

NORDIC CIVIL SOCIETIES

Global, Transnational and Regional Encounters since 1800

Summary

Nordic Civil Societies is an interdisciplinary research project that aims to **transnationalise and historicise** the normative concepts and lived realities of *Norden* and the ‘Nordic model’. It uses **civil societies in the Nordic region and beyond as a lens** to explore how global, transnational and regional encounters have shaped ideas about what is *Nordic*, and practices that have become associated with such ideas from 1800 until today. Taking a critical perspective on established ideas and practices, *Nordic Civil Societies* develops further insights into the relational and constructed nature of particularities that continually shape the meaning of *Norden* and the ‘Nordic model’. The project studies the roles of voluntary action and associations between the state, the market, and the private sphere, using transnational perspectives, and comparing with relevant regions. To this end, subprojects will analyse 1) the state-civil society nexus at the national level, 2) transnational civic cooperation at the regional level, and 3) foreign influences and Nordic engagement at the global level. Through these subprojects and the interactions between them, the project will demonstrate how *Norden* and the ‘Nordic model’, as normative concepts and lived realities, have been **constructed by global, transnational and regional encounters**.

Introduction

Norden and the ‘Nordic model’ of society are ambiguous normative ideas and analytical categories. Their more precise meanings have shifted according to the historical contexts within which they have been imagined. The search for Nordic particularities began around 1800, driven by societal actors who promoted the idea of *Norden*. Today, many find evidence for the ‘Nordic model’s existence in international rankings like the World Values Survey, which regularly place these countries among the most democratic, wealthy, transparent, safe, trusting, and even happy nations in the world (Knudsen 2017). Such knowledge feeds into official narratives that present *Norden* to the world, but likely also the region’s citizens (Stende 2017). Studies of the cultural construction of *Norden* (Stråth & Sørensen 1997) show that the ‘Nordic model’ is often based on international comparisons, which see national units in isolation, measuring their relative progress on the basis of universal standards. Today, scholars see ‘Nordic’ achievements – like corporatism, consensus democracy, a strong welfare state, gender equality and others – threatened by the forces of globalization, migration, or neo-liberalism, and some recommend Nordic nations to reinforce their particular institutions and values, and stem the tide (Baldersheim & Østerud 2014). Other scholars approach assumed ‘Nordic’ features critically, identifying how these are tied to national reputation management (Angell & Mordhorst 2015), nation branding (Viktorin et al. 2018), and international positioning for prestige (de Carvalho & Neumann 2015). Simple narratives of *Norden* as a community under siege or an ideal to be copied, conceptually blur internal differences and cut the ties that bind *Norden* to the world and to its past. They are unlikely to offer orientation in a world where national boundaries have become ever more porous, paths to progress treacherous, and diversity a normality.

The research group *Nordic Civil Societies* take insights into the relational and constructed nature of the phenomenon as a starting point to **transnationalise and historicise *Norden* and the ‘Nordic model’, using civil society as a lens**. In public imaginary and scholarly debate, encounters between civil societies and the nation state have shaped fundamental traits of Nordic societies and state formation. This is often identified as a crucial, formative element, setting the Nordic region apart from other regions. Esping-Andersen’s welfare state typology, influential during the 1980s and 1990s, finds corporatism a hallmark of the Nordic welfare state model, while in other regions the distinction between state and civil society is much more clearly defined (Esping-Andersen 1990). Today, we are frequently reminded that the ‘Nordic

model’ is marked by mutual co-operation, with the state historically taking over tasks previously carried out by civil society actors. Civil society, in other words, has often been portrayed as the state’s collaborator towards common goals, through its roles in the organising, financing and provision of welfare in the Nordic countries.

Nordic Civil Societies concentrates on **the roles of civil societies in the development of Norden and what is understood as the ‘Nordic model’ of society, in a transnational and international context**. The research group focuses on social practices, where references to Nordic particularities have shaped identities and been deployed for political purposes. Civil society denotes a social space where individuals associate around common interests, purposes and values, forming clubs and congregations, cooperatives and trade unions, charities and NGOs. For the research group, civil societies – *in the plural* – provide a suitable entry point for studies of the ‘Nordic model’. The project proceeds from the premise that the nexus between state and civil societies has played a constitutive role in the Nordic countries at decisive points in time, with consequences for the ‘Nordic model’ of society itself, regional Nordic cooperation, and the countries’ global engagement.

