



LUND
UNIVERSITY

Decentralized collaboration in a complex environment

*An organizational ethnographic study of the collaboration process in
Lomma Municipality*

Oscar Björkenfeldt

Lund University
Sociology of Law Department

Master Thesis (SOLM02)
Spring 2018



Supervisor: Måns Svensson

Examiner: Reza Banakar

Abstract

The relationship between employer and employee at the Swedish labor market is statutory in the Codetermination Act (1976:560), which declares that negotiations are to be concluded between the employers and affected trade unions before significant organizational changes are made. However, many organizations alternatively choose to terminate local collaboration agreements intended at increasing participation and influence. By looking specifically at the collaboration agreement in the administration of education, food, culture, and leisure (ECL) in Lomma Municipality – this thesis aims to study the collaboration process with the focus on how law and legitimacy operates, analyzing how negotiations between employers and unions shape the struggle for each party to preserve and promote their interests. This will be done by an organizational ethnographic approach with observations and interviews as the primary data collection tools and by integration the empirical data in an analysis based on the conceptual, theoretical framework of new institutional theory and Walter Powell's socio-legal take on organizational life. Accordingly, this thesis concludes that the collaboration process is not coherent regarding proper knowledge of implementation, following presupposed purposes and goals. Hence, different collaboration groups interpret the collaboration agreement by their cultural and normative environments, thus, not according to intended effects of collaboration. Further, the mistrust between actors at administrative level contributes to prejudice regarding the negotiating party's intentions, enhancing the idea of predetermined decisions with political influence – inhibiting the impression of collaboration toward collective decision making. To summarize, the results show that collaboration agreement in an organizational setting such as the ECL administrations is too complicated to strictly rely on the legal authority of law in books. Hence, law in action must be considerate, thereby providing a fundamental condition to understand practice and furthermore open up new ways of rethinking the process at large.

Keywords: Municipal collaboration, Inter-organizational collaboration, Trade Unions, The Codetermination Act, New institutional theory, Organizational Ethnography, Collaboration agreement

Table of content

ABSTRACT	II
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	V
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	VI
1. INTRODUCTION	1
1.1. DEFINING THE PROBLEM	2
1.2. PURPOSE AND RESEARCH QUESTION	3
1.3. LAW AND LEGITIMACY	4
1.4. SOCIAL FIELDS	5
1.5. DISPOSITION	5
2. LITERATURE REVIEW	7
2.1. THE CONCEPT OF COLLABORATION	7
2.2. INTERNATIONAL AND NATIONAL RESEARCH	8
2.3. POWER AND COLLABORATION	10
2.4. CONCLUDING REMARKS	11
3. THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK	13
3.1. THE CODETERMINATION ACT	13
3.2. AGREEMENT ON COLLABORATION AND WORKING ENVIRONMENT	14
3.3. PREREQUISITES FOR WELL-FUNCTIONING COLLABORATION, WORK ENVIRONMENT, AND HEALTH WORK	15
3.4. COLLABORATION AGREEMENT IN LOMMA MUNICIPALITY	15
4. THE CONTEXT OF THE FIELD	17
4.1. LOMMA MUNICIPALITY	17
4.2. THE ADMINISTRATION OF EDUCATION, FOOD, CULTURE, AND LEISURE	18
5. METHODICAL REFLECTIONS	20
5.1. ORGANISATIONAL ETHNOGRAPHY	20
5.2. SOCIOLOGICAL IMAGINATION IN UNDERSTAND THE SOCIAL IN ORGANIZING	21
5.3. GAINING ACCESS TO THE FIELD	22
5.4. OBSERVING AS PART OF AN INSTITUTION	22
5.5. TO COMBINE INDUCTIVE AND DEDUCTIVE APPROACHES	26
5.6. REFLEXIVE CONSIDERATIONS	27
5.7. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS	29
5.8. SUMMATION	30
6. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	31
6.1. THE ROLE OF THEORY IN ETHNOGRAPHY	31
6.2. THEORY BUILDING IN ETHNOGRAPHY	32
6.3. NEW INSTITUTIONAL ORGANIZATIONAL THEORY	33
6.4. CONNECTIONS BETWEEN LAW AND ORGANIZATIONS	35
7. EMPIRICAL DATA IN A THEORETICAL CONTEXT	37
7.1. FAMILIARITY AND PROFESSIONAL RESPECT	37

7.2. WE ARE NOT OPPONENTS	39
7.3. ADAPTING VAGUE FORMULATION TO LOCAL CONDITIONS	42
7.4. FRAGMENTATIONS BETWEEN PROFESSIONAL LOGICS	45
7.5. THE STRUGGLE FOR INTERPRETATION OF SPACE	48
7.6. COLLABORATION IN A COMPLEX ENVIRONMENT	51
7.7. A SOCIO-LEGAL APPROACH ON THE COLLABORATION PROCESS	53
8. CONCLUSION	55
<hr/>	
9. REFERENCES	60
<hr/>	
APPENDIX	66
<hr/>	
INTERVIEW GUIDE - OPERATIONAL MANAGERS, ADMINISTRATIVE MANAGER, UNION REPRESENTATIVES AND OTHER EMPLOYERS (ORIGINAL VERSION)	66
ENGLISH VERSION – FOR READERS	67
INTERVIEW GUIDE – LOCAL GOVERNMENT HEAD (ORIGINAL VERSION)	69
ENGLISH VERSION – FOR READERS	70
INTERVIEW GUIDE – HUMAN RESOURCES MANAGER (ORIGINAL VERSION)	70
ENGLISH VERSION – FOR READERS	72
THE COLLABORATION AGREEMENT IN LOMMA MUNICIPALITY	73

Acknowledgments

Aside from thanking my interlocutors for sharing their thoughts with me, I would also like to acknowledge my supervisor Måns Svensson for great encouragements and enlightening comments, and Staffan Friberg for showing great enthusiasm in my work and the many interesting and pleasant conversations. Without your support, this thesis would never have been completed.

List of Abbreviations

AML = The Work Environment Act (1977:1160) (AML: Swedish abbreviation)

CA = Collaboration Agreement in Lomma Municipality

CP = Collaboration Process in Lomma Municipality

ECL = Administration of education, food, culture and leisure

MBL = The Codetermination Act (1976:580) (MBL: Swedish abbreviation)

SALAR = Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions (Swedish abbreviation: SKL)

1. Introduction

The Swedish labor law system consists of standard features with corresponding systems in the Nordic countries but differs significantly in international comparisons (Swedish National Mediation Office, 2018). In this regard, The Swedish Model, with the objective to increase prosperity to the benefit of all, while safeguarding the autonomy and independence of citizens, is often highlighted as the foundation in the Swedish welfare system. (The Swedish Government, 2017). The Swedish model can be said to consist of three fundamental pillars: a labor market that facilitates adjustment to change, universal welfare policy and an economic policy that promotes openness and stability (ibid). Essential in the Swedish labor market is to strive to compromise an active labor market policy, an active unemployment scheme and support for adjustment when structural changes make it necessary for workers to adapt to new tasks. To ensure that objectives are achieved some prerequisites must be in place. In general, a high level of trust for the overall model to establish legitimacy and in particular high employment, stable and equal social partners. Furthermore, social partners are responsible for coordinating wage formulations and facilitating adjustment to change in the labor market (ibid). Hence, the main difference to non-Nordic counties that do not have the same tradition of strongly positioned labor market organizations (Swedish National Mediation Office, 2018).

Also, conditions at the labor market are to a great extent regulated by collective agreements negotiated and constructed directly between social partners (Swedish National Mediation Office, 2018). Thereby reducing the need for labor laws, here it is vital to provide adequate and wage formulations, either highly centralized or highly decentralized (ibid). Accordingly, the Swedish public sector has a long history of collaboration between employers and employees (The Swedish Agency for Public Management, 2016). Frequently motivated utilizing streamlining activities, increasing skills, improving service provision and handling requirements for specialist knowledge (ibid). Another fundamental feature is a healthy working environment which presupposes a well-functioning organization based on employee involvement and participation (SALAR, 2017).

As such, the relationship between employer and employee is statutory in the Codetermination Act (1976:560) (MBL), stating the right for trade unions to negotiations significant business changes with the employer. However, many organizations choose to terminate local

collaboration agreements aimed at increasing participation and influence. Replacing more traditional negotiations according to The Codetermination Act (MBL) and The Work Environment Act (AML). With the aim to achieve operation adapted collaboration that, to a greater extent, enable employees and local parties' involvement and influence, a forum which strives to contribute to more informal and open dialogue (SALAR, 2017).

1.1. Defining the problem

Opinions regarding decentralization of collaboration through local collaboration agreements are generally positive with few contradictions (e.g., Danermark & Kullberg, 1999; Mattisson, 2013). However, the overview of research in the literature review suggest shortcomings regarding normative aspects of collaboration. In line with one of the core focuses of sociology of law; the "concept of norms" - which advance that laws are constructed and reconstructed, invented and reinvented when they come into contact with competing informal norms and unwritten sets of rules (e.g., Mathiesen, 2005; Hydén & Svensson, 2008; Baier, 2013), the collaboration agreement is an exciting topic to investigate further. As the objective is to locally situate negotiations by bringing actors closer, achieving operational collaboration that enhances employee's involvement and influence. Furthermore, collaborative processes entail an aspect of tension between employers, characterized by an idea of effectiveness, and employees and trade unions, characterized by working life aspects and strategies and requirements of local organizations. In this regard, the collaborative context causes different institutional logics to meet. Thereupon, the different argumentations and decision-making models of involved actors are central elements in these various contradictory institutional logics that compete for interpretation space (Johansson, 2009).

Accordingly, the legal framework and guidelines constituted in collaboration agreements provide a context were a variety of businesses within an organization interpret the agreement based on their view and knowledge of its implementation. Providing a somewhat complicated situation where a variety of legal arenas and legislation meet and collide (ibid). Thereby, it is essential that forms and levels of collaboration follow and are adapted continuously according to the organization's and parties' decision-making levels (SALAR, 2017). Well-functioning collaboration and thriving work environment and occupational health require clarity about goals and roles, communication, forms of working environment (ibid). Additionally, the decentralization of negotiations between employers and employees provides a great

responsibility and challenges regarding knowledge of how to adapt negotiations to local situated businesses and simultaneously maintain a coherent process in which all levels of collaboration interact (Confederation of Swedish Enterprise, 2017).

The collaboration agreement is given meaning in the negotiations between actors with separate institutional logics at multiple levels within an organization, providing an opportunity to analyze the way different logics creates conditions of tensions and conflict of law (Powell, 1996), and shape negotiation- and collaboration practice. Thereof, I am interested in gaining a profound and theoretically based understanding of how tension, dilemmas, and interpretation affect the collaboration process situated in the legal framework of the collaboration agreement. I am also keen on gaining a more in-depth and theoretically based understanding of how actors influence and are influenced by each other and potential consequences thereof. Thus, the point of departure will be to study how law and legitimacy operate across negotiations between employers and unions, shaping how they struggle against each other to preserve and promote their interests. By approaching the subject in this manner, the legal is examined concerning meaningful and collective interpretation processes, supported by cognitive and normative institutional elements to a greater extent than elements of compelling nature (ibid). Thereby, investigating patterns and structures behind the laws that shape the collaborative process. Correspondingly, a fundamental approach within research in sociology of Law as focus lies on “law in action” (how people relate to, or follow, law in books) rather than “law in books” (the content of the written law and judgements of the judiciary and other agencies that administer justice) (Hertogh, 2009).

1.2. Purpose and research question

This thesis aims to study the collaboration process¹ at the administration of education, food, culture and leisure (ECL) in Lomma municipality. With the focus on how law and legitimacy operate in the collaborative context of the ECL administration, analyzing how negotiations between employers and unions shape the struggle for each party to preserve and promote their interests. Based on the general aim, I will assume the following research question:

¹ Henceforth; I will use the abbreviation CP for the collaboration process in Lomma Municipality to not confuse the reader with the broader concept of collaboration and collaboration processes in general.

How do law and legitimacy operate across negotiations between employers and unions, shaping how they struggle against each other to preserve and promote the interests of their separate social fields?

To answer the research question, I will use an organizational ethnographic approach with observations and interviews as the primary data collection tools. Furthermore, the empirical data will be analyzed based on theoretical concepts of new institutional theory and Walter Powell's (1996) socio-legal take on organizational life, as well as themes identified in previous research. In line with my ethnographic approach, I will study legitimacy as a perception or assumption in that it represents the participants inside the CP as they see it; hence, legitimacy is possessed objectively, yet created subjectively (Suchman, 1995). As such emphasizing normative concepts of legitimacy and evoking how actors within the CP relate to the legal frameworks of the agreement (Hertogh, 2009). Thereby, underscore construction and reconstruction of the process with competing norms and unwritten sets of rules (e.g., Mathiesen, 2005; Hydén & Svensson, 2008; Baier, 2013).

1.3. Law and legitimacy

The concept of legitimacy has been subject to intensive debates in sociology of law, as such it is of importance to clarify and operationalize legitimacy in the context of this study. Considering Weber, legitimacy is connected to the rational or rational-legal authority as a critical characteristic of modern forms of political authority (Hunt, 2013:25). Weber argued that rational authority relies mainly on the capacity of rational law to generate its legitimation, that obedience to law in and of itself provides the grounds for citizen compliance (Hunt, 2013:26). The primary functional attribute which Weber saw as inhering in rational law was that it facilitated predictability. Implementing that citizens have chosen a system of the rule of law to be implemented, and such a decision is binding on all under their shared status as citizens (ibid).

In differ, Habermas concept of law refers at the most general level to an institutionalization of norms (Delflem, 2013:81). Thus, an intimate connection between law and morality, whereby maintaining that law, even in highly rationalized societies, retains a specific normative dimension. In other words, Habermas argues that the modern rationalization of law in purposive-rational terms, implies only a displacement, but not an elimination, of the moral questions (ibid). Modern law is characterized by conditions of both legality and legitimacy, and the latter is not exhausted by the former (ibid). Accordingly, it is not because something is legal

that it is accepted as such. Given law's dual characteristics of legitimacy and legality, Habermas posits that law, on the one hand, must rely on the coercive force of the state to be adequately administered but must, on the other hand, also be grounded in intersubjective recognizes claims of rights (Delflem, 2013:85). At the level of adjudication where legal statues are applied and interpreted, legal norms are appropriately measured concerning their suitability to specific cases or constitutional principles without the legitimacy of legal norms themselves being an issue (ibid). Therefore, democratic law is needed to guarantee that norms can coordinate social action and secure integration in view of the preservation of a diversity of values in a plurality of lifeworlds².

Correspondingly, this thesis strives at following the definition of Habermas, as law and legitimacy are characterized in socialization patterns applied to employers and unions in separate fields, which naturally applies well to Habermas explanation of legitimacy as it emphasizes normative and social elements.

1.4. Social fields

In this thesis, I refer to social fields as various kinds of norms, cultures, and resources shared by groups that participate in related activities, i.e., organizations that inhabit the same institutional field (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). The rules and resources associated with fields provide the context in which collaboration involves the range of institutional fields in which participants are located (Lawrence & Hardy, 2000:28-30).

1.5. Disposition

This thesis is divided into eight chapters. The first chapter introduces the field of collaboration within Swedish public sector, followed by a section which defines the research problem from a sociology of law perspective, and the aim and research question of the study. The second chapter outlines the literature review that sets the framework of previous research and recognizes potential research gaps. Additionally, the literature review aims to supply the reader with background information. Chapter three will address the laws and regulations that govern

² Lifeworld is defined by Habermas as referring to the whole of cultural values, social norms and socialization patterns that often remain unquestioned among actors and that, in fact, enable interactions to take place (Deflem, 2013:80).

the CP, describe prerequisites for a well-functioning collaboration, work environment, and health work, and the collaboration agreement in Lomma municipality. After that, I will briefly describe Lomma municipality and the ECL administration to provide the reader with a context of the surrounding features of the municipality and the structure of the administration. Chapter five addresses the methodological approach. Moreover, this section will touch upon the fundamental features of organizational ethnography and sociological imagination in understanding the social in organizing. Here, I will also use the space to describe how I gain access to the research field, how I approach observations and interviewing as a part of an institution, evaluate upon an iterative-inductive approach within my research, reflexive- and ethical consideration. Chapter six I will explain the role of theory in ethnographical studies, how I have related to this in my work and the theoretical framework of new institutional theory and Walter Powell's socio-legal approach on organizations. In chapter seven I will tie together the empirical material with theoretical standpoints. Here I intend to describe the main findings embedded in fundamental concepts of new institutional theory with a continues awareness of its connections to a socio-legal approach. To conclude, in chapter eight, I present an overview of the analytical section and what line of argument the thesis has been able to produce.

2. Literature review

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the research field by recognizing central concepts and ideas, to identify potential research gaps and to provide a context in an existing body of knowledge. Also, the literature review aims to supply the reader with background information.

2.1. The concept of collaboration

In recent decades, collaboration has been a critical element and essential theme in municipalities and county councils, both at national, regional and municipal level (Mattisson, 2013). In line with improvement efforts in the welfare production structure, rationalization and restructuring have been a central focus point. In general, collaboration is considered as a way of developing and streamlining, but the context has varied over time (ibid). During the 1990s, it was often presented as an alternative to competition and privatization (Mattisson, 2000). However, during the last decade, focus has shifted on more explicitly dealing with issues based on today's social challenges (Mattisson, 2013).

In principle, collaboration provides two types of benefits, economies of scale and complementary benefits (Anell & Mattisson, 2009). Usually, organizational collaboration is the basis for collaboration within municipalities and county councils. Employers try to create economies of scale by making common cause by mutual benefits, for example, interactions between central professions to coordinating efforts in response to individual needs. The aim is that involved actors shall complement each other to achieve an exchange that results in services with the highest quality possible (Mattisson, 2013). Thus, different professions offer new and shared service together, different parties agree on how to act together (ibid). Collaboration between different professions and organizations can also be considered a prerequisite for creating a holistic perspective (Hjortsjö 2005:9) providing the best long-term prospects (Axelrod, 1987).

For municipalities and county councils there are three primary forms of cooperation: loose cooperation without legal regulation, municipal law cooperation (e.g., municipal councils, joint councils) and private law cooperation (e.g., agreements and limited companies) (Mattisson, 2013). In inter-municipal cooperation, it is most common to use standardized legal forms of collaboration, since shared financing is the basis for this form. Thereby, the legal forms have a

particular connection with the purpose of the collaboration. Nonetheless, in many cases legal forms are combined with loose regulations, sometimes in combination with utilization of local federations, joint and/or limited companies (ibid).

