

WP4 DELIVERABLE 4.2 Sweden, Case study 1

A Case study innovative of local public-non-profit collaborations for unaccompanied asylum seeker children reception and integration in Gothenburg, Sweden

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List of abbreviations

HVB	– Group housings for minors, "Hem för vård och boende"
PUT	– Minors with permanent residence permit
UASM	– Unaccompanied asylum seeking minors
SRD	– Municipal Social Resource Department, Gothenburg Municipality
IPP	– Idea-based and public partnerhips ("Idéburna -offentliga partnerskap")

Executive Summary

In Case study 1 we focus on an innovative in the Swedish context form of collaboration between public sector and voluntary organisations within the social sphere, the so-called partnerships between idea-based and public organisations (idébaserade offentliga partnerskap, IPP). IPP are meant to create more equal long-term collaboration patterns between the two sectors especially on new societal challenges such as newcomer immigrant integration.

While popularly treated as related to the national, regional and local collaboration compacts in social and integration issues IPP idea is very much an outcome of a bottom-up process supported by The National Forum for Voluntary Organisations¹. Most importantly IPP is a new collaboration form alongside contracts for social and welfare services and traditional sustaining and operational grants to non-profits. This form of collaboration is just evolving but is increasingly being applied in a number of social policies of local municipal or regional concern. Some of IPP partnerships are of *social investment* character (such as assisting primarily marginalised groups with rehabilitation, training, integration) while others are directed at fulfilling rather basic needs (such as the provision of shelter/accommodation for EU migrants).

The case study explores a relatively newly started IPP partnership between Gothenburg city and initially seven but currently nine non-profit organisations for qualitative reception and integration of unaccompanied asylum seeker minors. This is to our knowledge currently the largest local IPP collaboration partnership in Sweden. The partnership was signed in April 2015 and is valid from 1 May 2015 until 2020-04-30. The researcher has followed partnership collaboration and service implementation to unaccompanied minors between March and September 2016.

Given the young age of the partnership and the formative character of the process the conducted evaluation has primarily focused on partnership collaboration and service implementation processes exploring their arrangements, the outputs or commonly organised services and major factors affecting implementation. The

¹ The Swedish partner organisation in InnoSI.

evaluation also attempts to identify the partnership effects so far. Besides the effects of individual partnership common services for targeted social groups – a major focus for InnoSI – this evaluation contributes with additional effect analysis in which it highlights important whole network, here IPP partnership, effects also on policy development or partnership outputs. In addition, the study identifies some major partnership effects or value-added for its member organisations, the gains without which a sustained partnership is rather unlikely.

A first major implementation analysis question addressed is thus:

- *How did specific organisational factors alleviate or obstruct implementation of aimed partnership services to the targeted groups?*

Based Rogers and Williams' (2006) framework we examine especially important for implementation factors stressing the role of front-line actors. While the implementation shows rather successful and illustrates how front-line actors gain from the partnership context, it also highlights important difficulties related to the specific configuration of the partnership and the contextual factors. Indeed while there are high expectations on partnerships such as the IPP we know from governance and partnership literature that partnerships do not necessarily live up to their promises, partly due to inherent difficulties in sustaining a functional and legitimate partnership. Thus the evaluation of implementation analysis further explores *what were the particular challenges in establishing a functional and integrated IPP partnership; where they overcome and how? Also, whether equal or more balanced relationships are achieved and may thus be of importance in keeping the voluntary partnership together.* Using Peters (2012) ideas on what alleviate a *functional and integrated partnership* were find common commitment and perception of interdependencies as important and established among partners especially at top-level but to lesser extend in some services between front-line actors from different organisations. That we claim is helpful to better understand some internal implementation difficulties.

Finally, as one of the major aims with IPP is more equal relations between both sector organisations we have explored whether the status of a somewhat *balanced relationship* is achieved or whether this presents yet an additional challenge (Salamon & Toepler, 2015). We conclude that the challenge of balancing roles has

been rather successfully handled at least in the second partnership pillar – regarding partnership common and complementary to public sector services to unaccompanied minors.

However it seems this is not necessarily sufficient for achieving and sustaining fruitful partnerships. We could *see that shared perceptions were essential also between different non-profits and between different organisational levels.* The findings are that *so far both balancing relations and a level of institutionalisation and integration* contributed to the partnership success while there *remains some work with structuring responsibility sharing and institutionalising smoother channels of communication.*

To conclude, the Gothenburg IPP seems to live up to many of partnership promises but also struggles with important partnership dilemmas where the particular political context has a major effect.

1. Introduction and Policy Analysis

1.1 The policy and the regional context

The Swedish welfare state has during the past few years been facing a major challenge of accommodating and integrating a large inflow of asylum seekers from countries outside Europe. These challenges have opened a window of opportunity for reinventing new forms of governance on local and regional arenas, especially for newly emerging *collaborative partnerships* between *public and non-profit* actors. Such partnerships specifically called idea-based-public partnerships (IPP or in Swedish *idéburna offentliga partnerskap*) came into picture in Sweden as a third-way alternative to collaborative governance, different from contracts and traditional state grants to civil society to increase policy relevance and capacity. IPPs are meant to create more equal long-term collaboration patterns between the two sectors especially on new societal challenges such as newcomer immigrant integration.

IPP collaborations are of special interest here against the background of the Swedish government and the organised civil society ambitions towards greater involvement of non-profits in welfare and integration policies (Riksrevisionen, 2014:3; Gavelin et al 2010; SOU 2007:66) and not only by increasing their role as service providers but also collaboration in policy action. The partnership idea has clear linkages to National collaboration compacts in Sweden from 2008 and 2010 – as an outcome of government policy for civil society – and indicate a shift in the perspective on civil society and its role in welfare (Wijkström, 2012) with greater emphasis of collaboration in welfare service provision.

1.2 Regional/local context

The collaboration concept is currently in accent and as of June 2016 there were 47 IPPs in 3 regions and 13 municipalities (Sandberg, 2016).

Gothenburg municipality in the region of West Sweden stands out among others with its boldness in using IPP as new collaboration form with non-profits. As of August 2016 the municipality has signed 12 various IPP agreements. It clearly is a political statement of the municipality indicating the value it sees in IPP

collaborations. The partnership collaborations are financed by all partners' contributions financial or otherwise. Especially the public sector is expected to contribute with financial resources while the non-profits may offer various ways to contribute in policy design and implementation with own resources.

1.2 Selection of the case

In this evaluation study we explore one such IPP partnership – the largest in Sweden to our knowledge – for reception and integration of newcomer unaccompanied minors in Gothenburg signed in May 2015.

The case study is a still on-going new type of cross-sectorial local idea-based public (IPP) partnership aiming at qualitative reception and integration of unaccompanied minors. This partnership has been in several contexts (Göteborgs stad, 2015; Överenskommelsens kansli, 2016) referred to as a pioneering initiative with ambitions to serve as an innovative reference model for similar IPP collaborations on unaccompanied minors elsewhere in Sweden. Its innovative aspects lie both in the way social investment needs are thought of, the way partnership is organised and managed including the pooling of partner resources (Chapter 4, 5) to increase its service quality and capacity.

The partnership developed between Gothenburg city and initially seven but currently nine non-profit organisations with social purpose, so called idea-based organisations. The partnership was signed in April 2015 for the period up to 2020-04-30 but prolonged one year latter to 2021-04-30. The agreement can be prolonged twice for 2 more years. Parties have initially set as their goal to provide accommodation and other specified integration services for at least 100 youngsters and in 2016 the number was increased to “at least 150” but remains open to adjustments. The report is based is an outcome of an on-going process evaluation of the first partnership year, its preparations and work with unaccompanied minors' reception from 2015 June to October 2016.

In terms of budget the studied Gothenburg partnership has during first half of 2016 reached a budget of 67,5 mln SEK² if we count only the public resources³. These

² Complete Data for 2015 is unavailable for the researcher.

³ Data received from City Social Resource Department via private e-mail communication.

resources are based on the number of minors/youngsters in need of public accommodation and received from the National government via Migration Agency. The city municipality in turn allocates the greater part of this money to the implementing partner organisations. Besides this all partners – both the municipality and the non-profits – contribute with additional personnel and other resources. The resources have been based on the conditions of the municipal agreement with the Migration Agency but have been shifting extensively (fig depending on the type and number of housing places offered).

The implementation of this IPP agreement takes place all-over in Gothenburg municipality depending on where the partner organisations have their headquarters and available housings for minors. The major implementers are the non-profits but the role of the municipality is supporting in design and service delivery. In general Gothenburg city is divided into 10 districts with their own district boards and administration but it is only the city Social resource department (not the districts) that has signed the IPP agreement. This fragmentation as will be shown affect the implementation of the IPP.⁴

1.3 Policy analysis

In this overview major recent reforms in Swedish government policy for collaboration with idea-based organisations (civil society) within social and especially integration area will be covered. A policy area for which local collaborations between civil society organisations and municipalities are becoming increasingly important is newcomer asylum seekers' reception and broader integration, some aspects and changes of which will be briefly presented here.

1.3.1 Development of the policy for civil society

The government policy for increased collaboration between civil society and public sector organisations in Sweden has been preceded by scholarly investigations and political debates and the shift has been gradual.

⁴ An important aspect is that the city has been historically run by a socialist majority, lately in collaboration with the green party, but no longer in majority.

Since 2001 civil society engagement in social welfare have become a separate policy area in Sweden, *policy for civil society*. A major aim since has been to improve public-civic collaborations and strengthen the role of *idea-based organisations*⁵ in public policies, especially as a service provider (Riksrevisionen 2014:3; Gavelin et al, 2010). The Government has gradually increased its interest in more active involvement of civil society in welfare policies by initiating a so-called dialogue. A government commission of inquiry that investigated the relationships between public sector and civil society followed this. Its public report from 2007 (SOU 2007:66) clearly promoted a need for “a partnership for democracy and welfare” between idea-based organisations and public sector (SOU 2007:66). It also suggested, based on the ideas by Social Forum,⁶ a need to define through a dialogue *the guiding norms for collaboration* between the sectors, and establish of a standing consultancy forum within social area.

Collaboration Compacts

The urge by civil society organisations and some government actors to increase cross-sector collaborations has, after a longer dialogue process, resulted in formalised declarations – the so-called national, regional and local *compacts*. In October 2008 the government has issued a decision on a compact between the government, idea-based organisations in social welfare and Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions (SALAR) on *collaboration in social sphere*. In 2010 a similar agreement was signed between the state, SALAR and civil society organisations for collaboration within *integration issues* (Regeringskansliet, 2010). The civil society was ascribed a double role – the opinion maker and service implementer. Collaboration compacts⁷ are seen as important for making better use of the integration work conducted by various civil society organisations and for increasing their responsibility in integration area (see RIR 2014:3).

⁵ The concept idea-based organisations refer to non-profit organisations and cooperative movements (Regeringskansliet, 2009).

⁶ [A Swedish umbrella organisation for civil society organisations with social purpose.](#)

⁷ Currently there are three national compacts for collaboration in three areas: social (2008), integration (2010) and international humanitarian assistance (2015).

Formalisation of such generic collaboration compacts on levels below the national has taken time and much effort. It has been realised that compacts are not some quick fix⁸ and require time for establishing a dialogue and a better understanding of both sector roles. At the time of writing three such agreements for collaboration on social issues have been signed on the regional level in Sweden.⁹ Nevertheless, it is on the local municipal level that such cross-sector collaborations gain actual substance. In December 2015, 12 municipalities have signed their *local collaboration compacts* and additionally 14 municipalities have theirs on the way.¹⁰

Expected changes and challenges

Overall policy makers often present the compacts as a new way of working together that challenges the established policymaking and implementation structures. In their aspiration for systemic changes in the relationship between the public and civil sector the national compacts suggest six guiding principles – *independence, dialogue, quality, long-sightedness, openness, and diversity* (Överenskommelsens kansli, 2014). The principles need to be adjusted to local contexts.¹¹ Similarly, the regional or local compacts are a declaration of willingness to strive for common values and goals through new forms of collaboration in social service development.

In some local municipalities the national compact ideas spread like ripples. In Gothenburg following a regional compact, a local collaboration compact was signed with a concrete plan for measures between 2014-2016. Development of new forms of financing non-profits and exploring and spreading the IPP partnership model is one of the goals (Göteborgs Stad, 2014).

However, collaboration compacts have also been critiqued as entailing rather symbolic value, and slow in achieving desired effects in for example integration issues (Riksrevisionen, 2014:3). The government recognised that two major challenges are spreading the collaboration model and evaluating its effects for the

⁸ Göran Pettersson, in a film available via ÖK kansliet: www.overenskommelsen.se

⁹ Scania, West Sweden and Örebro. Three more regions (Gotland, Värmland, Övre Norrland) are in the process of developing their own regional compacts through cross-sectorial dialogue ÖK kansli, document 2012 12 22. Agreements are open for new partners to join in

¹⁰ Data from private correspondence with Överenskommelse kansliet, 20151222.

¹¹ Minnesanteckningar 2015-10-23. Dialogprocess Överenskommelsen Värmland, 2015

integration and establishment of newcomers. One way government has chosen to support increased local collaborations is by directing the County Administrative Boards¹² to act for strengthening the role of civil society and promoting regional and local compacts. Additional state financing was offered for temporal local cross-sector collaborations in newcomer reception and establishment during 2014-2015 (Beslut Fi 2015/1492).

As an additional step in developing mutual relations the government has recently initiated two investigatory commissions. One of the commissions (SOU 2016:13) has presented some ideas on the juridical possibilities for idea-based public partnerships in social welfare in February 2016 while the other one is still on going (Dir 2015:22).¹³

Overall the collaboration compacts have prepared the ground for idea-based public partnerships (IPP) as a *new and specific collaboration model* in Swedish policy practice.

From compacts to social partnerships

IPPs may be seen as a major recent news, at least in a formalised form, in local or regional public-private collaborations in the *social and integration sphere* in Sweden. IPP whose major idea is a partnerships on equal terms is very much an outcome of a bottom-up process supported by such organisations as Social Forum and it remains yet to be explored to what extend IPPs actually are alleviated by the compacts that promote new collaboration forms. Most importantly IPP is an alternative form of collaboration and financing to contracts and traditional sustaining and operational grants to non-profits. IPPs are yet under development and emerging in a variety of organisational forms as well as for a variety of reasons. Some of collaborative IPP measures are of *social investment* character (such as assisting primarily marginalised groups with rehabilitation, training, integration) while others are directed at fulfilling rather basic needs (such as the provision of shelter/accommodation for EU migrants).

¹² Government representatives in the counties.

¹³An additional investigatory commission is working on new legislative framework for private welfare services (Motion 60:2015) is expected to explore the preconditions for civil society to increase its role in welfare.

Recently, the need to support the IPP partnerships on the local and regional level was also raised at the annual congress in 2015 (Motion 60:2015). Overall the message is the following: the civil society organisations want to play a more active role in social welfare but not on the terms defined by NPM and public procurement rules as this puts them in a pure implementers position. At a national conference on IPP organised in Gothenburg in March 2016 the internal minister strongly supported its idea.¹⁴

Due to difficulties to find a secure legal ground IPP agreements in Sweden have been driven primarily by a political will. As a result, certain variations in its interpretations and justification exist among municipalities and between municipalities and Social Forum. However, pioneering examples have eased dissemination of this new juridical collaboration form.

Below we will give a brief account of some integration policy developments that give good reasons for local municipalities to search out for partnerships with civil society organisations the interest for which is now exploding among Swedish municipalities and idea-based organisations.

1.3.2 Policies for unaccompanied immigrant children (changes in municipal responsibilities that affect their own policies)

Swedish municipalities are the institution primarily responsible for the wellbeing of children including the arriving unaccompanied children seeking asylum and the local responsibility for the latter is unique in Nordic countries (Häggroth, 2011).¹⁵

The major changes started with legislative reform of 2006 that introduced new municipal responsibilities for unaccompanied immigrant children that included accommodation arrangements alongside the already established social and health care services. This reform was based on suggestions by a government commission

¹⁴ Available at <http://overenskommelsen.se/news/webbsandning-av-iop-konferensen-10-mars-2/>

¹⁵ See also <http://webbutik.skl.se/bilder/artiklar/pdf/7164-682-8.pdf>

of inquiry initiated 2002 and especially additional working group by the State Agencies (Ds 2004:54). Already five years later it was stated that local governments had taken much larger responsibility than it was envisaged by the reform. While only 15-20 municipalities were thought as *receiving* (permanent residence) municipalities (from original four) for unaccompanied children in 2011 already ca 230 of 290 municipalities had arranged accommodations and services to those children and 209 had voluntary agreements with Migration Agency (Häggroth, 2011).

During the past 5 years the numbers of unaccompanied children have been increasing dramatically from 388 in 2004 to 35369 in 2015 while the total number of asylum seekers in 2015 was ca160 000¹⁶ making government call the situation a “refugee crisis”. While due to local-self government principle municipalities were able to decide whether they have capacities to accommodate and integrate unaccompanied children, in 2014 the law was changed and The Swedish Migration Agency was now allowed to allocate children to their municipality of choice regardless of the lack of agreements.¹⁷ Not only this, some few Swedish municipalities such as Malmö, Mölndal and Gothenburg are also undertaking major responsibilities in agreement with The Migration Agency as the first *arrival* municipalities. However as they were actually hit by much larger asylum seeker numbers, apart from the arrival duties, these municipalities have to provide also temporal accommodation and services.

The accommodation is arranged either in form of special group accommodation with employed personnel and services or to “family homes”. Municipalities are responsible to provide accommodation and services to children both during the asylum process and after the eventual resident permits are provided. Majority of unaccompanied children receive residence permits and many stay in the same

¹⁶ These numbers may be compared to ca 7 000 unaccompanied children and 81 301 asylum seekers in total in 2014, in itself a 80% increase compared to 2013. CSB. http://www.scb.se/sv_/Hitta-statistik/Statistik-efter-amne/Befolkning/Befolkningens-sammansattning/Befolkningsstatistik/25788/25795/Behallare-for-Press/386883/

¹⁷ <http://skl.se/integrationsocialomsorg/socialomsorg/barnochunga/placeradebarnochunga/ensamkommandebarnochunga/kommunensansvar.3425.html>, [accessed 2016-03-10]

accommodation arranged by the municipality until they are 18 or often 21.¹⁸ One of the policy challenges has been to provide suitable accommodation at the so-called receiving municipalities and thus *improve children's' wellbeing and chances to integration*. In 2014-2016 the situation with very large numbers of asylum seekers presented major challenges to reception and integration system.¹⁹ Inabilities of the receiving municipalities to quickly adjust to the situation, lack of personnel and financing as well as delayed administration processes resulted in overloads in arrival municipalities and expensive subcontracting driving up their costs.

As an effect of this policy many municipalities are overloaded with asylum seekers, some of them in a double role as both arrival and reception municipalities and they had in a very short time to adjust to the changing immigration flows and provide premises, trained personnel, schools, health care and social services under major financial and capacity restraints. Individual municipalities and their national association SALAR has regularly pressed government for more reforms. Government has initiated a commission of inquiry in 2015 to explore strengths and weaknesses of the current policy for asylum-seekers' reception and accommodation the results of which will be available in 2017 (Dir 2015-107).

Especially during the past few years the government has been financially supporting municipal and civil society collaboration for integration and newcomers' establishment, but the focus during 2015 has been on easing the acute situation with newcomers' accommodation rather than integration. The government is though continuously evaluating the reception system and presents suggestions and demands on how it needs to be adjusted and resources coordinated.

¹⁸ The Swedish legislation is not very strict about the age until which municipalities retain responsibility. In Gothenburg municipality allows children to stay until 21 also because of the lack of other housing.

¹⁹ Accommodation available through the Migration Agency has been sometimes stretched to the limit and The Migration Agency has therefore begun using the municipalities' so-called evacuation sites for temporary accommodation.

1.3.3 Legislative framework for Idea-based partnerships

IPP is a collaboration form in-between contracts and ordinary public grants. No specific legislative framework regulating idea-based public partnerships exists as yet and currently legal conditions have to be assessed for each IPP partnership so that neither the public procurement nor state support legal framework is breached (SOU: 2016:13, p.38). Some of the driving and more resourceful municipalities, for example Gothenburg and Malmö, have undertaken independent investigations of the legal framework for such collaborations. A conclusion Malmö municipality draws is that while there is as yet no specific legal regulation for this form of partnership in Sweden juridical interpretation of its possibilities may be based on other extant laws such as Local Government Act²⁰, The Public Procurement Act²¹, and the Lisbon Treaty.

Additional juridical aspects are that an IPP agreement has to meet the requirement of social purpose and usefulness for the common best. It is not supposed to harm market competitiveness (a major principle enshrined in the EU laws) and thus is suitable primarily in situations with no established competitors targeting same needs/groups. Public sector actors (in this case municipalities) are not to act as a purchasers of service as in contractual situations and the initiative to IPP should come from the civil society in a dialogue with the municipality. In sum, several important preconditions should be met:

- New type of challenge in need of new configurations of longer-term collaboration²²
- The partnership is a part of realisation of a political plan or programme with a special role intended for non-profits
- Civic organisations should be idea-based and non-profit
- Market situation explored
- Dialogue established based on profit initiatives
- Both parts (sectors) contribute with resources

²⁰ *Kommunallag* (SFS 1991:900)

²¹ *Lagen om offentlig upphandling* (SFS:2007:1001)

²² In some IPP cases this criteria promoted by Social Forum is totally absent.

- The public actor(s) do not regulate in detail partnership activities

Additional already traditional forms of collaboration with civil society are financing non-profit organisations via several types of annual public grants²³ to secure their existence or more targeted financing of specific welfare policy implementation via public procurements. Finally, contracts with idea-based organisations are regulated by the same law as for the private sector.²⁴

Suggestions of changes

In a recent report (SOU 2016:13) IPP was recognised as a legitimate collaboration form with the public sector. It suggests an exception should be made in law on public procurement that would allow IPP to be applied for social and similar services the costs of which are below a defined ceiling and where there is lack of interest from market actors. Additional changes are investigated by an on-going commission of inquiry.²⁵

Regulation of municipal policies for unaccompanied children

Arrival municipalities are responsible for the accommodation, health and dental care, social support and schooling²⁶ of unaccompanied children and minors, that is those under 18 years of age who arrive in Sweden without a guardian. Asylum-seeking minors are entitled to attend school and have access to free health and dental care in the same way that children registered as residents in Sweden do and to some financial support.²⁷ Unaccompanied asylum seeking children are seen as vulnerable individuals and the municipalities are obliged to follow strict

²³ "organisationsbidrag", "verksamhetsbidrag", "projektbidrag", see SOU 2007:66

²⁴ Lagen om offentlig upphandling, LOU 2007:1091.

²⁵ Commission of inquiry on welfare services "Välfärdsutredningen" (

²⁶ All asylum-seeking minors have a right to school from six years of age and municipalities are responsible to offer it. See <http://www.skolverket.se/skolutveckling/larande/nyanlandas-larande/ta-emot-nyanlanda-elever-1.237657>. See also Migration Agency: <http://www.migrationsverket.se/English/Private-individuals/Protection-and-asylum-in-Sweden/Nyheter/2015-10-28-This-is-how-the-Migration-Agency-is-currently-receiving-refugees.html>

²⁷ See Migration Agency: <http://www.migrationsverket.se/English/Private-individuals/Protection-and-asylum-in-Sweden/Nyheter/2015-10-28-This-is-how-the-Migration-Agency-is-currently-receiving-refugees.html>

regulations²⁸ regarding the accommodation and care provided to these children (Häggroth, 2011) as to the Swedish children in need.

Municipalities have no special duties regarding integration of unaccompanied minors other than those regulated in The School Act. Complementary integration measures for these children – the ones that are of greatest interest for this study – are up to receiving municipalities themselves or in collaboration with idea-based organisations to arrange. Migration Agency has some legal obligations to offer meaningful activities for asylum seekers while waiting for asylum decision such as possibilities to participate in Swedish language training or other activities that could ease their establishment in Swedish society (SOU 2016:13). However large numbers of asylum seekers put most of such activities on hold.

Legal changes

Due to the large scale immigration SALAR pressured Swedish governance for emergency legal changes some of which have been approved early 2016 such as less strict demand for personnel and premises in temporary accommodation centres, or how promptly school education needs to be provided ²⁹ Overall arguments are that accommodation for unaccompanied asylum seeking children are primarily adjusted after legal requirements for children with special needs and criminal backgrounds and that municipalities could not provide such accommodations and related services given the large refugee numbers (Häggroth, 2011).

²⁸ According to the Social Services Act SFS 2001:453; also Law 1994:137 on reception of asylum seekers. Socialtjänstförordningen 2001:237 and Socialstyrelsens föreskrifter och allmänna råd (SOSFS). See in Häggroth, 2011.

²⁹ SALAR. <http://skl.se/download/18.e79aa5215143dd034b696ff/1450274145581/2015-12-16-Behov-av-regeländringar-med-anledning-av-flyktingsituationen-SKL.pdf>

2. Literature review

2.1. Academic analysis

Based on the focus of the case study the reviewed academic literature covers some available research on public-non-profit partnerships, including IPPs, as policy instruments in focus in Sweden and elsewhere in addressing immigrant related issues specifically but also, given that IPP are partnerships for broader social issues, some literature focused here refers to cross-sectorial partnerships or networks in broader range of policies.

A specified search for cross-sectorial or public-non-profit partnerships in newcomer (asylum seeking) children integration has been conducted as well but with meagre results. The purpose with the review is to discern relevant research tracks and analytical frameworks for case study at hand.

Following search strategies have been adopted for search of journal articles:

- *Electronic database search using following combinations of keywords via Academic search elite database³⁰:*
 - *“Cross-sector” AND “partnerships” AND “immigrant” AND “integration” provided 4 records (2000-2016) (irrelevant)*
 - *“cross-sector” AND “partnerships” AND “immigrant” (2000-2016) - 6 records (inapplicable here)³¹*
 - *“social partnerships” AND “integration” (2000-2016) - 18 records (ca 6 of which referred here) A boolean search for “social” “partnerships” and “integration” 2000-2016 (EBSCO) provided 162 records, some overlapping with the previous, a few referred here, all not reviewed;*
 - *“public” AND “non-profit” AND “partnerships” (2005-2016) =486 records (not reviewed in detail, some articles referred here)*
 - *“public” AND “non-profit” AND “partnerships” and “immigrants” =8 post, all reviewed some referred here.*
 - *inter-organisational” AND “networks” - 36 posts, all reviewed, 3 most relevant referred here.*

Search för “idéburna partnerskap” and related words in Swedish literature

³⁰ For almost all search, except for “whole networks” a Boolean system was adopted looking for all words and searching for journals in periodicals of the field (not only titles). “Whole network research is a broad one and requires delimiting strategies.

³¹ Only two posts captured as whole articles, still irrelevant for the study.

- *Systemic search among journals:* International Journal of Voluntary and Non-Profit Organisations,
- *Searching relevant websites:* www.mucf.se; www.överenskommelsen.se; www.government.se;
- *Evaluations:* (literature review in the reviewed evaluations)
- *Other cross-references or well-known co-governance literature - for broader theoretical perspectives, such as:* Geddes and Benington (2001), Mörtz and Sahlin-Andersson (2006) Sørensen & Torfing, 2009, 2012, 2014, etc.

