

# Changing the welfare mix: going from a corporatist to a liberal non-profit regime

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## Introduction

In 2003 Dutch non-profits have (finally) been hit by a trend that has been lurking under the economic success of the last years: a trend to make the links between government and the non-profit sector less automatic. This is linked to an overall going away from paternalism, as Goodin already described in 1995 “Paternalism is desperately out of fashion.” (Goodin, 1995: 123). In ‘t Veld (2002: 89) analyses that the (Dutch) model of representative democracy needs to be changed. According to him the current crisis mainly is institutional. Zijderveld (2000) agrees with the idea that the problems of Dutch society cannot be solved by government alone anymore. Citizens and businesses must be part of the process. Nevertheless, the Dutch national government and administration claims that the average Dutch citizen still counts on a paternalistic government (De Graaf, 2003). They claim that there is a huge imbalance between rights and duties of citizens leading to unrealistic expectations of what government can and will do. The national policy is aimed at reorganizing the relation between government, third sector and (individual) citizens.

But seen from a cynical perspective there is much official rhetoric on the importance of the civil society but the most (or only) visible effect at this time is a huge cut down in governmental subsidies for (national) non-profit organizations. Just to illustrate the drastic changes, Table 1 shows 254 non-profit (volunteer) organizations that got subsidies from national government within the area of social welfare were cut back in subsidies. For 109 of them this was only 10% of their former subsidy but for 139 it meant that their subsidy would be reduced by 100% in three years. Amongst these 100% organizations were the national headquarters of Scouting the Netherlands, most sporting associations, associations of general practitioners and other professional groups. For some organizations, e.g. the national association of playgrounds (NUSO) the subsidy used to be about 95% of their budget, so the new policy forced them to close shop.

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Seen from the perspective of the third sector, especially the former subsidized organizations, the claim can be made that there is no policy to strengthen the third sector or to facilitate the transition from being heavily subsidized to getting less or nothing. This transition can be placed in the four more or less distinct models of ‘non-profit regimes’ identified by Salamon, Sokolowski, and Anheier (2000); liberal, social-democratic, statist and corporatist. These models are each differentiated by two key dimensions: a particular role of the state (the extent of government social welfare spending), and the scale of the non-profit sector. Given this model it looks like the Dutch non-profit regime is changing from corporatist to liberal, although rather cold turkey.

Salamon, Sokolowski, and Anheier (2000) place these models within a theoretical perspective of ‘social origin’. For the purpose of the paper it is important to understand that social origin means that a certain regime has come to existence over a long period. Also a regime is not only about the relation between government and the non-profit sector but also influences the whole context. So also the relation between the non-profit sector and businesses, private foundations, universities, private donors, members or organizations and other actors is probably different in each regime. Some of the changes that need to happen to make a regime shift are<sup>1</sup>:

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<sup>1</sup> A much more detailed and rigorous research of the differences between the contexts is needed.

- From indirect financing by high taxes and a distributing government to direct financing in which private donations and fees for services become much more important;
- From a collectivist mind set in which the first reaction is to call government to a more individual activism in people take action themselves;
- From business community involvement as a way to back up for a retreating government to business community involvement as a way to help solving societal problems and/or keep government small;
- From a paternalistic, closed approach to citizens to a more accountable, open relation with donors and customers.

This paper is a first try to develop a (conceptual) model to look at the (new) things that actors such as (local) government, universities and businesses can do to create a different context for the non-profit sector<sup>2</sup>. These projects are e.g. the introduction of service learning and community services at high schools, promoting business community involvement, coaching volunteer organizations in their transition into new ways of managing volunteers, promoting volunteering by local government and organizing matching services by internet. The paper describes the (possible) role of local business, local government and volunteer centers (and other support organizations) in helping local non-profit organizations to adapt to the new circumstances.

The first part of the article describes three different areas in which currently action is undertaken to change the context of the non-profit sector. The first area is the volunteering or volunteerism. The second area is the relation between businesses and the community. The third one is the relation between universities and the local community. The second part of the paper places the developments and experiments within these three areas in the framework of a commitment arena. This framework is 'under construction' and the goal of this article mainly is to use, test and further develop this framework.

