamics of your field".

4.4. Social capital impact on the mobilization of resources

The Danish part of the PERSE project shows that resource mobilization and the creation of different resource channels are dependent on social relations between persons both inside and outside the organisations. In the framework of the resource mix questionnaire, the managers were asked to point out both internal and external actors who played important roles for the resource structure of the organisations. Figure 4 shows the actors that the organisations rely on with respect to the mobilization of resources from the three different sectors.

Resources from the private sector	Resources from the public sector	Resources from the third sector
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Managers • Board members 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Managers • Board members • Officials from local public bodies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Managers • Board members

5. Typology of Danish WISEs

On what basis should a typology of Danish social enterprises be elaborated? This task has two facets: one is concerning social enterprises (SEs) in general, while the other is concerning more specifically work-integration social enterprises (WISEs), which were the explicit focus of this study. We will first work on the elaboration of a typology with reference to the criteria established by the EMES network in order to understand the emergence of social enterprises in Europe. Next, we will discuss the extent to which the results produced by the PERSE project can be used for building a typology of Danish work-integration social enterprises.

5.1. Social enterprises and the EMES criteria

The EMES definition comprises four elements concerning the economic or entrepreneurial side of a social enterprise and five criteria linked to its social activity – which often has an impact on local democracy and governance.¹⁸

The economic criteria are the following:

1. A continuous activity producing goods or selling services.
2. A high degree of autonomy.
3. A significant level of economic risk. Those who establish a social enterprise take - at least partially – the risk upon themselves.
4. A certain amount of paid work involved (this criterion distinguishes them from more traditional types of non-profit organisations).

The social criteria defining the social enterprise are the following:

1. The initiative is the result of collective dynamics. It often derives from a group of citizens.
2. The decision-making power is not based on capital ownership.
3. The organisation is characterised by participation in the two meanings of the word: as representation and participation of customers, and as democratic management, often with an aim of furthering democracy at the local level.
4. The organisation aims to benefit the community.
5. The organisation is characterised by a limited profit distribution or no profit distribution at all.

In Bengtsson and Hulgård (2001), we distinguished between four types of new social enterprises (second and third period enterprises), which we claimed to be the most widespread types in Denmark. The four types were production communes and collective workshops; community work with production of goods or services; social residences; and schools. We concluded that the four types all met the two set of criteria, although to various extents and in various forms.

It appeared from the data collected in the framework of the PERSE project that the typology we have worked with up to now (based upon the EMES project) needs further elaboration and clarification: the first type (production communes and collective workshops) and the third type (social residences) played an important role during the early days of the second period starting in the late 1960s. They were part of the alternative vision that also inspired the "student rebellion" in the late sixties. The sociological inspiration of those social enterprises came close to first period co-operatives: the production communes and the social residences shared an interest for changes in socio-economic structures with their "ancestors" from the first period. However, these two types of social enterprises linking local social entrepreneurial activities to broader patterns of making a social movement do not play any significant role in the current period of time. Schools, which had been defined as "type 4" social enterprises in the EMES research project, are also found among the WISEs we have identified in the PERSE project. Havneskolen, Dynamoen and Boruplund, in particular, but also, to some extent, Fakse Vandrerhjem and Kulturgynge, are social

¹⁸ See Borzaga and Defourny, 2001.

enterprises that have chosen education and training as their main line and approach to integration (work integration as well as social integration). "Type 2" social enterprises - namely community work with production of goods or services - are still a prominent type of social enterprise in Denmark. At least seven of the 13 social enterprises are belonging to this second type. Type 2 social enterprises are presumably the most widespread type of social enterprise in Denmark and have been so in the last many years.

5.2. Work-integration social enterprises and the EMES criteria

Table 19 shows which of the seven criteria presented above the 13 WISEs of the Danish sample are meeting. However, it has to be underlined that the two sets of criteria forming the EMES definition of the social enterprise are very flexible and general and that, consequently, the completion of the criteria by the enterprises of the sample might be assessed very differently according to the point of view adopted. One could for example consider that Danish WISEs do not meet the criteria about the "high degree of autonomy", since most of them are heavily dependent on good relations and contracts with the public sector. But conversely, it could just as well be considered that almost all WISEs meet these criteria, since nearly all of them are either self-owning institutions or associations, and the criteria must be understood as meaning that "they may depend on public subsidies but they are not managed, directly or indirectly, by public authorities or other organisations".¹⁹

Table 19 shows that all WISEs are engaged either in the production and sale of goods or in the provision of services. Also production type 2 enterprises, such as Havnesholen and Boruplund, can be considered as meeting this criterion, since a major part of their resources stem from the sale of job integration schemes to the public sector. The results indicate a certain degree of flexibility and ability to restructure in order to meet new requirements set by changing political environments. In the past Boruplund, for example, was more focused on agricultural production, but its activities have evolved and the training activities now offered are rather based on joint efforts between job training in private enterprises and learning and educational activities at Boruplund. The table also shows that all WISEs, except the privately owned one, have limited profit distribution.