The project brings together relevant case studies on the history of civil societies in the Nordic countries and beyond since 1800. Given that the Nordic countries have a high rate of membership in voluntary associations and that voluntarism is widely accepted as a foundational value of Nordic societies, *Norden* appears to be an ideal case to look closer at the role of civil societies in democratic governance. Engaging with the normative idea of civil society, the research group critically tests the hypothesis that a rich and diverse third sector is paramount to functioning democracies (Putnam 2000).

Nordic Civil Societies seeks to understand the role of civil societies in negotiating the relations between individuals and the state, and in relation to Nordic countries’ regional and international interaction and engagement. Civil society actors transgress national boundaries and voice the diversity of interests and opinions within a nation. Thus, the focus on civil societies guides the subprojects to cast their view beyond a seemingly self-contained and harmonious *Norden*. The research group contends that such an orientation acknowledges the multiplicity of voices at home and the complexities of transnational entanglements. This means that we will need to think about *Norden* and the ‘Nordic model’ not as unique, but rather investigate how global processes and transnational encounters have shaped such ideas and practices.

Three main levels of analysis

We propose to examine a set of three interrelated, core perspectives on Nordic civil societies in the 19th and 20th centuries which are essential for understanding the ‘Nordic model’ of society and its transnational and global interconnectedness, and the cultural, political and historical project of *Norden*. The project will study the central role of civil societies at a national, a macro-regional, and a global level.

At the *national level*, subprojects take into view the relationship between state and civil society, asking how power was attributed, claimed, and exercised by societal actors vis-à-vis governments and state administration. The fact that civil societies in *Norden* are in relatively close proximity to the state is well established (Engelstad et al. 2017). Going beyond this research and testing the assumption of consensual state-society relationship based on values, subprojects study how corporatism was achieved and maintained, especially in situations where this arrangement was under strain. At the *regional Nordic level*, the research group examines the role of transnational cooperation and international exchange in the development of Nordic associational life from the early 19th century onwards and the role of civil society in the cultural construction of *Norden*. Subprojects study how civil society historically has been perceived and discussed in the Nordic countries and how this discourse has changed over time. At the *global*

level, the project argues that neither the Nordic countries nor the region can be studied in isolation. Its civil societies were shaped by global influences and through their engagement abroad. Subprojects look at the presence of ‘the global’ at home, the engagement of Nordic civil societies’ actors abroad, and Nordic reactions to the alleged threat of the global.

Studying civil societies at national, regional, and global levels, thus combining interrelated fields usually studied separately, necessitates transnational perspectives. Consequently, the research group draws on a network of scholars of civil society from other European countries, both large and small. The study of civil societies in the Nordic countries will benefit from insights as well as perspectives developed in the study of other national cases. Subprojects aim to compare, not in order to confirm particularities on a common conceptual matrix, but rather to challenge Nordic narratives with other stories of civil societies. Acknowledging that our questions about civil society require multidisciplinary expertise, the project includes scholars from history, law, political science, sociology, literary studies, history of medicine and philosophy, all of whom actively engage in exchange of knowledge across disciplinary boundaries.

Object of study

Civil society, reintroduced as a concept in social science research after 1989, is commonly defined as a social space between the private sphere, the market, and the state. Two understandings dominate the research field. A normative approach is primarily interested in civil society as a space where ‘civil’ conduct prevails. In this view, civil society actors learn to solve conflicts in a non-violent manner and experience and tolerate diversity. This definition traces the origins of civil society back to the bourgeois public sphere and identifies discursive rationality as its core (Habermas 1996). Adherence to the procedural values of civil society is the criterion to distinguish civil society actors from associations that violate norms of civility (Kocka 2001). Research that attributes to voluntary associations positive effects on democracy is often based on this normative understanding of civil society (Putnam 2000). Other scholars operate with a sectoral definition of civil society to get all forms of voluntary action into view, regardless of their value-orientation and their potential impact on what may be considered the common good (Alapuro & Stenius 2010). Research that takes this approach has shed light on the ‘dark sides’ of civil society (Berman 1997). It also makes a case for studying civil society in a relational perspective rather than looking for core values that allegedly guided it. The sectorial perspective does not perceive civil society as something constant, but looks at voluntary organisations in their changing relation to state, market, and the private sphere (Nathaus & Merziger 2019).