2.1.1. Literature on public-non-profit partnerships and their implications in Sweden

Research on the compacts in Sweden treats them as a rather *symbolic policy steering instrument* (Reuter, 2012) and lacking concrete guidelines for the collaborations and how to make use of the unique characteristic of civil society in collaborations on welfare services. While collaboration compacts and IPP partnerships in particular are envisaged in Sweden as a structurally *new* ways of working together (Johansson, 2011) there is still little research on their workings and implications both for targeted groups and for organisations themselves in Sweden.³²

The added value of non-profits

In their discussion of the role of civil society in welfare services some Swedish scholars bring forward the *specificity* of civil society organisations (alongside the unique properties of the two other sectors) that is claimed to determine its eventual *value added* in service provision (Hultén & Wijkström, 2006). In social area idea-based actors might offer broader perspectives and attentiveness to individual needs but might not necessarily be more innovative than other actors (Gavelin K. *et al*, 2010; Regeringskansliet, 2009).

One of the challenges of cross-sectorial collaboration is how the value added may be identified and assessed in public services provided by idea-based public partnerships (Massie, 2015). Besides contributing with value added from the *users perspective* idea-based organisations may bring value to *their volunteers* and from a

³² For exceptions see e.g. Qvist, 2008, Qvist 2015.

societal perspective (SOU 2007:66). A related scholarly discussion concerns what justifies the partnerships between several principals as with IPPs. Is it their impact on greater policy/service *effectiveness* as compared to individual organisations or are there perhaps other *democratic values* that may justify such partnerships? (Sörensen and Torfing, 2012; Mörth and Sahlin-Andersson, 2006). A suggestion is to include assessments of their democratic legitimacy.

Assessing democracy in cross sector collaborations

Collaboration however presents a challenge for policy democratisation seen from liberal democratic accountability perspective, but some additional aspects of how to secure democratic legitimacy are *transparency, inclusion/participation and influence* and overall forms of *collaborative decision-making* (Mörth and Sahlin-Andersson, 2006). More often however collaborative governance efforts are assessed for their *output legitimacy* that is seen as *increasing policy capacity* by effective resource pooling.

Collaboration in service provision

The traditional image and role of civil society in Sweden has undergone some changes from mainly opinion-forming function or “voice” to “service provider” (Wijkström, 2012). The compacts have been found as a way for government to justify its own political goals (Johansson, 2011) thus making non-profit organisations to commit to securing welfare production. However the role of voluntary associations as service provider is increasing very slowly and only some of them view this role as compatible with their operational autonomy (Ungdomsstyrelsen, 2013, Riksrevisionen, 2014:3).

However some initial expectations that such inter-sectorial partnerships in adult newcomer reception and integration policies would provide a new collaborative space for innovation, learning and development of integration services remained unfulfilled (Qvist 2015). The vertical steering logic interfered with horizontal logics of collaboration to provide flexible and user adjusted services.

Research on the relations between civil society and public sector has been found under-prioritised in Sweden (SOU 2007:66, p.186; Vetenskapsrådet, 2003:15) and especially *more research was found needed on the role of civil society organisations*

for democratisation of society and policies and for the transformation of welfare state in Sweden, perhaps towards the European model (Vetenskapsrådet, 2003/15; SOU 2007:66).

The referred Swedish discussion well reflects some of the major themes in the additionally reviewed western literature.

2.1.2. Research on Swedish policies for integration of unaccompanied children

Regarding integration policies Sweden has been regarded as a deviant case in a European context for its multiculturalism policy and emphasis in individual rights rather than obligations to be included in a society (Borevi, 2011). Much of integration policy logics was based on granting the new Swedes similar access to welfare state services as to the inborn Swedes. Thus, some scholars have argued that integration policies a la Swedish welfare state should be *two-directional* meaning not only that the newcomer policies should be adjusted to *fit in* the traditional model with the *universality* but also the Swedish welfare institutions and organisational structures need to be *adapted* to become more accessible to newcomers and their needs (Carlsson et al, 2014).

However, as various local project initiatives for tailored integration support are not regarded as part of official Swedish integration policies (regardless of financing) their temporality and lack of political guidance notwithstanding the success factor, is found to be a major hinder for organisational and inter-organisational learning at the local, regional and higher political levels (Carlson et al, 2014; Qvist 2015, Hessle, 2009).

Swedish research on policy and its effects for unaccompanied minors is still very limited (Wimelius et al, 2012; Wimelius et al, 2016). Some of important findings is that *how their reception is organised, number of professional adults they meet as well as how access to social networks* is secured effects their wellbeing and societal integration. A majority of children are in need of investments in their health and wellbeing (Hessle, 2009). Implicit in the Swedish policy for unaccompanied minors is a need for their gradual integration. However no one is really mandated the task and empirical studies show that each part of the reception system had to identify its own ways to achieve this. There is a *lack of research on how collaboration between*

actors in organising reception for unaccompanied minors works (ibid). Thus more systematic evaluations of the activities of the involved actors were found in need as to give more clarity to whose does what in this “common” but rather dispersed policy system (Wimelius, 2016).

2.1.3 Western literature on cross-sectorial or social partnerships for integration (or social purposes)

Partnerships have become one of the building blocks of the third-way democratic pluralist approach to social development in much of the western world (Walker, 2010).³³ There is a discussion in literature on the workings of partnerships, their democratic legitimacy, role for building social capital, and policy effectiveness (capacity) in relation to immigrant integration. Such partnerships are usually perceived as being between government and community or private organisations.

One of the aspects discussed in the literature review is the *conditions* for partnerships between public and civil society actors to emerge. In Sweden, a decline in the norms of social partnership that previously guided policy making and promoted the interaction of interest organisations at peak-level may partly explain lack of collaboration in policies for immigrants (Lindvall and Sebring, 2005). Another reason is lack of clarity of policy goals and *polarisation* precluding coordination among interest groups. Here the role of political leaders were found important for opening opportunities for social partnerships (Wódz, 2002).

A related theme is *incentives for initiation* of social partnerships. Especially in countries where municipalities are responsible for social policies they may feel *a pressure* to develop new types of cross-sectorial partnerships (Geddes and Le Galès, 2001) since issues such as social exclusion do not always attract market actors and competitive service providers. *Social cohesion* of the state, as is the case with the US after 9/11, policy collaborations becomes a form of social engineering providing more legitimate channel for non-profits’ influence (Duncan, 2009).

Regarding the mechanisms of sustaining a fruitful and functional partnership Salamon

³³ New Zealand, like the United Kingdom, made a major policy shift (1999 - present) towards a “third way” democratic pluralist approach to social development. See Walker, 2010.

& Toepler (2015)³⁴ outline *a set of conditions* that must be met by both non-profits and governments for this partnership to achieve the promise of which it is capable. Indeed public-non-profit partnerships may be alleviated by a significant similarity in a range underlying values among their actors (Miller-Stevens *et al*, 2015).

A *shared philosophy* (Das and Teng, 2001) may be essential for a successful partnership as it forms the underpinning social control within the relationship. Also *trust* (goodwill and competence-based) and *a culture of agreement and understanding* in a partnership serves as its core-stones. An on-going evaluation and reinforcement of the partnership agreement as one between the equals by regular interaction at all levels is also essential. An on-going evaluation aiming to *assist partnership capacity building* may help actors to identify their collaborative efforts and acquire confidence in their abilities as well as broaden their capacity for social influence (Garci-Rairez *et al*, 2009).

Some of the collaborative partnership effects, contrary to contractual relationships, are increasing *policy effectiveness* and *mutual trust* (Duncan, 2009) or *richer relationships* over time in pursuing broader policy goals. Besides, certain types of partnerships may be *more innovative* than others. Despite this partnership potential there is a gap in the literature regarding *partnerships formed between two community-based social service organisations* (Walker 2007).

Cross-sector collaboration effects in integration policies

Research on cross-sector collaborations and inter-organisational networks is very broad and is not possible to be covered here. In general, studies that focus on the inter-organisational networks also called “whole networks” (Provan *et al* 2007) may increase our understanding on how they evolve, are governed or collective outcomes achieved as well as their implications for individual members.

Network collaboration has effects for its individual members, but this remains under researched (Magetti, 2014). Inter-organizational networks may promote *collaborative behaviours* among organisations and deepen their commitment towards communities (Hoberecht *et al*, 2011). Depending on the network its

membership may affect *organisational growth* and *especially their regulatory powers* (Magetti 2014).

A recent literature review (Provan *et al*, 2007) states that one of the most under researched perspectives in network studies is how *network-level characteristics affect* collective network *outcomes* and thus how multi-organisational services to a group of users or clients can be strengthened.

One major network capacity or *effectiveness* challenge is that networks may risk taking too large a policy responsibility with regard to some social groups or issues that they fail to fulfil, thus justifying further studies of their effects (Pierre & Peters 2000, p. 141). Public-non-profit partnerships may contribute in *reducing the costs* for the city government by *more effectively* matching newcomers with jobs (Nadeau, 2007) and *strengthen ties* between communities and city government. The overall value of multi-organisational or cross-sectorial partnerships (XCPs) is not merely in connecting interested parties but, rather, in *their ability to act* by substantial *influence* on the people and issues within their problem domain (Khoshman & Pfarrer, 2012). Partnerships produce partnership level outcomes such as *knowledge, service coordination, social capital* (Provan *et al*, 2005).

Many theoretical approaches however fail to address the XCPs for their *collective action capacity* (Khoshman & Pfarrer, 2012) and there is not much literature on assessment of partnerships as such or the organising principles of partnerships (Provan *et al*, 2007).

2.1.4 Conclusions

To sum up, while there is a very broad literature on collaborations between organisations across sectors much less of it seems to relate to public-non profit collaborations especially in integration issues (policies). The literature review points to the need to further explore both democracy and policy effectiveness (indeed adequacy) aspects and collaboration effects on three levels: network level, individual participant organisation level and recipient level. In relation to civil society it requires further exploring the forms of collaborative governance and whether more equal relations and balance between different sector roles is achieved. Also, the contributions of civil society to partnership policy outputs and outcomes need further attention.

2.2 Previous evaluations: collaboration with idea-based organisations

2.2.1 Search strategy

The strategy used to identify previous evaluation:

- Websites searched: www.regeringen.se; www.riksrevisionen.se; www.skl.se, www.socialforum.se; www.mucf.se.
- Search terms used: “utvärderingar”, “politik” and “civila samhället”, “integration”;
- Experts contacted: experts at Social Forum,³⁵ experts at Överenskommelsens kansli.³⁶

2.2.2 A summary of the evaluation results on policy for civil society

Collaborations between public sector and civil society organisations have not been extensive neither in social and welfare services nor specifically in integration of asylum seekers regardless of the substantial activities and the recognised potential of the idea-based organisations within reception and integration. Regardless the collaboration ambitions and the guiding collaboration norms expressed in the Compacts not much change has been achieved in collaboration practices. A major exception is possibly the spread of idea-based public partnerships that facilitate cross-sectorial collaboration on for example integration issues. However the knowledge of their practice is still scarce and the legal status at least for the financially stronger partnerships remains unresolved (Hama Ali, M. and Daneshpip, A., 2016).

Several of the evaluations continue to support the idea of the added value of civil society in public service provision. Civil society organisations were recognised as important for different groups – the engaged individuals, their targeted groups and public actors (SOU 2007:66). The review of government policies indicates that civil society is valued for two major roles – the voice and service diversity (Statskontoret 2004:17). Recognising four distinct functions of the voluntary organisations – avant-garde, complement, alternative and supplement – some evaluators argue their *value*

³⁵ Ludvig Sandberg, Heidi Sandberg; www.socialforum.se

³⁶ Daniel Grönberg, Överenskommelsens kansli.

added lies in the first three functions (SOU 1993:82).

2.2.3 Methodological rigour

Government commission of inquiry is an established way to assess current policy impact and gaps and provide future policy recommendations in Sweden. They may be based on a variety of sources and data such as previous research, interviews, surveys, document studies, secondary sources, and in some cases consultations with numerous stakeholders. Commission reports provide basis for legislation and may be valuable as overarching policy assessments especially where evaluations on specific measures are lacking. Among the selected documents the most rigorous is the report by Riksrevisionen (RIR, 2014:3) that assessed the implementation and effectiveness of state policies for collaboration with civil society in integration area. Their methods used are interviews, surveys, focus group interviews and document and statistical studies. Overall the reports are deemed as relatively reliable sources.

2.3 Previous evaluations: newcomer establishment

2.3.1 Search strategy

The strategy used to identify previous evaluation:

- “google scholar”: search terms used “utvärderingar”, and “ensamkommande barn”;
 - Academic search elite “unaccompanied” And “minors” and “evaluation” and “Sweden” = 2005-2016, 0 posts
 - Academic search elite “unaccompanied” And “minors” and “evaluation” = 2005-2016, 14 posts, none relevant (mostly on health issues)
 - Academic search elite “Unaccompanied” “asylum seekers” “evaluation”= 3 (of 2 two relevant but based on literature review)
- Journals hand searched: *Journal of International Migration and Integration*
- Websites searched: www.skl.se;
<http://www.edusci.umu.se/english/about-the-department/departments/centre-for-evaluation-research/>
- Experts contacted: -

2.3.2 A Summary of policy evaluations for newcomer children

Implementing agencies including receiving municipalities are prevented to live up to the legal acts in accommodating asylum seeking minors both due to wrong prognosis, major increase in unaccompanied asylum seekers and lack of state policy capacity (Wimelius *et al*, 2012). Also rigid legal requirements for special accommodations prevent smoother implementation of newcomer children accommodation. Decentralisation of integration policies and municipal underfinancing contributes to municipal confusion or even reluctance in this policy area. Indeed this policy area is relatively new for most Swedish municipalities and they were found in need of both training and experience (Häggroth, 2011). Municipalities lack an articulated political vision of integration and systematic evaluations and long-term follow-ups of how the reception affects integration. Failure in this negatively affects the (pace of) integration of minors.

Of major relevance for the pendent case study is whether and how IPP collaborations contribute to better policy quality in local unaccompanied children reception and integration such as more prominent political guidance (of what is desirable in the long and short term) and support, coordination between and continuity of street-level measures. Also studies on the adequacy of assistance measures from the perspective of immigrants are promoted as a future research agenda.

Methodological rigour

The evaluations reviewed may be judged as methodologically rather rigour. For example Wimelius *et al* (2016) explores implementation of the policy in a single Swedish municipality with rich data - 29 interviews with a variety of stakeholders (social workers, custodians, heads of special accommodations/HCH) and focus groups discussions. An earlier report from the same research group (Wimelius *et al*, 2012) is based on a broad range secondary literature review while the policy evaluations for SALAR is based on a policy document analysis and national and local expert interviews/conversations. The case study perhaps may be judged as the methodologically mostly sound.

3. Needs Assessment

3.1. Introduction

Unaccompanied newcomer minors (hereafter unaccompanied minors/youngsters) and their needs not only of temporal shelter but also of worthy reception has increasingly been seen as a major policy challenge in Sweden especially during the past five years due to major increase in the numbers of asylum seekers. In this chapter we will focus on how this need picture brought forward a new local idea-based public partnership for unaccompanied minors in Gothenburg city, Sweden in 2015. This partnership serves as an example of an ambitious and qualitative social investment in a local context.

The chapter addresses the following major questions:

- What social problem does the studied local collaboration on unaccompanied asylum seeking minors illuminate and how do studied actors arrive at the need perception of their targeted group(s)?
- What other need is the collaboration seen as an answer to and How can the need picture be assessed?

Based on the pictured needs we briefly introduce the employed evaluation model and major questions to explore and assess in the Gothenburg case of social investment.

3.1.1 *The aims of evaluation*

In the context of the national policies for collaboration and the overarching idea with IPP partnerships the aim of this evaluation study is not only to present some first assessments of whether the Gothenburg partnership is heading the right direction in addressing the targeted youngsters' needs but also whether this qualitatively new way is an advantageous collaboration form for the desired policy impact and its individual participants. What is at stake here is not only *increasing diversity and quality in reception and integration services* – a primary purpose for the partnership – but also the partnership model promise of *new relations* that would

enable greater influence for idea-based organisations in public policies, but still preserve sufficient freedom of action and their distinctiveness (Socialforum, 2010).

As to the *first evaluation aim* – to assess intervention based on its own goals – given the time frame of the IPP partnership and its qualitative rather than quantitative aims the primary contribution an evaluator can make in such on-going process evaluation is not so much whether the declared intervention goals and the expected impacts are achieved but rather *how relevant intervention is to the set goals and addressed needs*. In addition we aim here to identify and assess some of the effects so far including some unexpected side-effects from the perspective of involved stakeholders and, where possible, targeted minors.³⁷ Here assessments of intervention are framed as subjectively accounted effects among the beneficiaries and may diverge from those expected by the decision-makers (see e.g. Karlsson, Johansson, & Byvald, 2014).

As to the *second evaluation aim*, IPP partnership as a new collaboration model is not necessarily competing with single housing and service providers for its pure cost-based efficiency. A major argument for its initiation in Gothenburg has been its potential to provide a qualitatively different (better) service to the unaccompanied newcomer children based on *added value of collaboration*. The evaluation thus needs to account also for such less tangible values as *advantages of the new collaboration form for the service quality and diversity and its value added for the participating organisations*. Is this partnership on a good way to fulfil the promise of more sustainable and balanced relationships with more influence to idea-based organisations?

Thus assessments of IPP collaboration need to take into account a variety of criteria: not only project's relevance, effectiveness and cost-efficiency in targeting the needs but also the quality of project relations, the value added of this collaboration form for participating organisations, policy outcomes, and sustainability.

³⁷ *Adequacy* here is seen as a concept that allows assessing not only how intervention is fit or sufficient for the purpose (Vedung, 2009) but also how relevant is the manner in which a particular service or intervention is organised and implemented (Aflaki, 2009).

As the social investment in Gothenburg is still under implementation a *formative* perspective with focus on further intervention development and preconditions for its implementation is a given choice. The aim with evaluation here is to assist the IPP partnership to make more informed decisions and to provide some guidance on measures towards goal fulfilment (Svensson & Brulin, p.20). Additionally, the theoretical aim is to contribute to development of governance theory by increased knowledge of IPP partnerships as a form of co-governance.

The next section looks into the need picture addressed by the IPP in Gothenburg.

3.2 Existing needs assessment

This section illuminates how a social problem associated with newcomer asylum seeking minors has been formulated in a local Swedish context of Gothenburg partnership and how involved policy actors arrived at the problem perception. Our aim is to describe and to provide a brief critical assessment of the need picture and policy problem perception based on the major stakeholder views via interviews and conversations with stakeholders ³⁸ from all initially involved organisations (municipality and 7 non-profits) and document studies. This chapter does not present how the need picture was further specified in implementation, but we will return to this in chapters 4 and 5.

3.2.1 Perception of the targeted unaccompanied minors and their needs

IPP partnership in Gothenburg was primarily initiated by its partners as a means to address a major need and a challenge of *accommodating, supporting and integrating* unaccompanied minors arriving to or allocated by State Migration Agency to Gothenburg city, the second largest city in Sweden. The common policy goal and thus overall need has been formulated as a need of “a worthy or qualitative reception” or “warm/welcoming reception” (IOP Göteborg, 2015) partly to be satisfied by a “safe accommodation” (Göteborgs stad, 2015) and partly by “meaningful free-time activities”, “psychosocial support” and job practice” or “on-work training” (Göteborgs stad, 2015). Participating actors have early pointed out youngsters’ need to “feel welcome to Sweden” and thus activities that would signal

³⁸ Seven IPP idea-based organisations and Municipality of Gothenburg, Social Resource Administration.

warm and heart full in addition to professional reception services. Here lack of long-term social networks especially with Swedish families has been identified as an important integration-related need. In this respect partnership was seen as a platform for building such long-term social relations to secure the future establishment of these children.

"It is via the unique social engagement of the idea-based sector and its networks that we are able to offer an integrated solution to the children" (Veronica Morales, Head of social resource department, Gothenburg city, *ibid.*)

Our analysis based on interviews and document studies reveal that unaccompanied newcomer youngsters' (13-20years) needs before initiating the partnership and during its initial phase have not been very clearly outspoken. Partnership goals (IOP Göteborg, 2015) signal of rather generic unaccompanied minors needs perception such as "safe environment to grow up" and a need for "integrated solutions regarding accommodation, care and meaningful activities" including "good opportunities to integration in the society". By specifying in a deliberation process what services each organisation could contribute with – an arrangement required for a IPP partnership to be justified – partners also framed the more specific unaccompanied minors need picture. Some aspects of the perceived youngsters' needs gained greater importance than others when partners started working with the actual reception of unaccompanied minors during autumn 2015 and spring - summer 2015.

Targeted groups

Importantly, both documents and interviews indicate that the partners expected that they will primarily have to address the needs of those unaccompanied asylum-seeking minors who were already *granted* residence permits. Therefore the partners' ideas of appropriate services of worthy reception although presenting a complex need picture were initially focused on addressing youngster's integration in the society. In reality however the youngsters municipal social resource administration had allocated to partnership group housings came to be different with overwhelming majority of youngsters without residence permits and as late as June 2016 in a prolonged asylum seeking process. This had major effects on

implementing integration services – a topic we return to in both programme and implementation analysis.

In the following we briefly address both how the partners arrived at the initial need picture and also what additional needs prompted collaboration for unaccompanied minors in a new type of partnership.

3.2.2 Two-folded needs to address

It was in the context of rapidly accelerating immigration flow that caused a sense of a policy crisis (politically labelled as migration crisis) that Gothenburg municipality, Social resource department, in winter 2014 - spring 2015 invited a large range of non-profits to three so-called dialogue meetings to discuss how unaccompanied children could be organised a decent reception and integration (Göteborgs stad, 2015). The primary incitement for this dialogue was an urgent need for municipality to expand its policy capacity in reception and integration of unaccompanied minors while non-profits pushed for a dialogue on newcomers' needs of worthy reception even if some also had their own motives.

In 2014 municipality has received signals of increasing asylum-related immigration and increasing need to tackle significantly larger numbers of asylum seekers than during previous years. The Migration Agency prognosis for 2015 was ca 500 new children arrivals only in Gothenburg city and 7800 in Sweden (IOP Göteborg, 2015). These figures later showed to be very underestimated (see Chapter 2). Still given this prognosis Gothenburg city municipality was pressed to look for collaboration partners to organise reception for both those unaccompanied minors that were allocated by The Migration Agency and arrived on their own³⁹ alongside providing temporal housing for transit migrants. Gothenburg city delegated the reception and primarily accommodation task to Social Resource department.

Prior to this, city municipality, used to rely on its own resources in organising accommodation for unaccompanied asylum-seeking minors and those with granted asylum until the age of 18.⁴⁰ Many of the participating non-profits perceived municipal openness for a dialogue on what is a good reception and how local

³⁹ More on this legal municipal responsibility see ch 2 Literature review.

⁴⁰ Municipality has chosen to prolong its social responsibility to age 21.

reception policies were to be implemented as a new page in their collaboration history.⁴¹

In sum, this particular case exemplifies a twofold picture of needs for policy action: a perceived need to organise a worthy reception for unaccompanied minors and Gothenburg city need to collaborate with other, preferably idea-based, social actors within and beyond municipal legal responsibilities. Here idea-based organisations were seen as actors capable of enriching policy with added value especially regarding its *diversity* or quantity assurance but also its need-based *relevance* or quality assurance (Interview 20160523) At the same time idea-based actors pressed municipality for new forms of collaboration on these issues. However interested in assisting the targeted group of youngsters' interviews indicate that both parties had their own *needs* and thus incentives for entering such new form of partnership (an issue we return to in Chapter 4).

3.2.3 How and what were the initial needs of the targeted group identified?

The short-term needs of “good welcoming reception” were understood as qualitative accommodation and the related care. Municipality was the only actor experienced in the accommodating unaccompanied minors, but four of the initial idea-based partner organisations had experiences in organising accommodation for other marginalised social groups (Bräcke diakoni, Skyddsvärnet, Räddningsmissionen, Reningsborg).

What is interesting with the IPP partnership is that its need picture of “good reception” went beyond the basic youngsters' needs as stated in by national regulations and what individual municipal, private or non-profit actors were capable of identifying at that dramatic time period. The window of opportunity was used to explore with other stakeholders of social economy in Gothenburg a broader variety of perceptions of the needs based on their experiences with this or similar targeted groups. It was through sharing the experiences and need perceptions in the dialogue process that the more complex unaccompanied minors need picture evolved. Here both municipality and interested in housing services non-profits

⁴¹ It should be mentioned that several of the idea-based organisations already have tested such IPP collaboration with municipality on another social issue - on providing EU migrants (roma) with temporal shelters.

relied on the experiences and knowledge of more active “voice” organisations such as Red Cross, Individuell Människohjälp, Save the Children knowledgeable in refugee and asylum-seeking. Indeed the need picture was influenced by the perceptions, experiences and potential and available services of the involved organisations rather than by pure interactions with unaccompanied minors. An example of this is need of increased housing personnel in “trauma aware care (TMO)” - a service unique for Individuell Människohjälp (IM). To some extent the need picture also relied on in-depth analysis and research. For example Save the Children pinpointed studies on youngsters’ needs for social contacts and personal relations with Swedes and the Swedish society outside the decision-making agencies they are in contact with (Interview 20160523) and need for housing personnel knowledge in trauma aware care (TMO). Individuell Människohjälp brought up the need to support children in their overcoming their trauma based on a unique method they could offer. (Interview 20160311). As a result, “a variety of integrated services of added-value” were identified as a necessary complement to qualitative accommodation and related basic services.

National guidelines in identifying needs

Regarding youngsters’ needs for qualitative and safe accommodation, care and development in group housings (*Hem för vård och boende* (HVB)) partnership is guided by both a number of national regulations (e.g. Social care acts/SFS 2001:453; National Act for Care of Minors, SFS 1990:52; Quality development manuals in SOSFS 2011:09) and additional quality requirements by Gothenburg municipality posed to all group housings subcontracted under direct procurement (*kommunal entreprenad*). The needs picture regarding housing and care thus is more a matter of professional judgment by personnel, social assistants and legal representatives but in consensus with the youngsters.⁴² It is questionable to what extent the national policy documents could provide guidance in the local IPP collaboration especially on newcomers’ integration needs. This is especially because the picture of needs is complex and the partnership adopts a *formative and*

⁴² It is municipal social office that decides what proper housing form is suitable for the youngsters and which of them are to be placed in the group accommodations offered by the partnership.

participatory perspective in identifying youngsters' needs regarding their development and integration.

In sum, the need picture was not delimited to the very urgent needs of housing and the ones that can traditionally be satisfied by housing personnel. It also included needs of psychological support, access to caring and understanding adults – housing personnel and volunteers, access to social networks and native or established Swedes – all willing to organise a range of services to address these perceived and outspoken needs. These additional to housing services were to secure the added value of partnership.

3.2.4 Assessment of the initial needs perception

Whose values are at play?