## **PART 1: Changing the context**

A change in the non-profit regimes as described Salamon, Sokolowski, and Anheier (2000) probably also influences other relations of the non-profit sector with stakeholders. Or, alternatively without changing other relations, a shift from corporatist to liberal is impossible. In this part three areas of activities to change the context of the Dutch non-profit sector are described: promoting volunteering in general, developing corporate community involvement and first steps in (re)creating a direct link between universities and the non-profit sector. It is important to understand and note that for readers coming from countries with a liberal non-profit regime, these contextual changes seem to be very limited but in a corporatist regime instruments such as service learning are not so common. Government plays an intermediating role in many of these relations. This also means that the description of policies and activities is based upon the limited empirical evidence and research that is possible now in the Netherlands. More in depth and specific research in these three areas is needed.

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<sup>2</sup> Within this paper the question on whether a change in regime is 'good' or 'bad' is not dealt with. Also an indebt analysis of different contexts has not been made yet.

# 1 Involving people in the community: instruments of the Dutch government to support and promote volunteerism

In many western countries individual citizens, third sector organizations and governments seem to worry about a decline or even drop in social capital (see e.g. Putnam, 2000), with special attention for the issue of volunteering. Given the regime change in the Netherlands having a healthy and resilient volunteer movement seems to be of major importance. This is maybe the implicit reason why the Dutch government has invested so much on supporting (local) policies for volunteering. This paragraph describes these (Dutch) actions and some other international publications on volunteering policy; the policy of a government to support volunteering in general.

Why are in many countries governments trying to influence and stimulate volunteering and volunteerism? The 2001 International Year of Volunteers has been a major driving force in this (see also Smith, 2001). Many governments have started to collect data on volunteering. Nevertheless, there is only limited information available about the relation between government and volunteering or volunteerism itself<sup>3</sup>. In a paper prepared for presentation for the Dutch policy committee on volunteerism Brudney (2004) summarizes the role of the USA federal government in volunteerism with four 'c's: Create a *climate* to encourage volunteering, Create a *context* to protect volunteers, Create a *culture* of knowledge about volunteering and Create *conditions* to support volunteer involvement financially. In the same paper Brudney summarize the steps or actions that local governments can take to stimulate and sustain volunteerism with four 'p's: **Provide in-kind support** to organizations that want to use volunteers, **Provide technical assistance** to organizations that want to use volunteers, **Provide assistance in "matching" volunteers** with organizations and **provide incentives** for volunteer work.

The first important question is why should governments be involved? The first line of reasoning is that government by default is always involved with volunteering done by and within (nonprofit) organizations because of side effects of other policies. In the Dutch situation the most important side effects are around 1) the regulation of work done by people who get social security in one way or another, 2) the regulation around safe working conditions (including all kind of anti-smoking regulation), 3) the regulation around the fiscal position of reimbursing volunteer expenses, 4) local policies on the use of accommodations, and 5) the combination of paid staff and unpaid staff. This asks for a kind of check on the intended and unintended effects on volunteerism from other policies. A second line of reasoning has to do with practice in local politics. As an alderman of a major Dutch city and member of the national committee phrases it: Many municipalities have volunteer policy because volunteers come to the government with requests. This probably explains the high amount of non written volunteer policies before 2001. A third line of reasoning concentrates on the possible governmental policy goals. Three broad categories can be defined (Meijs, 1997):

- Volunteering as a way to improve the quality of life and (career) possibilities of individual volunteers (*input* = general knowledge and skill for everyone, specific knowledge and skill for everyone, general knowledge and skill for certain groups, specific knowledge and skill for certain groups)

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<sup>3</sup> There also seems to be confusion about the terminology. Should these government policies be called a volunteer, volunteering or volunteerism policy?