Nordic Civil Societies integrates elements from both concepts. From the sectoral approach, it borrows the analytical distinction between civil society and its surrounding social realms. In this way, it accounts for the dependency of civil society on resources it cannot generate itself, and it is able to trace the influence civil society has had on the state, the market, and the private sphere. At the same time, the combined approach acknowledges that the normative discourse fulfilled important functions for civil society actors, who mobilised support, legitimised political claims, and tried to exert moral authority by invoking values.

A concept that combines the normative and the sectoral definition in this way is flexible enough to get the diversity of civil society associations into perspective as well as keep the central concern with civil society’s effects on governance in sight. It avoids reifying the narrative of civil society and the state as antagonists, which has been developed in view to Western European examples in the 19th century, but is at odds with Nordic corporatism (Götz 2019). Understanding the values of civil society in the context of its position as a sector also allows for critical reflection on some of Nordic associational life’s core tenets; its ‘democratic’ inclusive and conformist nature (Strang 2016). The definition of civil society as a sector where actors deploy values to mobilise resources and claim influence is comprehensive enough to allow for

comparisons between, within and beyond the Nordic region – one of the research group’s main methodological tools and a necessary step to understand transnational connections.

Description of the project

Members of the research group pursue subprojects within three pillars, each focusing on global, regional, and national encounters. These pillars support the overarching project, which brings together the knowledge generated in the pillars under the common question of how civil societies contributed to *Norden* and the ‘Nordic model’ as normative ideas and lived experiences. Workshops will be the main format for activities, within the pillars as well as the project as a whole. These will take place regularly, and will, in addition to project participants and network members, include pertinent scholars with expertise on civil societies in *Norden* and beyond. Alvin Jackson (University of Edinburgh) and Jeroen van Zanten (University of Amsterdam) will function as commentators, keynote speakers and contribute to edited volumes. To enrich the project with crosscutting comparisons, these key experts will contrast and complement research on Nordic experiences with Dutch, British and German experiences. Klaus Nathaus (University of Oslo), who has studied civil societies in Britain and Germany in the period, is part of the project leader team and coordinates Pillar I. Several project members have studied civil societies in other regions and Nordic civil societies in transnational perspectives (cf. CVs). In addition, the project engages with civil society practitioners, and involves young scholars. It will disseminate knowledge to academics as well as a more general public.

Pillar I: Civil Societies and the State: Critical Perspectives on the Performance of a ‘Nordic Model’ of Society

(Participants: Klaus Nathaus and Ulrike Spring (IAKH), Marit Halvorsen, Dag Michalsen and Inger Johanne Sand (IOR), Per Haave (Helsam), Anne Berg (Uppsala), Thorsten Borring Olesen (Aarhus), Haldor Byrkjeflot (ISS/CBS), Suze van der Poll (Amsterdam). Coordinator: Nathaus.)

Research on civil society has been largely informed by the Western European and North American experience as a model. Focussing on Enlightenment origins and 19th-century developments, classical thinkers of civil society from Alexis de Tocqueville over Max Weber to Jürgen Habermas have described the relationship between civil society and the state as antagonistic. The view that an increasingly self-conscious bourgeoisie demanded a say in the *res publica* from reluctant, autocratic rulers, thus pushing for democracy, has inspired and informed historical and social-scientific research on the topic (Zimmer 2007), especially in studies that focus on the long 19th century (Hoffmann 2007) and on social movements (Berger & Nehring 2017). As we move forward in time and shift the focus from the West to the North, this narrative does not seem to capture main tenets of civil society development. In the Nordic countries, the welfare state is held to be a factor of reform and progress; the relationship between state and society was perceived as a partnership based on high levels of consensus and trust; hierarchies were regarded as flat; boundaries between state and society were experienced as permeable; the function of voluntary associations appears to have shifted increasingly ‘from voice to service’ (Wijktröm & Zimmer 2011). In our view, the relative absence of open conflict both between state and civil society and among third sector actors is not convincingly explained with references to trust, consensus, and shared values. Taking a closer look at the state-civil society relationship, we aim to critically examine governance practices that secure loyalty to corporatist arrangements, including those involving stakeholders with reasons to voice critique or harbour disappointment.

