

# 2. Cultures of municipal administration

*From command and control to negotiation and co-operation or a service producing company  
- two examples of economic and social development in Uppsala*

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## **2.1 REORGANISATION OF SWEDISH MUNICIPALITIES DURING THE 1990s**

### **2.1.1 Changed conditions require reorganization**

At different times, the municipalities and their relation to the state has been reformed. In the 1950s, the number of municipalities in Sweden was drastically decreased from about 2,500 to 1,000. In the 1970s the number of politicians was decreased and the number of administrators grew. Discussions in the 1980s mainly focused on increasing the power of administrators. In the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s the trend to privatise municipal institutions began.

The second part of the 1990s saw several attempts by Swedish municipalities to adjust their organisation to these constantly changing living patterns. New demands on services, and changes in values and political ambitions were some of the topics in focus.

### **2.1.2 Questioning the public sector and the rebirth of civil society**

At this time, the old concept of “the civil society,” sometimes called the “citizen’s society” or the “community,” was also reborn. There were two understandings of this concept. One was that civil society included everything that was separated from the state. It was also argued that

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it was important to privatise and give responsibility to the family and individuals. Another understanding was that civil society was a third sphere, different both from the state and the market. Both sides had one opinion in common, that the state and the municipalities (the public sector), should give power and responsibility to other institutions (families, associations, and enterprises) for both economic and democratic reasons.

In the beginning of the 1990s, Sweden faced a major economic recession. The main reasons for this were the inflation history of the previous decades and that the public sector had reached levels that were not sustainable. Over a four year period, from 1990 to 1994, over 500,000 people lost their jobs. This led to a totally new situation and a need for development strategies suitable to a time of decreasing economic resources and increasing costs for municipal activities. At the same time, citizens' trust in politicians was decreasing.

The costs for the activities of the municipality have continued to rise during the 1990s and municipal taxes have today reached a maximum level. The charges for municipal services are also at a prohibitively high level. In addition, an important source of financing, grants from the national level, cover less and less of the local costs.

### 2.1.3 Market orientation of the municipal organisations

The new situation has forced municipalities to make major changes, and in fact organisational changes have characterised Swedish municipalities in the 1990s. Many municipalities have experienced that "reforms have become routine." Others have tried to solve their problems through a rapid adaptation to a more market oriented organisation. They have introduced market based instruments to increase the efficiency of their operations and to clarify the kind of services citizens demand and what they have to offer. Some problems have been solved in this way, while others have appeared.

The "market orientation" of the municipalities has resulted in weakened local democracy. The interest for political commissions is decreasing and the role of the politicians is becoming more and more indistinct. The stronger the idea of privatisation and objective orientation becomes, the harder it is to legitimise the role of the politicians in the production of municipal services.

This development is a major challenge for municipal organisations. They have traditionally been created on a platform of values such as law and order, equality for all citizens and a close co-operation between politicians and officials in all phases from preparation to implementation. Most Swedish municipalities, however, have the attitude that the models used in the private sector, will, if introduced in the public sector, lead to a more efficient use of resources in the municipal organisations. Further, it is believed that a better result in the new organisation will strengthen and legitimise it among the citizens.

### 2.1.4 New organisations in the Local Act of 1992

In the organisational changes of the 1990s, the Swedish committee on municipality renewal introduced eight themes in the new reform of the municipal organisation: decentralisation, concentration, marketing, integration, differentiation, individualisation, democratisation and ideology.

*Decentralisation.* The decentralising process meant a change of the vertical power division towards an increase in local control. Duties that were previously the responsibility of the state were transferred to the local level, such as responsibility for staffing school, and emergency services. Due to the Local Act the municipalities were free to decide upon their own internal organisation.

*Concentration.* The idea of concentration meant to divide responsibility among the politicians, to make it more clear who was responsible for what, and to make policy implementation more efficient. Specific areas of responsibility which were established included schools, health care, child-care and the environment.

*Marketing.* For both ideological and financial reasons the reform came to mean an attempt to adapt activities to the rules of the market. Companies, associations, funds, and individuals were given responsibility to run schools, health care facilities, day care centres, etc., in a competitive manner.