Efficiency is often mentioned as a critical motive for locally situated collaboration, aspirations to create development and renewal are also a common cause. However, since the turn of the century, competence supply has also been mentioned explicitly as a central motive (Anell & Mattisson, 2009). Another vital aspect is to entail legitimacy, since legitimacy and identity often are determined by other organizations and actors in its environment. In other words, the organization is not judged solely from what it does and produces, but also by their associating organizations. Which could cause collaboration to occur for the simple reason to improve the organization's reputation or image (Oliver, 1990).

2.2. International and national research

According to both Swedish and international researchers, the public discourse consists of agreeing to assumptions that collaboration is favorable (Danermark & Kullberg, 1999; Horwath & Morrison, 2007; Hudson, Hardy, Henwood, & Wistow, 1999; Huxam & Vangen, 2006; Lundgren & Persson, 2003). For example, Huxham & Vangen (2006) argues that collaboration is a way to solve complex problems with a complex solution. They also point out that research to a small extent has highlighted what is needed for the collaboration to work (ibid). Accordingly, Horwath and Morrison (2007) have studied the research that described the difficulties of the topic in the United States. Their result entails many arguments on how unclear mandates from the parent organization, rigid organizational structures, ideological conflicts between professions, poor budget control, communication problems, little understanding of role and responsibilities, and distrust between professions created difficulties or prevented the intended interaction (ibid).

A mutual standpoint is the assumption that shared goals are a prerequisite for collaboration. However, Huxham & Vangnes (2003) argue that although jointly stated goals, there are often hidden agendas from the organization or from the individuals who participated in collaboration. That can be compared with Boklund's (1995) study of collaboration in the social services, which shows that there were different views on the collaboration's purpose. To achieve an overall view of the collaboration process, Boklund (1995) argues that the different actors must

understand and take into account each other logics. Thus, by no means, a given presumption as different organizational cultures and professional languages can make it difficult in collaborative situations. Seeing that the actual meaning of the conversation could be misunderstood (ibid). In line with the above mentioned, it is somewhat evident that a successful collaboration takes time to build up (Hudson, 1999). According to Huxham and Vangen (2003), it takes approximately at least two years to develop a working partnership. Besides, the cooperating organizations must be prepared to invest appropriately with resources and give full support to the collaboration process (ibid).

Organizations that are unfamiliar with each other and different, often have problems interacting. A common cause of synergy problems is that organizations have insufficient confidence in each other (Kapucu & Persson, 2006; Uhr 2009; Ödlund, 2010). As mentioned, this is especially problematic when organizations represent different functional areas, with different mandates, cultures and in-depth professions. Meaning that organizations operate according to different logics, the problems that this may bring are particularly apparent in cross-sectoral collaboration between, for example, public and private organizations (Ödlund 2010).

In the light of cross-sectoral cooperation, Johansson (2011) Ph.D. dissertation focuses on inter-organizational collaboration process when social services, healthcare, police, and procedures collaborated during investigations of suspected crimes against children (Barnahus). The study is based on state investigations, carried out at eight operations. Johansson's (ibid) result shows that the vast complicity in combination with ambiguous guidelines caused uncertainty regarding practitioners, ideas, and consequences of practitioners - contributing to a hierarchical power struggle between professions, challenging to grasp. It also appears that consensus strongly influences collaboration, causing actors to abandon their professional logic and instead adapt to other professionals' visions, without awareness that power relations and responsibilities change when a certain logic gets the preference of interpretation (ibid). Hence, if individual logic is ignoring co-operation, it can counteract the overall perspective. Johansson's (2011) analysis presents tensions of conditions and dilemmas that arose in collaboration, between punishment- and treatment logics, and between child protection and family support. The author further argues that criminal law logic won a preliminary ruling at the expense of treatment logic. In this way, the collaborative processes resulted in a turnaround in which police and prosecutors' efforts were prioritized before efforts of social services (ibid).

Furthermore, Friberg (2010) argues that the different actor's roles and the genuine opportunity to collaborate are significant in collaboration processes. As such, it is difficult to achieve a satisfying collaboration without a general will from all of the parties. Will and interest are, according to Friberg (2011), connected to individual norms and in which way those norms operate following a commonly shared ethos, i.e., a jointly created norm or basic idea, amongst the actors. In Friberg's study, that emphasize underlying norm development in the internal collaboration between management, employees, and users at municipally level, with the focus on preschool activities. A dominating norm that influenced the collaboration was "the best for the child." Through this norm, the work is directed towards the public ethos of the actors, the common good. The content of the commonly created norm is then crucial for how the actors shape meetings, roles and build commitment. If the differences become too large between the actors' norms and the norm created in collaboration (ethos), cooperation can be determined by other means of influence (Friberg, 2011). Hence, Friberg claims, that local interaction between users and the public sector contributes to a level of equilibrium that forms a collective ethos and an overall picture of how the organization is to be managed and developed (Friberg, 2011 p. 242-243).

2.3. Power and collaboration

When discussing collaboration, it is difficult not to grasp the power relations between involved parties. In this context, power and resources are intimately associated, one could argue that whoever has more resources also have more power. Accordingly, relevant to my study since the question of resources go from the highest level of management to operation managers and then employees. Although collaborative agreements strive to create a local platform in which all parties meet on similar terms, the power-related relationship connected to resources is difficult to overlook. Pfeffer and Salancik (1978) argue that the effective organization adapt their demands of other organizations in its environment to ensure its survival. This approach allows the concept of power not only to be considered one-directional, but an organization can also exert power over another and that the other organization adapts. Hence, the other organization chooses to adapt to requirements to ensure a resource flow (ibid). Latour (1998) has a different view of power and claims that "It does not matter how much power you seem to collect, it is always necessary to get it from others who act for the conduction ..." (1998:54). In other words, as long as you depend on someone, you give them power. In the context of my

study, this would mean that the farther away the actor is from the highest management, the more they perceive to be dependent on overall resources and legitimacy.

A common assumption regarding power relations is opposition and conflict, yet Ahrne and Roman (1997) highlight power relations from a different perspective. They argue that although relationships can appear as well functioned they are usually understood regarding differences based on access to resources and power (1997, p 12). Ahrne and Roman (ibid) further argue that people subordinates and adapt to a perception of what they believe the other party wants. That subordinating is the best option, as the actor with less power influence is in a dependent state. In many cases based on an overestimating of the other's power resources (ibid). A similar approach is described by Korpi (1985) who claim that power resources not necessarily need to be taken into use, the mere "sight" or the knowledge of its existing can make the other partner subordinate. The concept of power also contains a normative element, that is, a form of social created authority. Furthermore, power may be latent and manifest. All power is not visible, for example, the power contained in social orders. For instance, Papakostas (1997) claims that that established ways of organizing activities and interpreting reality can preclude new thinking and organization, thus, power also includes issues that are not discussed or questions that are not decided. Papakostas (ibid) further argues in a critical matter regarding the investigative system and investigators' issues that they: "are already governed by established organizational traditions and thus support the consolidation of these" (Papakostas, 1997:9). It can, therefore, be difficult for actors to influence a municipality in an alternative way of interpreting reality, especially if the municipality has a long tradition in the area (ibid).

2.4. Concluding remarks

To summarize, there is a significant amount of research on collaboration within and between organizations at large. There is also a notable degree of research that points out potential problems in collaboration and general conditions for a successful implementation. Knowledge present concerning objectives and ambitions, how a good partnership and collaboration in the corporate and public sector should work. However, there are shortcomings regarding which patterns dominate and what trends that are in progress. Particularly noticeable in collaboration at municipality level, where current research is limited. Furthermore, there is a lack of knowledge regarding a socio-legal perspective within this research area, except Johansson's (2011) Ph.D. dissertation, that not specifically focus on the same type of collaboration. In this

regard, the aim of this study is highly relevant since it applies to the majority of municipalities in Sweden, where collaboration and working conditions are fundamental building blocks.

3. The legal framework

In this chapter I will address the most extensive laws and regulations that govern the collaborative process at a municipal level i.e. The Codetermination Act (1976:580), The Work Environment Act (1977:1160), and Agreement on Collaboration and Working Environment. Further, I will highlight the Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions (SALAR) stated prerequisites for well-functioning collaboration, work environment, and health work. Additionally, this chapter describes the collaboration agreement³ and the four levels of collaboration bodies in the ECL administration.

3.1. The Codetermination Act

The Codetermination Act (MBL) contains rules on co-determination and interaction at the Swedish labor market, regarding the right of association, negotiation, and peacekeeping (LO, 2015). The law applies to the relationship between employers and employees, concerning the employees right to negotiate through employee organizations, such as trade unions or local associations. The general right of negotiation is expressed in 10 § MBL, and stipulates that labor organizations and employer's organizations are entitled to negotiate in matters relating to the relationship between employer and employee. In 11 § MBL, there is what is commonly referred to as the primary negotiating obligation. Meaning that the employer must negotiate with the trade union(s) that have collective agreements on their initiative before deciding on a significant change in their business (38 §, MBL). The primary negotiating obligation also covers significant changes affecting individual workers, such as redeployment and termination. In other matters concerning any member of a collective bargaining organization, the employer shall enter into negotiations if the employee organization requests it following 12 § MBL. The negotiating obligation is further linked to the right to information. Under 19 § MBL, the employer is obliged to keep the employee organization informed on the progress of the business.

In conclusion, the trade unions have a fundamental right to call for negotiations on all the issues that in some way affect the relationship between employers and employees. However, an individual member has no right of negotiation but must raise the matter through his/her

³ Henceforth, I will use the abbreviation CA for the collaboration agreement in Lomma Municipality to not confuse the reader with the broader concept of collaboration and collaboration agreements in general.

federation or local association. In some cases, the employer is required to negotiate on his/her initiative, for example, in a job shortage situation or when wanting to change the terms of an individual member (LO, 2015).

3.2. Agreement on Collaboration and Working Environment

The agreement on cooperation and working environment is a central collective agreement that is a further development of both The Codetermination Act (MBL) and The Work Environment Act (AML). This agreement aims to achieve business-friendly collaboration that gives employees and local parties involvement and influence and thus the conditions for achieving well-functioning activities and a good working environment. The purpose is to stimulate a well-functioning local collaboration based on the workplace regarding issues related to the business and its development, as well as the work environment and health (SALAR, 2017). The agreement constitutes a further development of the work and collaboration forms, evidenced by MBL and AML, to promote collaboration. Local parties have the opportunity to meet local collaboration agreements that clarify how the employer's information and negotiation obligations under sections 11, 14, 19 and 38 in MBL shall be handled between the parties and how the collaboration regulated in 6 § AML shall be completed. Regulations according to MBL and AML are fully applicable in those parts not addressed in collaborative agreements. Collaboration by local agreements replaces negotiation obligations under 11 § MBL and information obligation according to 19 § MBL. In case of disagreement after termination of collaboration, the labor organization may call for central negotiation under 14 § MBL.

The agreement was implemented in 2017 and is a revised version of FAS 05 (the former central collaboration agreement). The purpose of renewing the previous agreement was to clarify the link between collaboration and the working environment and to simplify and clarify the structure and content of the agreement, including what should be done on the different levels of interaction: individual level, workplace level and level of participants (SALAR, 2017b). Below follows a brief overview of the content which aims to clarify the changes mentioned above.

3.3. Prerequisites for well-functioning collaboration, work environment, and health work

In the guidelines for the Agreement on Collaboration and Working Environment, a couple of recommendation is stated as necessary. Accordingly, collaboration requires *dialogue* between employers, managers, employees, union representatives and security representatives, an *understanding* of the benefits of decision-making and jointly anchoring and a *willingness* to contribute correspondently (SALAR, 2017).

Forms and levels of collaboration shall follow and adapt to the organization's and parties' decision-making levels. Furthermore, successful implementation requires clarity about goals and roles, communication, forms of work environment work and knowledge. Guidelines and examples for such requirements are further stated in the agreement. The collaboration is carried out in different ways and at different levels; dialogue between boss and employee, workplace meeting and collaborative group. A dialogue between boss and employee refers to employees' opportunity for participation and thus responsibility is met mainly through development talks and ongoing dialogue with the manager and participation at workplace meetings. Workplace meeting and collaborative groups is a forum for dialogue and joint work on issues related to the business, its development, work environment, and health. Collaborative groups provide in this context additional opportunities to influence. In the collaborative group, the parties jointly prepare matters relating to business development, work environment and health for decision-making and follow-up of operations (SALAR, 2017).

3.4. Collaboration Agreement in Lomma Municipality

The CA includes the overall collaboration guidelines of The Agreement on Collaboration and Working Environment. Hence, the purpose is to develop the administration's operations by including employees regarding involvement and information. The collaboration organization contains four levels of collaboration bodies; Municipal central collaboration group, Comprehensive administrative collaboration group, Collaboration groups and Workplace meetings. Below follows a brief description of each body of collaboration;

Municipal central collaboration group: mainly address a community-wide policy work environment and development issues. They also have the responsibility of monitoring the

application of the collaboration agreement. The chairman of the group is the Managing Director at the municipal management office (local government head).

Comprehensive administrative collaboration group: deals with the administration's overall operational issues. Common to the Municipal central cooperation group and the Comprehensive administrative collaboration group is that information and processing of issues for the decision of the Board and Board shall be by the rules set out in the MBL.

Collaboration group (local): deals with issues that fall within the responsibilities of the respective business manager. The affected business managers are the chairman of these groups. A typical arrangement of a collaboration group is one or two employer representatives and a union representative from each affiliated union organization.

Workplace meetings: led by respective supervisors. The municipality emphasizes that it be crucial that as many people as possible participate in the workplace meetings to increase participation.

Common to collaborative groups and workplace meetings is that issues are to be solved at each level. Thus, municipalities and administration's overall collaborative groups are not bodies of appeal. Although the ultimate responsibility for following up the application of the cooperation agreement is the responsibility of municipal central cooperation group, each body shall comply with the implementations of the agreement within its scope. Workplace meeting shall occur regularly and constitute a natural part of the business. Employers are responsible for decision-making and enforcement in all business matters. The purpose of workplace meetings and collaborative groups is to achieve unity before a decision by participation.

Furthermore, Lomma municipality have not chosen to adapt their collaboration agreement to The Agreement on Collaboration and Working Environment. Hence, the current agreement does not include the clarifying formulations regarding prerequisites for well-functioning collaboration, work environment, and health work. Nor does it touch upon forms of occupational health and safety work, or knowledge and responsibility for health and work environment work.

4. The context of the field

Before immersing in the methodical and analytical section of this thesis, it is essential for the reader to understand what type of research field this thesis is describing. I will, therefore, use this part to the study to portray Lomma municipality and the ECL administration to provide a context of the surrounding features of the municipality and the structure of the administration.

4.1. Lomma municipality

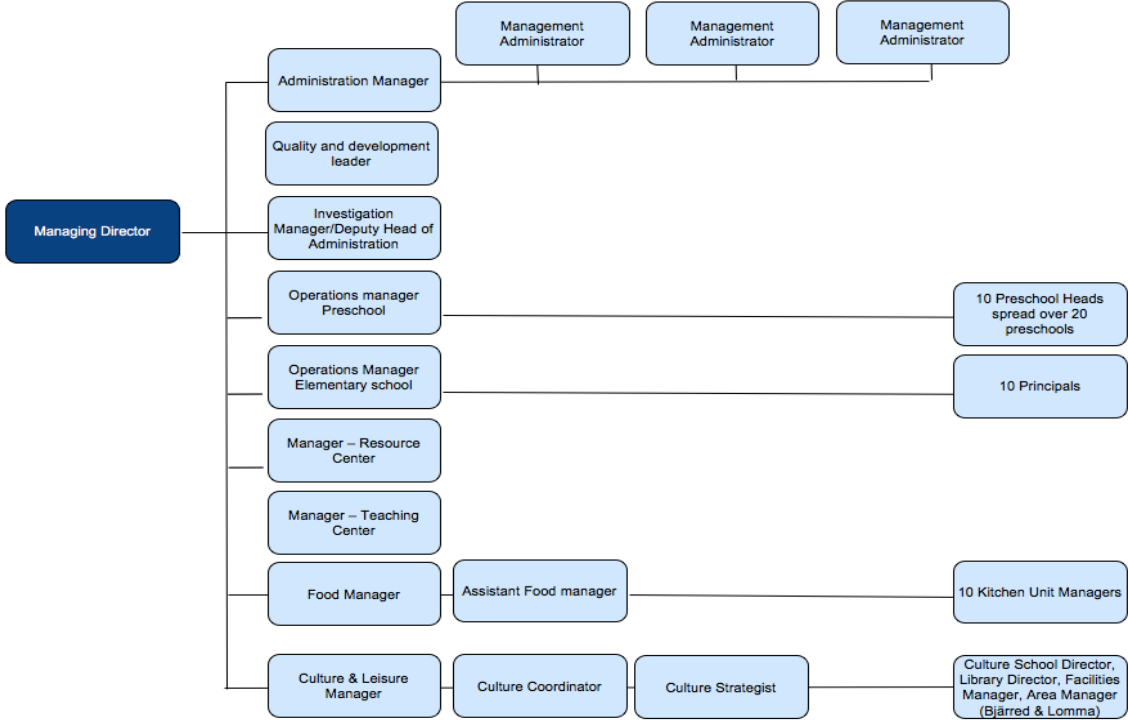
Lomma center has a newly built library, a picturesque marina, a long beach and an abundant selection of restaurants. The most substantial proportion of residents are high incomes earners with children, who moved from Lund or Malmö, and more than three out of four occupational inhabits work outside the municipality. The municipality has made a drastic journey in the last 40 years. From being a labor municipality with Sweden's largest eternity factory, that closed in 1977 after the workers incurred severe diseases after working with asbestos, to the "New Lomma" where the marina and million-class houses lie where the factory once lay (Swedish Radio, 2018). The bourgeois has governed the municipality since the mid-1970s, and in the last election, the Moderate Party received unanimous majority when 52% chose to cast their vote on the party (Swedish Radio, 2014; Lomma Municipality 2017b). Resulting in the political opposition to claim that the municipality is one of the country's most segregated and further highlighting that few of their voters can afford to stay (Swedish Radio, 2014). In a reportage in Swedish Radio, the municipality is described as upside-down where The Social Democratic Party call for greater freedom of choice and the ruling Moderate Party retains the schools in municipal regime (ibid).

Additionally, Lomma Municipality has been one of the fastest growing municipalities in the country, with a population growth of 23.7% between 2006 and 2016 (Lomma Municipality, 2016). Additionally, the municipality has received a range of positive reviews and high positions on national ranking lists. For instance, they ended up high in Statistics Sweden's citizens' survey regarding satisfied living conditions and was ranked second on how satisfied the citizens were with the municipality's activities. Further, ranking third in SALAR's comparison regarding safety and security and have maintained their position as one of the country's best school municipalities (ibid). Moreover, Lomma has amongst the lowest unemployment rates in the country and highest average income in Skåne County (ibid).