Research questions: What were the mechanisms with which the state administration in the Nordic countries managed the diversity of voices while securing loyalty and preventing exit, i.e. maintain a corporatist consensus? What role did the normative idea of a ‘Nordic model’

play in practical negotiations between state and civil society? How did the function of third-sector organizations between ‘voice’ and ‘service’ develop in the Nordic countries? How instrumental, in the literal sense, did voluntary associations become in the implementation of the welfare state projects at local level and in the private sphere? Historically, how did societal functions shift from the third sector to the state, and how did this transfer of responsibility shape the culture and structure of state organizations?

Subprojects: The organisation of the ‘consensual democracy’ in view to modes of governance at the interface between the state (at local, regional, and national levels) and civil society is an aspect of pillar I that is going to be studied by Nathaus. Focus on medical professional organisations, Haave studies an example of Nordic corporatism in international perspective. Other subprojects are concerned with the mutual influence of state and civil society in Nordic countries in view to the development of democracy. Going back to the Enlightenment period, Sand, Halvorsen and Olesen study civil society organisations like schools, hospitals and welfare institutions with the question how they shaped state-controlled organisations that subsequently took over their function. In the other direction and taking the particular resource-dependency of voluntary associations as a starting point, Berg analyses how and with what consequences Nordic states supplied third-sector organisations with material resources. Byrkjeflot asks whether and how different conceptions of civil society and democracy show up in policy documents and historical sources and in what way they relate to the national, regional and global level. One relationship between state and civil society that has become increasingly important in the course of the 20th century is the function of voluntary associations as a service provider for the state. Taking Arctic explorations as a case study, Spring analyses how state support of explorations affected science. Literary scholar van der Poll’s project on perceptions of home adds to this pillar a subproject that focuses on the private sphere under an interventionist welfare regime. Her contribution asks whether civil society in this constellation delimited or extended the reach of an interventionist state.

Pillar II: Nordic Civil Societies since 1800: Transnational Cooperation, International Models and National Adaptions

(Participants: Ruth Hemstad (NB/IAKH), Hanne Hagtvedt Vik, Hilde Sandvik and Odd Arvid Storsveen (IAKH), Mads Mordhorst (CBS), PhD fellow (CBS/IAKH), Jani Marjanen, Peter Stadius and Johan Strang (CENS), Mary Hilson (Aarhus). Coordinator: Hemstad.)

Civil societies are traditionally conceived of as being bound to national territories (Götz, Haggrén & Hilson 2016). Research literature on civil societies in the Nordic region in the 19th century has thus mainly focused on national preconditions and experiences, to a certain extent in a comparative, Nordic perspective (Jansson 1985, 1988, Try 1985, Stenius 1987, Clemmensen 1987). Recent research has broadened the perspective and examined transnational and international dimensions and different aspects on Nordic cooperation (Hemstad 2008, Haggrén & Götz 2009, Petersen 2009, Alapuro & Stenius 2010, Hilson 2018, Strang 2016, Stadius 2019). From the beginning of the ‘age of associations’ in the mid-19th century, prevalent in the Western World (Janse & te Velde 2017) as well as in the Nordic countries, Nordic experiences illustrate the importance of going beyond national frames of investigation. Along with the adaption of international models of organisation, a distinct feature of Nordic civil societies is their transnational and macro-regional character. The emergence and growth of Nordic cooperation has been an integral part of civil society development from the 1840s (Hemstad 2008). The high density of transnational ties at civil society level, with voluntary associations playing a key role (Strang 2016), has influenced nation and region building processes in the region in different ways. A particularly intriguing field of study is to explore how Sami political activism has used Nordic

institutions as a platform to challenge nation states. This transnational dimension, which in certain periods has included pan-national elements, has shaped the idea of a Nordic identity and model. At the same time, it has led to tensions and conflicts of various kinds within and between the different Nordic nations.

