18 Between Coercive and Mimetic Institutional Isomorphism

Social Enterprise and the Universal Scandinavian Welfare State

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Introduction

Social enterprise (SE) is often depicted as combining entrepreneurial and social dimensions, and as operating between the market and the state (Baglioni 2017). Other characterisations (e.g., Nicholls 2006) underscore innovation and market orientation as major features of these initiatives. Social enterprises are innovative in that they generate new organisational forms and leverage market resources for the public good. In doing so, they “challenge the status-quo by reconfiguring accepted value creation boundaries (public/private, for-profit/non-profit, and economic/social)” (Nicholls 2006: 11). However, especially when social enterprises operate within a highly institutionalised ecosystem such as the Scandinavian welfare state, one should not overlook two critical issues related to this particular context: the issue of economic sustainability and the issue of institutional isomorphism.

Social enterprises’ economic sustainability, especially for those social enterprises that provide welfare services, is significantly influenced by the institutional arrangements of the welfare state, as these arrangements constitute a major element of their ecosystem. First, the existing welfare arrangements define the *opportunity structure* for the development of social enterprises. The nature of social rights and benefits (whether they are universal, selective or subsidiary) guaranteed by the state and the type of welfare services that are the responsibility of the state (*vs.* the citizen, family, community) define the scope of the potential “market” for social entrepreneurs. Secondly, welfare regimes institutionalise different forms of welfare mixes between for-profit, non-profit and public actors, involving different financing and regulatory schemes. Whether welfare services are provided exclusively by public agencies, by non-profit actors, by for-profit actors or by a combination of public, non-profit and for-profit actors is the result of sets of regulations that also limit or enable social enterprises.

Furthermore, social enterprises, when operating within the institutional framework of the Scandinavian welfare state, are likely to be

subjected to different institutional isomorphic pressures (DiMaggio and Powell 1983). Institutional isomorphism refers to “an inexorable push toward homogenisation of institutional fields” driven by—in addition to the isomorphic force of *market competition*—three institutional isomorphic processes: *coercive isomorphism*, which stems from political influence and the problem of legitimacy (e.g., government regulation, legal environment and fiscal regulations); *mimetic isomorphism*, resulting from standard response to uncertainty (e.g., innovation processes, management techniques); and *normative isomorphism*, associated with professionalisation.

Welfare states grant citizens with social rights (Marshall 1950). For Esping-Andersen (1990), these social rights are characterised by three dimensions: the degree of de-commodification implied by these rights; the system of stratification (into social classes) stemming from these rights; and the repartition of responsibility between the market, civil society, family and the welfare state resulting from these rights (welfare mix). These three dimensions of social rights allow Esping-Andersen (1990), through a cluster analysis of welfare-state variations, to distinguish different types of welfare regimes: a liberal welfare state, a corporatist-statist welfare state and a social democratic welfare state.

The social democratic welfare state is typically found in Scandinavia (Sweden, Norway, Denmark); it is characterised, according to Esping-Andersen (1990), by the fact that the principles of universalism and de-commodification are extended to the middle class (in contrast to what is the case in the liberal regime, which is characterised by means-tested assistance, and in the corporatist-statist regime, where rights are attached to class and status). The universalistic nature of social rights and the central role played by the state in the Scandinavian welfare state give to the welfare-provision system a particular shape, which also constrains and enables the development of social enterprises.

In this chapter, we delve into how the institutional framework shaped by the universalistic Scandinavian welfare state and the recent reforms of its mode of operation inspired by new public management (NPM) influence the opportunity structure for the development of social enterprises in Scandinavia. More precisely, we examine whether there exists, for social enterprises, within the Scandinavian welfare system, a “third way” between two types of institutional isomorphism (namely coercive and mimetic isomorphism) that would enable social enterprises’ innovative capacity and economic sustainability. Indeed, as we will demonstrate, in a highly institutionalised welfare provision system such as the Scandinavian welfare state, and in a context that is simultaneously characterised by the implementation of NPM reforms, social enterprises risk to be caught between the Charybdis of becoming integrated into the public welfare system (through contracting) and the Scylla of behaving like for-profit actors.

In order to address this question, we first give an overview of the Scandinavian welfare model; we then turn to the recent trends characterising social-policy reforms and SE development in the three Scandinavian countries: Denmark, Sweden and Norway. Finally, we discuss the implications of the institutional landscape shaped by the Scandinavian welfare model for the future development of social enterprise in Scandinavia.