It is the combination of economic and social criteria that distinguishes social enterprises from public and private enterprises. Almost all types of for-profit private enterprises meet the four economic criteria, but they do not match the social criteria, or only to a very limited extent; conversely, "normal" voluntary association usually meet the social criteria, but not the economic ones. One could thus say that what distinguishes social enterprises from "normal" voluntary associations are the economic criteria, whereas the social criteria distinguishes them from "normal" for-profit private enterprises.

¹⁹ Defourny, 2001, p. 17.

Table 19: Danish WISEs and the EMES definition of the social enterprise

Organisation	Economic Criteria	Social criteria
Sydhavns-Compagniet	1, 2, (3), 4	(1), 2, (3), 4, 5
Kristeligt Studenter Settlement	1, 2, (3), 4	2, (3), 4, 5
Underværket	1, 2, (3), 4	1, (2), (3), 4, (5)
Kulturgynge	1, 2, 3, 4	1, 2, 3, 4?, 5
Boruplund	1, 2, 3, 4	1, 2, (3), (4), 5
Dynamo	1, 2, 3, 4	3, (4)
Den Økologiske Have	1, 2, 3, 4	1, 2, (3), 4, 5
Kultur- og Beskæftigelsescentret Den Hvide Hest	1, (2), 3, 4	(1), 2, 3, (4), 5
Havneskolen	1, 2, (3), 4	1, 2, (3), 5
Rabarberlandet	1, 2, (3), 4	1, 2, (3), 5
Fakse Vandrerhjem	1, 2, (3), 4	(1), (2), 3, 4, 5
Folkehuset Broen	1, (2), 3, 4	1, 2, (3), 4, 5
Hotellet	1, 3, 4	1, 2, 5

Economic criteria: 1. continuous production of goods or services, 2. high degree of autonomy, 3. significant level of economic risk, 4. minimum amount of paid work.

Social criteria: 1. launched by group of citizens, 2. decision-making power not based on capital ownership, 3. participatory nature involving affected persons, 4. explicit aim to benefit the community, 5. limited profit distribution.

5.3. Work-integration social enterprises and the PERSE criteria

The 13 WISEs examined in this research project share three features, which correspond only partially with the three hypotheses formulated in the framework of the PERSE project, according to which WISEs are resource mix organisations; they are multiple-goal organisations; and social capital constitutes a significant channel of resources. The results from the Danish study can be summarised as follows:

The resource structure of Danish WISEs shows a high dependence on subsidies from the public sector. 77% of all monetary resources come from contracts with and subsidies from the public sector.

Work-integration social enterprises are only to limited degree pursuing multiple goals and relying on networking.

The resource structure of Danish WISEs

The resource structure depicted by this study tends to invalidate the PERSE hypothesis according to which WISEs rely on a mix of resources: 12 enterprises out of the 13 WISEs of the Danish sample derive more than 44% of their resources from the public sector. However, 7 enterprises derive more than 20% of their total monetary resources from contracts with and contributions from the private sector, and non-public resources represent on average 27% of WISEs' resources. How should this situation be interpreted? In the Danish context, which is characterised by a historically comprehensive welfare state, one could state that this figure is in fact a significant sign of the existence of a resource mix, even though resources other than public can be expected to constitute a greater part of the resource mix of social enterprises in other European countries. From a methodological point of view, it should always be kept in mind that social enterprises can not be captured without paying proper attention to the socio-economic, political and historic structures in which they are evolving. Logically, Danish work-integration social enterprises must be expected to be more dependent on public subsidies than social enterprises founded in countries closer to the residual model of a welfare state.