4.2. The administration of education, food, culture, and leisure

The administration of education, food, culture, and leisure is the most extensive administration in the municipality's and represents about 70% of the total activities (Lomma Municipality 2017c). Below follows a brief description of the different departments, their responsibilities, and work areas.

The education departments point of departure lies in curricula, syllabi and subject plans, and the responsibility of educating children and students. They are responsible for the local educational activities, i.e., preschools, open preschools, childcare, pre-school classes, elementary schools, an elementary school for children with learning disabilities, leisure centers and adult education (Lomma Municipality 2017c). *The food department* is responsible for cooking and serving food for preschools, schools and elderly care in Lomma municipality, thus, stimulating good eating habits (ibid). *The culture and leisure department* is responsible for libraries, cultural schools, public culture, arts, the culture at schools, associations, sports facilities, recreational facilities, leisure clubs and field groups (ibid).



The figure above demonstrates the different departments within the administration as well as the distribution of activities and middle management. The operations managers for pre- and elementary school activities have their collaboration group together with the managing director, the investigations manager as well as union representatives from five trade unions while the respective principal and preschool manager have their collaborations groups with union representatives at each school – usually between two or three trade unions. The culture and leisure manager has his/her collaboration group in which he/she is chairman together with union representatives from each business connected to the department (see figure). The collaboration group for the food department differ and only consist of the food manager and one union representative who represent all kitchen units. Furthermore, each business manager has their collaboration group with trade union representatives connected to each business.

5. Methodical reflections

This chapter aims at providing the reader with an understanding of the research field and narrating why particular methods were chosen in relation to this. Hence, I will use this part of the thesis to provide the reader with a more in-depth illustration of the methodical approach and my experiences as a part of the research environment.

Thereupon, we will first look at the fundamental features of organizational ethnography and connect the approach to my study and the discipline of sociology of law. After that, follows a description of how I gain access to the research field which leads us to discuss observational studies within organizations, how the fieldwork benefited from an iterative-inductive approach and how the different steps in the fieldwork were carried out. Further, I reflex over my role as a researcher and objectivity within the fieldwork. Hence, touch upon the focusing on the content and people's understandings in the field as opposed to finding the "truth." Finally, I describe the ethical consideration of anonymization and reciprocity.

5.1. Organisational Ethnography

There are divided opinions regarding ethnography as a method. For instance, socio-cultural anthropologists do not typically view ethnography as merely a method, while embracing the view that ethnography is an approach to research. Anthropological texts on methodology often reflect on problems and issues of being in the field, such as relations, emotions, and self-consciousness of the researcher (Gaggiotti, Kostera & Kryzowrzeka, 2016). In organizational study's authors refer to ethnography as a method embedded in a particular conception of organizations, a method of understanding organizations as cultural entities' (ibid). Others prefer to emphasize ethnography as a method to understand the microscopic dimensions of organizing, which make it possible to explore phenomena without having to establish a rigid conceptual framework (ibid). However, some, as Randy Hodson, defines ethnography study as simple as "methods of observations" (Hodson 2004:12). While other authors define organizational ethnography as a part of other methods, such as in-depth case study analysis (Royer and Zarlowski 2001:114)

However, a number of organizational scholars adopt a much broader approach than the above mentioned, claiming that ethnography is not just about observing and describing but focusing

on the "cultural picturing of how it is to be someone else." Furthermore, critical oriented organizational ethnographers strive at broadening consciousness about substantial social issues, thus enabling active participation in the creation of a more just society. (Alvesson & Deetz 2000; Sykes & Treleaven 2009).

5.2. Sociological imagination in understand the social in organizing

In 1959 C. Wright Mills coined the term *sociological imagination*, understood as an ability that makes it possible for the individual to reflexively acquire distance to the everyday world (Mills 1959). As such, reflexivity goes beyond taken-for-granted ways of sense-making (Cunliffe 2004), and as part of imaginative praxis, it enables the person to envisage other ways of doing things, to look beyond the level of everyday context seen as a necessity and given (Gaggiotti, Kostera & Kryzowrzeka, 2016). The sociological imagination makes connections between the larger picture and the local situation, the here and now and the historical. According to Wills (1993), sociological imagination consists of four types of factors: historical, cultural, structural and critical. These factors enabled perception of the distinction between personal troubles, part of the immediate individual milieu, and public issues, transcend the individual's local situation (Mills 1959). From this perspective, individual constraints become part of the broader context; problems which appeared insoluble can now be solved, albeit in a systemic way, and often with the extensive use of organizations and organizing (Gaggiotti, Kostera & Kryzowrzeka, 2016). In other words, the noting of organizational imagination is derived from sociological imagination, a dialectical bridge between reflection, practice, and back to reflection again, a state of mind enabling organizational participant and researchers to envisage organizations as controllable and find suitable means of controlling them (ibid).

In line with the above mentioned, the approach of organizational imagination, with roots in sociological imagination, is highly relevant to this study. Seeing that the CA is practiced in an organizational setting that shapes its conduct and is carried out in an arena that is populated by multiple collaboration forums, with competing claims of professional logics in normative and regulatory environments. Hence, the sociological and organizational imagination link individuals and groups, roles and societies, past and present (Gaggiotti, Kostera & Kryzowrzeka, 2016). They reveal the differences and similarities between the collective and the individual and pay attention to one dimension or the other (ibid). Accordingly, suitable in my research as the point of departure lies in "law in action," rather than "law in books" (Hertogh,

2009), and the interpretative character of the CA, which is given meaning in social interaction and is subject to varying interpretations.

5.3. Gaining access to the field

One of the most challenging aspects of ethnographical studies is to gain access to the research field. However, for me, this process was relatively straightforward, due to my supervisor presenting me and my research proposal to Staffan Friberg, a former Ph.D. student at the Sociology of Law department at Lund University, who works as investigator manager/deputy head of administration at Lomma municipality. After the initial contact with Staffan a meeting was set up between me, my supervisor, Staffan and the managing director for the ECL administration. In this meeting, the possibility of my research, the structure of the CP, ECL administration and the CA was discussed. The day after this meeting, I gave a short presentation regarding my intentions with the study to all the operation managers to gain approval. The affected trade unions were also contacted for information and approval.

After establishing my research proposal at the municipality, I created a preliminary outline of collaboration meetings to attend and people to interview. Contact were made with the affected interlocutors for time appointing for observations and interviews, either by email or in person (depending of accessibility).

5.4. Observing as part of an institution

Aiming to explore how the small details of the social are connected to the broader implementation of legal frameworks, I sought to choose a research design through which I would be able to gain an insight to my interlocutors' everyday experience and understanding of the CA. Therefore, my primary methods of data collection consisted of observations and interviews. In most ethnographic textbooks, more content is devoted to issues of participation than the actions of observing (Neyland, 2008). Often reflecting on issues such as the intimate relations with research participants, emotions, or the researcher's identity and self-consciousness (Gaggiotti, Kostera & Kryzowrzeka, 2016). As I was aware of potential issues, I adapted my researcher accordingly. As expressed by DeWalt and DeWalt "by having a socially recognized purpose, the researcher assumed a less ambiguous role within the group studied" (2011:44) and with this in mind, as well as my wish to present the implementation and experience of the CA, I found myself attending collaboration meetings in the municipal central

cooperation group, comprehensive administrative cooperation group, local collaboration groups, and one workplace meeting. By approaching observations in this matter, I experienced the different levels of the CP without disrupting the participants work too much. Consequently, this became my primary form of observation. For eleven weeks, I took part of different stages in the CP in Lomma municipality, attending meetings at all levels of collaboration, both at the town hall and at different operations spread out in Lomma municipality. I was also given access to an office space at the town hall. This gave me the opportunity to interact with the majority of the interlocutors at a daily basis. Hence, my position was very unusual as I did not work alongside the regular staff. As such, I was defined as a researcher more than a participant. However, since I had established an individual bond to most of the interlocutors before observations and interviews due to my presence at the town hall and talking to many trade union representatives, I do not believe this had a significant negative impact on the results. In combination with my research subject not being of a sensitive nature, i.e., the interlocutors could speak freely regarding the CP. This made my role as a researcher uncomplicated seeing that there was no chariness in conversing with me. In line with this, I would argue that my attendance after a certain period of time was not questioned. For example, I did not have to present myself every time at the front desk and other symbolic things such as that I received an Easter egg during Easter time.

The above-mentioned approach was most appropriate as the different collaboration meeting did not occur daily. Accordingly, the focus of the study was not on the organization of the municipality as such but the organized settings surrounding the CA, providing room for action on meso-level, i.e., where the process of organizing and implementing legal frameworks take place (Klein & Kozlowski 2000). Furthermore, it gave me the opportunity to study the organizational process of collaboration at close range but at the same time remain a position of strangeness, which usually is difficult to maintain in ethnographical study's (Neyland, 2008). Accordingly, although the longer I remained inside the organization and more things, activities and people began to seem familiar – I was only scratching the surface regarding activities outside the CP. This enhanced my ability to maintain a feeling of an “initial stage” throughout the study, which is a state in ethnographic fieldwork where it is more likely to reveal most about the organization and experience moments where ethnographers find it most straightforward to treat the settings as strange (ibid). As mentioned, the configuration of the CP made this approach possible, seeing that meetings were spread at different places and times a staggered approach came naturally. This gave me the opportunity to return to field notes to check activities

observed in previous observations to refresh the sense of what I had observed. Furthermore, the supplement with interviews contributed to refreshment of different perspectives (Neyland, 2008).

As I set out to not only study the practice of the CA, but also sought to understand different actor's personal interpretations of their role, understanding- and interpretation of the legal framework – interviews became an equally important tool in my fieldwork. By combining observations with interviews, I was able to investigate in what way my interlocutors perceived the CP's purpose and functions. The interviews were semi-structured, meaning that I sat down with my interlocutor, at predetermined times or in connection to collaboration meeting by simply asking if they had time for a conversation, to discuss themes that I had prepared based on an interview guide and reflections from observations. As suggested by DeWalt and DeWalt (2011), focusing on specific topics whilst letting the interviewee lead the conversation, is what sets semi-structured interviews apart from regular conversation. As the story of the interlocutor was of primary concern, I was not worried about letting the interview take an “asymmetrical” turn since this only gave me further insight into how they related to and personally linked the themes brought up – things that would have been difficult to study without their lead (ibid).

Altogether, I conducted eighteen interviews distributed on nine trade union representatives (active in all levels of cooperation) from the three largest unions in the municipality, two principals, three preschool directors, the municipality's human resource manager, the local government head, the managing director for the ECL administration and four operation managers (food, culture and leisure, preschool and elementary school). Three interviews were carried out with two interlocutors' present. In other words, I carried out eighteen interviews with twenty-one interlocutors. The interviews with trade union representatives was held at the interlocutors' workplace, such as preschool and elementary schools or at an office next to the town hall which was shared with the two largest trade unions in the municipality. Interviews with employers at different operations was conducted at respective workplace and with higher ranking employers at the town hall. The interviews lasted between twenty and fifty minutes. Additionally, I attended eight collaboration meetings at all levels of collaboration, including the municipal central collaboration groups meeting. The reason to interview the local government head and the human resources manager was that, although not directly linked to ECL administrations CP, they provide a good overview of collaboration in the municipality. Furthermore, the government head had recently instructed the ECL managing director to

improve their collaboration. Hence, an interesting perspective to add in the study. Additionally, included in the human resources managers areas of responsibility's lies the configuration of the CA and to support employers in working environment- and labor law issues which naturally was relevant to my study.

To translate my material into ethnographic text, I used indexing of the collected data, i.e., organized the material into a coherent form – going through field notes by rewriting and expanding key words shortly after the observations to make sure they made sense, as they often were written hastily due to surrounding circumstances, and transcribing interviews. Thus, I went over a laborious process of searching through field notes and transcriptions again and again – to produce themes, both while still in the field and after my fieldwork was completed. Furthermore, the produced themed were put in relation to each other, i.e., by asking questions such as "What could be said about each theme?" "What do the themes represent regarding providing an argument analysis or depreciation of the CP?" "What subthemes might be usefully incorporated under theme?" by doing this, themes were further interrogated which provided more clarity in the complexity of the subject being studied (Neyman 2008).

Observing and interviewing as part of an institution through my research had several benefits in terms of access. Once initiated by Staffan as my gate-opener, I was accepted as a part of the municipality which allowed me to access both informants and areas that I otherwise would have difficulties reaching. For instance, I had the opportunity to present my research at meetings with all the principals and preschool directors in the municipality and was given contact information to trade union representatives. This contributed to my applying a snowball sampling technique (Bryman, 2011). As I asked each principal and preschool director for contact information the trade union representative and then used the same technique at the trade union representatives who gave me names of people within the trade union's which they thought I should talk to. Further, since I had access to an office space at the town hall I was able to ask the staff clarifying questions about the organizational structure as well as the confinement of the different collaboration settings. Additionally, two of the three largest trade unions had their shared office right next to the town hall, which made the same procedure possible regarding more informal questions to the them as well. This did not only give me a good overall understanding of the context and interplay between the different actors, but also provided insight which appeared useful in my interviews as I could specify my questions to issues that appeared relevant to my study. However, this aspect of the study was only applicable on the

actors surrounding the town hall and the trade union office, i.e., I did not have the same opportunity to ask simple questions to the trade union representatives and employers spread out at the different operations across the municipality. Although many of the trade union representative's active at local collaboration groups spend time at their office next to the town hall yet not on a daily basis.

5.5. To combine inductive and deductive approaches

Since ethnological studies generally use an inductive approach I entered the fieldwork with an open mindset, or as labeled by Czarniawska-Joerges (1992) “the anthropological frame of mind” i.e. an attitude, not the application of a method, characteristic of someone exploring the social domain by adopting an ethnographic sensibility. This attitude encompasses an openness to new realities and meanings and a constant need to problematize, as well as a reluctance to take anything for granted (Gaggiotti, Kostera & Kryzowrzeka, 2016). Hence, I started with a general research issue which was narrowed down during the fieldwork process. This goes in line with Wright’s description of the organizational ethnographic process “The researcher may start with a general issue, but the golden nugget of a “problem” is only found after fieldwork has begun and it emerges from this process of holding field data up to current academic understandings” (Wright 2013: 102). As such, I did not assume from any observation guide, rather an attitude of observing everything - that nothing should be taken for granted and nothing should be assumed to be uninteresting, holding everything up for potential analysis (Neyland, 2008). Thus, reaching to reveal something of the implementation of the CA which other (even participant in the CP) are unaware of or have not considered in detail (ibid).

However, regarding inductivity I believe that it is of importance to emphasize that although it does not restrict the research by the testing of ridged hypotheses, it nevertheless acknowledges the impossibility of complete objectivity and opened in practice (O’Reilly, 2008). In other word, everybody starts out with some preconceived ideas, and some (even lay) theories about the research field and subject. For instance, the fact that I conducted a literature review before the actual fieldwork and the influence of my academic background. Correspondently, I have instead implemented an iterative-inductive approach, i.e., moving back and forth iteratively between overreaching theoretical concepts and analysis, data and interpretation (Ibid)⁴. This

⁴ Considerations regarding the role of theory in ethnographical studies and how I have related to this in my research will further be displayed in 5. *Theoretical Framework*.

emphasizes the strengths and advantages of intuitivism, but also takes the opportunity to test theoretical insights deductively, shining a light on problems and issues while simultaneously retaining a soft focus that enabled inclusions and relations not previously considered (ibid).

5.6. Reflexive considerations

Since the intellectual wave, also known as “the reflexive turn”, in the 1980s characterized by philosophical ideas and political debate about the social construction of reality, fieldworkers began to look critically at the way in which fieldwork is produced and written (O’Reilly, 2009). The postmodern respond to the criticism and analysis which followed, has been to destabilize the power of the ethnographer, and to conclude that no voice is of more value than others and no ethnographer is more trustworthy than other accounts (O’Reilly, 2009). Crucially, postmodern ethnography evokes rather than represents. It emerges through the reflexivity of text-author-reader and privileges no member of this trinity (ibid). Other, such as modernist researchers considered ethnographical studies to simply a presentation of facts and feared that analysis on how the research is constructed completely undermines the scientific enterprise (ibid).

As a result of this intellectual movement, the relationship to research and the researchers have changed, and it is no longer possible to pretend that we are not a part of the world we study (O’Reilly, 2009). Accordingly, an awareness that ethnographies are constructed by human beings who make choices about what to study, interpret what they say and hear, decide what and how to write, and that they do this in the context of their personal biographies and often ensconced in scientific and disciplinary environments (O’Reilly, 2009). I am by no means an exception in this matter, the reader should therefore have in mind that my academic background and personal interest may have affected the result of the study. However, as I express this concerns in combination with a as full as possible description of the execution of the study, the reader is able to evaluate the written product from these conditions. The aim was never to approach the field purely objective, as described by Agar "Ethnography is neither subjective nor objective. It is interpretive, mediating two worlds through a third" (Agar, 1986:19). Thus, ethnography is a regular mode of experiencing that enables a comprehending and radically problematizing approach to the allegedly visible sphere of everyday life in an organization and elsewhere (Gaggiotti, Kostera & Kryzowrzeka, 2016).

Additionally, I observed that my presence in some of the collaboration meetings affected the environment in a number of ways. This was merely the case in the local collaboration groups at pre- and elementary schools, presumably founded in that I only had contact with one or two of the participant beforehand. Although I made an effort to establish a trust before the meetings started, I experienced myself like a consultant on a mission to “judge” the quality of their collaboration. Hence, I emphasized my role as an “objective” academic with the purpose to gain an understanding of the practice of the collaboration at all level of implementation and that I was not on a mission on the behalf of the municipality. The following excerpt from my field notes describe some of my expressions and illustrates how my presence was noticed:

Do they attitudinize for me? I get the feeling that there is a pressing sense of "posy correctness". For instance, they interrupt the meeting briefly to explain what they mean by the "thing that happened" but also at the start of the meeting when the appointment of chairman is assigned to a union representative instead of the preschool director followed by the comment "Union representatives cannot be the secretary so as we do not have another person who can be secretary I (preschool director) have to do it today, usually we do not do it like this". (Field notes based on observation from 13th of Mars 2018)

However, I only found this to be problematic in the initial stage of the meetings, as the tense atmosphere dissolved rather quickly and my presence was more or less forgotten. Another difficult aspect in local collaboration groups was, unlike the meeting rooms at the town hall, the meeting rooms were significantly smaller and more intimate. This caused some difficulty to blend into the environment and observe as an "invisible" actor. One could also reflex on the fact that my attendance as a man in meetings with women only, which was the case in three collaboration groups, could have affected the climate of dialogue – however this was hard for me to tell or evaluate.