18.1 The Scandinavian Welfare Model

The terms “Scandinavian” and “Nordic” are used interchangeably to refer to the political model that is characteristic of Northern Europe. However, geographically speaking, they are not synonymous: “Scandia” was the old Latin name for three countries of northern Europe—namely Denmark (5.8 million people in 2019), Norway (5.3 million people) and Sweden (10.2 million people)—that constitute today the Scandinavian countries. The Nordic countries include, in addition to the Scandinavian countries, Finland and Iceland. The Scandinavian model differs from both the Anglo-Saxon and the continental models (Lane 2016), at least when it comes to two salient features. First, a particularity of the Scandinavian political model, inherent in the Scandinavian culture of compromise, is the strong role played by interest and civil-society organisations in both policymaking and policy implementation processes—a feature that has been referred to as corporatism (Olsen 1983). Secondly, Scandinavian countries share specific institutionalised welfare arrangements, referred as the “social democratic welfare regime” (Esping-Andersen 1990)—a term that indicates that the Scandinavian countries constitute a group or “family” of welfare arrangements.

Features of the Scandinavian welfare model include a heavy reliance on universal public social services and transfers (benefiting all citizens)—and, consequently, small income differences and low poverty rates—as well as an extensive social legislation, which provides a safety net “from cradle to grave”. Additionally, as advanced by Pedersen and Kuhnle (2017: 221), three dimensions might be considered to be characteristic of the Nordic welfare model:

- the active role played by local and national state agencies in providing welfare benefits and services (the Scandinavian welfare model is based on an extensive public responsibility for providing welfare benefits and services);
- the principle of universal social rights (services and cash benefits are not selective nor targeted on the basis of needs, but are available to the entire population, including the middle class);
- the value of equality (Scandinavian countries have historically inherited small class, income and gender differences. The fact that

child care, elderly care and care for the disabled are a public responsibility enables women's high labour-market participation and reduces gender inequalities).

The Scandinavian model of welfare policies is not only about expenditures and compensation, but also about social investment (Kvist *et al.* 2012). The Scandinavian social-investment strategy consists of welfare services whose provision is the responsibility of municipalities and which address individual needs in different phases of the life cycle. These welfare services include child care and pre-school education in early childhood, and primary, secondary and tertiary education for young people. Thanks to child care and social care, adults can be active in the labour market, and life-long learning and active labour-market policies help them to update their skills to accommodate changing labour demands. In old age, various policies aim to provide care for the elderly.

18.2 Welfare Policy Reforms in Scandinavia and their Implications for Social Enterprises

In the Scandinavian countries, the provision of welfare services has been, since 1945 and until the 1980s, the quasi-monopoly of the public sector, with over 80% of welfare services provided by the public sector in each of the three countries analysed. During the last decades, NPM social-policy reforms have contributed to a more diversified welfare mix and diverging trends in these countries.

Given the centrality of the public sector in the provision of welfare services in Scandinavian countries, welfare policy reforms, inspired by new public management, have focused on the enhancement of productivity, innovation and effectiveness within state agencies and local governments. NPM reforms have involved the introduction of market-based methods and instruments within the operation of the public sector. These reforms have provoked a reorganisation of the boundaries between—and the relationships among—the public, non-profit and for-profit sectors, and of the practices of the public sector itself. However, within the field of welfare services, the efficacy of pure market mechanisms is limited by a series of market failures. Indeed, welfare services (1) are provided in response to demand from a target group that frequently cannot or can only partly afford to pay for them; (2) are characterised by an informational asymmetry between provider and beneficiary, which means that certain procedures need to be established to guarantee the quality of the services and the protection of these beneficiaries; and (3) generate, at the level of society as a whole, external effects which are not “internalised” by the market. NPM reforms have involved the introduction of an array of market-based regulatory instruments, including outsourcing, competitive

tendering, quasi-markets and performance-related funding (Pollitt and Bouckaert 2011). NPM has also emphasised user-driven innovation and free-choice schemes for public-service users—reframing them as “consumers” or “customers”—and the individualisation and personalisation of welfare services.