*Integration.* The new Local Act of 1992 permitted the municipalities to decide upon the kind of committees they needed to establish. Many of the municipalities decided to amalgamate old committees with the aim of making them more all-embracing and more target group oriented.

*Differentiation.* A need to clarify the individual responsibilities of different authorities, areas, and duties led to a new system of order/executive organisation. This system tries to separate political bodies from operative implementation - to divide politics from production.

*Individualisation.* An ideological discussion emerged concerning individualising the production of municipal services. Freedom of choice and customer's choice became the target in much of the municipality's work.

*Democratisation.* Despite a greater degree of individual freedom, democratising from a collective point of view has not ceased. Different attempts have been made to increase democracy in practical ways e.g. "user committees" and neighbourhood councils.

*Ideology.* In the 1990s, a trend of non-ideological orientation occurred. Both strong supporters of the state and strong supporters of the rights and freedoms of the individual have been forced to translate their visions into practical descriptions of objectives. This wave of privatisation has concerned all political parties. Even the social democrats and the left party gave up their opposition to private alternatives in the public sector.

Many of the new kind of organisational changes are connected to partnership, public participation and civic society. These topics are in focus in many ongoing projects in the municipality of Uppsala.

## 2.2 ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND

### CAMPUS UPPSALA

#### 2.2.1 Background – Strong academic and business centres in Uppsala

In the city of Uppsala a good example of cooperation between different partners is found at *Campus Uppsala*. The project concerns advanced research, education and knowledge-intensive activities, both private and public.

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The idea is based on the belief that successful economic and social development of a region depend on knowledge, diversity, and the easy exchange of ideas. The project is a co-operation between local government, academia, and the business and industry community. The participating institutions and authorities are:

- The City of Uppsala,
- The Uppsala County Council,
- The County Administrative Board of Uppsala,
- The Chamber of Commerce for Uppsala County
- Uppsala University and
- The Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences.

Each of the partners has contributed with resources, resulting in a resource base that would have been impossible for any single partner to assemble. The Campus Uppsala project has led to economic development, research development, and development of the built environment in Uppsala. The character of the contributing partners is briefly summarised below.

Uppsala University is the oldest university in Sweden. It dates back to the year 1477. Research is carried out in about 100 different disciplines. The only Faculty of Pharmacy in Sweden is found here as well as the first Swedish Faculty of Information Technology. The university offers courses and degree programmes (masters and PhD levels) in law, the social sciences, economics, engineering, natural sciences, pharmacology, medicine, the humanities, and languages.

At the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, research is focused on the environmental sciences, food provision, veterinary medicine, landscape architecture, and forestry. SLU also has the responsibility for carrying out continuous environmental assessment on a national basis. Interdisciplinary co-operation exists both within and between the two universities.

