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INTRODUCTION

It is often said that change is – paradoxically – the only constant state. Concerning organizations in contemporary working life, there is a great deal of truth in that statement. Change at all levels – global, international, national, organizational and individual – both creates and is created by organizational mobility of different kinds.

The interactive organization studies reported in this chapter have taken their point of departure in the context of HELIX (see Preface). At the outset, ten years ago, the concept of mobility facilitated fruitful discussions between HELIX partners and researchers about what was going on in contemporary organizational and working life.

Mobility, or immobility, within and between organizations of ideas and of individuals in their careers has been discussed in the literature on ‘organizational mobility’ (Anderson et al., 1981) and ‘labor mobility’ (Eliasson et al., 2003; Bienkowska, 2007) and in relation to gender (Valcour and Tolbert, 2003). But mobility has many more dimensions: physical and non-physical, human and non-human, intra- and interorganizational, temporary and long-lasting, planned and unplanned, intended and unintended, ideas and actions, to mention but a few. Mobility is in itself nothing new. Individuals, artifacts and ideas have always been on the move. There are, however, some dimensions relating to mobility that really are new, since mobility, just like

change, takes place in a given context. New technology has fundamentally changed both mobility and the prerequisites for mobility.

Some dimensions of mobility are interrelated, although not in a simple, clear-cut way. Mobility in one dimension is not always followed by change in other dimensions. Many examples of this can be found in organizational studies focusing on gender, as well as from other areas of human life. We will mention but two studies. Alvesson and Köping (1993) studied 'modern organizations' in the advertising sector and found them to be practicing highly traditional gender roles. Antonsson et al. (2006) made similar findings in their follow-up study of gender equality programs. Here new entrepreneurial systems for supply were followed by a backlash when it came to gender integration at the workplaces, which wiped out the outcomes of the equality program.

The aim of this chapter is to highlight and discuss dimensions of mobility in the context of intraorganizational, interorganizational and intersectoral organizing. A specific interest is paid to gendered consequences of changes taking place.

Our focus on dimensions of mobility within and between organizations and sectors is of utmost importance both for understanding organizations and understanding how change, on the one hand, is standard and, on the other hand, can be hard to bring about and maintain. The verb 'organizing' is often more adequate than the noun 'organization' to describe what is going on in contemporary society as borderlines within and between organizations and sectors are in constant flux (cf. Weick, 1969). What we tend to think of as organizations of a certain type, belonging, for instance, to a certain sector, are in practice to a large extent hybrids (cf. Christensen et al., 2007).

In the following we present a selection of organizing efforts and change processes. The examples used are discussed in an empirical and theoretical context to

make generalized conclusions. Before explicating the cases we therefore highlight some concepts and lines of argument we find of importance for understanding problems and possibilities concerning organizing in contemporary working life. Change is always taking place somewhere, at a certain point in time, embedded in an organizational context. As the public sector is in a remarkable phase and pace of change, studies and understandings of contemporary working and organizational life taking their point of departure in organizing processes involving public sector organizations make a lot of sense.

THE ORGANIZED SOCIETY AND ITS SECTORS – WHY THE SWEDISH PUBLIC SECTOR IS A GOOD PLACE TO START AN ANALYSIS OF MOBILITY

Developed welfare states are described by political scientists as made up of a number of sectors between which obligations are distributed in a specific way (cf. Esping-Andersen, 1990). The relevant sectors used to describe modern society are by tradition the for-profit/private, the public/state and the non-profit/voluntary/third sectors. Every sector has traditionally been viewed as having its own institutionalized logics relating to missions, rules, regulations and characteristics (Brunsson, 1994; Jansson and Forssell, 1995). The private sector organization's mission is to generate profit, the public sector organization's is to execute political decisions and the third sector organization's mission is to attend to the interests of its members (Jansson and Forssell, 1995).

Sweden is categorized as a welfare state regime of the 'social democratic' type, as stated by Esping-Andersen (1990), where the state and the market dominate and the third sector is given a comparatively minor role (cf. Lundström and Wijkström, 1997; Trägårdh, 2007; Gawell, 2014). In practice, however, the sectors are intertwined in a

way that challenges existing assumptions of differences and borders (Christensen et al., 2007). The organized society should rather be described as one of intense interrelatedness in which all parts of working and organizational life are connected. Changes in one part are usually followed by changes in others. This will be illustrated in the cases presented below.