The introduction of NPM reforms in the Scandinavian countries has its origins in debates related to the “welfare-state crisis” in the 1980s. These discussions lay grounds for subsequent reforms that in many ways were influenced by ideas of new public management. But although NPM reforms were implemented in all three Scandinavian countries from the 1980s onward, Denmark, Norway and Sweden followed different paths in incorporating NPM into their existing welfare institutions and policies, and they have also recently diverged in introducing, especially at the local level, post-NPM reforms.

In Sweden, during the neoliberal transformation in which NPM was massively rolled out in the country’s welfare system, political rhetoric embraced civil society as well as references to social entrepreneurship, social enterprise and social innovation—not as constituting a sector in themselves, but as part of private initiatives in general. In addition, these types of initiatives were described as carriers of moral features, but not as actors that were in need of any “special support” from public policies. The opening of welfare services to competition has not led in Sweden to a strengthening of civil society, though, but to the expansion of the business sector into the welfare sector and to the consolidation of international chains specialised in the provision of specific types of welfare services (schools, elderly nursing homes, domiciliary care).

In the 1990s, while Sweden and Finland experienced economic downturns which led to major welfare reforms, Norway’s financial situation stabilised. Therefore, the discourse that had prevailed in the 1980s in Norway about the need to mobilise civil society subsided and despite the political aspirations to strengthen civil society’s role in the welfare state, non-profit welfare production continued to weaken, partly due to NPM reforms. Faced with competition by profit-making actors, many non-profit organisations lost ground. In Norway, it is only in the 2010s that these experiences have led to discussions on how to protect non-profit welfare production (Meld. St. No. 29 2012–2013; Norwegian Government 2016). The recent increasing focus on innovation in the many different parts of society has been thematised around the need for organisational change and user/citizen involvement, innovation and entrepreneurship. However, while the public debate at the national level about welfare policies is crystallising around the extent to which public welfare services should be provided within a system based on open competition among non-profit and for-profit providers, local public policies at the municipal level have increasingly been informed by post-NPM ideas, emphasising collaborative governance and co-production.

Denmark has also implemented NPM since the mid-1980s and this has been a significant driver of change in the public sector. However, Denmark can be considered to have been a “modernising” nation rather than a “marketising” one (Greve 2006). Compared to other Nordic countries, Denmark has not gone far in privatising and marketising public welfare services and institutions. In general, the Danish public sector

has been built between two contrasting tendencies: decentralisation and centralisation. First, the Danish public sector is decentralised, with a strong emphasis on local government autonomy, which allows local politicians to reach out to citizens. The signal here is decentralisation and popular control. At the same time, the Danish public sector has never quite shaken its roots from a centrally organised state.

Greve (2006: 162)

Reforms in the Danish public sector have been embedded in the vocabulary of NPM: performance-based management, market mechanisms, quality systems, balanced scorecards, customer orientation, e-government, performance-related pay and contracts, and changed focus from needs-oriented categories to issues of competition, efficiency and individualised satisfaction (Jørgensen and Dalsgaard 2009: 8). These reforms also comprised, on the one hand, service and governance innovation (Hartley 2005), as well as institutional in-house collaboration, democracy and co-creation of local budgets in a top-down implementation. On the other hand, this was followed by a bottom-up demand for the public sector to adapt to the interorganisational, intersectoral and open-innovation practices (Hartley *et al.* 2013), leading to a “pluri-centric” coordination in public governance (see, e.g., Reff *et al.* 2011 or Buch and Andersen 2013). This development has paved the way for more diversified and plural market-based welfare services of significant importance for social entrepreneurship and social enterprises. Welfare-modernisation programmes have strengthened, within the public sector, a (social) entrepreneurial mindset when it comes to welfare services and organisation, including the introduction of “quasi-market-based” regulatory schemes, self-management and a stronger focus on user influence (Green-Pedersen 2002; Hulgård and Andersen 2009; Andersen 2015).

Table 18.1 shows the respective size of the non-profit, for-profit and public sectors in Scandinavia in terms of paid employment. The for-profit sector, as a result of NPM reforms, has grown significantly in Sweden over the last years; its growth has been more moderate in Norway and Denmark, and the welfare mix in these two countries is, by comparison with Sweden, relatively stable. Today, the relative size of the

Table 18.1 Paid employment in the welfare services in Scandinavia, total and sector shares¹

Employment	Norway			Sweden			Denmark		
	2006	2013	5-year change	2000	2013	5-year change	2008	2013	5-year change
Share of the non-profit sector	7.4%	7.8%	+0.3%	3.5%	3.2%	-0.1%	15.1%	13.8%	-1.1%
Share of the for-profit sector	11.5%	13.4%	+1.2%	8.7%	19.2%	+3.8%	6.5%	7.1%	+0.5%
Share of the public sector	81.2%	78.8%	-1.5%	87.8%	77.6%	-3.6%	78.4%	79.1%	+0.5%
Total employment	528,400	632,800	+12.3%	1,033,597	1,230,412	+6.8%	590,419	614,479	+0.3%

Source: Translated from Sivesind (2016).