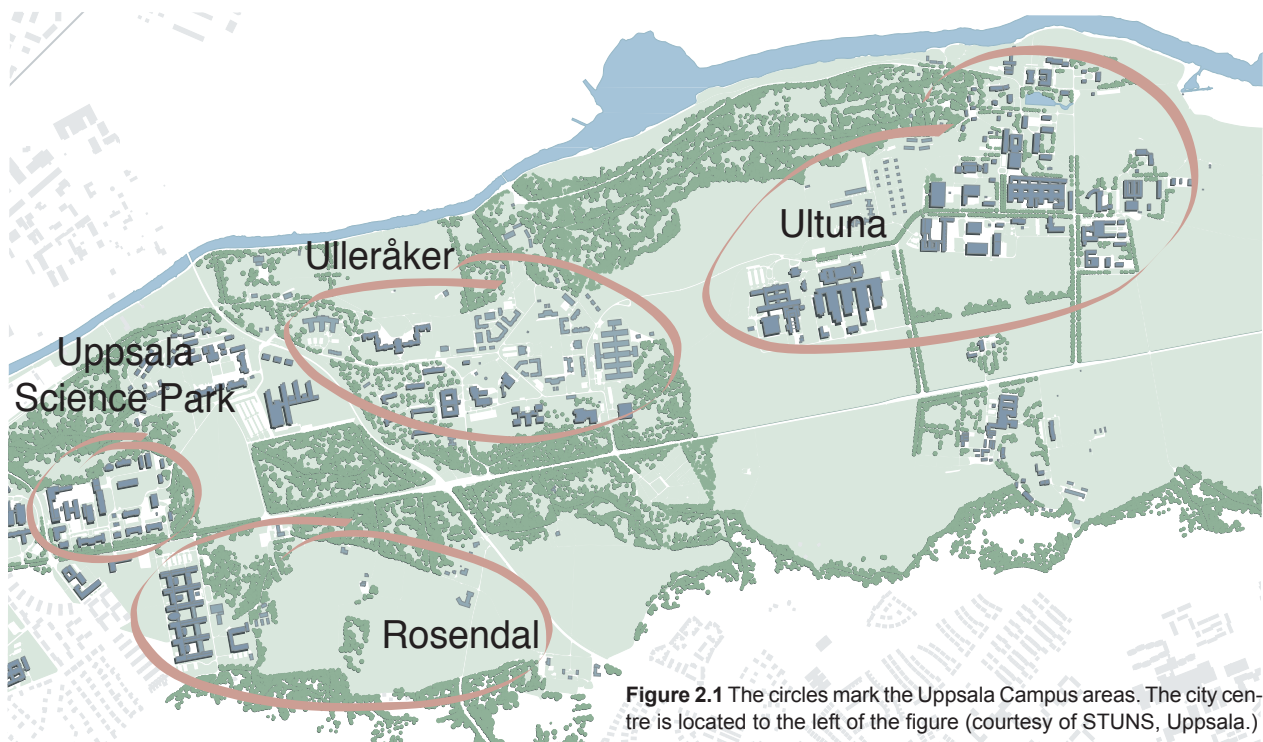
Uppsala is the headquarters for many international enterprises. Fields of great importance are pharmaceutical production, medical technology, information technology, biotechnology and genetic engineering. The Medical Products Agency and one of the largest hospitals in Sweden, the Academic Hospital, are situated in Uppsala. As well, several specialised government organisations with international connections operate here, including the National Veterinary Institute, the Geological Survey of Sweden, and the National Food Administration.

### 2.2.2 The interdisciplinary approach – the winning working method

The Campus Uppsala project focuses on issues important in the near future. Important areas of focus include information technology, biomedicine, materials research, environment and energy issues, food provision, and health. The participating institutions and agencies offer competence in these areas as well as in the humanities and social sciences.

The idea is built on networking and interdisciplinary co-operation between different partners. The area of Campus Uppsala stretches from Dag Hammarskjölds street at the city centre in the north, to Ultuna in the south. A major segment of the companies in this area operate internationally in fields such as biotechnology, genetics, computer science, medical technology and pharmaceuticals. Their situation in a landscape which is a prized national possession, provides access to rich natural and cultural assets. The intention with Campus Uppsala is to attract new potential partners to the area and to develop the qualities of the area.

This way of working and co-operating across borders promotes new ideas, solutions and progress. By bringing different disciplines together, new ideas can be transformed into innovations. At the same time, research leads to entrepreneurship. Bringing different kinds of experts together



**Figure 2.1** The circles mark the Uppsala Campus areas. The city centre is located to the left of the figure (courtesy of STUNS, Uppsala.)



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is especially relevant when complex problems must be tackled. Natural scientists, economists, landscape planners, social and behaviour scientists, lawyers and entrepreneurs all have special contributions to make. This results in a clearer picture of the different sides of reality, which gives the experts a more comprehensive understanding and knowledge of the problem to solve. A diverse group is more likely to succeed in such cases than a homogenous one.

This kind of networking often generates more resources. A general trend in society shows that projects that can demonstrate fruitful alliances gain a competitive edge. This promotes business contacts and the recruitment of resources from foundations, etc. So far about 300 companies have discovered this area. The two universities are also essential components, with about 40,000 undergraduates, 3,000 graduate students, and 4,000 research and teaching staff. This all together provides a rich pool of experts and potential employees for business in the area.

### 2.2.3 Different development sites and profiles

There are four different development sites within Campus Uppsala: Uppsala Science Park, Rosendal, Ultuna, and Ulleråker.

