

Co-producing public welfare with citizens in socially disadvantaged neighbourhoods



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Contents

Summary of the thesis	1
Resumé (in Danish)	5
Chapter 1. Introduction	9
The research questions, focus, and purpose of the thesis	9
The empirical field of the thesis: definitional considerations.....	12
Socially disadvantaged neighbourhoods	12
Social vulnerability.....	13
Ethnic minorities.....	15
The articles of the thesis	16
The structure of the thesis	16
Chapter 2. State of the art	18
The co-production of public welfare services	18
Co-production with vulnerable citizens in socially deprived areas.....	22
‘The what’ of co-production	23
‘The who’ of co-production	25
‘The how’ of co-production	27
‘The when’ of co-production	31
Chapter 3. Critical realism: the philosophy of science applied in the thesis.....	34
The ontological and epistemological assumptions of critical realism	34
Modes of reasoning.....	37
Structure and agency: Archer’s morphogenesis	38
Chapter 4. Theoretical framework.....	42
Co-production.....	43
Social capital research.....	45
Social capital and socially disadvantaged communities	46
Social capital in Putnam’s understanding	48
Linking social capital.....	50
Trust.....	51
Instrumentalisation and third-party volunteering.....	52
Police performance and procedural justice	53
Chapter 5. Methodology	57

Case study research design	57
Selecting cases for the study	58
Case one: municipal staff and a Danish-Somali women’s association co-producing crime-prevention for at-risk youths	60
Case two: professional ABI staff and residents co-producing social (workfare) inclusion and social cohesion.....	60
Case three: police and ethnic minority associations co-producing crime prevention and neighbourhood safety	61
Ethnographic field studies.....	61
Data-collection and choosing informants	62
Observations.....	63
Interviewing.....	66
Reflexivity and researcher positionality.....	67
Analytical strategies	71
Chapter 6. The content of the articles.....	75
Article 1	75
Article 2	77
Article 3	78
Chapter 7. Discussion of findings.....	81
The significance of when the citizens become involved in the public service production cycle...	82
Different types of expertise	85
The importance of citizens operating as a collective.....	89
Linking social capital.....	93
Trust.....	94
Implications of the results for policy and practice.....	96
Chapter 8. Conclusion	98
Validity, generalisability, limitations and future research	100
References.....	104
Appendices.....	118
Appendix 1. Example of interview guides	118

Summary of the thesis

This thesis investigates the co-production of public welfare services between professional front-line staff in Denmark and end-users in socially disadvantaged neighbourhoods who face different degrees of social vulnerability. For citizens in vulnerable positions, being engaged in co-producing the welfare services they depend on can have a huge bearing on the relevance and quality of the services and their successful implementation. Yet, due to their marginalised positions and vulnerabilities, these citizens may face barriers to participating in co-production. This is particularly so concerning the early involvement in the public service cycle, since previous research shows that these citizen groups tend to become engaged only in implementing services designed solely by the public actors.

Based on different typologies found in the co-production literature, the thesis distinguishes between four phases in which the citizens can be included in the public welfare production cycle: co-initiation, co-commissioning, co-design, and co-implementation. These phases relate to different levels of citizen engagement with or influence on the co-production process. Based on this distinction, the thesis seeks to answer the overall research question: what factors influence the type and level of public co-production in which citizens in socially disadvantaged areas become involved?

The answer to this question is pursued by taking a critical realist approach to a qualitative case study presenting three cases of different types of public co-production with citizens in socially disadvantaged neighbourhoods. The data consist of extensive field studies of observations, documents, and interviews with the citizens, staff, and management involved in each of these cases. The results of the thesis are based on three articles illuminating the overall research question from several angles and making different contributions to its answer.

Article 1 explores the influence of bonding, bridging, and linking social capital networks as well as trust on co-production between professional, municipal staff and citizens in socially disadvantaged neighbourhoods who are socially vulnerable. Data stem from an extreme case in which a group of Danish-Somali women (this particular group being among the most vulnerable in Danish society) changed from being dismissive potential co-implementers to becoming co-initiators of co-production with municipal actors, the aim being to prevent crime among Danish-Somali youths.

The study finds the formation of social capital to have a significant influence on enabling co-production with vulnerable citizens. This is particularly the case when engaging the citizens in earlier phases of the public service cycle than the implementation phase. Being engaged in these phases positively influences the citizens' motivation to participate. The end-user acting as the co-designer or co-initiator of public services is rarely discussed in the co-production literature: the study therefore contributes to filling this gap. Furthermore, calculus-based trust is identified as a main factor influencing the willingness of potential co-production partners to engage in co-production, while relational trust is significant for the maintenance of the co-production relation.

Article 2 investigates how the professional staff understand the residents' volunteering as part of the social work carried out in Area Based Initiatives (ABI). The study is based on ten interviews with different staff members and observation studies from six socially disadvantaged areas. The notions of 'instrumentalisation' and 'third-party volunteering' are used as a theoretical framework for the analysis, which identifies four purposes behind the staffs' facilitation of the residents' voluntary engagement: volunteering as a path to the job market; volunteering as self-development; volunteering for the sake of the community; and volunteering with the purpose of maintaining the activities of the ABI. From the perspective of the staff, the central actor in the volunteering is the voluntary resident and his/her employment, personal development, and active citizenship, rather than 'the case' in which the voluntary resident becomes engaged. In the article, this is discussed in relation to a growing productivity discourse within social work, as well as the notion of active citizenship as a parameter in the global competition of competition states. Moreover, the analysis shows that using volunteering as a social work tool causes ambivalence in the staff, who essentially perceive volunteering as something that ought to be based on the initiative, wish, needs, and interests of the resident, which is why the staff also work to facilitate volunteering simply for the sake of volunteering.

Article 3 explores the challenges and potentials of police co-commissioning with ethnic-minority associations from disadvantaged neighbourhoods, a form of co-production rarely found in the co-production literature, nor investigated in hierarchical organisations like the police. The data stem from a field study of community 'dialogue meetings' between the Danish police and local ethnic-minority associations, where the citizens as 'experts by experience' and the police as conventional experts on policing meet in order to identify and prioritise future policing efforts to enhance

community safety. The co-commissioning was initiated by the police due to conflicts and lack of collaboration between the police and the ethnic minorities of the neighbourhood. The study draws on both the co-production literature on co-commissioning and the criminological literature on procedural justice and police performance to argue that a better understanding of how residents in these areas communicate with and perceive the police as a public authority can help create a better social platform for future co-production.

Based on the findings of the articles, the thesis identifies the following factors as influencing the degree and type of public co-production in which citizens in socially disadvantaged areas become involved.

The level of citizen engagement and influence increases the earlier the citizens are involved in the public service cycle, provided that their viewpoints are taken into consideration by the public counterpart, and their perspectives are allowed to influence the subsequent phases up until and including the implementation phase. In that case, the citizens perceive the services as relevant to their welfare and consequently take ownership of their implementation.

The perception the professionals have of their own professional expertise, as well as that of the citizens, influences their degree of openness toward the citizens' perspectives and thus the amount of control over the welfare production they are willing to surrender. It seems that in situations where a professional–client relationship has already been established, it is harder for the professionals to look beyond the apparent vulnerability of those citizens who wish to contribute their experiences and perspectives. Other factors also influence their openness towards merging the different forms of expertise, this being an ideal of transformative co-production. These include the level of job autonomy in defining goals and means, as well as the personal characteristics of the staff.

The most influential factor to be identified here is whether the citizens operate as individuals or as a collective, i.e. as a social capital network, since this also affects the factors mentioned above. When citizens in socially vulnerable positions act individually, they are more likely to become implementers of co-production only. When the same citizens unite by, for instance, forming an association, they acquire the collective power to make themselves heard and are perceived as more resourceful than when they act on their own. Furthermore, from a professional perspective they become more legitimate collaborators. This is due to their greater degree of representative

potential based on the micro-democracy of associations and the regulatory institutionalization of collaboration with associations.

Nevertheless, not all citizens in socially vulnerable positions will have the ability or experience to form an association. For this reason, they need access to external resources in terms of capacity-building, contacts etc., which can be provided by creating a linking social capital network with the authorities.

Finally, the necessity of different forms of trust in commencing and maintaining co-production is demonstrated. When co-production cannot be established upon existing relations, calculus-based trust is necessary. This trust form is based on an assumption that the interests of the other party can encapsulate one's own goals. When a relationship of co-production has been formed, it can be sustained through the development of relational trust, which is an affective form of trust and more resilient to the challenges that might arise in the co-production process.

Resumé (in Danish)

Denne afhandling undersøger samskabelse (*co-production*) af offentlige velfærdsydelser mellem fagprofessionelle frontmedarbejdere i Danmark og borgere i socialt udsatte boligområder, som befinder sig i forskellige grader af social sårbarhed. For disse borgere kan det at engagere sig i skabelsen af de velfærdsservices, de har brug for, have stor betydning for ydelsernes relevans og kvalitet og deres vellykkede implementering. På grund af deres marginaliserede positioner og sårbarheder kan disse borgere dog opleve barrierer i forhold til at kunne deltage i samskabelse. Dette gælder især ved inddragelse i de tidligere faser i den offentlige servicecyklus, da tidligere studier viser en tendens til at disse borgergrupper kun bliver engageret i implementering af services, der udelukkende er designet af de offentlige aktører.

Baseret på forskellige typologier, der findes i den internationale samskabelseslitteratur, skelnes der mellem fire faser, hvor borgerne kan inddrages i den offentlige velfærdsproduktion: som initiativtager (*co-initiation*), som med-anvise (*co-commissioning*)¹, som med-designer (*co-design*), og som med-udfører (*co-implementation*). Disse faser hænger sammen med forskellige niveauer af borgerinddragelse og dermed borgernes indflydelse på samskabelsesprocessen. På baggrund af denne sondring søger afhandlingen at besvare det overordnede forskningsspørgsmål: hvilke faktorer påvirker hvilken type samskabelse borgere i socialt udsatte boligområder inddrages i samt graden af deres indflydelse på samskabelsesprocessen?

For at besvare dette spørgsmål foretages der med udgangspunkt i en kritisk realistisk tilgang et kvalitativt casestudie, der præsenterer tre cases, hvor forskellige typer samskabelse finder sted i socialt udsatte boligområder. Data består af omfattende feltstudier med observationer, dokumenter og interviews med de borgere, frontmedarbejdere og ledelse, der er involveret i hver af disse cases. Afhandlingens resultater er baseret på tre artikler, der belyser det overordnede forskningsspørgsmål fra flere vinkler og på forskellig vis bidrager til besvarelsen heraf.

Artikel 1 udforsker, hvordan social kapital i form af afgrænsende (*bonding*), brobyggende (*bridging*) og forbindende (*linking*) netværk samt tillid påvirker samskabelse mellem offentlige aktører og borgere i socialt udsatte boligområder, der befinder sig i en udsat position. Data

¹ 'Co-commissioning', som er et udtryk taget fra en britisk kontekst, indebærer, at borgerne er med til at prioritere opgaver og sætte retning for et velfærdsområde. Selve begrebet lader sig vanskeligt oversætte til dansk.

stammer fra en 'ekstrem' case, hvor en gruppe dansk-somaliske kvinder (som er blandt de mest sårbare i det danske samfund) ændrede sig fra at være afvisende over for et kommunalt forsøg på at inddrage dem i implementeringen af en velfærdsservice designet af de fagprofessionelle til at blive initiativtagere til samskabelse med de samme kommunale aktører med det sigte at forebygge kriminalitet blandt dansk-somaliske unge. Undersøgelsen konkluderer, at dannelsen af social kapital har en væsentlig indflydelse på at muliggøre samskabelse med borgere i en social udsat position. Dette er især tilfældet, når borgerne inddrages tidligere i den offentlige velfærdsproduktion end implementeringsfasen. At være involveret i de tidligere faser fremmer borgernes motivation til deltagelse. Borgerne i rollen som med-designer af eller initiativtager til offentlige velfærdsservices, ses sjældent i samskabeslitteraturen; undersøgelsen bidrager derfor med dette perspektiv. Derudover identificeres beregningsbaseret (*calculus-based*) tillid som en faktor, der påvirker potentielle samskabesaktørers vilje til at engagere sig i samskabelse, mens relationel tillid er vigtig for opretholdelsen af samskabesforholdet.

Artikel 2 undersøger hvordan fagprofessionelle boligsociale medarbejdere forstår beboernes frivillige arbejde som en del af det sociale arbejde, der udføres i forbindelse med boligsociale helhedsplaner i socialt udsatte boligområder. Undersøgelsen er baseret på ti interviews med forskellige medarbejdere og observationsstudier fra seks socialt udsatte boligområder.

Begreberne 'instrumentalisering' og 'third-party volunteering' bruges som en teoretisk ramme for analysen, der identificerer fire formål bag medarbejdernes facilitering af beboernes frivillige engagement: Frivilligt arbejde som en vej til arbejdsmarkedet, frivilligt arbejde som selvudvikling, frivilligt arbejde for fællesskabets skyld og frivilligt arbejde med det formål at forankre aktiviteter. Ud fra medarbejdernes forståelse er det centrale i frivilligheden først og fremmest den frivillige beboer og dennes arbejdsmarkeds- og udviklingspotentiale samt aktive medborgerskab, snarere end 'sagen', som den frivillige beboer engagerer sig i. Dette diskuteres i relation til en voksende produktivitetsdiskurs inden for socialt arbejde samt aktivt medborgerskab som et af konkurrencestatens konkurrenceparametre i den globale konkurrence. Analysen viser endvidere, at brugen af frivillighed som boligsocialt middel medfører en ambivalens hos flere medarbejdere, der grundlæggende har en opfattelse af frivillighed som noget, der bør baseres på beboerens initiativ, lyst, behov og interesser, hvorfor de også arbejder på at fremme frivilligheden for frivillighedens skyld.

Artikel 3 undersøger hvilke udfordringer og potentialer, der gør sig gældende i forbindelse med samskabelse mellem politi og etniske minoritetsforeninger i et socialt udsat boligområde. Data stammer fra et feltstudie af dialogmøder mellem en lokal politiafdeling og etniske minoritetsforeninger, hvor borgerne med deres erfaringsbaserede ekspertise og politiet som de konventionelle eksperter mødes for at identificere og prioritere fremtidigt politiarbejde med henblik på at forbedre sikkerheden i boligområdet. Samskabelsen blev initieret af politiet på baggrund af konflikter og manglende samarbejde mellem etniske minoritetsgrupper og politiet i boligområdet. Samskabelsestypen der finder sted identificeres som sam-idriftsættelse (*co-commissioning*), en form for samskabelse, der sjældent diskuteres i samskabelseslitteraturen eller er undersøgt inden for en hierarkisk opbygget organisation som politiet. Undersøgelsen trækker dermed på begrebet 'co-implementation' fra samskabelseslitteraturen såvel som på de kriminologiske begreber 'procedural justice' og 'police performance' og argumenterer for, at en bedre forståelse af, hvordan beboerne i disse områder kommunikerer med og opfatter politiet som en offentlig myndighed, kan bidrage til at skabe en social platform til fremtidig samskabelse.

Baseret på resultaterne af artiklerne identificerer afhandlingen følgende faktorer som betydningsfulde for, hvilken type samskabelse borgere i socialt udsatte boligområder inddrages i, samt for graden af deres indflydelse på processen.

Graden af brugerinddragelse og indflydelse stiger, jo tidligere borgerne involveres i skabelsen af velfærdsservices, forudsat at deres synspunkter tages i betragtning af den offentlige aktør, og deres perspektiver får lov til at påvirke de efterfølgende faser i velfærdsproduktionen til og med implementeringsfasen. I så fald oplever borgerne ydelserne som relevante for deres velfærd og de tager ejerskab til implementeringen heraf.

Den måde hvorpå de fagprofessionelle medarbejdere opfatter deres egen faglige ekspertise såvel som borgernes ekspertise, påvirker graden af åbenhed over for borgernes perspektiver og dermed den grad af kontrol over velfærdsproduktionen, som de er villige til at afgive. I situationer, hvor der allerede er etableret et klientforhold mellem den fagprofessionelle og borgerne, virker det vanskeligere for de fagprofessionelle at se ud over borgernes udsatte position og være imødekommende over for deres perspektiver og forslag til forbedringer af de offentlige velfærdsservices. Andre faktorer har også indflydelse på de fagprofessionelles åbenhed over for en sammensmeltning af de forskellige former for ekspertise, som er et ideal i forbindelse med

transformativ samskabelse. Disse inkluderer den grad af autonomi medarbejderne har i forhold at definere mål og indsats i deres arbejde samt deres personlige egenskaber og interesse i samskabelse med borgere i udsatte positioner.

Den mest indflydelsesrige faktor, der identificeres i studiet, er, hvorvidt borgerne inddrages som enkeltpersoner eller som et kollektiv, dvs. som et socialt kapitalnetværk, da dette også påvirker de ovennævnte faktorer. Når borgere i socialt udsatte positioner optræder individuelt, er det mere sandsynligt, at de kun inddrages i implementeringsfasen. Når de samme borgere forener sig ved f.eks. at danne en forening, erhverver de kollektiv magt til at gøre deres perspektiver gældende og opfattes som mere ressourcestærke, end når de handler alene. Desuden fremstår de fra et professionelt perspektiv som mere legitime samarbejdspartnere på grund af den større grad af repræsentativt potentiale grundet foreningsdemokratiet samt den lovgivningsmæssige institutionalisering af samarbejde mellem foreninger og det offentlige.

Det er dog ikke alle borgere i socialt udsatte positioner, der har erfaringen eller ressourcerne til at organisere sig som en forening. Muligheden herfor vil derfor afhænge af, hvorvidt de har adgang til eksterne ressourcer såsom hjælp til kapacitetsopbygning, kontakter osv. gennem etableringen af et forbindende (*linking*) socialt kapital netværk med offentlige aktører.

Slutteligt peges der på vigtigheden af forskellige former for tillid i forbindelse med etableringen og opretholdelsen af en samskabelsesrelation. Når samskabelsen ikke kan baseres på allerede eksisterende relationer, er beregningsbaseret (*calculus-based*) tillid nødvendig. Denne tillidsform udspringer af en antagelse om, at den anden parts interesser kan indeslutte ens egne målsætninger. Når en samskabelsesrelation er dannet, kan den opretholdes gennem udviklingen af relationel tillid; en affektiv form for tillid, som er mere modstandsdygtig over for de udfordringer, der kan opstå undervejs i samskabelsesprocessen.

Chapter 1. Introduction

If they [the municipal staff] do not know us, and we want to talk to them, perhaps they will think that we are single mothers with many children; that we are tired and cannot control our children. But when they come here [to our association], we show them that, even though we have many children, though we are single mothers, we would like to help our own children and the children of others (member of a Danish-Somali women's association, evaluation of a co-produced training course, Stougaard, 2020).

Before turning to academia, I was employed by a civil-society organisation serving citizens in socially vulnerable positions in a number of disadvantaged neighbourhoods. My organisation had a very close collaborative relationship with the municipality, and as the idea of co-production (in Danish *samskabelse*) became popular throughout the public sector in Denmark, we proclaimed our collaboration to be a perfect example of co-production. Nevertheless, we never considered including the perspectives of the recipients (the end-users) of our services into our so-called co-production: it simply did not occur to us that the end-users might be able to contribute important knowledge that could qualify the service. Juxtaposing similar cross-sectoral collaborations with co-production, I found, was common in municipal collaborative projects at the time.

Thus, the issue of cross-sectoral collaboration caught my interest long before I commenced this Ph.D., yet, I gradually became more and more puzzled about the phenomenon of co-production. How did it differ from cross-sectoral collaboration? What was the purpose of co-production? What role, if any, were the end-users of social services given in co-production? What difference did their inclusion make? And how were citizens in vulnerable positions able to participate in co-production? Investigating such questions has been a key motivation for undertaking and completing this Ph.D.

The research questions, focus, and purpose of the thesis

Since the turn of the millennium, the idea of co-production, in which public authorities work together with citizens to develop, improve, and produce public welfare, has been the object of growing political and scholarly interest across the Western democracies, including Denmark (Agger & Poulsen, 2018; Brandsen & Honingh, 2016; Nabatchi et al., 2017). The hope is that greater

citizen involvement in the production of public services can help solve a number of current political and societal challenges (Agger & Lund, 2017; Fledderus et al., 2014; Ibsen & Espersen, 2016; Pestoff, 2011; Sørensen & Torfing, 2007). The notion of co-production has been called a ‘magic concept’ used by the public sector “to frame and support reform efforts”, and it is characterised by its high level of abstraction, normativity, and alluring promise as a far-reaching solution to society’s pressing and complex problems (Sorrentino et al., 2018, 284; Pollitt & Hupe, 2011). This suggests, that co-production is a slippery concept which denotes a variety of social practices and scholarly understandings.

However, it is generally agreed among scholars that the participants in co-production include on the one hand professional staff, who represent the public authorities directly or indirectly, and on the other hand citizens who are “members of the public” (Nabatchi et al., 2017, 769). Yet, there is no clear consensus as to whether these citizens are the end-users of the services being produced, nor regarding when in the public service production cycle they become involved in co-production, nor to what degree (Nabatchi et al., 2017). These definitional issues will be further addressed in Chapter 2, which describes the state of the art of co-production, including different types and levels of co-production with citizens in socially disadvantaged neighbourhoods affected by different degrees of vulnerability; it is these citizens who are the focus of the thesis.

Involving such citizen groups in co-producing the welfare services they rely on can be of great importance in ensuring the quality of these services and their relevance to the citizens they support. However, research also shows that citizens in socially vulnerable positions can be hard to reach and include in co-production, particularly at higher levels of engagement than simply co-implementing services designed solely by the professionals (Müller & Pihl-Thingvad, 2020). Additionally, the perspectives of vulnerable and marginalised populations have been found to be under-represented in research (Kogan et al., 2011; Taylor et al., 2016), including in studies of co-production (Brackertz et al., 2005; Matthies, 2010). For instance, in their review on user involvement in co-production Müller and Pihl-Thingvad (2020) found only 15 publications. Given the few studies on co-production involving citizens on the margins of society, we still know relatively little about the mechanisms at work in strengthening or impeding their inclusion in different levels of co-production. This presents a societal challenge, since these citizens are often those with the greatest need for social welfare services due to the complexities of their problems

and the conditions of the neighbourhoods in which they live (Jakobsen, 2013). Consequently, it is the aim of this thesis to answer the following research question:

- **What factors influence the type and level of public co-production in which citizens in socially disadvantaged areas become involved?**

In order to answer the overall research question, the following sub-questions are investigated in the three articles contained in this thesis:

- What is the influence of social capital on co-production with vulnerable citizens in socially deprived neighbourhoods? (article 1)
- How do professionals in Area Based Initiatives (ABIs) perceive the residents' volunteering as part of the social work carried out in the ABIs? (in Danish *boligsocialt arbejde*) (article 2)
- What are the challenges and potentials of police co-commissioning with ethnic minority associations in socially disadvantaged neighbourhoods? (article 3)

The thesis presents three case studies of different types of co-production in socially disadvantaged neighbourhoods in order to investigate when, how and why citizens with different degrees of social vulnerability are involved in co-producing social welfare services. These welfare areas include crime prevention among at-risk youths, social (workfare) inclusion and social cohesion, as well as general crime prevention and neighbourhood safety. Some of the services involved are specified by the authorities, others by the citizens.

The state actors involved are frontline staff,² in the thesis also referred to as the professionals, who represent the local government either directly or, as in the ABIs, indirectly. The professionals have various professional backgrounds and work in organisations such as the municipality, the police and housing associations, their daily work consisting of high levels of contact with ordinary citizens. Since the professionals described in the thesis do not represent just one or a few specific professional backgrounds, the possible impact of their specific professionalisms on co-production will not be considered. The lay actors are citizens in socially disadvantaged neighbourhoods with different degrees of vulnerability, a majority of whom have an ethnic minority background. The citizens described in the thesis will be referred to as citizens, residents, or end-users.

² The notion of frontline staff stems from Lipsky's (2010) work on street-level bureaucracy, in which frontline staff are seen as the mediating link between the political level and the citizens, and as the interpreters of public policies.

It is the factors leading to different types of co-production between these actors and the processes involved that are the object of interests in the thesis. Therefore the potential results of co-production will not be investigated. Understanding what influences the inclusion of socially vulnerable citizens in different types and levels of co-production is seen as a prerequisite for the development of any possible output of co-production. The thesis therefore seeks to contribute knowledge on how co-production involving these citizen groups may be initiated and maintained.

The empirical field of the thesis: definitional considerations

Socially disadvantaged neighbourhoods

The contexts in which the case studies in the thesis take place are socially disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Even though Denmark is among the most economically equal countries in the EU (Anderson et al., 2009), inequality and deprivation do exist in these residential areas. However, existing research provides no clear definition of a socially disadvantaged area (Jakobsen et al., 2020). Each year the Danish Government presents a list of disadvantaged areas in Denmark based on specific criteria regarding labour market attachment, education, income levels, crime levels and the number of residents of non-western origin (Ministry of Transport and Housing, 2019). Yet, the inclusion of ethnicity in the Government's definition has been criticised for "pathologising concentrations of ethnic minorities in neighbourhoods" (Fallov, 2013, 492, my translation). For the same reason, the authors of a recent publication by The Danish Center for Social Science Research omit ethnicity as a criterion in investigating statistical trends in disadvantaged areas in Denmark over the past three decades (Jakobsen et al., 2020). As the authors note, while ethnic minorities might be "overrepresented among people with few years of education, people without employment and people with low income levels, there are also many ethnic minorities with many years of education who do well in the job market and have high levels of income" (Jakobsen et al., 2020, 7, my translation). Accordingly, in their listing of socially deprived neighbourhoods they only include the socio-economic factors of educational level, employment level, and level of income. Nonetheless their list is very similar to the Government's list, and the neighbourhoods that feature in this thesis appear in both (Jakobsen et al., 2020).