In addition, my relationship with Staffan as both a gate-opener and a “second supervisor”, did at an initial stage cause misunderstanding from some trade unions representatives who believed that I was working on the behalf of the employers. Yet, this was immediately clarified by explaining that the information exchanging between me and Staffan was purely of academic character and not as an employer.

Finally, it is important to inform that the main focus of the collected data has unconsciously been put on the education department, as it constitutes the largest part of the ECL administrations activity’s. I have not been able to observe the food department collaboration

meeting. Thus, the analysis will include an interview with the food manager, however I am not able to determine a more in-depth analysis of the actual function and implementation of the agreement within the food department. Regarding the culture and leisure collaboration group, the attendance at the meeting which I observed was limited – with only two trade union representatives and the department manager. Accordingly, that meeting did mostly concern pure information and not topics of collaboration. As follows, the conclusions and analytic arguments may not be as applicable on the food and, culture and leisure departments. However, one interview was made with a trade union representative that is involved in the culture and leisure collaboration, as such, not excluding the department from the relevance of the conclusions in this study. Furthermore, although I have not enhanced myself in the food departments collaboration I believe, based on the interview with the department manager, that the overall findings are applicable on the food department as well.

5.7. Ethical considerations

The basis of my analysis relies of the experiences and thoughts of the interlocutors in Lomma municipality. Hence, it is of great importance how I represent these people in my study. Following the code of ethics outlined by the American Anthropological Association (AAA 2009) I have taken necessary measures to modify all names of individuals, institutions (local businesses) and places in order to ensure the anonymity of my interlocutors. However, due to using Lomma municipality by name and the analytical relevance of each member's relationship to the CP, it has been difficult to carry out extensive internal anonymization. Anonymizes the municipality could, for instance, manage this issue; thus, I asked all the interlocutors if there were comfortable with my using Lomma municipality by name, as I could not guarantee full anonymity because of the relatively small dimension of the municipality. Seeing that it is possible that members would be able to identify individual informants just thought the description of their position or statements.

As my research problem developed in line with the fieldwork, i.e., "knowledge under constant reconstruction" (Burawoy 1998:16), I never promised my interlocutors that the outcome of my study would be according to the broader focus which initiated with - this was just not possible with the given methodical approach. Furthermore, as previously mentioned, the results of my study are purposely *my* interpretations of what I found interesting in the field, written from *my*

perspective. This was also mediated and I was given free rein to conduct my analysis accordingly.

5.8. Summation

In this chapter, we have looked at how an organizational ethnographic approach has been implemented and influenced my realization of the constitution of a field site. For instance, to account for how observations and interviews gave me a good overview of the municipality's CP and vast access to a variety of people. Most importantly, this chapter has demonstrated how the use of an iterative-inductive approach enabled me to open my eyes at everyday implementation of the CA at all levels of collaboration groups, applied at different departments within the ECL administration.

Additionally, I was able to highlight the fundamental features of organizational ethnography and motivated how the intellectual debate regarding ethnographical studies has affected modern research. This can be derived in the reflexive part of the chapter which presents my role in the field and shortcomings which followed. After that, I acknowledge the ethical considerations in the study and how the configuration of my research made it impossible to complete internal anonymization due to the size of the municipality and the analytical signification of each members relation to the CP.

Finally, I believe that it is worth mentioning that my methodical approach is rather unusual within sociology of law, with a few recent exceptions (Vargas, 2016; Urinboyev, 2013; Flood; 2005). As such the ethnographical approach is still in development within the discipline to which this study makes a minor methodical contribution.

6. Theoretical framework

When conducting the research, I had not yet decided on making new institutional theory and Powell's socio-legal approach to organizational life the overarching theoretical concepts. Nevertheless, I used the comprehensive theoretical foundations as a starting point during the early phase of my fieldwork. However, after encountering the complex nature of the field, I turned to project more theoretically against new institutional theory and Powell's concepts of a socio-legal approach to organizational life. Nonetheless, since one of the leading characteristics of ethnographic research is the thick and contextual description of the social phenomenon (Murchison, 2010), transcending the specific context towards more abstract levels of analysis can be a complicated venture (Vargas, 2016). Accordingly, this chapter has two main sections: an explanation of how to consider theory in ethnographic studies and the conceptual framework of the theory's mentioned above.

6.1. The Role of Theory in Ethnography

There are different standpoints regarding the role of theory in ethnographic research; some scholars argue that "the data should speak for itself," while others emphasize the need to engage in a broader theoretical analysis (Wilson & Chaddha, 2009). Thereof, the fundamental problem in the relation between theory and ethnography can be described as getting too close or too far from the data (Wacquant, 2002). If getting too close to the data, one runs the risk of presenting observational interpretations in a social vacuum without connecting them to the broader systems of material and symbolic relations in which social action is embedded (Wacquant, 2002; Vargas, 2016). However, in doing the opposite, the ethnographer may end up forcing observations into pre-determined concepts, and the value of contextual and rich explanations can get lost (ibid). As expressed by Vargas (2016) this presents a challenge of how to pursue a theoretical analysis that is grounded in the richness of the ethnographical data, that pays attention to the social context in which the data was collected, and connects the data to the larger picture. Accordingly, the same issue appears in my study as the aforesaid dilemma is present. Hence, I try to approach the subject in a matter providing a relevant space for the collected data, but also engage in broader debates (Vargas, 2016).

The vast majority of the development of approaching thriving data to theory building is founded in the anthropological and sociological traditions (Bryman, 2001). According to the discipline of social anthropology, theory building in ethnographical studies is grounded in the approach of “let the data speak for themselves” (LeCompte & Schensul, 2015). Here, the focus lies in the description of the group or culture being studied, giving theory a limited or different meaning. Thus, theory is seen as an imposition of meaning, instead leaving judgments and broader explanations to the reader (Anderson, 2002). In other words, emphasizing the description over explanations (Katz, 1997). The main objective is to be rigorous when it comes to conducting fieldwork and describing the data collected (Walford, 2007). Sociologists, on the other hand, consider themselves to be well trained in research methods and the theoretical tools that often are lacking in anthropology (Agar, 2006). Therefore, generally confronted with the need to present the results of their studies in a theoretical framework, thus, respond to the question “So what is this study useful for?” Therefore, clearly explaining the contributions of ethnography beyond contextual and unique descriptions (Katz, 1997; Vargas, 2016). Below, I will briefly expand on how this study is closer to the sociological tradition of ethnography, which also goes in line with previous ethnographic studies within sociology of law (Vargas, 2016; Urinboyev, 2013).

6.2. Theory Building in Ethnography

Agreeing with a sociological approach to ethnography, the researcher enters the field with an open mind to construct a theory or hypothesis based on the data collected (Vargas, 2016). Thereby, the ethnography can include a greater theoretical ambition, which differs from traditional interpretative ethnography (Snow, Morrill & Anderson, 2003). As above mentioned, such argument is not consistent amongst scholars, not even within the sociological field. For instance, Geoffrey Walford, suggest that ethnographers should resist the temptation to draw generalizations from their studies (2007). Walford further argues that ethnography sites should be chosen because of their intrinsic importance, and the results should illustrate the specific context and diversity of the places studied (Walford, 2007:164). However, in this regard, I agree with Vargas (2016), i.e., that Walford has an essential point, but that theory can play an important role in ethnography by connecting the individual to broader questions.

As discussed in 5.5 *To combine inductive and deductive approaches* I have implemented an iterative-inductive approach, i.e., moving back and forth between theory and analysis, data and

interpretation (O'Reilly, 2008). In contrast to an entirely inductive process drawing theory from data, which advocates blindness to theory. To solve the dilemma of induction and theory building I have viewed the theoretical process at different levels, starting from the structuration and coding of data collected to more abstract levels of analysis (Vargas, 2016). Accordingly, I argue, in line with my academic background, that although theoretical challenges in ethnography are complex, leaving aside theory is a disadvantage for scientific work (Daly, 1997:353). Thereof, my aim of connecting empirical data with previous research and theory.

6.3. New institutional organizational theory

As described in the first part of this chapter, concepts and explanations should come from the field in ethnographic studies which complicates the engaging in theoretical debates (Murchison, 210). Therefore, in this section, I present an overview of new institutional theory and Powell's concepts of a socio-legal approach to organizational life. As such my intention is not to provide explanations but to connect the findings of my research within a theoretical context and to produce a more abstract level of analysis, that allows to establish a dialogue with previous research and theoretical concepts (Vargas, 2016).

The new institutional theory focuses on the institutionalized organization's relationship to the outside world, and how this relationship affects organizational evolution and changes (Grape, Blom & Johansson, 2006). Hence, centers around cultural and social influence on decision making and formal structures (ibid). According to Barley & Tolbert (1997) organizations and organizational actors are considered by cultural and symbolic perspectives contained in a network of ideas, values, norms, rules, beliefs and taken for granted assumptions - cultural elements that define how the world is and should be (ibid). Accordingly, the symbolic and cultural meaning is what I refer to with the concept of an institution, thereby leaning towards a sociological approach to institutional organizational theory. Given this, institutions are understood as taken-for-granted patterns of organizing that shape and constrain the behavior of societal members. Hence, sets of cultural rules and resources that we use to structure our behavior and to interpret social activity (Philips, Lawrence & Hardy, 2000). Thereby, institutions shape experience of the world and our ideas of "legitimate" patterns of organizations (ibid). Thus, cultural patterns act as resources for solving problems while constraining actions and the ability of social actors to conceive options (Philips, Lawrence & Hardy 2000: 27-28). Meyer & Rowan (1977) argues that as the rational networks in societies

become dense and interconnected, increasing numbers of rationalized myths arise that are generalized to diverse occupations, organizational programs, and organizational practices. Other myths may originate from narrow contexts and be applied in different ones, for instance rational contexts of business organizations in a single industry are roughly similar from place to place (ibid). Under these conditions a particularly effective practice or principal of coordination can be codified into mythlike form. The myths generated by particular organizational practices and diffused through relational networks have legitimacy based on the supposition that they are rational effective. But many myths also have official legitimacy based on legal mandates, developed by rational legal orders prone to give collective (legal) authority to institutions which legitimate particular organizational structures – establishing rules of practices. However, organizations often adapt to their institutional contexts, thus, play active roles in shaping those contexts (ibid). As such, rational myths are perceived as legitimate regardless of the evaluations of its impact on outcomes and effects, since its rational efficiency is rather taken for granted (ibid). Derived to the concept of *idea spread*, i.e., links between general ideas and concrete local organization applications (Grape, Blom & Johansson, 2006), changes or implementations in organizations can be regarded as a *materialization of ideas*. Meaning that ideas "travel" between different local contexts, in space and time (ibid), as such ideas are materialized in routines, procedures, structures and ideologies (Røvik, 2004). In this regard, organizations do not copy ideas, but instead translating them into local conditions; they concretize general recommendations and specify vague formulas (Johansson, 2006:29).

Besides, Scott (2008) describe three elements of institutions; regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive. Defining institutions as comprised of regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive elements that together with associated activities and resources, provide stability and meaning to social life" (Scott, 2008:48). The cultural-cognitive component suggests that individuals and organizations navigate through social routines following deep-seated expectations as to "the way things are done around here." While normative element consists of values and expectations established and negotiated between actors the regulative element is more fundamental, more of a building block, as a provider of crucial precedents, with higher capacity to punish (ibid). According to Scott (ibid), the three institutional elements construct different bases for legitimacy. From the above-mentioned elements, follows professional agents. Accordingly, the insight that professional authority is based on the ability to create and apply a set of cultural-cognitive, normative and regulatory elements that provide frameworks for dealing with various types of uncertainty is fundamental in an institutional perspective (Scott, 2008:227). Thereof,

different actors collaborate by separate objectives, conditions, expectations, wishes, and regulations. In other words, different institutional logics (Grape, 2006). Producing representational frameworks, as follows, each logic provides a standard for what should and should not in institutional settings and what different actors can and cannot be allowed to question (Johansson & Grape, 2006:205).

Additionally, within the context of this study, institutional fields (Philips, Lawrens & Hardy, 2000) or organizational fields (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983) becomes highly relevant. According to DiMaggio & Powell (1983), a field is described as various kinds of rules and resources that often become shared by groups of organizations that participate in related activities, i.e., understood as organizations that inhabit the same institutional field. Philips, Lawrence & Hardy (2000:28-30) define a field in a similar fashion and further inserts the concept to collaboration: “The rules and resources associated with institutional fields provide the context in which collaboration occurs, that rules and resources are negotiated in the collaboration arena.” By that, a critical factor affecting the dynamics of collaboration involves the range of institutional fields in which participants are located. In accordance, the CP is made more complicated by the interaction of multiple sets of institutional rules and standards which may conflict with one another (ibid). Furthermore, another essential concept in new institutional theory within organizations, that presumably could be applied on the CP, is isomorphism – homogenizing tendencies that legitimizes operations, without necessarily advocate streamlining (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983).

6.4. Connections between Law and Organizations

Powell (1996) argues that traditionally organizational (institutional) theory has treated the law and legal environments in an overly determinist fashion. Claiming that institutional analysis neglects the extent to which the law and the legal environment are subject to negotiation, interpretation, and contestation (ibid). That the conception of the law as a binding force in institutional analysis rests on the simplifying assumption that it plays critical roles in formulating and maintaining rules for organizational actors. By referring to institutional elements (*regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive*) described by Scott (2008), Powell argues that although rule systems can control, the function of the law depends on its execution, i.e., how roles are defined in practice. The author emphasizes three areas that stand out as profitable avenues for linking law and organizational theory. First, the law is practiced in an

organizational setting that shapes its conduct. Second, the law is carried out in an arena that is populated by multiple organizational jurisdictions, with competing claims of professional expertise. Third, the law serves as both a normative and regulatory environment in which organizations operate (Powell, 1996:961).

In line with institutional fields, there is a simple distinction between a coherent and a fragmented institutional environment. The former consists of relatively few constraints and opportunities, and these levels of control are generally linked to one another and display common concerns. A fragmented environment, on the other hand, is one with conflicting and disconnected constraints and opportunities (Powell, 1996), a field that speaks with many voices, making multiple, inconsistent demands – in turn generating administrative complexity within organizations and heightened internal politics (ibid). Moreover, Powell makes a fascinating notion in regards of the aim and research question of this study: "the law provides "paradigms of arguments," which can frame how negotiations and litigation are carried out. Using a legitimated account enhances the credibility and comprehension of an argument. But such signals of reasonableness are less efficacious in settings where multiple jurisdictions clash and divergent forms of argument are regarded as legitimate" (Powell, 1996:963). In this regard, it is of importance to ask if the law exert influence on the behavior of organizations. Suggested by Powell one should rather go about the question, why do people obey the law? Then ask how and when organizational policies reflect cultural support and consonance with the law. Hence, highlighting the dual characteristics of legitimacy and legality (see *1,3 Defining legitimacy*), thus accentuate how legal norms are appropriately measured concerning their suitability to specific cases or constitutional principles without the legitimacy of legal norms themselves being at issue (Deflem, 2013).

Finally, the concepts presented in this chapter were chosen to illuminate a broader phenomenon and to allow a foundation to the integration of empirical data and analysis in the last two chapters in this thesis. As mentioned the concepts are not meant to provide explanations. Instead, they are useful when describing the CP in Lomma municipality. Hence, some of the theoretical concepts will be expanded on in more depth to immerse the analysis.

7. Empirical data in a theoretical context

In this section I will tie together empirical findings with theoretical standpoints of new institutional theory and Walter Powell's socio-legal approach to organizations. My intention with this chapter is to combine various themes by presenting an integrated analysis as well as the main conclusions and reflections of the study concerning the overall purpose established in a theoretical context. Accordingly, theoretical standpoints will be described and discussed in the process of producing an argument through using the ethnographic material as evidence (Neyland, 2008).

The quotes presented in this chapter are translated from Swedish into English, meaning that some are not identical to the interlocutor's statements due to language differences. However, this only concerns minor details and not the content of the quotes themselves.

7.1. Familiarity and Professional Respect

According to Barley & Tolbert (1997) organizations and organizational actors are considered by cultural and symbolic perspectives contained in a network of ideas, values, norms, rules, beliefs and taken for granted assumptions - cultural elements that define how the world is and should be (ibid). Hence, the CA and the process thereof can be viewed as cultural and socially embedded in a culture, and as interpreted and meaningful in social interaction and social processes, which means that legal rules are influenced by norms and the institutional environment at large. In other words, the CP is affected by the cultural environments in which the agreement is implemented in.

The differences in cultural environments were genuinely transparent between the levels of collaboration, seeing that there were significant differences in the surrounding environments and the execution of collaboration. As briefly described in the methodical chapter, the meeting rooms were significantly smaller and more intimate at local collaboration, unlike the meeting rooms at the town hall which had a much more formalized character - almost a solemnity. Although this may seem to be an insignificant detail, I believe it reflects essential differences between the various levels of collaboration. The following excerpt from my field notes illustrates the surrounding characteristics in a local collaboration group and the comprehensive administrative collaboration group at the town hall;

The meeting room is modest, decorated with soft shapes and large light emitting with a window facing the school courtyard - attaching a feeling of affiliation to the school. The different actors in the meeting do not seem to have "definite seats" but place themselves randomly in the room. The mood before the meeting is good with openly conducted conversations between the actors as with me. During the meeting, there are no apparent parts divisions - although it is clear that the preschool head leads the meeting, everyone speaks freely - could be compared to a coffee break conversation with a loose set agenda. (Field notes based on observation from 15th of Mars 2018)

The meetings rooms at other local collaboration groups had similar features as the description above, and the mood was characterized by the same openness and familiarity before the meetings started. Another interesting observation was that in one of the local collaboration groups, the room was slightly bigger, yet, the different parties were not scattered but seated next to each other. Unlike the comprehensive collaboration group where the surrounding settings differed significantly;

The meeting room has a formal feel, characterized by solemnity, i.e., traditional furnishings suitable for political debates or decision-making - wood paneling, portraits, and chairs for audience. The wooden panel is U-shaped and employers are strategically placed on the short side while the union representatives are seated at the longitude sides - the two representatives from the same union are seated together while the others are placed at abundant intervals. (Field notes based on observation from 15th of Mars 2018)

The interaction before the meeting entails a professional relationship - the conversations between employers and union representatives are respectful, somewhat cheerful, but not personal – handshakes and standard phrasings such as “how are you?”. (Field notes based on observation from 15th of Mars 2018)

As described in the field note from the local collaboration meeting, the party relationships were somewhat imperceptible, and the conversation climate was open. The excerpt below illustrates how this differs in the administrative collaboration group;

Initially, the chairman distributes the word by hand raising. However, only implemented at times as it dissolved during the meeting. Both parties talk past each other repeatedly, and irritation emerges between employers and one trade union representatives after he/she expresses concerns about a formulation. Employers whisper to each other and laugh at one point - perceived as they do not listen – as done by union representatives from the same union, however without laughing. (Field notes based on observation from 15th of Mars 2018)

As mention, elements, as described above, may seem insignificant and rather obvious. It is not strange that collaboration meetings at the higher administrative level are performed in this matter as they address issues at overall administrative level. Hence, affecting a large number of people in differ to local collaboration where the core business is the primary focus. However,

it demonstrates a fragment of the environments that defines how the CA at each level are carried out and how the social and cultural environment are interpreted in social interaction. Furthermore, picturing implementation in institutional environments.