Research questions: How have transnational and international models of organisation influenced the development of Nordic civil societies from the early 19th century onwards? The construction of *Norden* as an integrated region, even “the most integrated region in the world” (www.norden.org), started from below through associational initiatives, and was gradually supported by national authorities. What roles have civil societies played in nation and region building, and in the construction and conceptualisation of *Norden* since 1800? What roles have regional civil society activities had in challenging Nordic nation states, and what roles do the civil society-state nexus play in transnational cooperation? How has civil society historically been perceived and discussed in the Nordic countries, and how has this discourse changed over time, influenced by transnational and international impulses?

Subprojects: Most studies of associations stem from within particular organisations and movements and lack a wider national, transnational and international contextualisation. A promising method to achieve this is to combine digital humanities methods, which allows for the reading of huge text corpora, with archival studies. Several subprojects will study Nordic associational life in the 19th century drawing on a wider empirical material and in view of transnational and international encounters: Marjanen studies transnational models of civic organisations and different modes of adaption in Finland in the 19th century. He hypothesizes at least three modes of adaptation: imitation of existing societies, domestication of foreign models and establishing branches of international or Nordic associations. Sandvik will undertake a study on the hitherto underexplored international influences on peasant movements in Norway and Sweden, and the role of civil society-state collaboration. Storsveen will focus on sharp-shooter associations as one of the largest civic movements in the Nordic countries, asking if this international sport was a typical Nordic pastime and how this type of activities goes together with a seemingly non-violent civic culture in the region. Hilson explores the co-operative movement in the Nordic countries, focusing on the international dimension of the movement and its enterprises in the 20th century. Pan-Nordic ideas clearly influenced the construction of *Norden* in certain periods. Hemstad will study discourses of transnational cooperation, pan-national ideas and civil society in Nordic associations that were established in the 19th century in and beyond the Nordic region. Pan-national ideas and movements developed in tandem with national movements in Europe. Stadius will apply a comparative approach on the pan-Scandinavian movement, and later the ‘Nordism’ of the 20th century. Along with pan-Nordic ideas, there were also national tensions between the Nordic nations. Through a genealogical narrative approach, Mordhorst examines how, when and which parts of civil societies have contributed to national and Nordic narratives. The renewed interest in Nordic ideas will be scrutinised by Strang in his study of the latest fall and rise of *Norden* and the changes in the notion of Nordic democracy since the 1990s. A Nordic indigenous peoples and minority perspectives underscores the importance of a transnational and international civil society approach. Hagtvedt Vik studies the rise of indigenous internationalism and Sami political activism across the Nordic region and beyond.

Pillar III: Beyond the Nordic: Civil Societies, Transnational Political Activism and Global Encounters

(Participants: Sunniva Engh, Eirinn Larsen, Daniel Maul and Hanne Hagtvedt Vik (IAKH), Christoph Gradmann (Helsam), Norbert Götz and Carl Marklund (Södertörn), Kristian Bjørkdahl, Antoine de Bengy Puyvallée, Katerini Storeng and PhD fellow (SUM). Coordinator: Engh.)

From 19th century missions activities to today's NGO participation in official development cooperation, civil society associations have played large and influential parts in Nordic engagement abroad. How may we understand the roles and impact of these associations, and how have they affected the Nordic countries' international roles, facilitating Nordic encounters with the global? Research on the international, mainly Western, circulation or impact of the 'Nordic model' of society is well under way (Andersson and Hilson 2009, Muszias 2009). Literature on Nordic colonial experiences, missionary activities, and joint development aid efforts also exists (Brimnes et. al. 2017, Engh and Pharo 2009), and there is a growing literature on individual Nordic countries' interactions with the Global South (Friis Bach et. al., 2008, Engh, 2009, Pharo, Borring Olesen and Paaskesen, 2013, and Ekengren and Götz 2013). In addition, research on internationalism and transnational political activism has highlighted the interconnectedness of Nordic popular movements across national borders (Vik, 2016). Thus it would appear timely, feasible and potentially very fruitful to see these literatures together, and study *across* the traditional fields of investigations, which have either been limited by thematic field or national boundaries. In contrast with looking for and (re)designing potential Nordic model approaches, our ambition is to expand our understanding of how Norden evolves, investigating transnational interactions facilitated through civil society, and its changing roles, places and impacts. Acknowledging Nordic civil society's global interconnectedness and multilevel presences over time will provide opportunities to go *beyond the Nordic* in our analyses, including non-Nordic perspectives and influences, global trends and circulations of knowledge.