The majority of the data used in the thesis have been generated from two socially disadvantaged neighbourhoods (article 2 is also based on interviews from five additional disadvantaged neighbourhoods). For ethical reasons, informants and places have been anonymised. The neighbourhoods are home to between 1300 and 10,000 residents. Some of the areas have been subject to comprehensive community development for decades, while in others this is a relatively new phenomenon. Moreover, in some areas, associational life is quite well-developed, whereas in others associations are few and far between. As pointed out above, one characteristic of these neighbourhoods is that their residential composition is ethnically diverse and that a significant number of residents find themselves in socially vulnerable positions (Stougaard & Fehsenfeld, 2020).

Social capital is found to be a positive influence on citizens' ability to engage in co-production (Schafft & Brown, 2000; Voorberg et al., 2015). However, conditions related to socially disadvantaged areas can pose challenges to the level of social capital available, the enhancement of which is often a key element in service-providers' community development efforts (Agger & Jensen, 2015; Brackertz et al., 2005). The influence of social capital on co-production between professionals and citizens in socially disadvantaged areas will also be central to the thesis. The understanding of social capital used here rests on Putnam's (2000) definition of it as "social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them" (19), as well as "networks that enable people to act collectively" (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000, 226). In the thesis, social capital is used as "a multi-dimensional concept" which operates both horizontally and vertically, i.e. between citizens themselves as well as between citizens and public authorities (Brackertz et al., 2005, 21). This perspective will be elaborated further in Chapter 4, which discusses the theoretical framework of the thesis.

Social vulnerability

The residents of the neighbourhoods included in the thesis present a very diverse blend of people, but although the concentration of people in socially vulnerable positions is greater here than in non-disadvantaged neighbourhoods, taking up residence in these areas does not necessarily imply social disadvantage. Researchers use a number of different terms to describe population groups on the margins of society, such as marginalised, disadvantaged, vulnerable, socially deprived, and

socially excluded. Another term is 'social vulnerability', which Larsen (2009) understands as a continuum between social inclusion and social exclusion. The degree to which a person is included or excluded is based on a "complex interplay between demographic, economic, social and behavioural factors, which are mutually connected and reinforcing" (Larsen, 2009, 21, my translation). In the thesis, accordingly, I too use the term 'social vulnerability' to underscore the fact that certain social positions leave people more vulnerable to social exclusion than others, although social exclusion may not occur.

Quest and Marco (2003) place religious and ethnic minorities, as well as people without employment, among the population groups facing a particularly high degree of social vulnerability. Danish social research also shows that ethnic minorities, together with single mothers, especially those without vocational training who are on social benefits, are among the most disadvantaged groups in Danish society (2009). The citizen informants in Articles 1 and 3 are all from ethnic and religious minorities, while the majority of the residents referred to in Article 2 are from ethnic minorities. In Liamputtong's (2007) understanding, many of the Danish-Somali women in Articles 1 and 3 can be considered "doubly vulnerable" due to their "social statuses as women, single mothers, ethnic persons and low-class individuals" (4). Nevertheless, it will be evident that they are also resourceful women insisting on co-producing services of relevance to themselves and their networks. As noted by Small (2015), "[l]ow-income minorities have no monopoly on social difficulties". They are multidimensional individuals and should be "represented as more than the sum of their problems" (356). The majority of the ethnic minority men in the associations co-producing with the police in Article 3 are well-educated and active in the job market, yet their status as ethnic and religious minorities still influences their relations with the police as an authority.

Hence, it should be stressed, that social vulnerability is complex and caused by an overlap of different factors, none of which by itself leads to social vulnerability: being a single mother does not make a woman socially vulnerable, nor does being from an ethnic minority. At the same time, social vulnerability should be understood in the light of societal structures, and not in itself as a product of the individual (Larsen, 2009).

Socially vulnerable and marginalised populations are "often referred to as 'the forgotten half' of the research cohort" (Taylor et al., 2015, 149). Such groups can be hard to reach and involve in

research due to their marginalised status and lack of institutional and social trust (Bhopal & Deuchar, 2016; Brackertz & Meredyth, 2008; Müller & Pihl-Thingvad, 2020), but also due to limited opportunities being provided to them by researchers (Beresford & Croft, 2001; Taylor et al., 2016). One aim of this thesis is to contribute to remedying this imbalance.

*Ethnic minorities*³

In public debates, ethnicity is often treated as something fixed, a characteristic of the person that determines membership of a particular group of people with the same ethnicity. Although the term 'ethnic minority' will be used in this thesis, the underlying understanding is that the term 'ethnicity' denotes experienced cultural differences which in a given context are made relevant. An ethnic group emerges and is maintained by continuously accentuating the significance of cultural differences in relation to another group. In this way, the term 'ethnic Danish' only emerged in the context of encounters of people who were considered different (Baumann, 1999; Eriksen & Sørheim, 2005; Hastrup, 2004). Thus, the notion of ethnicity can be used in forming a boundary which creates solidarity internally and exclusion externally. A number of features can be used to mark ethnicity, such as religion, skin colour, language, dialect or ancestral origin. Yet, in order to establish ethnic differences, a group's identity needs a certain period of time and degree of acceptance by the surrounding world, since ethnicity is not a characteristic of a particular group but rather of relations between groups (Eriksen & Sørheim, 2005). The existence of a minority therefore depends on the presence of a majority against which it can be defined. Eriksen and Sørheim (2005) understand ethnic minority groups as being "in the minority in a larger society, politically weak, and existing as an ethnic category in a specific period of time" (87, my translation). Even though 'ethnic minority' is a negotiable category, it will be used in the thesis generally to denote immigrants and their descendants in Danish society, while remaining aware that such use contributes to maintenance of the category and the accentuation of difference. The terms Danish-Somali, Danish-Palestinian etc. will be used in order to encompass the duality of some informants' national identities, regardless of their legal citizenship status.

³ Parts of the argument below come from my earlier master's thesis (Stougaard, 2008, 20-21).

The articles⁴ of the thesis

The core of the thesis is three articles, each of which represents different perspectives on and examples of co-production between professional staff and citizens in socially disadvantaged neighbourhoods, thus enabling an exploration of the factors influencing co-production between these actors. Article 1 covers the perspectives of both parties, whereas Article 2 focuses on the professionals' perceptions and Article 3 on the perspectives of the citizens. It is advisable to read the three articles prior to the remaining chapters of the thesis. Chapter 6 provides a summary of each article. The publication details of the three articles are as follows:

Article 1. Stougaard, M. (2020). "Co-producing Public Welfare Services with Vulnerable Citizens: A Case Study of a Danish-Somali Women's Association Coproducing Crime Prevention with the Local Authorities". *Voluntas*. Advance online publication. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11266-020-00235-4>

Article 2. Stougaard, M. & Fehsenfeld, M. (2020). "Skabelse af frivillige: et boligsocialt middel" ["Creating volunteers: a social work tool in Area based initiatives"]. In *Den frivillige kommune - Samspillet mellem den frivillige og den offentlige sektor [The voluntary municipality: the interplay between the voluntary and public sectors]*, ed. Ibsen, B. University Press of Southern Denmark: Odense.

Article 3. Stougaard, M. & Levinsen, K. (2020). "Co-producing neighbourhood safety and the role of police perceptions: a case study of the Danish police co-commissioning with ethnic minority associations". Manuscript submitted and in review for publication in *Voluntary and Public Sector Collaboration in Scandinavia*, ed. Ibsen, B. Palgrave: London.

Subsequently, the structure of the thesis will be set out.

The structure of the thesis

Chapter 2 describes the state of the art of public co-production involving citizens in socially vulnerable positions. The chapter investigates the 'who', 'when', 'what', and 'how' of co-production and sets out what the literature demonstrates about how and why citizens in vulnerable positions become engaged in different types and levels of co-production.

Chapter 3 introduces critical realism, the theory of science upon which the thesis is based. The

⁴ Although two of the articles were written as book chapters, they will be referred to as articles in the thesis.

ontological and epistemological foundations of critical realism and therefore of the thesis are presented, and it is demonstrated how particular critical realist concepts have been applied in the research process.

Chapter 4 elaborates on how the selected theoretical perspectives are used to provide an explanatory framework for the analyses. The overall theoretical perspectives of co-production and social capital will be unfolded, followed by an introduction to the theoretical concepts of third-party volunteering and instrumentalisation, as well as procedural justice and police performance, which have been used specifically in the analyses of Articles 2 and 3 respectively.

Chapter 5 presents and justifies the methodological choices made during the research process. First, the case study research design and selection criteria of each case are introduced. Subsequently, the qualitative data-collection methods, consisting of interviews and observations, are placed within an ethnographic field-study framework, followed by a section in which I reflect on my position as a researcher in relation to my informants. Finally, the chapter elaborates on the analytical strategies used in the individual articles.

Chapter 6 provides a summary of each of the three articles and their findings.

Chapter 7 discusses the findings across the three articles, and more specifically the question of when in the welfare production cycle citizens become involved, the influence of different views on professional and citizen expertise, the significance of citizens organising collectively, the importance of linking social capital between citizens and professionals, and finally the influence of trust on co-production. This chapter concludes with some points of consideration for policy and practice.

Chapter 8 sums up the most significant findings of the thesis and refers them back to the research question. Furthermore, the validity and generalisability of the results are discussed.

Chapter 2. State of the art

This chapter will first introduce the entry and re-entry of co-production into both the political and scholarly fields. The subsequent section will address some discussions within the co-production literature and relate these to the understanding of co-production used in the thesis. The emphasis in the review will then be placed on co-production with citizens in disadvantaged areas who are faced with different degrees of vulnerability, which is the focal point of the thesis. In this latter part of the review, a number of themes of particular relevance to the inclusion of these citizen groups in co-production will be elaborated on and discussed. Furthermore, the relationship between when in the production process citizens become involved and the level of citizen involvement and co-production will be addressed and summarised in Figure 1.

The co-production of public welfare services

[W]e anticipate increased attention to and reliance upon coproductive arrangements in public service delivery. Budget constraints, together with a rising consumer awareness of the importance of their own efforts, suggest that a shift in the input mix toward consumer producers may be inevitable. As this occurs, coproduction may come to be recognized as an efficient alternative to increased reliance on regular producers in meeting rising service demands (Parks et al., 1981, 1009-1010).

This scholarly expectation was set out four decades ago by North American researchers such as Elinor Ostrom, who first coined the concept of co-production. At the time, the idea of co-production was primarily related to the mobilisation of citizen resources in the co-production of neighbourhood safety and waste-handling in order to enhance the quality and efficiency of these public services (Brudney & England, 1983; Parks et al., 1981; Percy, 1978; Sharp, 1978; Whitaker, 1980). Although the quote above resonates with present-day public sector ideals of citizen involvement in public service delivery, the notion of co-production by and large disappeared from use in the 1980s and 1990s. Some co-production scholars associate this with the entry of New Public Management (NPM) into the public sector across Western democracies (Pestoff, 2011; Tuurnas, 2015). With its market-oriented approach to service delivery and its view of service recipients as customers, NPM was implemented in order to reform a growing bureaucratic and

inefficient state-centred public sector regime, also referred to as Traditional Public Management (TPM), which primarily viewed citizens as passive clients (Agger & Poulsen, 2018; Bovaird, 2007; Needham & Carr, 2009; Pestoff, 2011). Conversely, other scholars view the re-entry of co-production into the political agenda across Europe at the turn of the millennium as part of a significant regime change within public management to New Public Governance (NPG). In this view, one of the key features of NPG is a much greater emphasis on citizen participation and the contribution of the third sector in service provision than was the case in earlier management regimes. Consequently, co-production is seen as a core element of welfare provision (Bovaird, 2007; Fledderus et al., 2014; Pestoff, 2011; Sørensen & Torfing, 2007; Tuurnas, 2015).

However, it is important to note that, while each public administration regime may be linked to a particular historical period and ideology, TPM, NPM, and NPG are all ideal types of public management that co-exist and compete within the public sector, accentuating and legitimising different aspects of public organization and management (Agger & Lund, 2017; Hartley, 2005; Tortzen, 2019). As Agger and Lund point out (2017), citizens today are also expected to take on different roles, depending on which part of the public system they are in touch with. For example, “professional expertise still defines the self-perception of many public employees”, which places the citizen in the position of a client. The customer role in NPM, conversely, is “reflected in the increasing institutionalisation of user boards and the growing public choice between services”, while many urban development programmes depend on the mobilization of citizens as co-producers (Agger & Lund, 2017, 22). Likewise, Fehsenfeld and Ibsen (2020) demonstrate that civil society was also involved in the development of the Danish public sector through the statutory emergence of user councils and user boards during the 1990s, when NPM was widespread.

Nevertheless, since the turn of the millennium, the political and scholarly interest in co-production has been growing across the Western democracies and beyond. It is anticipated that co-production can help solve the societal and political challenges caused by demographic changes, budgetary limitations, higher expectations of the public sector, a growing mistrust in the political system, and increasingly complex tasks in the public sector, also referred to as ‘wicked problems’⁵

⁵ The notion of ‘wicked problems’ is taken from the public organisation theory of Harmon and Mayer (1986). They distinguish between ‘tame’ and ‘wicked problems’. The former are problems which are easily definable, as are their solutions, while ‘wicked’ problems are complex and contradictory and hard to define objectively. Their solutions

(Agger & Lund, 2017; Fledderus et al., 2014; Ibsen & Espersen, 2016; Pestoff, 2011; Sørensen & Torfing, 2007). Essentially, civil society is viewed as an unutilised resource, which during a time of crisis can be drawn on by the public sector in order to prioritise, design, and produce welfare. Citizens actively employing their experience-based knowledge and competences are seen as valuable contributors to the optimisation of service provision, while at the same time, the citizen can be empowered through their involvement (Agger & Lund, 2017; Agger & Tortzen, 2015; Caswell & Monrad, 2017).

The term 'co-production' (in Danish *samskabelse*) entered the Danish political vocabulary in the 2010s, when the national government and a number of municipalities embraced co-production and active citizen participation as one of their policies, strategies, and concrete initiatives (Århus Kommune, 2016; Ibsen & Espersen, 2016; Odense Kommune, 2014; Regeringen, 2010, 2017). A similar development has taken place in other Nordic countries, namely Norway (Helse- og Omsorgsdepartementet, 2011; Loga, 2018), Sweden (Ministry of Enterprise and Innovation, 2012; Pestoff, 2009), and Finland (Tampere City, 2013; Tuurnas, 2015). While the concrete term *samskabelse* may have lost some of its political momentum in Denmark, the idea of engaging and utilising the resources of civil society is still a central element in policy documents and strategies for future welfare service delivery (e.g. Odense Kommune, 2019).

Despite the high expectations placed on co-production, however, little is known about its ability actually to meet them (Caswell & Monrad, 2017; Voorberg et al., 2015). Drawing on Røvik's (1998) work, Ibsen (2020) suggests that co-production can be understood as an 'institutionalised organisation recipe' presented as an ideal that is hard to criticise. Its emergence has replaced other organisational concepts (earlier recipes), but its viability depends on both its symbolic and its instrumental power. While the symbolic power of co-production appears to be strong in "expressing an ideal; that we can create something together", its instrumental value remains to be proven (Ibsen, 2020, 254, my translation). Although the literature on co-production has treated the idea of co-production largely positively, recent studies have taken a more critical stance, investigating the so-called 'dark side of co-production' (e.g. Brewer & Grabosky, 2014; Williams et al., 2016).

consequently depend on a number of conditions and different competences (Harmon & Mayer, 1986; Ibsen & Espersen, 2016).

In the past 40 years, the co-production literature has accommodated a broad scholarly debate addressing different aspects of co-production, such as its definition (Brandsen & Honingh, 2016, 2018; Osborne et al., 2016; Verschuere et al., 2012), who its participants are (Brandsen & Honingh, 2016, 2018; Brandsen & Pestoff, 2006; Pestoff, 2012), what motivates and enables them to become involved (Fledderus & Honingh, 2016; Jakobsen & Thomsen, 2015), when in the public-service cycle co-production takes place (Bovaird & Loeffler, 2013; Nabatchi et al., 2017), the level of engagement of citizens (Needham & Carr, 2009; Pestoff, 2006; Voorberg et al., 2015), and the types of services that are being co-produced (Agger & Tortzen, 2015; Bovaird, 2007; Ibsen & Levinsen, 2020). This discussion is elaborated in Article 1.

In addition, a vast number of studies investigate the processes and practices of co-production in different service sectors, a number of which will be referred to in the following section on co-production with citizens in socially disadvantaged areas. Before proceeding to this section, however, a few remarks on the understanding of co-production in this thesis are needed.

First, some researchers distinguish between the terms 'co-production' and 'co-creation'. According to this distinction, co-creation takes place when citizens are initiators at co-production or become involved in the design phase of a public service, whereas co-production denotes their involvement in the implementation phase (Brandsen & Honingh, 2018; Voorberg et al., 2015). As will be evident in the following as well as in the articles, the phase and level of citizen involvement in co-production is significant both in practical terms for those involved and for reasons of scholarly clarity. However, in the thesis a distinction will be made instead between the different co-production phases of public service delivery, such as co-initiative, co-commissioning, co-design and co-implementation, drawing on the typologies of Bovaird & Loeffler, 2013; Voorberg et al., 2015 (see figure 1 below). 'Co-production' will be used as an overall term encompassing these different phases. Consequently, the term 'co-creation' will not be used at all.

Second, the co-production literature also discusses whether co-production involves only the end-users of the service, civil society in general, or both (Alford, 2009; Bovaird, 2007; Voorberg et al., 2015). In this thesis, the focus is on the direct involvement of end-users in co-production (Brandsen & Honingh, 2016, 2018; Ostrom, 1996; Parks et al., 1981). Likewise, there are different views on whether co-production involves only individual citizens (Brandsen & Honingh, 2016, 2018; Ostrom, 1996) or also groups of citizens (Brudney & England, 1983), and whether these

groups can take the form of organisations (Brandsen & Honingh, 2016, 2018; Brandsen & Pestoff, 2006; Parks et al., 1981). The understanding of co-production in the thesis is that both individuals and user groups, including groups of users organised into associations, can be involved. Thus co-production is defined, with Pestoff (2006), as:

the mix of activities that both public service agents and citizens contribute to the provision of public services. The former are involved as professionals or 'regular producers', while 'citizen production' is based on voluntary efforts of individuals or groups to enhance the quality and/or quantity of services they receive (506).

The discussions above regarding citizen participants in co-production is further elaborated in Article 1.

Third, some scholars link the concept of co-production to public sector innovation (Tuurnas, 2015), for instance, collaborative innovation (Agger & Lund, 2017; Hartley et al., 2013; Torfing et al., 2014), social innovation (Svensson & Bengtsson, 2010; Voorberg et al., 2015), user-driven innovation (Jæger, 2013; Müller, 2018) and user-centered innovation (Farr, 2013; Müller & Pihl-Thingvad, 2020). As with co-production, there is no clear agreement over how to define 'innovation', but a prevalent understanding is that it is "a complex and iterative process through which problems are defined; new ideas are developed and combined; prototypes and pilots are designed, tested, and redesigned; and new solutions are implemented, diffused, and problematized" (Hartley et al., 2013, 822). Moreover, innovation is seen as a matter of breaking "with the established practices and mindsets of an organization or organizational field to create something new" (Hartley et al., 2013, 822).

Co-production can therefore take many forms. As will be evident in the following review of studies involving vulnerable citizens, it is far from all attempts at co-production that meet the criteria of innovation by including the users before the implementation phase and by breaking "with established practises and mindsets" (Hartley et al., 2013, 822).

Co-production with vulnerable citizens in socially deprived areas

Müller (2018) argues that there is a paradox in wanting to involve vulnerable citizens in co-production, since "the limited capital of the citizens, together with the mechanisms of exclusion

which define their vulnerability, are counterproductive to the idea of co-production and involvement” (269, my translation). Although vulnerability comes in many varieties, there are some recurrent themes regarding the involvement of vulnerable citizens in co-production that can be found in the literature. These themes relate to public sector staff and their institutions, as well as to the positions and characteristics of the service users and the mutual interplay between the two parties. This will be discussed further below and exemplified by co-production studies primarily related to the social services, the area of welfare provision most often directed at vulnerable citizens. The review will be structured in line with the overall typology offered by Nabatchi et al. (2017) regarding what is generated in the co-production process (‘the what’), the actors involved in co-production (‘the who’), and when in the public-service cycle the users are involved (‘the when’). Nonetheless, as an elaboration of the typology is needed, a section will be included on how co-production with vulnerable citizens can be supported (‘the how’). This section comes after the discussion of ‘the who’ of co-production.

Besides studies that are explicitly positioned within the co-production literature, the review will also draw on studies of social innovation with marginalised citizens, which also deal, either explicitly or implicitly, with co-production (e.g. Farr, 2013; Jæger, 2013; Matthies, 2010; Müller, 2018; Müller & Pihl-Thingvad, 2020). As will be clear, studies investigating the involvement of vulnerable citizens in co-production provide a very varied picture of the potential and challenges of co-production involving these citizen groups.

‘The what’ of co-production

Co-production engaging vulnerable citizens or citizens in socially disadvantaged areas is often selected as a way of solving complex, ‘wicked’ problems, for instance, related to long-term employment, abuse, mental health issues, derelict and crime-ridden neighbourhoods, or lack of social capital. Examples include immigrant parents in Denmark involved in co-producing their children’s educational development (Jakobsen & Andersen, 2013), minority residents in disadvantaged American neighbourhoods engaged in community policing efforts (Skogan & Steiner, 2004), and asylum-seekers in Scotland co-producing better reception services (Strokosch & Osborne, 2016), to name just a few. Besides solving concrete problems, some scholars also point to the potential of co-production to create emancipatory value for the users involved (Fisher et al.,

2018; Matthies, 2010). At this level, which Needham and Carr (2009) refer to as the 'transformative level', co-production can, if taken seriously, provide vulnerable and marginalised citizens with vital agency and help overcome the "power differentials and associated othering" experienced by recipients of social services (Fisher et al., 2018, 2019). However, while these procedures may take place locally as a form of 'micro-emancipation', Farr (2013) found in her studies that co-production was unable to contest structural power imbalances on the institutional level, and she argues further that the "public service co-creation literature seems to have rarely critically analysed the role of power relations within these decision-making processes" (447). Nevertheless, there are researchers who do discuss the risk that co-production and social innovation might reproduce the power imbalances that are already present in vulnerable service users' encounters with the public authorities (Jæger, 2013; Matthies, 2010; Müller, 2018; Müller & Pihl-Thingvad, 2020). For instance, Carey (2009) argues that the government rhetoric of empowering users through participation in the UK stems from a hegemonic neoliberal ideology. Understood in this way, user participation becomes a way to reintegrate "seemingly anomalous, disenfranchised and potential morally unsound people" into society through self-governance (Carey, 2009, 183). By using the 'bottom up' rhetoric of participation and empowerment, it becomes possible for government institutions to reduce possible criticisms of the approach, whereby user participation risks to further increase social inequalities (Carey, 2009; Needham & Carr, 2009).

Similarly, the practice of officials involving vulnerable and often long-term unemployed citizens in voluntary work is another form of user participation that has been criticized as a hegemonic attempt by the state to re-socialise marginalised citizens as responsible, self-sufficient and active citizens (De Waele & Hustinx, 2019; Eliasoph, 2016; Hustinx et al., 2015; Slootjes & Kampen, 2017). This form of responsabilisation can be related to the change in social policies 'from welfare to workfare' that has taken place in the US and Europe, including Denmark over the past decade, among other things emphasising financial independence over the right to public assistance (Fallov & Larsen, 2018; Müller, 2018). This discussion is taken further in Article 2. Hence, I will refer to this type of citizen involvement, in which citizens in vulnerable positions are encouraged by public officials to volunteer, as 'instrumentalised' co-production (see Figure 1 below). This will be discussed further in Chapter 4, when the theoretical framework is also introduced.

'The who' of co-production

This section will first investigate the role of and challenges faced by frontline workers with regard to co-production, before the same issues are addressed in relation to the users.

The self-determination and involvement of users were integral parts of social work ethics long before co-production became a fashionable concept (Jæger, 2013; Matthies, 2010; Müller, 2018; Needham & Carr, 2009). However, with the changing roles of users from clients to customers and now to co-producers, frontline staff are faced with the responsibility for translating the political ambitions of co-production into practice. The changing role of the professionals and the dilemmas they experience in co-production processes have not received much attention from the co-production literature (Agger & Poulsen, 2018; Tuurnas, 2015). Nonetheless, some studies have demonstrated that, despite a positive attitude towards enhanced user involvement, the professionals often practice co-production differently, since the new facilitation requirements add to the cross-pressures that are already present when they try to juggle the legislative requirements, tight budgets and political positions with their own professional standards (Agger & Damgaard, 2018; Agger & Poulsen, 2018; Sehested & Leonardsen, 2011). Besides, the frontline staff often possess a strong professional identity and self-determination, making them concerned that interference by the users might compromise the quality of their work, for instance, if the users only represent the narrow interests of a few citizens (Sehested & Leonardsen, 2011; Tuurnas, 2015). Other studies have revealed the fears of frontline staff that sharing power with the users might undermine their own positions (Müller & Pihl-Thingvad, 2020). For example, in a Danish study of a government-initiated programme of user-driven innovation at drop-in centres directed at vulnerable citizens with social problems and substance abuse, Müller (2018) found that user involvement never rose above a rhetorical intention. This was partly due to several organisational changes, but it also resulted from a paternalistic understanding among the social workers that professional control and steering was necessary, since the users were believed to be either difficult to involve in the programme or lacking the capacity to contribute (Müller, 2018). Thus, the engagement of professionals in co-production meets a number of challenges. Before addressing possible measures to overcome some of these challenges, I will turn to the users involved in co-production.