*Uppsala Science Park.* This is the area where many of Uppsala's research-based enterprises started their activities, often as offshoots from the universities. Most of the companies situated here operate in the fields of computer science and biomedicine, but there are also a number of service companies. More than 800 people are working here today. In order to satisfy and meet the diverse needs and demands of a variety of actors, 20,000 square metres of new floor space will be built in the Science Park, which began construction in 1999. The Rudbeck Laboratory for medical research will be the first one completed.

*Rosendal.* This area has the greatest potential, situated in a beautiful, central location. It is the largest future



**Figure 2.2** In the middle right the Biomedical Centre and at the very top of the photo the Rosendal campus area. (photo: PerEric Öberg, Art on trade. Courtesy of Akademiska Hus/Uppsala university.)

resource and development site of Campus Uppsala. New floor space plans for 150,000 square metres have been decided upon. Rosendal is especially interesting for companies wanting to establish their activities in the heart of a high-tech environment. High technology enterprises such as the Ångström Laboratory for material research, the Biomedical Centre of Uppsala (BMC) and the Centre for Mathematics and Information technology (MIC), are within walking distance.

*Ultuna.* The centre of the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences is situated in Ultuna, just south of



**Figure 2.3** One example of a building plan of Rosendal campus area which is planned as a strong academic and business centre. (courtesy of STUNS, Uppsala and architect's office Pekka Helin & Co.)

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Uppsala and the Uppsala Science Park. The National Veterinary Institute and the Swedish Institute of Agricultural Engineering are found nearby. Parts of Ultuna are designed as a model for a sustainable society – an ecological landscape and ecological harmony will be created. There are also plans to build new premises with a total of 100,000 square metres of floor space. Space is already available for labs, offices and workshops.

*Ulleråker:* The area of Ulleråker, a former mental hospital, located between Uppsala Science Park and Ultuna, has been developed. It is dominated by company services, university offshoot companies and small-scale enterprises. The Ulleråker area is planned to work as a link within Campus Uppsala between Uppsala University and the Swedish University of Agricultural Science. The area has a genuine historical environment with many old buildings. During the last few years new apartments have been built at Ulleråker, which provide accommodation for guest researchers, and project employees and their families. There are also day-care centres and schools. There is a potential to develop about 30,000 square metres new floor space in the area.

### 2.3 SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT AND THE QUALITY OF LIFE PROJECT

#### 2.3.1 Background - groups with special needs

There is a large group of elderly, retired people in Uppsala. Many of them have organised themselves and many retiree associations (approx. 80) are active. They have a common umbrella organisation. Correspondingly, 25 organisations for people with disabilities have a central organisation called HSO. Both movements have representatives in the political and administrative fora of the municipality. Municipal liaison boards have been established for both the elderly and the disabled. In 1995, Uppsala Municipality signed a document of co-operation with the Handicap Movement (HSO).

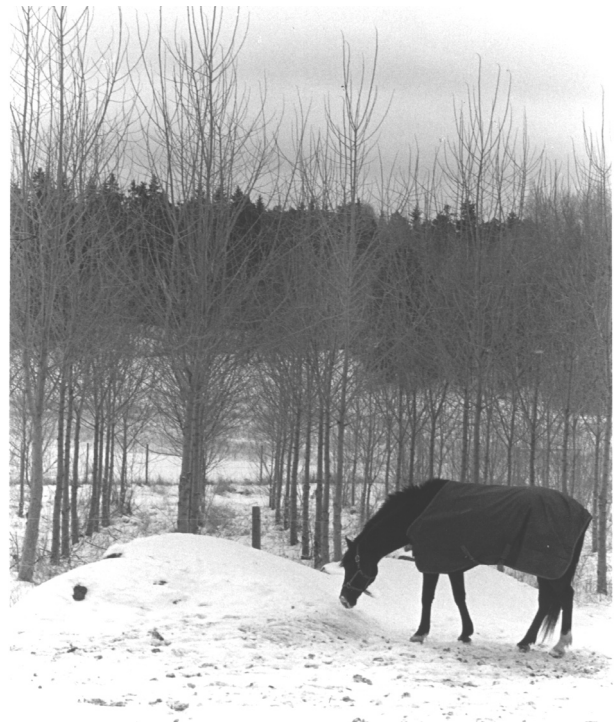
Uppsala is a university city with a high ratio of young people, many of them students, who also have a special needs.