Research questions: What role(s) may civil society play in Nordic engagement abroad, and what effects may transnational activism have had on the Nordics' international roles? How should we understand Nordic global encounters e.g. through colonialism and missions, and to what extent is Nordic international engagement a continuity or discontinuity with these past experiences? Is there such a thing as a Nordic type of international engagement, or a Nordic internationalism? What role, if any, may the 'Nordic model' of society potentially have played? Have features of the societal model, such as the state – civil society nexus, motivated a particular international engagement, and how may the societal model, in turn, have been affected by international/transnational activism?

Subprojects: Aiming to look *beyond the Nordic*, the work in pillar III encompasses both the national, regional and global levels of analysis. Subprojects will focus on a number of topics that in different ways deal with *Norden's* global encounters, investigating the numerous roles, places and impacts of civil societies. One area which appears as particularly fruitful, is *Norden's* relations to the Global South, where Bjørkdahl will study the idea of the Nordic countries' lack of a colonial past, and the use of this *topos* in communication. Marklund will work on the evolution of a special relationship – Scandotropicalism – between the Scandinavian countries and "Third World small states" under Cold War decolonization. Other fruitful areas are Nordic activism in particular issue areas within internationalist initiatives, such as international/global health efforts. Storeng and de Bengy Puyvallée work on civil society advocacy in global health governance, cooperation between Nordic advocacy groups and so-called "local" civil society, i.e. community groups from poor countries, as well as the influence of international philanthropic foundations such as the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation on Nordic civil society. Vik works on anti-torture initiatives in Scandinavia and the significance of civic society efforts. Development agencies such as Norad, Sida and Danida operate from premises drawn from Nordic politics and culture, as well as joint Nordic development efforts. At the same time, in Nordic international engagement, a number of associations and organisations have acted in a range of capacities over time; as knowledge providers, as trendsetters, as practitioners, as lobbyists and support groups, and as means to access larger international networks. Engh will investigate the

changing roles of civil society in official development aid over time, also looking at aid given by philanthropic organisations such as the Rockefeller Foundation to the Nordic countries. An underlying assumption of the pillar is that within recent policy areas, which particularly gained traction in the post-war period, and where state administrative apparatuses initially were limited, the impact of civil society may potentially have been considerable. In pursuit of this question, Gradmann will work on Tanzania as a health care utopia fuelled by Nordic health development support in the 1970s. Maul's work, focusing on international humanitarianism and global social policies, will help to contextualise Nordic initiatives in these fields, highlighting the global interconnectedness of civil societies, as will Götz' work on the entangled 19th century history of transnational civil society, and Larsen's work on transnational encounters in Nordic business education.