The public sector – or what we tend to think of as the public sector – is an excellent place to start the analysis, and thus we will do just that, taking our point of departure in the public sector organizations and organizational processes emanating from one of the master ideas of our time, New Public Management (NPM).

NPM has, for some decades now, been on the move all around the world (Sahlin-Andersson, 2002). As the label New Public Management indicates, the main idea is the emphasis on reforming the public organization by means of management. Generally, this means an emphasis on management and economic norms and values (Hood, 1991; Christensen and Lægreid, 2001) and that the public organization should be made more efficient and ‘more like an organization’ (cf. Brunsson and Sahlin-Andersson, 2000), generally implying a private sector organization (Ferlie et al., 1996).

NPM has also traveled to Sweden, and to the public organizations that are partners in HELIX. As with all traveling ideas, NPM ideas have been translated and transformed in the context in which they are used (Czarniawska and Sevón, 1996). Reform efforts in the name of NPM have not stopped at changing the public organization but have also influenced ideas about organizing organizations in other sectors, as illustrated in our cases presented below. Reforms tend to be directed toward changing both organizational borders and identities – they are to be made mobile. Intertwined with the process of local translation of the global NPM ideas is the process of changing roles of the third

sector and the importance of social economy. Third sector activism is also portrayed nowadays in terms of entrepreneurship (Gawell, 2006), societal entrepreneurship (Berglund et al., 2012) or social entrepreneurship (Nicholls, 2006; Fayolle and Matlay, 2010; Gawell, 2014). The trend can be interpreted as an acknowledgment of the increased visibility of the third sector, but also as a neoliberal attempt to impose private sector logic not only on the public sector but also on the third sector. The argument that social entrepreneurs are needed to keep up welfare services has led some third sector organizations to fear exploitation and others to seek business opportunities (Skåmedal and Tillmar, 2010).

In the upcoming section the three cases chosen as the basis for our analysis are presented. All three cases are based on interactive research efforts conducted within the HELIX program. The studies were designed as case studies, in which an effort was made to generate an understanding of the organizing process within its specific context. Methods used include interviews and document analysis as well as dialogues with involved organizations. The cases were selected based on their ability to inform about the changes taking place within or between organizations and sectors. The first case – the Spider Ladies – illustrates an intraorganizational effort at reorganizing public day-care to children by means of a mobile team. The second case – the User's Choice – illustrates interorganizational organizing efforts and departs from a local implementation of the customer choice reform. The third case – Famna – illustrates intersectoral organizing efforts and departs from the increased interest in third sector organizations as providers of care.

EMPIRICAL ILLUSTRATIONS OF ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE AND MOBILITY

Case One – The Spider Ladies in the Municipal Day-care System and the Redrawing of Intraorganizational Borders

Our first case, the Spider Ladies (Rapp and Sundin, 2008), is situated within one of the HELIX partner municipalities. The reorganization effort to be described is an exclusively intraorganizational process, although inspired by modern principles of organization, including NPM.

The municipality, like all municipalities in Sweden, offers public day-care to all children between the ages of one and five. The 30 or so day-care units are distributed over the municipality to make the geographical distance between home and day-care the shortest possible.

For some years now each day-care unit has been part of the municipal education department. The education department is divided into units with primary school, grades 1–9 and upper secondary school. A number of day-care units or pre-schools (*förskolor* in Swedish) belong to every school unit. The headmaster of every school has his or her office in the school building and is consequently not in daily connection with the day-care units. This is sometimes considered to be a problem, for both parties. It is also difficult for the headmasters to meet all employees at the day-care units at the same time, as their obligations during work hours are constantly with the children.

There were some problems with the day-care units from a management and employee perspective. Sick leave among staff was relatively high, particularly among older employees who had worked many years in the sector. Some of the employees also felt they had a hard time coping with new rules and regulations, the demand for written

documentation, reports and meetings, both with individual parents and parents as a group. The managers of the day-care units also had a hard time managing the day-care unit as they had the same problems as the headmasters – to meet with all the staff at the same time. When they did so, once or twice a year, they had to close down the unit for a day, which brought complaints from parents.