Moreover, it should be stressed that this is not necessarily a sign of Danish non-profits, associations and social enterprises enjoying less autonomy than their counterparts in European countries with other welfare state regimes. As stated by Norwegian political scientist Per Selle, social capital in the Nordic countries has historically been more complementary than oppositional to the public sector.²⁰ In state-friendly societies social capital is not exclusively produced through civic engagement and bottom-up pressure, but also through weak ties and bridging social capital "created" by the state when it establishes the framework for (often self-owning) social and educational institutions where children, parents and other citizens meet to forge their identities across lines of status and gender.²¹

Whether the glass of social enterprise resource mix is measured to be half empty or half full depends on the conceptual and contextual glasses through which they are observed.

WISEs as multiple goal organisations

Danish WISEs definitely pursue multiple goals, although an overwhelming majority of managers (92%) rank work integration as the primary objective of their organisation, while only 8% rank advocacy and lobbying as their first objective. Why then do we state that Danish WISEs are multiple goal organisations?

The answer requires some methodological remarks. The PERSE project studies the organisations surveyed as work-integration social enterprises, although hardly any of the selected organisations had previously considered themselves to be work-integration organisations. When we asked the managers to rank the goals, they were already interwoven into work-integration considerations, because of the scientific approach of the research project. However, when we study the goals and purposes of Danish social enterprises as they are described in the organisations' charters, work integration is not even mentioned. Two of the organisations that are among those who have engaged most intensively in the creation of work-integration offers are in fact describing themselves as, respectively, "a centre for cultural activities" and a place "where people meet to do things together (..)". They have one shared objective: "the quality of everyday life". These two organisations are among those with the most mixed resource structure, and they are pursuing a multiplicity of goals.

Mentioning work integration as the primary objective could also be a sign of some general trends in the socio-economic and political context surrounding social institutions in current welfare states, namely the trend towards using non-profits, associations and social enterprises simply as providers of service, without acknowledging their status as member-driven and value-driven organisations.

²⁰ Selle, 1999.

²¹ Hulgård, 2004.

6. Institutional isomorphism

All Danish WISEs are working with a combination of the two sets of criteria identified by the EMES Network; however, the importance of each of these criteria varies from one enterprise to another, as do the patterns of institutional dynamics: while some enterprises are more focussed upon maintaining and developing the values that initially caused their foundation, others are leaning towards institutional isomorphism, i.e. they "evolve into organisational forms that are better defined, legally stronger and socially more acceptable, while being unable to keep and develop the most innovative characteristics in the new organisational forms" (Borzaga, 2003: 53). We will discuss below a few examples of institutional isomorphism in Danish social enterprises. The PERSE project provides a good opportunity to see how the development of both the stakeholder structure and the goal structure affect the institutional dynamics of social enterprises.

An interesting case is that of a social enterprise engaged in catering, which has undergone a transformation from being a grassroots movement to becoming a full-scale work-integration social enterprise. Like many third sector oriented WISEs, this enterprise was founded as an association by a network of actors primarily from the local grassroots milieu. The role of public sector participation was more limited than in other WISEs. As stressed by the manager: *"The local public institutions were slow to catch on to the idea of our purpose, but once we found support at the national level, the local and regional level followed"*.

First of all the actors involved in the creation of the association saw a growing "market" for work-integration activities. Secondly the network found that mainstream and public initiated schemes did not put a strong enough emphasis on recognizing the unemployed people's different resources and capabilities, which led to the creation of more or less *"useless projects and schemes"*. The purpose of the organisation was thus to create the opportunity for unemployed people to gain work experience through activities they could relate to, by offering placement in an organisation engaged in activities that had a strong element of qualification and *"real life job experience"*, but first of all initiate activities *"that made a difference in the local community"*. Goals concerning production of goods and services (production type 2) were in the initial phase of the organisation viewed more as a means to achieve community development and community organizing.

The goal structure of this WISE has developed towards a stronger emphasis on business oriented dimensions and professional management structures, and the manager observes no contradiction between social/participatory goals (social criteria) and business orientated objectives (economic criteria): *"There is no idea in the social aspect of the organisation unless it is connected to, for instance, the restaurant. It is impossible to dissociate these aspects of our organisation one from the other"*. It appears from this statement that the institutional identity of the organisation has evolved towards a more flexible self-interpretation of its objectives, without abandoning the core principles laid out at the foundation. Similar institutional changes have occurred in several of the other WISEs studied in the framework of this study, although it is most clearly expressed by organisations engaged in both production types 1 and 2 (table 9, page 30).

Another WISE engaged in the provision of training as an approach to work integration has changed from being a place of projects and change agents to a more professionalized organisation, according to the manager: "Previously we were not so clear on our strategic considerations. Our strategic approach is much clearer now and we have gone through a process of professionalisation. Our organisational structure is flat with a little top".