7.2. We are not opponents

Before I immerse the analytical section, I believe it is of importance to clarify the concept of institutions (or organizations). Described by Philips, Lawrence & Hardy's (2000), institutions are understood as taken-for-granted patterns of organizing that shape and constrain the behavior of societal members. Hence, sets of cultural rules and resources that we use to structure our behavior and to interpret social activity. They act to shape our experience of the world and our ideas of organizational patterns (ibid). Further, these institutionalized cultural patterns act as a resource for solving problems while simultaneously constraining actions and the ability of social actors to conceive of options as they act in everyday situations (Philips, Lawrence & Hardy 2000: 27-28). Applied on the CA, as a traditional legal framework that relies on a binding force in institutional settings, i.e., rests on the simplifying assumption that the legislative play critical roles in formulating and maintaining rules (Powell 1998). However, the reason why people obey law or recommendations is not that simple. Thus, implementations are not constant across fields. The malleable of law is greatly defined in institutions by Scott (2008) "Institutions consist of cognitive, normative, and regulative structures and activities that provide stability and meaning to social behavior. Institutions are transported by various carriers': cultures, structures, and routines – and they operate at multiple levels of jurisdiction." (Scott, 2008).

Additionally, Scott (2008) argue that institutional analyses rest on three fundamental elements; regulative, normative and cognitive. In contrast to "Law in books" normative and cognitive elements leave much more room for negotiation. Normative systems define obligatory behavior, but codes of conduct are rarely spelled out completely in advance (Powell, 1996). As individuals and organizations "edit" their behaviors in the course of interacting with others. Whereas, the cognitive component suggest that individuals and organizations navigate through social routines following deep-seated expectations as to "the way things are done around here." The regulative element, on the other hand, is more fundamental, more of a building block, as a provider of key precedents, with higher capacity to punish (ibid). Regarding the CP, the institutional definition highlights the relation between the *ought* and the *reality* in institutions.

Reflecting normative and cultural aspects of institutions in activities, relations, and resources – which vary considerably depending on its environment.

Such argumentation leads to question if the different collaboration groups consist within the same field? Well, after conducting my fieldwork, I am confident that they do not. To clarify, DiMaggio & Powell (1983) described a field accordingly: "Those organizations that, in the aggregate, constitute a recognized area of institutional life: key suppliers, resources and products consumers, regulatory agencies and other organizations that produce similar services or products." (DiMaggio & Powell 1983:148). Alternatively, by Scott (2008) "Fields are bounded by the presence of shared cultural-cognitive or normative frameworks or a common regulatory system to "constitute a recognized area of institutional life" (Scott 2008: 86). As such, the complexity of the various environments surrounding the CP and the significant institutional differences between businesses – the CP, rather constitute an institutional span extended across many fields. Exemplified by one of the preschool heads in the quote below, the second quote arrows from me asking a follow-up question on the first statement regarding if they never leave meetings in disagreements:

"We have never left a meeting in disagreement. We all work here at school, and it is better we solve things together, we should be exemplary for all..."

"Is very rare. It would be that one time that I mention regarding supervision training – but at that time I received good arguments why it would not work, because of too much workload and so on. It is another thing if the directives come from above, then we can agree that we have too little resources or whatever. I rather agree with them and have a common enemy, i.e., the municipality. Though I am a part of the municipality - I have to point out sometimes that I have taken part and made those decisions. They do not want to see me as an opponent, rather those who sit in at the town hall." (Interview from 13th of Mars 2018)

The same type of arguments was made by both union representatives and employers at the local level, claiming that they made decisions together and did not see each other as opponents. The explanation for this was rather straightforward – they did rarely get into arguments as they worked together every day. Hence, creating a bond of trust and seeing the same problems. For the interlocutors at a local level, the collaboration group fulfilled the purpose of information exchange and a forum to collect matters previously discussed at the workplace. All the operations which I attended were tinged by an openness allowing employees to share thoughts and concerns with employers, and the other way around, on a daily basis. Further, the potential tensions between the parties were loosened up. Consequently, local businesses had similar environmental settings which made their interpretation of the CA alike.

To draw parallels to Friberg's (2011) findings regarding a shared ethos, i.e., a jointly created norm or basic idea, this could be enforced as the actors share the same view of how to fulfill related predicaments that challenges their ethos. In this regard, Scott (2008) describes an interesting assumption about organizational fields that can be recycled to the quote above; That fields can develop not only around settled markets or political domains but also around central disputes and issues (Scott, 2008:184). For instance, explain the fact that the boundaries between employer and employee are erased and replaced with the municipality as the contradiction party or that they often agreed on the same issues.

Although the above-mentioned entails undramatic party relationships at a local level, one could not ignore questioning this seemingly well-functioning collaboration. Here, Scott (2008) highlights Bourdieu's interpretation of fields by underlining that fields do not constitute peaceful or stable social places, but rather conflict areas where participants try to convey respective interests. Some succeed, for different long periods of time, to trick others into their perceptions and thus set the rules of the game (Scott, 2008:183). Subsequently, even if the close relationship between employers and employees stimulate positive climate of dialogue and contributes to a forum where actors seemingly can meet on similar conditions, it can be challenging to enter the role as a union representative when the negotiating opponent is your boss. Although impossible to verify in my study, it is possible that union representatives adapt demands to the "shared environment" to not complicate the relationship to their boss. Hence, that the employer exerts power over representatives and that they adapt accordingly. Connecting well to Latour's (1998:54) approach on power; that it "does not matter how much power you seem to collect, it always necessary to get I from others who act for the conduction" – that as long as you depend on someone, you give them power. Thereof, power resources do not necessarily need to be used, the mere "sight" or the knowledge of its existing can make the other partner subordinate (Korpi, 1985). However, as mentioned, this would need more focused research to get an in-depth understanding. Nevertheless, it came up during several of my interviews with trade union representatives as they expressed that it *could* be problematic or that it *may* be problematic for some. However, they also emphasized that the employer understand that they represented a union and not themselves. Still, this indicates that it is not unproblematic in this context and despite an understanding employer, it demands courage to lift sensitive issues - especially when actors in collaboration share the same workplace. The quote below from a trade union representative illustrates this as such;

"We have had situations where there have been some negotiations, where it has been a bit tough, but for the most part, it has been good. Then both parties go into their roles and understand that it has to be done. That is the only downside that it is our boss that we collaborate with. We represent our members, but when this happens, it becomes a clash. However, I thought that (name of employer) was clear when we had this conflict that she/he understood that we took on our role. We are quite open here and free to talk about different things. But sometimes you need to step into that role." (Interview from 13th of Mars 2018)

It was further expressed by both employers and employees at all levels that it can be difficult to distinguish between personal interest and the role as a union representative. Hence, employers felt that union representatives occasionally represented themselves and not their members – especially at local collaboration where the union involvement was limited. Consequently, complicated the communication between union representatives and members which in turn hardens the representative's role in the collaboration. However, this varied as some had more structured ways of collecting members viewpoints than others. The following extract from an interview with the human resources manager highlights the prior. The quote is an answer to the question if there is a common understanding of the purpose/goal of collaboration;

At a local level, it may vary - you may need to educate what it means to be in a collaboration group, what role you have, and to represent a group and not just yourself. (Interview from 14th of Mars 2018)

I will further expand on different views of the purpose and meaning of collaboration and how it is implemented later in this chapter.

7.3. Adapting vague formulation to local conditions

Meyer & Rowan (1977) argue that institutional rules functions as myths which organizations incorporate to gain legitimacy, resources, and stability, and overall for survival. The myths create a gap between the formal organizational structures and the actual activities and practitioners. Therefore, formal organizational structures instead reflect the myths within the institutional environment than the requirements set by the specific tasks. The rational myths are perceived as legitimate regardless of the evaluations of its impact on outcomes and effects, as its rational efficiency is somewhat taken for granted (ibid). Furthermore, Meyer & Rowan (1977: 347) mean that many *myths* hold official legitimacy based on legal mandates. In line

with the CP, one could argue that a rationalized myth characterizes the process at large. Similarly, collaboration is normatively based on the fact that collaboration is evident and desirable, although there is no extensive research support for these assumed effects of collaboration (e.g., Johansson, 2011). For instance, connected to the fact that Lomma municipality has not ratified the new central collaboration agreement, seeing that “everybody is pleased with the current agreement” (Interview from 14th of Mars 2018 with the local government head).

Additionally, Meyer & Rowan (1991) argue that formal structures of many organizations dramatically reflect the myths of institutional environments instead of the demands of work activities. An example of this could be how the interlocutors at the local level have a firm trust in their collaboration but limited insights in the CP at large. Whereas, the local collaboration groups are isolated from the overall CP as they consistently act within their fields environment. Thus, open to the CP to as they received essential information regarding economic and significant changes from administrative level but closed in the sense that it operates within its cultural and normative spectrums were the CA is giving meaning. Hence, not seeing the process from outside their field. The quote below from the principal safety representatives at one of the largest trade unions illustrates the prior. The interlocutor has an overview of all levels of collaboration in all departments of the ECL administration and expands on a statement regarding the lack of knowledge of occupational safety throughout the CP:

“Working environment is so much more than just a meeting point. So, when I talk to all my workplace representatives, I hear many things about the current working environment /.../ they tell me how bad it is, how difficult it is for them when they do not have enough temps to relive them for instance. Some of them went a week with just one staff from noon to 3 a clock every day with twenty-five toddlers. They tell me this when I meet them. However, when I look at the protocols from the collaboration groups and read under the workplace environment point, they have written that they have troubles to open a gate. Because they do not know what to talk about! (Interview from 27th of mars 2018)

The quote demonstrates that even though the conditions which surrounds local collaboration may be problematic, this is not highlighted at the meetings. Instead, issues such as open gates take up a significant amount of time and space. Furthermore, this kind of issues does not create friction between employer and employee. As everybody agrees that a broken gate, a broken toilet, lousy smell or that no one empties the dishwasher (examples of topics under the workplace environment point that I observed during the meetings) are problems that need to be taken care of. Subsequently, subjugates issues that belong in the collaboration group. Striking

in this regard is that topics described above came up at every local meeting that I observed. However, when asking the interlocutors what type of questions that generally came up, they all (both employees and employers) told me that such problems frequently are discussed. When then asking if they thought that the collaboration group was the right forum for these questions, they either replied that "no maybe it is not, they should probably be brought up at workplace meetings" or that "today was an exception; usually we do not talk about such issues."

Based on my findings, I doubt the above mentioned as a coincident. Hence, the actors adapt the implementation of the CA at the local level to what they assume should be discussed. Often connected to hands-on problems easy to identify. Connecting to "Law in action" (Hertogh, 2009), with an interesting association to *idea spread*, i.e., links between general ideas and actual local organization applications. That separate fields materialize general ideas. Meaning that ideas "travel" between different local contexts (Grape, Blom & Johansson, 2006), materialized in routines, procedures, and structures (Røvik, 2004), accordingly, a common set of ideas regarding the implementation of the CA amongst local collaboration groups, drawing from a non-challenging relationship. Furthermore, emphasizing that fields vary in their forms of governance and that running throughout different settings is a concern for establishing a firm social order (Powell, 1996). That local groups prefer standard rules, or "a common ethos," further these differences in embeddedness show little association with formal legal control (Friberg, 2011; Powell, 1996).

Against the backdrop, the translation from one field to another becomes highly relevant, seeing that actors encounter rules and resources from a foreign institutional context - available as discursive resources (Philips, Lawrence & Hardy, 2000). For the local actors to bring this back to their environment, these rules and resources are translated into the local institutional field (ibid). As a result, not all of the rules and practices established in CA will become institutionalized in the fields of participants. Hence, the enactment of any social practice, including collaborative practice, does not guarantee its continuation or its incorporation into other social arenas (ibid). Given this, the capacity for organizations to effect change in their institutional contexts will depend on their ability to institutionalize the rules and practices that have been developed in the collaboration (ibid). DiMaggio and Powell (1983) argue that the institutionalization of rules and practices in fields involves a process of isomorphism. In other words, homogenizing tendencies, that is, how organizations become increasingly similar, without having to be more efficient. Allowing the interpretation of the CA to look utterly

different in the local business within the municipality; The receipt of such ideas does not occur by pure imitation. Organizations do not copy ideas, but translate them into local conditions; they concretize general recommendations and specify vague formulas (Johansson, 2006:29). Accordingly, it jeopardizes the overall process seeing that a well-functioning collaboration system is depending on that each level follows the intention of the agreement. In this regard, the local government head highlights the complexity of this;

“One should always consider an improvement, but realize that it is not a quick fix, you have to actively work to keep the system alive.” (Interview from 14th of Mars 2018)

The interlocutor expanded on this statement by highlighting that the municipality arranges recurring education (every two years) regarding the CA to ensure proper implementation. However, one of the higher-ranking union representatives criticized the education as follows;

“He (the educator) talks about the agreement, little about Labor Arbitration Court judges and so on. However, he does not break it down to the level that is necessary. Like how you suppose to get everyone on track. You have to start there, then to our managers because they do not neither know the collaboration agreement.” (Interview from 27th of mars 2018)

Here, amplifying the fact that it is necessary to look beyond the simple formulation and supposed functions of the agreement, stressing law in action as a vital element in the CP. As such, implementing the agreement in accordance to the functions of law in action; thus, without concrete guidelines and knowledge of the agreements function and purpose, as such, much weight is put on individual interpretations.

7.4. Fragmentations between professional logics

To connect to institutions, fields, and environments with emphasis on cultural and normative affiliation, the combination of institutional theory and socio-legal studies provides the opportunity to assess how the broader social environment modifies conduction of the CP and to analyze how the organization influences the implementation of the CA (Powell, 1996). Furthermore, social control in democratic politics occurs in a competitive context – the different fields and professional logics embody different missions and interpretations of the CA. Pointed out by organizational researchers, although institutional systems shape organizations, the degree of coherence or centralization in the broader environment may vary considerable (Powell, 1996). Thus, highlighting conflicts over jurisdiction and overlapping levels of

authority in the structure of policies and organizations. Thereby, highly related to the question of how contradictions in the conduct of the law are resolved (ibid). Here, considering the simple distinction between a coherent and a fragmented institutional environment. Where the former consisting of relatively few constraints and opportunities, and these levels of control are generally linked to one another and exhibit common concerns (ibid). Similar to local fields institutional environments, that are perceived as coherent with common concerns and the municipality as an "opponent." A fragmented environment is one with different and disconnected constraints and opportunities. Official mandates are at cross purpose; the organization confronts a field that speaks with many voices, making multiple, inconsistent demands – applicable to administrative collaboration (ibid).

In this regard, Powell (ibid) emphasize findings from organizational studies suggesting that fragmentation at the institutional level generates both greater administrative complexity within the organizations and heightened internal politics. Further displayed by two trade union representatives involved in the comprehensive administrative collaboration group that illuminates a dominating culture at the administrative level. The dialog from an interview conducted with does two union representatives present demonstrates this below (A: me, B: interlocutor 1 and C: interlocutor 2);

B: I have been involved in local collaboration for a long time, and that has been great. Not so formal and everyone is happy when we leave the meeting. Even though there have been severe issues to solve. When I leave administrative collaboration, I have been in a lousy mood many times - disappointed and so. Because it has not always been a good spirit.

A: Why do you think it is so?

B: I think it is because the principals identify with their school and their staff. Think it is about human feelings. While administrative collaboration is on a separate level, they have strict demands from above with budget, and then they also need to be significant, important and to decide.

C: Yes, but it has become a man's culture.

B: Yes, there are a couple of people that ...

C: Well, it has calmed down a bit but sometimes... just this by having each other's backs and I fix it for you, and now you have work. I think it is ugly! I think it is awful /.../ However, then we are sitting on the other side, we present everything we think before they make the decisions and then we have to adapt to their decisions, regardless of what we think of it. That is how it is.

A: You say that there is a man's culture or a dominating culture at the administration, do this affect collaboration?

C: Absolutely. For example, there is one trade union that does not want to come to the meetings. You get frustrated, mocked, and you do not want to attend anymore.

B: They can sit and talk while someone else has the word.

/../

B: I do not know if Lomma stands out but I have the feeling that politicians have much control. Thus, within the municipality, they call it the "golden zone," thus a gray zone between politics and civil servant side/managerial level. The golden zone was meant to be something positive - that politicians could go in and join. However, I wonder if it is ...

C: It is very much so. It also leads to personal bonds between these people since they know each other.

B: Yes, and then, the managers become even more dependent on the politics - to do what politicians want. Although they may think that it is not a smart decision. (Interview from 22nd of mars 2018)

The dialog above demonstrates a fragmented collaboration group, characterized by complexity. Hence, producing strong contradictions between trade union representatives and employers which according to the interlocutors results in a dominating culture influenced by politics. Accordingly, the administrative structure of the organization reflects the complex array of external constraints and opportunities that it confronts. Consequently, not only do organizations facing complex environments have more "wiggle room" and opportunity, the clash of views both internally and externally motivates the hard but necessary work of building consensus (Powell, 1996). Thereby challenging as the trade union representatives and employers have different professional perspectives resulting in preconceptions about the other. One of the operation managers evolves this relationship concerning trust (A: me & B: interlocutor);

B: I would not say there is trust, but there is a sign of respect. There is some formalized mutual respect, but, in my opinion, there is no trust. To me, trust is more than I feel and see.

A: Can you elaborate on that?

B: /.../ In a group of trust, everyone knows that those who are there are "good guys" and the agenda is right and no one tries to fool each other. I do not think such trust exists. (Interview from 27th of mars 2018)

The same interlocutor did at a later stage in the interview expand on this statement when I followed up on his description of the purpose with collaboration, i.e. "the employer and the employee *should* complement each other to make the outcome better.", by asking how it works in practice?