Was the dominant need picture developed in close interaction to the target group and was the knowledge limitation recognised? Initial discussions between municipality and social economy actors did not make it possible to actively search for and define the needs and problem perceptions with the targeted group itself but *rather for* it and *on behalf of it*, especially via the knowledge of front-line actors (Interview 2016-04-14). Overall the actors were encouraged to adopt human rights and child perspective in services planned (Gothenburg Municipality, 2015). Very early in the discussion ideas were raised to include youngsters in assessing planned services following empowerment and democracy logics (Gothenburg Municipality, 2015). Besides, the partners early acknowledged this partnership form as a trial and learning process. Here suffice to say that disregarding the dialogue the IPP partners were not sufficiently aware of what actual and more concrete needs of unaccompanied minors the partnership will need to address and how that will affect partnership short-term and long-term priorities. In the initial perception of unaccompanied minors needs partners devoted much focus on meaningful free-time activities and integration in the near future. Later important channels were created where specific concrete youngsters' needs (in relation to partnership goals) could be identified *in interaction with* youngsters, volunteers and housing personnel. Also

by involving more front-line staff in channelling the needs new opportunities were opened for adjusting the need picture.

How unanimous is the need picture?

In collaborative processes where policy goals and implementation is subject to several actors it is likely that actors would have different picture of needs or expectations of policies (Hanberger, 2001), disregarding the legal guidance. It is thus especially important to attempt to reveal different rationalities as these might impact not only on how policies are implemented but also how their effects are perceived. One of the evaluation goals thus is thus to reveal and assess eventual divergences or convergences regarding policy/intervention needs and incitements. Is thus a need picture of local partnership policy for unaccompanied minors *clear, congruent and unanimous or are rather different needs stressed by different stakeholders?*

Given the social aims of collaboration the evolving need perception was *rather unanimous* among the collaboration parties. The partners were especially unanimous regarding the overall aim – unaccompanied minors were perceived as worthy of the best under circumstances possible reception recognising their migration-related and possibly pre-migration challenges and psychological traumas. The policy goals for the initial IPP agreement were stated as aiming to

To create safe and homelike environment for the targeted group to grow up with a variety of integrated added value measures (Göteborgs stad, TU 2015-03-07, p.3)

This policy formulation reflect the openness to develop and refine the need picture.⁴³

The researcher was also involved in attempting to complement the need picture through interviews with partners' front line staff and where possible, unaccompanied minors. The need picture that was clarified in implementation process is presented in Chapters 4 and 5. However due to the practical difficulties in

⁴³ Our analysis (see chapter 5) indicates that latter in the implementation process some divergences seem to have evolved in need picture between front-line staff and the steering group but also between various personnel groups.

accessing and especially motivating youngsters to participate in interviews/focus group still very limited data is available on their own articulation of needs.

It was not unconventional for the partnership to perceive the unaccompanied minors as needy worthy reception in the context of international immigration crisis. However the partnership initiative and extended need perception became ever more challenging in the Swedish political climate where the discourse of open borders and rather unregulated migration was hardening and anti-immigration party Swedish Democrats (SD) entering many municipal councils after gaining ca 13 per cent of votes in 2014 national election. In Gothenburg city, traditionally a bastion of a left-wing government, the SD party has not received any seats and the city is governed by a coalition of social democrats, the greens, the left party and feminist initiative. However several interviewees express their worries of the unpredictable political situation and a hardening debate in mass media regarding immigrants and asylum-seeking minors.

3.3. New needs assessment – complementing the picture

In this study our focus is on how special local policies for unaccompanied minors are organised in the broader context of government policies for reception, integration as well as its cross-sector collaboration policies. Policy formulation is however not a value neutral act. The aim with this section is to introduce the reader to a broader scholarly debate in Sweden on the needs of unaccompanied asylum seekers' and related policy consequences in order to explore how this is mirrored by actors involved in reception services in Gothenburg partnership.

3.3.1 Methodology

Here we briefly present more nuanced need picture based on analysis of recent policy debates and research findings through document studies. Assessments of Gothenburg partnership actors' stance are based on interviews and IPP related document studies.

3.3.2 Complementing the picture of asylum seekers needs

The picture of the unaccompanied minors needs has been shifting in politics and media and among researchers lately from a rather dominant *homogeneous* perception of youngsters in exposed situation seeking shelter from violence to a group with *multiple backgrounds and needs*. Some of the unaccompanied minors are seen as rather traumatised and in need of special support while others more victims of the adult family members' decisions.

Nuancing unaccompanied minors needs: a researcher debate

The asylum seeking youngsters naturally face major challenges also related to how they are portrayed in the media (Karlsson & Tasci, 2015) the economic demands on them by their family members abroad (Tullberg, 2016)), the challenges of social networking and integration (Lalander, 2016). But they are also unluckily portrayed as too a homogeneous group (Lalander, 2016; Wernersjö, 2014). Some researchers warn against portraying the group as *too weak, traumatised and very different* from other young people stigmatising them and locking in for too long in the specific category as foreigner, immigrant and without custodians (Lalander, 2016). Lalander presents that besides the major perceptions of unaccompanied minors as traumatised and lonely another alternative perspective is emerging pointing out to the youngsters as *active actors attempting to take responsibility* to form their lives and their future. Maybe they are *both* concludes Philip Lalander (2016), strong in some aspects of life and more vulnerable in others.

Unaccompanied minors strengths are confirmed by research that shows that among previous waves of asylum seekers in Sweden the unaccompanied minors have succeeded surprisingly well in establishing themselves on the labour market, even more successfully than those than arrived with their parents given other known features. (Celikaksoy & Wadensjö, 2015) How the future integration will look for present unaccompanied newcomers depends partly on how municipalities and other actors will manage to assist their establishment. (Ibid)

Among the major challenges that unaccompanied minors experience Lalander (2016) identifies the long waiting for the answer on asylum applications, need to develop patience, also their exposure for various agency controls and suspicion

from the surrounding world given the increasing racism. Here among the major needs he founds youngsters' *needs of meaningful social contacts, importance of friends and other meaningful social ties, and to feel welcome to Sweden*. In this respect civil society organisations may provide a positive and welcomed contribution. However Lalander concludes more research is needed as to how the needs are experienced and addressed.

“Constructed” or experienced needs?

Lately the public debate has been nuanced to include also critical voices claiming unaccompanied minors is a group identity to large extend constructed by their close adults to take advantage of favourable western immigration regulations. There is also a growing debate in Sweden also as to whether unaccompanied minors actually are not simply taking advantage of too generous Swedish immigration legislation and to what extend they actually represent the group the laws are targeting. In other words weather the formally/publically perceived needs are actually the experienced needs. Thus these youngsters in many ways may be constructed as a special need group while their migration is a project of adults (Torvik 2014 in Tullberg, 2016). Thus researchers in Sweden are rather divided as to how the needs of this group are to be interpreted and addressed.

3.3.3 Assessment of unaccompanied minors identities and needs among the partnership actors

Our analysis conveys that at the starting point of the partnership the unaccompanied minors were perceived as rather strong, willing, capable and receptive for integration measures group regardless of their traumatic experiences from the flight and previous to this. The group was thought to consist of youngsters already with granted asylum. Thus based on the classification above we interpret the initial partnership perception of youngsters as best fitting in the combined category but stressing their stronger side. In formulating the unaccompanied newcomers' needs the partnership showed awareness of the various integration aspects – subjective, social, housing and labour market integration (Diaz, 2004) to which we would like to add language and know-how.

In chapters 4 and 5 we will explore whether this picture has changed among the IPP actors in Gothenburg and what needs and identities were perceived as dominant during the first year of implementation.

Summary

In sum, out of the dialogue between Gothenburg city and idea-based organisations a more nuanced picture of needs and thus policy goals has evolved. This was based on their experiences and knowledge of the unaccompanied minors and other groups in need as well as what professional or volunteer-based services each organisation had on offer to better their situation. To utilise this a new collaboration form, different from procurement contracts and with more influence for idea based organisations, was needed. This brings us to the *development of intervention logics* of how the different short-term and long-term IPP goals may be achieved.

4. Theories of Change

4.1 Introduction

An important step in a formative evaluation process aiming to where needed improve, refine, modify the planned intervention is to explore the underlying change or intervention theory (TOC) that indicates ways to reach desirable goals and values (Vedung, 2009, 47). TOC refers to assumptions (implicit or explicit) about how the policy or programme should work and may also link the policy evaluation with the intended improvements in practice.

Collaborative social intervention especially addressing such new challenges as reception and integration of asylum seeking minors as in Gothenburg case is likely to be an *evolutionary process*. We start thus with a sketch and an assessment of an *initial* TOC and its perceived mechanisms for change that organised IPP partners for common action in Gothenburg while its developments – expressed either explicitly or implicitly among the partners – will be detailed under “new TOC”.

In this evaluation we are interested in two interrelated aspects of the intervention that is how particular policy *substance* is achieved and alleviated by the new *form* of collaboration. *Thus* will focus not only on depicting and assessing the partnership logics to address youngsters’ needs of good reception and further integration but also what principles guided the creation and sustainment of the new more balanced and equal partnership-relations and to achieve a functional partnership (See Chapter 5).

We will assess the sufficiency of the TOC after having revealed its implicit and evolutionary aspects based on following elements:

- **Plausible?** Do IOP partners have sufficient evidence – and what kind of evidence – on the need of and possibilities for a specific intervention to achieve an intended change in targeted groups (housing personnel and young asylum seekers)?
- **Doable?** Do IPP participants have political, financial, institutional, human resources to implement the planned intervention?
- **Testable?** Are the ideas about the intervention to promote good reception,

integration/establishment specific enough to assess the progress towards it? In Chapter 5 we will continue exploring the how specific partnership form aspects such as its *organisational dynamics and balanced relationships* have been dealt with in the Gothenburg partnership as important mechanisms to achieve a desired policy impact.

4.2 Existing initial theory of change

We ask *whether and what* theory of change or intervention logics has been elaborated among the participant IPP actors in Gothenburg.

4.2.1 How was the TOC developed?

This particular IPP partnership developed its TOC by a collaborative stakeholder-led processes (see our description in Chapter 3)⁴⁴. Overall the initial phase of problem identification and discussion of goals and measures was an unusually open process not favouring some particular civil society organisations. Gradually, a number of non-profits dropped off the process leaving municipality with seven initial partners that defined the preliminary TOC. One of the expressed self-criticisms is that the organisations did not (initially) involve the youngsters to sufficient degree in identifying their needs and planning services.

Even if the IPP collaboration model was not a focus for most of the partner organisations (there are exceptions) it emerged rather early in the deliberation process as an advantageous alternative to subcontracting. The challenge was too new, too huge, too complex for municipality to define the goals and desired actions or results on its own. Neither was there a properly established market for the housing services in Gothenburg (contrary to some other municipalities) as the municipality previously acted alone even if the municipality was forced to open up for private actors in 2015.⁴⁵ Besides, neither city municipality nor idea-based

⁴⁴ It was breaking off from a previous path when municipality decided to invite civil society organisations to a dialog on “good reception”. The initial programme logics started with identifying the challenge or the needs, the goals and the interested actors. Decisions on overall financial and structural collaboration issues were taken after that.

⁴⁵ While the immigration crisis of 2015 forced the Social Resource Department to announce public procurement, this did not suffice and the municipality opened up for simpler and faster procedures to engage other private (for-profit) actors via direct procurement and gradually also IPP. Thus IPP

organisations were quite satisfied with other existing “collaboration” models – public procurement or traditional grants. Indeed, by the time a larger IPP partnership model was brought up some organisations had already approached municipality for collaboration and it was idea-based organisations that proposed IPP as a collaboration form to address the UASM reception and integration needs.

Also many other form and substantial aspects of the ToC where developed during the initial dialogue between interested stakeholders.

4.2.2 Mapping out initial TOC

Intervention goals and targeted groups

The collective intervention goal for both municipality and involved non-profits, has been expressed (both during the initial dialogue processes and in the partnership agreement) in very similar terms of *organising good reception and care of unaccompanied minors and increasing their opportunities for meaningful leisure activities and integration* during their first time in Sweden (IPP agreement, 2015). These goals differ in their time-perspective: organising good reception conditions is an immediate goal (although to be sustained through the whole partnership period) while contributions to meaningful leisure time and integration may be interpreted as medium or long-term goals. These goals were to be achieved by providing “safe, home-like environment to grow up” and “a variety of integrated services of added-value” by idea-based organisations (ibid). These should be seen as *partial goals* for the partnership.

The focus has been both on collectively addressing the *urgent* accommodation and basic care needs and the *longer-term* needs of increased possibilities for youngsters’ meaningful leisure activities and integration. The intended social impact was a contribution to youngsters’ wellbeing during their first time in Sweden and gradual inclusion in the Swedish society.

While Gothenburg city was a major receiver of both transit migrants (primarily those moving towards Norway or Finland) and asylum seekers aiming to stay the

collaboration was not the only model for targeting unaccompanied minors’ reception, leisure time and integration in Gothenburg.

initial targeted group was unaccompanied asylum seeking minors with *granted residence permits*. Thus both short-term and long-term partnership goals applied to their imagined targeted group or all the unaccompanied children and youngsters residing in the partnership housings. Due to the contextual changes the initial perception of the targeted group was gradually challenged. Besides, since the start, the idea-based organisation services were directed at two targeted groups – the unaccompanied minors and housing personnel, even if the second target group was less outspoken.

Intervention logics for qualitative reception – immediate goals: safe housing and care

How was qualitative reception and housing perceived and expected to be implemented in practice? In addressing the urgent accommodation and basic care needs the partnership was to offer “safe, homelike environment” or reasonably qualitative group accommodation. The guidance for this was provided by national agency Socialstyrelsen and valid for all providers of similar housing. Its aims were to provide youngsters with own room, dining services, contact personnel, where possible, round the clock, basic care and in addition organise collective free-time activities. Legal acts⁴⁶ regulating what safe accommodation environment in group housing (hem för vård och boende, HVB) means have been specified in the original IPP agreement from 2015 while some additional quality standards for running group housing were latter specified in the municipal *direct procurement* requirements (Göteborgs stad SRF, 2015).

How was then desired quality to be secured (and the responsibility for housing to be shared)? It is municipal responsibility to care for the unaccompanied minors’ basic needs (including housing, school and health care) during their asylum process and if granted asylum same responsibility remains until the age of 21 in Gothenburg by adding to it integration responsibility (Migrationsverket, 2016) IPP partnership was seen as a way to “share” some of those responsibilities, such housing responsibilities⁴⁷ with interested idea-based organisations by contracting them

⁴⁶ Such as HVB-förordningen etc. Se Chapter 2, policy description.

⁴⁷ Gothenburg City Municipality, Social resource department has overall responsibility for allocating accommodation to minors allocated the city by the Migration Agency. The practical allocation is done by the unit responsible for unaccompanied minors and in collaboration with social secretaries placed at different municipal city districts (Göteborgs stad, Socialresursförvaltning 2015).

based on direct procurement rules (“kommunal entreprenad”). This way the overall quality responsibility was formally to remain with city municipality⁴⁸ in contrast to public procurements. In practice the quality matters were to be placed with the service providing idea-based organisations based on additional housing requirements in direct procurement (Göteborgs stad, SRF, 2015) such as personnel round the clock and specified competencies. What minors were to be accommodated at the IPP group housings was a decision made by the Gothenburg municipality district administrations. The municipality aimed that all HVB housings under its permit would provide similar quality.

Partnership common services via Innovative financial arrangements

To achieve partnership goals participant organisations were to develop a number of common services. To (partly) compensate for this the partnership agreed a new innovative financial arrangement that is organised in a way that allows non-profits to commonly administer a defined sum of money. Municipality pays for each minor placed in the partnership housings 1750 SEK per day, from the financing from The Migration Agency. Of these 50 SEK per child and day will go to the common pool of money and the non-profits will commonly (in steering group) define what common services are in need and thus could be financed from the “common pool or pot”. All partnership youngsters were eligible to any of the partnership common so called *added value* services (See fig 1). Each organisation was responsible for the quality and development of their specific services as presented in the following.

Personnel competence development

The IPP agreement relies on “the long experience of idea-based organisations in providing housing to other social groups with special needs” (IOP Göteborg, 2015, p 6.) Nevertheless some actors in partnership noted an obvious need of continuous personnel competence development based on voice strong non-profits with broad knowledge of asylum seekers and refugee needs as complementary to municipal trainings. Relatively early the partnership steering group has decided to establish a

⁴⁸ Similar rules apply to HVB run by some for profit actors subcontracted via direct contracts. The national agency IVO (Inspektionen för vård och omsorg) exercises the overall quality control for HVB housings while Socialstyrelsen provides advice and guidance to service providers.

coordinator function for common personnel development courses to be financed from the partnership “common pot” and the Red Cross agreed to undertake this role. The courses were primarily to be available to all partnership HVB housing personnel.

Göteborg municipality given its longer experience of asylum seeking minors reception had their routines and even pedagogical material how to support these youngsters. Municipality was to open their established basic courses also to partnership personnel.

Psychological counselling

To strengthen youngsters’ mood and provide them with tools to deal with their stressful and traumatic experiences partners stressed the need of psychological counselling services. To increase the partnership value such services were to be open for all partnership youngsters. Initially two organisations (IM and Skyddsvärnet) were prepared to offer counselling services. IM has already established two unique in Sweden profile courses – “children in waiting”, “children in start” while Skyddsvärnet was to organise so called “crisis counselling” (krismottagning) offered by volunteering professional psychologists. This initiative was enabled due to the commitment and the personal network of the chairwoman of Skyddsvärnets steering board some financial support from the partnership “pot”.

Intervention logics for increasing chances to meaningful leisure time and integration

Asylum seeker’s reception and integration is a major issue for civil society! Here we cannot rely too much on the government or municipality. (Interview with a non-profit, 20160309)

How were then the unaccompanied minors’ chances to meaningful leisure time and integration activities to be increased? Here the primary responsibility rested on the idea-based organisations (both housing and other service providers) that were to provide a variety of integrated services – so called added-value services– aiming to contribute to meaningful leisure time activities and social bonding during all partnership period or as long as needed. This was because non-profits were seen as complementary to extant but insufficient municipal leisure time and integration services. It all started by allowing each organisation to specify some relevant added

value services it may offer the youngsters in the IPP agreement while other services/activities were to be developed and specified later, in their common platforms and in updated agreements. Examples of such services were volunteer-based leisure time activities including *language training, sports or socialising activities* via friend families and on-job practice.

4.2.3 Assessment of the initial logics

Although ambitious in their scope the partnership goals indeed initially were not very clear about what more specific changes are desired in newcomers' reception and integration. Initially the partners had just a sketch-like logics of action on how this all was to be achieved realising at an early stage that this has to be a process of trial and learning from own experiences. In terms of outputs it is evident that partners strive for more qualitative services than would have been possible for municipality or individual subcontracted actors in the context of "migration crisis". It is implicit that the partnership seeks service *diversity, integration, and human perspective* based on willingness to assist. Overall betterment of youngsters' situation regarding housing, free-time activities and integration was seen as requiring new organisational solutions with substantial influence for non-profits and dialogue based policy development.

A major issue for the partnership was to figure out how to finance such services and how to enable their *access and complementarity*. Even if partners have early expressed their ambitions to integrate partnership-based services it remained unclear how and whether they were to be integrated with existent services each HVB housing had on offer or with each other.⁴⁹

4.3 New Theory of Change

New theory of change refers primarily to additional aspects of the extant ToC that researcher has identified in interviews with the actors to further specify substance

⁴⁹ Integrating solutions can be interpreted as complementary to each other where relevant for achieving the partnership goals. For example common competence development measures for the housing personnel could be used to increase their interest and awareness for the offered (often volunteer-based) meaningful free-time or integration activities for the youngsters.

and some form related aspects of TOC. IPP Partnership here is seen as a major mechanism enabling achievement of desired impact. The evaluator has employed certain theoretical perspectives – the network integration and institutionalisation perspective (Peters 2012) and cross-sectorial governance and balancing of sectors’ roles (Salomon & Toepler, 2015) to explore and assess specific form-related aspects of the TOC. These issues will be in the focus of analysis in chapter 5, here only briefly major intended logics of interaction and shared responsibilities will be addressed.

4.3.1 Methodology

The theory of change has been developed by reading the partnership documents and their appendixes for each organisation where they proposed their added value services. In addition, the researcher has conducted numerous interview and conversations with the participants (36) from Steering group, Collaboration group, HVB directors and housing personnel (see also chapter 5) and participated in several common partnership meetings. To validate the researchers findings the theory of change has been presented and discussed together with implementation factors and challenges at a common seminar with ca 25 IPP participants on 15 September 2016.

4.3.2 Background

Youngsters’ and front-line personnel de facto needs – wellbeing and safety

The initial intervention logics targeted unaccompanied minors with already obtained residence permit and thus experiencing a limited need of care and rather motivated to get integrated in the Swedish society.⁵⁰ Later in the IPP

⁵⁰ Gothenburg municipality could actually subcontract three types of collective housings for unaccompanied minors- those in asylum process (“asylboende”) ; those with granted asylum/permanent residence or “PUT boende” and apartments for more independent household for 2-3 youngsters with limited personnel or “träningsboende”. The IPP agreement initially aimed to address the (municipal) need of sharing the burden of housing especially for the second group- PUT or those with residence permit. In practice the Migration agency has allocated larger numbers of youngsters without asylum than municipality has anticipated and thus both municipal and partnership HVB housings received mainly minors in a protracted asylum process.

implementation process front-line personnel (housing personnel, leisure activity coordinators, volunteers) came to deal with a group mainly aged 14-17, the majority of which has been put in long asylum waiting process (often lasting 10-12 months or more). Front-liners experienced thus a need *to diversify* the group and its needs based on their asylum status, various experiences, health, gender, age, culture and so on. Some were perceived as traumatised by the experiences of migration, misunderstood, experiencing loneliness due to separation from their families and gradually losing hope and motivation to take part in many offered leisure and socialising activities.

This nuanced picture required reconsidering actors' capacities and diversity of activities, services and methods to assist those youngsters. Front-line personnel also experienced *lack of knowledge and tools* to deal with such great number of youngsters experiencing psychosocial problems during their asylum process. The mechanisms for achieving qualitative housing and other partnership aims under such conditions became more obscure and the imagined support logics was insufficient and in need of further (and constant) development.

How the changed need picture affects TOC

The need picture has undergone an important transformation since the initiation of the partnership and its major correction seems to have occurred among front-line service implementers in daily contact with youngsters – the housing personnel, volunteers and coordinators. As long as the majority of the youngsters were still waiting for their long protracted asylum permit decisions –months after their accommodation was arranged –both youngsters and personnel felt resignation to plan anything more long-sighted. In addition, HVB directors and personnel became aware of new needs such as limiting maximum numbers of youngsters per housing due to security reasons or newly actualised need to secure healthy group dynamics among youngsters. Front line personnel experienced *a need to develop their tools* to deal with this new, unpredicted situation both on the level of partnership but also in individual partner organisations. In the IPP context they increasingly felt need of platforms for sharing needs, methods used and experiences gained.

The contextual changes evoked a need to *adjust* the initially identified *common partnership support mechanisms to secure safe housing and basic care*. We could identify following adjustments in intervention logics:

- a) Emphasis and access to socio-psychological services to youngsters – via extant partnership counselling service; increased personnel competences; new form of housing;
- b) Personnel support and development measures (perhaps even recruitment strategies).
- c) Housing arrangements;
- d) Allocation and (re)placement of youngsters with specific needs;
- e) Ways to increase youngsters' interest and motivation to take part in services offered by the partnership,

Under such circumstances the partnership *personnel training services* and *psychosocial support to youngsters* gained new importance in the TOC. Whether the adjustment of partners actions was possible will be addressed in Chapter 5.

4.3.3 Intermediate and long-term outcomes

Changes in migration flows during autumn 2015 resulted in protracted asylum procedures that alongside changes in immigration legislation in late 2015 (REF) have created insecurity among IPP actors regarding their received youngsters' chances to stay in Sweden more permanently. This highly affects the purpose of the partnership and its major desired outcomes – that the minors would have access to safe housing and that their basic psychosocial needs would be attended during their first time in Sweden and in the longer run – to engage in meaningful activities and start to get integrated in the society. For many youngsters lacking asylum permit and experiencing psychological discomfort the long-terms goals needed to be postponed. For the group with granted asylum the partnership sustains increased chances to integration as major long-term goals.

4.3.4 Justifying direct procurements as a part of IPP arrangement

The overwhelming unaccompanied asylum seekers wave forced even Gothenburg municipality to search for new ways to organise its reception policies. The refugee

wave was officially also presented *as a chance* to open up for involving social economy organisations and making use of their potential – something Gothenburg city municipality has been committed to for a while.

To make it lucrative for organisations to consider this service in a different form of contract relationship instead a “kommunal entreprenad” or “direct procurement” was offered without burdening both sides with more detailed service requirements and market competition. The IPP was thus portrayed, especially by municipal representatives, as a *more flexible and a prompter way* of addressing the urgent need of organising a good, warm reception for unaccompanied children as compared to other forms of collaboration, especially rather popular public-procurements.

4.3.5 Justifying intervention through an IPP partnership

The partnership agreement does not explicitly state the motives for IPP even if the municipal collaboration with idea-based organisations and also a mutual collaboration between the organisations is seen instrumental for the attainment of the above stated goals. The agreement states that the partnership “integrates housing with a coherent work for possibilities to meaningful leisure activities and integration into society” (IOP Göteborg, 2015, p. 2) thus implicitly indicating that collaboration enables *greater diversity and range* of relevant activities for the goal achievement and more qualitative and human reception services complementing those of the municipality.

However interested in assisting the targeted group of youngsters interviews indicated that both parties had *additional incentives* for entering such new form of partnership. From the municipal perspective it seems that it was willingness to find *more flexible, prompter* implementation arrangements but also partners delivering *more qualitative* service for, in principle, *the same money* as other directly subcontracted providers, and thus a cost-effective solution. In addition, the deal was about finding not a pure service “executive”/provider but partners willing to contribute by *developing and tailoring extra services* for their beneficiaries and in sharing responsibilities.

For idea-based organisations it seems to have meant both opportunities to strengthen their organisations by *developing new housing or volunteer-based services* or *accessing larger user groups* for their special tailored services or for some – building new relations for future collaboration. Each partner was to gain by making use of each others' knowledge and service, and all services were to be available for the unaccompanied minors the partnership was taking care of.

"We can make use of each other and each others knowledge" (Interview 2016-05-11)

In sum, the major *reasons* for an idea-based public partnership was both emergent need of increased housing and care capacities but also a need of more *qualitative and sustainable* model of reception through *multiple but complementary and integrated* services based on distinctive qualities of civil society. Partnership was to add "an extra dimension" in organising UASM reception and integration services. Its uniqueness was seen in the total value produced by all partnership actors contributing with extra or added value services.

4.3.6 Interventions and outputs

Following were the major partnership interventions and services directed to assist youngsters:

- a) Personnel training: development of partnership housing personnel training courses coordinated by a *The Red Cross* personnel (see above)
- b) Psychological counselling: development of a new professional but solely volunteer-based counselling service coordinated by *Skyddsvärnets* personnel (not compensated from the common pool)
- c) Leisure time services: coordination of a variety of volunteers and contacts with civil society organisations to offer youngsters a variety of free of charge "meaningful leisure time activities" coordinated by IM personnel.
- d) On-job practice and summer job services: complementary to similar municipal services and coordinated by a person from partner *Bräcke diakoni* (for asylum seekers under 16 and those with permits aged 15-20)
- e) Friend family services: training and matchmaking of volunteer families to

act mentor or friend families to interested youngsters via an employed coordinator at *Räddningsmissionen*.