Immigrants constitute another large population group, approximately 20%, with special requirements. Uppsala has a comparatively high ratio of immigrants and an umbrella organisation for the immigrant organisations in Sweden, SIU, the only one of its kind in the country, is found in the city.

In the social services sector, a number of new problems are expected in the near future. The needs of older immigrants will need to be highlighted and new forms of care tried. Not only older people but also many young disabled people live isolated lives without meaningful work and contact with other people. Lack of day-to-day contact with others and a lack of social contact and purpose in life often leads to both physical and mental disorders and thereby to a need for care.

#### 2.3.2 Social care and the creation of new resources

The municipality has the responsibility to care for all the groups mentioned – the elderly, disabled, immigrants etc. However, the city does not have resources to meet all needs. Other ways to meet the needs are through voluntary



**Figure 2.4** A field of energy forest nearby Ultuna where The National Veterinary Institute and the Swedish Institute of Agricultural Engineering are found. (photo: Inga-May Lehman Nâdin.)

work which traditionally has been organised by the Church and related civil society organisations.

For decades, voluntary work has been highly regarded in Uppsala. The Church of Sweden has its Archbishop in Uppsala. Comprehensive diaconal and ecumenical work is carried out by the different religious denominations in the municipality. The Red Cross began an activity in Uppsala, that was later taken over by the municipality to become the "home helpers."

The big changes that have taken place in the country in the area of social services prompted the city to adopt in 1997 a new programme for future work in geriatrics and handicap care. Its focus is on the development of different forms of support which would enable individuals to remain in their homes. In this programme, stress is put on the importance of developing the social network of the individuals, and their contacts with voluntary organisations.

#### 2.3.3 The Quality of Life project

In the municipality there are many examples of the need for the elderly to meet young people, while the young need contact with adults and the elderly. Today, there are also many single parents needing supportive social networks. Consequently, there is not only a need for support of the elderly but also a need for support of the younger generations by the older. At the same time it appears that many adults and elderly people are searching for a purpose in life. They are prepared to share their time, know-how and involvement if only there was a way to organise such initiatives. For this reason it is important to find ways of identifying these people and assigning suitable tasks to them.

The character of this situation was slowly grasped by home help staff in the municipality and voluntary organisations. They saw that new ways of improving the quality



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of life were required, not least for the elderly and the disabled. The executive board of the city in 1996 commissioned a study on the content and scope of the social work of voluntary organisations in Uppsala with a focus on the elderly and the disabled. The study indicated that the work had a broad scope. It also appeared that the organisations were interested in finding ways of co-operating with the municipality. As a consequence, the Quality of Life project was established. It has enjoyed the support of public office holders ever since its inception.

### 2.3.4 Co-operation between the municipality and voluntary organisations

The project began in 1997 and is estimated to last until the year 2000 in its present form. The objectives of the project were the improvement of the quality of life for:

- the aged,
- the handicapped, and
- people caring for their next of kin.

There was a strong conviction about the need for, and the potential of, utilising society's resources better. To achieve this, the project defined methods for creating well defined and simple means of co-operation between the municipality and the voluntary organisations and private individuals for voluntary social work.

Another goal was to find ways of supporting the organisations in their efforts to improve co-operation among themselves.

The purpose of the project is to promote social contact through co-operation and to prevent the negative consequences of social isolation with the objective of achieving a higher level of self-reliance and control.

It has become apparent that many people would gladly make themselves available if only they knew where to turn. For this reason, the project identified the task of finding ways of identifying people's community spirit and putting it to good use, and of offering contacts where service-minded citizens could be put in touch with the needy.

The point of departure for the work to be carried out in the project is to draw up an action plan covering the following:

- an assessment of requirements in each area,
- a definition of the resources available in each area, and
- identification of ways to satisfy the needs with common resources.

The voluntary work involves a variety of friend-to-friend contacts, e.g. talking to someone perhaps with the same life experience, phoning somebody to find out how they are, joining somebody for a walk, offering to help take somebody to the dentist, e.g. plainly and simply, to help by breaking the day-to-day isolation and showing concern. But it can also be a matter of supporting and encouraging a person weighed down by the burden of caring for a needy family member. Voluntary work is a matter of both giving and taking, not only of receiving different kinds of help but also of making one's own time and energy available, and of feeling important to others.