In the co-production literature, users are often described as ‘experts by experience’, enabling them to contribute valuable knowledge to the co-production of their welfare services together with the conventional experts, the public employees who are ‘experts by profession’ (Fisher et al., 2018; Loeffler & Bovaird, 2019; Meriluoto, 2018). Ideal-typically, the expertise of the professionals is often presented as based primarily on knowledge obtained through scientific education, while the expertise of the citizens is based on their experiences acquired in a local and practical context (Ibsen et al., 2018; Lorentzen, 2001). Nonetheless, it is important to note that the knowledge base of frontline staff draws on practical experience too, which they also apply in their discretionary practices (Ibsen et al., 2018; Jørgensen, 2015). Likewise, many citizens employ their own educational and professional backgrounds when contributing to professional services (Ibsen et al., 2018). In social services dealing with the vulnerable, however, the expertise of the professionals often occupies a superior position. This might result from the asymmetry in power relations, in which the users rely on the experts to provide, define, and allow access to the services they need, and where the knowledge of users differs from professional rationality. This places the value of the users’ perspectives at risk of being reduced (Fisher et al., 2018; Jos, 2016; Needham & Carr, 2009; Svensson & Bengtsson, 2010). This obviously poses a problem, as the users, due to “their life experiences, variations in social-problem experiences, the complexity of the real-life environment and social ties with other people with the same types of problems”, have broad and valuable insights into their own social problems and possible solutions (Svensson & Bengtsson, 2010, 205-206). At the same time, as Jos (2016) argues, the expertise of service users is often “arrived at as a consequence of hard work and struggle, and therefore deserves much greater respect and recognition” (2105).

In Jæger’s (2013) case study of user-driven innovation in the placement of children in network foster families in Denmark, the users were initially overlooked as possible contributors. Yet, during the process, the professional staff realised the need to include the users’ perspectives, and users and professionals were able to develop and improve the service in collaboration (Jæger, 2013). Svensson and Bengtsson (2010) found that young criminals and disadvantaged single mothers in Sweden were able to innovate new social services due to their substantial first-hand knowledge of the causes and mechanisms of their social problems. However, they also note that the complexity and tacit nature of such knowledge makes it difficult “to transfer to producers of social services”

(Svensson & Bengtsson, 2010, 192). Regarding the experience-based knowledge of the users, Svensson and Bengtsson's (2010) study also demonstrates how the legitimacy of the participating users among other users helped disseminate the innovated services.

Depending on the level and phase of involvement, as well as the complexity of the contribution expected from citizens involved in co-production, the latter need different types and levels of resources in order to participate. Since citizens have different abilities to co-produce, resourceful citizens may have better participation prospects than less resourceful citizens, which can aggravate the equality issues in co-production that have already been pointed out. Needham and Carr (2009) identify a double disadvantage faced by service users in disadvantaged areas, as they "have to negotiate the complexities of public service delivery to meet their immediate needs" and at the same time "receive considerable demands to become involved in governance of their communities" (5). Articulating their own needs and preferences or otherwise contributing to co-production can be difficult for vulnerable citizens due to barriers such as a lack of education, or language skills, social or mental problems, abuse, or simply because they are overwhelmed by the complexities of their own problems (Beresford, 2013; Caswell & Monrad, 2017; Jakobsen & Andersen, 2013; Voorberg et al., 2015). Moreover, vulnerable citizens may also lack the necessary self-efficacy, that is, the confidence that they have something to offer as co-producers, which is an important motivation for becoming involved in co-production (Farr, 2013; Fledderus, 2015; Thomsen, 2017; Vanleene et al., 2019).

Thus, it is necessary to address the issues of power differentials and to recognise and mobilise the expertise of service users in combination with professional expertise if co-production is to succeed (Fisher et al., 2018; Jos, 2016; Needham & Carr, 2009).

'The how' of co-production

The issue of the competences and organisational support that the professionals require in order to co-produce with vulnerable citizens will be addressed below, together with considerations on the abilities and resources the users need in order to be engaged in co-production.

In the co-production and user participation literature, different measures have been suggested to which the public authorities can adopt, in order to better enable future co-production with vulnerable citizens. Carey (2009) suggests that, in order to change the dynamics of the

reproduction of power imbalances, it is necessary for policy-makers and professionals engaging in co-production to critically reflect on how to ensure that user participation avoids being an act of mere tokenism serving an institutionalised hegemonic ideology. Likewise, Jæger (2013) proposes that frontline staff should be willing to alter their norms, roles and routines to accommodate the involvement of service users. Fisher et al. (2018) advocate “a more fluid perspective on professional expertise—one based not on an ideal of completeness, but more on a process of development achieved in democratic partnerships, with clients as equal partners” (2109). The professionals in a co-production programme with marginalised young people in which teaching materials for social workers were developed were found to recognise such an approach. Their experience was that, by acknowledging the complexity of wicked problems and the futility of planning a solution to the problems, they were able to enter into collaboration with the young people in a much more open fashion (Klausen & Søbjerger, 2017).

The literature also points to a number of different individual competences that enable the frontline staff to successfully practise co-production, such as enthusiasm, courage, entrepreneurship, tirelessness, and a willingness to have their own knowledge challenged (Sehested & Leonardsen, 2011). Studying frontline staff in different ABIs in Denmark, Agger and Damgaard (2018) add to the list the ability to be persistent, creative, and determined. In addition, de Graaf et al. (2015) and Fledderus (2015) demonstrate the significance of non-bureaucratic staff being able to relate to both citizens and the municipal system in a pragmatic and unconventional manner. Along the same lines, professionals who enjoy a certain amount of autonomy in their work and flexibility in relation to working hours are found to be more adept at engaging with users and at responding to their more immediate needs (van Hulst et al., 2012). Furthermore, the ability to act as a mediator between the public system and citizens by navigating between the different and sometimes conflicting logics of public authorities and civil society is also found to be important (Agger & Damgaard, 2018; Agger & Poulsen, 2018; Tuurnas, 2015; Vanleene et al., 2019). This mediating position, which is also a cause of dilemmas and feelings of ambivalence, is discussed further in Article 2.

The required skills of frontline staff in co-production processes with vulnerable citizens are many, and it is unlikely that all frontline staff tasked with co-production possess all of the characteristics mentioned above, some of which might even seem counterproductive to the

situation of working as a bureaucrat within a municipal system (van Hulst et al., 2012).

Consequently, scholars point to the necessity to train frontline staff in how to participate in and facilitate co-production, as well as the need for appropriate support from their managers and the ability of their institutions to acquire the organisational capacity to accommodate co-production (Krogstrup & Mortensen, 2017; Sehested & Leonardsen, 2011; Strokosch & Osborne, 2016; Tortzen, 2019).

One of the ways in which users can gain the power to exercise a real influence over co-production is by organising collective action (Müller & Pihl-Thingvad, 2020; Needham & Carr, 2009). For instance, Pestoff (2012) demonstrates that, even among non-vulnerable users, collective organisation is a necessary path to substantial co-production, what he calls co-production 'heavy'. Whereas individuals participating in co-production are likely to encounter a 'glass ceiling' that excludes them from higher levels of engagement. In their review, Müller and Pihl-Thingvad (2020) draw the same conclusion, namely that one way of enhancing the power of service users in co-production is through collective action, which empowers "citizens to operate on a macro-societal level, to influence broad debates and to achieve emancipatory chances [sic]" (13). According to their findings, however, it is not common for vulnerable users to self-organise unless the process is facilitated by other actors. Consequently, being engaged in co-production 'heavy' "seems out of reach for most social service users" (Müller & Pihl-Thingvad, 2020, 12).

However, a number of studies of co-production involving marginalised citizens show that it is possible for users to self-organise and thereby engage in co-production as collectives (e.g. Barnes, 1999; Fledderus et al., 2014; Schafft & Brown, 2000; Svensson & Bengtsson, 2010). For example, Beresford (2013) found that vulnerable service-users in the UK acquired the capacity to become involved in participatory activities within the social services through their involvement in user organisations. According to Beresford (2013), linking up with other users provides users with knowledge, skills and confidence, which they use to "get involved in participatory initiatives – from a position of greater strength. It means that they are able to be part of collective action for change as well as developing and expressing their own particular individual point of view" (32). In other words, strengthening social capital through the formation of informal and formal networks among vulnerable users facilitates the collective action needed for substantial co-production (Schafft & Brown, 2000; Voorberg et al., 2015). Yet, as Müller and Pihl-Thingvad argue (2020), marginalised

service-users may not have the required resources to self-organise and therefore require the support of, for example, the public authorities to do so. This perspective is particularly salient in Article 1.

The possible lack of resources faced by vulnerable citizens therefore has to be taken into account when they are to be involved in co-production. This can be done through an empowering approach providing the citizens with the necessary resources, such as time, knowledge, consultation, and a safe space, for instance, thus making it possible for them to articulate their needs and suggestions (Alford, 2009; Caswell & Monrad, 2017; Müller, 2019; Needham & Carr, 2009; Sehested & Leonardsen, 2011). A number of studies demonstrate how the involvement of users is enhanced when the professional staff are responsive to their needs, for instance, by placing the activities “in the context of citizens’ own lives, rather than focusing on institutional practices and concerns” (Farr, 2013, 456; Beresford, 2013; de Graaf et al., 2015; Denters & Klok, 2010; Müller & Pihl-Thingvad, 2020; Sehested & Leonardsen, 2011). For example, Klausen and Søbberg (2017) found that it was possible to involve marginalised young people in co-production through a carefully planned process in which the facilitators also made sure to meet the young people informally in their own homes. In her case studies of public co-production in low-income communities, Farr (2013) also noted that, through a range of activities placed not within the public institutions but at local community settings, it was possible to create a safe space in which otherwise ‘hard to reach’ citizens felt comfortable participating.

Furthermore, one of the significant influences on successful co-production with vulnerable citizens is the development of relations of trust between users and their professional counterparts (Bovaird, 2007; Caswell & Monrad, 2017; Fledderus & Honingh, 2016; Sehested & Leonardsen, 2011; Strokosch & Osborne, 2016; Vanleene et al., 2019). In their study of asylum-seekers in Scotland, Strokosch and Osborne (2016) observed that the frontline staff were willing to build and sustain trust-based relationships with asylum-seekers, thereby enabling their participation in co-production, despite their marginalised status.

Yet, there is no one universal approach to the inclusion of vulnerable citizens in co-production. In Beresford’s (2013) study, the service users themselves pointed to the need for innovative and varied approaches in order to include different users with different needs and resources. Based on her social innovations studies, Müller (2019) also concludes that a differentiated approach is

needed to accommodate users' different degrees of vulnerability and capacity. Many users need to learn how to participate; they need to be empowered in order to become involved. This in turn requires professional staff who are able to combine their roles as expert and service provider with a role as empowering facilitator built upon an understanding of the users' vulnerability (Fisher et al., 2018; Müller, 2019; Vanleene et al., 2019). In addition, it is important to recognise that not all users want to be engaged in transformative co-production, for instance, due to a lack of interest in or familiarity with different processes of engagement (Loeffler & Bovaird, 2019). Or due to their level of vulnerability and resources (Müller, 2019), whereby the requirement to engage in co-production can add to vulnerable citizens' feelings of carrying a burden of unrealisable obligations (Needham & Carr, 2009).

'The when' of co-production

Different scholars use different terms to describe the phases of the public-service cycle in which citizens can be involved in co-production. Nabatchi et al. (2017), for example, use the terms 'co-commissioning', 'co-design', 'co-delivery', and 'co-assessment', while Voorberg et al. (2015) prefer 'co-initiative', 'co-design', and 'co-implementation'. Thus, their different vocabulary covers some of the same phases, while also adding some new ones. The stage at which citizens become involved has a bearing on the amount of influence they will be able to exert over the co-production process (Müller & Pihl-Thingvad, 2020), their ownership of the process and its outcome, the quality and relevance of the service (Caswell & Monrad, 2017), and the levels of emancipation and empowerment they acquire (Needham & Carr, 2009).

Citizens are typically involved in co-production as co-implementers of services designed by the public authorities, but involved at the earlier stages of co-production to a much smaller degree (Voorberg et al., 2015). Needham and Carr (2009) call co-implementation 'descriptive' co-production (see Figure 1 below), which implies that all public services need some active input from users to succeed, which was the case long before the term 'co-production' became current (Brandsen & Honingh, 2016). For instance, teachers rely on their pupils' involvement for learning to take place, the success of patient treatment depends on patients taking their medicine or doing their exercises, a well-functioning postal service needs citizens to add postcodes to the letters they send, and so forth (Alford, 2009; Bovaird, 2007; Brandsen & Honingh, 2016; Needham & Carr,

2009; Parks et al., 1981). While these types of co-production may at some point have been innovative attempts to solve complex problems, they are now expressions of ‘regular’ service (co)-implementation.

The primary role of co-implementer is also found in co-production studies dealing with vulnerable citizens (Caswell & Monrad, 2017; Müller, 2019; Müller & Pihl-Thingvad, 2020). This poses a problem, since the citizens’ influence is likely to be more substantial the earlier they are involved (Loeffler, 2018; Loeffler & Timm-Arnold, 2020; Voorberg et al., 2015). For instance, Caswell and Monrad (2017) argue for the importance of including long-term unemployed users of social services in the earlier phases of co-production to ensure their influence on defining the problem in question, since the problem definition is likely to have an impact on the rest of the co-production process. In her own study, Müller (2018) found that the lack of user involvement in the early phases of what was supposed to be a user-driven innovation process most likely resulted in the lack of user influence at later stages in the process as well.

Some studies, however, describe successful attempts to involve users as co-designers. Examples are studies by Denters and Klok (2010) and De Graaf et al. (2015) in disadvantaged parts of the Netherlands. Müller and Pihl-Thingvad (2020) also find that vulnerable citizens can be involved as informants regarding their own needs. While this can be seen as an early phase of co-production, according to Müller and Pihl-Thingvad (2020) it may also involve a low degree of participation, since users’ views are not necessarily taken into account and included in the later phases of the service production process. This is also an argument posed by Needham and Carr (2009), who call this the ‘intermediate’ level of co-production (see Figure 1 below). At this level, the responsabilisation of users is accentuated, since they “are invited – although perhaps also required – to make a greater contribution to the service” (Needham & Carr, 2009, 6). Consequently, this form of user involvement risks becoming an attempt to justify existing service types by helping users “better understand the strains that providers face rather than changing organisational cultures and improving services” (Needham & Carr, 2009, 6).

According to Needham and Carr (2009), the most effective and ‘transformative’ level of co-production takes place when professionals and citizens meet in order to define and handle problems in new ways (see Figure 1 below). This implies that citizens are involved at the earlier stages of co-production as either co-initiators, co-commissioners or co-designers and that their

input is taken seriously and allowed to influence subsequent stages of the public service cycle (Loeffler & Bovaird, 2019; Needham & Carr, 2009; Voorberg et al., 2015). This is also the most challenging level to realise, as it “requires a relocation of power and control” by both professionals and citizens (Needham & Carr, 2009, 6). In the thesis, Articles 1 and 3 present rare cases of end-users as co-initiators and co-commissioners respectively, while Article 2 is another example of end-users being involved as co-implementers.

In light of the above discussion, practices termed ‘co-production’ can take many forms, not all of which are equally innovative or transformative. Co-production is demonstrated to be of use in enhancing the emancipation of marginalised users, particularly when they are involved at the early stages of co-production, operate as a collective, and are provided with the necessary tools and support to participate. On the other hand, co-production can also be used to legitimise the reproduction of power differentials. Furthermore, the review shows that co-production requires not only end-user resources, but also considerable skills and resources on the part of the professional staff, together with a change in attitudes.

Figure 1 shows how the different phases of co-production in which citizens can be involved are related to the different levels of co-production or citizen engagement and influence revealed in the reviewed literature. The arrow is included to stress that these are dynamic processes and not mutually exclusive.

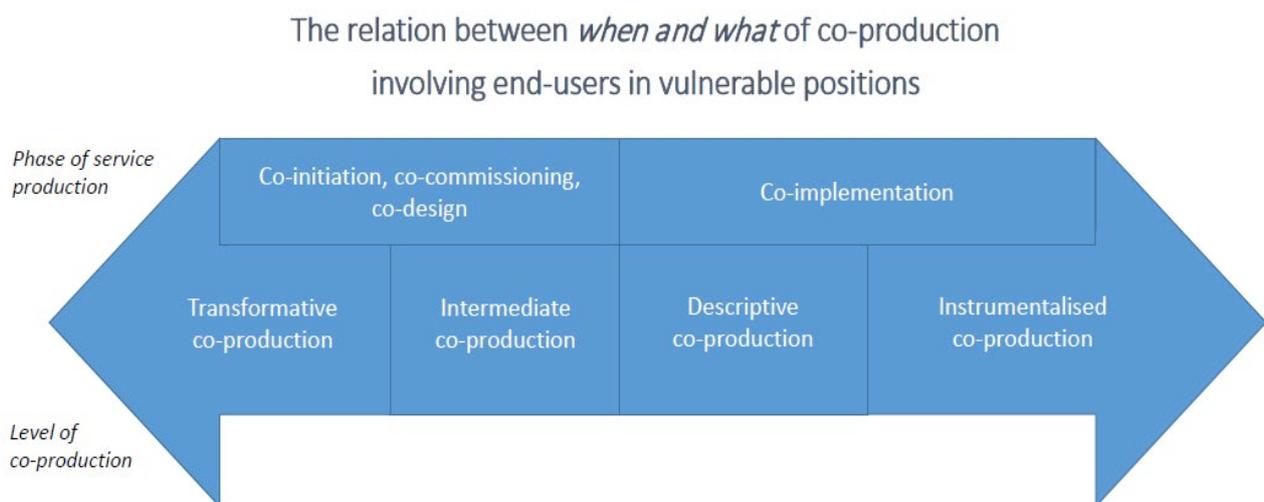


Figure 1.

Chapter 3. Critical realism: the philosophy of science applied in the thesis

The aim of the thesis is to explain what factors influence the type and level of public co-production in which citizens in socially disadvantaged areas become involved. In order to do so, the research approach is based, not dogmatically but to a large degree, on the philosophical assumptions of critical realism (Parr, 2015). Critical realism offers not only a philosophy of science but also a methodology for conducting social research (Archer, 1998; Maxwell, 2004), being concerned with explaining the mechanisms, structures, and conditions that give “rise to the messy outcomes at the level of direct experience in the everyday world of the empirical” (Parr, 2015, 195; Sayer, 2000). In the thesis, the ‘messy outcomes’ that can be observed empirically are the different attempts at co-production, both successful and unsuccessful, and the analytical task is to discover the underlying mechanisms and structures that cause these events to take place (Maxwell, 2004). At the same time, critical realism is to a great extent a ‘common-sense’ philosophy of science whose ontological and epistemological basis corresponds to the world views of many people both inside and outside academia (O’Mahoney & Vincent, 2014), and applies to this author too.

While critical realism is not “a homogenous movement in social science” (Danermark et al., 2002, 1; Potter & López, 2001), it has certain features that most researchers identifying themselves as critical realists would agree on. These notions will be elaborated on below and applied to the actual research approach adopted in the thesis.

The ontological and epistemological assumptions of critical realism

Critical realism, as pioneered by the British philosopher Roy Bhaskar, emerged in the 1970s as a critique of positivism, which had been a dominant scientific approach since 1930s. Critical realism therefore offers an alternative to both positivism and radical social constructivism (Bhaskar, 2008; Danermark et al., 2002). According to Bhaskar (1998), both positions have suffered from the epistemic fallacy of equating ontology with epistemology and vice versa: for the social constructivist reality is constituted by our perceptions of it, while for the positivist it is possible to observe reality as it is (O’Mahoney & Vincent, 2014). The ontology of critical realism, which Bhaskar calls the ‘intransitive’ dimension, shares to some extent the positivistic ontology that

reality exists, independently of the researcher's comprehension. Yet, where positivism limits the world to what is observable, i.e. to empirical 'facts', critical realism asserts that reality is stratified, with a 'deep' dimension containing mechanisms and structures that are not empirically observable (Bhaskar, 2008; Maxwell, 2004; O'Mahoney & Vincent, 2014).

However, the 'transitive' dimension or epistemological basis of critical realism is pluralistic, the researcher's knowledge of reality being influenced by his or her own perspectives and standpoints, making the researcher's knowledge of the world fallible (Bhaskar, 1998b; Buch-Hansen & Nielsen, 2012; Danermark et al., 2002). Nevertheless, critical realists aim to explain empirically observable events through scientific methods, thorough analysis, and in dialogue with the body of theoretical knowledge that has already been generated in a given field; in critical realist terms, this is referred to as judgmental rationality (Archer et al., 2004). While knowing that our knowledge of reality will never be a mirror image, it is still possible to determine the ability of theories "to inform us of the external reality" (Danermark et al., 2002, 10; Buch-Hansen & Nielsen, 2012). On the same grounds, critical realists point to the importance of a continuous reflexive awareness of validity threats throughout the research process (Danermark et al., 2002; Gorski, 2013; Maxwell, 2004; Price & Martin, 2018).

According to Bhaskar (2008), reality is stratified into three domains or levels: 'the real', 'the actual', and 'the empirical'. The empirical domain consists of our observations and experiences. The actual domain is all existing phenomena and events, whether or not they are experienced or observed. The real domain is the deep level and refers to non-observable structures, relations, and mechanisms, which under certain circumstances cause events in the actual domain (Bhaskar, 2008; Buch-Hansen & Nielsen, 2012). The deep, real domain is the main object of scientific interest; the critical realist moves from the actual and empirical domains to the real domain in order to uncover the structures and mechanisms that lie beneath the observable surface and thereby explain phenomena that appear on the societal surface (Buch-Hansen & Nielsen, 2005; Danermark et al., 2002). The three domains of reality can also be illustrated metaphorically as an iceberg (Figure 2).

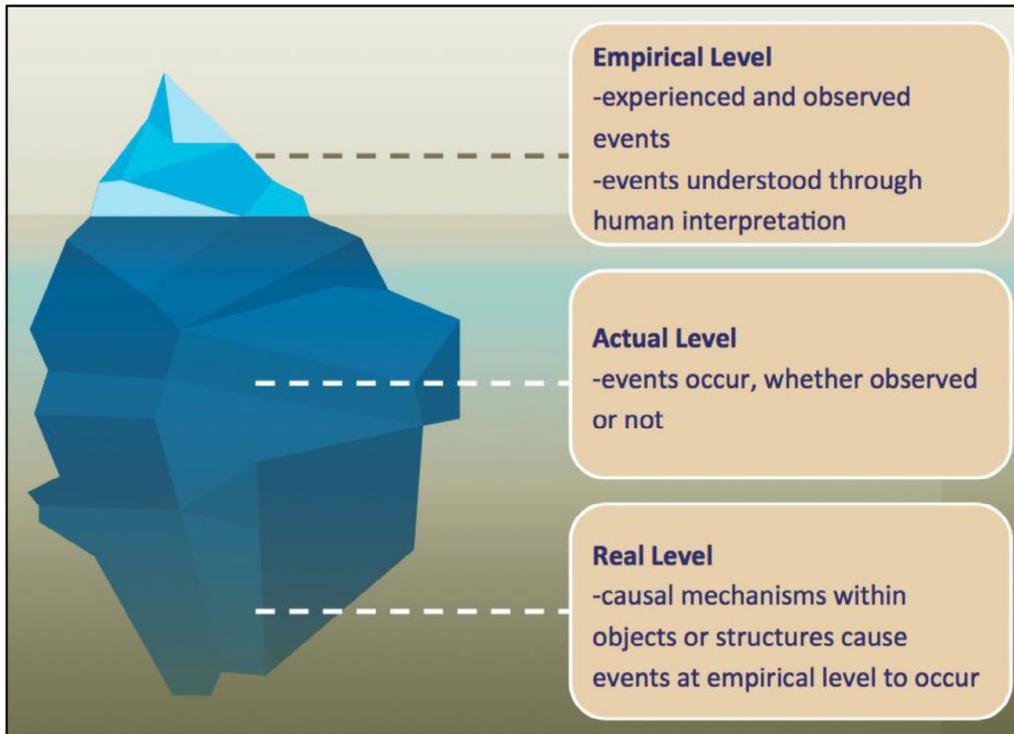


Figure 2. “An iceberg metaphor for CR ontology”, reprinted from Fletcher (2017, 183)

If we apply the three domains of reality to the object of interest in this thesis, the actual domain consists of the co-production processes between the different actors and all the activities involved, such as the interactions between them, meetings, decision-making, outcomes, and events. The empirical domain contains the data collected throughout the research process, such as observations, interviews, and documents. Although rich and plentiful, these data only constitute a fraction of the phenomenon of co-production that takes place on the actual level. In the real domain are the structures and mechanisms that generate the phenomena of co-production, or perhaps conflict and retreat so they happen within the actual domain, which has been observed by the researcher in the empirical domain. The aim is to explain these structures and mechanisms through the analysis and interpretation of data.