Skyddsvärnets reasons for offering psychological counselling were their experiences of overloaded municipal psychology services and long waiting times which the partnership was now to complement.

On-job practice was to be organised by partnership organisations and complement similar municipal activities.

4.3.7 Inputs - crucial mechanisms

Critical to achieving the desired quality of housings and identifying basic care needs was the role of the front-line housing personnel who were expected to interact with other important adults serving the youngsters – legal representatives, social secretaries at municipality and schools in identifying and addressing youngsters' basic care or social needs. It seems that housing personnel was also seen as a primary channel, besides legal representatives, to communicate between the youngsters and actors involved in organising services and implicitly expected to motivate youngsters to make use of common partnership services.

Also added value service coordinators were to play a critical role in inventing operational logics through identifying the specific needs, developing extant or organising new (for their home organisations) services and especially tailoring them to the context and targeted groups needs - tasks not unusual to front-liners but especially essential in developing new and legally not circumscribed policy action.

4.3.8 Assessment of evolutionary intervention logics

Is the logics plausible?

The evolving diversified need picture is informed by daily front-line personnel praxis under pressing circumstances. However is the new need picture anchored in all partnership structures to be able to adjust operational logics after diversified youngster needs? We conclude that the picture of youngsters' and thus personnel needs under altered circumstances needs to be better channelled to open up for

timely further development in overall partnership logics. Also there seems to be especially great need for different front-liners - HVB personnel and added value coordinators to share and commonly adjust their need picture. Indeed while needs are now identified by more extensively interacting with the youngsters to share their world views, perceptions their involvement needs to be increased.

Was this doable?

Evolving extra needs put demands not only for adjustments in human resources and structures but also especially for financial resources and sustained political support. It is questionable whether the resources available within partnership pool and individual organisations may be sufficient to implement the services and achieve an intended impact especially in the light of the external circumstances that contribute to increase youngsters' stress and motivation.

Political support: Initially the IPP partners felt significant political support in this traditionally "red" municipality with social local democratic majority for both their aims of qualitative asylum-seeking minors reception and partnership with non-profit actors.⁵¹ A year later, while the local politicians sustain their support partners' initiatives are counteracted the legal and political changes especially on the national level. They continue to search for political support via more individual voice initiatives in mass media and direct contacts but it is evident that they are struggling against the wind now.

Financial resources: During the first year organisations were able to continue under the initial budget premises and a substantial budget due to increasing or rather stable numbers of youngsters. As an exception, some extra resources were negotiated with municipality to offer a new form of housing within partnership for youngsters with special psychosocial needs. As no other money than that from Migration Agency administered and allocated via municipality is available for the

⁵¹ At the time for partnership initiation (in late 2014 and early 2015) under increasingly pressing situation in Gothenburg the municipal red-green government in Gothenburg (elected in 2014), was willing to publically signal its openness for public-civil society collaborations especially in a form that would make best use of the civil society potential. Gothenburg was also traditionally a municipality receiving large numbers of asylum seekers and in free-will agreement with Migration Agency regarding reception of unaccompanied youngsters. Municipal committee for social resource and its subordinate bureaucrats have shown to be bold in their pioneering and controversial support for providing shelter and basic care for EU migrants in IPP collaboration with a number of non-profits. Thus municipality has established trust relations with some of the non-profits of the current IPP.

partnership, both at the end of the first year and in the near future partnership may need to prioritise between their services if the resources will decrease. Here individual organisations have to look for their own ways to secure what they deem necessary services.⁵²

Human resources: Currently, implementation rests on expected municipal flexibility and partners' commitment to common goals and willingness to look for solutions but there are some limits to human resources (personnel, psychologists, volunteers' interest and capacities) in a continuously challenging situation.

Managerial or partnership aspects: Successful implementation requires consensus and functioning norms, principles and channels to anchor common goals and alleviate collaboration in service implementation. The partnership seems committed and rather congruent but there are signs that internal coordination in sharing experiences and developing new or stronger capacities has not yet been optimised.

Partnership issues: As IPP partnership has emerged as the ultimate form of collaboration to achieve the desired long-term outcomes it is implicit that partners aim to sustain this partnership form as an important long-term goal.

Relation-wise the ultimate goal is thus achieving and sustaining a fruitful balance of both sector roles based on such *principles as mutual contribution, shared responsibility, equality, freedom of action, collective knowledge development and learning* (IOP Gothenburg, 2015) in this unique for Sweden partnership model.

The partnership was to succeed in its substantial goals by open consultations and decisions in its various (successively) established groups such as Collaboration group and more strategic decisions and guidance by the Steering Group. Additional partnership structures were to be created for emerging issues and all structures linked by smooth communication and coordination processes such as the case with HVB representative group and Personnel Training Coordination group

⁵² Here we need to note that municipality pays for number of places in a HVB home, thus HVB gets financing also for temporarily vacant premises. The amount allocated for a vacant place is somewhat lower than for a child per day, and is currently 1350 per child and day. This contractual aspect is called "abonemangavtalet".

Learning was to be enabled by self-evaluations and common platforms of consultation and with the help of external evaluators (IOP Göteborg, 2015, p8.) The researcher is the only external evaluator involved so far.

However, besides some formally declared norms and planned decision-making structures (IOP Göteborg, 2015) other mechanisms for sustaining a fruitful partnership such as importance of equal partnership or communication and coordination processes (see Chapter 5) remained less clear.

4.3.9 Program Logic

In sum the partnership was to reach its goals for unaccompanied minors via two types of interventions – own housings and common services– directed mostly at youngsters, but occasionally also at housing personnel. For an overview of the intervention logics see Figure 1.

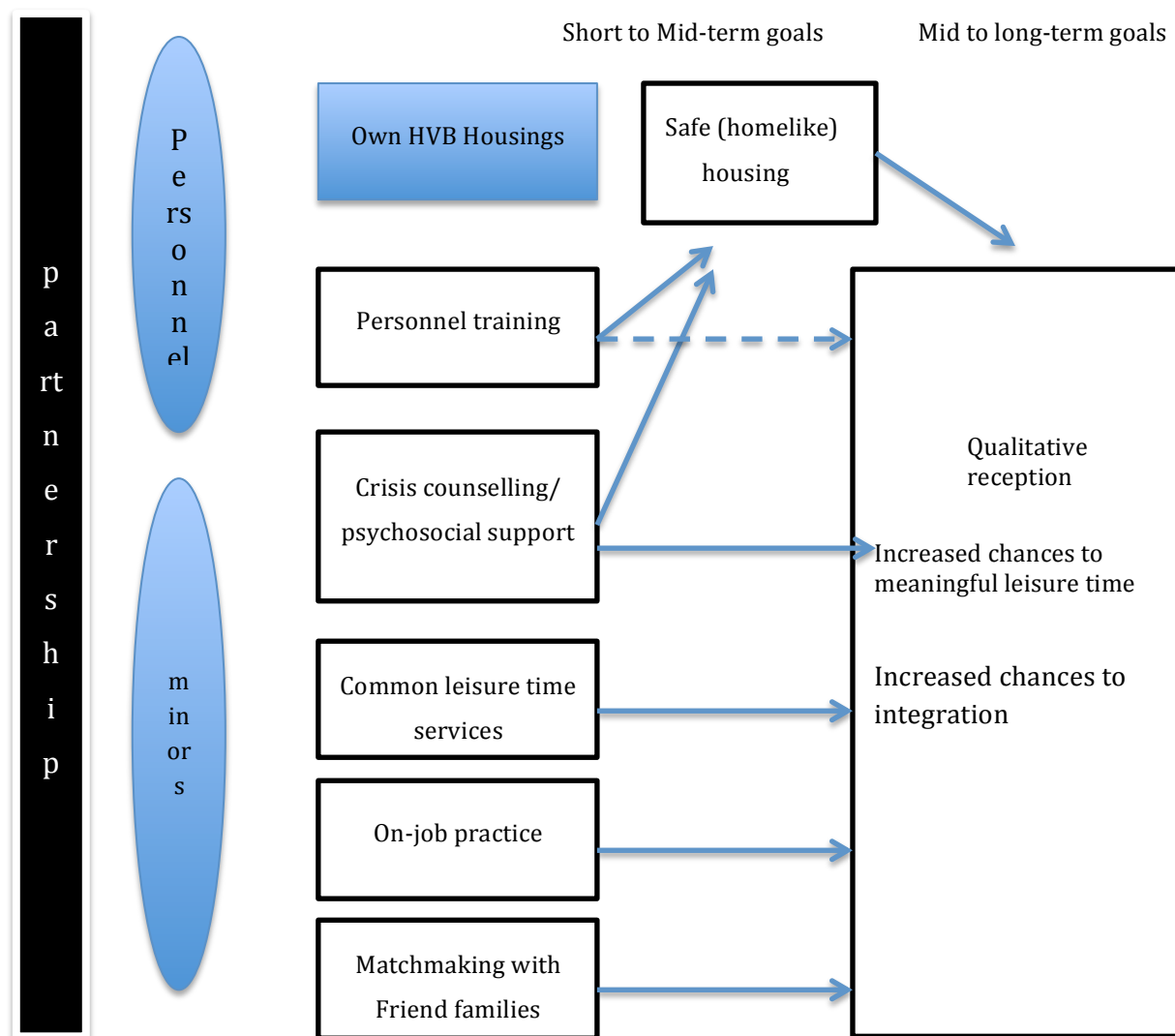


Figure 1 Ch 4 An overview of IPP intervention logics

5. Process evaluation

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter we will analyse whether the partnership services to unaccompanied minors were implemented as intended and what these services actually were. However to be of use to practitioners this analysis aims especially to generate a better understanding about some important mechanisms of achieving desired social goals and how they operate in the partnership context.

5.1.1 Introduction to the section

For this purpose we will here present a twofold process analysis of the Gothenburg idea-based-public partnership:

- a) An analysis of service design and implementation based on key broadly in literature recognised *policy implementation variables* such as those described in (Rogers & Williams, 2006) – here applied to *inter-organisational processes*; and more specifically
- b) An analysis of how *challenges of a functional and integrated partnership* were dealt with and at least partly overcome.

We devote a special attention to partnership *advantages and challenges* in planning and implementing the partnership services to unaccompanied minors, especially partnership common services. The *aim* with this evaluation is to attempt to assess the advantages of this particular collaboration form in implementing local policies for reception and integration of minors. The evidence provided by the analysis relates to the “how it works” aspects of policy intervention or so-called *single-loop learning* (Rogers & Williams, 2006). However, indirectly it also aims broaden the perspective regarding the “what” issues such as what may need to be reconsidered as the normative goals or challenges of such partnership (s). The analysis part that focuses on the robustness of intervention logics or the thinking behind some procedures hopefully contributes to further explorations on how appropriate they

may be deemed for the needs of intervention beneficiaries (personnel, unaccompanied minors) i.e. *double-loop learning*.

Theoretically this evaluation aims to contribute to increased knowledge on how whole networks such as IPP especially their structuration, level of institutionalisation, integration affect policy outcomes (Adam & Kriesi, in Sabatier 2007) and also on the importance of balancing between some sector specific values or principles to sustain a collaborative governance through an IPP partnership Salamon & Toepler (2015).

5.1.2 Key analytical concepts

The study employs an open perspective to governance and views policy - here for newcomers establishment and integration - as an *outcome* of partnership collaboration. In an open perspective no actors or structures are prejudged to have greater importance in policy implementation, and their strategies and roles are rather an empirical question. It is up to empirical research. However as the focus here is also on the whole inter-organisational network its specific characteristics matters for policy implementation this study relies on governance literature on factors deemed important to a sustainable and functioning governance network or collaborative governance. Such factors may be level of consensus or a common approach, integration, institutionalisation and effective coordination and communication (Sørensen & Tørfing, 2012, p 95 ff).

Governance concerns all those networks that operate at the boundary of the state and civil society and covers the actors and practices that produce certain norms and power relations (Bevir, 2013, p.153). *Governance networks* is a particular form of governance with a relatively stable horizontal configuration of interdependent but operationally autonomous actors who interact through negotiations which take place within an institutional framework, are self-regulating within the limits set by external agencies and contribute to the production of public policy (Sorensen and Torfing, 2012, p.11).

Regardless of the differences between various governance theories a major common theme is how collaboration in networks or partnerships is to be achieved and sustained and the importance of common institutional structures and frames of

reference for this purpose. Thus our analysis frame will be built on several of such essential factors and mechanisms for building and sustaining an IPP partnership – as a particular form of network governance.

5.1.3 Questions for Implementation analysis

To address the above stated analysis aims we raise three major implementation questions:

- *Q1: How did specific organisational factors alleviate or obstruct implementation of aimed services to the targeted groups in the partnership context?*

To answer this we employ Rogers and Williams' (2006) ideas on organisational dynamics and adjust them to fit in our studied inter-organisational partnership context. Here especially we look into what factors increase intervention relevance to the experienced needs (and partnership aims). However, assuming that it is a challenge in itself to achieve a functioning partnership capable of positive policy impact we also ask:

- *Q2: What were the particular challenges in establishing a functional and integrated IPP partnership; where they overcome and how?*

To respond to this and to structure our inquiry we add an additional analysis framework from *network governance* literature⁵³(see e. g. Sørensen & Torfing, 2012) on major factors essential to sustain a functioning partnership. In addition, knowing the intentions of the IPP partnership to achieve a *more equal and balanced relations* between the two sectors and the challenges that follow with that (see e.g. Salamon & Toepler, 2015) we finally ask:

- *Q3: Was and how a more equal or balanced partnership achieved?*

In addition we seek to understand to whether a balanced partnership may in any ways increase its capacity to effectively act upon the targeted social problems.

⁵³ The framework applied here is based on some distilled ideas from network governance literature, especially from governability and interdependence theories.

Analysis framework

To answer the process evaluation *Question 1* we explore the following major organisational (or form) factors and their role in the partnership context for successful implementation and fulfilment of partnership goals (Rogers and Williams 2006).

- 1) **Managerial-hierarchic processes:** Formal procedures, guidelines, policies
 - *What is the role of the partnership management/Board in supporting and guiding towards common goal achievement? What tools were employed?*
- 1) **Front-line actors' role:** informal operating routines
 - *What is the role of front-line actors in designing and delivering partnership (common) services achieve partnership goals?*
- 2) **The organizational development aspect:** emerging organisational and inter-organisational tools
 - *Did partnership actors at all levels develop and made use of new inter-organisational procedures and structures? What support did they receive in such bottom-up organising?*
- 3) **The conflict and bargaining aspect** focuses on how conflict over scarce resources (financial, information, human) or other conflicting interests between partners is resolved.
 - *Are there any conflicting perceptions of the targeted need/problem, partnership aims or its evolving intervention logics and how are these resolved? How is resource pooling and sharing resolved?*
- 4) **The external influence aspect** focuses on the impact that external stakeholders have on an organization or network through their action, reactions, resourcing, support, or lack of support. **Contextual factors** or the chance and chaos perspective recognizes that practice can evolve or change by unpredicted changes in context or program environment or people's reactions, or the unintended outcomes of deliberate actions.
 - *Do and how any external actors (financers, politicians, media) or factors significantly impact on implementation?*

In our study of factor groups 1-4 we especially and explore the effect of the partnership dimension whether and how it played a role – its advantages and challenges – in relation to those factors.

Functioning partnership

Realisation of partnership goals is highly dependent on partnership sustainment, an issue addressed in implementation *Question 2*. In collaborative network processes it is not a given that one single perception prevails of the intervention aims, target, tasks and mechanisms. When exploring internal dynamics the Gothenburg partnership we will in particular aim to focus on factors that are argued to help to *form and sustain a functioning*. Here in particular we explore whether the actors have been able to reach a *commitment and common approach or framing* (Peters, 2012) to the policy problem associated with unaccompanied minors reception and integration and ways to address it, also possible *conflicting perspectives and bargaining aspect* as well as the role of partnership management. Here Peters (2012) stresses how *commitment, perception of interdependence* and *common framing* as important mechanisms for achieving integrated network institutions (structures, norm and processes) but also the role of *external environment* and the *nature of policy issue*. Common framing refers to actors'/organisations' perceptions of their own roles in the network and network managers have an important role to strengthen. Also increased understanding of mutual interdependence and external legitimacy of this government form and support helps common framing and in turn institutionalisation of relevant collaboration structures.

Balanced partnership

Finally, while the explored governance and partnership literature (see Chapter 3) are useful in analysing general governance challenges and facilitating factors this does not suffice to increase our understanding of specific idea-based public partnership challenges. To address this we employ some complementary analytical dimensions based on Salamon & Toepler (2015) who claim that once such partnerships are in place, a remaining challenge for their successful operation is *achieving a balance* between the two sectors and more equal relationships, in particular in terms of:

- *Engagement* of non-profits not only in implementation of government programmes but also in *development of their design*;

- *Preserving a distinctive character* of the non-profit sector, especially their role as an independent change actor and ability to act as “voice” towards government while acting in cooperative relations with public sector;
- *Adjusting the steering mode* of public sector and its *operational abilities* to make use of the non-profits capabilities and specificity rather than imposing same management procedures as in public sector.

Salamon & Toepler (2015) suggests properly selected steering tools, such as new collaborative style of public management, may enable balance.

In sum, we have attempted to capture a chain of interrelated change mechanisms with the help of selected analytical tools. This includes exploring the role of partnership management, strategies and actions front-line actors, resources pooling and sharing arrangements as well as contextual factors– in achieving its policy goals. We also find two partnership dimensions – level of *integration* and *balance between sector roles* – as important in explaining partnership internal dynamics and success. On the other hand the internal success may have either positive or negative impact on the policy outcomes and it is up to empirical analysis to reveal this. The arrows in the figure 2 indicate anticipated impact direction while the line indicates mutual relationship.

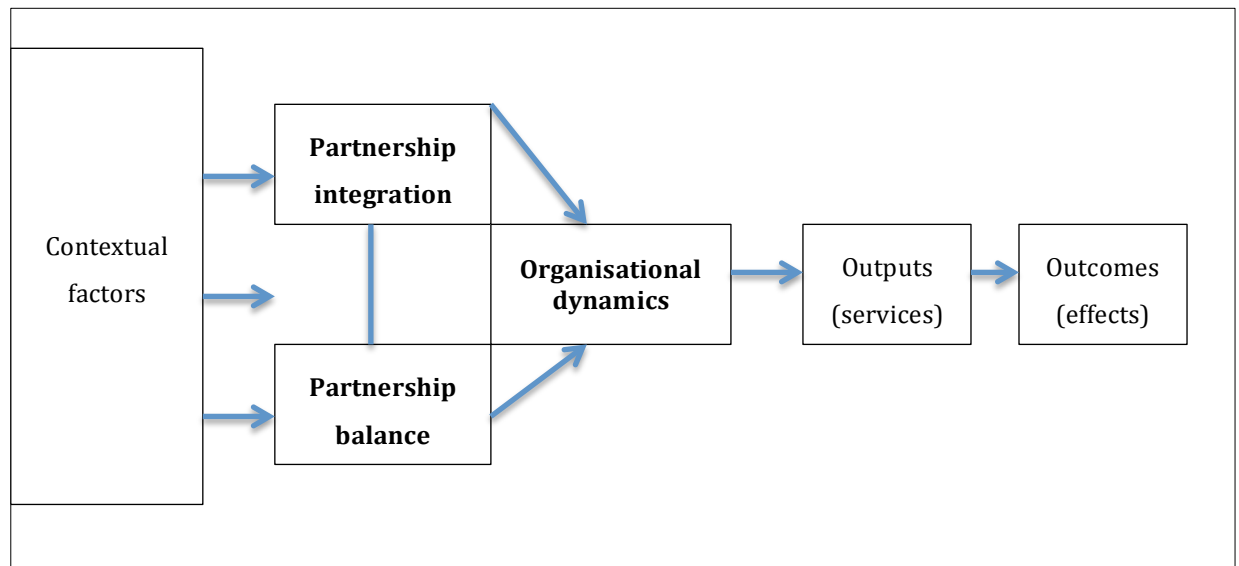


Figure 2. Analysis frame for IPP 1

5.2 Methodology

Given the nature of InnoSI and the questions we are addressing, process evaluation involved primarily qualitative methods complemented by some quantitative methods (questionnaires) in exploring intervention implementation and its effects. The implementation processes and their effects are portrayed based on their accounts by the major stakeholders i.e. primarily representatives of local IPP partnership organisations and where available, those of primary beneficiaries – unaccompanied asylum seeking minors (UASM).

5.2.1 Data collection and analysis: qualitative and quantitative methods

This process evaluation is mainly conducted based on *primary data* collected by *qualitative* methods, primarily interviews (38 interviews) with representatives from major stakeholders – seven non-profits and Gothenburg municipality (represented in partnership by Social resource department)– representatives from partnership steering and collaboration structures, organisation staff delivering the intervention, several housing directors (5), personnel (15 personnel from 4 HVB at 4 occasions) and front-line staff developing and coordinating particular partnership common services aimed at assisting personnel and unaccompanied minors. Housing personnel has been interviewed also as beneficiaries of some partnership services. Extensive attempts have been made to reach and interview unaccompanied minors as a major targeted group but here the researcher faced major challenges.

Firstly the access to youngsters was impeded by high work loads of HVB directors and staff whose assistance was necessary in order to identify and motive potentially interested minors, receive contact information to youngsters’ legal representatives to follow ethical study requirements and increase chances to motivate the minors. After intensive communication it became clear that it is not a realistic ambition to reach the majority of partnership youngsters (ca 135-150 by June 2016). This both due to the complicated and time demanding communication, lack of personnel time to properly communicate the information and motivate youngsters. It shows the difficulties of acting as on-going evaluation without a clear mandate. Common platforms for introducing the study and its aims to various partnership actors, especially on operational level in combination with feedback from steering group

would have been necessary to increase the access to the targeted minors. The researcher has made attempts to both reach (selected) minors at their housings and these enrolled in a reference group for planning partnership summer leisure time activities. However, one of the major reasons impeding on youngster's interest and abilities were their poor psychosocial condition especially due to experienced traumas, separation, and long asylum processes with unknown outcomes. On top of that it was a Ramadan period when many youngsters as reported by personnel felt even more tired and depressed.

Individual thematic semi-structured interviews were conducted with various representatives from partnership organisations; housing personnel and a few accessed youngsters were interviewed in a form of discussion groups. Additionally a couple of semi-structured observations have been conducted - one at partnership board and one at collaborative group meeting.

However due to difficulties to access the targeted group youngsters the analysis also integrates the available *secondary qualitative and quantitative data* such as meeting minutes, unaccompanied minors responses to questionnaires posed by partnership actors and the available self-evaluations. The qualitative methods were deemed more relevant for exploring the mechanisms of partnership formation and successful functioning as well as policy implementation. Some of the major limitations of secondary data such as questionnaires and self-assessments were their structure that did not necessarily capture the aspects of implementation that are of most interest to the evaluation. Some of these challenges have been overcome by researcher's involvement in the design of the questionnaires where that was possible.

Using similar semi structured themes for interviews has helped to secure *reliability* of the data collected, also complementing interviews with document studies and interviewing several persons about similar processes serves to increase data reliability. The few available organisation activity reports differ in their structure, data details and questions addressed. Also the organisations have just started their first data collection and assessment processes and are produced under time pressure but they all contribute with valuable data and insights.

5.3 Implementation and the Results

This chapter explores the policy *outputs* of the IPP partnership – that is what range of services have evolved from the collaboration and assesses their complementarity, access and quality. The analysis covers the studied period between June 2015-September 2016.

The following implementation analysis is structured as follows. We identify and describe major partnership (common) services so far, to what extent they have reached the targeted groups, assess their quality and organisational factors for their successful implementation. Next and based on analysis of these we further explore and assess how successfully partnership has integrated and institutionalised its structures and processes as herein lies some of the partnership functionality or “internal success”. Finally we look into the challenges of balancing a partnership between public and idea-based sector and assess whether a balanced partnership characterises this partnership and its governance. Further studies would be needed to conclude more definitely on the relation between the status of balance and partnership outputs.

5.3.1 *Providing safe housing and psychological counselling*

A bulk part of IPP resources and capacity has been directed to providing safe accommodation and basic related services outsourced (see Chapter 4) to originally 4 and latter in 2016 6 idea-based partners. Under 2015 municipal HVB housings available via Social resource department of Gothenburg city have increased to 443 places for unaccompanied minors from just 44 in year 2014⁵⁴. By IPP agreement 90 more places have been offered by the non-profits at 7 HVB by January 2016 but the number HVB has increased to 15 housings (13 HVB and 2 stödboende) with 167 places by July 2016 of which 155 in Gothenburg city⁵⁵. We appreciate the number of youngsters to shift between somewhere between 135-150 in late spring 2016.

What housing conditions and basic care has been offered so far?

⁵⁴ The number of accommodation places both HVB and especially family homes offered by Gothenburg Municipality is greater, ca 2000 but the city municipality Social Resource Department is responsible for most municipal HVB.

⁵⁵ The number of youngsters in the IPP housings is shifting quickly and the researcher has no reliable data as to what the number of youngsters were by 1 July 2016.

The partnership non-profits have started with one form of housing - *group housings (HVB)* – but by July 2016 developed two more forms of housings:

Self-service housings (“stödboende”)

Special housings for youngsters with psychosocial needs (“psykiatriboende”) - with fewer youngsters and more personnel per youngster. Higher financing per child from municipality. This is an informally negotiated housing form between the partners and municipality and in August 2016 so far 1 such housing is offered (8 places) by Bräcke diakoni.

The two first housing forms and their differentiated financing⁵⁶ have been agreed in the initial contract of 2015 while the third form is new for the partnership one again showing the evolutionary development of intervention logics.

An assessment of the quality of housings and basic care

Most of the HVB personnel are concerned with providing best possible housing and basic care but feel restrained by the youngsters’ multiple needs, the unpredictable context and by resources available in contractual conditions. Reaching this goal is currently perceived as a challenge. Interviews with director and personnel self-assessments it is evident that they have been struggling hard to offer the quality of housing they desire due to the strained circumstances. Sometimes the safety or socio psychological needs of some minors could not be met, as they are very individual and resources or sometimes knowledge has been lacking.

Personnel and youngsters seem to be more content with the quality of premises rather than quality of services, both regarding the time and competences needed. Youngsters crave for more time and attention and personnel feels not always capable of addressing these needs or possessing tools to deal with their psychological problems. However while most housing personnel felt their knowledge and capacities to deal with youngsters has increased over time some of them felt more capacitated than others.

⁵⁶ The group housings are financed with 1700sek per child and day while self-service housings/trainings apartments (stödboende/träningslägenhet) where two youngsters share an apartment and handle most of the self-service are financed with 1000sek per child/day. To keep the rooms reserved until needed the partner organisations are offered a somewhat lower payment the vacant places (1500sek child and day and 800sek/child and day respectively)

One of the care tasks of housing personnel is organising youngsters free time. While youngsters seem to be involved and concerned of common leisure time activities by the housing personnel offered for them as a group their needs and interests are very diverse. Here the personnel reports lack of capacities and resources to offer more tailored activities. This has been one of the reasons for initiating partnership common leisure time services.

What has enabled such outputs?

Housing personnel both plays and is expected to play an important mediator role between youngsters and state agencies as well as other partnership organisations offering various services. In our overview we will primarily look into common traits and any relevant partnership contributions to ease the housing personnel challenges rather than the operations individual organisations. Firstly though a brief note on the partnership impact on the non-profits' commitment that in turn put their personnel in a challenging situation.