In the end it is a matter of social values and of gradually improving the social climate towards greater involvement among people. Associations are the basis of democracy.



Figure 2.5 Gottsunda residential area. (photo: Lars Rydén.)

### 2.3.5 Organisation of the Quality of Life project

Most of Uppsala's 14 municipal areas takes part in of the Quality of Life project. The project has gradually been expanded as interest in the issues dealt with has grown. Correspondingly, the number of participating organisations has also grown to the current number of 10 voluntary associations.

The Quality of Life project is managed by a central project management team. The practical work is carried out by local project groups in the local municipal areas where representatives of the municipality and the associations co-operate. Overall direction is provided by a common project directorate consisting of representatives of the municipality and the associations. The following associations are members:

- The Diaconal Centre (Diakonicentrum)
- The Red Cross
- The diaconal Samaritan Home foundation (Diakonistiftelsen Samariterhemmet)
- The Salvation Army
- All 80 retiree associations through their umbrella organisation (UPS)
- Twenty-five organisations for people with disabilities through their umbrella organisation (HSO)
- All immigrant organisations through their umbrella organisations (SIU)
- The IN-SE project (Integration, Swedish, Involvement)
- The association of elder Iranians (Bozorgan)
- Vänsam umbrella organisation of retiree and other associations

The project has not been given any additional resources; each local group is confined to the limits of available resources. The feasibility conditions for the local projects differ widely. The municipal areas are different both geographically, demographically and in terms of resources. The organisations are also represented differently and differ in relative size.

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For these reasons, the projects focus on different target groups to different extents and have adopted different approaches. Work organisation also differs. Most of the municipal areas operate through existing social networks in their areas and by trying to develop these networks. These efforts are supported by the municipality. However, it has turned out that some voluntary workers are not prepared to join any associations. For this reason, two municipal areas have organised the voluntary work in another way. In these areas, the local project managers operate by recruiting private volunteers and assigning them to projects in the municipal area. In both these cases, the activities are established in close proximity to municipal old-age and home help facilities. These municipal “volunteer centres” are in close contact with existing organisations in the area.

### 2.3.6 Examples of project activities

*Assistance to people caring for needy family members.* Study circles are being offered in “Being a next of kin” in co-operation with the Red Cross and the municipal home help and mobile medical service units. For these groups, volunteers are recruited to support people caring for needy family members.

The study circles have been successful, and in the efforts to develop the support services for the next of kin, co-operation has also been established with other organisations such as the Salvation Army and the Church of Sweden.

*The IN-SE project; contact across cultural and generational borders.* Within the framework of the Quality of Life project a subproject is being carried out aimed at improving health among immigrants through jobs and integration. The objective is to create a meeting place for people aged 26 and above with different immigrant backgrounds and to offer them the opportunity to mobilise their inherent resources and to increase their knowledge of Swedish society as well as to prevent isolation and psychological disorders. The work is carried out in co-operation with the social services department, the national insurance agency and the national labour market institute. Within the framework of the IN-SE project, a variety of activities have been launched for the purpose of supporting older immigrants e.g. telephone services where phone calls in five different languages can be received. The staff involved in these activities have been trained in conversational skills in co-operation with the Diaconal Centre (Diakonicentrum) in Uppsala.

Another part of the IN-SE project is integration with the nearby school. The fifth-graders of the school are invited to and regularly attend meetings and parties with adult immigrants who regularly come to the service centre. A natural and close contact has been established among generations and cultures.

In another municipal area, a day centre for older Iranians, Bozorgan, has been opened with co-financing by the Ministry of Social Affairs. Older people who are unable to establish contact with society in other ways come to this day centre. Many of them are illiterate and have no family members to help them.

*Activities for young people with disabilities.* Young people with disabilities are often in a difficult situation

due to isolation, and their need to meet other young people has been known for a long time. In one of the municipal areas one such meeting place has been established in order to break the isolation of young physically and mentally disabled people. In this project the local municipal board co-operates with the movement for disabled people, the Red Cross and the Diaconic Centre (Diakonicentrum) in the area and with the Panic Syndrome Society.