According to critical realism, reality contains complex objects whose structures provide them with the capacity to behave in certain ways. The ways of acting of structured things are also referred to as ‘generative mechanisms’ or “the *causal ‘powers’ or ‘liabilities’* of objects or relations” (Sayer, 1992, 104-105; Bhaskar, 2015). However, whether these causal powers are activated or not depends on present conditions at a given time (Blaikie, 2007). For instance, if we assume that

citizens have the causal power to co-produce, the activation of this power relies on a number of interdependent factors, such as the citizens' capacities, the abilities and working conditions of the professional staff to engage with citizens, political openness toward co-production, as well as the level and form of trust between potential co-production partners. Thus, there is in the real domain a complex system of mechanisms that can release, block, or modify one another. Consequently, "the capacity of a thing to exercise its powers, or the likelihood that it will, depends on whether or not the circumstances are favourable" (Blaikie, 2007, 22). Social reality is therefore to be understood as an open system in which causal connections can only be seen as tendencies, not as universal regularities. While it is the aim of the natural scientist to uncover the latter, to the critical realist the role of science is not to predict but to provide the best possible explanation of a given phenomenon or event (Bhaskar, 2008). Consequently, critical realism is an interpretive science in which the study of social objects involves a 'double hermeneutics' in which the social scientist interprets the interpretations of the persons under study (Danermark et al., 2002, 32; Price & Martin, 2018). Although prediction is not possible, Danermark et al. (2002) can still note that "based on an analysis of causal mechanisms, it is possible to conduct a well-informed discussion about the potential consequences of mechanisms working in different settings" (1-2).

Modes of reasoning

In explaining the phenomenon in question, in this case the involvement of citizens in different types of co-production and how this is caused by mechanisms and structures in the real domain, the 'retroductive' method of reasoning proves to be a very important tool for the critical realist (Price & Martin, 2018). Retroduction is a "mode of inference in which events are explained by postulating (and identifying) mechanisms which are capable of producing them" (Sayer, 1992, 107; Bhaskar, 2015), and within the methodological literature it is often presented as an alternative to induction and deduction (Blaikie, 2007; Buch-Hansen & Nielsen, 2012). In basic terms, with the inductive method its reasoning proceeds from the specific to the general. Inductive studies are therefore exploratory in nature and use collected data as the starting point from which the researcher looks for patterns or connections by which a theory or hypothesis can be deduced (Blaikie, 2007; Buch-Hansen & Nielsen, 2012). With the deductive method, on the other hand, the

course of reasoning moves from the general to the specific. Such studies commence by developing hypotheses about the phenomena in question based upon existing theory. After data have been collected, the hypotheses are confirmed or disproved (Blaikie, 2007; Buch-Hansen & Nielsen, 2012). The outset of retroductive reasoning will be an observed phenomenon or event. Accordingly the researcher's task is to point to the necessary conditions and deep causal mechanisms that are likely to exist in order for this phenomenon to appear (Buch-Hansen & Nielsen, 2012; Danermark et al., 2002; Sayer, 1992).

Nevertheless, the different modes of reasoning can be combined in practice and often are (Blaikie, 2007; Easton, 2010). This is also the case for the studies at hand, which are examples of the different approaches being applied. In the thesis, retroduction is to be understood as an overall research strategy chosen at the outset of the research process. The cases were selected on the basis of the researcher's knowledge of co-production taking place between professional employees and citizens in disadvantaged neighbourhoods, although the character of the different forms of co-production was not known beforehand. Thereby the phenomenon of co-production taking place in the actual domain had already been given. The overall aim of the thesis has therefore been to use retroductive reasoning to answer the main research question by explaining how underlying structures and mechanisms have caused different forms of co-production with citizens in socially disadvantaged neighbourhoods. The ambition has been, through the analysis of data and inclusion of the relevant literature in the field, to move beyond what could be initially observed and to identify the structures and generative mechanisms that influence co-production processes and relationships and thereby answer the research question (Gorski, 2013).

In the concrete case studies, however, other modes of reasoning have also been applied, which will be elaborated further in Chapter 5 presenting the methodology of the thesis.

Structure and agency: Archer's morphogenesis

In the social sciences there is an ongoing debate regarding the relationship between structure and agency. This touches fundamentally on the question of human freedom: that is, whether, as proposed by structuralism, structure determines social behaviour, or the reverse, whether the agency of people constitutes the structures of society, which is an individualist approach (Buch-

Hansen & Nielsen, 2012). However, some influential scholars have taken a middle position and developed theories that transcend the dualistic understanding of structure and agency. Examples include Giddens' structuration theory and Bourdieu's practice theory (Buch-Hansen & Nielsen, 2012). In critical realism the traditional dichotomy is retained, but the focus is on the mutual interplay of structure and agency over time (Archer, 1998; Bhaskar, 2015; Buch-Hansen & Nielsen, 2005).

Archer (1998) has further developed the critical realist approach to the relationship between agency and structure, which she calls 'morphogenesis'. She operates with a cyclic movement of 'structural conditioning', 'socio-cultural interaction', and 'structural elaboration/reproduction' (Archer, 1998). People encounter structural conditions all the time, whether they are aware of them or not. These can be political, economic, organisational, scientific, or cultural structures, for instance, operating as an enormous network of intertwined structures. Moreover, these structures are both enabling and constraining; they are necessary conditions for social action, but also limit peoples' room for manoeuvre. Socio-cultural interaction involves the activities of people, which will always be structurally contingent, but never determined by structure. Structural elaboration and reproduction involve the development or preservation of the structural context in which people's activities take place. Since the context existed prior to the socio-cultural interaction, however, social actors do not create social structures but reproduce and transform them through their activities. The resulting structure serves as a context for future agents and activities, allowing a new cycle to commence. Thus, structure and agency operate on different timescales, and consequently they can be distinguished analytically (Figure 3). By doing so, it is possible to explain how the interaction between structure and agency over time causes social change (Archer, 1998; Buch-Hansen & Nielsen, 2012; Sayer, 1992).

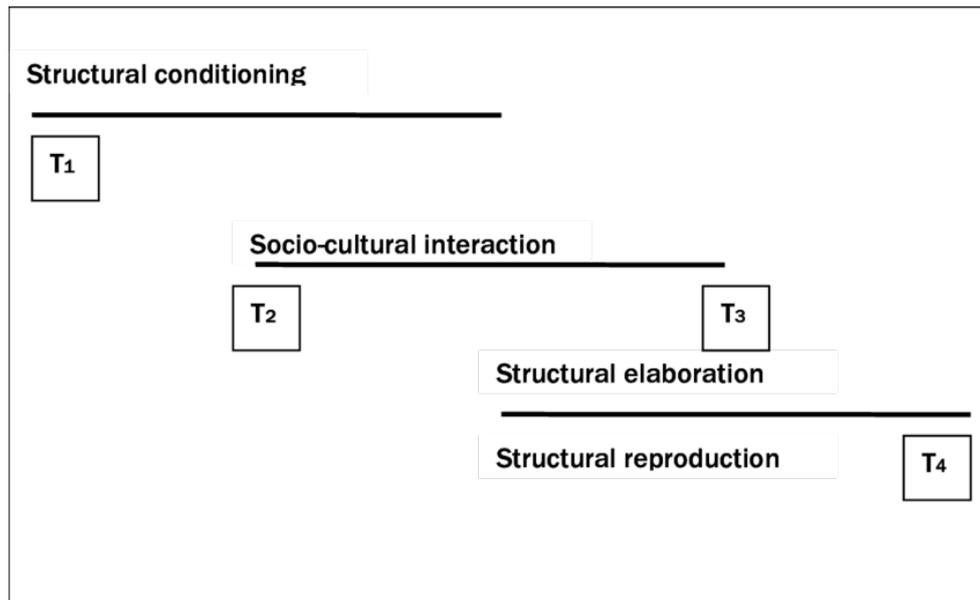


Figure 3. “The basic morphogenetic/static cycle with its three phases”. Reprinted from (Archer, 1998, 375)

Due to the boundless network of structures, these can also have unintended effects, and the research might expose prejudicial structures. Gorski (2013) notes that

even intentionally constructed social structures such as formal organizations or legal codes often have unintended effects that may not be evident to the social actors themselves. Moreover, non-intentional social structures such as fields and networks and culture can usually be observed only indirectly via their causal effects with the help of social scientific instruments (659).

Gorski (2013) thereby points to what Bhaskar calls ‘explanatory critique’, whereby it is possible to point out erroneous beliefs, the institutions that produce them, and the oppressive societal structures that ensue. If the scientist can provide a systematic critique of society, it is also possible to encourage the creation of a better society (Bhaskar & Collier, 1998; Gorski, 2013). For instance, Farr (2013) criticises the practice of defining user participation processes and co-production in terms of the agendas of public institutions, “which can be limited in scope and substance, maintaining existing power relations” (448). The political public agendas which Farr (2013) refers to correspond to the structural conditioning of Archer’s (1998) T₁ phase, which conditions the co-production that takes place at phase T₂/T₃ through the social-cultural interactions of the actors involved. According to Farr (2013), much of the co-production involving service users in socially

vulnerable positions will only reproduce, not elaborate, the repressive structures (cf. Archer's (1998) T₄ phase). If, on the other hand, according to Farr (2013), co-production is to have an impact on changing repressive societal structures for citizens in vulnerable positions, service user-organisations with a certain capacity have to be involved in political decision-making processes.

The relationship between structure and agency with regard to the cases presented in the thesis will be discussed in Chapter 7.

As we shall also see in Chapter 5, which describes the methodological choices made for the thesis, some critical realist scholars have a particular preference for qualitative field work, which they find better suited than quantitative methods to identifying the mechanisms which produce specific phenomena (Maxwell, 2004; Price & Martin, 2018). First, however the theoretical framework of the thesis will be introduced in the following chapter. As Keat and Urry pointed out (1975), the application of scientific theories in the analytical process makes it possible to describe the "structures and mechanisms which causally generate the observable phenomena, a description, which enables us to explain them" (5). Yet, some theories may prove to reflect or explain reality better than others (Bhaskar, 2015; Danermark et al., 2002; Fletcher, 2017). When applying an initial theory in the analytical process, one might find it being supported, elaborated or rejected as an explanatory framework (Fletcher, 2017). This has also been the experience in this research process and will be further addressed below.

Chapter 4. Theoretical framework

A number of scholars writing on the use of theory in the social sciences advocate choosing a middle ground between on the one hand letting your study be determined by a particular theory, and on the other hand adhering to an idea of the ability to engage with the social world in a theory-neutral manner (Bendassolli, 2014; Blaikie, 2010; Collins & Stockton, 2018; Layder, 1998; Maxwell, 2013). When guided too narrowly by a specific theory, important aspects of the phenomena in question may be overlooked and data forced to fit preconceived analytical categories (Bendassolli, 2014; Maxwell, 2013). When attempting a solely exploratory and ‘theory neutral’ approach, one misses the chance to acknowledge and make explicit underlying assumptions and “to control the inputs from pre-existing concepts and theory in the research process” (Blaikie, 2010, 145; Layder, 1998; Maxwell, 2013). The use of theory in this thesis is an attempt to find such middle ground, drawing on Layder’s (1998) idea of ‘adaptive theory’. According to Layder (1998), the role of theory in social research is to order systematically collected data into a form of ‘explanatory framework’, and he uses the term ‘adaptive’ “to suggest that the theory both adapts to, or is shaped by, incoming evidence at the same time as the data themselves are filtered through (and adapted to) the extant theoretical materials that are relevant and at hand” (38). As will be evident in the subsequent review of the theoretical framework informing the analyses of the articles, I approached my fieldwork with a specific theoretical framework in mind, namely social capital. While this was useful to some degree in explaining the involvement of citizens in different types of co-production, an elaboration of the social capital framework proved to be needed, as well as the addition of other theoretical concepts.

Moreover, theory here is defined in a broad sense as “webs of interlocking concepts” that have facilitated the organisation of the collected data and provided “explicit interpretive frameworks” to make “the data intelligible” (Bendassolli, 2014, 166; Collins & Stockton, 2018; Layder, 1998).

The overall theoretical concept informing the analyses of the thesis is the notion of co-production, as elaborated in Chapter 2. For analytical purposes, the concept has been operationalised into four different categories of citizen engagement in co-production corresponding to different phases of the welfare production cycle. These categories will be addressed initially.

Subsequently, the concept of social capital, which also serves as an encompassing theoretical

frame for the whole study, will be introduced. In particular, Putnam's (2000) concepts of bonding and bridging social capital networks, Szreter and Woolcock's (2004) notion of linking social capital, and the dynamic understanding of trust by Rousseau et al. (1998) will be unfolded below. While this framework is also applied to the concrete analysis in Article 1 and to a lesser degree in Article 2, other theoretical lenses were chosen in Articles 2 and 3 in order to explain the mechanisms of co-production that appear in the data. In Article 2, the theoretical concepts of 'third party volunteering' and 'instrumentalisation' are applied, and in Article 3, procedural justice and police performance. These perspectives will be dealt with respectively in the final part of the chapter.

Co-production

In order to explore co-production, the thesis uses the subcategories of co-implementation, co-design, co-commissioning, and co-initiation to denote different phases of the public service production in which citizens can be involved. Other terms used for describing the same phases can be found in the literature, sub-categories of the above (Bovaird & Loeffler, 2013), as well as terms denoting other phases in the public-service cycle, such as co-assessment (Nabatchi et al., 2017), but only phases of relevance to the thesis are presented here. The categories are described as ideal types and distinguished from one another, though in real life they may overlap.

As co-implementers, citizens help implement a service designed by the public authorities, for instance, by sorting their garbage, participating in neighbourhood watch groups, or sending in applications as part of an unemployment programme (Alford, 2009; Bovaird & Loeffler, 2013; Voorberg et al., 2015). As pointed out earlier, this entails a low degree of involvement, although the success of most welfare services rests on the willingness and ability of citizens to act as co-implementers. The notion of co-implementation is particularly relevant for understanding the level of user engagement found in Articles 1 and 2.

Citizens become engaged as co-designers when they participate in discussions on new solutions and service provisions by drawing on their own experiences and requirements as users through public hearings or workshops (Voorberg et al., 2015). Or for instance, partake in concrete design projects, such as exemplified by Bovaird and Loeffler (2013), by helping design a new website targeting adults in need of social care. Being engaged at this level, citizens may experience a real influence over the preparation of welfare services and subsequently over the outcome of the

design phase. Needham and Carr (2009), however, also point to the risk of co-designing simply giving an appearance of influence when citizen perspectives are asked for in workshops, for instance, but not being included in the subsequent design work because the public actors have already decided on a particular design based on their own expertise. Co-design is described in Articles 1 and 3 as a gradual transition, since the citizens are engaged at earlier phases of the production of welfare than the design phase. At these phases, ideas for future welfare services start materialising and subsequently evolve into common design projects.

Co-commissioning involves citizens who, as experts by experience, are engaged in identifying and prioritising the public services they request, for example, through participatory budgeting, or surveys measuring community needs (Loeffler & Bovaird, 2019; Nabatchi et al., 2017). In a policing context, this can entail working with the police “to identify priority or target areas for community safety efforts and police patrols” (Nabatchi et al., 2017, 771; Layne, 1989). The distinction between co-commissioning and co-design is not necessarily clear cut. According to Loeffler and Bovaird (2019), for example, who have studied co-commissioning most extensively, it includes “the overall consideration of all options for public sector interventions which might serve to improve publicly-desired outcomes” (243). In this thesis, the line between co-commissioning and co-design is drawn between citizens being engaged in presenting their requirements, perspectives, and suggestions for prioritisations with regard to a service area such as policing through a co-commissioning process, and citizens being engaged in contributing suggestions to the design of a concrete service, for instance, preventing burglaries in their neighbourhood. Thus, co-commissioning takes place on a more general level than co-design and logically precedes co-design in the public service cycle. Article 3 concerns co-commissioning.

Citizens become co-initiators when they take the initiative to formulate specific services, and the public staff follow their lead (Voorberg et al., 2015). As pointed out earlier, this form of co-production is rarely discussed in the literature. When citizens are the initiators of co-production, it follows that they also become involved as co-designers and co-implementers of the services for which they have taken the initiative. This form of co-production is demonstrated in Article 1.

The different sub-categories of co-production mentioned above have been used in the articles to characterise the type of co-production taking place, and subsequently to relate different influential factors to the different types of co-production and levels of user engagement. As noted

in Chapter 2, it has a significant bearing on the level of influence and the transformative potential of co-production, in which phase in the public service cycle the citizens become involved.

Social capital research

Although most social capital scholars agree that social capital encompasses the resources that are connected to networks, it is a highly contested concept with regard to both its precise definition and the “appropriate unit of analysis to which it should be applied” (Szreter & Woolcock, 2004, 654). The idea of social capital can be traced back to the French political theorist de Tocqueville, but the first use of the term is attributed to Hanifan (1916), who wrote on the importance of community engagement in school development (Ostrom & Ahn, 2010). It was not until the 20th century, however, that the concept was seriously taken up by academics. According to Ostrom and Ahn (2010), it was the American sociologist James Coleman who “carried out the first systematic conceptualization of the concept”, thereby laying the intellectual foundations for research on social capital (17). Together with Coleman, the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu and the American sociologist Robert D. Putnam are identified as ‘the fathers of social capital’, although they have different understandings of the concept (Rosenmeier, 2007). Above all, Putnam’s (2000; Putnam et al., 1994) work has made the concept particularly popular, launching the concept “into its current widespread and lively phase of development” (Ostrom & Ahn, 2010, 17 Rosenmeier & Vittrup, 2011).

The concept also has normative connotations and is largely viewed positively as a feature that fosters economic growth, educational effects, social well-being, and effective organisations (Dhillon, 2015; Putnam, 2000; Putnam et al., 1994). Accordingly, it is widely used by the World Bank (2013) in its work on sustainable social and economic development, while in Denmark ABIs working to develop socially disadvantaged neighbourhoods also use the concept (Rosenmeier & Vittrup, 2011; Agger & Jensen, 2015).

Social capital and socially disadvantaged communities

Studies find social capital, in the form of networks, and the inherent trust and reciprocity between people with similar characteristics, such as ethnic or religious background (bonding networks), to be present in diverse urban locations like the socially disadvantaged neighbourhoods described in this thesis, although to a lesser degree than in rural areas (Agger & Jensen, 2015; Evans & Syrett, 2007). Yet, in diverse urban neighbourhoods, networks across bonding communities (bridging networks), as well as those including people in higher positions, such as governmental institutions (linking networks), are more rare (Agger & Jensen, 2015; Evans & Syrett, 2007). The low levels of income and education, high unemployment rates, segregation in housing and problems with gangs that characterise many socially disadvantaged neighbourhoods are all factors in diminishing social trust (Albrekt Larsen, 2011; Knudsen & Svendsen, 2011; Rosenmeier & Vittrup, 2011). Some residents come from countries with low levels of trust both interpersonally and institutionally (Knudsen & Svendsen, 2011). They may find themselves in an underprivileged position upon arriving in Denmark, which adds to the trust deficit they feel (Henriksen & Skjøtt-Larsen, 2011). Furthermore, immigrants are found to engage significantly less in volunteering than the rest of the population (Fridberg & Henriksen, 2014), and a lack of social capital is shown to have a significant bearing on child development and the opportunities children receive (Putnam, 2000).

For reasons like this, ABIs and many municipal endeavours aim to strengthen the levels of social capital in socially disadvantaged areas across Denmark, as well as develop connections with the surrounding society (Agger & Jensen, 2015; Rosenmeier & Vittrup, 2011). One challenge to these initiatives is that their success may rest on the levels of social capital that are already present in the area. Social capital is therefore both a goal and a means to the goal (Li, 2015; Putnam, 2000; Rosenmeier & Vittrup, 2011). Putnam (2000) refers to a vicious social capital circle as opposed to a virtuous social capital circle, meaning that those communities with high levels of social capital will be in a better condition to increase their levels of social capital still further and vice versa.

Social capital scholars Woolcock and Narayan (2000) divide research concerned with social capital into four categories based on the unit of analysis, the extent to which the state is incorporated, and whether social capital is seen as a dependent, independent or mediating variable. For the purposes of this study, the following will concentrate on three of their categories.

‘The Networks View’, of which Putnam can be seen as an exponent (Rosenmeier, 2007), is

based on Granovetter's (1973) notion of strong and weak ties (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). Strong ties are those with family and close friends, while weak ties cross different social divides such as those of gender, class, socio-economic status, or ethnicity (Granovetter, 1973). The networks view stresses the importance of relations within organisations and groups, but also between different groups, while its understanding also extends to the fact that social capital may have both positive and negative aspects (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000).

In 'The Institutional View', the strength of civil society is mainly a product of the political, juridical, and institutional environment in society. Consequently, "civil society thrives to the extent that the state actively encourages it" (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000, 234). Whereas the network view understands social capital as an independent variable, the institutional view sees social capital as a dependent variable, the dependence being on the performance of the state (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). According to Woolcock and Narayan (2000), this view has strengths in addressing macroeconomic policy concerns, but lacks a microeconomic component.

A micro(socio)economic perspective, on the other hand, is included in 'The Synergy View', which is an attempt to unite the two former perspectives and is what Woolcock and Narayan advocate (2000). Research in this field has shown that neither civil society nor the state on its own can secure development. Consequently, the capacity of each sector, including the business sector and various combinations of cooperation, is central (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). Woolcock and Narayan (2000) suggest that, when "representatives of the state, the corporate sector, and civil society establish forums through which they can pursue common goals, development can proceed. In these circumstances social capital has a role as a mediating variable that is shaped by public and private institutions" (238). Thus, the synergy view of networks across different sectors working toward the improvement of people's living conditions encompasses the idea of co-production. What seems to be missing, however, is a deeper understanding of the mechanisms that link the network view with the institutional view, leading to the synergy view or to co-production. In other words, how can networks that link citizens be supported by the state and lead to co-production? Given that some level of social capital is needed in order to develop social capital further, this question becomes even more imperative when dealing with communities who live in socially disadvantaged areas and are therefore challenged by a deficit of social capital. To explore these mechanisms further, it is necessary to bring in Putnam's (2000) concepts of bonding

and bridging social capital, together with Szreter and Woolcock's (2004) notion of linking social capital.

Social capital in Putnam's understanding

To Putnam (2000), the basic idea of social capital is that social networks have value. He accordingly defines the concept as "connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them" (19). It is therefore not a question of mere contacts between individuals, but rather of mutual obligations (Putnam, 2000).

One of Putnam's main contributions to social capital research has been his distinction between bonding and bridging social capital. Bonding social capital refers to horizontal social relations that build on similarity, intimacy, and informality, namely homogenous networks based on characteristics such as family ties, ethnicity, gender, and age. Bridging social capital, on the other hand, refers to networks which "are outward looking and encompass people across diverse social cleavages" (Putnam, 2000, 22). Bridging networks help people in "getting ahead" by providing access to advice, job opportunities, strategic information, and letters of recommendation (de Souza Briggs, 1998, 178; Putnam, 2000). Bonding networks provide people with a primary support network that helps them "get by" (de Souza Briggs, 1998, 178). For instance, dense networks based on ethnicity can provide crucial social and psychological support for less fortunate community members (Putnam, 2000). Both types of social capital are consequently important for the well-being of communities and their residents, and many groups will "simultaneously bond along some social dimension and bridge across others" (Putnam, 2000, 22-23).

According to Putnam (2000), social capital has an informal as well as a formal dimension. While formal networks are more likely to result in the development of civic skills, informal connections are of great importance in sustaining social networks, and moreover the two dimensions are often linked (Putnam, 2000).

Putnam has been criticized for overlooking the negative aspects of social capital (Patulny & Svendsen, 2007; Portes & Landolt, 1996), as with the exclusionary nature of bonding social capital (Portes & Landolt, 1996) or its employment as a means of social control by parents, teachers, police and others to maintain control over those of whom they are in charge (Portes, 1998). Yet

Putnam (2000) does recognise that the external effects of social capital can be far from positive, as is noticeable when it comes to urban gangs and extremist groups: “Social capital, in short, can be directed toward malevolent, antisocial purposes, just like any other form of capital” (22).

The concepts of bonding and bridging social capital will be used in Article 1 in order to investigate the influence of social capital on co-production with vulnerable citizens in socially deprived neighbourhoods. This social capital perspective was chosen prior to data collection, for three reasons. First, the presence of social capital is in the co-production literature found to be an important premise of co-production (Ostrom, 1996; Voorberg et al., 2015). Second, as pointed out above, social capital is often found to be low in disadvantaged and diverse neighbourhoods. Third, I knew the overall contours of the case on which Article 1 is based prior to the data collection. This included a failed attempt at co-production by the municipal staff, in which they tried to involve Danish-Somali women as co-implementers, which was succeeded by co-production initiated by some of the same Danish-Somali women, who in the meantime had established an association, that is, a formal social capital network, with the help of the municipality. Consequently, this development and its influence on co-production seemed an important factor to investigate, and this could be done through a social capital framework.