A third social enterprise has undergone organisational metamorphosis from a project culture, with an almost day-to-day way of managing work-integration and educational activities, to a highly specialized and professional organisation. Now all participants have recognizable procedures and firm routines based upon their individual contract with the WISE. This has caused a number of organisational changes in the direction of delegation of responsibilities and competencies. Members of staff work both in the production based upon their professional skills and as trainers and teachers. The organisational changes have had an impact on the way a typical working day is organized, and the position expressed by the manager is widely recognized: "Beforehand, when we met in the morning, everybody gathered upstairs. Each and every individual participant chose what they wanted to do, and it changed constantly. That was the practise for several years. I did not find this way of organizing things appropriate. Now there are fixed schemes and recognizable procedures and routines. We make individual plans and make contracts with the participants. Everybody knows where to meet in the morning". These changes have been followed by a clarification of what it means to be employed at this specific WISE. The organisation has been divided into five service and work areas, and based upon these divisions the participants sign contracts with the organisation.

Generally the institutional changes are influenced by changes in the stakeholder dynamics. Whereas ideological and political values amongst stakeholders played a significant role on the goal structure in the first period after the foundation, the enterprises gradually start to adopt more professional approaches combined with growing confidence in own experiences. If we observe "Danish social enterprises" as an organisational field we find some interesting similarities to the discovery made by DiMaggio and Powell (1983), according to whom in the initial stages of organisational forms and practices, organisations adopt a multitude of forms and approaches, but this does not last: "Once a field becomes well established, however, there is an inexorable push towards homogenization".²²

A fourth social enterprise in the Danish sample was initially founded upon a vision of a combination of political empowerment and community development. But such "ideological" arguments have gradually been pushed in the background and replaced by a wide range of praxis oriented arguments coming from "real life" experiences with different methods and projects. This type of evolution seems to cover if not most, at least several of the organisations. As the manager of one of the biggest enterprises stated: "*We have gained a lot of confidence as an organisation in our approach. When we first started to develop our approach we made it a crucial point to emphasize that the less fortunate and most marginalized groups were represented and heard – which was very much based on political assumptions amongst the people in the network. Nowadays we tend to use the knowledge we have gained in the past years*".

²² DiMaggio and Powell, 1983, p. 148.

Attitudes and approaches adopted in the early years were often motivated by explicit aims of providing social empowerment and fulfilling community oriented objectives. Current approaches put greater emphasis on business orientation as a method to achieve the social objectives of the organisation. Changes are often accompanied by vivid internal discussions: *"In the beginning we all saw a more business oriented strategy and our social objectives as opposites or a paradox; we were like "oh no, we are turning this into a profit-seeking enterprise" – which we, at that time, found extremely contradictory with our socially motivated objectives. But at the same time we began to realize the positive effect of the professionalisation of our activities, because we were becoming way more effective. Somehow down the line we used our experience to overcome our 'ideological' scepticism towards the ongoing business orientation"*.

In their classical article on institutional isomorphism and collective rationality in organisational fields, DiMaggio and Powell display how institutional isomorphism occurs through three mechanisms. The first is coercive isomorphism, that happens as a consequence of political influence and pressure; the second is mimetic isomorphism, which is happening when organisations - especially in times of uncertainty - "borrow" or copy models that have worked for other organisations; and the third mechanism is normative isomorphism, that stems from a process of professionalisation.²³ The study carried out in the framework of the PERSE project has shown that especially the first and the third mechanisms are at work in Danish WISEs.

Coercive isomorphism has been observed in cases where public authorities change basic grants, originally given as general contributions, into subsidies for achieving specific purposes, such as work integration. This is not only the case, however, for the social enterprises presented here; it is rather a general trend in the non-profit sector across local and even national boundaries. The General Secretary of "Church Cross Army" (the largest voluntary association within the social area, with 350 employees and 6,000 volunteers engaged in the provision of basic social services for the most vulnerable part of the Danish population) raises a prominent voice against current tendencies towards coercive isomorphism stemming from state pressure. He has observed a clear tendency from public authorities to consider that voluntary work can be more deeply integrated into the public provision of social services and health services. If the voluntary sector becomes the primary responsible provider of social services and solutions to social problems, there is a clear risk that this sector might lose its ability to act as a "critical counter power, provoking alternative and innovative pioneer". The General Secretary admits that this would be "some kind of a horror-scenario, but one that is already tending to become real".²⁴

Norwegian political scientist Per Selle has registered a similar tendency from public authorities to increase "project support" and decrease "basic support" to voluntary associations. Projects support is support given to specific earmarked purposes, such as specific work-integration schemes, whereas basic grants provides the organisation with the opportunity to develop areas and purposes that are considered important to its constituency. Selle also sees a prevailing tendency to develop policies aiming to

²³ DiMaggio and Powell, 1983, p. 150.