¹ The total numbers for Sweden are number of workers, while the total numbers for Norway and Sweden are full-time equivalents (FTEs).

public sector is approximately the same in all three countries, but with a larger non-profit sector in Denmark (Sivesind and Saglie 2017).

As illustrated by this short overview of the Scandinavian welfare-state reforms, the institutional context of SE development in the three countries has, since the 1980s and 1990s, been largely shaped by NPM-inspired public-sector reforms. During the last decade, especially in Denmark and Norway, public-sector reform has taken a “post-NPM” turn, entailing an increasing emphasis on co-production and co-governance and the need for a more holistic “whole-of-government” governance paradigm (Christensen and Lægread 2007), leading to a complex sedimentation or superposition of policy schemes over time, which has contributed to shaping the opportunity structure for SE initiatives.

18.3 The Development of Social Enterprise in Scandinavia

Welfare-state reforms in Denmark, Sweden and Norway constitute, as just explained, the policy context for the emergence of social enterprise. Indeed, in these countries, although the rise of social enterprise is anchored in a strong civil society and cooperative tradition and it has been driven mainly by grassroots entrepreneurial initiatives, the opportunity structure for the emergence and further developments of social enterprises is to a great extent delimited by the framework of welfare policies, which are not necessarily coherent across policy fields. There is also a tension in the three countries between the recent policy discourses at the local level—which emphasise social innovation, civil-society initiatives, collaborative governance—and the policy instruments that (especially at the central level of government) are market oriented and rely on quasi-market mechanisms.

In the three Scandinavian countries, the concept of social enterprise really emerged in the 1990s; however, the phenomenon itself is not new in the region. In Sweden, different types of non-profit organisations have for long had an important economic turnover and activities funded through a mix of grants and contracts. Due to the shift in policies that occurred during the last decades, the share of contract-based revenues in the income mix of NPOs has increased, in comparison to that of grants. Many of these organisations are also democratic membership-based associations; others are operating foundations. Due to the increased interest in the field of social enterprise, these organisations also elaborate on—and some refer to themselves as—social enterprises or non-profit enterprises. Social entrepreneurship has played and continues to play an important role in driving welfare innovations, identifying unsatisfied needs and fostering change.

It is clear that NPM and market-like conditions (Gawell and Westlund 2014; Jacobsson *et al.* 2015) increasingly characterise the Swedish

welfare system. The number of private for-profit service providers in health care and social care has increased by over 300% in the country since the year 2000 (Statistics Sweden 2018). Many non-profit organisations are also faced with an increased prevalence of calls for tenders and/or marketisation in relation to client-choice models.¹ The client-choice models do not mean, though, that the client can freely choose the types of services that can be delivered; those are conditioned by public funding. Unlike other services, in sectors that were subject to reforms in the 1990s, social-welfare services have not been deregulated; they have rather been re-regulated. For example, as a result of the reform of home-care services for the elderly entailing detailed public prescriptions of what the client is entitled to, various types of social enterprise as well as for-profit enterprises operate somehow as subcontractors of the public sector, with little space for innovative thinking.

In Norway, while NPM reforms did not lead to a radical privatisation of welfare, they have contributed to the entry, into the welfare sector, of for-profit providers; this has led to changes in public administration, involving a stronger “market way of thinking” and “contract culture”, both at the national and local (municipal) levels (Selle *et al.* 2019). With the increase, in the last decade, in the number of social enterprises, operating under a broad array of public, private and civil-society organisational forms, this “contract culture” also creates challenges for these organisations. There is no doubt that a policy on social entrepreneurship and social enterprises is in its initial stage of development in Norway: there is no legal framework regulating these organisations’ activities, nor any specific organisational form for social enterprises (Eimhjellen and Loga 2016). But while the public and political interest for a policy development, up to recently, has remained very limited, there has been an increase, in the last 4 or 5 years, in initiatives seeking to address social entrepreneurship and social enterprises as a policy field. Today, most parties on both sides of the political spectrum highlight social entrepreneurship (Loga *et al.* 2016; Loga 2018). For the time being, potential public policies toward social enterprises are in gestation, with opposing conceptions around the right-left poles of the Norwegian political spectrum. These policy orientations reflect different conceptions of the role of for-profit—and more generally private—actors within the welfare field, insofar as social enterprises can either contract with public authorities within existing schemes or operate as commercial actors outside public welfare schemes.