Putnam’s understanding of social capital makes possible an analysis of the organisational development of these individual Danish-Somali women into a formal association. Furthermore, the distinction between the two forms of bonding and bridging social capital networks enables a discussion of the relational complexities and challenges within the area’s Danish-Somali community on which clan-based structures and different social statuses have a bearing, thus complicating a clear empirical distinction between the two types of social capital networks.

The distinction is also relevant to Article 2 in its exploration of how the professionals perceive ‘the community’ in the residential areas covered by the ABIs. The concepts of bridging and bonding social capital networks will be applied to understand why professionals express greater support for one type of network over another and how this relates to the aims listed in the ABIs’ master plans.

Finally, the discussion in Chapter 7 will address the impact of social capital on co-production across the three articles, particularly the influence of citizens operating as a collective (formal

bonding/bridging networks) rather than individually on their opportunities to become engaged in higher levels of co-production than co-implementation.

Linking social capital

Another criticism of Putnam's work is the absence of the state in his analyses of social capital (Agger & Jensen, 2015). Consequently, Szreter and Woolcock (2004) add the notion of 'linking social capital' to denote "norms of respect and networks of trusting relationships between people who are interacting across explicit, formal or institutionalized power or authority gradients in society" (2004, 655). They find this refinement necessary in order to distinguish between horizontal bridging relationships between diverse citizens who to some degree are equal in status and power, and vertical networks linking people across explicit positions of power (Szreter & Woolcock, 2004). Just as bonding and bridging social capital are crucial for people's well-being, so is the facilitation of linking social capital networks in order support the delivery of welfare services for which professional frontline staff as the representatives of welfare institutions are responsible (Szreter & Woolcock, 2004). A range of empirical research supports the authors' suggested addition, in particular in poor communities, which shows that "the nature and extent (or lack thereof) of respectful and trusting ties to representatives of formal institutions" have a significant influence on the welfare of residents (Szreter & Woolcock, 2004, 655). Furthermore, Agger and Jensen (2015) stress that the linking type of network "can provide crucial access to leveraging resources, ideas and information that go beyond the normal community linkages and thereby can play a vital role for communities to attract external resources" (2048).

The notion of linking social capital thus relates to the synergy view because it involves interactions between citizens and authorities. However, since it may not involve the co-production of a welfare services, linking social capital will be treated as a possible influence on co-production in the thesis. As pointed out in Chapter 2, citizens in socially vulnerable positions may need assistance in order to organise themselves as a collective, that is, to create a formal social capital network that can enhance their opportunities to co-produce at a higher level than co-implementation. The notion of linking social capital is used in Article 1, to investigate the process whereby the Danish-Somali women ask for and receive municipal assistance to establish an association.

Social capital scholars discuss the connection between the different forms of social capital, that is, whether the formation of one type of social capital network rests on the presence of another (Agger & Jensen, 2015; Putnam, 2000). For instance, Agger and Jensen (2015) find that, for linking social capital to succeed, the presence and extent of bonding and bridging social capital is crucial. The connection between the different forms of social capital networks found in the articles will also be addressed in the discussion in Chapter 7.

Trust

As the analytical work for Article 1 moved forward, it became evident that a broadening of the social capital framework was needed in order to explain what motivates the actors to enter the linking social capital network and the co-production, and to explain why the co-production relationship continued with one public department while it was terminated by the other. Different levels or types of trust between the parties involved seemed a probable explanation. Although trust is a fundamental element of Putnam's social capital perspective (2000), he does not elaborate much on the mechanisms of trust. Therefore, referring to Rousseau et al.'s (1998) dynamic understanding of trust, the notions of 'calculus-based trust' and 'relational trust' are applied. Calculus-based trust is rooted in rational choice and "emerges when the trustor perceives that the trustee intends to perform an action that is beneficial", while relational trust is an affective form of trust based on the relational experiences of two parties (Rousseau et al., 1998, 399). Knowledge is a central component in the development of trust (Hardin, 2002; Lewicki et al., 2006; Ostrom, 2003). Choosing to trust or distrust another person in the first place will be based on a "presumption of knowledge about" the other person due to limited acquaintance (Hardin, 2002, 155). However, through continuous interaction and growing interdependence, knowledge and predictability of the other will increase (Lewicki et al., 2006). Consequently trust between the parties may develop into a more affective form of relational trust, with a focus on maximising joint efforts. According to Rousseau et al. (1998), networks built upon calculus-based trust are less sustainable and more vulnerable to violation than those based on relational trust.

These different notions of trust will be used in Article 1 to explain first, how co-production

relationships are initiated through calculus-based trust, and second, the influence of relational trust on the development and viability of the relationships.

Instrumentalisation and third-party volunteering

Initially, one of the three case studies in the thesis involved a particular disadvantaged neighbourhood with an ABI and professional staff seeking to involve its residents in different activities. This case was also approached with a social capital framework in mind. As will be clarified further in Chapter 5, the case study changed into a generic case of ABIs since my data were pooled with data collected by a colleague of mine who had conducted interviews with staff from other ABIs, the result of which is Article 2. The choice of theoretical perspectives in this article is consequently based on an inductive approach to our accumulated data. When looking at the data, we found a recurrent theme to be the staff members' perceptions of residents' volunteering as a means to obtain different objectives defined in the ABIs' master plans. We therefore found the notions of 'instrumentalisation' and 'third-party volunteering' to be a relevant theoretical framework within which to explain these perceptions.

The term 'third-party volunteering' draws on the 'third-party model' developed by Haski-Leventhal et al. (2010). The authors use the model to describe situations in which actors other than volunteers, their organisations, and the beneficiaries become engaged in enhancing volunteering – governments, for instance. Among other things, governments are motivated to enhance volunteering as a means to strengthen the social capital of local communities, further volunteers' job opportunities, and improve their quality of life (Haski-Leventhal et al., 2010). In particular, these endeavours are targeted at marginalised citizens such as citizens in long-term unemployment and are used as a means to re-socialise, activate and empower "various categories of socially excluded" citizens (Hustinx, 2010, 173). This fundamentally changes the notion of volunteering as an endeavour without coercion, initiated from the 'bottom', and a collective good with the beneficiaries of the volunteering as the focal point (Haski-Leventhal et al., 2010; Hustinx, 2010; Hustinx et al., 2016).

Hustinx (2010) describes governments' enhancement of volunteering as relying on an instrumental view of volunteering, hence the term instrumentalisation used in the article. This approach should

be seen as part of a larger transformation of governance in the provision of social welfare, in which welfare service delivery, previously the responsibility of government and its employees, is gradually passed on to volunteers and the third sector (Shachar et al., 2019). Governments' promotion of co-production can be seen as part of this strategy (Fehsenfeld, 2019). According to Hustinx (2010), the instrumentalisation of volunteering is seen particularly in hybrid organisations "characterized by an intermingling of different and potentially conflicting institutional logics" stemming from a mixture of elements from the voluntary sector, the state, and the market (173). An ABI is exactly one such hybrid organisation, where residents, state agencies, the municipality, non-profit organisations, and social housing associations (themselves hybrid in nature; cf. Ibsen & Habermann, 2005) work together to achieve the targets in the area's master plan (Espersen & Andersen, 2017; Mygind & Larsen, 2015). Navigating within this hybridity and the different and sometimes competing logics is seen as the strength of the ABIs (Christensen et al., 2018), but it also poses serious challenges to the staff (Loga et al., 2015), who, as discussed in Chapter 2 and Article 2, may experience ambivalence in their attempts to respond to the different logics .

Although we retain the term 'instrumentalised volunteering' in Article 2, I will refer to this phenomenon as instrumentalised co-production in the thesis. When, as part of their social work effort, professional staff encourage socially vulnerable residents to volunteer in order to enhance their societal responsibility and employability, for example, they are asking end-users to co-implement social services defined by the professional staff. This form of co-production is placed at the very right of the co-production continuum in Figure 1, denoting a very low degree of user-involvement and transformative potential. What adds to the paternalistic approach is the risk that the citizens may be uninformed about the underlying objectives defined by the professional staff when they agree to volunteer in what is, in their perception, an altruistic activity.

Police performance and procedural justice

Data collection for the third case study and Article 3, involving police and ethnic minority associations in co-producing crime prevention and neighbourhood safety, was also initially approached with a social capital framework in mind. However, by the end of the data collection period, I had become familiar with the notions of 'procedural justice' and 'police performance' and

found that these criminological perspectives to a large degree pinpointed the viewpoints, experiences, and demands of the association members in relation to the police. As a consequence, this became the theoretical lens through which we investigated the involvement of the association members as experts by experience in a co-commissioning process with the police. Both perspectives try to capture how citizens' perceptions of the police influence their view of the police as a legitimate and trustworthy authority, in turn prompting their willingness to comply and cooperate with the police. Understanding these causal relationships in the context of a socially disadvantaged and ethnically diverse neighbourhood becomes particularly significant due to the often strained relations between ethnic minorities and the police (Tyler, 2005; Wallengren et al., 2020), which had also been the situation in the neighbourhood of the case study.

The notion of police performance stems from the 'instrumental model' that emphasises the importance of the police being perceived as effective in controlling crime and disorder. It is therefore the outcome of police endeavours that is accentuated in this perspective (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Van Craen & Skogan, 2015; Wallengren et al., 2020). Sunshine and Tyler (2003) point to three elements which, according to the instrumental model, influence police perceptions positively: first, a high level of credibility of threats of sanctions against those who break the law; second, that police are effective in preventing crime, catching criminals, and responding to victims; and third, that police services are fairly distributed across communities. Thus, people's confidence in the police and consequently their willingness to engage positively with the police "is based on the degree to which the citizens in question are bothered by crime, disorder, and feelings of insecurity" (Van Craen, 2013, 1048).

The concept of procedural justice, on the other hand, stresses that citizens attach greater importance to the police's procedures being fair than to the outcomes. According to this perspective, procedurally fair policing will have a major bearing on citizens' perceptions of the police as a trustworthy and potential collaborator (Tyler, 2005). Scholars point to four elements of particular importance in relation to procedural justice policing: 'respect', people being treated by the police in a respectful manner; 'neutrality', the police being unbiased in their encounters with citizens; 'voice', citizens and communities being provided with opportunities to raise their concerns and present their side of the story; and 'trustworthiness', the police demonstrate trustworthiness by caring about the well-being of citizens (Madon et al., 2017; Murphy & Cherney,

2011; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003).

Even though the data in this case study do not allow the exact causal relationship between police perceptions and the willingness of the associations to co-produce with the police to be determined, the perspectives enable an investigation of the complexities involved in creating positive and cooperative relations between the police and ethnic minority residents.

To summarise, the choice of theoretical perspectives has been done ‘adaptively’. To some degree data have been ‘adapted’ to the theory, yet where this approach was found not to do justice to the data, the theory has been ‘adapted’ to the data. Thus, the relationship between data and theory has been dialectical.

The concept of co-production serves as the overall term in all three articles, and in each article, sub-categories of co-production are identified together with the level of user engagement (cf. Figure 1). The social capital framework, consisting of bonding, bridging and linking social capital and trust, is partly used as the analytical framework for Article 1 and partly as an overall framework of the thesis, a topic resumed in Chapter 7. In addition, the theoretical notions of third-party volunteering and instrumentalisation are applied to the analysis in Article 2, while police performance and procedural justice are applied to the analysis in Article 3. Below, Table 1 shows how the different theoretical concepts are related to each article.

	ARTICLE 1	ARTICLE 2	ARTICLE 3
ACTORS INVOLVED	Municipal staff and individual residents tuning into an organised group	ABI staff and individual residents	Police staff and organised resident groups
WELFARE SERVICES BEING CO-PRODUCED	Crime-prevention for at-risk youths	Social (workfare) inclusion of residents and social cohesion of neighbourhood	Crime prevention and neighbourhood safety
PHASE OF CO-PRODUCTION	Co-implementation (first attempt) Co-initiation >> co-design and co-implementation (second attempt)	Co-implementation	Co-commissioning >> co-design and co-implementation
LEVEL OF USER ENGAGEMENT	Transformative co-production	Instrumentalised co-production	Transformative/intermediate co-production

THEORETICAL CONCEPTS APPLIED	Bonding/bridging and linking social capital Calculus-based and relational trust	Instrumentalisation Third-party volunteering Bonding and bridging social capital	Procedural justice Police performance Bonding and bridging social capital
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Table 1.

Chapter 5. Methodology

In the following section, the methodological choices made in order to answer the research questions will be elaborated. First, the choice of a case study research design will be justified, including the selection criteria for choosing the three cases. Subsequently, the study is situated within the methodology of ethnographic fieldwork, and the concrete processes of data collection in the form of observations and interviews are described. In addition, there is a section reflecting upon my positionality as a field researcher. Finally, the analytical strategies used of the respective articles are presented.

Case study research design

The research design applied in the thesis is that of a qualitative case study consisting of three cases. Although a critical realist approach to social science can accommodate different methodological choices, many critical realist scholars agree that qualitative case studies are particularly suitable to identify and explain the complex processes that lead to specific outcomes (Ackroyd & Karlsson, 2014; Easton, 2010; Maxwell, 2004; Verschuren, 2003; Wynn & Williams, 2012).

While there is no clear consensus as to the exact definition of a case study (Gerring, 2004; Verschuren, 2003), it is generally agreed that it is an in-depth and detailed investigation of one or a small number of cases, involving individuals, groups, events or relations, which provides context-dependent knowledge (Easton, 2010; Flyvbjerg, 2006; Robinson & Seale, 2018; Verschuren, 2003). It is therefore particularly appropriate in helping capture the complexities that are often at play in social processes, as is the situation for this study (Flyvbjerg, 2006; Launsø et al., 2011).

In this present context, the case study design makes it possible to investigate which mechanisms under which circumstances lead to the different types of co-production that take place between the public actors and the citizens. Furthermore, the design permits the examination of how co-production is viewed and practiced, thereby producing profound insights into these processes in a contextual and holistic manner (Launsø et al., 2011; Verschuren, 2003). The contextualised knowledge is obtained by triangulating methods which is characteristic of case studies by drawing on different types of data materials (Easton, 2010; Verschuren, 2003). For

instance, the use of documents describing and evaluating the first attempt by the municipality to involve the Danish-Somali women in co-production (Article 1) is significant for understanding the context within which the development of the women's association and the development of the linking social capital network with the municipal actors took place. Likewise, knowing the objectives stated in the ABI masterplans is important for understanding and explaining the perspectives of the professionals (Article 2). Also worth mentioning is the importance of observations and informal conversations in gaining insights into the Danish Somali women's perspectives, since conducting formal interviews with this group were not feasible. Had the research design been based on in-depth interviews only, the perspectives of some of the actors involved would have been captured, but few insights into the actual development of the co-production processes and their contexts would have been obtained. The data triangulation from different sources also serves "to enhance the validity of the analysis by reducing the risk of biases" (Tuurnas, 2015, 588; Maxwell, 2004; Olsen, 2003).

Selecting cases for the study

Choosing which entity to define as a case study will often depend on the research question (Robinson & Seale, 2018). In this thesis, co-production, professionals and citizens as actors, and the geographical boundary of disadvantaged neighbourhoods are the defining characteristics of the selected examples in this study.

Since the aim of case study research is neither statistical representativeness nor generalisability in the conventional sense, but to "understand a phenomenon in depth and comprehensively", a case study may entail a single case (Easton, 2010, 119; Emmel, 2013; Wynn & Williams, 2012). However, choosing to investigate more than one case can have the advantage of enhancing the "analytical power and pervasiveness" of the study (Verschuren, 2003, 123; Robinson & Seale, 2018) and enable comparisons between the different cases (Emmel, 2013; Robinson & Seale, 2018). This study contains three cases of co-production between different professionals and citizens in socially deprived neighbourhoods that aim to deal with different types of wicked, social problems such as crime, social exclusion and at-risk youths. The reason for choosing three cases over one or two was not explicitly to make a comparative case study, but to investigate different

types of co-production in depth, as well as the varieties of mechanisms involved in producing them. However, as the different aspects and nuances of the cases have materialised through the analytical work and the review of the existing literature, both similarities and differences between the cases have been revealed and will be addressed in the discussion in Chapter 7.

The three cases have been selected purposefully, since they are rich in information and provide deep insights into vital issues of significance to the study of co-production (Emmel, 2013; Palinkas et al., 2015; Seale, 2018; Wynn & Williams, 2012). In the views of Emmel (2013) and Patton (2002) purposeful sampling also entails practical and pragmatic considerations. According to Patton (2002), “[t]he point is to do what makes sense, report fully on what was done, why it was done, and what the implications are for findings” (72). Following Patton, the section below will contain the why and what regarding the selection of the specific cases, while the implications for the findings will be addressed in the section on the validity of the study in Chapter 8.

The overall contours of the cases were known to me before I started the research due to my previous employment in a socially disadvantaged neighbourhood. I was employed by a non-profit organisation, a voluntary social association, which cooperated with different actors such as ABIs, the municipality, and the police. As a result I was aware of different initiatives taking place where professionals were engaging in collaboration with residents in socially disadvantaged areas across town. My preliminary knowledge of these cases is seen as an advantage, since it assisted the purposeful sampling, ensuring some variation, which might otherwise be difficult to know at the outset of the study (Palinkas et al., 2015). Moreover, my relationships with and knowledge of at least some of my informants eased access to them. However, preliminary knowledge may also create bias by generating blind spots regarding significant aspects of the study.

Below, I will further introduce the cases and elaborate on the reasons for their inclusion in the study. I have aimed at selecting cases that can be characterised as either extreme or critical. According to Flyvbjerg (2006), an extreme case is unusual, but therefore also particularly suitable for obtaining in-depth knowledge. A critical case Flyvberg (2006) defines “as having strategic importance in relation to the general problem”, and one should look for either the ‘most likely’ or the ‘least likely’ cases when identifying critical cases to investigate (229).

Case one: municipal staff and a Danish-Somali women's association co-producing crime-prevention for at-risk youths

The failed attempt by municipal staff to engage a group of Danish-Somali women from a disadvantaged neighbourhood as co-implementers in a voluntary course on the Danish language and societal issues was known to me prior to conducting the research. In addition, I was aware of the development of a more sustainable co-production relationship between the same actors, initiated by the women themselves, including the formation of a Danish-Somali women's association between the first and second attempts at co-production. This spurred my interest in exploring the mechanisms that led to this change from the women's disengagement to engagement in co-production. The case can be considered extreme (Flyvbjerg, 2006) and is rare in two ways. First, it includes both a failed attempt at co-production and a successful attempt involving the same actors, making it possible to elicit information regarding why the second attempt at co-production was more successful. Second, it is a case of a socially vulnerable group of citizens becoming the initiators of co-production themselves, a situation which was not found in the reviewed literature. In this specific case, the process is given a particular emphasis, "since it traces the events in which the same set of main actors in the case study are involved over a relatively long period" (Verschuren, 2003, 130).

Case two: professional ABI staff and residents co-producing social (workfare) inclusion and social cohesion

The ABI was chosen as a 'most likely' critical case (cf. Flyvbjerg, 2006), as I assumed that the inclusion of local residents in co-production would be a defining characteristic of the ABIs in seeking to enhance the social cohesion of disadvantaged neighbourhoods and resolve the resident's social problems. Therefore, the case was assumed to be very suitable in exploring the mechanisms driving co-production. Initially, a particular ABI involving professional staff working to include local residents in different activities in the neighbourhood was selected as a case. After I had collected my data from the case, however, the character of the case changed into a generic case of ABIs so to speak, as I chose to pool my data with that of a colleague, who had also collected data on the cooperation between ABI staff and residents, yet in other socially disadvantaged areas. Article 2 is the result of our joint work.

Case three: police and ethnic minority associations co-producing crime prevention and neighbourhood safety

The selection of the third case can be viewed as a 'least likely' critical case (cf. Flyvbjerg, 2006). As I was writing my research proposal, I was made aware of a dialogue initiative in this police district, which had been launched because for years the police had found it extremely difficult to operate in a specific socially disadvantaged area and often found themselves in conflict-escalating situations when going there on patrols or operations. At the same time, due to crime and safety challenges in the neighbourhood, its residents were in real need of a well-functioning police service. Through the dialogue initiative, the police hoped to engage local ethnic-minority associations as collaborative partners. However, according to Loeffler and Timm-Arnold (2020), it is rare for citizens to become involved in anything but co-implementation in a highly hierarchical organisation such as the police, cf. the notion of a 'least likely' case. Thus, by investigating this new collaborative approach on the part of the police, relevant knowledge could be obtained on the mechanisms that influence different levels of co-production.

A criticism often raised against case studies is the lack of generalisability and thus of external validity (Flyvbjerg, 2006; Verschuren, 2003). Nevertheless, even though the knowledge obtained through case study research cannot be generalised in the conventional sense, Flyvbjerg (2006) argues that it is very significant to human learning and to the development of expertise and robust social sciences. Furthermore, other types of generalisation are possible based on qualitative case studies (Flyvbjerg, 2006). This aspect will be further addressed in the latter part of Chapter 8.

Ethnographic field studies

The study has been inspired by ethnographic fieldwork using ethnographic data-collection methods of different types of observation, informal conversations and interviews, formal interviews, and documents (Hastrup, 2003; Mørck, 2016). This study does not qualify as a traditional form of ethnography, in which a significant amount of time is spent in one particular field, resulting in a thick description of that field. Rather, it can be characterised as a multi-sited

ethnography. This entails the strategic selection and construction of a number of different sites (corresponding to the cases in the study) based on prior theoretical knowledge and questions, where the description is restricted to central concepts, while the contextual details are omitted (Carter, 2018; Nadai & Maeder, 2005). Furthermore, the purpose is to go beyond describing the fields in order to explain the mechanisms of co-production and the structures within which they operate (Rees & Gatenby, 2014).

Hastrup (2003) distinguishes between the empirical object and the analytical object of ethnographic field studies. The empirical object is the part of the world, situated in a particular time and space, which is being explored by the researcher, including people, relations, values, phenomena, and actions, for instance. The empirical object “is not easily defined, since new connections can always be deduced and more conditions be identified” (Hastrup, 2003, 15, my translation). Conversely, the analytical object is the frame set by the researcher that identifies the particular locus of attention based on the researcher’s theoretical interests (Hastrup, 2003). The empirical distinction between the analytical and empirical objects is not clear-cut, but I conceive of co-production between professionals and citizens as the analytical object of the thesis. Since I have aimed for a holistic investigation, I have also wanted to understand the context in which this might take place, as well as the motivations and perspectives of the different actors. Thus, the empirical object of the study includes my participation in various events such as community lunches at the common house in the ABI, a five-day cultural awareness course for the police, a police patrol, festive occasions of the Danish-Somali women’s association, and interviews not only with those directly involved in the co-production effort, but also with the professional staff’s management. The empirical object therefore involves a significant amount of data serving as context and background information.

Data-collection and choosing informants

Data were collected over a two-year period from the spring of 2016 until the spring of 2018 and from all three cases concurrently in order to capture the processes relating to the different types of co-production (Verschuren, 2003). The data collection ended when saturation had been reached, that is, when a comprehensive understanding of the cases and adequate information to be able to answer the research question had been acquired (Palinkas et al., 2015; Tanggaard &

Brinkmann, 2015).

The question of sampling is not restricted to the overall cases but is also relevant with regard to the process of purposefully choosing actors for each case who have deep insights into and involvement with the phenomena in question (Palinkas et al., 2015; Seale, 2018). In case one, the citizens and municipal actors involved were already known to me beforehand, and I chose first to contact the women's association to obtain their agreement, as this might have proved more difficult than with the municipal actors. In cases 2 and 3, I was familiar with the professional employees being most involved, but not the citizens, so I began the data collection by interviewing these staff members in order to get introduced to their work and the situation with the particular case. Besides these initial interviews, I started observing before interviewing. This was done for two reasons: first, to become acquainted with the field and the informants and to find other relevant informants to interview, particularly among the citizens; and second, to focus my interviews on achieving as holistic a view of the informants, their interactions, and the contexts in which they were embedded as possible (Szulevicz, 2015; Verschuren, 2003). Furthermore, as Verschuren (2003) points out, "[e]ach method reveals its own aspects and parts of social reality. For instance, observation reveals behaviour but no motives for that behaviour. The opposite holds true for an interview; it may reveal motives but no behaviour" (131).

The conduction of observations and interviews will be further described below. Since the documents of these cases have primarily been used to provide background information and not been subjected to specific textual analysis, my use of documents will not be addressed further here.

Observations

The observations were taken on 64 different occasions and totalled approximately 284 hours⁶. Being present where the social practices of the research participants take place "enables the researcher to analyse, comprehend and explain" human practices and relations in a manner that is otherwise hard to achieve (Szulevicz, 2015, 85, my translation). Besides attending events as part of the empirical object, I participated in several meetings between citizens and professional staff in

⁶ The distribution of the observations on the different cases is further specified in Articles 1 and 3.

order to investigate their interactions and relations of co-production in situ. Below I will describe further how I conducted the observations, while some of my reflections on my observation practices can be found in the reflexivity section later in this chapter.

In case 1, I first received acceptance from the board of the women's association and then from the professionals to observe their joint meetings and the events they held together. I was invited along to these meetings and events primarily by the chairwoman. This is a matter I will return to.

The activities of the particular ABI in case 2 primarily revolved around a communal house in the area, where I went to observe activities where the staff and residents interacted with one another, for instance, at community lunches and dinners, and festive occasions such as Shrovetide. Since I had a particular interest in looking at the influence of social capital, the majority of my observations took place at a number of cooperative meetings held between the professional staff and the four voluntary area committees of the housing association involved in the ABI. In age, ethnic background and socio-economic level, this was a very diverse group of residents, some of whom identified with the whole area covered by the ABI, while others felt they represented their particular housing area only. To further investigate the residents' perspectives, I chose to interview some of them from each area committee.