“In my opinion, we are not there yet because the current trust and culture do not make this possible. /.../ It is also about doing things that are well-rooted in the core businesses and that the managers have anchored it. /.../ Somewhere communication is a red thread throughout the collaborative work, and there is a lot to work with. If our decisions are to be received well, everyone must understand why we make them, we want development, but nobody wants change. For the change to be understood, one has to understand why. Striking often this cannot be explained.” (Interview from 27th of mars 2018)

The issues regarding transparency throughout the CP was also brought up by the principal safety representatives in connection with a question regarding the current CA;

"It does not regulate anything. There must be a red line, from the workplace meetings to the politics; there must be a red thread. There will never be a red thread if you choose to have workplace meetings once per semester. The information that comes from above cannot be found at workplace meetings." (Interview from 27th of Mars 2018)

As a result, the lack of consistent guidelines contributes to a CP where the different forms of collaboration are not intertwined. Defeating the propose of the process and missing out on information and opinions across the different levels. Exemplified by the quote below from a principal;

"Employees do not understand that workplace meeting is related to the collaboration group, which then again are related to administrative collaboration, they think it is a regular meeting. /.../ i.e., they do not raise issues to the collaboration group." (Interview from 16th of April 2018)

In connection with this statement another interlocutor exemplified that some businesses have used the workplace meetings for excursions or different teambuilding exercises instead of raising collaboration related issues.

7.5. The struggle for interpretation of space

To reconnect to Scott’s (2008) definitions of institutional elements, the concepts of institutional agents becomes relevant when discussing collaboration at the administrative level. Scott (2008) argues that there are three types of professions in institutional settings: regulatory-, normative- and cultural-cognitive agents. Accordingly, the insight that professional authority is based on the ability to create and apply a set of cultural-cognitive, normative and/or regulatory elements that provide frameworks for dealing with various types of uncertainty is a core of the

institutional perspective (Scott, 2008:227). Scott writes that regulatory agents have a free asset of regulatory power as: "[they] can obtain state backing to enforce their jurisdictional claims, conditions for entry into practice, and some of the specific powers they exercise as practitioners" (Scott, 2008:226). Thus, regulatory agents' authority rests on their legitimate access to compelling power. Normative agents are active in the design of institutions through normative elements by inventing and publishing principles that specify what individuals, groups, organizations or states should do. Such regulations rest on a moral or mandatory dimension of compliance (Scott, 2008:226). Cultural cognitive agents, on the other hand, exercise control by defining reality. Ideas are the primary weapon for these professions (Scott, 2008:225).

Applied on the CP, the context requires that the professions involved accept the knowledge claims and problem definitions made. One could interpret the separate collaborative actors as regulatory, normative and cultural-cognitive agents. At the same time, the collaboration context implies linkages between regulatory, normative and cognitive processes in the interaction of several institutions and institutional agents, which means that the three elements in interaction can lead to different collaborative and institutionalization processes. Hence, the different configuration of collaboration between the levels of collaboration but also the lack of a coherent process. Seeing that the local collaboration to a greater extent accepts knowledge claims and problem definitions from the environment of their field – which to a significant degree depends on the insufficient insight in the CP as a whole. However, this is not the case at administrative collaboration where the professional roles are more visible and clear; “a field that speaks with many voices, making multiple, inconsistent demands” (Powell, 1996).

Furthermore, applicable to employers and trade union representatives' different views of the purpose of collaboration. At the local level, there was an agreement that the actors together would make decisions and that the employer had the last word in the case of disagreement. Nevertheless, as to the well-established communication outside the collaboration group between employers and union representatives, disagreements rarely occurred which resulted in a feeling of participation amongst the actors. At the administrative level, there was a more or less shared understanding of the purpose, i.e., by collecting views from trade unions – helping the employers to make the best decision as possible. However, opinions regarding how this was carried out in practice differed. For instance, all the interlocutors from the employer side

specified the implemented of “working groups” aiming at improving participation – described by one interlocutor below;

“... we have tried to work with the process and participation, and then we have a completely different dialogue that is much better for all parties, much more creative. However, I might think it is still a bit too formal. Therefore, we have formed working groups - so in the collaboration meetings we could decide that we need to drill deeper into a question - we form a working group that will work more with the issue. For instance, the workload for a particular occupational category, the working group will come back with suggestions for solutions that are handled more formally in the collaborative group.”
(Interview from 9th of Mars 2018)

Although the working groups seemingly imply a reasonable way of resolving problems of participation and additionally coherence in the process, one trade union representative provides a different view (A: me & B: interlocutor);

A: How do they work, i.e., working groups?

B: Well I do not know if they do... they know what they want. This is what they do to please us, to silence us seeing that they “make” us a part of the decision process. However, they have already decided the final decision.

A: What do you mean? Sorry, I do not follow.

B: No problem, if you make a decision, you decide that we will decide this and that but then we complain that we cannot participate in the process and then you make small workgroups where we can participate. However, it does not matter because they have already decided the final goal. (Interview from 27th of Mars 2018)

The statement above exhibits hopelessness regarding employee influence in the decision-making process. As the interlocutor, although a working method derived from trade unions complaints, do not trust the employers’ intentions as good. Founded upon a mistrust of the process based and the inhibitory influence of politics, in line with Philips, Lawrence & Hardy (2000) argument; that when the collaborative context spans across many fields with conflicting logics, it complicates the CP. Hence, the different actors collaborate by separate objectives, conditions, expectations, wishes and regulations, i.e., different institutional logics (Grape, 2006). These logics constitute representational frameworks, and in the CP, each logic provides a standard for what an organization covered by the logic should and should not do and what the other organizations can and cannot be allowed to question (Johansson & Grape, 2006:205). Furthermore, when different institutional logic struggles to gain interpreting space, the power aspect becomes visible, which is apparent at administrative level were tensions and conflicts occur more frequently. Thereof, creating power games and struggle for interpretation space that

shapes collaboration. For instance, how the climate of dialogue is semi-formal with a “professional respect” influenced by prejudices about the counterparty. Demonstrated in both interviews and observations – employers highlighted that trade union representatives provided a useful perspective but occasionally exaggerated to reach effect – trade union representatives, on the other hand, highlighted that economic aspects are the main concern of employers and that they do not see the "real problems." Thereupon providing a questioning regarding the motive in the collaboration group from both parties. Noted in the quote below while the importance for the municipality to maintain their good reputation is underlined;

“It is not the same understanding of the purpose and objective at the administrative level. It is more about looking good outwards. Lomma has an outstanding reputation, and everybody believes that Lomma is fantastic, but they do not understand the reality /.../. Because they are not there, they are sitting at the town hall and decide, but they do not, for instance, know the reality at the schools /.../. They only see numbers and budgets, and not the reality. They have to show good numbers for the politicians.” (Interview from 27th of Mars 2018)

In this regard, the local government head describe the difficulties in weighing the different perspectives against each other in decision making;

“You can not only listen to the trade unions and say that the employer has made mistakes at different levels. It could as well be that they are wrong, i.e., that you have to inform the unions about what's on the agenda and what does not belong on the agenda - feedback and provide information. Is not it always as they are truth bearers /.../.” (Interview from 14th of mars 2018)

7.6. Collaboration in a complex environment

Powell (1996) argues that law provides "paradigms for arguments," which frames how negotiations and litigation are carried out. That using a legitimated account enhances the credibility and comprehension of an argument. However, such signals of reasonableness are less efficacious in settings where multiple jurisdictions clash and divergent forms of arguments are regarded as legitimate (ibid). Powell's (ibid) reasoning is relevant to the implementation of the CA from both separate institutional logic and different institutional fields. That, as shown in this analysis, reduces the influence of legal arguments, instead emphasizes normative and cultural influences in providing meaningfulness to the CA.

Furthermore, environments degree of fragmentation or centralization leads to an area of which institutional theory interact heavily on the law (Powell, 1996). Organizational researchers have

claimed that law helps create and sustain a normative environment that exerts influence on the behavior of organizations (ibid). Instead of asking why people obey the law and then how and when organizational policies reflect cultural support and consonance with the law (ibid). However, Powell emphasizes that both legal scholars and institutionalists reach similar conclusions as to the nature of legitimacy. Rather than reflecting self-interested or overtly strategic calculations, legitimacy depends heavily upon normative conceptions about what is proper and obligatory (Powell, 1996:963). Described by Habermas, a democratic law needs to guarantee that norms coordinate social action and secure integration of the preservation of the diversity of values in a plurality of lifeworlds, or to use a more familiar term: social fields (Deflem, 2013). At the local level, norms of the fields coordinate social action as that the actors believe that they can influence issues linked to their business and that their opinions are valuable as it relies on vast knowledge of the environment of the field, which both employers and employees share. However, as they are personally bound to this environment, they are not able or interested in seeing the bigger picture. Thus, spending a considerable amount of time discussing issues which do not belong in collaboration as those issues are close to the everyday routines. I argue that this depends on a combination regarding lack of knowledge of the CA aim and functions, how their collaboration group and workplace meetings are coherent to the CP, and inadequate communication between the different levels of collaboration.

Besides, as formulations within the agreement are broadly defined, they motivate issues such as "open gates" and that nobody empties the dishwasher as problems that affect the working environment – "it is a part of our everyday work, and it affects me. It is very tiring that I always have to empty the dishwasher" (Field note based on observation 16th of April 2018). They have to justify that they address these issues either by stating "maybe this should not be taken up at collaboration but..." and then discussing it for a more extended period or as mention claiming that it affects the everyday work and thereby the working environment. Here, the employers have a responsibility as chairmen to reject such issues. When this is frequently not done, the purpose of collaboration is not met and non-collaborative issues perceive as legitimate. Thus, the parties bypass collaboration at the right level regarding business-wide issues with more potential excitement.

Likewise, at the administrative level, it is expressed by union representatives that the political influence over the administration hampers the possibility to collaborate;

The CYC (Child- and Youth Committee) has a lot of influence and a lot to say. Not only am I involved in all levels of collaboration, but I am also in CYC. So, if you follow all the things, then you know that it is in CYC that the decisions are made. So, when they are brought up in collaboration, I know what our politicians have discussed and what they have come up with. (Interview 27th Mars 2018)

When this is the case, the legitimacy of the collaboration process is by all means affected. Seeing that the purpose of collaboration, i.e., to make the best decision based on the perspective of the employer and the employees are not perceived as fulfilled due to predetermined decision making.

7.7. A socio-legal approach on the collaboration process

The core arguments of the law and the social traditions concerns the relative inefficacy of formal law and the significant impact of procedural justice (Powell, 1996:964-965). At first approximation, research regarding “Law in action” is a severe challenge to institutional theories of organization (Powell, 1996). However, as we have seen in this analysis, the normative and cultural environments of organizations vary considerably, with critical differences in structure, government and political process which generate multiple levels of overlapping regulation. Further institutional fields differ in their capacity to shape the expectations of their external environment, that is, the CA - duly, producing heterogeneity (Powell, 1996). Thereof, Powell (1996) argues that researchers treat law in books as authoritative and coercive merely to tidy up some of the messiness of organizational life (ibid). In this regard, one can ask if the limited influence of law in books only adds more complexity and indeterminacy? Well, another way of interpreting the law in action is that fields vary in their forms of governance. However, running throughout very different settings is a concern for establishing a firm social order, which is relevant regarding the CP seeing that the process is not coherent and thereby not established in the social orders (ibid). Hereof, all areas of organized life should prefer accepted rules to disorder is obvious once stated. However, by only consider law based on the concept of law in books, organizational scholars have missed out on the opportunity to theorize why forms of governance vary and have failed to recognize law in action (Powell, 1996:965; Hertogh, 2009).

Organizational scholars are well aware that fields vary widely in their modus operandi, that some fields exhibit low organization, low levels of interaction, and limited awareness of boundaries while others are tied together by densely knit networks of association (Powell, 1996). Thus, the failure to find the connection between structure and forms of control stems

from a very primitive view of governance as consisting primarily of formal law and ignores the myriad ways in which own mechanism serve to create self-regulating communities (ibid). Applied on the CP, it is clear that the interaction between employers and employees, the limited knowledges regarding how to implement the CA and the different collaboration levels, actors and business as separate fields proves a weak connection to control of law in books. Hence, a socio-legal approach on the CP has provided an insight to recognize that forms of governance vary considerably and that there is ample opportunity to enhance our ability to expand differences across fields. This knowledge has further provided an understanding that a complex system such as the CP demands clear guidelines, extensive knowledge of purpose and aim of collaboration, and coherence throughout implementation areas for a successful collaboration.

8. Conclusion

In this thesis, I have studied how law and legitimacy operate in the CP at the ECL administration in Lomma municipality, analyzing how negotiations between employers and unions shape the struggle for each party to preserve and promote their interests. Hence, focusing on how different professional logics creates conditions of tensions and conflict of law, and how organizations, negotiation- and collaborations practice takes shape. With the point of departure in the following research question:

How do law and legitimacy operate across negotiations between employers and unions, shaping how they struggle against each other to preserve and promote the interests of their separate social fields?

The study was founded on an organizational ethnographic approach with observations and interviews as the primary data collection tools. Further, I integrated the empirical data in an analysis combined with theoretical concepts of new institutional theory and Walter Powell's socio-legal take on organizational life, as well as themes identified in previous research.

Opening the analytic chapter, I was able to outline the differences in cultural and symbolic elements that define the environments of collaborations groups at local and administrative level, providing a context in which the CA was given meaning, i.e., in social interaction and social processes, thus, illustrate how institutional environments influenced the legal framework. Emphasizing that collaboration at the local level was characterized by an open climate both during and before the meetings, how the meeting rooms contributed to familiarity and vague party relations. While, at the administrative level, the surrounding settings were more formalized, both regarding the meeting room which amplified the party relationships and the climate of dialogue that was, to a higher degree, hectic and, in some cases, slightly characterized by irritation between employer and employees.

Further, I expanded on the theoretical concepts of institutions and fields. Here, I argued that activities, relations, and recourses reproduce the normative and cultural aspects of institutions. In other words, depending on the environments within the institutional fields (Scott, 2008). Thereby, suggesting that different collaborations groups operated within separate fields, resulted in an institutional span across the CP. In this regard, the actors within locally situated fields created a bond of trust which revolved around shared views of their business. Thus,

uniting the employers and trade union representatives as the boundaries of their professional roles were erased and replaced by the municipality as an accepted "opponent." Furthermore, I discussed this seemingly unproblematic relationship with referring to the traditional definition of fields not constituting peaceful or stable social places, but rather conflict areas where participants try to convey their respective interests (Scott, 2008:183). Accordingly, highlighting the fact that the chairman in local collaboration is the trade union representatives boss. Citing Latour's approach to power, i.e., that as long you depend on someone you give them power, thus, highlighted the possibly problematic by such relationship (Latour, 1998). Additionally, this part of the analysis displayed the difficulties for the trade union representatives to distinguish between personal interests and the role as union representatives.

In the following section of the analysis, we could see how institutional myths functioned as means of legitimacy and created a gap between the formal CA and the actual activities and practitioners. Derived to the CP, by arguing for the process as a rationalized myth. As a taken for granted rational efficiency shifted the focus from the actual outcomes, applied to local collaboration as interlocutors had a firm trust in their collaboration but limited insights in the CP at large. As a result, local collaboration groups conducted collaboration based on limited knowledge of inquiry to achieving the desired effect, adapting discussion topics to hands-on problems easy to identify. Moreover, I underscored the translation between fields as actors encounter rules and resources from institutional context foreign to their own, which become available as discursive resources. Thereof, indented standards and practices established in the CA do not become institutionalized in the fields of participants (Philips, Lawrence & Hardy, 2000).

Then moving on by highlighting the inadequacy of coherency within the CP, amplifying that the local collaboration groups to a greater extent accept knowledge claims and problem definitions from the environment of their field – as a result of insufficient insight into the purpose and goals of the CP. However, this was not the case at administrative collaboration where the professional roles were more visual and clear. Additionally, I further expanded on employers and trade union representatives' different views of the implementation of collaborations. Here, the trade union representatives' hopelessness regarding influence in decision making at an overall administrative level was displayed. Providing insight into how trade union representatives perceived the political impact on decision making as inhibitory for fulfilling the propose of collaboration. While demonstrating how the distinction between

employer and employee becomes more apparent at administrative collaboration resulting in tensions and conflicts, thereof, creating power games and the struggle for interpretation space between different logics. In turn, leading to a lack of trust between employers and trade union representatives.

To round off the analysis, I used Powell's (1996) reasoning regarding: how law provides "paradigms for arguments," which can frame how negotiations and litigation are carried out and that using a legitimated account enhances the credibility and comprehension of an argument. However, such signals of reasonableness are less efficacious in settings where multiple jurisdictions clash and divergent forms of arguments are regarded as legitimate (ibid). I then connected the above mentioned to negotiations between organizational actors with separate institutional logics but also from different institutional fields. Here, I used the integration of institutional theory to the law in action by arguing that normative dignity in practical imperatives give local actors, a belief that they can influence issues linked to their own business but as they are personally bound to their environmental field, they are not able to see, or interested, in the bigger picture. Hence, spending a considerable amount of time discussing issues not belonging in collaboration meetings. Based on a combination of limited knowledge of how to implement the CA and an overall shattered CP. Furthermore, claiming that CP legitimacy is affected as trade union representatives do not perceive that the process provides means to collaborate due to predetermined decision making, influenced by political involvement. To summarize I discussed how the complex nature of the CP, which I have amplified throughout the analysis, provide a weak connection to legal control. Giving law in action a significant meaning in an organizational setting seeing how the complexity of the CP and the many actors involved obstructs the maintenance of legitimacy without a coherent implementation of the agreement (Hertogh, 2009).

Having mapped out the individual sections of the analysis, is now appropriate to ask: what line of argument have I been able to trace? Here, it is worth accentuating how all sections have provided examples or underlying explanations of how law and legitimacy operate across negotiations between employers and unions, shaping how they struggle against each other to preserve and promote the interests of their separate social fields. In this way, I have been able to observe how the CA's vague formulations and guidelines contribute to interpretations shaped in accordance to surrounding cultural and normative environments, influencing the relationship between actors in the collaboration groups. At a local level, vague guidelines, limited

interacting and information exchange with the higher levels of collaboration, and limited knowledge of implementation according to the CA intentions – results in ambiguity of what to discuss at the meetings. Hence, giving topics more suited in other forums large space as they lack structure in how to approach collaboration and understanding that their involvement is part of a more extensive process.