The problems mentioned were tackled by a reorganization of the day-care units. A new mobile unit was constructed. Members of the unit were a number of the oldest and most experienced day-care staff. The mission of the mobile unit was to take over the responsibility for an entire day-care unit for one day at a time, making it possible for all staff at that unit to meet for discussions and planning, and for the headmasters to visit during their meetings. Each day-care unit was relieved by the mobile unit approximately once a month. The frequency was important, for instance, so that the children would not forget the mobile team staff in the meantime. The name of the unit, the ‘Spider Ladies,’ (*Spindelfröknarna* in Swedish), came from a box with toys, including a huge talking spider, that the mobile team brought with them to the day-care units. The name was given to the team by some of the children.

The members of the mobile team were satisfied with their new role. They could concentrate on the children, as they wanted to, and did not have to deal with paperwork or parents any more. The parents were satisfied as the unit did not close down for planning. The unit managers were satisfied as sick leave decreased and they could plan and discuss more. The headmasters were satisfied as they could meet all employees together at the same time.

What is constructed in this case is an organizational innovation. A problem was turned into a solution by making alternative use of existing resources, or using available

resources in a more rational way. The organizational construction enables flexibility and the one mobile organization is the solution to a number of problems.

Case Two – User's Choice and the drawing of New Borders Between Public and Private Production

The second case concerns an interorganizational organizing effort in which entrepreneurship is a central concept. Entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial dimensions are often, as is innovation, dimensions of organizational change. Entrepreneurship, both as a concept and a phenomenon, is generally assumed to have a positive connotation (cf. Baumol, 1990), presented as an important part of the NPM agenda for reorganizing the public sector (cf. Osborne and Gaebler, 1992; du Gay, 2000). So it was too for one of the HELIX partner municipalities, launching a reform of competition orientation in line with NPM and in which entrepreneurship was made to play a major role.

The Swedish welfare state is very decentralized and the municipalities are largely autonomous since the Local Government Act of 1991 – which is of importance in more than one way in this case. Care for the elderly is the responsibility of municipalities and thus it is organized in a way decided upon by local elected officials. In the particular municipality where the case unfolds, elected officials decided to introduce a customer choice model for parts of the elderly care some time before it was made mandatory as a result of decisions by parliament (The Act on System of Choice in the Public Sector, 2008: 962 went into force on 1 January 2009). The local reform turned the elderly into customers and they were now to be responsible for choosing their own provider of home care services relating to food provision, shopping as well as cleaning, washing and personal care. Until then, all the services were provided by the municipal unit of

production and its staff. The political motive for the reform was to decrease public production (that was the concept used) and expose it to competition by constructing a market for provision of services. Private for-profit and non-profit providers were therefore invited to apply for authorization to become service providers to the elderly.

The officials were expecting many providers. What they hoped for was small firms owned and managed by former employees – given the sector and its gendered constitution this meant women. In the short run, however, the expectations were not met. There were a number, albeit very few, of new small providers, who, to a slight extent, were chosen by the elderly users of home care. Those who benefited most from the reform were the big international and national companies who entered or if they were already there, based on public procurement contracts for nursing homes, were strengthened, and came to dominate the local market. The biggest loser was, as planned, the municipality's own production unit and, which was unplanned, third sector non-profit organizations that had been contracted for special services provision for many years. Also, these tasks were now marketized and the third sector organizations could not and would not adapt to the new NPM principles and regulations.

A number of organizations were influenced by the political decisions made. The municipality's own production was divided into units, presenting bids to get contracts, and managed as private companies on time-limited contracts. Overall, principles of care were exchanged for economic principles. The big companies got a new market. They had to adapt to the local formulations of demand. The small local companies also got a new market but with fierce competition, which, as a rule, they found too tough. The same conclusion was made by the third sector non-profit organizations.

This reform can be labeled as an attempt to organize a market (Ahrne et al., 2015) or as a construction of a quasi-market (Le Grand, 1991) and as such it is in line with other similar change efforts taking place (cf. Blomqvist, 2004). It is also an example of an effort at organizing organizations – in an instance of intra- and interorganizational change as well as of intersectoral transformation. In reconstructing the organization of the elderly home care provision the municipality reconstructs its responsibility, its roles and its identity. Other organizations are engaged and new efforts at coordinating and controlling organizations are developed.