Commitment

As an effect of pressing immigration numbers municipality and its non-profit partners had to abandon their initial idea of more homogeneous HVB housings. Indeed it was thanks to the non-profit partners' commitment for the partnership that they accepted to adjust to the situation and share the responsibility to keep asylum seeking youngsters alongside those with residence permits as well as different ethnical groups and ages. This willingness to assist municipality (and each other) by undertaking and sharing greater responsibilities was more outspoken among the *steering group* as compared to the directors of housings and personnel who had to deal with a new reality.

"The places had to be filled also with individuals who also are in asylum process, so to say awaiting, and this has surely some consequences, while at the same time it is self evident to us to welcome those too. (Interview, member of coordination group).

Co-governance: non-profits' influence in designing new solutions in housing services

As an effect of their commitment to accommodate a greater variety of unaccompanied minors some of them did not feel well in the “ordinary” partnership housings with larger groups of youngsters (ca 16 or more per house) and limited private time with personnel. Already during the first year of the partnership housing directors started to realise the diversity of minors psychosocial needs but with increasing numbers of asylum seekers they lacked physical possibilities to adjust to this need diversity especially under the financial conditions in the contract for ordinary HVB or group housings. Out of this situation two parallel strategies evolved:

- 1) Given the changing picture of the youngsters’ needs partners came to realise the need to adopt a different logics of *differentiated housing* than initially intended, this time based on the perception youngsters’ needs rather than their asylum status. Implementation of this logic has not been easy and some housing directors started feeling entrapped in a situation wondering of the municipal responsibility for some “half-difficult minors”.
- 2) In this difficult situation the non-profits started sharing with each other the increasing need of *alternative form* of housing for youngsters with greater psychosocial needs within the partnership agreement. Bräcke diakoni organisation has emerged as an ice-breaker that – based on their expertise in care – started negotiations with the municipality for a more need-focused housing and changes in the original contract. In fact totally new contract conditions for this specific HVB housing type *were negotiated* – still under municipal supervision and permit– where the municipality, in contrast to the ordinary HVB, has a greater role in its co-financing.⁵⁷ This is a clear expression of an increased idea-based influence in housing service design but it also indicates ***municipal flexibility and willingness to share responsibility in its implementation*** in a partnership.

What are partnership advantages or challenges in this service?

In sum, a major advantage of a partnership with the idea-based organisations (for municipality) in the unpredictable and dramatic immigration situation of 2015 has

⁵⁷ The costs for each youngster in this housing form may be covered by Migration agency if the youngster needs care deemed falling under a specific regulation (LVU), but if not only half of the contractual costs per youngster are covered by the Migration agency while the other half comes from the municipality.

been their social purpose and willingness to look for solutions and *undertake responsibility* for accommodation and services for a more diverse group than originally targeted minors with residence permit (PUT). Another advantage has been opportunities partnership collaboration offered to build and use common policy platforms. Additionally the non-profits have been able to establish dialogue-based relations with City Social Resource Department with more flexibility to adjust housing after the needs rather than traditional top-down monitoring.

However there has also been lack of unanimity in Municipality as a partner regarding policy problem and coordination in problem solution.

Housing services in this partnership is clearly an area where the municipal democratic control is most legitimate given it takes its share of responsibility. In implementing housing services it was largely the municipality rather the partnership board that as a unified public actor could increase the chances for more successful services. However also here it was dependent on collaboration in partnership to increase the quality of the housing services.

In some issues Social Resource Department has acted as a responsible manager. This was the case when the idea-based organisations realised the need for adjusted housing services for minors with special psychosocial needs (smaller groups and tighter personnel) but the initial contractual conditions would not allow this. *Much due to the partnership commitment and established trust municipality has agreed to renegotiate conditions for such housings within the framework of IPP agreement.* This implies an increased municipal commitment to provide financing in cases where The Migration Agency financing will not suffice⁵⁸.

What implementation challenges remain to be overcome in current context?

Overall, analysis shows that after the first year in operation several major challenges for partnership to achieve their goal of safe, homelike housing remain (see Appendix 1). These challenges should be set in the particular context with stricter

⁵⁸ Based on case by case basis and following legal prescriptions the Migration Agency can cover the higher personnel costs for minors residing in special housings. The state compensation for an occupied room is 3600kr child/day instead of 1700 for usual HVB as received from municipality, and 1500kr for a vacant room instead of 1300. This is the incitement to keep the housing full, as is currently the case with all 8 rooms at HVB run by Bräcke diakoni. However when the state does not recognise a child eligible this place while municipality still chose to place it there the municipality has to cover the extra costs.

requirements for granting asylum and decreasing possibilities for family reunion from July 2016, stricter practices in replacement of youngsters aged 18 (those in asylum process), future decrease in resources for HVB and lower compensations and a less positive political and societal discourse regarding immigration:

- Personnel competences and working environment. Difficulties to manage personnel competence development while at the same time attempting to adjust and institutionalise structures and routines of the new HVB have to some extent been overcome but the demand for methods to deal with pressing youngsters situations remain great while future resources for this are endangered. Also risk of personnel sick leaves and increased rotation increases when they feel unable to help youngsters and endanger the method continuity.
- Resource issues: Difficulties to guarantee personnel availability for the many youngsters that experience negative stress (based on traumas and asylum procedures or rejections) will only increase due to the stricter asylum procedures resulting in increase of rejections and soon decreasing state financing⁵⁹.
- Increasing municipal (and state) responsibility: While already during the first year partnership non-profits experienced lack of municipal responsibility regarding the more difficult cases, the municipality will soon be facing a challenge between balancing its budget and finding resources to enable continued HVB housings in the face of government decision to decrease compensations per child to HVB and thus forcing municipalities to offer cheaper housing alternatives. The aim of safe and homelike environment is endangered.

The following empirical analysis explores the outputs of each individual common partnership services during its first year and factors of implementation success in the partnership context. It also exposes important mechanisms of this partnership success.

⁵⁹ The minors are eligible to appeal the first Migration Agency decision and this is a frequent practice. Until youngsters are 18 years they are allowed to stay in HVB even after the first asylum rejection.

5.3.2 Partnership Personnel Training Services

How have these services been developed?

The aim with the service has been to identify the needs of complementary to municipal trainings and designs or mediate additional courses. The partnership competence development coordinator - financed firstly as a full time service- has initially tried to identify the personnel competence development needs through input from the partnership Collaboration Group (as one of its members) and through individual contacts with HVB. Soon the channels have been expanded to include meetings with housing directors at their *common meeting platform*. In parallel the coordinator searched to identify the available relevant completeness within and outside partnership organisations (including municipality). Gradually, in spring 2016 a new support structure – a standing *training coordination group* (“utbildningssamordnargrupp”) with representatives from municipal Social resource department, the coordinator, and several housing directors has been established to assist the coordinator to identify the needs and plan thematic trainings more in collaboration with the municipality. Additionally *a workshop* with housing directors and minors’ legal representatives has been arranged late spring 2016 to explore their knowledge needs to make priorities in planning courses.

All those platforms indicated a demand for trainings to assist personnel with youngsters’ psychological challenges⁶⁰ and guidelines for how to act and support the minors in a professional supervisors’ role. Especially high on demand were deeper and longer trainings such as Trauma Aware Care (TMO) module financed from the partnership pool. More knowledge on the daily routines, especially among newly started HVB, has also been high on demand. Similar needs were expressed during the researcher interviews with the housing personnel. But other needs showed to be constantly changing and the planning risked being less relevant after a short while.

Assessment: In sum, the evaluator assesses the need picture as well grounded but also fluctuating thus not always reliable as basis to develop needed personnel trainings for longer term.

⁶⁰ Such as those evoked by previous traumas or asylum rejection, professional treatment for self-injury.

How was then the current need picture fed into the partnership competence development service?

What competence development services have been offered partnership personnel via partnership coordinators?

“At the time of initial personnel recruiting we did not know that we will have to deal with asylum seeking children, not PUT, which implies major challenges for both personnel and the youngsters”. (Interview HVB director).”

During the first year the partnership housing personnel has been offered 8 thematic lectures/trainings via common *competence development services* placed at the Red Cross and financed from the common IOP pool. Some of the courses were organised on two or more occasions and two specifically at each interested partnership HVB. These trainings were seen as a necessary *complement* to municipality HVB personnel competence development measures⁶¹ and run by either partnership (e.g. RC, Skyddsvärnet, Save the Children) or other organisations. The organisational aspects such as identifying the needs, finding teachers, premises and most have been the responsibility of the coordinator at the Red Cross. Additionally to that and as an attempt to adjust to the identified competence needs Save the Children has offered a comprehensive *training package* for Trauma Aware Care (TMO). It is the longest and most comprehensive training enabled by partnership pooled resources so far. It targets housing directors and all personnel to provide them with the needed knowledge and practical tools. The training is unique for Sweden and so far very appreciated.

To what extent have the personnel been able to make use of the services?

Personnel interest and abilities to attend various lectures organised via partnership coordinator, and especially the popular TMO package, varied. However, some basic trainings – such as first help and psychological first help – were almost institutionalised as obligatory and arranged at individual partnership HVB in order to adjust to their circumstances and involve most of the personnel. So far 9 (of

⁶¹ Some basic administrative or method courses are run entirely by the municipality targeting municipal and partnership housing personnel.

currently 16?⁶²) HVB have had first help courses and 3 HVB (or 34 personnel) on psychological first help. Otherwise most often it is 1-2 personnel from each HVB that attended a specific course as the attendance was not seen as obligatory. The analysis show that most important hindrances to grater access to courses are resource issues (it is costly to free larger groups of personnel), the planning issues and short time horizons at HVB rather than lack of personnel interest, often due to pressing circumstances and lack of professional TMO educators.

A much-demanded TMO course has so far been available and organised at only two of 13 HVB as of July 2016 – as a result of an agreement reached by the coordinating group and approved by the Steering group. During the autumn of 2016 2 additional partnership HVB, and two more municipal HVB will participate in these trainings.

The available statistics from course attendance seldom specifies the number of personnel from partnership housings (See Appendix 6). Researcher's attempts to complement this with statistics from all HVB has not been successful with only 4 HVB attendance specified.⁶³

To conclude, far from all personnel who wished to participate in different trainings have been given opportunity to do this. At the same time some housing directors express self-critique that too few of their personnel have attended the needed courses.

What was the quality of trainings?

According to the available self-assessments of the courses conducted (5 assessments from 5 different thematic courses of 8) and from researcher's own interviews with personnel from 4 HVB it shows that the participants have rather high knowledge needs and expectations on most of the themes. From the analysis of expectations and the assessment of the knowledge received it seems that most difficult has been to satisfy the knowledge demand on psychosocial needs via such short trainings (a few hours) even if between 25 and 53% mean that the courses

⁶² No statistics on all total personnel numbers, but at least 34 personnel from 3 HVB attended the course during spring 2016. 8 HVB remain but some HVB are perhaps closing down due to decrease in asylum seekers after the legal changes and political decisions to introduce ID controls.

⁶³ Data has been collected both via focus group interviews and individual mail contacts. However this has been obstructed as personnel do not always remember the names of the courses they attended and HVB directors have been often too busy to provide this information.

were relevant and contributed with knowledge, insights important for their work. Especially longer, more in-depth courses with practical tools are still on demand (except for those HVB who attended the TMO trainings).

The available training assessments have a drawback in that they assess the quality and the relevance of the courses on spot. More time is needed for personnel to try out methods or ideas they learn about. Complementary interviews have been able to capture some practical value of the trainings. The analysis shows that HVB staff appreciates most of the partnership personnel trainings. However, personnel crave for longer and more in-depth courses and for possibilities for the whole HVB staff to attend such trainings rather than sending out single individuals, as has been a practice so far.

What are partnership advantages or challenges?

As HVB housing is new service area for the partnership organisations it has taken some time to figure out what competences are needed to run such services. Basically, it has been about finding a balance between the needs and partnership ambitions and available resources and gradually creating structures and processes to support the coordinator. While this balancing has had considerable success it still presents a challenge especially in communicating the offers and securing personnel participation. Organising some courses at individual HVB has increased their *access* but all potential in increasing access is not used up. While the lectures or trainings are thematic and often address several needs, methods, including their evaluation techniques, need to be developed further to make the trainings target more specific personnel knowledge needs. As the participation by partnership organisations has been too meagre to sustain specific trainings the coordinator supported by steering group have adjusted the service delivery logics to allow for broader range of actors, such as legal representatives and municipal HVB personnel, to participate (free of charge).

The major remaining challenges are balancing between the needs and resources for most demanded courses and increasing their access. For this a more *functional partnership with smoother information communication between the coordinator and*

HVB, and within individual HVB is needed. This in turn requires both greater commitment from partner housing organisations and greater organisational maturity enabling longer term personnel planning. An important contextual challenge however is a threat of decreasing HVB resources.

In sum, front-line actors, organising of inter-organisational platforms and partnership pooled resources showed essential for developing this service. The primary value of collaboration lies in resource pooling, knowledge sharing and building common perceptions legitimising certain HVB personnel competence *standards or the usefulness of partnership services*. However the partnership has not yet fully exploited its potential to advance common perception of some personnel needs and how partnership resources may be better used as complementary to those needs or how partnership management can better support the resource exchange.

5.3.3 Psychological Counselling

What psychological counselling services were offered “partnership youngsters”?

Very soon after the youngsters started arriving the partnership has noted that many youngsters were traumatised and in need of psychosocial support. A smaller partner organisation Skyddsvärnet ⁶⁴ that offers housing services for unaccompanied minors has early in the partnership period (December 2016) started offering psychological counselling to the partnership youngsters all based on the commitment of professional volunteering psychologists and psychiatrists.

The Crisis Counselling (“Krismottagning”) service was offered the partnership basically free of charge, except for language resources; and as a major Skyddsvärnet added value service. This happened thanks to the initiative of the director of Skyddsvärnet Board. Being an expert psychologist with long experience of cross-boarder collaboration with public sector, engagement in voluntary services to

⁶⁴ The organisation has been previously specialising in assisting with housing and services for released prisoners and lately some socially weak groups - the targeted groups of municipal social services.

marginalised social groups (e.g. undocumented) with other volunteering professionals and large professional network she started engaging volunteering professionals. The chairwoman had great interest in assisting people who easily are lost behind the chairs due to service fragmentation thus this was a given task when organisation shifted its focus from other social groups to minors also by offering its first HVB.

Assessment of the relevance and the quality

The service was suggested based on the need picture among expert psychologists regarding targeted youngsters' experiences of violence, torture and trauma and that picture was later supported by HVB personnel and other public professionals⁶⁵. This service was perceived as *complementary* to the public counselling services for youngsters (primary care, BUP, Flyktingbarnteamet) that suffer from lack of resources why it is difficultly accessible to many of these youngsters. Service did not require any expert remittance to access it. Based on this and as there were interested experts to offer the services the service may be *assessed as relevant and implementable* and able to achieve positive impact given the youngsters will dear using them.

To what extend has the service reached the partnership minors?

The interest for crisis counselling services has been great with the HVB personnel and professional social experts at municipality from the start. It was no guarantee though that the minors would dear to use them. The unaccompanied minors may freely use the service and both start and terminate it as they wish.

The pressure for services has increased and in June 2016 the interest is greater than the 10 involved professional volunteers are capable to handle, even if counselling is offered 4 evening per week, thus there is a waiting list. The need for this counselling has especially increasing during the spring with increasing asylum rejections (Interview 20160620)

⁶⁵ Not only were many of them experiencing loneliness and suffering from broken family ties, but many were also traumatised due to the war or exile experiences to which added also the experiences of migration and the long waiting for the asylum response. This need picture confirms observations in some previous studies (see Ch 4).

In total during the first 6 months (December 2015 and June 2016) 43 (of ca 135) youngsters have received shorter or longer counselling (from two-tree to twenty occasions); in total 220 counselling meetings have taken place (See Appendix 2) in some special cases the therapists had close collaboration with HVB personnel and in some cases appeals have been written to the responsible agencies.

What has enabled such outputs in the partnership context?

The major factor has been the entrepreneurial efforts of the chairwoman and access to professional volunteers. So far this has been secured not only thanks to the broad network of the chairwoman but also partly to the other partnership organisations. The partnership Board has also contributed by allocating sufficient language resources. Also the personal legitimacy of the chairwoman among the public authorities added to the possibilities to start up such services as well as her fruitful collaboration with partnership HVB personnel. These services seem to have been much easier for personnel to prioritise than some other partnership common services due to clear understanding of interdependencies and a real and substantial need among youngsters. Skyddsvärnet offered its own premises for the sessions. The advantages with the partnership for implementing this service was that Skyddsvärnet, besides its own retired professionals, has been able to use other organisations' volunteers for the service. This highly specialised organisation had no previous experience with volunteers. This way it has been able to offer youngsters an added value service.

What are major remaining challenges?

A major future challenge is the worsening situation with increasing number of asylum rejections or temporary permits and the increasing pressure on the volunteering professionals and their capacities to help as they are getting worn out as well as the HVB personnel. Here an advantage with the partnership may be that supplementary volunteering experts may be found and perhaps some other resources to assist the engaged ones.

5.3.4 Partnership Summer Leisure-time Services

How have these services been developed?

Some of the pooled partnership resources have been allocated to organisation Individuell Människohjälp (IM) to finance a full-time coordinator service. The task was not really clearly defined thus IM interpreted its aim services to identify partnership minors' needs of complementary meaningful free-time activities during summer 2016 that could not be met by the HVB personnel and channel youngsters to freely available activities by various civic associations ("föreningar") or tailor some activities at these associations with the help of volunteers.

The coordinator has chosen to offer access to all interested youngsters from the partnership housings that eventually came to be a demanding task. Three major principles guided the activity planning: access; tailoring services after youngsters' needs/interests and engaging youngsters in their planning. The planning started by contacting housing personnel/directors and by meetings with youngsters at the local HVB "house meetings" to which all youngsters and on-duty personnel is invited. As personnel is working long shifts not all were in place during such meetings to receive the relevant information.

As the initial interest for co-planning activities was substantial but later decreased the coordinator initiated a *reference group* to which youngsters of all established partnership HVB were invited. A group of ca 12 youngsters was formed. Youngsters were supposed to represent the view of their housing mates but this task showed too difficult. It was also difficult to count on youngsters' participation as it gradually dropped off due to various reasons such as asylum situation, Ramadan period, parallel municipal activities that competed for their interest. As the group members have changed the activity list was adjusted a number of times to best fit the needs and interests. Finally, a five week activity scheme was developed based on three commonly agreed themes: 1) sports and leisure time, 2) practice of Swedish, 3) culture and entertainment. In total 15 activities (three per week). The IM took help of various associations and volunteers in organising them. The activities were short lasting ca 2 hrs.

It is difficult to say how many youngsters were actually reached during coordinator visits to inform of such opportunities but all were invited. Much more difficult it showed to make youngsters take part in those activities.

The minors' access and participation

As new HVB housings have been opening successively and some of them as late as in June and even after youngsters' personnel and youngsters' readiness for commonly coordinated leisure activities varied but it was about 135 youngsters that IM was trying to reach from the operating HVB. It is also important to notice that the city municipality was late to inform about its offers of both leisure-time activities, on-work practice and summer jobs for various groups of unaccompanied minors⁶⁶ adding to the confusion among the youngsters and HVB personnel. While well meant this made the services planned by the partnership leisure-time (and on-job practice) coordinators complementary for some youngster groups while competing regarding others, especially in leisure-time services. The personnel were overloaded with all offers they were not able to take a standing on and motivate the youngsters to.

Thus, regardless of persistent IM attempts, *rather limited number of youngsters have chosen to take part in IM coordinated summer leisure time activities*, especially during the first two weeks that also overlapped with Ramadan period. In this situation the IM decided to expand the targeted group to *access even unaccompanied minors from private HVB and family homes* to make better use of the volunteer resources. The number of youngsters per activity varied between 25 and 2 or ca 7 on average, dominated by males the number of volunteers has initially exceeded the number of youngsters ranging between 11 and 3 volunteers or ca 6 on average (see Appendix 3). The tendency has been somewhat increasing numbers of youngsters and dropping numbers of volunteers.

Assessment: the relevance and the quality of the services

There is no detailed statistics available but the volunteers were asked to record youngsters expectations and impressions of the activities by capturing it in their

⁶⁶ Leisure time activities were open for all HVB youngsters, including those from partnership HVB, while on-job practice was organised especially for unaccompanied minors without residence permit aged 16 and above that cannot formerly qualify for a job.

own words. This was done to the extent the situation allowed but still allows a rather good picture of youngsters' appreciation. Most youngsters that have participated in the activities have come to appreciate those for various reasons, but regardless of all the attempts to inform partnership youngsters of those – via personnel, social media, direct contacts – some youngsters have showed up poorly informed on what these activities are about or what to expect. There were significant language and cultural barriers in communication and IM lacked of sufficient language resources and HVB personnel did not put sufficient effort (for various reasons) to better inform and motivate or at best follow the youngsters to the activities.

Overall the conclusion is that the many of the activities were *sufficiently relevant and tailored* to identified youngsters' interests, implementable and with concrete aims. Their *quality was good* especially under given circumstances but there remain some weaknesses in both their delivery and in their development for which responsibility should not be laid solely on IM.

Conclusions on mechanisms of success and partnership advantages and challenges

Our analysis of organisational factors (see Appendix 3) show that in implementing this common partnership service its added-value was not only dependent the commitment, persistence, entrepreneurial thinking and flexibility of service coordinating front-line staff and the necessary organisational adaptations but it also required a greater *commitment from partner HVB organisations*, their directors and front-line personnel, to alleviate in both service planning and implementation to increase service complementarity, quality and smoother delivery. Thus, ***besides individual organisation challenges partnership context presented not only greater opportunities to organise such service by sharing resources but also a challenge of its own – a need of better structured processes for communication and collaboration in service implementation.***

On the demand side service coordinator needed support from HVB personnel to ease information sharing about the specific youngsters' interests or needs, personnel limitations and to motivate youngsters to participate co-designing activities. Communication with the housing personnel on activities available and

information to and motivation of their youngsters was uneasy and obstructed not least by the yearly summer leave for ordinary personnel. *This may be interpreted at least to some extent, as a sign of insufficient commitment to partnership common goals, and especially lack of awareness of interdependencies between organisations in realising those.* Truly there were important personnel physical and resource limitations to assist in this task too. Also contextual issues such as youngsters' psychosocial status and changing political climate and asylum regulations have significantly hindered the successful implementation of the services as did a lack of resources for language services.

On the supply side a remaining challenge is increase in the youngsters' knowledge and interest for services, an issue easier solved when collaboration is increased on tailoring the services, increasing youngsters' motivation and responsibility and especially finding ways to ease for personnel to make use of the services offered. Interestingly while city municipality, its district administrations undertook its share of responsibility in organising leisure time activities for all minors in HVB and other housings under municipal supervision they it did not rush to share this valuable information with the IPP partners or the Social Resource Department. This shows fragmentation between municipal SRD and other municipal units that do see themselves as part of the partnership.

5.3.5 Partnership Friend Family Services

What integration services have been offered partnership youngsters via friend family coordinators?

Partnership has already during its first year offered its youngsters a service of matchmaking the interested youngsters with volunteering Swedish friend families ("fadderfamiljer") – a 150% service located at a partner organisation Räddningsmissionen and directly involving two personnel but even more in planning.

How have these services been developed?

The need: The service was developed as a response to the perceived interest of volunteers for engagement and also the perceived needs expressed by youngsters: “we want to meet Swedish people, get acquainted, see how they live, get in the Swedish society”, the wishes expressed by partnership youngsters⁶⁷⁶⁸ (Interview 20160510). These perceived needs from both sides according to the representative from organisation gave ground to initiating these services. Also project coordinator previous experiences from social work with newcomer youngsters in an exposed city district and his personal experiences as once an unaccompanied minor supports the need for a so called “contact person or family” outside the formal contacts. “This is what I and my colleagues experienced as most needed, a personal private relation.” This was seen as sufficient knowledge to promote the service within the partnership context (Interview 20160510, 1:20).

While the service coordinator has started in January 2016 the preparations were initiated already in November 2015 with a meeting organised by Räddningsmissionen in Smirna church where initially circa 700 individuals showed up⁶⁹ and ca 400-500 families (!) registered their interest. It was an event that was both motivating and informative for potentially interested friend families with diverse topics discussed. The organisation targeted primarily 2 groups –potential friend families and volunteers who will work with friend family recruitment.⁷⁰ This because the coordination and implementation of planned friend family services was not possible to entirely finance via partnership or organisation’s own resources. After the first initiating event some preparatory work has been done by the organisation Räddningsmissionen before the first coordinator was officially employed in January 2016. Same person that initiated this activity remains the project leader at Räddningsmissionen while the two later engaged coordinators carry out more operational responsibilities. When the coordinators started in

⁶⁷ Some of these youngsters resided at HVB offered by the very Räddningsmissionen organisation with which the IP was in contact.

⁶⁸ At that time, November 2015 still very few HVB housings were operating within the IPP.

⁶⁹ The meeting was announced via the social media (Facebook),

⁷⁰ A third targeted group were families interested in becoming a family home. Some of the interested families have been then recruited by the city municipality as “family homes” for newcomer youngsters who also was there to recruit.

January 2016 they had to develop most of the service implementation ideas, starting from the existent application forms to managing the recruitment of volunteer families. In total two persons (with 100% and 50% service) came to be hired since January 2016 for the task.

The Coordinator sees the *primary aim* with the family activities changes on the individual level in terms of creating a *private relationship* with a Swedish family/adult where the organisations' role is to assist. This as a means to achieve "a meaningful existence for these youngsters or to "contribute to a deeper mutual understanding and assist youngster's inclusion in the society by establishing personal relations between a friend family ("fadder") and the youngster" (Self-assessment, Räddningsmissionen, 2016-09-02). The targeted groups are two here - youngsters and friend families.

The matchmaking service has developed a well thought and systematic structure. The recruitment of volunteer families takes place via 8-7 trained volunteers. Initially "fadder" recruiting starts via registration of interest (via online application) by inviting all registered families to an interview with two volunteer recruiters. Interviews are conducted based on a standard set of questions with all family members who are also checked for their eventual crime background. A reference person is consulted too.

After the interviews the friend family is assessed for their abilities and invited to an *introductory training* ("fadderutbildning"). These trainings are organised every month for new families and in total 6 trainings have taken place during first half of 2016. During the ca 2,5 hr training the family is informed more about the youngsters situation, their wishes, their agency contacts, etc. with the help of invited HVB personnel, in total 3-4 persons or "voices" inform of the child perspective. The training also implies an instruction of what a mentor relation implies (Interview 20160510). At this training the families and Räddningsmissionen sign their commitment contract where they also sign on discretionary aspects of the relation. The mentor families are expected to meet the youngsters at least once a month and do something together, preferably in their home environment, to develop their

private relationship with the youngster. The families are also expected to assess their relationship and inform Råddningsmissionen about its development.

After that a matchmaking process starts based on the youngster needs, wishes and interest areas. Both parties are invited to a *start up* evening at some neutral space (church etc). Housing personnel, coordinators and volunteers support youngsters during this evening. The meetings are well pre-planned with games and other activities that help youngsters to relax and joyfully learn to know their potential friend families. If the first meeting fell out well then it is up to youngsters to continue this relationship.