- Volunteering as a way to keep services affordable or to improve the quality of these services (*output* = reduction in costs for society, reduction in costs for clients of an organization, reduction in costs for participants of an organization, higher quality of public services)
- Volunteering as a way to develop social capital (*process* = general value of commitment and participation, Signaling-function (by volunteering-initiatives discovering new developments), Emancipating-function (increasing participation of excluded groups in society))

A second question is what can governments do to strengthen volunteering? Smith and Ellis (2003) analyze the governmental involvement in IYV 2001. They find six distinct roles of government in promoting and supporting volunteering: as funder, as policy maker, as example-setter, as publicist, as recognizer and as partner. They perceive also the danger that these governmental support can spill over into governmental control of the volunteering agenda. Or that the governmental support can even harm the nature of volunteering. These risks as perceived by Smith and Ellis must be taken into account in this research too. Can a too much goal oriented approach to governmental support of volunteering damage volunteerism itself? Meijs (1997) states the following seven instrument of a volunteering policy; training, support from paid staff organizations, support with publicity, support with facilities, recognition, changes in functioning of government and changes in financial relations. Van der Pennen (2003, p. 34) finds based upon a survey in about 329 local municipalities that local municipalities want to:

- Show appreciation for what volunteers and their organizations do by prizes, pins and other things
- Match the volunteer demand to supply by 'volunteer job banks'
- Get new groups (young people, minorities) to volunteer
- Retain volunteers
- Create favorable circumstances for volunteers like accommodation, finance and insurance policies
- Arrange for training and other ways of consulting with volunteer organizations
- Create a better network between nonprofit organizations
- Enlarge the network of nonprofit organizations by opening it up to businesses
- Promote volunteering by showing its diversity.

The third question of all this actions from governments make any difference can not be answered at this moment for the Dutch situation (see also Smith 1998).

## **2 Involving business in to community**

A second arena for change is the relation between businesses and the non-profit, third sector. The expectation is that different non-profit regimes are linked to different, what I will call, corporate community involvement (CCI) regimes: the relationships between business and Civil Society. My expectation is that, in a liberal regime, businesses will play a much more active role, in which CCI will also be a method – maybe the most important method – of keeping the government small (see Kolk, 2003). In the corporatist regime, CCI is directed towards picking up the pieces dropped by a receding government. These expectations, and how they play out in other regimes, deserve further investigation. In this paper I concentrate on what is happening now in changing a passive relation into a more active and direct relationship.

Corporate or business Community Involvement is the concrete, usually local, manifestation of socially responsible business. It is an investment in the (local) surroundings, an active contribution to the solution of social issues and challenges in the form of some or all of the “Five M’s”: money, manpower, means, media, and mass (see Meijs and Van der Voort, 2003). Corporate citizenship and business community involvement stand for collaborations – episodic, periodic or structural – between businesses and non-profit organizations.

Money refers to the provision of money through donations or through sponsorships. The sponsorship relation between the Royal Dutch Hockey Association and Rabobank provides an example of business community involvement based on money. Manpower involves contributions of employee time and expertise (also known as “employee volunteer work.”) Volunteer databanks, “social responsibility outings”, alternative team-building experiences, and volunteer awards are only a few examples of tools that businesses can use to stimulate volunteer work among their employees. Means refers to the provision of such tangible assistance as computers, furniture, copying services, or accommodations. For example, a local garage service may offer its facilities as rehearsal space for a local marching band. Media refers to the possibility of using the business partner’s regular communications to disseminate information about the non-profit partner and (the mission) of the collaboration. “Cause-related marketing” is an example of media-based business community involvement, and can take many forms, ranging from placing informative posters in bakery windows to donating a certain percentage of the sales price to a specific non-profit organization. Mass refers to the possibilities resulting from the co-operation of several (local) organizations to attract attention from national media, local government and large foundations.

The end 2003 state of affairs regarding BCI and corporate volunteering in the Netherlands is as follows (Meijs and Van der Voort, 2004):

1. By early 2003, about fifteen largely multinational companies are involved in *Samenleving en Bedrijf*. The majority of these organisations are in banking or consultancy<sup>1</sup>.
2. Willem Lageweg, executive vice president of Rabobank Netherlands, describes the current state of these fifteen best practices in BCI as moving from ‘inspiration’, the idea phase, to getting ‘transpiration’ from the difficulties in further developing BCI.
3. Cause related marketing and visible corporate philanthropy is not common in the Netherlands. The effect is that, especially for companies with a Dutch history, marketing and BCI are not related, which makes corporate volunteering a focus point instead of sponsoring or (classical) philanthropy.
4. Numerous business practices have organised or continue to organise corporate volunteering projects of which a vast majority consist of one-day or one-time projects.
5. About twenty-five local government supported intermediaries offer their brokerage services. They help companies to become inspired and support non-profit organisations in organising one-day corporate employee volunteering projects.
6. In 2002 sixteen municipalities and two provinces received national government money to promote and organise BCI.
7. Some nationally organised non-profit organisations, of which the Dutch Red Cross is the leader, are developing policies regarding their business relationships, monetary donations and in-kind support such as volunteer time and knowledge.