*Open activities for the elderly at serviced homes.* It is not only the elderly in their own homes but elderly people in special forms of housing as well who need more contact with the outside world. In many project groups, different activities have been created for visiting, talking to and accompanying the elderly to different activities. In this work there are many good examples of how the organisations co-operate in order to take people out to different kinds of open activities. The organisations have also co-operated in the training of the escorts involved.

*Students escorting older people.* In co-operation with the Diaconic Centre (Diakonicentrum) and the Uppsala Municipality students have, during the summer months, been trained in ethics, social contact with the elderly and on escorting of the elderly. Special efforts are being made with students at the university who also serve as escorts to older people, the purpose of which is to promote understanding among generations.

### 2.3.7 Project limits

The point of departure for this work is co-operation on the issues which supplement or constitute an alternative to the duties of the municipality. The project is primarily focused on the three target groups: the aged, handicapped, and next of kin. However, during the course of the project, the need for similar efforts with other disadvantaged groups in society has become apparent.

Knowledge of what voluntary work is and represents is often poor. In the public debate the issue has come ever more into focus and today, there is more openness and a growing interest in it.

The disabled people’s movement has often voiced scepticism about voluntary work, which is why “The Quality of Life Project” realised the need for addressing these doubts at an early stage. Therefore, seminars and discussions have been held on attitudes, ethics, and social approaches.

Changing attitudes in society is a long process. However, it was considered important to put great efforts into the groundwork. Without good grounding, a process will sooner or later grind to a halt. Much work still remains before these new ideas and approaches are widely implemented.

An important issue in the context of co-operation with voluntary associations is defining the border line between the municipality’s and the external organisations’ areas of responsibility. For this reason, in the spring of the year 2000, the municipality took initiatives for deeper discussions on the subject and together with the external organisations, carried out training about attitudes and the division of responsibilities. Training and information are required at all levels of the municipality and the external organisations about the nature and meaning of co-operation.

In co-operation with the organisations, the Quality of Life Project has identified a number of practical issues

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that have been jointly solved. One of these is the matter of insurance of the individual volunteers. The larger organisations had already taken care of this issue for their volunteers, but for people outside of these organisations, it was considered important to solve the insurance issue both in terms of accidents and liability. For this reason, the municipality has signed an insurance policy for liability and accident coverage of those carrying out voluntary work on behalf of the municipality.

Discretion is necessary on the part of the volunteer in his/her dealings with an individual member of the general public. Often the larger organisations take care of this issue by asking volunteers to sign a guarantee of privacy form.

Experience has taught that a prerequisite for successful co-operation is the existence of a gravitating force, a coordinator primarily of the municipality's resources but also of those of the external organisations.

Co-operation in the project has also resulted in co-operation among the external parties to the project. Great gains in the practical work have been achieved thanks to the meetings that have been held within the framework of the project. The organisations have quickly and simply found many practical solutions of their own thanks to the social contacts created during the course of the project. It is important to create such favourable conditions and to find new ways of expanding co-operation.

### 2.3.8 Results so far

The project has resulted in a meeting between two different cultures, that of the municipality and that of the

voluntary organisations. The co-operation has yielded a large measure of knowledge and experience from the activities involved. The two-way communication has been rewarding and inspiring to both parties. One realisation is that the process of establishing trust, which can lead to continued co-operation, takes time and that this time must be allowed for. Trust and respect have been identified as vital building blocks for successful co-operation.

Co-operation with the external organisations has shown that there are new ways of approaching old issues and that the needs of people can be solved in different ways. The organisations have also been a source of inspiration due to their fast and flexible ways of working. The work ahead will be focused on:

- defining the attitude of the municipality to voluntary social work among the elderly, disabled, and next of kin,
- defining the division of responsibilities between the municipality and the external organisations, and
- developing the municipality's support of the associations, both financially and in other ways.

### 2.3.9 Agreement of co-operation

The voluntary social work carried out so far indicated a need for an officially ratified document in which the municipality and the voluntary organisations involved declare their intentions. For this reason, the municipality and the organisations prepared such a paper for the municipal council in the spring of the year 2000. This agreement forms the basis for continued development of voluntary social work in Uppsala.