Service uniqueness and complementarity

What is *specific perhaps unique* about this service is according to coordinator, that is different from similar municipal activities such as “flyktingguide”. Here it is about assisting youngsters (not adults) with an aim of creating a private relation in a home environment with Swedish adults (a family). Also contrary to legally circumscribed right to a contact person who is paid to assist a newcomer and where the service is limited in time and is need-based⁷¹ (and thus can be terminated) this initiative offers a chance to create a voluntary and long-term relationship and thus is *a complementary service crating a value not easily available otherwise*. Here the idea-based organisation steps in as a complementary actor to municipal social services who could not always – due to pressing time and resources– allocate the children to the family homes of professional choice and/or support children in their needs of a Swedish private contact person.⁷²

How have these services reached the targeted minors?

Youngsters become eligible for a friend family matching first after 6 months in Sweden, and after having established a contact with their legal representative and

⁷¹ Besides it is a long waiting - at least 4 months to get such a contact person via municipality.

⁷² In Angered most children were placed at family homes of their choice not HVB, but some needed to be reallocated to HVB for various reasons. Due to large and continuous streams of children during all 2015 and as children would often seek residence with their relatives, especially in Angered district, the most immigrant heavy district. From the very moment the child arrives to the family home the responsibility rests with the municipality, but in Gothenburg a municipal district such as Angered. At the same time, interviewee discloses, municipality lacked of resources and capacities (in this pressing situation) to organise additional lay contact persons for these youngsters. Not seldom the family homes might not have been so well integrated in the society themselves.

having started school. The services are primarily directed at youngsters aged 14-18 years residing at partnership housings.

The information of the service reach youngsters via the coordinators who are out at the HVB and arrange meetings with their personnel and meets youngsters at each HVB home by attending some of their “house” meetings to inform them of the friend family services and possibilities to establish a private relationship.

The eligible youngsters may apply for the matchmaking by filling in an application the coordinator shares during each such meeting. In this specially adjusted personal application the youngsters indicate their interests and expectations for their future - thereby indicating what is meaningful and some desired integration aspects. Before that however, an acceptance from youngsters’ legal representative is needed to allow the youngster to enter a relationship with a friend family. So far the legal representatives have been very positive to the service. (Interview 20160510).

The results: the minors’ participation and nurturing the relations

The initially set *measurable quantitative goals* for first half of year 2016 – matching at least 70 youngsters – has been fulfilled. By August 2016 the number trained families increased to 106, of which 88⁷³ are matched with youngsters and in an on-going relationship (Interview; Self-evaluation report 2016-9-2). The coordinators have matched youngsters from 6 partnership HVB housings and from 2 municipal HVB. From the first round of 66 applications from youngsters relations only 2 were terminated before even initiating the meetings, both due to youngsters’ personal reasons⁷⁴ The remaining numbers of partnership youngsters to be matched are estimated even higher, possibly around 90 potentially interested youngsters (Interview 2016-09-08) in new partnership housings and some more from those where first round of matchmaking has already occurred. However the aim after the

⁷³ Around 25 youngsters resided at 2 municipal HVB initially, but as one of these were recently closed the youngsters have spread some possibly being allocated to partnership housings. The constant fluctuation of youngsters to and from the partnership housings makes it less meaningful to draw the borderline between “partnership” and “other” youngsters.

⁷⁴ One reason being that the youngster has reunited with own family and the other that the youngster has moved out from the partnership HVB.

first year is to slow down a bit and to focus both on nurturing the established relationships by providing support and gradually matchmaking new youngsters.

Assessment of service quality

If the very goal of matchmaking youngsters is rather concrete the aim to support the parties in a *functioning private relationship* is much more difficult to both achieve and measure. The role of the service is to “... offer the youngsters a context in which a meaningful relationship is created, not the meaningful relation per se, it is up to both parties to create it.” (Interview 20160510, 1:19). Matchmaking youngsters with families in turn is seen *as relevant* for achieving the broader societal goal of integration into society. The service impact will be accounted for in Chapter 6.

Assessment of the service is based a mixture of method (see Appendix 3) used in the more structured self-evaluation process. Service has been assessed by friend families a while its results by the minors. The coordinator express that mentor family training and all the matchmaking process are most often very appreciated as the families experience they are now more comfortable with the situation. So far 46 families/“fadders” have responded on how the matchmaking worked out and assessed their relationship with youngsters. While no precise statistics is available for the questionnaire/telephone interviews conducted by the recruiters or the coordinator the majority is reported as rather or very *pleased with matchmaking* (see more in Chapter 6).

Ca 99% of the informed youngsters that the coordinator has met showed an interest in friend family relations. Some of the youngsters were interested but not yet eligible to the service according to applied principles to be able to open up for a new relation. The coordinator also expresses great satisfaction with the services and motivation to continue as “we constantly receive fantastic stories from the youngsters” (Interview 20160510, see chapter 6).

As the service is designed to increase youngster’s chances to meaningful relations and thus integration when this is successfully used by youngsters it creates *a value added*. We assess the design of the service as *well tailored* to the individual minors’ needs, implementable given preparations and thus with a great potential of positive impact.

Conclusions on mechanisms of success and partnership advantages and challenges

A major partnership advantage also here has been enabling this new both to partnership and Räddningsmissionen service by financing it from the pooled resources. Its success however depended equally much on access to the minors and interested volunteers as well as how the service was organised and communicated to the partnership HVB personnel and the youngsters. Here the coordinators were dependent of HVB personnel interest and abilities to not only inform youngsters of the mentor family services but also explain to youngsters what this kind of relationship is about, and to motivate them to participate by assisting with an interest application. Coordinators were also dependent on the personnel as to when the youngsters were deemed ready for receiving this service.

Especially the communication with the HVB was experienced as a demanding task, and while largely overcome for the time being some work remains to improve the personnel commitment, abilities to assist in this task and the communication channels. (Self-evaluation report 2016-9-2). Also here the front-line actors had to look for and structure their own communication channels by for example suggesting each HVB to ascribe a permanent contact person for friend family activities with a special role in informing and motivating other personnel.

Responsibility sharing in decision-making: Partnership board has been an important arena *to prioritise* this particular service for financing from the common pot and thus for developing it to cover the whole partnership. When it became clear how great interest among both volunteers and gradually youngsters was for the service the partnership board agreed to *allocate additional resources* – in total 150%service – to develop the service. The Steering group has also been willing to make the most of the service and its financing and thus approved of Räddningsmissionens idea to expand its services to two municipal housings outside the partnership simply to make better use of the surplus of the trained volunteers waiting to matched and increase service legitimacy. The social and political context has too been favourable for initiating this service.

5.3.6 Partnership On-job Practice Services

To meet its goals with meaningful, structured (summer) leisure time and integration the partnership has also decided to initiate a service of mediating on-job practice for the summer of 2016 placed at the partner organisation Bräcke diakoni. The long-term aim was increasing youngsters chances for labour market. The service has started from 1 April 2016 and has been financed by 100% from the common partnership pool.

What on-job practice has been offered the partnership minors?

The needs and intervention logics: Interviews with coordinator and some accessed youngsters reveal that youngsters, especially older teenagers, often have a desire for a paid summer job. However, as a majority or a significant part of youngsters residing at partnership HVB housings still remain in asylum and as the service was initiated shortly before summer process paid jobs was not a realistic alternative task. Partnership-offered three-weeks on-job practice was intended as *complementary* to the summer jobs and on-job practice that the city municipality (with a short notice) decided to offer unaccompanied minors with permits. Now the time was too short to establish proper contacts with companies and non-profit organisations to identify any job offers⁷⁵.

How was the service developed?

It was the partnership board that instructed the coordinator to arrange summer practice. However, both steering group representatives and HVB directors also communicated youngsters' interest especially for paid summer jobs. As the time span for exploring youngsters' needs was rather short the logics that was chosen was to start from scanning through the possibilities for on-job trainings. In contacts with the coordinator partner organisations have identified what they can offer youngsters with *granted residence permits (PUT) aged 15-20* and especially *asylum seekers under 16* – the group not covered by municipal summer job offers.⁷⁶ To offer an on job practice organisations needed to secure individual tutors and other

⁷⁵ The coordinator's and partnership approach is that youngsters should take responsibility in searching for paid jobs but the coordinator is planning some assistance in this.

⁷⁶ See also a newspaper article on what the city had on offer: <http://www.goteborgsfria.se/artikel/123761>

working environment requirements specified by Migration Agency. The role of these requirements, implying additional personnel costs⁷⁷ for organisations, was noted a bit late in the process that also obstructed quicker and more extensive organising of on-job practice. Thus while the partners were free from municipal (as a public sector partner) steering in the design of this service they were nevertheless *steered* by the Migration Agency requirements.

The output: The partnership has been able to offer a three-week on-job practice and related activities at second hand shop, gardening, kitchen or after school care for 40 youngsters primarily at four⁷⁸ of the then nine partnership non-profit organisations (see Appendix 5).

To what extent have the partnership minors taken part in the activities?

In total 34 partnership youngsters (out of ca 135 residing at partnership HVB late spring 2016) were organised on-job practice, 6 additional youngsters were offered similar activities but without formal Migration Agency permits as a way to find a solution. There is no reliable data as to how many partnership youngsters at that time were in asylum process, but from interviews it seems that it was an absolute majority. More youngsters have shown interest in partnership-organised practice than those who finally took part in the activities. Among those who applied initially there were also 19 youngsters with granted residence permit (PUT) and thus could chose between partnership or municipal on-job practice. However before the start of the practice period 8 of them dropped out for different reasons (1 has chosen practice via municipality and 2 have got a summer job, while others' reasons remain unclear). Thus at least 11 youngsters who used the partnership service had PUT.⁷⁹

In parallel to the partnership services some HVB directors attempted to arrange their own on-job practice or jobs for their youngsters, but did not always succeed.

⁷⁷ The city municipality has received some financial support from the state in organising such on-job practice and to cover the needed personel costs.

⁷⁸ One more partner, Individuell människohjälp, has planned to offer some on-job training related to their summer leisure time activities for youngsters but this offer was never taken or realised for some practical reasons and as there were enough of places arranged by other partners already (Interview 2016-07-05). Another partner, Räddningsmissionen, as a small and specialised organisation did not have own on-job practice to offer but attempted this via their affiliated organisations or personal contacts).

⁷⁹ Also here detailed statistics is lacking as not participants have responded to the questionnaire.

Thus some youngsters might have been left out without practice due to late interest announcements. Regardless of the challenges involved all 34 interested youngsters that have informed the coordinator on time have been offered a suitable on-job practice and also the 6 late comers engaged in similar although less formalised activities.

Outcomes: 22 youngsters of these 40 (or 55%) have completed their practice while the other 18 dropped off or never attended for various reasons, such as jobs or practice via municipality, trips abroad and at least 7 or more of them simply because they found the practice *less rewarding* (lack of payment, uninteresting tasks, etc.).

16 of 22 (or 73%) youngsters that fulfilled their practice period have responded, among them 15 boys and 1 girl, 62% in asylum and absolute majority residing in Sweden between 6 and 18 months. The youngsters represented four language groups (Dari, Persian, Somali and Tigrinya). Most of these youngsters showed commitment to their on-job practice as also indicated by their supervisors.

What was the quality of the service?

The assessments of the service quality and impact are primarily based on the questionnaires the coordinator worked out in collaboration with the researcher. One questionnaire was directed at youngsters - both those in practice and those that dropped off. The other questionnaire was directed at job-practice supervisors at the partners' organisations. The questionnaire addressed to youngsters was sent to HVB personnel to motivate them to respond and assist them with the answers.

Regarding the quality of the on-job practice youngsters who have participated primarily appreciated possibilities to practice Swedish language skills, meet new people, see new places, learn new skills and get a certificate for future job opportunities. 14 of 16 liked their on-job practice while 2 were less sure. The fact that relatively many youngsters dropped off without supplementing it with municipal practice or similar activities raise several issues: that of *cultural norms* and *youngster's responsibilities for their future; relevant information and expectations and the relevance of practice for youngsters interests and abilities*. Some youngsters that initially announced their interest latter dropped out for lack of meaningfulness

or financial rewards. Here it remains to explore how to better information sharing with the youngsters on what could be expected from an on-job practice in the Swedish context and respond to some of their concerns as 33% or more of those who dropped off found it lacking meaning. The timing and/or perhaps forms of practice with regard to Ramadan period needs also to be accounted in for the future.

The coordinator assesses the on-job practice arrangements as ones that require to be developed further, under better (especially time-wise and organisation-wise) preconditions to bring more qualitative intermediation processes and results. The coordinator also have plans for additional measures to get youngsters acquainted with the Swedish labour market.

Conclusions on mechanisms of success and partnership advantages and challenges

To conclude the coordinator saw providing the on-job practice to interested partnership youngsters as a demanding task although there was no clear indication from the Steering Group as to how ambitious the service needs to be. There was thus a lack of clarity in task description as to what youngsters' to prioritise that did not help to guide the coordinator who had to interpret the scope of the action. Neither did the Steering group or the municipal representatives had found a way to establish the channels to exchange the information between the two parallel actors - the partnership and the municipality. In organising this service, similarly to leisure time activities, additional context factors such as the strategies of other municipal units (dependent on municipal districts) in offering newcomer minors a variety of summer activities, including on-job practice. While a the municipal responsibility per se contributed positively to easing the coordinators load coming out so late as it did and without proper pre-warnings to the partnership it created some confusion. Better communication between the partnership and municipal districts and responsible units was needed to ease each other's planning, but again this did not happed as only City Municipality Social Resource department is seen as a IPP partner in the municipal context (!) and the rest of its units are if not unaware of this partnership so not obliged to coordinate their actions. Its an indication how large and fragmented the municipal administration of such big cities may be.

“It is positive that they [the municipality] undertook responsibility for this; the

collaboration could have been better, but they did not know that we exist".
(Comments from the coordinator)

Another unexpected challenge here was a need to fulfil the Migration Agency requirements and the time or other resources it took for the organisations to adjust to those.⁸⁰ These requirements revealed important communication challenges within the partnership: The coordinator needed to communicate to the HVB the requirements for the on-job practice agreements (between the youngsters and the organisations offering practice that also required an approval from the minors' legal representatives). This task was demanding as the personnel, legal representatives and the youngsters were difficult to reach. Some of the partnership arenas were useful here in communicating the requirements.

Another aspect of partnership was that the coordinator also attempted to optimise the coordination between own on-job mediation and parallel attempts by some HVB directors. While this all were well meant these two parallel processes were not aligned, thus increasing the workload and creating some confusion among the youngsters.

It took also nearly a month for The Migration Agency to process the applications and respond. Due to these processes little time was left for the real on-job practice search and mediation. Along all the challenges in communicating the formal requirements the coordinator had to devote time and energy to get access to the right personnel to motivate youngsters and explain the importance on on-job practice for their future labour market integration, while also facing rather divergent approaches to youngsters' on-job practice. After much work the communication got easier but still remain a major issue for the future.

Thus partnership board while enabling the service as such and supporting its idea seem not to have realised the challenges involved in its coordination, both time-wise

⁸⁰ In order to offer an on-job practice an employer and Migration Agency need to sign an agreement for maximum 6 months and based on information about work place, tasks and youngsters' access to supervisors to approve it for on-job practice. Migration Agency does not want too many practitioners at the same working place or not too many youngsters per tutor. Also youngsters are not allowed to practice at their own group housings but it is fine to undertake some tasks at the organization offering housings. (Interview 2016-07-05) The agreement also offers youngsters social insurance during their practice period. <http://www.migrationsverket.se/Andra-aktorer/Arbetsgivare/Praktik-for-asylsokande.html> [accessed 2016-07-05]

and regarding the communication difficulties between the front-liners of different organisations. Having in mind that many of the non-profits have suggested in the initial partnership agreement that they are willing or ready to offer on job-practice but that they still lack responsible actors. A general conclusion is that they all show commitment to the service⁸¹ but not quite realise ways to assist its coordination in the partnership context.

5.3.7 Overall results: enabling organisational factors and remaining challenges

The partnership configuration and relations has had impacted both on service design and delivery and how implementation challenges were dealt with. Moreover it had an effect also for individual participant organisations and even some unintended effects for actors outside partnership (see impact in Ch 6). To answer the *implementation question Q1* below we summarise how partnership mattered for service design and delivery – its major advantages and challenges – in major partnership services so far. We structure our findings after suggested organisational factors affecting policy implementation (Rogers and Williams 2006).

- *Front-line actor's role*
- *Organisational adjustments*
- *Resource sharing and bargaining*
- *The (shared) management role*
- *Contextual factors*

Front-line actors' role in channelling input and organising adequate response

Here we could see how partners – primarily through special coordinator functions and front-line housing personnel – attempted to channel the variety of minors' needs, especially those beyond safe housing to design partnership common services complementary to public sector. Indeed partnership configuration with two pillars or services – housing services and “added value” services – implies that there were two major groups of front-line personnel acting in a role of intermediaries between

⁸¹ The coordinator has received some help from actors at different partnership structures (steering group, coordinating group, HBV directors meeting; own organisation).

needs and available resources. The HVB housing personnel – directors, personnel coordinators or individual youngster leaders – are here seen as *intermediary actors* in channelling youngsters’ needs and tailored offers by partnership service coordinators to the youngsters. The partnership coordinators in turn are *also intermediaries* between service demands and resources available within their home organisations, partnership or outside. In most service organising this latter group of intermediaries (service coordinators) were highly dependent on smooth communication and collaboration with the first group of intermediaries - the HVB personnel.

- This *channelling between needs and available resources* has been essential both for tailoring the services and to increasing youngsters’ access to them. As the organisational structures are very young and the communication channels have not been institutionalised, the coordinators struggled with identifying and *structuring own paths of communication*. In this, often perceived as a challenging work, the coordinators have finally found their ways but it has taken efforts and time as all this was done *individually*.
- Their situation has been complicated by the fact that it was about development of new services, to a new group of beneficiaries and in unpredictable context in constant flux. The fact that any services were designed and delivered at all was much due to the front-liners commitment, stubbornness, willingness and smart strategies in organising resources to implement their ideas – in general an *entrepreneurial spirit* frequently found among non-profits.
- Some challenges pertained to the internal service organisation while others were evoked by the partnership context. Here, especially in the *communication and expected responsibility sharing* ambitions had to also face the *limitations of the other intermediaries* – housing personnel. Even where the communication channels have been established, a major achievement in itself, the personnel may not always be receptive to the coordinators’ message or suggested roles because of the pressure to deal with the constant dynamics of the housing services such as the inflow or outflow of youngsters, unpredictable situation with youngsters psychosocial needs and all the daily pressures to adjust their own services to the shifting needs.

Challenges overcome: Yet it is surprising how much the partnership has been able to adapt to the need situation and its broad range added-value services offered during its first year of existence. Thus, regardless of all the challenges, they have been rather effective in establishing processes and structures for channelling the needs and service offers – much due to the skills and persistence of service coordinators and sometimes HVB personnel. They are pretty aware that they build the boat as they row it trying to accommodate the two simultaneous processes of *organisational structuring and routinisation on the one hand* and *expansion of services on the other*.

Remaining Challenges: There is a remaining need to better structure information exchange among the intermediaries and explore and expose service complementarities to those of HVB (and thus partnership advantages) to enable more input from housing personnel. Some of the challenges have been exposed at a seminar organised by the researcher⁸² but they are also currently dealt with at Partnership Collaboration Group. Steering group is aware of some of the challenges of the front-liners.

The strategies of front-line actors and the challenges they face illustrate well at least two of general partnership dilemmas: 1) a dilemma of *service routinisation* and constant need of *adjustment*; and 2) a dilemma between *responsibility sharing* and *organisational independence*. So far these dilemmas have been dealt with by attempting at some balance in the first case and either balancing or undertaking greater individual responsibilities in service delivery.

Partnership had also *its advantages* for front-liners in enabling the new services, knowledge sharing on needs for services, pooled resources and potential for complementary and even service integration.

Bargaining and resource sharing: partnership advantages and challenges

Overall partners commitment to providing extra value services for all partnership organisations – their youngsters or personnel – enabled this extraordinary achievement of pooling a fraction of resources from housing service providers to

⁸² The seminar has been organized by the researcher as way to give an receive feedback from the partnership actors in Gothenburg 2016-09-16, at Social resource department 13.30-16.00. Approximately 25 representatives partook in the discussions that followed researcher's presentation. The partnership will continue to receive support from researchers (involving a larger group) for at least until 2017 June by additional research financed from Swedish VINNOVA national funding agency.

added-value service providers who contribute significantly with their own organisational and volunteer resources. Again based on envisioned gains for the youngsters and thus complementarity to their own services partners searched to increase service quality and diversity.

From initial bargaining of diversity and increased access the partnership now seems to turn to the issue of increasing their quality and complementarity to organisations' own capacities. A major bargain here has been what services to develop and what to prioritise and draw youngsters' attention to.

A remaining challenge is both to enable a sustained or even better adequacy/quality of the services and especially access/making use of these services. Here HVB personnel needs to act more aware as to when and why the partnership services rather than those of other actors are to prioritise. Without sustaining the relevance/quality and prioritising the added-value services partnership has little value! However the fluctuations in the partnership common financial pot of pooled resources depending on numbers of youngsters received and cost for all other common partnership services may imply challenge for individual organisations to sustain partnership common services and trust relations. Currently the organisations need to look into what added-value services they may want sustain or develop regardless of whether partnership pooled resources are to diminish or cease.

The partnership management guidance and support

What was the role of partnership management in supporting successful implementation of partnership common services and how did it succeed so far? While the commitment and efforts of partnership organisation leaders have also been also of major importance for partnership ability to make a desirable impact on the targeted groups we focus here on the role of Partnership Management.

- So far the Partnership Steering Group has been *able to unite* for the common goal and partial goals. This unanimity also was sustained when the idea-based partners faced a major challenge –the diversity of the targeted group – and agreed to accept it *stretching their commitment* beyond the original partnership contract obligations during the 2015 immigration crisis. This

decision to welcome and accommodate more youngsters with diverse status has provided organisations and the partnership common pool with somewhat more financial resources (due to larger numbers of youngsters than in the original group) but also with a range of additional challenges.

- The steering group then guided the development by commonly *agreeing on* tools or what common services – were to be developed to reach its aims. It was also a platform for reaching a common *agreement on roles* – through a dialogue – what partner organisations were to be in charge of what services so that the partnership would gain from their previous expertise and inherent resources. Non-profits attempted to negotiate important solutions before the formal decisions at the Partnership Board.
- The partnership leaders have also *supported the implementation* of some of the partnership partial goals by agreeing and keeping united in how a fraction (50kr per child and day) of public HVB resources could be innovatively pooled and used to co-finance coordination and development of the partnership common added-value services. Without this pool that enabled development of added-value services the partnership could not sustain its legitimacy as a contrast to purely subcontracted services. This has been easier in times of increasing flow of unaccompanied minors during autumn of 2015 and still during spring 2016 even if the flow has started to decrease.
- To increase the value of the partnership services – while also struggling with challenges of new organising and service development – the Steering Group has showed awareness in *optimising its resources* and allowed some other actors outside the partnership such as municipal HVB housings, legal representatives and their youngsters to make use of their services where there was room for that.

Some of the remaining challenges:

- *Organisational fragmentation*: Social Resource Department is the only municipal unit represented in the partnership and its steering and collaboration structures. As an effect not only are the rest of the municipal units unaware of partnership decisions but this organisational fragmentation

has negative effects on some partnership aims and actions as the other units are less cooperative. This can be seen in decisions concerning the placement or age upgrading and transfer of the youngsters from partnership housings.

In sum, the steering group has acted as a platform for compromise and agreement in the common commitment and responsibility sharing, with regards to common goals. Important factors that have enabled that are commitment to the social group and willingness to sustain partnership as a method of providing added-value. However here some remaining issues as to how for example the municipality as a partner acts or not to ease for the partnership achievement of its goals when its support is needed. Thus *a* remaining challenge for the partnership and especially municipality in its management is *how it may more collectively commit and support implementation* of partnership second leg – the contracted housing service.⁸³

The context factors and external influences

The first year:

- Context factors such as *lack of timely information* regarding what other actors (especially municipality but also HVB personnel within partnership) will have on offer, for example during the summer, and also *uncertainty of youngsters' interest, commitment and abilities* to actually partake in those have obstructed implementation of partnership common services.
- Another major uncertainty has been *unpredictability* of what youngsters, in what situation and what psychosocial needs will be allocated the partnership. The current agreement however allowed for readiness to offer certain number of HVB places as the costs of vacancies have been covered. As the numbers of unaccompanied minors both in Gothenburg city and those allocated the partnership have been steadily increasing this guaranteed certain stability and even increase in partnership budget. However, coming changes in asylum law announced in November 2016 signalled of the need to

⁸³ For example how is it to enable achievement of the partners' aim to provide the youngsters in the partnership housings - up to 21 years of age if needed- with supplementary care, leisure time and integration services if the youngsters (still in asylum process) are already being replaced to Migration Agency housings after they turn 18, contrary to what municipality Social Resource and the partnership policy has been so far.

rethink the access to public resources after summer 2016.

- A positive context factor was the timing for initiating the first round of partnership services. The autumn immigration crisis was so fresh and overwhelming that it engaged not only organisations and public sector but also ordinary citizens. At that time the local and national political climate was also still very open and positive towards welcoming the asylum seekers.
- Also, and importantly, *the legitimacy* of IPP as a collaboration form while being questioned by some public and private actors in Sweden has been strongly supported by the local political leadership and top-administrators at City Social Resource Department. This and the fact that the city and several other municipalities in Sweden have been expanding its interest in the IPP partnerships with new agreements has of course strengthened partnership legitimacy and alleviated its commitment and in turn its integration (Peters, 2012). Indeed, IPP partnerships are at least in formal sense legitimised as a tool to implement political programme or local collaboration agreements (See ch 3). In Gothenburg case partnership legitimacy has been justified by the lack of capacities of public sector in and also by the fact that the idea-based organisations enter a (semi?) than other private actors offering additional not contracted services without additional public financing that have a value added to its targeted minors.

Current changes.

- *Inflow of youngsters.* If a majority of networks operates in changing environment in the IPP in Gothenburg contextual dynamics and unpredictability of political events and reactions has been even more evident. Thus while the partnership started in a context where the amount of unaccompanied minors inflow required quick reaction and major adaptations to this reality by increasing policy capacity at the end of the first year the partnership operates in a context with dramatically dropping numbers of unaccompanied asylum seekers to Sweden and Gothenburg, lack of any reliable prognosis from the Migration Agency and significant legal changes affecting minors status, possibilities to stay and their wellbeing. It

also decreases available public resources to realise the partnership goals. Nevertheless, there are still enough youngsters at IPP housings as they are transferred from the private housings or some family homes, but a decrease in numbers and thus IPP public financing is just a time issue. However the partnership already adjusts to the effects by decreasing financing to some added-value services (education services from the Red cross by 50% to a 50% service and by Save the Children by 20% to 80% service). It also prevents partnership from initiating some planned new partnership services and the on-going discussion in the partnership collaboration group is about what partnership common services to prioritise and the criteria for that. This prompts important self-assessments and reflections.