Businesses are slowly moving into the field of pro-active involvement by selecting their own partnerships and themes. Corporate or business community involvement is rapidly becoming a strategic instrument used to influence the business environment.

### **3 Involving universities in the community**

Another sector in which new relations are formed is education. Several experiments with community service at secondary and vocational schools have been started in the last years. Also universities are recognizing that the relations with the society are changing and that maybe in the future private donations, such as from alumni, may become important. So they slowly find out that a university – or, more accurately, an academic community – has an assignment for social involvement just as companies.

Basically universities have two ways of using students, their ‘customers’, to link the university to the community within the educational program: service learning and social internships. In a social internship the practical experience aspect of volunteer work lies at the core. An internship must determine if a student will be able to “survive” and perform up to standards in a real-world setting. Internships are therefore oriented toward future work. Social internships must therefore let students see and feel the contributions they, as citizens, can or will make to society in the future. Social internships must therefore resemble the actual contributions that are likely to be made in the future (e.g., they must not involve twenty hours a week for extended periods of time). Exploratory internships are another matter, involving (extremely) short introductions to particular substantive subject. Service learning involves the participation of high school and college students in relevant volunteer work for non-profit organizations as part of their curricula. The volunteer work is relevant in the sense that it offers the students a chance to put into practice the concepts they have learned inside institutional walls. For example, as part of a senior elective course, a business student could write a marketing plan for a non-profit organization. Another possibility could be for a student of financial management to design and carry out a fund-raising plan as an alternative internship. Alternatively, a student team could, as part of a course in team building and leadership, engage as a team in a “social challenge,” or act as consultants in providing policy advice for a particular problem or challenge within a non-profit organization. There are obviously many ways to apply the knowledge of these people to the good of society, while at the same time serving the interests of the educational institution, the students, and the non-profit organizations. Educational institutions profit from the opportunity to present themselves as socially involved, students profit from relevant practical experiences that are also socially responsible, and non-profit organizations profit from the addition of knowledge and helping hands. By making use of student efforts, non-profit organizations gain access to knowledge that they do not have in-house and that they would not (or could not) purchase. In short, everyone wins.

Next to service learning and social internships by students universities can, just as a business, be community involved with the employees and resources of the organization itself. This can exist of doing volunteer projects like in team building, but also in deliberate activities to participate in the public discourse.

The last point is having and supporting an active student community. From study association to student sports commissions and student councils, many students choose to do volunteer work of their own free will. Volunteer work in the form of board or committee membership

within student associations is especially popular. Building up an impressive résumé is of particular importance to business administration students. Those who have not been active in volunteer work (e.g., with a sports club) can probably forget about finding jobs with such prominent Dutch corporations as Unilever and Heineken. In addition to their role as a nursery for volunteer work, student associations (especially the larger ones) are also active as socially involved members of society. One example is provided by a student social organization, RSG, which recently received yet another encouragement award from the City of Rotterdam for its volunteer activities. Members of RSG provide reading assistance, collect for Unicef and cancer prevention, and organise an annual large-scale dinner for the homeless. RSG maintains a standing committee, The Social Involvement Commission (*Maatschappelijke Betrokkenheids Commissie*), which is responsible for societal matters.

## PART 2: Developing involvement

In this part a model originally developed to analyze the functioning of volunteer centers in the Netherlands will be presented and used to analyze what happens in the three areas described in part 1.

Traditionally, Dutch volunteer centers perform six tasks: brokerage (matching), information and advice, advocacy and lobbying, marketing, training and support and developing new services. Meijs, Berkelaar en Stubbe (2003) replace these six tasks by three functions that place volunteer centers much more in a central position in the local community. These three functions are: Volunteer management capacity, Volunteer services capacity and Volunteer Community Capacity. In 2004 the model is developed further into an involvement arena (Meijs and Steenbergen, 2004).