Social enterprises in Denmark are engaged in a phase of institutionalisation characterised by the development of coherent SE policies and ecosystems (Hulgård and Andersen 2009; Hulgård and Chodorkoff 2019). The processes of institutionalisation have entailed various aspects, such as the development of supporting public policies, the definition and implementation of national and local strategies, the

adoption of a government act providing for the possibility for social enterprises to register and the development of an ecosystem and a fiscal framework (Hulgård and Andersen 2009; Hulgård and Chodorkoff 2019). Innovation and social entrepreneurship had existed and had been taking an active part in forming the welfare state long before the recent interest for these notions emerged. However, in the recent decades, an interesting Danish—and perhaps even Nordic—trend in (social) entrepreneurial welfare-state position and practice has emerged that could be labelled the “innovative and entrepreneurial welfare state” (Hulgård and Andersen 2015): the welfare state acts within areas like welfare policy and educational policy, in relation to civil society, in a proactive manner, forming, funding and initiating programmes of “modernisation” (Andersen 2015; Andersen and Hulgård 2016; Andersen *et al.* 2016).

If social enterprises in the three Scandinavian countries have their roots in a long civil-society and cooperative tradition, their recent development has also been spurred by public-sector reforms inspired by new public management, and influenced by policies from the US and other European countries. However, despite these common roots and influences, the three Scandinavian countries seem to take different developmental paths. The marketisation of welfare services—opening up market opportunities for social enterprises, but also resulting in increased competition from the for-profit sector—is most pervasive in Sweden. Denmark appears to keep a large public sector, which increasingly plays an active role in fostering social innovation and social enterprises. The situation in Norway lays somewhat in between Denmark and Sweden: the country is at a crossroads and has to choose between increasingly relying on market mechanisms, on the one hand, and fostering social innovation based on post-NPM approaches, on the other hand. The three countries are also characterised by different degrees of institutionalisation of their policies toward social enterprise. Denmark has come farthest in designing a (hitherto incomplete) policy framework for social enterprise. Sweden has chosen to include social enterprises (referred to as “social businesses”) within a broader strategy of privatisation and marketisation of welfare services. Norway has taken some steps in the direction of a dedicated policy strategy for social enterprise, but still has to choose between the Danish path and the Swedish one.

18.4 Social Enterprise Between Coercive and Mimetic Isomorphism

NPM-inspired social-policy reforms might have shaped a new opportunity structure and opened up a “public market” for social enterprises within the framework of the Scandinavian welfare state. However, this

“market” is highly institutionalised and regulated. One reason is that the principle of universal coverage, which is a hallmark of the Scandinavian welfare state, entails public funding of services and equal access to services based on social rights. Another reason is that most welfare services are characterised by informational asymmetries that require public regulation in order to guarantee minimum standards of quality. Therefore, most social enterprises within the field of welfare services are highly regulated and dependent, at least partially, on public funding. The way in which these public funds are allocated (through competitive tendering, through grants, etc.) has a non-negligible impact not only on social enterprises’ opportunity structure but also on their organisational behaviour.

In such a context, there exists, as pointed out by Sivesind and Saglie (2017: 15–16), an important difference between supply-based and demand-based financing of private service providers (see also Ascoli and Ranci 2002: 6–9). Whereas supply-based financing involves the transfer of the responsibility for providing a service to a private agency, demand-based financing gives users the ability to choose the provider from which they will receive the service. Supply-based financing of private providers has a tendency to foster institutional isomorphism; indeed, tenders in which non-profit and for-profit providers compete have been shown to lead to non-profit providers tending to behave like for-profit providers in order to remain competitive (Haugh and Kitson 2007). Supply-based financing coupled with tutelary regulation (through norms in terms of costs and employment) and involving for-profit, non-profit and public providers (Sivesind and Saglie 2017) limits the room for manoeuvre of non-profit or for-profit providers, which then tend to behave like public providers. Demand-based financing (through vouchers or individualised payment schemes) is a viable alternative when the users of services are able to make an informed choice. In this case, the “market” is regulated by competition between providers. Since these services are often characterised by economies of scale (bigger organisations are able to reduce their costs compared to smaller ones), market concentration tends to occur, as has been observed in Sweden in the field of education (Sivesind and Saglie 2017).