The selection of informants and events to be observed in case 3 went through the community liaison officer employed by the police, who became a gatekeeper or key person to this particular field (Szulevicz, 2015; Wanat, 2008). We agreed that she should inform me of future dialogue meetings with associations in the neighbourhood, and I was quickly invited to observe a couple of meetings. Then, however, she seemed to forget about my request, and I frequently had to remind her of my project and our agreement in order to be invited along. This seemed to be a result of forgetfulness or business, as I never had the impression that she did not want me to attend the meetings. Nevertheless, it was arranged that a group of association representatives would meet the police regularly; I went along, was included in the groups' mailing list, and was able to attend all their meetings. At these dialogue meetings, I approached the different association representatives asking for an interview about their cooperation with the police and always received positive responses to my requests.

The conduct of observations will often imply taking on different observation positions at different times, from fully participating in the activities of the practices observed to merely being a distant

observer (Emerson et al., 1995; Szulevicz, 2015; Wadel, 1991). In general, I had the role of a participant when going to informal events and that of a distant observer when participating in formal meetings. Sometimes my distant role was emphasised as I seated myself outside the circle of attendees at the meeting. At other times this felt very distancing, and I chose to sit among the participants, which in some situations blurred my position, for instance, when I suddenly found myself participating in group work on a police course.

When going to meetings in order to observe, I always asked my contact person to ensure that the participants had agreed to my presence beforehand. At the meetings and events I was always introduced and I explained the purpose of my project, emphasising that I would anonymise the information I wrote down and that they were welcome to approach me with any questions. In order to focus the observations (cf. Szulevicz, 2015), I was guided by my social capital framework, which meant looking for how networks of trust and cooperation both among the citizens and between themselves and the professionals were established or broken off. I often found myself to be very semantically focused, writing down the exact phrases being said. I ascribe this tendency to both a personality trait and to the fact that I mostly attended agreed meetings between people or presentations where spoken communication was central. The semantic focus can be helpful in not “attributing people particular motives for their actions”, but it may also mean overlooking what “really takes place in the situation” (Szulevicz, 2015, 93). I sometimes challenged myself to be more attentive to the unspoken communications, but when doing so I was concerned about missing important aspects of the spoken dialogue. As a result, I became very aware of my limitations as an observer. Having been two observers paying attention to different aspects would have been ideal. At most observations field notes were taken, unless I felt that it would distance me from the informants. Otherwise ‘head notes’ or mental notes were taken (Emerson et al., 1995, 18). Together with my immediate impressions, these were recorded immediately after I left the observation site. Points of significance from these recordings were later transcribed.

Interviewing

Thirty-two qualitative in-depth interviews⁷ were conducted for this study in order to obtain informants' viewpoints regarding their experiences of co-production, their relations with their co-production counterparts, and their attitudes toward these matters (Smith & Elger, 2014; Tanggaard & Brinkmann, 2015). The interviews primarily took the form of single interviews, but they also included six group interviews with two to three persons. The group interviews were conducted for practical reasons or at the request of the informants and not specifically as focus groups, although being interviewed together is likely to lead to new reflections based upon the understandings and perspectives expressed by co-informants (Hofmeyer & Scott, 2007). Three of the informants were interviewed twice, at the beginning of data collection and later in the process to focus on more specific aspects of the cases. The total number of interview informants across the different cases was 35, distributed between 13 citizens, 12 frontline staff, and 10 managers. An overview of data regarding the individual cases can be found in Articles 1 and 3. In addition, the data used in Article 2 included eight interviews with frontline staff from other socially disadvantaged neighbourhoods than those of the case; these were conducted by my colleague and co-author.

The interviews were held in locations at the choosing of the informants, most often at their places of work or on their association premises. All the interviews began by informing the interviewee of the purpose of the study and that they would be anonymised. The interviews were conducted using a semi-structured interview guide, examples of which can be found in Appendix 1. This served to encourage the informants to elaborate on their perspectives and experiences while at the same time ensuring that the predefined themes of interest were explored (Smith & Elger, 2014; Tanggaard & Brinkmann, 2015). The interview guide contained questions influenced by the theoretical perspectives of social capital and co-production, used in investigating the development of horizontal and vertical networks, trust and the informants' perspectives on the co-production in their particular context. In addition, some questions would refer to daily staff practices and the voluntary engagement of citizens. The interview guides were adjusted to the individual informants in order to clarify or investigate elements from the observations or other

⁷ The distribution of the interviews on the individual cases is further specified in the articles.

aspects of the specific case. Due to my previous knowledge of the cases and in some situations also of the informants, I paid particular attention to making the implicit explicit by asking questions to which I assumed I already knew the answer. In most interview situations, it was possible to let the conversation flow without paying much attention to the interview guide and then use the guide at the end to make sure that all the relevant aspects had been covered (cf. Tanggaard & Brinkmann, 2015). Moreover, I attempted to validate my understandings during the interviews by summing up points of significance and asking the interviewee to confirm or oppose my interpretation.

Since the interviewees were in very different social positions, they had a variety of conditions for participating in an interview, which was a challenge in some interview situations. For instance, some of the citizen informants struggled “to communicate experiences and opinions in an articulate, expressive, and reflective manner” due to language barriers and vulnerability (Palinkas et al., 2015, 34). Conversely, when interviewing managers, I had to navigate their attempts to use the interview to promote particular and perhaps ‘polished’ perspectives on co-production (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2014). In these situations, I found it helpful to conduct the interview late in the data-collection process, in order to keep questions and answers on the concrete level by referring situations elicited in the field.

The interviews lasted between 30 and 90 minutes, and were recorded and later transcribed, primarily by student assistants who had been provided with a transcription guide to ensure consistency. After each interview, I recorded my immediate impressions and feelings about the interview, as was the case with the observations. These recordings were later listened to for reflexive reasons, and points of significance written down.

Reflexivity and researcher positionality

In qualitative research, the researcher’s values and subjectivity will always influence the production of knowledge. The interaction between researcher and informants during informal conversations and formal interviews results in “socially negotiated, contextually-based answers” (Tanggaard & Brinkmann, 2015, 30, my translation). Being reflexive of one’s position in relation to one’s informants is consequently important in ensuring the validity of the results, for instance, by

avoiding overlooking important questions or “privileging certain points of view while silencing others” (Sánchez-Ayala, 2012, 118; Adriansen & Madsen, 2009; Blaikie, 2007; Gough, 2003). In the research at hand, my position as a researcher has also been that of an outsider in relation to most of the citizen informants, as we did not share the same ethnicities or social positions (Sánchez-Ayala, 2012). On the other hand, I have been an insider to most of the professionals, sharing some of the same professional discourses. Yet, in this context too, I came to have an outsider position due to my role as a researcher (Adriansen & Madsen, 2009).

According to Sánchez-Ayala (2012), reflexivity is particularly critical when interviewing ethnic minorities, their minority status making them vulnerable population segments. However, it is also important to note that the researcher and the informants may not share the same interpretation of different social statuses (Davies, 2008). My position and access to some ethnic-minority informants may also have been eased by years of experience working with ethnic minorities, including East African refugees in Denmark and the Middle East, together with some basic Arabic. Yet, as has been further described in Article 1, establishing an interview relationship with the Danish-Somali women, anticipated when designing the study, proved difficult. This may have stemmed from a lack of trust or our ethnic and social differences, or because formal interviewing is a cultural activity unfamiliar to the women (Davies, 2008). Below, I have included an excerpt from my reflections on my first encounter with the women’s association. I first met the chairwoman at one of the police dialogue meetings, and we agreed to meet to talk more about my research and the possibility of using them and their collaboration with the municipality as one of the cases in the research project.

I met the chairwoman at their association premises, and we were the only ones there. I told her about my Ph.D, but am unsure how much she understood [we spoke in Danish]. She is quite talkative, and when I explained that it was about cooperation with the municipality, she started telling her own story of living in Denmark. A story full of hardship, but also of insisting on learning about society and contributing. At some point other women arrived, and I told them about my reason for being there, which the chairwoman interpreted. I asked them if I could record our conversation, said how I was going to use the recording, and that it was anonymous. They agreed. However, it was still the chairwoman who did most of the talking. I don’t know if this was due to the recording or if she always does so, but I should be aware of this in the future. Some of the women left the premises during our conversation, while other women joined us (Observation notes and memo, 080216).

This first meeting with representatives of the women's association is rather telling of my general experience of trying to establish contact with this group of informants. On the one hand, a very welcoming atmosphere and attitude was extended to me. On the other hand, there was some reluctance. The language barrier was always present, since only some of the women spoke Danish. The informality of where we met, with women constantly entering and leaving, was another notable aspect. In the beginning, I only came when I had agreed to meet with the chairwoman, but after some time I started simply dropping by during their opening hours and sat down to talk to whoever was there, which proved helpful in obtaining the perspectives of other association members than the chairwoman.

As Liamputtong noted (2007), "there may be times when a single interviewing method like an in-depth interview... may not work well with some vulnerable people", so more collaborative and flexible methods must be applied (138). Thus, besides a number of observations at meetings between board members of the association and the municipality, and a more formal interview with the chairwoman, with the assistance of an interpreter, these informal visits to the association became my principal data-collecting activity regarding these women's perspectives. How this might have influenced the validity of the results is discussed in Article 1, but it is likely that the informality of the visits reduced the power differentials somewhat, which often emerges in formal interview settings, where the researcher holds "a privileged position by deciding the questions asked and when they are asked, by directing the flow of the discourse" (Adriansen & Madsen, 2009, 149).

My interactions with the other ethnic-minority associations that were part of the police dialogue initiative gave me a very different experience. The majority spoke Danish well, they were highly educated, and they had a better understanding of what I was doing as a Ph.D. student. With some of them, I even had the impression that they found my presence strategically useful. For instance, when making observations at meetings between association representatives and the police, a representative sometimes turned and talked directly to me, as if ensuring that I would get his point across, and at the end of the meeting he would ask me to openly evaluate the meeting. In these situations, I did my best to answer evasively and not provide any evaluation of their meetings.

Understanding the complexities of social and cultural norms that are not one's own, however,

can be very difficult (Sánchez-Ayala, 2012), as exemplified by an experience I had when observing a police dialogue meeting in an Iraqi Shia mosque. Beforehand, I had asked the community liaison officer, herself a veiled Muslim with a Palestinian background, if I ought to wear a veil, to which she said no. However, after the meeting, one of the male attendants from the community came and politely told me to wear a scarf the next time. At the same meeting, I was initially invited to be part of the panel of professional police staff, which the citizen organizers had placed before the 'audience'. This would have emphasised my position and perhaps my status as an outsider, so I asked to be seated among the citizen participants instead.

My insider position in relation to the professionals had the advantage of easing access to information and informants, as well as the contextual knowledge on which to focus interviews and ask particularly relevant questions (Adriansen & Madsen, 2009; Nielsen & Repstad, 1993). Yet at times I had the impression that informants were prepared to provide me with information in an atmosphere of confidentiality that they would not have revealed to an outsider. This resulted in an ethical dilemma as to whether or not to include that information in the data and analyses, although sometimes the professionals themselves would stress that it was off the record.

With regard to the disadvantages of being an insider, a lack of distance and blind spots are likely to occur, and it can be difficult to take on the position of the uninformed, curious 'outsider', which is necessary as a researcher (Adriansen & Madsen, 2009; Nielsen & Repstad, 1993). Thus, I was very aware during interviews and informal conversations to ask what might be perceived as ignorant questions coming from an insider in order to test my assumptions and make explicit the perspectives of the informants. This was well received by the informants, which can be attributed to my outsider position as researcher. The blurring of positions was also at work in situations where, after meetings between a professional staff and the Danish-Somali women's association, the staff member would approach me about some of the women's perspectives or for feedback on her way of communicating with them. In these situations, I felt that she was treating me partly as another professional, and partly as someone with more insight into the lifeworlds of these women than herself.

However, it is impossible to "determine the direct effect of insider relations on the results", as other factors such as gender and age might also influence the results, "but by addressing these relationships explicitly, the complexity of research relations can be revealed" (Adriansen &

Madsen, 2009, 146). Besides, I have presented excerpts of empirical material and drafts of analyses for research groups at my workplace and the university, at supervision meetings and conferences, and to co-authors, in order to discuss and validate my findings (cf. Adriansen & Madsen, 2009; Olsen, 2003). In these situations, I was sometimes criticised for being too critical of the professionals, which on a positive note may mean that I have avoided favouring their perspectives, despite what we have in common. Nevertheless, it may also reflect the fact that those who commented on my work identified more strongly with the professionals than with the citizens.

Analytical strategies

A qualitative research process can best be characterised as an iterative process or a spiral in which the researcher visits and revisits the field and the organising, coding and analysis of data as well as the writing up of the results (Braun & Clarke, 2006; DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002; O'Reilly, 2012). In this regard, the analytical process starts at the formulation of research questions and continues throughout the choice of events to observe and participate in, whom to interview, which phenomena to pay special attention to, how to code, and when and which theories to apply until the presentation of the findings (Braun & Clarke, 2006; O'Reilly, 2012; Olsen, 2003). The process might even continue afterwards as new insights emerge (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002). At the same time, the process also requires flexibility on the part the researcher to ask new questions, include new informants, and consult new theoretical perspectives, for instance, based on what is encountered in the field (O'Reilly, 2012; Verschuren, 2003). This nonlinear process also relates to the choice between 'theory-before-research' or 'research-before-theory', that is, whether a deductive or inductive approach was chosen at the outset. In this regard, some scholars argue that most research processes entail elements of both, since analysing involves a dialectical process between data and theory, or between the inductive and deductive modes (O'Reilly, 2012; Olsen, 2003; Szulevicz, 2015; Wadel, 1991; Willis & Trondman, 2002).

The research process for this thesis, including the analyses and applications of theory, has also taken the form of an iterative, spiralling process or rather processes, as they have varied in relation to the three cases dealt with respectively in the individual articles. Even though no 'main road' exists concerning the exact conduct of qualitative data analysis, it is important for the

purposes of validity to make one's choices regarding the analytical strategies used in organising and interpreting data explicit (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Collins & Stockton, 2018; Olsen, 2003). The sections below present the analytical strategies applied to each case and article.

In overall terms, I understand analysis as an endeavour to make sense of one's data, which includes "sorting, summarising, organising, translating, and eventually turning a mass of data into a coherent argument... It involves exploring deeply to see what is there that might not be obvious, standing back to see what patterns emerge, thinking and theorising to draw conclusions" (O'Reilly, 2012, 186). Besides thorough readings of the transcripts, I have listened to all the interviews in order to revisit the time, place and affective state in which a particular interview was conducted, and to draw my attention to elements that were not specified in the transcripts, such as tone of voice. An important part of the analytical process is the coding of data, where categories or themes emerging from the data are developed, a practice that can be done both inductively and deductively (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002; Olsen, 2003).

The analytical approach to the data in Article 1 was primarily deductive. Based on my prior knowledge of the case, I had some assumptions about which mechanisms could be at play regarding co-production. The theoretical framework of social capital was therefore chosen in order to investigate these assumptions (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Olsen, 2003). I approached the coding of the transcribed interviews, the observation notes, and the project documents with a coding list consisting of predefined categories developed from the theoretical framework of social capital and co-production (cf. Olsen, 2003). The coding of the material was done by hand. The concept of co-production was operationalised into three levels of citizen engagement: citizens as co-implementers, co-designers, and co-initiators, while social capital was operationalised into the three categories of bonding, bridging, and linking social capital networks. Subsequently, the different types of co-production and networks were identified in the material. The analysis was then taken a step further towards interpretation by relating the development or lack of formal networks to the processes of different types of co-production.

Empirical sensitivity is necessary when coding deductively in order to avoid the risk of analytical bias. Therefore concepts and theories may be modified during the process (Maxwell, 2013; Olsen, 2003), as was the situation in this case, in order to explain why the co-production relationship was terminated by one public actor but continued by another. Until then, the concept of trust in

Putnam's (2000) understanding had not been fully operationalised on my coding list. Yet by means of a dynamic and transformative understanding of trust (Rousseau et al., 1998), it became possible to explain the different processes of co-production that take place in the material and through this explain the actors' motivations in entering, sustaining or terminating co-production.

In Article 2, the analysis is based on interview data with ten professional staff from six different ABIs, of whom two staff members were working at the ABI constituting the empirical object of Case 2 in the thesis. The remaining data (interviews, observations and documents) from this particular ABI therefore serve as background material informing the analysis. The interviews focused on the role of the staff in facilitating activities and the volunteering of residents in the areas of different ABIs. While my colleague had previously coded his interviews using NVivo, we approached our shared coding and analytical procedures in an exploratory and inductive manner, focusing on the informants' experiences and perceptions. Having read, reread, and taken notes of the transcripts individually, together we used mind-mapping and open coding to identify a number of overall themes, such as volunteering, association activities, and workfare inclusion through voluntary activities, together with related subthemes and the relations between them (Olsen, 2003). This type of thematic coding can be called 'latent thematic coding', since it involves interpretation by identifying and examining "underlying ideas, assumptions, and conceptualizations – and ideologies" and not simply describing the semantic, explicit level of texts (Braun & Clarke, 2006, 84). With these themes in mind, we revisited the interviews in order to identify repeated patterns of meaning, as well as inconsistencies in the perspectives of the informants (Braun & Clarke, 2006; O'Reilly, 2012; Olsen, 2003). Through this process, the four condensed themes of volunteering as a route into employment, volunteering as self-development, volunteering for the sake of the community, and volunteering with the purpose of maintaining the activities of the ABI emerged. Based on the meanings ascribed to these themes by the informants, the theoretical notions of instrumentalisation and third-party volunteering were chosen as the conceptual framework.

Data collection for the third article was initially approached with a social capital framework in mind. By the end of the data collection process, however, I had been introduced to the notions of police performance and procedural justice. From this it appeared to me that these perspectives encompassed what was at stake in the case material to a greater degree than social capital.

However, in order to avoid a bias toward these concepts, the data material was first coded in an inductive manner by developing a rudimentary coding list using Nvivo (cf. Olsen, 2003). Here, a large number of codes (themes) were made, relating to the disadvantaged neighbourhood, the problems faced by the residents, police practices, police perceptions of the residents in the neighbourhood, management of the dialogue initiative, the citizens' self-understanding, and their perceptions of and experiences with the police. Nevertheless, due to the limited scope of the book chapter for which the analysis was intended, the authors took a pragmatic decision to focus mainly on the perspectives and experiences of the association members, rather than the police. This choice was based on their perspectives of playing a central role at the dialogue meetings, which we had chosen as a particular analytical object of interest in relation to co-production.

Next, thematic coding was carried out on the explicit, semantic level, where statements by association members relating to their experience with or requirements to police practice, as well as to cooperating with the police, were identified "and organized to show patterns in semantic content" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, 84). This was done by using tables in Microsoft Word. The next step in the process was to group these codes into categories, such as information-sharing, the police as powerful or weak, the police as biased, seeking dialogue, and trust (cf. Braun & Clarke, 2006).

In the final step of the coding process, these categories were interpreted in order to "theorize the significance of patterns and their broader meanings and implications, often in relation to previous literature" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, 84). In this endeavour, the concept of co-commissioning was found to embrace the co-production practice that took place in the dialogue meetings. Furthermore, the notions of police performance and procedural justice reappeared as a suitable theoretical lens with which to understand the perceptions and experiences of the association members, as well as explaining the apparent inconsistencies we found between police practices and the perceptions of the association representatives (O'Reilly, 2012). Thus, the relationship between theory and data was underscored as a dialectical process.

Chapter 6. The content of the articles

The thesis includes three articles. Each article is based on one of the three cases of the thesis, and consequently investigates the specific case in depth in order to understand the mechanisms involved in the engagement of citizens in socially disadvantaged neighbourhoods in different types of co-production. The three articles therefore throw light on the overall research question from different angles and make different contributions to answering it.

Article 1 is a single-author article published in *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Non-Profit Organizations*, while Article 2 was co-authored with Michael Fehsenfeld as a book chapter in a Danish publication on collaboration between the public sector and civil society. Article 3 was written with Klaus Levinsen as a book chapter intended for an international publication on collaboration between the voluntary and public sectors in Scandinavian countries.

Article 1

Stougaard, M. (2020). "Co-producing Public Welfare Services with Vulnerable Citizens: A Case Study of a Danish-Somali Women's Association Coproducing Crime Prevention with the Local Authorities". *Voluntas*. Advance online publication. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11266-020-00235-4>

This article explores the influence of social capital on the inclusion of citizens in vulnerable positions in public co-production. The study concludes that the formation of horizontal networks between citizens and of vertical networks between citizens and the public authorities, together with the process of building trust between them, are significant influences on enabling co-production with vulnerable citizens, in particular when engaging them at earlier stages in the public-service cycle than the implementation phase.

The data used in the study stem from an extreme case of a Danish-Somali women's association, (this particular group being among the most vulnerable in Danish society) acting as co-initiators of co-production with municipal actors. According to former co-production research, studies demonstrating the involvement of end-users, in particular those in vulnerable positions, as co-initiators or co-designers are rare. Furthermore, the case study describes a failed attempt at co-production succeeded by a successful attempt involving many of the same actors, which served to provide information on the mechanisms facilitating this change. Data consist of observations,

documents, and interviews with municipal staff, managers, and members of the Danish-Somali women's association.

At first, municipal staff tried to engage a group of individual Danish-Somali women voluntarily as co-implementers of a training course designed solely by the municipal staff and aimed at enhancing the women's employment opportunities in the jobs market. The attempt failed, as the women did not see how the course could relieve their first and foremost concern, the future of their children. Subsequently, some of the same women chose to form an association working to ensure a better future for their children and youngsters. Municipal staff assisted this endeavour with capacity-building measures, and subsequently the women invited the municipality to co-produce crime prevention efforts aimed at at-risk Danish-Somali youths.

The understanding of social capital as formal or informal bonding or bridging networks among citizens (Putnam, 2000) allows the organisational development of the individual Danish-Somali women into a formal association to be analysed. The study finds that the women's collective organisation is significant for three reasons. First, it provides them with the capacity to voice their concerns in a more powerful and articulate way than as individuals, and thus to appear as more than the sum of their vulnerabilities. Second, their wish to organise themselves as an association provides them with access to municipal support. Third, as an association they are recognised by the public staff as a legitimate co-production partner, this being an institutionalised form of collaboration in Denmark. However, the initial failed attempt at co-production is also of importance, since the failure became a cause for self-reflection among the professionals involved, who consequently received the women's association much more openly the second time around.

The notion of linking social capital, which encompasses the vertical networks between civil society and the state (Szreter & Woolcock, 2004), is applied to demonstrate the importance of municipal assistance with capacity-building, since not all citizens have either the experience or the resources to organise collectively.

Furthermore, a dynamic understanding of trust (Rousseau et al., 1998) is used to explain how co-production relations are commenced and maintained, and additionally why the co-production relationship with one municipal department continued but was terminated by the other department. Trust entails risk and interdependence, and it comes in different forms based on the level of knowledge and affection the involved parties have for one another. Calculus-based trust

was formed when the women and the municipal staff, regardless of their limited acquaintance, assumed that the interests of the other could encapsulate their own goals, and based on this assumption, entered the co-production relationship. With respect to one municipal department, the calculus-based trust developed into a more affective form of trust, namely relational trust, which proved more resilient to the obstacles that arose during the co-production. The notion of calculus-based trust also helps to illuminate why some municipal social workers rejected the women's suggestions for improvement to services they received, mainly seeing the women's vulnerabilities and therefore not perceiving them as able to contribute.

Article 2

Stougaard, M. and Fehsenfeld, M. (2020). "Skabelse af frivillige: et boligsocialt middel" ["Creating volunteers: a social work tool in Area Based Initiatives"] in *Den frivillige kommune - Samspillet mellem den frivillige og den offentlige sektor [The voluntary municipality: the interplay between the voluntary and public sector]*, Ed. Ibsen, B. University Press of Southern Denmark.

The purpose of this article is to investigate how the staff understand volunteering by residents in relation to the social work carried out in Area Based Initiatives (ABIs). While previous research has investigated volunteering used by the public sector to obtain goals relating to the social (workfare) inclusion of citizens, application of this perspective to the social work that takes place within ABIs has not been previously found.

ABIs aim to solve complex social problems in socially disadvantaged neighbourhoods by enhancing the well-being of residents, bringing them closer to the job market and the educational system, and heightening the social cohesion and competitive power of the neighbourhoods. A central element of the ABIs is the engagement of residents in community activities. ABIs are characterised by a high degree of welfare mix and hybridity, as state and municipal agenda and steering rationales become mixed with civil society-oriented logics. Consequently, ABI staff have to navigate these different and at times competing logics.

The study is based on ten in-depth and semi-structured interviews with different staff members and observations of ABIs in six socially disadvantaged areas. The interviews focused on the role of the staff in facilitating the activities and volunteering of residents.