1. **Governance capacity:** the capacity of a society to create a climate that is favourable for voluntary action and civil society in general by having systems of joint governance with an important role for non-governmental actors; (see for an elaborate discussion of governance Kooiman, 2002).
2. **Community capacity:** the capacity of a community to provide enough voluntary 'energy' (money, time, means) by having special arrangements. Special arrangements can for example be found in corporate volunteering of businesses, service learning within schools, social service years, financial matching schemes or tax credits. These arrangements maybe can also have less freedom for the participants as in court mandated community service.
3. **Management capacity:** the capacity of non-profit organizations to use this voluntary 'energy' effective and efficient, including the capacity to be accountable. In many cases organizations need to change to adapt to be able to make use of the new 'voluntary' community capacity.

To develop governance capacity (on local level) the first step is to create is joint vision with all potential parties and the parties involved. Partners that should be involved are not only relevant experts and involved organizations, but also social responsible corporations and other 'idealistic' investors (foundations) and as well as other non-profit societal organizations. This is not very common yet in The Netherlands, as De Bruin (2004) finds in her research on stimulating corporate social responsibility by local governments. The joint vision forms the basis of (joint) activities that are to be developed. Governance capacity thus emerges from a shared vision by the actors and on this basis integrated action plans or programs are created

Looking at community capacity it seems that the old-fashioned method to finance public activities (by either government or non-profit organizations) through taxes has come under pressure. This means that the sense of community, shared problems and challenges must be increased and must be translated in possibilities to contribute. A first method to do this is to call upon people to take their responsibilities for themselves but also for others in society. A challenging question will be if and how the church can be replaced by work (see Meijs en Kerkhof, 2001) or schools and universities as a normative institute. The second method is to explicitly appreciate and acknowledge the fact that people contribute to society, e.g. by giving study credits, extra financial rewards or tax credits etc. This has become more important. The third method consists of making it possible, or even force people, to contribute. One could

think of hard and soft pressure, e.g. in corporate volunteering programs, service learning arrangements, social internships or court referred community services.

Increasing management capacity is above all about making non-profit organizations more resilient. Dutch non-profit organizations in general have become used to government subsidies. This didn't only make the organizations and their grassroots spoiled concerning independent financing but also concerning reporting their responsibilities to society. In general this means that non-profit organizations should become more independent en self-conscious, while having a clear idea of their mission and vision. This will have consequences for e.g. volunteer management, governance, financing and public accountability. Research (Brudney, 2002) has demonstrated that organizations (in this case volunteer centers) that are small with respect to budgeting and personnel can experience difficulties with being able to pay their director or to keep this person on the long term. This is something to consider for small non-profit organizations.

The three capacities are linked to each other. The link between 'Governance capacity' and 'management capacity' is the development of (new) services society needs. The link between 'management capacity' and 'community capacity' are the (new) partnership that will be needed. The link between 'Governance capacity' and 'community capacity' is the (new) energy that appears when civil society and businesses are involved in the governance process.

The perfect sequence seems to first increase the governance capacity, then to increase the management capacity of organizations that are going to contribute, and then at last to organize the 'voluntary' contributions in society. However, a more practical and probably more realistic order is to begin with increasing the societal contributions, and from there create changes within organizations. The last next step would be to set humble, joint agenda's to get more focus but also to call out to more parties to get involved in this process!

Figure 1 presents the involvement arena.

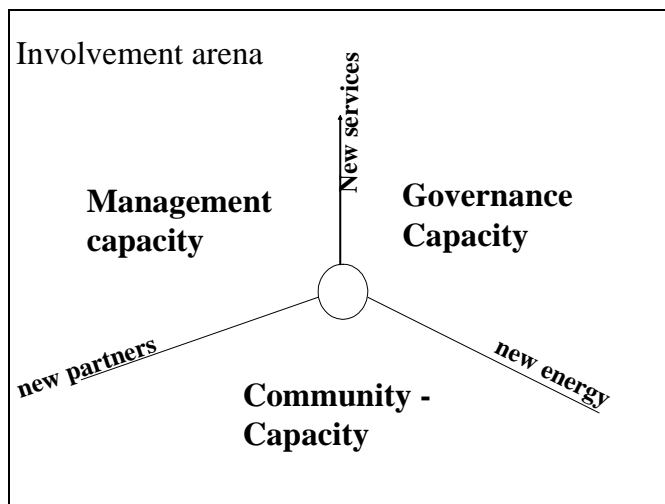


figure 1

This involvement arena can be filled with the different instruments and projects that are used in the three areas as is shown in the three following figures.