This thesis has also demonstrated that collaboration at the administrative level is characterized by tensions and mistrust – comparably to more traditionally MBL-negotiations. Accordingly, the fragmented institutional environment of the administrative collaboration produces prejudice questioning the opposite party's intentions, creating tension regarding dialog and understanding of the benefits of decision-making and jointly anchoring. Underlined, from trade union representative's perspective, with the political influences on decision making. Consequently, union representatives perceive that they not only have to struggle to gain leverage in collaboration but also against an external factor in which they have limited influence over. In this regard, I am not seeking to point fingers, i.e., not claiming that the employers are to blame – after all collaboration is a two-part relationship. Further, it is difficult to argue for decisions that not always are yours or making decisions when union representatives do not agree. Thus, it is challenging to enter collaboration from separate professional logic and simultaneously collaborate towards common goals. As such, transparency is vital to maintaining a successful collaboration system. Moreover, we have seen that such transparency does not currently exist in the CP at the ECL administration. In turn, questioning the process as a bottom-up means of decision making, illustrating that the practice of the CA is not grounded in intersubjective recognized claims of rights by the trade union representatives, thereby affecting the legitimacy of the CP negatively. However, at the local level, actor's interpretation of the CA correlate with claims of rights according to the environmental setting of their field, yet dislodge from the given intentions of the legal framework. Here, it is essential to underscore that this thesis is not a critique of Lomma municipality per se, as previously discussed the collaboration system is complicated. Therefore, it is significant to point out that the municipality is by no means intentionally striving to exclude opinions from employees, rather the opposite. Nonetheless, identifying issues within the CP is aggravating if you are a part of it. Thus, this thesis can conclude that formal law has a rather limited impact on the implementations of the CA, that the shaping of negotiations between employers and unions are rather influenced by the social and normative elements of separate social fields. Furthermore, inadequate transparency, lacking knowledge regarded intended purposes and goals, a mistrust

between actors at administrative level, and political influence which are perceived as contributing to predetermined decision-making harming an essential part of collaboration – results in that legitimacy operates differently from each field. As such, legitimacy is maintained by the majority of interlocutors at local level based on a normative conformation, which do not follow the CP as a whole, but the normative and cultural environment of the social fields. However, trade union representatives with a more holistic perspective stress that collaboration as a system do not fulfill its intentions according to their interpretation of the CA, similar perspectives are presented by some employers, both on administrative- and local level, but with the emphasis on lacking knowledge of trade union representatives and members. Accordingly, the use of collaboration agreement in an organizational setting such as the ECL administrations is too complicated to strictly rely on the legal authority of law in books. Hence, law in action must be considerate to make sense of the CP, thereby providing a fundamental condition to understand practice and furthermore open up new ways of rethinking the process at large.

9. References

- Andersson, 2002. "The Ideologically Driven Critique." *American Journal of Sociology* 107 (6): 1533–50.
- Alvesson, M., and S. Deetz. 2000. *Doing Critical Management Research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Agar, Michael. 2006. "An Ethnography By Any Other Name" *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 7 (4).
- Agar, M. 1986. *Speaking of Ethnography*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Ahrne Göran, Roman Christine (1997). *Hemmet, barnen och makten. Förhandlingar om arbete och pengar i familjen*. SOU: 1997:139, Fritzes: Stockholm.
- Anell, Anders & Mattisson, Ola (2009) *Samverkan i kommuner och landsting – en kunskapsöversikt*. Studentlitteratur, Lund.
- Axelrod, Robert (1987). *Från konflikt till samverkan: varför egoister samarbetar*. 1. uppl. Stockholm: SNS
- Baier, Matthias (red.) (2013). *Social and legal norms: towards a socio-legal understanding of normativity*. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate
- Barley, Stephen R. & Tolbert, Pamela S. (1997) "Institutionalization and Structuration: Studying the Links between Action and Institution" i: *Organization Studies*, 1997: 18: 93–117.
- Bryman, Alan (2011). *Samhällsvetenskapliga metoder*. 2., [rev.] uppl. Malmö: Liber
- Bryman, Alan. 2001. *Ethnography*. SAGE Publications.
- Boklund, Ann. (1995). *Olikheter som berikar? - möjligheter och hinder i samarbetet mellan socialtjänstens äldre- och handikappomsorg, barnomsorg samt individ- och familjeomsorg*. Doktorsavhandling, Stockholms universitet, Institutionen för socialt arbete. Stockholm.
- Burawoy, M. (1998) 'The Extended Case Method'. *Sociological Theory* 16(1), 4–33
- Chouliaraki, L. & Fairclough, N. (1999) *Discourse in Late Modernity: Rethinking Critical Discourse Analysis*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Confederation of Swedish Enterprise, 2017. *Hur fungerar den kommunala samverkan – utifrån kommuner och företag i Jönköpings läns perspektiv*. Available at: https://www.svensktnaringsliv.se/regioner/jonkoping/studentrapport-kommunal-samverkan_677847.html/BINARY/Studentrapport:%20kommunal%20samverkan.pdf
- Cunliffe, A. 2004. "On Becoming a Critically Reflexive Practitioner." *Journal of Management Education* 28 (4): 407–426.

- Czarniawska-Joerges, B. 1992. *Exploring Complex Organizations: A Cultural Perspective*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Danermark, Berth & Kullberg, Christian. (1999). *Samverkan Vålfärdstatens nya arbetsform*. Lund: Studentlitteratur
- Daly, Kerry. 1997. "Re-Placing Theory in Ethnography: A Postmodern View." *Qualitative Inquiry* 3 (3): 343–65.
- Deflem, Mathieu (2013). *The Legal Theory of Jürgen Habermas: Between the Philosophy and the Sociology of Law*. In Banaker, Reza & Travers, Max (red.) (2013). *Law and social theory*. 2. ed. Oxford: Hart publ.
- DeWalt, K. M. and DeWalt., B. R. (2011) *Participant Observation: a Guide for Fieldworkers*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield.
- DiMaggio, Paul J. & Powell, Walter W. (1983) "The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields" *American Sociological Association*, 1983: 48:2: 147-160.
- Friberg, Staffan (2011). *Samverkan och normativ utveckling*. Lund: Arbetsmiljöhögskolan, Lunds universitet.
- Frostenson, M. (2015). *Redovisningsteori*. Upplaga 1 Lund: Studentlitteratur
- Flood, John. 2005. "Socio-Legal Ethnography." In *Theory and Method in Socio-Legal Research*, by Reza Banakar and Max Travers. Hart Publishing.
- Grape, Ove; Blom, Björn & Johansson, Roine (red.) (2006) *Organisation och omvärld – nyinstitutionell analys av människobehandlande organisationer*. Studentlitteratur, Lund.
- Grape, Ove (2006) "Domänkonsensus eller domänkonflikt? – integrerad samverkan mellan myndigheter" i: Grape, Blom & Johansson (red.) *Organisation och omvärld – nyinstitutionell analys av människobehandlande organisationer*. Studentlitteratur, Lund.
- Ghazinour, Mehdi, *Avvisningar och utvisningar av ensamkommande flyktingbarn: om effektivitet, värdighet och barnens bästa från tjänstemäns och gode mäns perspektiv*, Umeå universitet, Umeå, 2014
<http://urn.kb.se/ludwig.lub.lu.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:umu:diva-94574>
- Hertogh, M. L. M. (red.) (2009). *Living law: reconsidering Eugen Ehrlich*. Oxford: Hart
- Hunt, Alan (2013). *The Problematisation of Law in Classical Social Theory*. In Banaker, Reza & Travers, Max (red.) (2013). *Law and social theory*. 2. ed. Oxford: Hart publ.
- Hodson, R. 2004. "A Meta-analysis of Workplace Ethnographies: Race, Gender, and Employee Attitudes and Behaviors." *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 33 (1): 4–38.
- Hydén, H., & Svensson, M. (2008). The Concept of Norms in Sociology of Law. *Scandinavian Studies in Law*, 53, 15–32.

Johansson, Susanna. (2011). Rätt, makt och institutionell förändring –En kritisk analys av myndigheters samverkan i baronahus. Doktorsavhandling, Lunds universitet Sociology of law. Lund

Johansson, Susanna (2009) "Does Collaboration Include or Exclude? Participatory Aspects of Collaboration between Welfare Agencies when Investigating Suspected Child Abuse". I: Baier, Matthias (ed.) Participative aspects of law: a socio-legal perspective. Lund studies in sociology of law 31, Lund University.

Johansson, Roine (2006) "Nyinstitutionell organisationsteori – från sociologi i USA till socialt arbete i Sverige" i: Grape, Ove; Blom, Björn & Johansson, Roine (red.) Organisation och omvärld – nyinstitutionell analys av människobehandlande organisationer Studentlitteratur, Lund.

Johansson, Roine & Grape, Ove (2006) "Ytterligare en svensk nyinstitutionalism?" i: Grape, Ove; Blom, Björn & Johansson, Roine (red.) Organisation och omvärld – nyinstitutionell analys av människobehandlande organisationer. Studentlitteratur, Lund.

Hertogh, M.L.M., ed., 2009. *Living law: reconsidering Eugen Ehrlich*. Oxford: Hart.

Hudson, Bob, Hardy, Brian, Henwood, Meline & Wistow, Gerald. (1999). In pursuit of inter agency collaboration in the public sector. What is the contribution of theory and research? *Public Management* 2(3), 337–357.

Huxam, Chris & Vangen, Siv. (2006). *Maning to Collaborate The theory and practice of collaborative advantage* (Vol. 2). New York: Routledge

Huxam, Chris & Vangen, Siv. (2003). *Enacting Leadership for Collaborative Advantage: Dilemmas of Ideology and Pragmatism in the Activities of Partnership Mangers*. *British Journal of Management*, 14, 61–76.

Horwath, Jan & Morrison, Tony. (2007). Collaboration, Integration and Change in Children's Services: Critical Issues and Key Ingredients. *Child Abuse and Neglekt*, 31, 55 - 69.

Hjortsjö, Maria (2005) *Med samarbete i sikte. Om samordnade insatser och samlokaliserade familjecentraler*. Lund Dissertations in Social Work, Lunds universitet.

Katz, Jack. 1997. "Ethnography's Warrants." *Sociological Methods & Research* 25 (4): 391–423. doi:10.1177/0049124197025004002.

Klein, K., and S. Kozlowski, eds. 2000. *Multilevel Theory, Research and Methods in Organizations: Foundations, Extensions and New Directions*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Korpi Walter (1985). "Developments in the Theory of Power and Exchange. Power resources approaches, action and conflict: on causal and intentional explanations in the study of power". *Sociological Theory*, nummer 3, s.31–45

Lawrence, Thomas B.; Hardy, Cynthia & Phillips, Nelson (2002) "Institutional Effects of Interorganizational Collaboration: The Emergence of Proto-Institutions" *The Academy of*

Management Journal, 2002:45:1:281–290.

Latour Bruno (1998). *Artefaktens återkomst. Ett möte mellan organisationsteori och tingens sociologi*. Nerenius & Santérius förlag: Stockholm.

LeCompte, Margaret, and Judith Preissle Goetz. 1982. “Problems of Reliability and Validity in Ethnographic.” *Research, Review of Educational Research* 52 (1): 31–60.

Lomma Municipality (2017a). *Kommunfakta*. Available online: <https://lomma.se/kommun-och-politik/kommunfakta.html>

Lomma Municipality (2017b). *Kommunens organisation*. Available online: <https://lomma.se/kommun-och-politik/kommunens-organisation.html>

Lomma Municipality (2017c). *Förvaltningen för utbildning, kost, kultur och fritid*. Available online: <https://lomma.se/kommun-och-politik/kommunens-organisation/forvaltningar-och-namnder/forvaltningar/forvaltningen-for-utbildning-kost-kultur-och-fritid.html>

Lomma Municipality (2016). *Årsredovisning 2016 Lomma Kommun*. Available at: <https://lomma.se/download/18.1fc96f7a15aa40b071a2451/1491833841763/KF%20170420%20Årsredovisning%202016%20II.pdf>

Kapucu, Marianne & Persson, Bengt. (2003). *Barn och unga i riskzonen samverkan och förebyggande arbete*. Stockholm: Svenska kommun förbundet.

Mattisson, Ola (2013). *Organisation och styrning på den lokala samhällsnivån – en forskningsöversikt av förändringar och utvecklingstendenser*. Lund: Univ. Available at: <http://www.sou.gov.se/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/df28f8ec.pdf>

Mattisson, Ola (2000). *Kommunala huvudmannastrategier för kostnadspress och utveckling: en studie av kommunal teknik*. Diss. Lund: Univ. Available at: <http://lup.lub.lu.se/record/19812>

Mathiesen, Thomas (2005). *Rätten i samhället: [en introduktion till rättssociologin]*. Lund: Studentlitteratur.

Meyer, John W. & Rowan, Brian (1977) “Institutionalized Organizations: Formal Structure as Myths and Ceremony” *The American Journal of Sociology*, 1977: 83: 2: 340-363.

Mills, C. W. 1959. *The Sociological Imagination*. London: Oxford University Press.

Murchison, Julian. 2010. *Ethnography Essentials: Designing, Conducting, and Presenting Your Research*. Vol. 25. John Wiley & Sons.

Neyland, Daniel (2008). *Organizational ethnography*. London: SAGE

O'Reilly, Karen (2009). *Key concepts in ethnography [Elektronisk resurs]*. Los Angeles: SAGE

Oliver, C. (1990), Determinants of interorganizational relationships: Integration and future directions. *Academy of Management Review*, 15 (2) 241-265

Papakostas Apostolis (1997). *Staten: sociologiska perspektiv*. SCORE Rapportserie 1997:4: Stockholm.

Phillips, Nelson; Lawrence, Thomas B. & Hardy, Cynthia (2000) "Inter-Organizational Collaboration and The Dynamics of Institutional Fields" *Journal of Management Studies*, 2000: 37: 1: 23-43.

Pfeffer Jeffrey, Salancik Gerald R. (1978). *The External Control of Organizations. A resource dependence perspective*. Harper and Row: New York.

Powell, Walter W (1996) "Fields of Practice: Connections between Law and Organizations" *Law & Social Inquiry*, 1996: 21: 4: 959-966.

Reidhav, D (2006) "Klassisk utilitarism", i J. Nergelius (red.) *Rättsfilosofi: samhälle och moral genom tiderna*. Lund: Studentlitteratur.

Royer, I., and P. Zarlowski. 2001. "Research Design." In *Doing Management Research: A Comprehensive Guide*, edited by R.-A. Thietart, 111-131. London: Sage.

Røvik, Kjell Arne (2004) *Moderna organisationer – trender inom organisationstänkandet vid millennieskiftet*. Översättning: Nordli, Harald. Liber, Malmö.

Scott, Richard W. (2008) *Institutions and Organizations. Ideas and Interests*. Sage Publications.

Suchman, M. C. (1995), *Managing legitimacy: strategiv and institutional approaches* *The Academy of Management Review* Vol. 20, No. 3 s. 571-610. (2015-11-13)

Stigsdotter Ekberg, Margareta (2010). *Dom kallar oss värstingar - Om ungas lärande i mötet med skola, socialtjänst och polis*. Doktorsexamen, Linnéuniversitetet, Institutionen för pedagogik, psykologi och idrottsvetenskap. Växjö.

Sykes, C. S., and L. Treleaven. 2009. "Critical Action Research and Organizational Ethnography." In *Organizational Ethnography: Studying the Complexities of Everyday Life*, edited by S. Ybema, D. Yanow, H. Wels, and F. H. Kamsteeg, 215-230. London: Sage.

SFS: 1976:580 *Codetermination Act*, Ministry of Justice.

SFS: (1977:1160) *The Work Environment Act*, Ministry of Justice.

Snow, David A., Calvin Morrill, and Leon Anderson. 2003. "Elaborating Analytic Ethnography Linking Fieldwork and Theory." *Ethnography* 4 (2): 181-200.

Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions (SALAR, 2017). *Avtal om Samverkan och Arbetsmiljö*. Available at: <https://skl.se/download/18.6ad5e30216219aa5662179eb/1520954514602/Avtal%20om%20samverkan%20och%20arbetsmiljö.pdf>

Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions (SALAR, 2017b). *Nytt samverkansavtal med fokus på arbetsmiljö*. Online access: <https://skl.se/tjanster/press/nyheter/nyhetsarkiv/nyttssamverkansavtalmedfokuspaarbetsmiljo.13666.html>

Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions (SALAR), 2015. *Metod för utveckling I samverkan*. Available at: <http://www.esamverka.se/download/18.7e784787153f0f33aa51c815/1464273016178/Metod+för+utveckling+i+samverkan+1.1.pdf>

Swedish Radio, 2018. *Asbestdöden*. 3 Mars 2018. Available online: <https://sverigesradio.se/sida/avsnitt/1027674?programid=2519>

Swedish Radio, 2014. *Lomma har inte alltid röstat blått*. Available online: <https://sverigesradio.se/sida/artikel.aspx?programid=1650&artikel=5946806>

Swedish National Mediation Office, 2018. *Den svenska arbetsmarkandsmodellen*. Online access: <http://www.mi.se/kollektivavtal-lagar/den-svenska-arbetsmarknadsmodellen/>

The American Anthropological Association (2009) Code of Ethics [online] available from <<http://www.aaanet.org/issues/policy-advocacy/upload/AAA-Ethics-Code-2009.pdf>> [accessed 03.01.10]

The Swedish Government, 2017. *The Swedish Model*. Available at: <http://www.government.se/4a5336/contentassets/8416c4ff1410419090181fe503920390/the-swedish-model.pdf>

The Swedish Trade Union Confederation (LO) 2015. *Medbestämmandelagen – med kommentar av LO*. Available at: [https://www.lo.se/home/lo/res.nsf/vRes/lo_1365274746462_2993_8_mbl_webb_pdf/\\$File/2993-8_MBL_webb.pdf](https://www.lo.se/home/lo/res.nsf/vRes/lo_1365274746462_2993_8_mbl_webb_pdf/$File/2993-8_MBL_webb.pdf)

The Swedish Agency for Public Management (SAPM), 2016). *Kommunal avtalssamverkan – Behövs ökade möjligheter?* Available at: <http://www.statskontoret.se/globalassets/publikationer/2016/201623.pdf>

Urinboyev, Rustamjon. 2013. “Living Law and Political Stability in Post-Soviet Central Asia: A Case Study of the Ferghana Valley in Uzbekistan.” Lund: Lund University.

Uhr, Christian (2009). *Multi-organizational emergency response management: a framework for further development*. Diss. Lund: Lunds universitet, 2009

Vargas, Ana Maria (2016). *Outside the Law: an ethnographic study of street vendors in Bogotá*. Diss. Lund : Lunds universitet, 2016

Walford, Geoffrey, ed. 2007a. *Methodological Developments in Ethnography*. Studies in Educational Ethnography. Emerald Group Publishing Limited.