Case Three – Famna and the Drawing of New Borders Between the Public and the Third Sectors

Our third case illustrates dimensions of mobility across both organizations and sectors in an intersectoral organizing effort. The Swedish Association for Non-Profit Health and Social Service Providers, Famna, was founded in 2004 (Famna, n.d.). The Swedish translation of NPM, to judge from many public investigations and parliamentary discussions, often highlighted non-profit alternatives. Famna can be understood as an umbrella organization – or meta-organization to use a theoretical concept developed by Ahrne and Brunsson (2005, 2008) to discuss a type of organization that has organizations rather than individuals as its members – that lobbies for the role of non-profit alternatives to government as well as national, regional and local parliaments. Increasing the multiplicity among service providers is one of Famna's key messages. Famna also facilitates competence development among its member organizations by providing seminars, leadership training and advice. The organization has also acted as

an intermediary between service providers (their members) and policy makers, for example, in the field of quality improvement (Neubeck et al., 2014).

Our second case, the User's Choice, illustrated the organizational complexity involved in handling various kinds of private organizations operating on a public market. The work of Famna adds another dimension to the complexity since it aims at increasing the business opportunities for non-profit and idea-driven organizations, often operating on public markets. That is, the differing logics of the three sectors (Jansson and Forssell, 1995; Berglund and Johannisson, 2012) meet in the work of Famna. This case illustrates that mobility is taking place not only in resources and in intersectoral relationships, but also in the ideas, logics and rationale within the organizations involved. The leaders of Famna found that the interest of health-related non-profits to provide services was lower than they had expected. In 2010 they contacted HELIX researchers in order to do a study on how idea-driven organizations perceive opportunities and obstacles to provide welfare services. The study that was conducted clearly illustrates both the different logics of the sectors and the different translations occurring in national umbrella organizations and within their locally situated member organizations (Skåmedal and Tillmar, 2010).

Five umbrella organizations were part of the study (apart from Famna there were HSO, the Swedish Disability Federation; SIOS, the Cooperation Group for Ethnic Associations in Sweden; PRO, the Swedish National Pensioners Organization; and SPF, the Swedish Pensioners Federation). The leaders of these organizations were sceptical about and/or uninterested at the time in becoming, or advising member organizations to become, service providers. A main reason was the conflict between 'voice' and 'service' (cf. Lundström and Wijkström, 2012). That is, the organizations view

themselves primarily as lobby organizations defending the rights of the individual (that is, the members of their member organizations). At times, they defend the individual's rights against service providers and public organizations like municipalities or county councils. The interviewed leaders of the umbrella organizations argue that if their member organizations should also become service providers, the 'voice' of the organizations would be eroded. Furthermore, they perceived themselves to be lacking in financial as well as human capital; in terms of people available and in terms, for example, of leadership skills. The difficulty of managing and controlling voluntary workers was also highlighted.

Having experienced public quasi-markets, Famna pointed to the price competition and the large units being out for tender as posing obstacles to their members (cf. Tillmar, 2004). Still, when it came to the overall issue of non-profit providers of care, Famna itself was the most positive organization, highlighting opportunities such as procurement procedures increasingly focusing on quality issues and less on price as well as the broad political agreement about the advantage of non-profit organizations in welfare services.

On the local level, all the umbrella organizations had, in fact, members who were already providing welfare services. Among these, perceptions of non-profit service production were much more positive. While in practice they perceived tough competition and economies of scale to be benefiting large for-profit companies, they interpreted the increased interest in non-profits on behalf of the government as very promising for them. They perceived strong commitment and interest both locally and on the national level.

Ideas move between and within sectors in complex patterns. The case demonstrates a more pragmatic stance in locally situated organizations than at the national level, and a more ideological stance at the national level than in the local organizations. This is not surprising, given an organizational perspective in which we assume that organizations translate ideas to make them fit the local circumstances (Czarniawska and Sevón, 1996). Yet it is an important reminder when it comes to effectuation of policy and to reforms aiming at redrawing borders between sectors.

DISCUSSION

The aim of this chapter is to highlight and discuss dimensions of mobility in the context of intraorganizational, interorganizational and intersectoral organizing. Our point of departure is that change is always taking place, meaning that organizing and mobility is always taking place and that the dream of rationality seems to persist and flourish, not least since supported by the master idea of our time – New Public Management. We will now demonstrate how organizing, organizations and mobility are both tools and goals, both solutions and problems in effectuating the rational dream.