A Involving people: volunteering policy

In figure 2 the different instruments that are or can be used by Dutch volunteer centers are placed in the different part of the involvement arena according to their main goal. So the project of ‘helping hands’ in which paid staff stapes in to take over day-to-day administrative and organizing work clearly increases the management capacity. Instruments such as promoting or recognizing volunteers and the results of voluntary action more serve to increase the community capacity to give.

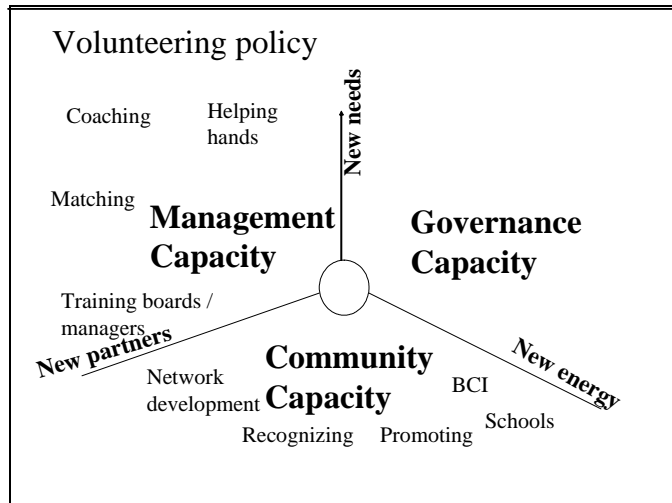


figure 2: the different instruments of volunteering policy

## B Involving businesses: corporate volunteering

In figure 3 different forms of corporate volunteering, which could easily be enlarged to other forms of corporate community involvement, are placed into the same model. Choosing certain partnership(s), projects or theme's to focus the corporate community involvement and strategy is part of the governance capacity of the community. Especially if these decisions are made at remote headquarters, there is a possibility that all the energy provided by the company does not address the needs of the community. Instruments like team projects / challenges or matching hours clearly are more aimed at increasing the capacity to give. Instruments such as pre retirement schemes in which employers can work for a longer time for (certain) non-profit organizations can be seen as ways of improving the management capacity of the receiving nonprofit.

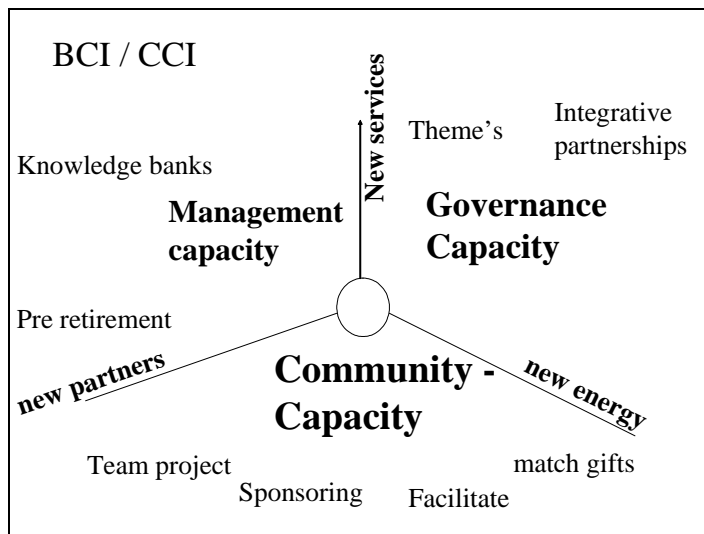


figure 3: the different instruments of corporate volunteering

### C Involving universities

A likewise argumentation can be used to place the different instruments that universities can use in place.