- *Upgrading to adults.* One of such recent changes adding to uncertainty regarding the *number of youngsters that will stay* in HVB are the routines for youngsters' age identification in Gothenburg city that have been sharpened as an outcome of political changes and before any legal changes have been introduced. The partnership partner, City Social Resource department in against this new practice of increasing upgrading of minors to adults (18 or more) which implies almost immediate replacement of youngsters from HVB to collective adult housings run by the Migration Agency and cutting of the youngsters from support at HVB and partnership common services. However, the department have no right to object the decisions of individual city districts and their boards.
- *Organisational fragmentation:* Thus, while part of the city municipality - The Social Resource department of Gothenburg city - is the true partner in the partnership it also depends on other organisational units in the same municipality – such as municipal district administrations, a lower democratic tier – in implementing the partnership goals. Nevertheless as no special agreement or anchoring has taken place these municipal units are pretty unaware of the partnership (!) and not obliged to alleviate its goal achievement. This organisational fragmentation makes decisions made by

one unit to be treated as a factor of “external influence”.

- Yet additional challenge is that of the *decreasing government financial support*⁸⁴ for reception of newcomer minors from 1 July 2017 presented as late as 30 July 2016 leaving municipalities with less than a year to adjust.⁸⁵ The Migration Agency has announced that the current agreements with the municipality on newcomer reception will not be prolonged on the same conditions from April 2017. The change is twofold - only occupied accommodation places in partnership or municipal HVB will be paid for; and the payments are lowered for at least some type of housings (Notes IPP collaboration group 20160923).

In sum, what is almost clear in this situation however is that both the numbers of youngsters at partnership HVB will decrease in the (near?) future, the type of dominant housings will change and so the conditions for the sustained quality of care possible via public financing. This will also change the resources of the partnership and its abilities to cover the costs for added-value services. A major question here is will the role of the idea-based organisations increase in this changing context and how will that affect the future of the IPP partnerships?

While all the above factors show important for reaching partnership goals our analysis would be incomplete and severely inhibited without looking at some major factors that have contributed or prevented a functional partnership or its strengths, advantages and remaining challenges.

5.3.8 What were the particular challenges in establishing a functioning IPP partnership; where they overcome and how?

From our previous analysis it is clear that the studied IPP partnership has both some strengths and weaknesses in policy implementation so far. Here we will

⁸⁴ August 30, 2016 The Government presented a proposition on lowered levels of compensation for newcomer minors reception to be valid from 1 July 2017 leaving short time for municipalities and private actors to adjust. The compensation will be 1350 kr per child and day for those under 18 and 700kr per person for those above 18.

⁸⁵ To help municipalities the government has created a transition fund but it will be available primarily for smaller and less economically capable municipalities (Collaboration group notes 20160923)

summarise our analysis on what factors mattered in sustaining and increasing partnership success in policy implementation or 'external success' and thus *establishing a working network governance* (Peters, 2012)⁸⁶. To respond to the question Q2A we choose to structure our analysis around several selected factors (Peters 2012) for an integrated and thus more functional partnership:

- Common commitment
- Common framing
- Perception of mutual interdependence
- Issue complexity and member characteristics

Commitment and common framing issues

Common commitment to collaboration aims and contents is essential to the partnership cognitive mobilisation (Peters, 2012). During its first year the Gothenburg partnership stayed united by a commitment to common goals in newcomer minors' reception and shared an approach that partnership common services are an important tool to achieve these goals. They all share a common framing that idea-based organisations are suitable actors for providing the needed services (including housing) in collaboration with each other to attain the common goals and that they together can provide a broader range of qualitative services than individual partner organisations are capable of.

An outstanding example of such commitment is how all organisations offering housings to minors contribute with same percentage of resources - 50 kr per child and day - to the common pool (to finance partnership common services) even if occasionally some of those may have less demand for common services because of their own capacities. For example some offer their own on-job practice, leisure

⁸⁶ Successful policy implementation may depend on how successful the partnership is in its internal processes of integration and institutionalisation although this is not always a guarantee according to Peters, 2012. Here we will leave out an important discussion on how the integration of network may also hinder its policy implementation capacity, especially where the implementation is highly dependent on collaboration with actors outside the network/partnership.

activities, psychosocial support or contacts with established Swedes but they find it insufficient to cover all partnership youngsters.

Common framing is about developing a *shared understanding* of both the partnership aims and participants' roles, and may here be treated as policy development logics. It may be imperative of policy implementation success. While demonstrating common conceptualisation and agreement on the goals and measures to achieve those the partners seemed to have had a less clear vision of how to prioritise among the potential common services. Nevertheless they shared an approach that services are to be selected based on perceived needs and such the individual organisations seemed to be best at or capable of with regard to some of the partnership goals.

This commitment and common framing is however more visible at the *major partnership platforms* – especially partnership board and collaboration group – and has not necessarily sipped down to mid-management in individual organisations and reached the front-line actors, especially the housing personnel. Important explanations to this are found in the range of services to be provided, the member characteristics and the constant political changes.

Nevertheless we can also find that front-line actors do share perceptions about some youngsters' needs such as the need of psychological counselling or contacts with established Swedes or meaningful time. However the focus had also shifted due to changing circumstances where some services were perceived as more meaningful/complementary.

Issue complexity and member characteristics

The Gothenburg partnership is created around a complex issue – unaccompanied minors' reception and accommodation is regulated by national laws and prescriptions and is a primary responsibility of municipalities while the partnership common services are a broad pallet of services complementary to public (municipal or state) integration policies. Thematically we can talk of two legs of the partnership: "housing services" and "partnership common" services that add additional value. In line with this the character of partnership organisations differs with some as established subcontracted public service providers and others as more

independent voice organisations self-regulating their engagements with specific social groups.⁸⁷ *Thus while all of the partnership non-profits show strong commitment to the same social group their different organisational interests is a potential threat for common perceptions of the means.* Indeed, disregarding some overlaps, the observed inter-organisational communication challenges among the partnership non-profits follow this dividing line.

Additionally, the relatively large number of organisations involved – initially 7, currently 9 – contribute to common framing difficulties. It is not the number of organisations in itself that matters most but rather the range of services offered and the increasing number of communication channels and front-line actors involved in service implementation that matters most. Nevertheless, similar social interests and the commitment of the partners eased common framing of the goals and management tools such as innovative resource pooling.

Interdependencies and communication issues

A related explanation to how differently the shared understanding is anchored at different organisational levels is to be found in partners' perception of their interdependencies. The interdependencies have been more clearly outspoken in the partnership common decision and deliberation structures with members from both groups of non-profits and municipality SRD. Thus what seem to have obstructed smoother communication between service coordinators and HVB staff was *lack of a clearer picture of mutual interdependencies and complementarities* especially among the housing staff that in turn obstructed creating smoother structures for communication and responsibility sharing or effected insufficient continuity in information take over.

We have thus a somewhat asymmetric inter-organisational dynamics where perception of interdependencies and framing is shared by organisational leadership but is decreasing lower down the organisational hierarchies. On the front-line level in some services the perception in interdependencies may be deemed sufficient (e.g. psychological counselling, friend family) while in other instances the

⁸⁷ As was described in Chapter 4 also their individual incitements for entering partnership differ.

perception of mutual interdependencies turns to one-directional (see Fig. 3) also affecting communication and building of common structures (and norms).

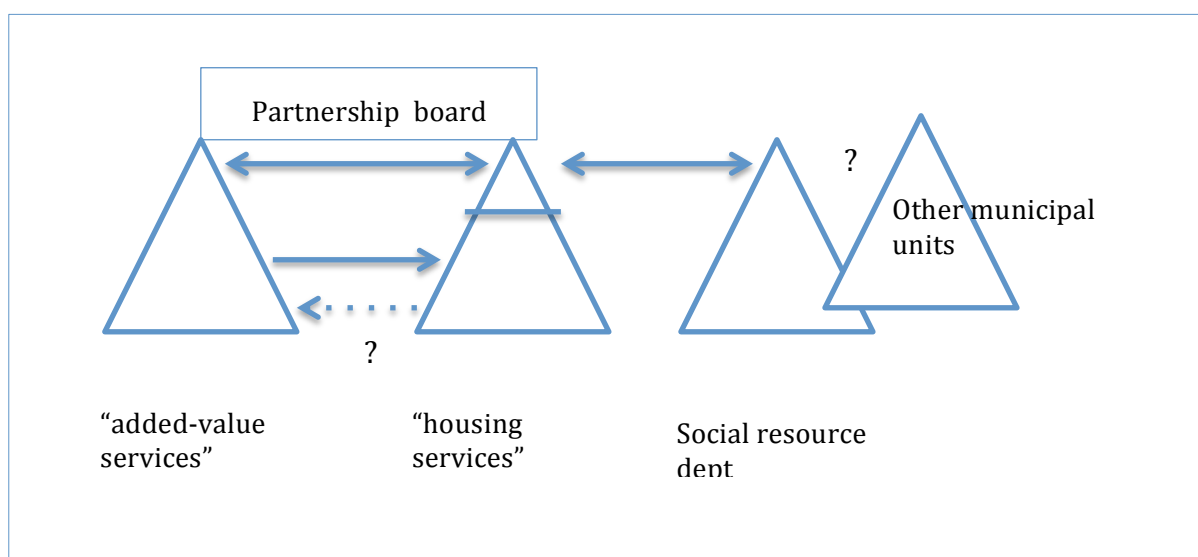


Figure 3 Interdependencies in the IPP

The finding is that especially housing personnel cannot always fulfil their role as intermediaries because they do not see how the services are complementary and how they may gain from those which negatively affects their commitment. To complicate this, the picture of the youngsters' needs has been shifting and some services may have gained greater priorities than others.

This situation in turn seems to have evolved due to insufficiently anchored information about the partnership aims and lack of stronger steering in framing how added value services are complementary, and how thus partners are dependent of each other's action in implementing them. Here the role of the partnership leadership is essential in finding fruitful ways to communicate this but also in exploring street-level actors' abilities to make use of these partnership advantages given their demanding tasks. It is about finding ways to use these interdependencies in a way that would create an added-value also to the organisations and their front-line staff and not only targeted newcomer youngsters.

Likewise some partners may need to change understandings of their roles to increase complementarity to other partners.

Currently, each actor views their input as essential for reaching the goals and the housing staff struggles with their own daily challenges and thus tend to miss opportunities to make better use of common partnership services that is a major added-value of the IPP partnership.⁸⁸

Institutionalisation and coordination

Göteborg partnership stands on two pillars representing two different type of relations and their institutionalisation differs (Fig. 4). The relations in “housing/HVB” pillar are more *institutionalised* due to the national legislation and quality requirements where also the character of the relations resembles of principle-agent relations with important exceptions due to the partnership context.

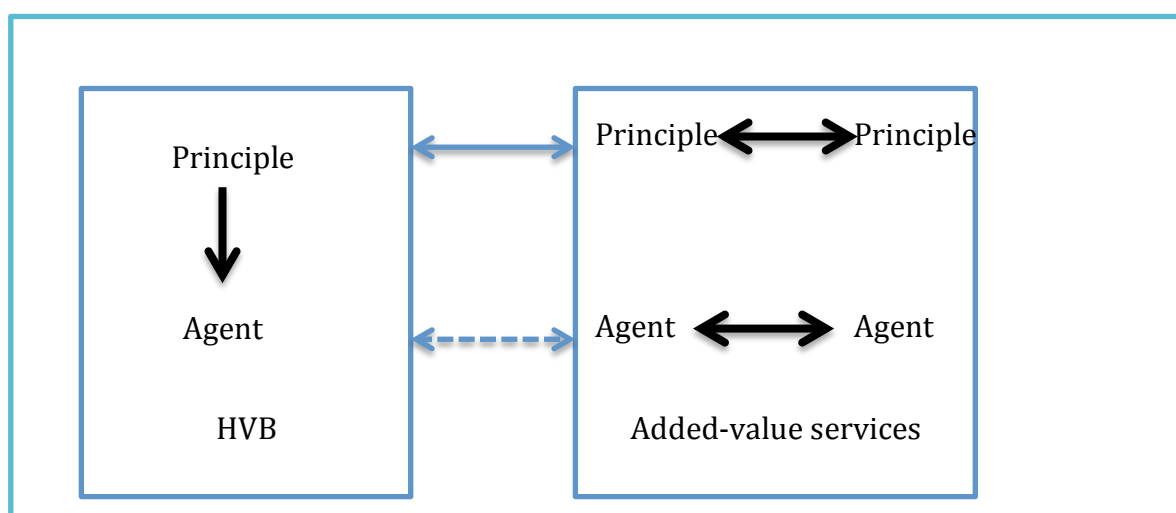


Fig 4 Relations within two IPP pillars 1

We have instead here been interested in the integration and institutionalisation of processes between non-profits and especially between the two pillars – HVB and “added-value”. On the strategic level these relations may be seen as principle to principle and are becoming ever more integrated and institutionalised while on the operational service delivery level (agent to agent relations) some difficulties remain in integrating and institutionalising the processes.

⁸⁸ Common meeting platforms and not least the seminar with researcher in September 2016 has exposed these two different life-worlds – the HVB personnel and those of partnership service coordinators– for each other and as a result HVB representatives seemed to have raised their awareness demanding more patience and insistence from partnership service coordinators.

The partnership actors have been developing new collaborative structures, norms for consultation and common decision-making to ease prioritising, design and implementation of (common) services. They are also currently developing common criteria regarding the “added-value” service pillar. As a result some integrated and functional structures and processes have been established to ease inter-organisational exchange and decision making on both *strategic* and more *operational* issues, but this seems not enough for the partnership ambitions. Also common structures and processes are needed to *ease service delivery* and not only strategic decision making. In order to have the services tailored and implemented smoother the front-line actors especially need to internalise some collaboration norms and processes as *meaningful* in their tasks towards the minors.

Conclusions

In sum, some major mechanisms for a functional partnership in Gothenburg IPP have been:

- Commitment of all organisations actors, especially at top to mid management levels, and of some down to street-level actors;
- Common framing
- Perceived interdependencies in some services
- Substantial institutionalisation on general issues
- External legitimacy and support

Remaining challenges:

- Stronger perception of mutual interdependencies, especially at operational HVB level;
- Common framing at street-level
- Smoother communication channels at operational level in some services
- Further external legitimacy – based on success in exploiting added-value services

In general, the partnership has shown a high level of commitment and shared perceptions of its goals and ways to reach those especially at the management level

and in shared collaboration arenas during its first year. It has so far shown a relatively high level of functionality given its short age and fluctuating context. Nevertheless, it seems that the partnership has taken for granted that mutual interdependencies and collaboration gains are self-evident at all organisational levels. However, this framing seems less well anchored with the “housing” personnel who are expected to undertake an important intermediary role. Thus we argue when partners’ perception of their dependences is rather one-sided and the mutual dependencies are insufficiently anchored along the organisational chain and among the concerned personnel, substantial difficulties remain for functioning communication and shared responsibilities in implementation. Without anchoring a common picture of how ways to address the targeted youngsters’ needs could be complementary partners’ abilities to implement services from a whole or integrated perspective decrease. Organisational freedom of action may create fragmented rather than integrated services when common framing is weaker.

We need to keep in mind that all partners may not always justify the achieved institutionalisation and integration of partnership structures/processes even when it may show functional for the policy aims (Peters 2012).⁸⁹ Especially having in mind that this is a partnership between public and idea-based actors its “internal success” has an additional dimension of a need to balance between different sector principles, roles and norms. By employing a “balancing partner roles” analysis frame (Salamon & Toepler, 2015) ideas, we explore whether the Gothenburg IPP lives up to its promise of more equal relations and thus more legitimate collaboration model.⁹⁰

5.3.9 Balancing cross-sector values/norms in an IPP partnership

Once partnerships are in place, achieving a balance between the two sectors presents yet additional challenge. To counteract this, more equal relationships need to be achieved (Peters, 2012, Salamon & Toepler 2015). Returning to our *Question 3*,

⁸⁹ Also the opposite is possible that is that the principles on which the institutionalisation is based or interactions are legitimised may impede on policy processes.

⁹⁰ Assessments of IPP internal success is a tricky thing as it may be made based either on public or idea-based principles (a distinction is debated in itself!).

is and how such a balance or equal partnership achieved in our studied IPP, and in what partnership processes (pillars)?

Collaborative steering and non-profit engagement in policy design

Balance may be enabled by a *collaborative style* of public management and *engagement* of third sector not only in implementation of government programmes but also in *development of their design*.

The results of our analysis show that collaborative steering in this partnership has several expressions. One of these is all partners' *equal* say in the Partnership Board⁹¹ on the common goals and what common services need to be developed, their scope⁹², and support from the common pool⁹³ also if the needs or resource situation changes. Individual partners have been able to suggest the common services of their choice but in line with partnership goals. Another important aspect has been all partners' – and especially non-profits' – *influence in designing the principles for pooling and sharing resources*. Any partner was able to use some of the pooled resources to develop partnership common services that Partnership Board deems of common importance and the scope of allocated resources has been commonly agreed for each service.

While the municipality is less involved in implementing the partnership services it was allowed a say on these by its presence both in the Partnership Board and Collaboration Group. Sometimes it attempted to override non-profits by *hands-on* steering (and its authority in HVB issues) –as in opening access to partnership services for some municipal HVB - but this style was questioned by the non-profits. There are however some partnership areas, such as approach to new membership, where the non-profits report more prominent municipal role, as in the decision to expand the partnership with two new members in the updated agreement of 2016.

Interestingly, Gothenburg IPP experience reveals that the non-profits occasionally attempt to draw municipal SRD into and exploit its presence in *collaborative*

⁹¹ Suggestions on added-value services to the Partnership Board are first negotiated in a platform for non-profits.

⁹² One such agreement reached in the Steering group was about financing the more expensive package training targeting whole HVB during a longer period rather than with shorter but more broadly accessible TMO courses. (Conversation RB 2016-09-07)

⁹³ Even if the housing services could not be negotiated away this did not grant a stronger standing for HVB organisations.

steering of partnership common services such as to legitimise standardised personnel competence requirements and norms.

In sum, notwithstanding municipal hands-on (chairing the meetings and steering agendas) and hands-off steering (quality or procedural requirements for HVB) attempts the non-profits have substantial influence in added-value service design and steering tools. This partnership has succeeded rather well in collaborative governance⁹⁴ and decision-making regarding its common service pillar and important strategic issues. On the other hand, municipality retained its steering over non-profits in HVB housing issues but it differs from the usual contractual steering, as we discuss below.

Balancing voice and service

Do the partnership relations not prevent the non-profits from exercising their independent and critical voice if needed? Here we summarise our conclusions regarding two dimensions – exercising voice within and outside the partnership.

Exercising an independent voice may be challenging in a partnership that builds on a dialogue (with the aim to achieve consensus) as an idealised norm. In Gothenburg case the non-profits have not yet exploited so many opportunities to exercise their critical voice within the partnership context – perhaps due to collaborative style of governance and obvious interdependencies and also rather satisfactory results in a challenging context. So far the partnership collaboration has not resulted into open conflicts and the tone has been almost too friendly. For example partners have been too careful not to step on each other's toes (also between non-profits) on issues such as greater responsibilities to ease common service delivery (Notes collaboration meeting 20160923).

Nevertheless, the non-profits are increasingly critical how the decisions of other municipal units outside the partnership – such as district municipality administrations and their social departments – are now colliding with the principles in newcomers' reception and integration agreed to in the partnership.

⁹⁴We have to remember though other public tools through which the partnership has been steered also in its added-value services. (such as Migration Agency requirements for on-job practice).

To our knowledge the non-profits had so far only occasionally made use of the partnership to *collectively* exercise an independent voice in the local context to stand out as a positive example of newcomer reception. Non-profits tend yet to act individually such as officially critiquing the government on the political and legal changes in asylum procedures and their effects on the unaccompanied minors (Göransson, 2016).

In sum, the partnership initial trust building stage has not undermined their critical and independent voice towards external actors, while it has somewhat inhibited a self-critique so far in an early trust building stage. Increasingly the established trust and changed contexts might enable stronger collective voice.

Making use of the non-profits' capabilities and specificity: softer steering

There are signs that the partnership context contributes to a different relationship with the municipality in HVB services that may otherwise be in *traditional contractual relations*.⁹⁵ Not only the way of communicating the requirements but also the *control and accountability practices seem to differ from pure contractual relations*. The municipality trusted in the quality of IPP housings knowing the quality aspirations of the idea-based organisations and their distinctive way of working. Such softer municipal steering with focus on a *dialog* to mediate national regulations and distinctive quality aspirations allowed non-profits to sustain – at least to some extend – their distinctiveness.

“ Here we are used to act based on the needs and not routines or regulations. Some personnel with municipal experiences are perhaps less used to this and question often “may we do like this?”. Surely there are rules and frameworks but here it is also about showing initiatives and handling things on your own...”
(Interview HVB director)

The partner organisations did not feel strictly steered by the municipality in their HVB services. They have also resisted to adopt some more homogeneous municipal

⁹⁵ “We have communicated those [requirements] within the partnership, but here it is kind of another way of working. (...)We do not send the document to the IPPs really even if same conditions apply here too. We communicate those requirements in a different way, via dialogue and via IPP agreements.” (Interview Municipal representative)

procedures, such as in how to announce and inform their neighbourhoods of new HVB openings thus preserving some freedom of action.

It is evident that the non-profits are also delimited in their actions as the agents of municipal government such as regarding what minors to take care of or specific quality requirements. This role of “agent” to municipal “principle” beyond the expected partnership obligations was not unquestioned (see Chapter 4), but accepting this role and self-imposing greater limitations is too – perhaps paradoxically – an effect of the partnership relations.

In sum, the non-profits have been able, regardless of some municipal pressure for service or implementation homogeneity, to preserve some of their distinctive character in terms of method diversity applied in their HVB services due to softer, dialogue-based steering; most likely not only to the developed trust but also to their “extra contractual” commitment as giving a hand to municipality during difficult times.

5.4 Summary and conclusions

Two major groups of research questions have been addressed in the implementation analysis:

- How can partnership enable or obstruct policy process? (Q1)
- What are the preconditions for creating a functioning idea-based public partnership? (Q2, Q3)

Some of the major factors in designing and delivering common added value services to address youngster’s needs were *the role of front line actors, innovative resource pooling and sharing tools, commitment, consensus and responsibilities undertaken by the partnership management*. Some contextual factors, such as volunteer engagement and local political support have alleviated the services, while others – such as legal and political changes, organisational fragmentation and unpredictability – have severely obstructed partnership operation and goal achievement.

Some major partnership advantages have been greater abilities of the non-profits to influence local policy for minors – its design, implementation and some management tools. Also opportunities it offered entrepreneurial front-liners by sharing resources and platforms to develop complementary and tailored services. The Gothenburg partnership has succeeded rather well in achieving a balanced partnership especially regarding its common service pillar. Partnership also had positive effects on softer steering of HVB pillar but also somewhat paradoxically greater self-imposed responsibilities.

In general, partnership context presented not only greater opportunities to organise new services but also a challenge of its own – a need of smooth processes for communication and service organising. Achieving partnership internal congruence and success was not necessarily more difficult because of actors from two different social spheres – the public and the idea based, but rather the tasks. We could see that the challenge of balancing roles has been rather successfully handled at least in the second partnership pillar – regarding partnership common and complementary to public sector services to unaccompanied minors. The non-profits could undertake a desired role of service design and even influence the governance of commonly created policy network that the Gothenburg partnership indeed represents. However also in their role as HVB service providers they often felt steered in a softer, more dialogue-based way and thus not so delimited in their space of action and able to preserve their specificity.

Based on our analysis results we claim that the partnership success in balancing between different actor and sector values and roles has been essential to legitimise its existence and indeed the common decisions and operational norms. This way we see a linkage between a balanced partnership and an integrated, more functional partnership. While balanced relations may not suffice in itself they contribute to sustaining a fruitful and functional for its tasks partnership.

With the help of additional analytical tools from governance and institutional theories such as *commitment, perceptions of interdependencies and common framing*

we could see also that shared perceptions were essential between different non-profits and between different organisational levels. We found that the IPP in Gothenburg has so far more successfully dealt with some of these aspects while there are some remaining challenges of better anchored common interdependencies and framing among the front-line actors. Overall it seems that so far a level of balance and integration contributed to the partnership policy or external success while there remains some work with structuring responsibility sharing and institutionalising smoother channels of communication.

In general implementation of this partnership policy objectives has so far been significantly affected by a group of factors:

- Constantly changing and unpredictable social and political context;
- The need to balance between organisational, service adjustment and continuity;
- Achieving partnership consensus, mutual understanding and functioning partnership structures.
- Abilities to balance different roles and secure important values for non-profits in this collaboration

Not surprisingly in the evolutionary organising the partnership had to struggle with several major dilemmas such as i) a dilemma of service institutionalisation and adjustment, and ii) a dilemma of responsibility sharing and organisational independence. So far these dilemmas have been dealt with by attempting at some balance in the first case and either balancing or undertaking greater individual responsibilities in service delivery. While all organisations have been interested in complementary services there are some indications of some organisational boarder drawing especially at the street-level between HVB and some added-value service providers. Both dilemmas are challenging ones and are a test on partnership management/board capacities to support their front-line actors in priority setting and resource allocation. Overall though the partnership can be justified as a rather fruitful attempt to organisational resilience in addressing major social needs through an innovative social investment and collective entrepreneurship.

6. Impact evaluation

6.1 Introduction

Measuring social impact is an attempt to answer a question “Are we really making a difference” (Epstein and Yuthas, 2014), a question for which both a systematic approach using both quantitative and qualitative methods is needed. Measurements of social impact are meant to help organisations or partnerships learn and to adjust their investments and activities to the impact they desire (ibid).

Due to the fact that the researcher started observing partnership processes after the partnership creation and after it has initiated several of its services to youngsters and HVB personnel and due to the scope of the study it has not been possible to undertake an experimental or quasi-experimental impact evaluation.

This evaluation has focused on an on-going partnership development process through which a number of services have been so far offered the unaccompanied minors. Several of these services are of an on-going character (personnel training; psychological counselling; matchmaking with friend family and support in building their relations) while a few other services are more punctual or focused on particular measures during summer holidays or other vocations. Also these services are to be organised repeatedly but not surely in the same form due to the praxis-based learning and changing circumstances. The period has been too short to expect any substantial effects (the partnership existed for 1 year while most of the services for half a year or shorter time) thus in our analysis we were able to capture only some glimpses of the impacts for youngsters so far.

Since the partnership building and collaboration has also brought additional effects our analysis has captured several types of impact:

1. *Partnership or whole network impact on policy or services developed;*
2. *Impact of individual partnership services on the targeted groups in relation to IPP goals;*
3. *Partnership impact on its individual organisations;*
4. *Partnership impact on actors outside the IPP;*

We will briefly cover all these aspects, however we need to keep in mind two factors - i) the *relative temporality* of the impact due to the evolutionary character of the partnership relations and its policies, and ii) the interpretation of impact in terms of *tendencies* rather than reliable facts has due to difficulties of accessing greater numbers of youngsters for their perspectives.