The notions of 'instrumentalisation' (Hustinx, 2010) and 'third-party volunteering' (Haski-Leventhal et al., 2010) are applied as a theoretical framework for the analysis in order to explain how the residents' volunteering is used as a social work tool by the ABI staff. The analysis identifies four purposes behind the facilitation of the residents' voluntary engagement by the staff: volunteering as a path to the job market; volunteering as self-development; volunteering for the sake of the community; and volunteering to maintain the activities of the ABI. The central aspect of volunteering thus becomes the volunteers rather than 'the case' in which the voluntary residents become engaged. Therefore, a shift is taking place from a more traditional understanding of volunteering that accentuates the collectively defined needs or interests of citizens to treating the volunteer as the central element.

The four identified goals of volunteering are all objectives that can be found in the ABI master plans, and they work as a type of performance-based management system for the work of the professional staff. This is discussed in relation to a growing productivity discourse within social work, as well as active citizenship as a parameter of the global competition of competition states. Furthermore, the emphasis on the residents' own responsibility for enhancing the social cohesion of the community as defined by the geographical area covered by the ABI creates a bias among the professionals against the neighbourhoods' bridging social capital networks, whereas the bonding social capital networks are perceived by some staff as counterproductive to obtaining the goals of the master plans. However, the analysis also shows that using volunteering as a social work tool causes ambivalence among the staff, who essentially perceive volunteering as something which ought to be based on the initiative, wish, needs, and interests of the resident. This is why the staff also work to facilitate volunteering simply for the sake of volunteering.

Article 3

Stougaard, M. & Levinsen, K. (2020). "Co-producing neighbourhood safety and the role of police perceptions: a case study of the Danish police co-commissioning with ethnic minority associations". Manuscript submitted and in review for publication in *Voluntary and Public Sector Collaboration in Scandinavia*, Ed. Ibsen, B. Palgrave: London.

The central purpose of this article is to explore the challenges and potentials of police co-commissioning with ethnic-minority associations in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. The article

provides nuanced insights into the perceptions of police held by some ethnic-minority groups and these citizens' contributions to the co-production of policing through an example of co-commissioning. This is a form of co-production that is rarely found in the co-production literature, including the involvement of citizens in the co-production of policing in earlier phases than co-implementation.

Successful policing requires the collaboration of citizens. Previous research shows that citizens' willingness to collaborate with the police depends on their knowledge and understanding of policing and their perceptions of the police as a legitimate authority. Moreover, in disadvantaged neighbourhoods with high crime rates, it is of great importance that the police understand the particular social challenges faced by the residents. In one such neighbourhood in Denmark, the police had previously found it difficult to encourage collaboration among the area's ethnic minorities. In order to change these dynamics, they launched a 'dialogue-initiative' targeting ethnic-minority associations.

Based on extensive field studies of community meetings between the Danish police and local ethnic-minority associations and qualitative interviews with association representatives, the article explores the role of so-called 'dialogue meetings'. These meetings are perceived as a co-commissioning process in which the citizens as 'experts by experience' and the police as conventional experts in policing meet in order to identify and prioritise future policing efforts to enhance community safety. The article draws on both the co-production literature on co-commissioning (Loeffler & Bovaird, 2019) and the criminological literature on procedural justice and police performance (Madon et al., 2017; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003).

The study shows that the co-commissioning process in the form of dialogue meetings between the police and ethnic-minority associations contributed to an open atmosphere, providing the parties with an opportunity to listen to and respond to each other's views. The representatives of the ethnic-minority associations expressed a willingness to communicate and co-produce with the police, which suggests that the dialogue meetings may provide a basis for the continued development of co-production.

Furthermore, the study reveals that ethnic minority perceptions of the police were not only influenced by their own encounters with the police in their neighbourhoods, but also by community narratives and experiences of the police in their countries of origin. Based on their

experiences, ethnic association members emphasised the importance of both procedural justice and police performance. This may be explained by the identity-relevant information that is communicated to ethnic-minority residents through the procedural justice approach, as well as the gravity of the neighbourhood's problems. The study does not assess which factor is the most important, but in response to the quantity of literature pointing to procedural justice as being more important than police performance in shaping police legitimacy and subsequently collaboration, the findings suggest that the police should also pay attention to the citizens' own perceptions of the police's performance.

The study also reveals a certain dilemma concerning the involvement of citizens in co-commissioning. Several of the association members expressed the expectation that the police would behave more authoritatively and forcefully in their encounters with criminals in the neighbourhood, an expectation that seemed to prevent them from seeing the results that the police actually achieved. Accordingly, inviting the associations into the co-commissioning process as 'experts by experience' may cause some challenges for the police. On the one hand, they have to consider the perspectives of the citizens, since they are the recipients of the public service of policing, and because their perceptions of the police are likely to influence their willingness to engage in further collaboration. On the other hand, in many cases, the police had strategic reasons for using more passive tactics. Consequently, the police are required to strike a balance between reacting to citizens' requests for a change of practice and informing them about the strategic considerations that determine their practices in order to avoid misunderstandings and inexpedient community narratives, and subsequently a loss of legitimacy.

Chapter 7. Discussion of findings

This thesis has sought to answer the overall research question: what factors influence the type and level of public co-production in which citizens in socially disadvantaged areas become involved? While the answers to the three sub-questions in the individual articles are discussed in the respective articles, this chapter will discuss the findings related to the overall research question across the articles.

The thesis has studied different cases of co-production between professional paid staff and citizens in socially disadvantaged areas who find themselves in different degrees of social vulnerability. The problems faced by the citizens and their neighbourhoods that are the objects of the co-production are complex, wicked problems such as crime and related feelings of insecurity, at-risk youths, long-term unemployment and a lack of social cohesion. Due to the complexity of their problems, these citizens are in great need of welfare services that meet their needs, and their involvement in co-production can be a way to ensure the relevance of these services. At the same time, however, their marginalised positions pose challenges to their involvement in co-production, particularly at higher levels than co-implementation (Müller, 2018). This perspective will be unfolded below.

Although the study has not been designed to be a comparative case study, the differences and similarities between the cases that have materialised during the research process will be discussed. The chapter is structured as follows. First, a section will deal with ‘the when’ of co-production, since it has been found that the phase of the public service cycle in which the citizens become involved has a significant bearing on the amount of influence they will have on the co-production process. Second, a section will treat the question of the different types of expertise the professionals and the citizens respectively bring into the co-production. Here, the different factors that are found to enable or challenge the pooling of these forms of expertise will be discussed. Third, the causal relationship between citizens in vulnerable positions organising as a collective and their engagement at higher levels of co-production is a significant finding of the study, the implications of which will be addressed. This includes some perspectives on the possible impact of co-productive interactions on repressive social structures. Fourth, the importance of linking social capital in providing the citizens with the necessary tools for co-production is stressed and its

connection with bonding and bridging social capital networks discussed. Fifth, the necessity of distinguishing between different forms of trust in relation to co-production is demonstrated. This is succeeded by a final section providing some points of consideration for policy and practice based on the result of the thesis.

The significance of when the citizens become involved in the public service production cycle

In my understanding of co-production, I have drawn on a synthesis of the typologies of Nabatchi et al. (2017) and Voorberg et al. (2015) in order to distinguish between the different phases of public service production in which citizens can be involved, also referred to as 'the when' of co-production. Although research shows that citizens, especially those in vulnerable positions, tend to become involved in co-production, primarily as co-implementers (Caswell & Monrad, 2017; Müller, 2019; Müller & Pihl-Thingvad, 2020; Voorberg et al., 2015), Articles 1 and 3 provide examples of citizen involvement at earlier stages, namely co-initiation and co-commissioning.

The co-production literature is characterised by a high degree of normativity, the reasoning apparently being that co-production ('heavy'), and greater influence by citizens is inherently good and therefore the more of it there is the better. However, is this always the case? Will the early involvement of citizens in service production always result in a better quality of welfare services? Are there not situations in which citizens must rely on the expertise of professionals alone? Certainly, the everyday lives of all citizens imply the co-implementation of a number of services designed solely on the basis of professional expertise.

There can be several reasons for involving citizens in the early phases of welfare production, one being the enhancement of democratic legitimacy. Yet, in the present context, two main reasons for involving end-users prior to the implementation phase are highlighted. First, when the problem a welfare service wants to solve is a complex, wicked problem, it presupposes a different approach to defining the problem and a possible solution than what has previously been attempted. This is the situation with the problems that are addressed in the co-production efforts described in the thesis. In this case, the early involvement of citizens might contribute to new and better solutions.

Second, even when services are, with good reason, designed by the professionals, the

conventional experts only, their success still relies on the citizens to co-implement them. As the implementation literature points out (Aarons et al., 2011), and given the current challenges of implementing various corona restrictions as a case in point, this can be a complex matter to which the citizens can contribute perspectives of great value. As Articles 1 and 3 demonstrate, citizens are more likely to co-implement services they find relevant to their lives because then the services are aligned with their own interests and values.

The findings of the thesis confirm the argument found in a number of studies that the influence of citizens on co-production is more substantial the earlier in the process they are involved (Loeffler, 2018; Loeffler & Timm-Arnold, 2020; Müller & Pihl-Thingvad, 2020; Voorberg et al., 2015). This in turn positively influences citizens' sense of ownership of the process and its outcomes, as well as the quality and relevance of the services being co-produced (Caswell & Monrad, 2017). In Article 1, this point is clearly demonstrated by comparing the involvement of the Danish-Somali women in the first, municipality-initiated attempt at co-production and the second attempt initiated by the women themselves. When offered the role of co-implementers only, the women had no influence on the definition of the problem nor the suggested solution, which resulted in their disengagement. Conversely, when the women themselves defined the problem as being the future of their children, they had ownership of the subsequent co-production process, a point also made by Caswell and Monrad (2017). However, early involvement does not automatically lead to transformative co-production if the co-design (or co-commissioning) phase merely gives a semblance of involvement, and citizens' input is not taken into consideration in the subsequent phases (Müller & Pihl-Thingvad, 2020; Needham & Carr, 2009). In the case of Articles 1 and 3, the perspectives of the citizens, which they contributed as co-initiators, co-commissioners, and co-designers, were taken into account by the municipal and police staff respectively, which led to implementations the citizens took ownership of. Examples included a debate on radicalisation, a training course on societal topics for the Danish-Somali association, and an agreement to send delegates from the associations to calm down conflicts in the neighbourhood. Furthermore, to some degree the police altered their policing approach, being harsher with criminals due to the concerns raised by the association members.

As shown in Figure 1 in Chapter 2, I have related the various phases of co-production to different levels of citizen influence or engagement, with transformative co-production being at the one end

of the spectrum and instrumentalised co-production at the other. Although I have not directly investigated whether the citizen informants experienced co-production as transformative, instrumentalised or somewhere in between, the literature points to these potentials and risks of co-production (De Waele & Hustinx, 2019; Fisher et al., 2018; Needham & Carr, 2009). Nevertheless, the Danish-Somali women, being among the most vulnerable citizen groups in Danish society, expressed frustration when their suggestions were rejected by the social workers, and conversely excitement and pride when co-production succeeded and they were able to contribute to their own welfare and the welfare of others. Likewise, the ethnic-minority associations that were co-producing with the police were proud to contribute, taking the police's invitation to engage in co-commissioning as a sign of their inclusion in society, and they expressed feelings of marginalisation when other authorities overlooked their concerns. Therefore, it is likely that the forms of co-production taking place in these two articles were experienced as transformative and empowering by the actors involved. Furthermore, the co-production taking place in Articles 1 and 3 was transformative in the sense of power being distributed between citizens and professional staff.

In Article 2, the citizens are involved in co-implementing a service defined and designed by the professionals. This is referred to as instrumentalised co-production because the services they are helping to implement are left unexplained by the staff. The citizens perceive themselves as volunteering in a football club or to preparing a community dinner, while the staff perceive them as co-implementing their own employability, self-development, the anchoring of the ABI's activities, or the social cohesion in the residential area covered by the ABI. This can be seen as an example of the hegemonic responsabilisation of otherwise 'irresponsible', marginalised citizens (De Waele & Hustinx, 2019; Eliasoph, 2016; Fallov & Larsen, 2018). If one of the ideals of co-production is to become transformative by altering the relations of power between citizens in vulnerable positions and the professional staff (Fisher et al., 2018; Matthies, 2010; Needham & Carr, 2009), then this form of co-production fails to do so. Rather, it maintains and reproduces a paternalistic approach where the professionals act as the primary experts in the lives of the citizens. It is important to stress, however, that, while the professional staff were loyal to the aims of the master plans, a number of them also expressed great ambivalence due to the emphasis on the workfare discourse within the ABIs, as well as the top-down approach to engaging the citizens.

As argued by Caswell and Monrad (2017), citizens in vulnerable positions facing unemployment, which is the situation for many residents in the ABIs, pose a complex problem, the solution to which can be hard to imagine for citizen and professional alike, even when the citizen is keen to enter the job market. These authors see “co-production as not just a simple extension of activities aimed at the citizen’s employability; rather, it should take form of the co-production of strengthening the citizen’s life-coping strategies, which in some situations can lead to opportunities in the job market” (Caswell & Monrad, 2017, 28, my translation). Furthermore, they note that co-production as part of job-creation efforts for this target group require an in-depth understanding of their everyday lives, problems and coping strategies (Caswell & Monrad, 2017). This characterises precisely the type of social and relational work that takes place in the ABIs. Consequently, an ABI staff member discussing different coping strategies with an unemployed resident in a socially vulnerable position and agreeing that the resident could try to improve her skills and employability through volunteering is not an unlikely situation. The question then remains whether this amounts to an example of transformative co-production in trying to solve a complex problem of long-term unemployment? Still, as Hustinx argued (2010), this would entail instrumentalised volunteering, serving as a means to obtain effects for the volunteer rather than the beneficiary of the activity.

When the phase in which citizens are involved is of significance to their level of influence, it is important to understand which factors influence the phase in which they become involved in co-production. These factors will be taken into account below, starting with a discussion of the different types of expertise that professionals and citizens respectively bring to the task.

Different types of expertise

The thesis has revealed that professionals’ perceptions of the relevance of citizens’ expertise is important in order to understand their willingness or hesitation to include citizens in transformative co-production. The literature suggests that the citizens’ expertise, which is based on experience, should complement the conventional expertise of the professionals in co-production (Loeffler & Bovaird, 2019; Meriluoto, 2018). Nonetheless, many factors might influence whether professionals perceive the experience-based expertise of citizens as a welcome

supplement to their conventional expertise or as crossing the boundary of what they believe to be their professional domain (Ibsen et al., 2018).

For example, Ibsen et al. (2018) find that professionals' perceptions of volunteers' expertise vary according to their particular professional backgrounds. The greatest reluctance to including volunteers is found among health-care professionals, who stress that volunteers should not perform any tasks involving the professional work of the paid staff (Ibsen et al., 2018). Education professionals are more positive and view volunteers as contributing a different kind of professionalism based on their education, work experience, or competences acquired through spare-time activities (Ibsen et al., 2018). Although the study by Ibsen et al. (2018) does not include professionals in the social services or the police as the professionals in this study, it still raises the question of what people in socially vulnerable positions without an education and perhaps little work experience are then able to contribute? Do the professionals view citizens' experiences of marginalisation and social problems in socially disadvantaged neighbourhoods as important assets in enhancing the quality of welfare services, or as factors disabling participation at earlier stages of co-production than co-implementation? While many studies point to the latter (Carey, 2009; Jæger, 2013; Müller, 2018; Müller & Pihl-Thingvad, 2020; Svensson & Bengtsson, 2010), the thesis demonstrates a more varied picture.

Some scholars note that, in situations where an asymmetry in power relations is already established through a professional–client relationship, it is harder for the professionals to look beyond these conventional roles (Fisher et al., 2018; Jos, 2016; Müller, 2018). This is exemplified in Article 1 when the Danish-Somali women in different situations approached the social workers in charge of casework regarding children and young people with a wish to collaborate beyond their individual cases but were rejected. For example, they had suggestions for improvements to a welfare service which many of them received, offering a so-called contact person for socially vulnerable families (Ministry of Social Affairs and the Interior, 2020). The social workers in question were not interviewed, and there may have been a number of reasons for their rejection, yet it was the perception of the women, as well as the other municipal staff with whom they co-produced, that the rejection was due to the women's social position. Still, as noted in Chapter 2, articulating their own needs and preferences can be difficult for vulnerable citizens due to barriers such as a lack of education or language skills.

Undervaluing the experience-based expertise of citizens, however, is problematic, since they have in-depth understandings of their social problems, the contexts in which they live and the challenges they face in encountering 'the system' (Jos, 2016; Svensson & Bengtsson, 2010).

Some professionals are more restricted by legislative procedures, strict performance-based measures, tight budgets, and growing caseloads than others, factors that are likely to influence their openness to citizens' input (Agger & Damgaard, 2018; Agger & Poulsen, 2018; Sehested & Leonardsen, 2011). This, for instance, is the situation for the social workers in Article 1 in being placed within the municipal administration. Moreover, the emphasis on employability objectives in social work seems to underpin the client's role and hamper cultivation of an open attitude towards the citizens' experienced needs (Fallov & Larsen, 2018). This is found in Article 1, when the municipality, including the department of employment and social services, first wanted to engage the Danish-Somali women as co-implementers of their own employability, which simply led to a futile discrepancy between the municipal's goals and those of the women. In Article 2, where the workfare agenda was also prominent within the ABIs, the citizens were also offered the role of co-implementers only.

While the reluctance to involve citizens in transformative co-production can be well founded due to institutional restrictions and growing cross-pressures, these factors might also serve as an excuse for a lack of willingness to tread new paths. In the literature, the staff who succeeded at co-production are characterised by courage, creativity, persistence and a willingness to have their own knowledge challenged (Agger & Damgaard, 2018; Sehested & Leonardsen, 2011). A non-bureaucratic and unconventional approach to citizens and the 'system' alike is another advantage identified (de Graaf et al., 2015; Fledderus, 2015). This approach in particular characterised the municipal staff member who was most involved in the co-production described in Article 1, who also had significant autonomy to plan his own work agenda. Likewise, the police took on an alternative, procedural justice approach to the citizens through the dialogue initiative described in Article 3. Other characteristic features of these professionals were that they invested a significant amount of time in building relationships with the citizens. They held meetings at places known to the citizens in the contexts of their daily lives, such as their association premises. Furthermore, they often worked beyond the usual daytime working hours and were highly engaged in the neighbourhoods and with the citizens they worked with.

What is interesting is that the characteristics of successful co-production staff mentioned above are also applicable to the ABI staff in Article 2, perhaps even being a defining feature of the work done within the ABIs (Agger & Poulsen, 2018). Yet, in this case the organisational framework of the staff came into play in their approach to the citizens, as they were found to be bound to a large degree by the goals of the master plans, which were defined by conventional experts.

Ideally, the professionals' conventional expertise should be merged with that of the citizens', leading to new ways of approaching complex, wicked problems. We see this in Article 3, where the central idea of the dialogue initiative is to elucidate the citizens' experience-based expertise. This, for instance, leads to the concrete arrangement that the Danish-Palestinian associations, with their insider knowledge of cultural and social codes within the community, send a highly respected adult to help the police calm down street disturbances. In the second co-production attempt in Article 1, the Danish-Somali women, with the agreement of the municipal staff, make rounds of the neighbourhood in order to interact with youngsters who are just loitering about. Based on their knowledge, experience, and background, they have a different approach and way of accessing the young people than the municipal staff.

However, merging the two types of expertise also creates a dilemma. On the one hand, the professionals want to take seriously the perspectives of the citizens in co-production. On the other hand, however, expertise by experience is a limited kind of expertise, as the citizens cannot not grasp the full picture (Loeffler & Bovaird, 2019), which can be a challenge to upholding professional standards. This dilemma is demonstrated in Article 3, where the citizens did not always understand the strategic reasons behind police actions and consequently misinterpreted the police's efforts. Conversely, not including the citizen's own perspectives also causes a dilemma or feelings of ambivalence for a number of the ABI staff in Article 2, since they are not able to live up to their own ideals that they should take a bottom-up approach to the inclusion of the citizens.

One way for professionals to overcome the resistance to involving citizens in transformative co-production, Carey (2009) argues, is through self-reflection when planning or entering co-production processes with citizens. This form of professional self-reflection took place in the case described in Article 1 during the evaluation process after the first attempt at co-production, and it paved the way for subsequently including the citizens' expertise. Thereby, the first failed attempt at co-production may actually have been a prerequisite for the evolvement of the second and

successful attempt. Furthermore, it is suggested that the professionals adopt a more fluid perspective on expertise as a competence that is developed through their interaction with the citizens (Fisher et al., 2018).

However, as pointed out in Chapter 2, and as confirmed by the findings of the thesis, transformative co-production is a resource-intensive endeavour which to a large degree depends on the individual competences of the staff, as well as the amount of organisational support and flexibility they are given. Consequently, when frontline staff are given the responsibility for translating the political ambitions of co-production into practice, policy-makers and managers should consider the degree to which they are actually able to do so.

The importance of citizens operating as a collective

One of the significant findings of the thesis is the importance of the citizens operating as a collective, that is, as a formal bonding (or bridging) social capital network in order to engage at higher levels of co-production. This confirms the findings of earlier studies (Barnes, 1999; Fledderus et al., 2014; Schafft & Brown, 2000; Svensson & Bengtsson, 2010). This contributing factor stands out with particular clarity in Article 1, where it has been possible to identify the formation of the Danish-Somali women's association as a primary cause for the subsequent establishment of a sustainable relationship of co-production. In Article 3 as well, the police at the outset of the dialogue initiative sought to establish collaborative relationships with law-abiding ethnic minorities in the neighbourhood, which, the police assumed, were to be found among its associations and formal networks. In Article 2, where the residents were involved as individuals, they were merely involved as co-implementers. In this case, a number of ABI staff found the collective groups in the neighbourhoods to be counterproductive in achieving the goals of the master plans. It seems that when citizens in vulnerable positions are encountered as individuals, as in the first attempt in Article 1 and again in Article 2, the vulnerability of the citizens stands out (or stands in the way) and they become involved in co-implementation only, while the expertise of the professionals takes precedence.

The collective factor serves as an example of the type of mechanism in critical realist terms, which in some contexts and under some circumstances will result in transformative co-production while in other contexts and under other circumstances, for instance, the framework of the master

plans, it will not (cf. the notion of a complex, layered reality described in critical realism, Bhaskar, 2008; Blaikie, 2007).

The findings of the collective element as a positive influence on transformative co-production point to two elements in particular. First, the organisational framework of an association provides citizens with a platform from which they can unite their perspectives and experiences and voice their concerns. As Dominelli points out (2016), exercising agency in this way

renders invisible groups visible, and facilitates their involvement in collective expressions of solidarity. However, participation in such activities requires them to create a common world that goes beyond the politics of survival and formulate alternatives that enhance equality if these arrangements are to transcend the fear that others will try to impose their will upon them (387).

This perspective describes quite precisely the transformational potential experienced by the Danish-Somali women when they became an association. In addition, now being a formalised network, the citizens gain organisational skills that are valuable when co-producing with the public authorities.

Second, when operating as a formalised network, the citizens are perceived by the professionals as legitimate co-production partners. This is institutionalised through state and municipal policies (Ministry of Culture, 2018; Ministry of Social Affairs and the Interior, 2020), and it also helps relieve the professional fear of unrepresentativeness. Due to the formality of associations and the understanding of them as a type of micro-democracy, they are regarded as properly representing a specific group of people. Nonetheless, representativeness through the democracy of an association is not guaranteed. For instance, the chairwoman did not have the authority or mandate within the women's association that the municipality believed she had, since other factors (cultural and social) than her being democratically elected played a role.

Furthermore, is it possible for the ethnic-minority associations that are co-producing with the police to represent the neighbourhood's law-abiding ethnic minorities when ethnic minorities constitute around 65% the area's 10,000 residents? On the one hand, the associations' networks are widespread and they share the same ethnic background with the groups that are experiencing the greatest difficulties with regard to at-risk and criminal youths. On the other hand, there may be loyalties and identifications among and between the different groups that can be difficult for the police to see through. However, it is important to note that the police at the outset of the

dialogue initiative invited a large number of associations and networks to participate, in this way providing them all with an opportunity to be heard.

Taking the discussion of the significance of collectives a step further, Farr (2013) argues that only if service-user organisations with a certain capacity are involved in political decision-making can co-production have an impact in changing societal structures that are repressive for citizens in vulnerable positions. While the different types of co-production described in the thesis will not change repressive structures on the macro-level, which seems to be Farr's concern (2013), it is still relevant to discuss their impact on repressive structures on the micro- and perhaps meso-levels. To this end, Archer's (1998) concept of 'morphogenesis' and the cyclical movement of 'structural conditioning', 'socio-cultural interaction', and 'structural elaboration/reproduction' are helpful.

In Article 1, the clientisation of the Danish-Somali women – that is, the municipal actors' perception of the women as clients of the 'system' – can be understood as a social structure that conditioned the socio-cultural interactions of the women and the municipal actors (cf. Archer, 1998). In the first attempt at co-production, the municipal actors provided minimal room for the participation of the women because they perceived them to be receptive clients rather than proactive participants, and the women accordingly declined to join the project. The socio-cultural interaction that then followed, leading to the second and more successful attempt at co-production, facilitated an elaboration of the social structure. The women were now perceived by their municipal counterparts as responsible contributors to the co-production of public welfare. Nevertheless, as the analysis shows, the new structural conditioning was not fully established, as the perceptions and actions of other municipal employees were still conditioned by a perspective of the women as clients. This emphasises the complex system of mechanisms and structures at play at the deep level of reality.