Dimensions of Mobility

Our first case, the Spider Ladies, seems delimited, compared to the other two, as everything takes place within one organization, the municipality. However, at a closer look it is a change taking place in a context involving several organizations. The new organization is constructed in the pre-school division (an organization) of the municipal education department (also an organization). Mobility is a main characteristic of the new unit. However, the main organization of the schools and the day-care units did

persist. The new organization was the construction of the mobile team. Everyone in the new team was already a member of the unit for childcare, and thus familiar with the organization's ways of working. They could streamline the activity for specific assignments and thereby help their colleagues to also fulfill the new work tasks concerning control and contacts with parents. Problems created by new work tasks and obligations could thus be solved by the establishment of a new, mobile unit. A precondition for this solution was that the key employees, the Spider Ladies, were looked upon as a resource and not as a problem, by and for the organization. In this case new ways of thinking were closely connected to new ways of organizing.

In the description of the second case, User's Choice, the focus is on the ambition to change the municipality, that is, the organization over which the decision makers have the power, but also to change other organizations. The municipal organization was changed in line with principles of NPM and all organizations wanting to be involved in the market had to change the same way. In this particular context this is a novel idea and a new practice but – when in place – the ambition is to prevent adaptations and interpretations. Providers, that is, new and old organizations, could change, but ideas should be stable. NPM is very much discussed as a political rather than an organizational change. If NPM is looked upon as an idea aiming to erase the welfare state, then organizational changes can be seen as tools and solutions to create change – but if, on the other hand, NPM is seen as neutral toward the welfare state (or even as a way of keeping the welfare state), then organizational changes are also tools and solutions.

Different dimensions of mobility interact in the User's Choice case. The customers are supposed to be mobile in their preferences (this precondition is

problematic as all studies of care customers show that their main preference is stability; see Sundin and Tillmar, 2010a). The employees are supposed to be mobile when it comes to employers and labor market relations. The organizations are supposed to be mobile actors on the market.

Our third case, Famna, highlights the mobility required in the third sector in terms, for example, of the functions of the non-profit voluntary organizations (from voice to service provision) and funding (from grants to revenue for services). Intrasectoral logics of the third sector organization are to be amended to logics emanating from the private and public sectors in order for third sector organizations to become service providers operating on the public markets. Both the second and third cases also illustrate how global ideas of market constructions and NPM move into the Swedish welfare system and further into local settings with differing results.

Gender Dimensions of (Im)mobility

The ‘gender system’ is one of the power systems in all modern economies. The gender system has, according to Yvonne Hirdman (1988), who introduced the concept in Sweden, two characteristics – segregation and hierarchization. As stated in the first section, ‘everything takes place in organizational contexts’ and organizations and organizing are thus both constructed by this power system and continue to construct it.

There are established ways of describing and analysing gender and organizations. ‘Gender order’ is a concept indicating the organizational level and perspectives. In the Scandinavian research communities Joan Acker’s (1990, 2006) five processes of gendering and the construction of gender orders are often taken as a starting point, including division of labor, cultural symbols, workplace interactions, individual

identities and organizational logics. Gender labels are used to illustrate both the segregation and hierarchization dimensions of the gender system, and the concept of labeling emphasizing the process dimensions. The gender order, like other organizational characteristics, has to handle changes and challenges and interactions with other dimensions and systems. As an example we will refer to Elin Kvande and Bente Rasmussen's (1993) studies of actions and reactions both among women and men in organizations recruiting women to positions that had been exclusively employed by men. In the case organization the reason for recruiting women was not equality but related to the tasks at hand. This is almost always the case – but as organizational changes often challenge the gender labels and gender orders the interpretations are sometimes made in terms of equality.

There was no gender challenging of dimensions in the first of our presented cases – the Spider Ladies. The work tasks were firmly female-labeled and so was, or is, the childcare sector as a whole. The labeling of this special group – women with some health and motivational problems, not quite young, working with small children in the municipal day-care system – is an image connecting gender with class. With this image also follows low expectations when it comes to mobility and learning. The introduction of the Spider Ladies team challenged these images and supported the women's professional, or rather occupational, identities. The gender labels and gender orders were, however, not at all challenged.