²⁴ Bjarne Lenau Henriksen in "Social Politik", No. 2, 2001.

involve voluntary associations in the implementation of government policies, a process that delimits the autonomy of voluntary associations: "These developments in the voluntary sector indicate that it is more important than ever before to distinguish between voluntary organizing as an arena for promoting values and interests, and voluntary organizing as an arena for producing services and organizing activity. Whereas the first role, which is so decisive for a dynamic civic society and a living pluralistic democracy, is under pressure, it may be that the second role is strengthened by the voluntary sector becoming even more responsible for implementing government policy".²⁵

Normative isomorphism can be observed in almost all Danish WISEs in the sample. DiMaggio and Powell define this aspect of institutional isomorphism as professionalisation taking place as "the collective struggle of members of an occupation to define the conditions and methods of their work".²⁶ There is hardly any doubt that Danish social enterprises are becoming more professionalized. Evidence supporting this result is overwhelming. But the result is also supported by previous research in the field of community development based upon social development programmes. Already in the mid 1980s research related to the social project culture initiated by the social development programmes highlighted that being a social change agent or founder of a social project was almost a safe road to career advancement.²⁷ Most of the people who founded a social project or a social enterprise funded by public development programmes did - after the end of the project period or when leaving the project for individual reasons - obtain better positions in terms of salary and responsibility. The normative isomorphism identified by DiMaggio and Powell worked in two ways: as a way of professionalizing the organisational field of "social enterprises", and as a way of developing a professional culture, with project promoters becoming self-confident through experiences gained from years in the business.

Conclusions

Two results from the Danish study seem to deserve particular attention: the strong dependency of WISEs on the public sector, and the general transition towards more professionalized approaches reported by the WISEs in the sample.

The Danish contribution to the European PERSE research project has shown that social enterprises are dependent on their relation to the public sector. Ten of the organisations in the Danish sample receive more than 50% of their resources - and seven even receive more than 60% of their resources - from the public sector. Of the three remaining organisations, one receives 43% and another 47% of their resources from the public sector. In only one organisation are contracts and relations with the private sector the main source of income. Resources from the third sector do not seem to play a significant role in any of the WISEs in the sample.

²⁵ Selle, 1999, p. 161.

²⁶ DiMaggio and Powell, 1983, p. 152.

²⁷ Adamsen and Fisker, 1988.

This result presumably invalidates the hypothesis about WISEs relying on a mix of resources. However, inasmuch as social enterprises must be examined and understood in relation to the societal context they are part of, this result is not really surprising. A social entrepreneurial initiative in the USA will be more likely to depend more on good relations with private corporations than a Danish social enterprise. American scholars of social enterprises tend to stress partnerships between social entrepreneurs and commercial entrepreneurs as a way of developing new solutions to problems of social cohesion. Measured from the viewpoint of an institutional welfare state like the Danish one, it does not surprise that WISEs, like social enterprises in general, are depending on good relations with the public sector. This does not indicate that WISEs necessarily lack autonomy for carrying out their purposes. A pure bottom-up approach to non-profit organisations and social capital does not work in the Nordic countries with a historic legacy of a comprehensive and active welfare state, and this must not lead to the assumption that the strong connection between the public sector and the voluntary sector is a barrier for sector autonomy: "Governmental influence or top-down processes in general are not synonymous with removing power and autonomy from the voluntary sector. The extent and type of such influence depend on context and differ across time and space, and cannot be regarded as an *a priori* assumption".²⁸

From this perspective, the high degree of public sector funding is not *a priori* a sign of less autonomy for Danish WISEs. However, the empirical results of the PERSE study have more than indicated that social enterprises *are* in fact facing lesser autonomy today than in previous periods of time. Danish WISEs are not only highly dependent on contracts with the public sector, they are also ranking work integration over advocacy, and are moving in the direction of more professionalized management structures. A tendency towards institutional isomorphism prevails, and this may lead to a loss of the capacity to act as a "watch dog", advocating for the interests of the original constituencies.

²⁸ Selle 1999, p. 146.

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