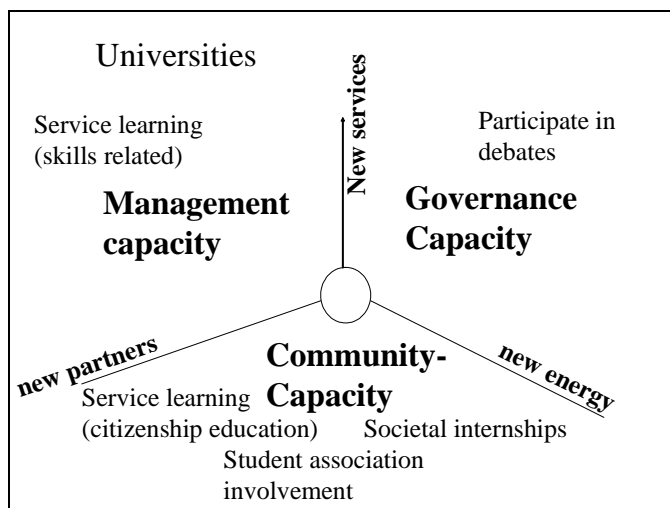


figure 4: different instruments of universities for community involvement

### Conclusion

In many countries, including the Netherlands, the welfare mix seems to be or even is changing. In the Netherlands this can be described as a move into a more liberal model. The new set of relations between government and the non profit sector also means a new set of relations between the non profit sector and other organizations too! This means that more actors and organizations must look at their role to create and recreate commitment with the common cause.

To enable this a conceptual model 'the involvement arena' is developed. The experiment with 'filling' the involvement arena shows that different actors can use this model to describe what

they are doing. On the other hand the different capacities (management, community and governance) are neither very clear yet nor really exclusive on the level of instruments. Clearly much more research is needed in this area.

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TABLE 1

In 2003 the ministry of Health, Care and Sports proposed to cut down the subsidies of 254 organisations. 109 were cut down by 10%, 6 by 30% and 139 by 100%. The 100% cuts will be effectuated in three years. The table is based upon the proposes cut downs, some small amendments have been made by parliament.

<b>Organisations with 100% cuts in national subsidies more than 500.000 EURO</b>	<b>in Euro<sup>4</sup></b>	<b>category</b>	<b>Sector</b>
St. Geneesmiddelenbulletin	500.680	service delivery	care
LBL expertisecentrum leeftijd en maatschappij	503.711	service delivery	society
Samen op Weg Jeugdwerk	512.206	service delivery	youth
Schorerstichting	529.656	service delivery	care
CNV Jongerenorganisatie	584.926	service mutual	youth
Koninklijke Nederlandse Zwembond	595.618	support service	sport
FORUM, instituut voor multiculturele ontwikkeling	606.758	delivery mutual	society
Koninklijke Nederlandse Lawn Tennis Bond	636.407	support service	sport
Landelijke Vereniging NUSO (landelijke organisatie voor speeltuinwerk en jeugdrecreatie)	763.069	delivery mutual	youth
Koninklijke Nederlandse Gymnastiek Unie	791.217	support mutual	sport
Sjakuus	977.036	campaigning mutual	society
Landelijk Bureau Scouting Nederland	1.056.675	support service	youth
Nederlands Paramedisch Instituut (NPI)	1.169.450	delivery mutual	care
Stichting Joods maatschappelijk werk	1.206.831	support mutual	society
Instituut voor Publiek en Politiek	1.225.985	support mutual	society
Nederlands Huisartsen Genootschap	1.576.550	support mutual	care
VluchtelingenWerk Nederland	1.688.754	campaigning mutual	society
Koninklijke Nederlandse Organisatie Van Verloskundigen (KNOV)	2.663.326	support mutual	care
Orde van Medisch Specialisten (OMS)	3.400.000	support mutual	care
Koninklijk Nederlands Genootschap voor Fysiotherapie (KNGF)	4.378.051	support	care

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<sup>i</sup> Members are, amongst others, Mazars, Shell, Fortis, Rabobank, KPMG and ABN AMRO. They organise and execute national programmes on sports, coaching and corporate volunteering. Furthermore, they are very active in enabling and supporting local mediating structures.

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<sup>4</sup> It was not possible yet to make a column for the % of annual budget of the organizations.