The User's Choice case aimed at many kinds of changes. In the presentation of the changes equality was mentioned as an anticipated consequence. The lines of argument were that women are dominant among the employees and, as knowledge and experience from the sector and the work task will be an advantage for everyone

establishing themselves as providers, businesses owned and managed by women would dominate the constructed market as well. As mentioned in the case presentation this was not at all the result (cf. Sundin and Tillmar, 2010a, 2010c). In short – the male label of entrepreneurship is of great importance to understand the gendered consequences of the marketization effort. Men are dominant among the new providers both for the small and large organizations – although women are still working in the organizations with the elderly clients. On lower hierarchical levels the gender segregation persists – while on higher hierarchical levels numerical equality is increasing as the number and share of men is increasing. This, from an equality perspective, positive statement has a ‘dark side’ concerning the hierarchical dimensions as women lose their power over the sector. However, women were, and are, dominant as managers in the municipality’s own unit of production.

The gender dimensions of the third case, the meta-organization Famna, are harder to analyse from a gender perspective as it is less tangible and hence more difficult to describe. From other studies we know, however, that the introduction of NPM practices in third sector organizations demands an adaption to private sector logics (Lundström and Wijkström, 2012), which are male-labeled (Johansson, 1997; Sundin and Tillmar, 2010c). Third sector organizations, who are the members of Famna, are influenced by the same gender order as other organizations. It is often argued that they are less hierarchical than other organizations (Teasdale, 2012). In the Swedish context no such conclusions can be drawn. Gender segregation inside third sector organizations as well as between organizations with different tasks and obligations seems to be as firm as in the private sector (Gawell and Sundin, 2014). However, the Famna case has to be studied further from this perspective.

To sum up and put it bluntly: though everything seems to move (intentionally or unintentionally) the gender dimensions are remarkably immobile – on the intraorganizational, interorganizational and intersectoral levels alike.

CONCLUSION – ORGANIZING AND ORGANIZATIONS

All three cases described and analysed in this chapter highlight the centrality of organizing to understanding modern society as the processes take the shape of intraorganizational, interorganizational and intersectoral changes. What we see is an organizational landscape in which organizing is the constant, whereas the forms of organizing vary. The organizing efforts described in the three cases all relate to institutionalized logics of organizations. Power relationships are reconstructed in efforts to change organizations, such as when organizational and sectoral borders are redrawn and responsibilities shift from one organization to another.

This chapter takes as its point of departure the organizations central to the social democratic welfare state regime type (Esping-Andersen, 1990), the public organizations, but it does not stop there. The interconnectedness of sectors is central to the argument (Sundin and Tillmar, 2010b). A power struggle is taking place in which public, private for-profit and non-profit organizations are enacting different roles. Famna, for instance, is making an effort to increase the influence of non-profits. One of the HELIX partner municipalities is making an effort with the User's Choice model to increase the influence of both private for-profits and non-profits, but managing mainly to increase the influence of multinationals – creating a new problem as a result of a solution.

Organizational identities are reconstructed as a result of changing responsibilities and roles, and as a consequence of NPM most organizations mix their rationale, or the legitimacy of their existence, on logics of profit, execution of political decisions and member interests. The existence of organizations such as Famna points to the need for organizations to organize themselves in more powerful units, as meta-organizations (Ahrne and Brunsson, 2005, 2008), to be able to exert influence on other organizations, such as government authorities and municipalities.

In a discussion of dimensions of organizing and mobility, the notion of time and space or place is of essence. It has been mentioned before that all changes take place somewhere, at a certain point in time. In order for dimensions of mobility to be visible and understandable one must look to the processes of organizing and view them from the perspective of different actors and interests. This way, and in conclusion, organizations, organizing and mobility can be both a tool and a goal; both a problem and a solution. The Spider Ladies case is an example of mobility of individuals as a tool to solve a problem. Mobility in the organizational landscape within User's Choice, however, was both a tool (to solve the problem of costs) and a goal in itself (to solve the perceived problem of lack of diversity). However, what was a solution on one organizational level at one point in time created problems of mobility on other organizational levels later on, such as for employees changing employers and handling the organizational complexity (cf. Sundin and Tillmar, 2010a). This chapter has thus illustrated how mobility is part and parcel of the constantly ongoing *perpetuum mobile* of organizing.

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