Social enterprises operating within the institutional framework of the Scandinavian welfare state are likely to be subjected to different institutional isomorphic pressures (DiMaggio and Powell 1983). A first type of isomorphic pressure occurs when public authorities closely regulate (through quality norms and budgetary control) welfare services. In this case, social enterprises are likely to look and behave like public welfare providers, since they are submitted to the same regulations (coercive isomorphism). A second type of isomorphic pressure is at work when the field of welfare services is open to competition (through demand-based financing schemes); the logics of economies of scale are

likely to drive to market concentration and to foster the constitution of welfare-service chains that expand through acquisition of smaller (and often local and committed) providers. In this case, social enterprises are likely to behave like for-profit providers and, with time, are at risk to be merged into a bigger for-profit welfare provider (market-competition isomorphism). Finally, when welfare services are open to public tendering, social enterprises that compete with for-profit actors are likely to behave like them in order to stay competitive (mimetic isomorphism).

In a nutshell, the universalistic characteristic of the Scandinavian welfare state, which entails public responsibility for the funding (either through supply-side or demand-side financing schemes) and regulation of welfare services (whose access is universal and based on social rights), creates an environment for social enterprises in which they are likely to be exposed to different forms of isomorphic pressures. Consequently, social enterprises within such an institutional environment are at risk of losing their institutional specificities (combining economic and social objectives) and their capacity of innovation.

Conclusion

Is there a way for social enterprises within the Scandinavian welfare state to escape this isomorphic fate, that is, to safeguard their innovative capacity and ensure their economic sustainability within such an environment? It seems that two roads are open to social enterprises in such a context.

First, social enterprises could escape isomorphic pressures from the welfare state by finding developmental niches outside the “core” welfare services that are funded by the welfare state. This implies the necessity for social enterprises to operate at the margin of the welfare state, identifying needs that are not covered by the welfare system and finding funding sources mainly outside established public-policy schemes.

The second possibility that would protect social enterprises from isomorphic pressures would require a more voluntarist policy, directed towards social enterprises, on the part of public authorities. Indeed, a legal recognition of social enterprises through the creation of a specific legal statute would protect social enterprises against different forms of mission drift resulting from isomorphic pressures. In order to protect social enterprises from coercive and mimetic isomorphic forces, such a legal statute should include (1) provisions prohibiting—or at least significantly limiting—profit distribution; and (2) rules providing for an asset lock, that is, prohibiting the distribution of the retained surplus and any other assets owned by the organisation to its owners, directors or other stakeholders (Salamon and Sokolowski 2018). This legal recognition of social enterprise would need to be completed by an active public policy aiming to foster the availability of financial instruments

facilitating social enterprises' access to capital (implementation of mechanisms to allocate capital for social- as well as economic-value creation [Nicholls *et al.* 2015]). Such a dedicated policy toward social enterprises would additionally need to be combined with post-NPM public interventions (collaborative governance, co-production) at the local level.

In the current state of the situation, the contours of two different development paths seem to be in a process of consolidation within the Scandinavian welfare model. The first path—illustrated by the Swedish case—is that of the marketisation of universal public-funded welfare services; it entails a risk of mimetic isomorphism for social enterprises. The alternative path is that of the “social entrepreneurial welfare state”, which aims to facilitate social innovation based on post-NPM governance methods. The Danish case and, to some extent, the Norwegian case bear testimony to the fact that such a policy roadmap might constitute a viable way of developing social enterprise within the universal framework of the Scandinavian welfare state and of avoiding institutional isomorphism. Future policy developments and welfare reforms in the three Scandinavian countries will show which of these two paths will prevail. However, demographic and financial pressures for social innovation, combined with broad political support in favour of universal welfare schemes, limit the space for potential developments. Post-NPM collaborative schemes and marketisation appear as two alternatives that would have different consequences for the future of social enterprise in Scandinavia.

Note

- 1 See chapter 13, “Social Enterprises in Sweden: Intertextual Consensus and Hidden Paradoxes”, in the present book.

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