Wacquant, Lo.c. 2002. "Scrutinizing the Street: Poverty, Morality, and the Pitfalls of Urban Ethnography." *American Journal of Sociology*, no. 6: 1468.

Wright, S. 2013. "Forgotten Histories of the Anthropology of Organizations." *Journal of Organizational Ethnography* 2 (1): 92–116.

Wilson, William Julius, and Anmol Chaddha. 2009. "The Role of Theory in Ethnographic Research." *Ethnography* 10 (4): 549–64.

Willis, E. 1993. *The Sociological Quest: An Introduction to the Study of Social Life*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin

Ödlund, Ann (2010). *Civil-militär samverkan i fredstida kriser och under höjd beredskap*. Stockholm: Försvarsanalys, Totalförsvarets forskningsinstitut (FOI)

Appendix

Interview guide - operational managers, administrative manager, union representatives and other employers (original version)

Inledande frågor

- Kan du i stora drag beskriva vad din roll är i Lomma kommun? (*arbetsuppgifter, huvudsakliga ansvarsområden?*)
- *Eller/och*
- Kan du beskriva var du jobbar? Hur många är anställda på skola/verksamheten?

Organisation

- Hur är samverkan ordnat/uppbyggd? (*Beskriv utformningen och vem som deltar?*)
- Vilka deltar vid era samverkansmöten?

Utrymme & frågor

- Sker samverkan främst informellt eller formellt? Hur ser flödet ut, beskriv processen?
- Upplever du att det finns en gemensam förståelse för syftet/målet med samverkan?
- Vilka typer av frågor behandlas vanligtvis i samverkansmötena?
- Vem för vanligtvis dessa frågor på tal?
- Vilka frågor tycker du är i behov av mer utrymme? (*Varför tas inte dessa upp?*)

- Hur upplever du kommunikationen i arbetet, i samrådsgrupper, i arbetsgrupper, i styrgrupper etc.

Roller och ansvar

- Berätta lite om din roll i samverkansprocessen/mötena? (*kan du definiera dina specifika ansvar?*)
- Hur ser du på ditt uppdrag/roll inom samverkansprocessen?
- Hur ser du på de andra aktörernas roll i samverkan? (*Skiljer sig deras synsätt eller finns en klar och enhetlig arbets- och rollfördelning?*)
- Vad anser du är det övergripande målet med samverkan?

Samverkansarbetet

- Upplever du att samverkan förändrar ert/ditt arbete, arbetssätt, metoder? *I så fall, i vilken riktning? Förändras det kontinuerligt?*
- Sker samverkan i någon annan form utanför mötena?
- Vad anser du är den främsta möjligheten med samverkan?
- Vad anser du är den största svårigheten med samverkan? (*hur kan dessa hinder/svårigheter tas bort/handskas med?*)
- Hur anser du att en optimal samverkan ser ut och fungerar?

Övrigt

- Finns det något som du tycker jag inte har berört under detta samtal som bör lyftas fram?

English version – for readers

Introductory questions

- - Can you describe in detail what your role is at Lomma municipality? (tasks, main responsibilities?)
- - Or/and
- - Can you describe where you work? How many employees are employed in the school / business?

Organization

- How is the collaboration organized / structured? (Describe the design and who participates?)

- Who is participating in your collaboration meetings?

Space and questions

- Is your collaboration primarily informally or formally? What does the flow look like, describe the process?
- Do you feel that there is a common understanding of the purpose/goal of collaboration?
- What types of questions are usually dealt with in the collaboration meetings?
- Who usually bring these questions up?
- What questions do you think is in need of more space? (Why are not these brought up?)
- How would you describe the communication at work, in consultation groups, in working groups, in steering groups etc.

Roles and responsibility

- Tell me about your role in the collaborative process/meetings? (can you define your specific responsibilities?)
- How do you look at your mission/role in the collaborative process?
- How do you look at the role of other actors in collaboration? (Does their approach differ or is there a clear and uniform work and role distribution?)
- What do you think is the overall goal of collaboration?

Collaboration work

- Do you feel that collaboration affect your/your business work, working methods? If so, in what direction? Is it constantly changing?
- Does collaborating occur in any other form outside the meetings?
- What do you think is the primary opportunity with collaboration?
- What do you think is the biggest difficulty in collaboration? (how can these obstacles/difficulties be removed/dealt with?)
- Describe how an optimal collaboration looks and works?

Other

- Is there anything you think I have not touched upon during this conversation that should be highlighted?

Interview guide – local government head (original version)

Inledande frågor

- Kan du i stora drag beskriva vad det innebär att vara kommundirektör i Lomma kommun? (*arbetsuppgifter, huvudsakliga ansvarsområden?*)

Organisation

- Hur ser du på ert uppdrag, nuvarande funktion och målsättning med verksamheten och samverkan?

Samverkan

- Du (kommundirektören) har identifierat samverkan som ett förbättringsområde inom Lomma kommun, kan du motivera varför?

Roller & Ansvar

- Hur ser du på ditt uppdrag/roll inom samverkansprocessen?
- Hur ser du på de olika aktörernas roller inom samverkan? (*Dvs fackliga representanter, arbetstagare & arbetsgivare*).
- **Följdfråga:** Upplever du att det uppkommer spänningsförhållanden mellan dessa? (*i så fall utveckla gärna*)
-
- Upplever du att det finns en gemensam förståelse för syftet/målet med samverkan?

Samverkansarbetet

- Vad anser du är den främsta möjligheten med samverkan?
- Varför är samverkan en viktig del av Lomma Kommuns verksamhet?
- Vad anser du är den största svårigheten med samverkan? (*hur kan dessa hinder/svårigheter tas bort/handskas med?*)

Övrigt

- Finns det något som du tycker jag inte har berört under detta samtal som bör lyftas fram?

English version – for readers

Introductory questions

- Can you describe what it means to be the local government head in Lomma municipality? (tasks, main responsibilities?)

Organization

- How do you look at your aim, current function and goals with your business and collaboration?

Collaboration

- You (local government head) have identified collaboration as an improvement area within the municipality of Lomma, can you motivate why?

Roles and responsibilities

- Tell me about your role in the collaborative process/meetings? (can you define your specific responsibilities?)
- How do you look at the role of other actors in collaboration? (Does their approach differ or is there a clear and uniform work and role distribution?)
- Follow-up question: Do you feel that there is tension between them? (if so, please feel free to elaborate)
- Do you perceive that there is a common understanding of the purpose/goal of collaboration?

Collaboration work

- What do you think is the primary opportunity with collaboration?
- Why is it important for Lomma municipality?
- What do you think is the biggest difficulty in collaboration? (how can these obstacles/difficulties be removed/dealt with?)

Other

- Is there anything you think I have not touched upon during this conversation that should be highlighted?

Interview guide – Human resources manager (original version)

Inledande frågor

- Kan du i stora drag beskriva vad din roll är i Lomma kommun? (*arbetsuppgifter, huvudsakliga ansvarsområden?*)

Organisation

- Hur är du som HR-Chef involverad i samverkansprocessen?
- Hur upplever du att kompetensen kring arbetsmiljörelaterade frågor är bland de delaktiga aktörerna i samverkan?

Utrymme & frågor

- Sker samverkan främst informellt eller formellt? Hur ser flödet ut, beskriv processen?
- Upplever du att det finns en gemensam förståelse för syftet/målet med samverkan?
- Vilka frågor tycker du är i behov av mer utrymme? (*Varför tas inte dessa upp?*)
- Hur upplever du kommunikationen i arbetet, i samrådsgrupper, i arbetsgrupper, i styrgrupper etc.

Roller och ansvar

- Berätta lite om din roll i samverkansprocessen/mötena? (*kan du definiera dina specifika ansvar?*)
- Hur ser du på ditt uppdrag/roll inom samverkansprocessen?
- Hur ser du på de andra aktörernas roll i samverkan? (*Skiljer sig deras synsätt eller finns en klar och enhetlig arbets- och rollfördelning?*)
- Vad anser du är det övergripande målet med samverkan?

Samverkansarbetet

- Upplever du att samverkan förändrar kommunens arbete, arbetssätt, metoder? *I så fall, i vilken riktning? Förändras det kontinuerligt?*
- Upplever du att samverkan sker i någon annan form utanför mötena?
- Vad anser du är den främsta möjligheten med samverkan?
- Vad anser du är den största svårigheten med samverkan? (*hur kan dessa hinder/svårigheter tas bort/handskas med?*)
- Hur anser du att en optimal samverkan ser ut och fungerar?

Övrigt

- Finns det något som du tycker jag inte har berört under detta samtal som bör lyftas fram?

English version – for readers

Introductory questions

- Can you describe in detail what your role is at Lomma municipality is? (tasks, main responsibilities?)

Organization

- How are you as HR Manager involved in the collaborative process?
- How do you perceive that the skills related to work environment-related issues are among the participating actors in collaboration?

Space and questions

- Is your collaboration primarily informally or formally? What does the flow look like, describe the process?
- Do you feel that there is a common understanding of the purpose/goal of collaboration?
- What types of questions are usually dealt with in the collaboration meetings?
- Who usually bring these questions up?
- What questions do you think is in need of more space? (Why are not these brought up?)
- How would you describe the communication, in consultation groups, in working groups, in steering groups etc.

Roles and responsibility

- Tell me about your role in the collaborative process/meetings? (can you define your specific responsibilities?)
- How do you look at your mission/role in the collaborative process?
- How do you look at the role of other actors in collaboration? (Does their approach differ or is there a clear and uniform work and role distribution?)
- What do you think is the overall goal of collaboration?

Collaboration work

- Do you feel that collaboration affect your/your business work, working methods? If so, in what direction? Is it constantly changing?
- Does collaborating occur in any other form outside the meetings?
- What do you think is the primary opportunity with collaboration?
- What do you think is the biggest difficulty in collaboration? (how can these obstacles/difficulties be removed/dealt with?)
- Describe how an optimal collaboration looks and works?

Other

- Is there anything you think I have not touched upon during this conversation that should be highlighted?

The Collaboration Agreement in Lomma Municipality

LOKALT RAMAVTAL FÖR SAMVERKAN I LOMMA KOMMUN

GEMENSAMMA UTGÅNGSPUNKTER

Medbestämmande-, arbetsmiljö- och diskrimineringslagen utgör den rättsliga grunden för samverkanssystemet.

MÅL

- Målet för hälso- och arbetsmiljöarbetet är att förena ett långsiktigt hållbart arbetsliv med en väl fungerande verksamhet, där delaktighet och utveckling är rättigheter för alla arbetstagare.
- Målet för chefer, skyddsombud och medarbetare är att förbättra och utveckla verksamheten och samtidigt integrera hälso- och arbetsmiljöarbetet.

SYFTE

- Syftet är att utveckla förvaltningarnas verksamhet genom att arbetstagarna ges möjlighet till information och delaktighet i arbetet. Det är viktigt att arbetstagarna kan påverka de vardagsnära frågorna och på rätt nivå i organisationen.
- Samverkanssystemet skall också understödja en fortlöpande utveckling av verksamheten, så att den uppfyller kommuninvånarnas krav på effektivitet och

service.

- Samverkanssystemet bygger på en integration mellan hälso- och arbetsmiljö-, medbestämmande- och verksamhetsfrågor och skall underlätta samverkan mellan parterna samt öka de anställdas möjlighet till delaktighet.
- Syftet är att skapa arbetsplatser som har hälsan i fokus, vilket leder till en bra arbetsmiljö som gynnar alla medarbetare.

SAMVERKAN

- Samverkan förutsätter en öppen och tydlig diskussion mellan arbetsgivaren och de anställda om verksamhet, måluppfyllelse och resurser.
- Samverkansorganisationen måste kontinuerligt omprövas, förändras och anpassas till den praktiska verkligheten.
- Samverkan mellan arbetsgivare och de anställdas fackliga organisationer sker i samverkansgrupper.
- Arbetsplatsträffar och utvecklingssamtal är viktiga instrument för kommunikation mellan arbetstagare och arbetsledning.

ORGANISATION

Samverkansorganisationen innehåller följande nivåer av samverkansorgan

1. Kommuncentral samverkansgrupp
2. Förvaltningsövergripande samverkansgrupper
3. Samverkansgrupper
4. Arbetsplatsträffar

Kommuncentral samverkansgrupp

I den kommuncentrala samverkansgruppen ska i huvudsak behandlas kommunövergripande policy- arbetsmiljö- och utvecklingsfrågor. Kommuncentrala samverkansgruppen har dessutom uppdraget att följa upp tillämpningen av samverkansavtalet. Ordförande i gruppen är förvaltningschefen på kommunledningskontoret.

Förvaltningsövergripande samverkansgrupper

I dessa grupper ska behandlas förvaltningsövergripande verksamhetsfrågor. Förvaltningschefen är ordförande.

Gemensamt för den kommuncentrala o de förvaltningsövergripande samverkansgrupperna är att information och behandling av frågor inför nämnds- och styrelsebeslut skall ske enligt regler som anges i MBL.

Samverkansgrupper

I dessa grupper behandlas frågor som ligger inom respektive chefs ansvarsområde. Berörd

verksamhetschef är ordförande i dessa grupper.

Arbetsplatsträffar

Arbetsplatsträff leds av respektive arbetsledare. Det är viktigt att så många som möjligt deltar i arbetsplatsträff och kan känna delaktighet.

Gemensamt för samverkansgrupper och arbetsplatsträffar är att frågor ska lösas på respektive nivå. Kommuncentrala- och förvaltningsövergripande samverkansgrupper ska ej ses som någon form av överprövningsinstans.

Även om yttersta ansvaret att följa upp tillämpningen av ramavtalet för samverkan åvilar kommuncentrala samverkansgruppen skall varje samverkansgrupp följa upp tillämpningen av avtalet inom sitt verksamhetsområde.

Kommuncentrala och förvaltningsövergripande samverkansgrupperna är obligatoriska. Övriga grupper väljs efter den egna förvaltningens struktur och delegation av ansvar.

SAMVERKANSGRUPPERNAS UPPGIFTER

- Arbetsgivare och arbetstagare skall samverka för att åstadkomma en god hälso- och arbetsmiljö. Denna samverkan skall bedrivas på ett sätt som båda parterna har ett gemensamt ansvar för.
- Samverkansgrupperna skall vara forum för information, dialog och samverkan i aktuella personal- och verksamhetsfrågor.
- Samverkansgrupp är tillika skyddskommitté enligt AML:s regler.
- Samverkansgruppens behandling av verksamhetsfrågor skall ses utifrån en helhetssyn där hälso- och arbetsmiljö-, medbestämmande- samt likabehandlingsfrågor ingår som naturliga delar.
- Utgångspunkten i arbetsmiljöarbetet skall vara en helhetssyn på hälsobegreppet, vilket innebär att förebygga ohälsa och identifiera hälsofaktorer och förstärka dessa. Vår strävan är att arbetsmiljölagen och arbetsmiljöföreskrifterna ska ses som minimikrav för att undvika alla former av ohälsa.
- Samverkansgruppen skall upprätta och revidera handlingsplan avseende arbetsmiljön inom verksamhetsområdet.

SAMMANSÄTTNING AV SAMVERKANSGRUPP

- Antal ledamöter och ersättare i samverkansgrupp bestäms av respektive förvaltning och berörda avtalslutande arbetstagarorganisationer. Antalet ledamöter och ersättare skall begränsas.
- Arbetsgivarens ledamöter och ersättare i samverkansgrupp utses utifrån deras funktion i organisationen. Med arbetsgivarens ledamöter avses förvaltningschef, som obligatoriskt ingår som ordförande i den förvaltningsövergripande

samverkansgruppen. Samverkansgrupp på annan nivå ledes av respektive chef.

- Arbetstagarrepresentanter (fackliga ombud) i samverkansgrupp skall utses av berörda fackliga organisationer.
- Företrädare för arbetsgivaren alternativt arbetstagarorganisation har rätt till medverkan av sakkunnig efter anmälan till ordförande.

Exempel på samverkansgrupp

- Två arbetsgivarrepresentanter.
- En facklig representant från varje berörd facklig organisation.
- Sakkunnig person beroende på ärendets beskaffenhet.

ARBETSFORMER FÖR SAMVERKANSGRUPP

- Arbetsgivaren utser ordföranden.
- Sekreterare utses bland arbetsgivarrepresentanterna.
- Samverkansgrupp skall sammanträda regelbundet.
- Samverkan kan endast föras i de frågor som rör eget verksamhets-, ansvars- och beslutsområde (delegation).

ARBETSPLATSTRÄFFAR

Arbetsplatsträffarna skall ge arbetstagarna möjlighet att genom delaktighet och ansvarstagande gemensamt med arbetsgivaren arbeta med utveckling, planering och uppföljning av arbetet på arbetsplatsen.

Arbetsplatsträffarna skall vara regelbundna och utgöra en naturlig del av verksamheten. Hälso- och arbetsmiljöaspekterna skall beaktas i de frågor som behandlas.

Träffarna skall dokumenteras och göras tillgänglig för alla på arbetsplatsen.

Fackliga företrädare skall efter anmälan ges möjlighet att informera. Anmälan ska ske en vecka i förväg.

BESLUT I SAMVERKAN

Arbetsgivaren är ansvarig för beslut och verkställighet i alla verksamhetsfrågor. Syftet med arbetsplatsträffar och samverkansgrupper är att genom samråd och delaktighet nå enighet före beslut.

- För att beslut i samverkansgrupp ej skall fördröjas krävs att arbetsgivaren ger arbetstagarorganisationen faktaunderlag senast sju dagar innan utsatt tid.
- Samråd i samverkansgrupp ersätter information och förhandling enligt MBL § 11 och 19 samt behandling i skyddskommitté. Vid oenighet i samverkansgrupp kan arbetstagarorganisationen begära att arbetsgivaren fullgör sin förhandlingsskyldighet enligt MBL § 14. Begäran skall ha inkommit senast 7:e dagen efter ärendet slutbehandlats i samverkansgruppen (KHA § 7).

- Om lokal part finner att en fråga ej bör behandlas i samverkanssystemet gäller MBLi sin helhet i den frågan.
- Behandling i samverkansgrupp ska protokollföras, varvid det ska framgå när frågan är slutbehandlad, samt parternas inställning.
- Förhandlingar i intresse- och rättstvister förs alltid av kommunstyrelsen.
- När enighet i sakfråga uppnåtts skall överenskommelsen ej ha verkan av lokalt kollektivavtal (KHA § 6).

UTVECKLINGSSAMTAL

Samtal mellan chef och medarbetare skall enligt kommunens personalpolicy hållas minst 1 gång/år.

GILTIGHET OCH UPPSÄGNING

Detta avtal gäller från och med 2008-11-01 med en ömsesidig uppsägningstid av tre kalendermånader.