In Article 2, the written master plans listing the aims of the ABIs and the activities required also work as a structure, conditioning the work of the ABI staff. The analysis also points to the workfare discourse within the area of social work and the political focus on increasing the competitive power of Danish society as societal structures influencing the views and work of the professionals so they apply an instrumental approach to volunteering and co-production. In this situation, the socio-cultural interactions between the professional staff and the citizens led to reproduction rather than elaboration of the conditioning structures, which again accentuates the difference in

impact between operating as a collective and doing so as an individual. The analysis also points out the discouragement of bonding social activities among the residents as a negative and unintended effect of the structures of the ABIs. Still, other factors or mechanisms come into play, for instance, the employees' own values causing them to perceive volunteering essentially as a bottom-up activity.

In Article 3, we can perceive the minority status of the ethnic-minority associations as a social structure, which conditions their interactions with the police. As pointed out in the section on ethnic minorities in Chapter 1, their minority status is accentuated and maintained through media discourses and public, political debates, and in the concrete case through their previous experience of police behaviour. Yet, the processes of accentuation and maintenance also take place internally through the citizens' identification and articulation of being a group that is different from the societal majority. Through the socio-cultural interactions between the actors during the co-commissioning and the police's changed approach towards procedural justice, an elaboration of the structure takes place that leads to a slight change in their negative experiences of being a minority on the margins of society, as well as in the perception of ethnic minorities found in the police.

Accordingly, social change is possible from a critical realist perspective, but it takes time. In investigating the cases in this study, the timespan has not been long enough to enable an analysis of the persistence of the structural changes that have taken place, while with regard to the structures pointed out above, significant structural elaboration remains to be done.

Below, I have added the significance of citizens operating as a collective to Figure 1, which was first presented in Chapter 2. While other factors also influence the level of co-production in which the citizens become involved, this is possibly the most significant influence, since it also has impact upon some of the other factors discussed above (Figure 1.2).

The relation between *when, what, who and how* of co-production involving end-users in vulnerable positions

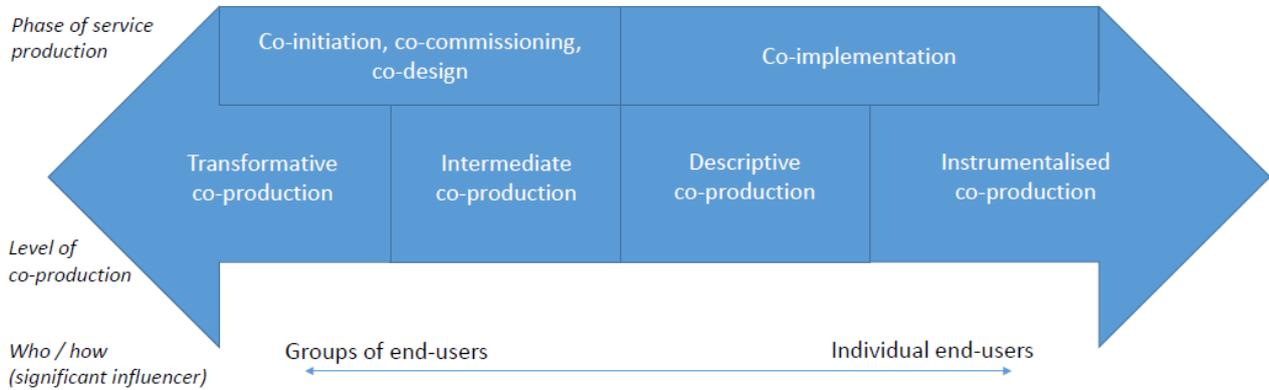


Figure 1.2

Linking social capital

As suggested by Müller and Pihl-Thingvad (2020), marginalised citizen groups may not have the required resources to organise themselves into collectives. The necessary assistance to do so can be provided by linking social capital networks to the public authorities through which the citizens can access resources that are otherwise not in their reach (Agger & Jensen, 2015; Szreter & Woolcock, 2004). This was the situation in Article 1, where the youth school in the neighbourhood ran an office providing association services and capacity-building activities. In Article 3, the police did not see it as their role to provide organisational assistance to the associations they invited to participate in the dialogue initiative, not all of whom may have had the organisational capacity to participate or the interest in doing so. For instance, the community liaison officer referred to one association, which the police had tried to involve in vain, as the 'lazy club'. On the other hand, the dialogue initiative in itself can be perceived as a linking social capital network providing the citizens with a platform on which to express their needs and perspectives, as well as the assistance of the community liaison officer when different events were arranged. In Article 2, some staff members also offered their assistance in building up the capacity of the associations. Yet, there was a tendency for this to take place in a top-down fashion, since the staff either took initiative

themselves to form associations to run the ABI activities, or wanted to direct the established associations in a particular and, according to the staff, more inclusionary direction.

Whether bonding social capital is a prerequisite for bridging social capital or, as in this thesis, linking social capital, is debated among scholars (Agger & Jensen, 2015; Kindler et al., 2015), this thesis provides a varied picture too. In Article 1, the informal bonding social capital network of the Danish-Somali women preceded their access to the linking social capital network with the professionals, which in turn facilitated their formal bonding social capital network. In Article 3, the linking social capital network with the police was conditioned by the formal bonding networks of the ethnic-minority associations themselves. In turn, the linking network led to bridging social capital, since the group of association representatives brought together through the dialogue meetings differed in gender, ethnicity, religion and social status.

In Article 2, it is shown that the perception of what 'the community' entails creates a bias towards bridging over bonding social capital networks among some staff members. This is because they find the bonding social capital networks of the associations to be exclusionary in nature, something which is also referred to as one of the negative aspects of social capital (Patulny & Svendsen, 2007; Portes & Landolt, 1996). While this may be the case, socially disadvantaged neighbourhoods experience negative aspects of social capital networks, which are far more serious, such as at-risk youths, gangs terrorising the neighbourhood, or the formation of extremist groups (cf. Putnam, 2000), problems addressed through the different types of co-production described in the thesis.

Trust

The thesis also points to trust as an important factor spurring co-production. As described in Chapter 4, trust entails risk and interdependence, and it comes in different forms based on the levels of affection and knowledge the involved parties have for one another (Hardin, 2002; Lewicki et al., 2006). Since the respective actors found that the interests of their counterparts could encapsulate their own goals, calculus-based trust was formed between the Danish-Somali women and the municipal actors when they chose to enter the co-production relationship in Article 1. This was also the situation between the police and the different ethnic minority associations in Article

3. The perceptions or knowledge of the other party are important when calculating whether to become involved in co-production. For instance, the social workers in Article 1 had only limited knowledge of the Danish-Somali women, mainly seeing their vulnerability alone. As a result, they did not see how their interest in the effective provision of high-quality social services could be encapsulated by the women's interests, that is, how the women could contribute to achieving this goal. Likewise, the Danish-Somali women did not perceive their goal of ensuring a bright future for their children as being encapsulated by the interest of the professionals in the first attempt at co-production described in Article 1.

The transformation of calculus-based trust into the more affective relational trust is significant in questions of long-term co-production, since this form of trust is more resistant to challenges, as Article 1 shows (cf. Rousseau et al., 1998). This relationship of co-production still exists today and continues to be centred on the same municipal staff member and the Danish-Somali women. Yet when co-production rests on an affective relationship with one professional staff member only, it is also a vulnerable constellation due to possible staff turnover. In the case of the police dialogue initiative, two of the association representatives who were most involved in the co-commissioning were interviewed after Article 3 had been written. The community liaison officer had stopped being part of the dialogue initiative two years previously, and the initiative was supposed to have been incorporated into the day-to-day operations of the police department. However, the association representatives told me that there had been no dialogue meetings since then, and that they were very unhappy with this development. Looking at this in light of the different forms of trust, the police may have felt that they had obtained what they had hoped for from the dialogue initiative. Although relational trust had developed between the association representatives and the community liaison officer, who was the police staff member most involved, this ceased to exist when she changed jobs, and consequently the co-production was terminated. This epilogue to the case also points to the salience of the service as an important factor influencing the citizens' willingness to co-produce (cf. Bovaird et al., 2015; Denters & Klok, 2010), since the association representatives expressed great willingness to continue their collaboration with the police, regardless the disappointment they felt about the termination of the dialogue-initiative.

Implications of the results for policy and practice

The results of the thesis suggest some points of consideration for municipalities and other actors interested in involving service users in co-production, especially concerning service-users in socially vulnerable positions.

First, when inviting citizens to co-produce welfare services, it is important to take into account and be specific about the phase in which the citizens are being invited to participate and how this might impact on the degree of influence they will be able to exert on the co-production process.

Second, if a specific group of service-users in a socially vulnerable position is to be included in co-production, it should be considered whether they need further resources in order to be able to contribute. One example is organisational support to organise collectively, if this is their wish.

Third, room for self-reflection by managers and frontline staff about how preconceived perceptions of the citizens might interfere with a necessary openness toward their possible contribution should be created in order to overcome potential hesitance toward citizens' contribution.

Fourth, awareness should be encouraged of how the public and professional goals of a specific service might be aligned with the interests of the citizens. A complete alignment of goals is unnecessary, but being involved has to be meaningful for the citizens.

Fifth, involving citizens in socially vulnerable positions in transformative co-production is a resource-intensive endeavour, which in financial terms should be considered a long-term investment. Moreover, time, organisational support, flexibility within the job, and suitable personal and professional competences are important for frontline staff if they are to succeed in co-production. Moreover, while the personal relations between frontline workers and citizens that develop with co-production are of great importance for reasons of sustainability, they are also vulnerable to staff turnover. Thus, involving more than one staff member can be important in order to spread the relational capacity.

Finally, co-production is not the solution to all problems: citizens also require and depend upon on the expertise and actions of the public authorities. In addition, some service users lack the resources or the interest to become involved as more than co-implementers of the services they require.

The following and final chapter of the thesis will sum up the findings of the study, succeeded by a section which presents some perspectives on the validity, generalisability and limitations of the study, including suggestions for future research.

Chapter 8. Conclusion

The thesis has investigated co-production between professional staff and citizens in socially disadvantaged neighbourhoods, the latter being the users of the services being co-produced, a topic that is not adequately addressed in the co-production literature.

It has been found useful to distinguish between different forms of co-production depending on, first, the phase in which the citizens become involved, and second, on the level of their engagement in or influence over the coproduction process (cf. Figure 1.2). Based on this distinction, the thesis has sought to answer the overall research question: what factors influence the type and level of public co-production in which citizens in socially disadvantaged areas become involved? This has been done through a qualitative case study presenting three cases of different types of public co-production with citizens in socially disadvantaged neighbourhoods.

The thesis identifies the following factors influencing the degree and type of public co-production in which citizens in socially disadvantaged areas become involved.

First, the level of citizen engagement and influence increases the sooner citizens are involved in the public-service cycle. That is, if the public counterpart takes the perspectives being contributed by the citizens seriously, and they come to influence the subsequent phases up until and including the implementation phase. In that case, the citizens perceive the services as relevant to their welfare and therefore take ownership of their implementation.

Second, the perception the professionals have of their own professional expertise, as well as that of the citizens, influences their degree of openness toward the citizens' perspectives and thus the amount of control over the production of welfare they are willing to surrender. It seems that in situations where a professional–client relationship has already been established, for instance, in relation to a child's case, it is harder for the professionals to look beyond the apparent vulnerability of the citizens who wish to contribute their experiences and perspectives. Other factors also influence their openness towards merging the different forms of expertise, which is arguably an ideal of transformative co-production. These include the level of job autonomy in defining goals and means, as well as the personal characteristics of the staff.

Third, the most significant influence is found to be whether the citizens operate as individuals or as a collective, that is, as a social capital network. This is likely to be most influential since it also has a bearing on the factors mentioned above. When citizens in socially vulnerable positions act individually, it is more likely that they become involved as co-implementers only. When the same citizens unite by, for instance, forming an association, they acquire the collective power to make themselves heard and are perceived as being more resourceful than when acting on their own. Furthermore, they become more legitimate collaborators from a professional perspective due to their higher potential for representation and the regulatory institutionalisation of collaboration with associations.

Nevertheless, not all citizens in socially vulnerable positions will have the ability or the experience to form an association. For this reason, they need access to external resources in terms of capacity-building, knowledge, and contacts, for instance, which can be provided by creating a linking social capital network with the authorities.

Fourth, the necessity of different forms of trust for commencing and maintaining co-production has been demonstrated. When relations do not exist prior to the co-production upon which collaboration can be based, calculus-based trust is necessary. This form of trust is based on an assumption that the interests of the other party can encapsulate one's own goals. Once a relationship of co-production has been formed, it can be sustained by the development of relational trust, which is a more affective form of trust and more resilient to the relational challenges that might arise in the co-production process.

Finally, while the co-production literature lacks examples of citizens and in particular citizens in vulnerable positions being engaged in transformative co-production of public welfare services, this thesis has found that transformative co-production with vulnerable citizen groups is possible, given that the factors mentioned above are taken into consideration by the public authorities.

Validity, generalisability, limitations and future research

In line with good research practice, the choice of the methodology to use in a study should depend on the object under investigation and the specific research questions being asked (Flyvbjerg, 2006; Sayer, 2000). In this thesis, the objective has been to obtain in-depth knowledge of co-production with citizens in socially disadvantaged neighbourhoods, including citizens in socially vulnerable positions. To this end, a qualitative case study was found to be suitable in explaining which factors influence the degree to which these citizens become involved in co-production. The aim has been to investigate the deeper causes of co-production at different levels and its consequences, rather than describing its frequency (Flyvbjerg, 2006), which would have required a different, more quantitative research design. Furthermore, valid data involving informants in socially disadvantaged neighbourhoods, including immigrants, can be very hard to obtain through surveys, as the response rates in such studies tend to be low (Foldgast et al., 2015; Gorinas & Christensen, 2017).

One of the validity criteria which is often suggested concerning research is the replicability of the research process and the results. This, however, is not possible with qualitative studies, nor is it their purpose. In qualitative research, researchers “inevitably inject something of themselves” into the process and consequently into the results. Furthermore, “social situations are never sufficiently similar, across space and time, to make replication possible” (Blaikie, 2010, 217). However, it is exactly the subjectivity of the researcher in qualitative case studies that is often subject to criticism. For instance, it is said that “the method maintains a bias toward verification, understood as a tendency to confirm the researcher’s preconceived notions” (Flyvbjerg, 2006, 234). It is therefore of great importance to be explicit about design choices, data collection, and analytical strategies, as well as being reflexive regarding the impact of one’s position as a researcher (Olsen, 2003). It has been my aim to provide this transparency in Chapter 5, which introduces the methodology of the thesis, including the reflective elements presented there.

Furthermore, Verschuren (2003) suggests that it is exactly the holistic approach of case studies that helps the researcher avoid tunnel vision caused by studying an object at one single point in time, detached from its various contexts. The triangulation of methods in qualitative studies, which is also applied in this thesis, is another way of obtaining validity, as “each method reveals its own aspects and parts of social reality” (Verschuren, 2003, 131; Olsen, 2003).

Case studies and qualitative studies are often criticised for their lack of generalisability and relevance beyond the sites in which they were conducted due to their contextual dependence and small numbers of informants (Blaikie, 2010; Verschuren, 2003). Nevertheless, Flyvbjerg (2006) argues for the potential of case studies to be generalisable in the form of falsification, as in Popper's example that finding one black swan will falsify the proposition that all swans are white. According to Flyvbjerg (2006), "[t]he case study is well suited for identifying "black swans" because of its in-depth approach: What appears to be "white" often turns out on closer examination to be "black"" (228). Relating this to co-production with citizens in socially disadvantaged areas, one would expect the ABIs to be best suited for transformative co-production since working across sectors and including residents in activities are defining characteristics of their work. On the other hand, given the obstacles pointed out in Chapter 2, one would expect this to be more difficult in a municipal bureaucratic setting, and even more so within a highly hierarchical police organisation (Loeffler & Timm-Arnold, 2020). What the cases in this study demonstrate is that what might be expected to be 'white' might actually be 'black' and vice versa. The inclusion of the residents in more transformative forms of co-production seems more difficult for the staff of the ABIs due to the restrictive goals of the master plans under which they work. Conversely, some municipal and police staff appear to have more extensive working conditions that enable them to include citizens on the latter's own terms. Yet, as Article 1 also shows, the ability to co-produce on a transformative level is not a general attribute of the municipal staff as such, meaning that the case cannot be generalised to apply to all municipal frontline staff. However, as pointed out in the same article, the case is generalisable in the sense that since one of the most vulnerable groups in society became involved in transformative co-production, this can also happen to other vulnerable groups in similar contexts, given that they are provided with the necessary means, for instance, assistance to organise themselves into a collective.

The finding in Article 2 that instrumentalised co-production is at the forefront of ABIs cannot be generalised to the around 70 ABIs across Denmark. However, since the data come from six different master plans, and since all ABIs across Denmark have the same goals (issued by Landsbyggefonden and set out in the master plans), one can assume that the same tendency takes place elsewhere, hence the ambivalence experienced by the ABI staff.

The findings of Article 3 are based on research conducted in a single Danish neighbourhood in

which the police made a significant endeavour to engage with ethnic-minority associations. Moreover, the association members and representatives are to a large degree resourceful and highly socially engaged people. Thus, conclusions about ethnic-minority residents' perceptions and willingness to co-produce with the police in general cannot be drawn. Yet, with this case as with the other cases included in thesis, they add to the knowledge base concerning the complex and important topic of the involvement of citizens in socially disadvantaged areas in co-production.

Finally, there are elements of the research process I would now have done differently in order to strengthen the validity of the results. I have appreciated studying all three cases in the thesis very much, and having investigated co-production in socially disadvantaged areas across three such different institutional contexts as the police, the municipality, and ABIs has been a strength in demonstrating how and why co-production in these neighbourhoods can take the various forms it does. However, it has also weakened the holistic perspective of each individual case. If I had the same amount of time, I would have concentrated on two cases only and taken the institutional context of the professional staff and their specific professional backgrounds into further consideration than has been the case for the material presented here. Furthermore, interviewing the social workers referred to in Article 1 would have been highly relevant to testing the assumptions about their reasons for rejecting the perspectives of the Danish-Somali women.

As pointed out in Article 1, the fact that only one of the Danish-Somali women participated in a formal interview can be considered a weakness of that study. On the one hand, based on my experience with the women, I do not think that formal interviews would have provided me with a level of information that could not be obtained through observations and informal conversations. On the other hand, this assumption could have been challenged had I spent a significantly longer time with the women in order to gain enough of their trust to conduct formal interviews, for instance, by participating on a regular basis in one of their activities, such as their homework café for schoolchildren, which was of great importance to them. This would, however, have been extremely time-consuming.

Finally, having found Article 2 to be an example of a 'black swan' has obviously been a surprise to me. Based on a provisional analysis of the interviews and our findings regarding the instrumental use of volunteering, I would have preferred to go back to the field in order to

validate or nuance these findings further through more observational studies, had this been possible.

One of the political hopes of co-production is the enhancement of trust in public institutions, yet empirical research on this view is rare (Fledderus, 2015). The thesis has not investigated if and how the calculus-based and relational trust developed through co-production might lead to institutional trust. Since institutional trust is found to be low among immigrants and people in vulnerable positions (Albrekt Larsen, 2011; Henriksen & Skjøtt-Larsen, 2011; Knudsen & Svendsen, 2011; Rosenmeier & Vittrup, 2011), this would be an interesting perspective to investigate further. If institutional trust can develop through co-production, it could potentially strengthen co-production by not relying on the involvement of one particular staff member, as was the case in Articles 1 and 3.

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Appendices

Appendix 1. Example of interview guides

Interviewguide, fagprofessionel kommunal ansat, samarbejder med den dansk-somaliske kvindeforening

Interview foretaget d. 28/3-2017

Tema	Spørgsmål
Indledning Formål med undersøgelsen og interviewet Anonymisering	Har du nogen spørgsmål vedr. interviewet?
Fag/arbejdsområde/funktion	Hvad er din funktion i SSP? Tidligere var du Fritidskonsulent. Hvordan har dine arbejdsopgaver ændret sig?
Linking social captial Karakteren af samarbejdet / samskabelsen Formålet Hvornår fungerer det godt Hvornår er det udfordrende?	Vil du beskrive hvad det er for et samarbejde du og kommunen i dag har med kvindeforeningen? Hvordan vil du beskrive den udvikling kvindeforeningen har været i gennem? Hvilken betydning har den foreningsunderstøttelse, der er foregået undervejs haft for SSPs samarbejde med kvindeforeningen? Og foreningens mulighed for at løfte opgaverne i forbindelse med samarbejdet? Hvad har det betydet for jeres samarbejde, at kvindeforeningen fik prisen og pengene fra fonden? Hvordan er kommunikationsvejen? Er det altid formanden du/I drøfter tingene med? Du har været skriver på projektbeskrivelsen. Hvordan er det konkret foregået ift. at skrive den sammen med kvindeforeningen? Selvom det er kvindernes børn og unge, der er fokusområdet, hvilken betydning tror du samarbejdet med kommunen har kvinderne selv? Hvordan oplever du, at kvindeforeningen og kommunen har forskellige tilgange til samarbejdet?

	<p>Hvordan lykkes kommunen med på den ene side at understøtte det kvinderne selv vil og på den anden side også at have sin egen dagsorden, man gerne vil igennem med?</p> <p>Hvad kunne du ønske for samarbejdet fremadrettet?</p>
Tillid	<p>Hvordan tror du kvinderne i foreningen opfatter jer som lønnede, kommunale medarbejdere? Hvordan kommer det til udtryk?</p> <p>Kvinderne taler "Sagsbehandlerne", som nogle det er vanskeligt for dem at samarbejde med. Hvad tænker du om det?</p>
Netværk, bonding / bridging	<p>Hvorfor er det netop kvindeforeningen, I har dette samarbejde med? Hvad er det de kan? Kunne det ikke ligeså godt være nogle af de andre (dansk-somaliske) foreninger?</p>
Socialt udsatte boligområder	<p>Hvordan spiller det ind på samarbejdet, at det er beboere i et socialt udsat boligområde?</p>
Aktør /struktur Det organisatoriske setup Ressourcer inkl. tid. Rammer for samarbejdet	<p>Børn- og ungeforvaltningen, herunder Fritidsafdelingen og ungdomsskolen, som du har været en del af har været igennem store omstruktureringer igennem de senere år. Alligevel er det fortsat de samme medarbejdere, der samarbejder med kvindeforeningen. Hvordan kan det lade sig gøre?</p> <p>Hvilken betydning har det om det er social- og arbejdsmarkedsforvaltningen eller børn- og ungeforvaltningen?</p>
Historikken omkring det første projektforsøg med de individuelle dansk-somaliske kvinder	<p>Tilbage i 2012 forsøgte nogle medarbejdere at lave et projekt for kvinder med somalisk baggrund. Var du med dengang? Kan du fortælle mig om det? Hvad var ideen og hvorfor? Hvorfor nedlagde man det?</p> <p>Hvordan vil du beskrive forskellen mellem de to samarbejder eller samarbejdsforsøg?</p>
Afslutning	<p>Jeg har ikke flere spørgsmål, er der noget du har lyst til at tilføje inden vi slutter interviewet?</p> <p>Evt. opsummere centrale pointer.</p>

Interviewguide, medlem af en dansk-palæstinensisk forening, der samarbejder med politiet

Foretaget den 16/8-2017

Tema	Spørgsmål
Indledning Formål med undersøgelsen og interviewet Anonymisering	Har du nogen spørgsmål vedr. interviewet?
Foreningen / netværket	Kan du fortælle kort om jeres forening? Hvad er jeres formål? Hvem er medlemmerne? Hvilke aktiviteter laver I? Hvad er din funktion i foreningen? Hvad er foreningens relation til boligområdet?
Samarbejdet/samskabelsen Karakteren af samarbejdet, formålet. Før og efter dialogindsatsen	I samarbejder med politiet. Hvad går jeres samarbejde ud på? Hvor længe har I samarbejdet? Hvordan kom det i stand? Hvilken betydning har samarbejdet haft for jeres forening/arbejde? Kunne du tænke dig mere samarbejde i fremtiden? På hvilke områder/om hvad? Hvordan var jeres forhold til politiet inden dialogindsatsen kom i gang? Hvilken forskel har den gjort?
Tillid	På nogle af de dialogmøder jeg har været med på rundt i foreningerne har nogle af medlemmerne givet udtryk for, at de ikke har tillid til politiet af forskellige årsager. Kan du genkende det billede fra medlemmerne i din forening? Fra dig selv? Har det ændret sig efter dialogmøderne er kommet i stand og jeres øvrige samarbejde med politiet? Er der et tidspunkt, hvor I har haft lyst til at trække jer fra samarbejdet, eller hvor I har sagt nej til mere samarbejde? Hvorfor? Er I enige i foreningen om hvor meget I skal samarbejde med politiet? Hvad har især haft betydning for det samarbejde I har oparbejdet med politiet? Hvad har fået det til at lykkes?
Netværk, bonding / bridging	Har samarbejdet med politiet været med til at skabe kontakt til de andre foreninger, der fx har været med til at arrangere debatarrangementet om radikaliserings? Eller ville I have den kontakt uanset samarbejdet med politiet? Oplever I at der er nogle i området, der ser skævt til jeres samarbejde med politiet?

Socialt udsat boligområde	Hvad betyder det for jer, at jeres forening ligger i et social udsat boligområde?
Afslutning	Jeg har ikke flere spørgsmål, er der noget du har lyst til at tilføje inden vi slutter interviewet? Evt. opsummere centrale pointer.