References

- Alapuro, R. & H. Stenius (eds). *Nordic Associations in a European Perspective* (Baden-Baden 2010).
- Alapuro, R. 'Voluntary associations and the state. Comparative perspectives', in *People, Citizen, Nation* (Helsinki 2005).
- Andersson & Hilson, 'Images of Sweden and the Nordic Countries', *Scandinavian Journal of History* 34:3 (2009).
- Angell & Mordhorst. 'National Reputation Management and the Competition State', *Journal of Cultural Economy* (2015).
- Baldersheim, H. & Ø. Øysterud (eds.). *Det norske demokratiet i det 21. århundre* (Bergen 2014).
- Berger, S. & H. Nehring (eds.). *The History of Social Movements in Global Perspective: A Survey* (London 2017).
- Berman, S. 'Civil Society and the Collapse of the Weimar Republic', *World Politics* 49 (1997), 401-429.
- Brimnes, N., Olsen P., Gulløv, H. C. (eds.), *Danmark og kolonierne* (København 2017)
- Carvalho, B. & I.B. Neumann (eds.). *Small States and Status Seeking: Norway's quest for international standing* (London 2015).
- Clemmensen, N. *Associationer og foreningsdannelse i Danmark 1780-1880* (Øvre Ervik 1987).
- Ekengren A.M. & N- Götz, N., 'The One Per Cent Country', in *Saints and Sinners* (Oslo 2013).
- Engelstad, F. et al. (eds.). *Institutional Change in the Public Sphere: Views on the Nordic Model* (Warsaw 2017).
- Engh 2009, 'The Conscience of the World? Swedish and Norwegian Provision of Development Aid' *Itinerario*, 33(02) 65-82.
- Engh & Pharo 2009, 'Nordic cooperation in providing development aid' in *Regional Cooperation and International Organizations* (London 2009).
- Esping-Andersen, G. *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* (Princeton, NJ 1990)
- Friis Bach, Borring Olesen, Kaur-Pedersen & Pedersen, *Idealer og realiteter. Dansk udviklingspolitik historie 1945-2005* (København 2008).
- Götz, N. & H. Haggrén (eds). *Regional Cooperation and International Organizations* (London 2009).
- Götz, N., H. Haggrén & M. Hilson, «Nordic cooperation in the voluntary sector», in *Nordic cooperation* (2016).
- Götz, N. 'Civil Society in the Nordics', www.nordics.info (2019).
- Hoffmann, S.-L. *The Politics of Sociability: Freemasonry and German Civil Society, 1840-1918* (Ann Arbor 2007).
- Habermas, J. *Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a discourse theory of law and democracy* (1996).
- Hemstad, R. *Fra Indian summer til nordisk vinter*. (Oslo 2008).
- Hemstad, R. 'Scandinavianism, Nordic cooperation, and 'Nordic democracy'', in *Rhetorics of Nordic democracy* (Helsinki 2010).
- Hilson, M. *The Nordic Model: Scandinavia since 1945* (London 2008).
- Hilson, M. *The International Co-operative Alliance and the Consumer Co-operative Movement in Northern Europe* (Manchester 2018).
- Jansson, T. *Adertonhundratalets associationer* (Uppsala 1985).
- Jansson, T. 'The Age of Associations', *Scandinavian Journal of History*, Special issue, (13: 1988).
- Knudsen, O. (ed.). *The Nordic Models in Political Science: Challenged, but still Viable?* (Bergen 2017).
- Kocka, J. 'Zivilgesellschaft: Zum Konzept und seiner sozialgeschichtlichen Verwendung', in *Neues über Zivilgesellschaft aus historisch-sozialwissenschaftlichem Blickwinkel* (Berlin 2001).
- Nathaus, K. & P. Merziger. '«Entsprang den private Zwecken ein gemeiner Nutzen? in. *Freiwilligenarbeit und gemeinnützige Organisationen im Wandel* (Berlin 2019).
- Muszial, K., 'Reconstructing Nordic Significance in Europe on the Threshold of the 21st Century', *SJH* 34:3 (2009).
- Petersen, K. *Transnationale perspektiver på den nordiske velferdsmodels tilblivelseshistorie* (Odense 2009).
- Pharo, H.Ø., T. Borring Olesen. & K.R. Paaskesen, *Saints and Sinners* (Oslo 2013).
- Putnam, R. *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (Simon & Schuster 2000).
- Stenius, H. *Frivilligt, jämlikt, samfällt* (Helsingfors 1987).
- Stadius, P. «Hundra år av Nordism», i *Meningen med Föreningen* (Stockholm 2019).
- Stende, T. *Er Norge best i verden?* (København 2017).
- Strang, J. *Nordic cooperation: a European region in transition* (London 2016).
- Sørensen, Ø. & B.Stråth. *The Cultural Construction of Norden* (Oslo 1997).
- Try, H. *Assosiasjonsånd og foreningsvekst i Norge* (Øvre Ervik 1985).
- Velde, H. te & M. Janse (eds.). *Organizing Democracy* (London 2017).
- Vik, H.H. 2016, 'Indigenous Internationalism', in *Internationalisms: A Twentieth-Century History* (Cambridge 2016).
- Viktorin, C. et al. (eds.). *Nation Branding in Modern History* (New York 2018).

Wijkström, F. & A. Zimmer (eds.). *Nordic Civil Society at a Cross-Roads* (Baden-Baden 2011).
Zimmer, A. *Vereine – Zivilgesellschaft konkret* (Wiesbaden 2007).