So how can the identified impacts be explained? Overall we suggest important explanations need be found in implementation analysis where especially contextual factors but also and especially organisational and partnership specific interplay have been explored (see Chapter 5). Thus impact evaluation here is grounded on mixing theory-based and case-based designs.⁹⁶ Since the services are delivered in a context of a unique partnership and in a crisis context we find it important that the explanation of service impact takes the partnership advantages or challenges into account. The chosen theoretic approaches and analysis frameworks have been helpful to see the importance of balancing partner roles and partnership integration for partnership capacity to produce more relevant and implementable services with potential positive effects on youngsters (Chapter 5). We also briefly (due to lack of space) refer to Antonovsky's perspective (Antonovsky, 2005) that explains how adding meaning, structure and predictability in youngsters' lives can contribute to explaining some service impact on wellbeing. Some other factors are more case-based and may in turn contribute to theory development such some partnership effects on service design and delivery or individual recipients.

6.2 Impact evaluation methodology and data

The researcher has used the semi-structured interviews (see Chapter 5) especially with partnership service coordinators, focus interviews with housing personnel and housing directors, a few interviews with youngsters, and the available self-evaluations of services delivered to identify the impact. Implementation analysis Chapter 5 reveals the most important factors that may contribute to increased understanding of the identified impacts. Challenges with accessing youngsters have been described in Chapter 5. While the secondary data - self evaluations or

⁹⁶ We also briefly (due to lack of space) refer to Antonovsky's perspective (Antonovsky, 2005) that explains how adding meaning, structure and predictability in youngsters' lives can contribute to explaining some service impact on wellbeing.

coordinators own designed questionnaires - have been a valuable source of youngsters' experiences the data collection methods used had some drawbacks such as limited possibilities to formulate the questions in collaboration with researcher, limitations involved in using ad hoc informed volunteers as "data collectors", and technical issues such as language or accessing youngsters due to information communication difficulties and their lack of motivation to respond. Still coordinators made important attempts to collect information via HVB personnel assistance. Having access to direct citations received or youngsters answers to researcher formulated questions alleviated the impact analysis.

6.3 Partnership impact and added value for services developed

Networks and partnerships should not automatically be expected to produce effective and or cost-efficient solutions – these two criteria being essential either for the state/hierarchies or the market. Instead drawing on parallels between collaborative networks cross-sector and multi-actor partnerships may be expected to achieve some or several of the following effects: i) prompt reaction increasing access; ii) flexibility and tailor-made services; ii) service integration and all these contributing to increased policy capacity (Sorensen & Torfing, 2012; Mörtz & Sahlin-Andersson, 2006).

The Swedish Integration Compact (p. 12) argues for collaborations between idea-based organisations and cross-sector collaborations based on two criteria: I) service quality assurance and ii) service quantity (diversity) assurance. In relation on governance literature above *service quality* may be taken to refer to how services are accessible or tailored after the outspoken needs or complementary or integrated; the latter, *service quantity*, refers to capacity to deliver a diversity of accessible services.

These effects are however not at all given due to the expected difficulties to achieve a coordinated decision-making and implementation. Let us thus have a look at what impact the Gothenburg partnership had so far achieved in service development and delivery.

6.3.1 Greater variety of services and increased access

Regarding this point the analysis speaks for itself. IPP partnership enabled increased organisation capacities to services but it also created new services - such as common personnel training service, friend family, psychological counselling etc. – *thanks to the partnership collaboration and ways to pool and share the available public resources*. This is also due the fact that the partners in this particular partnership have been able to *find their specific roles* and services and complementary ways to contribute.

In collaboration and supported by common resources partners organisations have been able to expand their scope of their services to cover all (or at least a good majority⁹⁷) partnership youngsters. As the youngsters at partnership housings were offered access to all partnership common services, thus activities and contacts with various non-profit organisations outside the partnership – such as those enabled by leisure time coordinators– or access to new services unavailable at organizations offering their housings– such as psychological counselling, on-job practice (addressing the youngsters not covered by the municipal offers) or friend family services.

6.3.2 More tailored services via adaptation

Interestingly while literature on network governance presents partnership ability to adapt as a challenge the partnership in Gothenburg has continuously showed an interest to adapt to changing circumstances even if in the future this adaptation may be more challenging and painful. For the beneficiaries of partnership common services it implies when successful – more tailored services. In the studied partnership it has been achieved, for the time being, with varying success, but there is a yet unused potential that has been hindered by insufficient awareness of each other's interdependencies and thus demanding communication processes.

An especially visible example of tailored services is how the partnership has adapted to *meet a more diverse group of minors than originally expected by abandoning their initial idea of more homogeneous HVB housings* and by

⁹⁷ Sometimes geographical distance and limited personnel possibilities and resources prevented youngster possibilities to physically make use of the services offered.

differentiating youngsters after their needs rather than status to be able to offer better housing and support. Here an outstanding example was an agreement between a non-profit and city municipality (SR) to offer a tailored housing for *youngsters with special psychosocial needs*. While seen as an agreement between a non-profit and the municipality it has occurred in the partnership context and the partnership commitment and established trust seem to have played a role in increasing municipal willingness to renegotiate contractual conditions for such housings within the framework of IPP agreement. Also it was thanks to the non-profit partners' commitment for the partnership that they accepted to adjust to the situation and share the responsibility to keep asylum seeking youngsters alongside those with residence permits.

Yet another aspect has been adaptation of partnership *services to assist their minors by exploring the personnel needs such as* in partnership personnel training service (by designing it more collaboratively). Partnership coordinators have continuously searched for ways to better adapt and to various extent even tailor services to youngsters' individual needs (crisis counselling, friend families, leisure time and on-job as in also and in friend family services. Usually non-profits are good at service tailoring and indeed partnership added-value for youngsters lies especially in being able to balance the tailoring and the continuity aspects. The tailoring has however not always been as successful as could be under different circumstances - given more time, more stable environment.

Currently in the face of decreasing resources the partnership members are discussing ways to adjust the scope and perhaps the range of certain commonly financed services. Yet this urge for constant adaptation due to changes in partnership environment contrasts its strive for continuity of certain services even if the partners seem to agree on not institutionalising services for their own sake.

We conclude that the partnership in general has shown high level of flexibility and the balance seems to be achieved by a level of integration and institutionalisation of collaborative decision-making structures and continuity of some services while adjusting the contents and the scope of others. Service tailoring has been primarily achieved by entrepreneurial spirit and actions of individual organisations and especially their street-level personnel. The adjustment

of partnership structures and processes to the needs take more time and energy to achieve as changes need to be discussed and anchored between many actors.

6.3.3. Integrated services - partnership weaknesses and strengths

The implicit ambition of the partnership organisations and the very partnership context with such a great expertise offer a potential for more qualitative service than sometimes possible by individual organisations. Especially common resource pooling and the innovative redistribution model, the so called “50 kronor pot”, and common not least bottom-up driven platforms of experience sharing are factors that may contribute to increased service quality in a partnership. In the case of Gothenburg partnership this opportunity was advantageous in for example developing common personnel training services, while its potential remains to be better used in some other common partnership services. Here we can note that whether and how this potential is used depends especially on a shared commitment to common goals, awareness of mutual interdependencies in their achievement through partnership common services and whether sufficient public or private resources are made available.

An outstanding example of service integration has been established collaboration between HVB organisations and psychological counselling offered by a partner organisation Skyddsvärnet (also IMs special courses for psychosocial support, although these are open also to municipal HVB).

In sum, regardless of municipal attempts to offer similar services to all youngsters the partnership youngsters have been offered specific services not always available for other youngsters (such as friend family services or psychological counselling).

6.3.4 Conclusion

Overall, the Gothenburg partnership has so **far delivered on several IPP promises**. Regarding its *quantitative* aspects it delivered on service variety and access to larger groups; and regarding service *quality* its value lies in prompt reaction to some major needs, complementary services that contribute to more integrated help to targeted youngsters, and in some extend services more tailored to the group and its perceived needs. However due to inherent partnership challenges

there remains some unused potential in increasing service quality.

6.4 Impact of individual partnership services on the targeted groups in relation to IPP goals

As mentioned, the available data for measuring impact of partnership common services is rather limited. We start by briefly exploring the more short-term and mid-term impact of each individual service and then comment on the overall effect. The constructs for assessing each measure varied as they were most often conducted by service coordinators with limited possibilities for the evaluator to influence on this. Still they all aim to capture the impact of services offered for the beneficiaries and in relation to partnership goals.

6.4.1 Housing services

While the municipal SRD frequently stresses that all HVB housings under its supervision should provide a similar basic service quality so that the youngsters residing in these would not feel any difference the very idea of the partnership common services breaks this rule of thumb. The partnership housing personnel is eligible to complementary IPP personnel trainings, some reserved only for the partnership, and that the partnership offers services to assist youngsters complementary, additionally to those of municipality because and personnel commitment to their job beyond their professional roles are examples of increased (and thus unequal) basic quality of reception services.

6.4.2 Common personnel trainings

As a result of partnership collaboration, an established coordinator function and also a new collaborative group personnel from partnership HVB housings has been offered 8 shorter thematic lectures or workshops that were complementary to municipal HVB trainings during the first partnership year. Two of the partnership youngster housings have been able to involve all their personnel group in a much demanded and appreciated course on Trauma Aware Care (TMO). Thus in assessing the impact of partnership common personnel development measures we need to keep in mind these two types of training offers and so far uneven distribution of the

TMO. However, during the time of writing one more HVB has started the course and yet an additional one is planned for the autumn of 2016. A recent decision of the Collaboration Group is that all personnel from the remaining and yet operating partnership HVB will need to be offered these opportunities rather than other courses if resources would not suffice but the final decision is yet to be made and the situation may change.

The extant assessments of the shorter trainings attempted to capture such aspects as “new knowledge and insights”; “relevance of the knowledge gained for the participant”, “the depth of the knowledge”, “knowledge usefulness in their professional activities (with unaccompanied minors)”, etc. There were no self-assessments of 2 additional courses organised at HVB “the first help and “psychological first help.” In the interviews with personnel the researcher has primarily focused on the relevance of the courses to the job needs (first order change) and expectations and if they made any impact on working routines (second order change).

The trainings may be expected to have at least a *mid-term* impact if its recipients find it relevant and useful for their job tasks.

The impact assessment here is based on all available answers (self-assessments from 5 different thematic courses of 8 general courses organised) provided by all course participants and thus not exclusively by the personnel from partnership housings and mixed *quantitative and qualitative* methods. Between 50% and 76% participants mean that the courses were *relevant* but there was somewhat lower appreciation of the *possibilities to make use of* the courses in their practical work with youngsters 25%-55% contributed with knowledge, insights important for their work. From the analysis of expectations and the assessment of the knowledge received it seems that most difficult has been to satisfy the knowledge demand on psychosocial needs via such short trainings (a few hours). Especially longer, more in-depth courses with practical tools are still on demand (except for those HVB who attended the TMO trainings).

Interviews disclose that “first help and psychological first help “ courses were both relevant and useful in daily practice. It “has helped to understand youngsters needs and have respect for that”, “that we need to think out of the box sometimes” but

personnel needed more time to see how they can apply the gained knowledge and more course that give examples of concrete methods to apply the knowledge.

Most useful of all was the TMO package. The impact of the TMO has been that it partly confirmed that the methods used by the personnel are “right”, that they “are on the right track”, they “provide concrete tools” how to work with the youngsters such as the need of daily routines and structure in their lives to create security

In sum, the training services offered did make an impact on the HVB personnel (and Directors in case of TMO) – some *more in-depth* and more lasting one than others. The effect seems to be cumulative when the personnel attend several courses. The greatest positive mid-term to long-term impact was that of TMO package. The *scope of the trainings* has not been sufficient to cover all interested personnel, but besides short-term planning and communication failures it is also a major resource issue. HVB lack of resources to send larger groups of personnel for trainings. In general though the scope of the impact of partnership trainings goes beyond the partnership. The personnel is definitely better equipped for their job after those courses, especially “Psychological first help”, “Meeting young people” and TMO, but the impact depends also on how the personnel competence needs and course relevance shift with external changes.

6.4.3 Psychological counselling

Regarding the scope this was one of the largest partnership services covering 43 youngsters of ca 135-150 or 32-28% during the first half year 2016. The services were offered four times a week between 16 and 21.00. All partnership youngsters are informed about this service and the personnel often follows with the youngster. In total 10 engaged and professional psychologists had offered 220 counselling occasions during 6 months or ca 50 per month lately.

The partnership youngsters had surely gained from the established collaboration between housing organisations and Skyddsvärnet Crisis Counselling. Of the 43 cases 22 are now finished or cancelled and 21 left. The majority of youngsters feel better, some are really well (Göransson, 2016). Some of the cases had to be cancelled because the treatment resurrected painful trauma and the time for treating this was

not right. Some treatments were cancelled after youngsters have been reassigned other housings outside IPP especially after rejected asylum. When possible the psychologists offered support even in such cases to prevent suicide or injuring themselves.

As at least 32-28% of partnership many youngsters suffer from traumatic experiences and need a quick treatment this service was unique in its flexibility and rather prompt access without decreasing the professional quality. The crisis is deepened when youngsters lose control over their age identities due to new procedures. The psychologists even after longer contacts cannot confirm that the youngsters lie about their age as is often exposed in mass media.

In sum, to judge from the information received via internal Skyddsvärnet documentation and interviews the impact for absolute majority of youngsters is positive and substantial as the service is highly relevant and rather successfully implemented (except for the involuntary closures). The data does not allow to assess the impact in time but there are good reasons to believe it has at least mid-range if not long-term positive effect, also depending on eventual new dramatic changes in youngsters' life situation. The scope of the youngsters reached was substantial as the needs were captured by personnel closest to the youngsters or expressed by youngsters themselves.

6.4.4 Friend-families

At least half of partnership 130-150 youngsters (70 or more) have been matched with Swedish families by the end of June and 88 by August 2016.

One way of measuring achievements is assessing *whether a private relation has been established* based on its duration, a yet more ambitious assessment would need to address the *quality of the relations* in terms of how they contribute to social bonding, youngsters' knowledge of the society, language and the sense of belonging to the social context thus contributing to several integration (inclusion) dimensions.⁹⁸ The impact assessments are made based on access to

Räddningsmissionen self-evaluation, responses so far from 17 youngsters and coordinator and housing personnel accounts.

As the contacts are on-going for many, some also after having left partnership housings we deem that the private relation is often established. All respondents have replied they appreciated the friend family relations for different reasons (they were asked to specify). For some *youngsters* the relationship implied having a “supplementary family” the families are often perceived as very kind and attentive, youngsters can train their language, play sports, take part in family activities, a picnic, go fishing, play games, just sit and talk, in Sweden especially when they have not met their own family for long period, maybe a year or two. Some other youngster has been offered an opportunity to contribute to family gardening and allocated an own gardening plot. Yet another has somebody to help with taking lessons for a drivers licence. (Self-evaluation report 2016-9-2). Some feel they can call and ask things or just receive some support in their lives. A few youngsters had initially expressed less satisfaction with the friend families but this was according to coordinators mainly based on wrong expectations. When the youngsters were informed of the voluntary aspect of this relation they started appreciate the service. In general they feel more seen as personalities and confident with themselves due to these relations.

The service has an additional impact also for the *friend families* who feel and communicate their satisfaction with being able to give youngsters some meaningful activities and relations. However they also need some support in sustaining relations in youngsters’ difficult life situations and due to some cultural differences - something service coordinators devote more attention at present.

In sum, the scope of the service has been large and the aim is to cover all partnership youngsters. The service has been intensively tailored after the and needs and with a positive impact (at least to those youngsters that responded) on their wellbeing. There is a positive impact on youngsters’ integration, even if not all will receive permissions to stay. The service has a potential of at least mid-term impact as the aim is building lasting relationships. However, it is much up to the youngsters to make most of the relationship, unless they have to leave. Their engagement and activeness vary from case till case and due to psychological

situation and asylum or family status thus also partly affecting the impact of this relationship.

6.4.5 Leisure-time services

The aim with the service was to increase the youngsters' chances to a meaningful leisure time and (gradual) integration, especially by access and possibilities to social bonding to established Swedes, language training, cultural and cognitive aspects. This was offered through activities organised by volunteers and contacts to various civil society associations. Another way of increasing possibilities to meaningful free time was via cultural, sports or other activities where youngsters could experience the city, the country culture, practice some skills or learn new. Yet an additional aim was to engage youngsters in planning, thus empowering them.

As mentioned in Chapter 5 while the scope of the services was meant to cover all interested partnership youngsters finally much fewer participated. But it varied. The recorded impacts from self-assessments (via volunteers) on various activities indicate that

“The activities fell out well, youngsters have got energy from participating and both HVB and family homes have reported that they see a difference in how youngsters feel just after one activity with us”. (Interview IM coordinator)

The youngsters were asked about their expectations, what they have appreciated with the activities and suggestions for improvements. Besides a planned visit to The Museum of Culture (exhibition on Afghanistan) when no one showed up all other activities were appreciated by the participant youngsters – also here for various reasons. Some have learned bicycling, test how to write hip-hop music, others have established new social contacts with members from associations.

The overall impact is that the service increased youngsters' chances to meaningful, rewarding leisure time – disregarding the language barrier– they could test and develop new abilities, new contacts relevant for their (leisure time) interests. For a more substantial impact towards integration more continuous participation was needed. Also the social bonding suffered from lack of continuity in volunteers and the impact was lowered by youngsters who were regularly late. For some it offered empowerment by affecting the planning of their leisure time. Thus we deem some

impacts not only as short term energy boosts but at with least mid-term effect. The impact could have been even greater increased scope of participation (more on reasons see Chapter 5).

6.4.6 On-job practice

What did youngsters get or learn from the on-job practice? Does that and how indicate that the service is a way to advance towards the fulfilment of perceived youngsters needs (of social contacts, language training, structured life) and thus partnership integration and meaningful leisure time goals?

The received response from 16 of 22 (or 73%) youngsters that fulfilled their practice period indicates that it enabled most of them to both practice the Swedish language (12 or 75%), create new contacts with established Swedes (12 or 75%) and also contribute to their cognitive integration by learning how things work in Sweden (that 13 or 81%), especially how it is to work in Sweden (14 or 87%) and get acquainted with new places in their city (12 or 75%).⁹⁹ Also youngsters frequently experienced that the on-job practice is a good way to integrate. An additional perhaps less intended effect was that the youngsters trained to take greater responsibilities by implementing various tasks but also by regular attendance. However, for some few the practice was a less rewarding experience.

In sum, the on-job practice seems to have fulfilled its purpose of *increasing chances for integration* (see Table 1) and may be justified. However there is a remaining issue of how more youngsters should be able to see and use the on-job practice as an opportunity to either meaningful time or integration or both having in mind all the youngsters that had dropped off, also after the first visits, without providing a reason.

Some important work remains in *increasing the demand* by explaining to youngsters the opportunities it may imply and in *service delivery* by a more effective collaboration with the municipality to secure timely information sharing and avoid overlaps; and also by tailoring practice offers to the youngsters' needs, interests, capacities and the goals of integration.

⁹⁹ The results of the Self-evaluation based on the questionnaire summaries communicated via email to the researcher.

Service	Impact				
	Safer housing	Youngsters' Wellbeing	Meaningful leisure-time	Social bonding, Integration	Other
Personnel training	+	+	+	(+)	Reach beyond the IPP
Crisis counselling		+		(+)	
Friend families		+	+	+	Changes in perceptions among Swedish families Reach beyond the IPP
Leisure time		(+)	+	(+)	Empowerment Reach beyond the IPP
On-job practice		(+)	(+)	+	

Table 1. Partnership Service Impacts

6.4.7 Conclusion and discussion

We conclude that the unique partnership impact and the collective value for the targeted unaccompanied minors lies in what the partners can offer and achieve together rather than its individual services. The partnership arrangement not only enabled initiating these new services, the coordination and responsibilities for which were placed at four different organisations, but it also enabled smoother collaboration around their planning and implementation, disregarding all challenges of newly evolving partnership,

While the youngsters did not use all of the partnership services, they may have used some or a few thus often (not always) gaining more value and cumulative impact for their wellbeing, meaningful and structured free-time and integration. Several of the partnership services contributed to youngsters' wellbeing by providing structure, meaning and predictability if assessed from Antonovsky's perspective (Antonovsky, 2005). Some contributed with positive impact on the partnership broader and long-term goals of inclusion or integration in the society.

If we consider psychological effects we can see that youngsters that have taken part of at least some services more likely were to be empowered, energised and strengthened in their often difficult situations. All effects were not necessarily only positive. As both leisure time and on-job practices have been arranged for youngsters as a collective group of unaccompanied minors this might have had a slightly stigmatising effect even if youngsters in most activities were set in contact with established Swedes. Activities for a mixed group perhaps with Swedish youngsters could undermine such effect.

Regardless all partners' attempts there have been though important limitations in how much partnership services can do for the experienced psychosocial and integration needs. IPP actors were not capable of achieving a stronger positive impact due to constant fluctuation in youngsters in and out, their worries for the unsecure future, families and traumatic experiences which were only worsened by the legal changes in asylum laws and procedures and increasingly worsening political climate. Thus the political context and climate truly matters for the implementation and impact of the partnership common services.

As a result of national immigration policies the targeted minors became an increasingly diversified group – those with permanent residence permits (PUT); those still in asylum, those that will be rejected asylum and - those that will get a permanent (13months) asylum. As the partnership keeps committed to all the unaccompanied minors until they reach an adult age or leave the partnership housings they are increasingly facing a challenge of diversified goals. It may no longer be meaningful to strive for positive integration effects for all youngsters as was originally intended. For some groups the focus is on sustaining services that impact on a daily wellbeing by psychological services, more, structured, predictable and meaningful existence and activities. For others yet - it is all about continued positive impact for various integration aspects.

Regarding the latter, we should note that so far the partnership focus – at least explicitly expressed – have been more limited integration aspects such as *language, social and labour market integration* and thus the self-assessments methodologically did not sufficiently capture some other aspects of integration to which the partnership services might also have contributed to, especially housing (reside or

visits to new city areas), cognitive (how things work here) and cognitive (feeling welcome, at home) integration (Diaz, 2004).

6.5 Partnership effects for individual organisations

"Partnerships are used mainly when problems lie beyond the reach of any single agency and can thus be dealt with only if agencies band together in mutually beneficial ways." (Bevir, 2013, 161)

It is unlikely that individual organisations enter an IPP partnership without specific expectations of gains. While these expectations have been more implicit the analysis allows us to identify some rather specific gains. Indeed, the partner organisations had several considerable advantages from the collaboration in the partnership.

Firstly, especially organisations with experiences of subcontracted services have been able to transfer from *competitive* to *collaborative relations* regarding services several of them are good at. "It is a very constructive way of working (...) You don't need to compete but rather complement each other" (Interview 2016 06 20).

Secondly, organisations share knowledge and can *learn from each other* as some come with ideas that can gain ground in others. This has been true both for those with similar tasks (HVB) and in general. Each organisation has been better enabled to achieve its own goals due to the other partners' efforts.

Thirdly, the partnership collaboration has enabled *complementary and more integrated services* thus resulting in collectively more powerful effect on the same group of youngsters.

Fourthly, the partnership context allowed for common structuring, creation of common norms that *reduced transactions costs* acting upon the targeted group (such as in psychological counselling or personnel competence measures) at least in some services.

Fifthly, solidarity in innovative resource pooling (where each housing organisation puts same sum per child to a common resource pool to be shared with others) have implied greater possibilities to *start a number of new services*. Also while the partnership commitment here effectively increased the diversity of targeted groups and the scope of the challenge it has also alleviated contractual relations and *tailoring* of some services, such as specialised HVB.

Sixthly, partnership relations with the municipal partner have been used to increase the *internal legitimacy* of some of partnership common services and common standards (such as in personnel competence development). Whether these linkages to formal power fully works as a ground for internal legitimation among concerned HVB directors is still a question for the future. In general in the turbulent political environment it has been an advantage for partnership organisations, both in housing and other services, that they act in collaboration with the municipality for their external legitimacy.

Seventhly, the partnership context has enabled organisations to keep their *distinctive character* and specificity in service delivery in both partnership activity pillars. The partnership conditions had so far not pressed the non-profits to produce the cheapest possible service. Rather they were enabled, to the extent the context allowed, to focus more on qualitative service design and delivery.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly the collaboration in Gothenburg has enabled the non-profits a *greater influence* in both partnership management tools – such as principles for pooling and sharing the allocated public resources – and in designing the particular partnership policy contents and services. **As a result, the Gothenburg IPP partnership serves as an example of a more balanced collaboration form enabling non-profits greater influence than in traditional contracts and greater responsibility sharing with the municipality than in traditional grants. Besides, while presenting some challenges this partnership form does not significantly intrude on the specificity on the non-profits.** However partnership has also implied some offerings especially collective pressure

due to common commitment to accept the greater targeted minors' diversity, an advantage well used by the municipality.

6.6 Partnership effects for youngsters (and actors) outside the partnership

Partnership services so far resulted in several unintended effects or added-value also for actors outside the partnership involved in newcomer unaccompanied minors' reception. Examples of these are opening access to "non-partnership" youngsters to summer leisure time activities or to friend family services (youngsters from at least two municipal HVB¹⁰⁰ have been matched with friend families). As an effect, while the scope of these added value effects was not so great still it blurred a bit the distinction between "our" and "their" youngsters providing both groups an added-value.

On the other hand, perhaps a somewhat paradoxical effect of the partnership was that partnership added-value services crossed the municipal ambition of delivering equal quality of care and services to all unaccompanied minors at least at HVB under municipal supervision.

¹⁰⁰ The friend family services have expanded to other municipal housings and even some other municipalities (Uddevåla, Ljungsåile).

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1. Interview The Red Cross (NGO) representative, 2016-03-09
2. Interview *Individuella människohjälp* (NGO) representative 20160311
3. Interview *Skyddsvärnet* representative (NGO) 2016-03-11
4. Interview *Rädda barnen* (Save the Children, NGO) 2016-03-14
5. Interview *Bräckediakoni* (NGO) 2016-03-15
6. Interview with a representatives representatives from *Reningsborg* (NGO) 2016-03-21
7. Interview *Räddningsmissionen* (NGO) 2016-03-23
8. Interview Chief Social Resource Department (VM) - 2016-05-24

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10. Interview representative for Red Cross 20160413, coordinator of training
11. Interview representative for IM 2016-04-14
12. Interview a municipality representative, SRD 2016-02-17 (LP)
13. Interview a municipal SRD representative 2016-08-26
14. Interview representative for Räddningsmissionen, 2016-09-12
15. Interview representative for Rädda Barnen 2016-09-12
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17. Interview with volunteer coordinator 2016-04-20 (IM) and 2016-05-23
18. Interview with volunteer coordinator 2 2016-08-05 and 08-12
19. Interview with friend family coordinator 2016-05-10 (Räddningsmissionen)
20. Interview with IPP trainings coordinator (Red Cross) 2016-04-20
21. Interview with coordinator for volunteer psykologist 2016-06-20(Skyddsvärnet)
22. Interview with on-job practice coordinator, Bräcke diakoni, 2016-07-05
23. Interview with Rädda Barnen TMO coordinator, 2016-09-07

24. Interview Rädta barnen, 2016-09-12, previous representative coordinating group, TMO.

Interviews with HVB housing directors

- 25. Director of Reningsborgs housing 1, 2016-03-21
- 26. Director of Reningsborg housing 2, 2016-06-08
- 27. Director of Bräckediakoni housing, 2016-05-23
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- 29. Director of Räddningsmissionen housing Vasavåningen, 2016-06-21
- 30. Director of Räddningsmissionen housing Lisahemet, 2016-06-21

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